

Gildas' *On the Ruin of Britain*: A Scribal Edition Based on the Text Preserved in

Cambridge, University Library Ff.I.27

Brian Christopher Hardison

A dissertation

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2022

Reading Committee:

Paul G. Remley, Chair

Stephen E. Hinds

Robin Chapman Stacey

Mícheál F. Vaughan

Charity L. Urbanski

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

English

©Copyright 2022

Brian Christopher Hardison

University of Washington

Abstract

Gildas' *On the Ruin of Britain*: A Scribal Edition Based on the Text Preserved in
Cambridge, University Library FF.I.27

Brian Christopher Hardison

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Paul G. Remley

English

This dissertation consists of five parts: in the first, it examines the current state of scholarship concerning the sixth-century Romano-British ecclesiastic, Gildas, and the history, transmission and reception of his only major surviving text known as *De excidio Britanniae*. In the second part, the focus shifts to single composite manuscript – Cambridge, University Library Ff.I.27 (CUL Ff.I.27) – which preserves a redacted version of the text in the portion of the manuscript that has been dated variously to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This section includes a physical description of CUL Ff.I.27, an enumeration of the scribal conventions and practices of the scribe responsible for copying this text, and a reconsideration of the vexed questions related to origin and provenance of the manuscript. The third part studies the hitherto unstudied glosses that accompany the text of *De excidio Britanniae* in CUL Ff.I.27. The fourth part surveys the

previous editions of *De exicido Britanniae* and outlines the editorial principles and approach to the translation which were adopted for the edition with facing page translation that comprises the fifth part.

Dedication

To Mom and Dad.

Table of Contents

Table of Figures	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Author's Note	v
List of Abbreviations	vi
Introduction	vii
Chapter 1 : Gildas and <i>De excidio Britanniae</i> : History, Transmission, and Reception.....	1
Gildas Sapiens.....	1
Textual Witnesses	3
Reading <i>DEB</i> in the Middle Ages.....	7
Columbanus (c. 543 – 615).....	7
Cummian (s. vii <i>ante med.</i>).....	16
Cogitosus (<i>fl. c.</i> 650).....	17
Hisperica famina (s. vii).....	18
Canterbury School (669 – 690).....	24
Aldhelm (c. 639 – 709/10).....	35
<i>Collectio canonum Hibernensis</i> (c. s. vii ^{ex} – s. viii ⁱⁿ)	36
Bede (672/3 – 735).....	36
Alcuin (c. 735 – 804)	42
<i>Historia Brittonum</i> (c. 828).....	45
Wulfstan (c. 950? – 1023).....	54
Henry of Huntingdon (c. 1088 – 1157).....	57
Geoffrey of Monmouth (c. 1095 – c. 1155).....	58
William of Malmesbury (c. 1095 – c. 1143).....	62
William of Newburgh (1136 – 1198).....	63
Gerald of Wales (c. 1146 – c. 1223).....	65
Chapter 2 : Manuscript Description and the Question of Provenance.....	67
Physical Description of CUL Ff.1.27	67
Foliation, Collation, and Contents of λ	68
Scribal Conventions, Abbreviations, and Orthography	77
Dating, Origin, and Provenance.....	82
Chapter 3 : The <i>DEB</i> Glosses of CUL Ff.I.27	106

Glosses as Fragments of Engagement.....	107
Survey and Analysis of the Glosses in CUL Ff.I.27.....	109
The Clustering of Commentary Glosses in <i>DEB</i>	121
Analysis of Commentary Glosses in Chapter XIII.....	123
Analysis of the Commentary Glosses in Chapter XV	126
Discussion of the Commentary Glosses in Chapter XX.....	131
The Lexical Glosses in <i>DEB</i>	136
Potential Evidence for a Shared Glossing Tradition.....	138
Chapter 4 : Editorial Principles and Approach to the Translation	153
Previous Editions of <i>DEB</i>	153
Editorial Practice.....	161
Translation Conventions	171
Bibliography	173
Primary Sources	173
Digital Resources	176
Print Resources	177

Table of Figures

Figure 1: Example of a Style A decorated initial, the illuminated M beginning the “Imago mundi,” CCCC 66 3v.	73
Figure 2: Detail of pen-work initial I(mago) beginning Gilbert of Limerick’s “De statu ecclesie,” CUL Ff.I.27 239r. (left)	74
Figure 3: Detail of the pen-work initial A that begins the synchronisms preceding HB, CUL Ff.I.27 11r. (right)	74
Figure 4: Style B initial. Detail of initial B from Gildas, CUL Ff.I.27 2r. (left)	75
Figure 5: Style B initial. Detail of initial B from HB, CUL Ff.I.27 11r. (right)	75
Figure 6: Type C initial. Detail of initial D, CUL Ff.I.27 73r. (left)	76
Figure 7: Type C initial. Detail of initial R, CUL Ff.I.27 123r. (right)	76
Figure 8: Detail of the upper half of the untyped initial I(n hoc) that begins DEB, CUL Ff.I.27 1r. (left)	77
Figure 9: Detail of the upper half of the untyped initial I(n hoc) that begins DEB, CUL Ff.I.27 1r. (right)	77
Figure 10: Detail of scribal features in Gildas, DEB, CUL Ff.I.27 3r.	79
Figure 11: Detail showing punctus interrogativus, CUL Ff.I.27 2v.	80
Figure 12: Detail of correction to capitulum in DEB, CUL Ff.I.27 2r.	81
Figure 13: Detail of rubricated incipit to texts attributed to Symeon of Durham, CCCC 139 51v.	83
Figure 14: Detail of entry for Henry II, CCCC 66, 78r.	84
Figure 15: Detail of rubricated explicit to the “Historia Anglorum” in CCCC 66 50v.	85
Figure 16: Detail of gloss showing a putative Celtic commonplace in DEB, CUL Ff.I.27 2r.	88
Figure 17: Detail of gloss in DEB, CUL Ff.I.27 3v.	110
Figure 18: Detail of gloss in DEB, CUL Ff.I.27 4r.	110
Figure 19: Detail of gloss from HB, CUL Ff.I.27 11r	111
Figure 20: Detail of glosses and evidence of erasure above the line in DEB, CUL Ff.I.27 6r.	112
Figure 21: Detail of gloss in capitulum IX in DEB, CUL Ff.I.27 1v.	114
Figure 22: Detail of CUL Ff.I.27 19ra36 showing beginning of Wedale gloss.	115
Figure 23: Detail of CUL Ff.I.27 19rb1–5 showing the continuation of the Wedale gloss.	116
Figure 24: Detail of absorbed gloss in capitulum XI to DEB in CUL Ff.I.27 1vb18–25.	117
Figure 25: Detail of gloss from CCCC 139 50ra34–7.	118
Figure 26: Detail of gloss from CCCC 139 50rb1.	119
Figure 27: Detail of ‘ruptiones’ gloss in DEB, CUL Ff.I.27 6rb3	127
Figure 28: Detail of gloss on ‘nil’ in DEB, CUL Ff.I.27 6rb12	128
Figure 29: Detail of gloss ‘Stulti sunt principes’ in DEB, CUL Ff.I.27 6rb19–24.	130
Figure 30: Detail of marginal and interlinear glosses at the end of Chapter XX in DEB, CUL Ff.I.27 7va7–10	133

Images of CCCC 66 and CCCC 139 are courtesy of The Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/). / All images cropped from the originals.

Images of CUL Ff.I.27 are courtesy of the University Library, Cambridge. Licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 3.0 Unported License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/). / All images cropped from the originals.

Acknowledgements

This work, begun in 2016, is being completed at the start of a third year of plague. The last six would've exhausted the patience of even the doughtiest chronicler. As I have labored over this project since its inception, I have been keenly aware of the many people in my life whose support kept me going when I struggled to move forward. Indeed, no work of scholarship is ever truly conducted in solitude. The anonymous clerk of *Pangur Bán*, for example, drew inspiration from his feline companion. I am no poet, however, so I must rely on the much staidier genre of the acknowledgements page. I owe an immense debt of gratitude to my committee chair, Professor Paul G. Remley, whose astonishing depth of knowledge and boundless enthusiasm for early medieval subjects is matched only by his generosity and support: *ab eo, ut dicitur, scientiae salutaris cotidie flumina inrigandis discipulorum cordibus emanabant*. I am also deeply grateful to my committee – Professors Stephen Hinds, Robin Chapman Stacey, Mícheál Vaughan, and Charity Urbanski – for their insightful comments, suggestions, and collegiality. I would like to thank the many friends and colleagues who offered their support – whether patiently listening to me vent, making me laugh, plying me with good food, good coffee, and good booze, or all of the above – as I slogged along, some of whom I mention here (in no particular order): Kyle Derek Long, Sina Schmidt, Giuseppi Romano, Lisa Weeks, Rebecca Lovell, the Ladies, Dr Christopher JF Martin, Dr Sam Hushagen, Dr Nathaniel Bond, Dr Denise Grollmus, Dr Alison Walker, Dr Leila K. Norako, Dr Eric Morel, Dr Chris Lowy, Dr Joshua Hartman, Dr Emily George (and all the rest of the CMEMS cohort), Dr Leisl Sackschewsky, Dr Matthew Hitchman, Dr Tesla Schaeffer, Sarah Kremen-Hicks, (soon-to-be) Dr Matthew Howard, Jacob Oliver, Jonathan Armoza, Peter Larkin, Fredo Guastella, Amy Cissell, Patrick Jacobs†, and Christine Allard†. To the amazingly dedicated advisors of the (sadly now defunct) English Advising Office, Mel Wensel, Nancy Sisko, Bridget Norquist, and Kimberly Swayze: I blame you for getting me into this mess – thank you!

I also wish to record my thanks to my mentors and friends in the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic at the University of Cambridge. I look back at my MPhil year as one of the happiest of my life. In particular, I wish to thank Professor Rosalind Love and Professor Paul Russell for their mentorship, encouragement, and unstinting support when self-doubt plagued me. To the department itself, I express my thanks for welcoming me back as a visiting student when I was on research leave through the Chester Fritz Fellowship for International Research and Study. I am similarly thankful to my college – Wolfson College – for finding room at the inn for me. To Dr Christine Voth, Dr Eoghan Ahern, Dr Albert Fenton, Dr Alexandra Reider, Dr Bethany Christiansen, Dr David Callander, Dr Alice Hicklin, Dr Elizabeth Boyle, and so many other GrASNaCs, you're simply the best, thank you. To Dr Alexander Robertson, Ryan Hocking, Esq. and Carolina Bracken, Esq., I look forward to seeing you again soon. The first round is mine. Tremendous thanks are also due to the librarians and archivists at both Cambridge and UW who unfailingly filled my requests and facilitated my research.

Of course, none of this would have been possible were it not for my parents, Michael and Judy Hardison, whose seemingly inexhaustible supply of love and patience have always seen me through. Finally, to my partner, Michael Mungin, I absolutely could not have done this without you and Medb. The next chapter to write is *ours*. I love you more than words can express.

Author's Note

Whatever merit or value this work may possess is due largely to the valuable advice, criticism, and comments proffered by those mentioned in the acknowledgements. Any errors or omissions are to be laid firmly at my doorstep. Honest criticism, kindly offered, is welcome. To all other critiques I am utterly indifferent.

List of Abbreviations

A	Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale, 162, ff. 48r–63v. (s. xii ^{ex.})
C	London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A.vi, 1r–37v. (s. x)
D	Cambridge, University Library, Dd.I.17, ff. 83r–93v. (s. xiv ^{ex.} – xv ^{in.})
E	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 6235, ff. 7r–14v. (s. xv)
H	Heidelberg, Public Library, annotated copy of Joscelin’s edition.
P	<i>editio princeps</i> produced by Polydore Vergil (1525)
Q	Edition produced by John Joscelin (1568)
S	Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, 414 78r–79v. (s. ix ^{ex.} – x ^{in.})
X	Cambridge, University Library, Ff.I.27, ff. 1r–7v. (s. xii)
<i>ACLL</i>	<i>Archive of Celtic-Latin Literature</i>
<i>DEB</i>	Gildas, <i>De excidio et conquestu Britanniae</i> (ed. T. Mommsen)
<i>DGB</i>	Geoffrey of Monmouth, <i>De gestis Britonum</i> (ed. by M. D. Reeve, trans. by N. Wright)
<i>GNA</i>	<i>Gildas: New Approaches</i> (ed. M. Lapidge & D. Dumville)
<i>HE</i>	Bede, <i>Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum</i> (ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors)
<i>HB</i>	<i>Historia Brittonum</i> (ed. T. Mommsen)
<i>LLTO</i>	<i>Library of Latin Texts Online</i>
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>TLL</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i>

Introduction

I live in a society that prizes youth in its women and old age in its historical documents. Generations of scholars have picked over medieval Irish texts, trying to strip away any given document's accumulated experience, alterations and accretions, in an attempt to find a "pure" and "original" source within, the oldest parts, the sections of greatest antiquity. Texts that have undergone processes of revision and rewriting over the centuries are dissected in search of their earliest core. The older the better. Academic hands tear texts apart in a hungry search for something that might pre-date Christianity; pre-date literacy. Stripping away word after word until there is nothing left but unspoken ideology. Bullshit narratives.

Historical sources, like life, are messy and complicated. They are not pristine, wearing an ever-new tunic. They are cast-offs, ageing and attenuated. And they have problems; sometimes serious ones.

Elizabeth Boyle, *Fierce Appetites*

Gildas and his *De excidio Britanniae* have, like the corpus of medieval Irish literature, been picked over relentlessly since he composed the text. First by churchmen (and, perhaps, churchwomen – though the surviving textual witnesses are usually maddeningly silent about the identity of scribes and readers alike) seeking guidance from a predecessor whose spiritual authority they valued, later by antiquaries in search of historical material that could be adapted in the service of their patrons' political projects, and, finally, by academics eager to catch a glimpse of a past that is frustratingly elusive yet nevertheless with us still. (Indeed, it does not take much imagination to recast Gildas' narrative to fit our contemporary moment of seemingly endless crises – ongoing ecological collapse, plague, protracted wars – driven by *avaritia* and *luxuria* and made worse by venal leaders and a foolish populace blind to their faults and incapable of mending their ways. Gildas, transported to the twenty-first century, would have a field day. But I digress.) In her observation, Boyle neatly captures one of the fundamental problems of how we approach medieval texts: in the quixotic quest for a "pure" or "original" text, editors tidy up the messiness that makes it human. If Gildas provided the warp of *De excidio Britanniae*, the readers

who annotated or adapted it and the scribes who laboured over copying it contributed the weft. It is this essential interplay between author, reader, scribe, and text that fascinates me. I explore these relationships throughout the project. Indeed, it is impossible *not* to since the witnesses to *De excidio Britanniae* all post-date its composition. Indeed, the earliest extant, continuous witnesses to the text were copied some four centuries after its composition. Thus, even the criteria of “the older the better” has to come to terms with the multivalence and inner logic of the received texts. When one considers the interaction of texts within a codex, and even in the *Bibliotheksgeschichte* of groups of texts, the messy *humanness* of texts emerges.

My interest in the Middle Ages and its literary artefacts can be traced to my childhood when I read voraciously and was fascinated by works such as David Macaulay’s *Castle* (his other titles, such as *Cathedral*, were also well-loved and inspired many hours of play with my LEGO sets) and *D’Aulaires’ Book of Norse Myths*. When I returned to university in my early thirties to escape the intellectual misery and dead-end that I had found in accountancy, I planned to pursue studies that would lead me to a career in copy-editing or marketing or *something* – *anything*, really – other than accounting. When I discovered Professor Paul Remley’s *Arthurian Legends* course among the courses offered for the Evening Degree Program (I was still working at my day job), I was elated. It was there that I first encountered Gildas through Michael Winterbottom’s magisterial translation of Mommsen’s edition. There was something curiously compelling about Gildas’ trenchant denunciation of his contemporaries that arrested my attention. At the suggestion of one of the academic advisors, I approached Professor Remley with the idea of conducting an independent study on Gildas which he very generously agreed to supervise. Together over the course of several years, he guided my inquiries into a collection of *glossae collectae* preserved in the Leiden Glossary. Needless to say, the idea of a career in

marketing or copy-editing receded in favor of pursuing Gildas. Upon completing my undergraduate studies in 2012, I had the good fortune to continue my pursuit of Gildas (by way of the so-called Corpus Glossary) during the course of an M.Phil at the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic at the University of Cambridge. There, under the tutelage of Professors Rosalind Love and Paul Russell, I cultivated a deeper knowledge of early medieval Britain and the various peoples who inhabited it.

When I first conceived of this project in 2016, I had planned to incorporate new(ish) digital humanities tools to create an electronic transcription and various other resources that would support the work of future scholars. At that time, it seemed like a good idea to look toward the future of scholarly editing and approach the task with a digital humanities framework. I soon discovered that the tools that I had planned to use were not particularly well suited for grappling with the glosses (a form of textual messiness that is often stripped away by editors in search for the authorial text) that I planned to incorporate into my edition. Longevity was also a concern. For all of the idiosyncrasies of the various print editions of *De excidio Britanniae*, scholars can still find a use for them. Owing to the rapid clip at which electronic resources become outdated, I came to question the long-term utility of a bleeding-edge digital humanities project. As a piece of technology, the codex (despite the wiseacres whose pronouncements concerning the book's imminent death in the years since the Internet came to dominate our lives) remains fully functional with no real concerns about its eventual physical or format obsolescence. Consequently, I chose to undertake a more traditional project; in addition to adhering to an (expanded) implementation of the guidelines established for the Toronto Medieval Latin Texts series, the treatment here offers a reworking of the time-honored *mise-en-page* of the edition-with-facing-page-translation. Here, however – and in line with some groundbreaking

editions in the Norton Classroom editions – the quasi-“semblable” typography of my layout harkens back to my earlier work with digital platforms. It is my hope that this may serve for many years as a useful companion to current – and, potentially, any future – digital facsimiles of the manuscript known as Cambridge, University Library, Ff.I.27, in which the X text of *De excidio Britanniae* is now preserved. *Quod scripsi scripsi.*

Chapter 1 : Gildas and *De excidio Britanniae*: History, Transmission, and Reception

Gildas Sapiens and his work known as *De excidio et conquestu Britanniae* (hereafter *DEB*) have long been of scholarly interest. In this chapter, I shall briefly discuss the received text and its author, the surviving witnesses to *DEB*, and its reception and influence on medieval authors.¹

Gildas Sapiens

The details concerning Gildas' life and career are, at best, obscure. Owing to our dependence on his work, standing as it does as the only surviving Insular witness to the sub-Roman period, a great deal of ink has been spilled in an attempt to settle the questions related to his *floruit*, particularly those of where and when *DEB* was composed, and its value to historians for an otherwise poorly documented period of Insular history.² We have little concrete information about Gildas beyond what is found in his own text, early (before 605) references by the Irish writer Columbanus, and a few other scraps. We have no first-hand information about where or when he was born, when and where he died, or where he may have lived. There are several *vitae* for Gildas written by hagiographers, but they post-date his *floruit* by several centuries and, owing to the conventions of the genre, should not be considered reliable sources.

While many of the questions regarding Gildas are well beyond the scope of this chapter, what can be said of him is this: Gildas appears to have been a native Briton who was an

¹ Parts of this chapter originally appeared in Hardison, "Words, Meanings, and Readings," in *Viator* 47, no. 1 (2016) and are reprinted with permission.

² For a discussion of the value of the various Celtic sources for the study of the history of sub-Roman Britain, see Dumville, "Sub-Roman Britain."

ecclesiastic – possibly a deacon – and who later in life became a monk.³ Of his early life, we know nothing; nevertheless as Lapidge has illustrated, Gildas’ Latinity and the narrative structure of *DEB* reveal that he was the recipient of an excellent Late Latin education which suggests that, during his youth, Gildas had access to traditional Roman methods of instruction in Latin.⁴ Where Lapidge advanced the discussion of Gildas’ education, subsequent studies by him, Dumville, Wright, Winterbottom, and others have demonstrated scholarly approaches to Gildas and *DEB* by which we might glean information about his library and *floruit* while situating him within the context of Romano-British/early medieval Britain as it participated in cultural exchanges with the Continent.

Nevertheless, owing to the lack of concrete information within the text itself, the date when Gildas composed the text remains elusive. However, it is largely accepted that the text was composed at some point between (roughly) the second half of the fifth and the third quarter of the sixth centuries.⁵ The letter to the Roman consul Aëtius, cited by Gildas in *DEB*, may be dated to *circa* 450. Equally difficult to place is where Gildas was writing. Some scholars, such as Nicholas Higham, have advanced the argument that Gildas lived and wrote in the south.⁶ Others, such as Molly Miller, argue for a northern origin.⁷ The text is effectively silent on the matter.⁸

³ Chadwick, “Gildas and the Monastic Orders.”

⁴ Lapidge, “Gildas’s Education,” and Wright, “Gildas’s Prose Style.” For a comprehensive examination of Gildas’ Latinity, see Kerlouégan, *Le De excidio Britanniae de Gildas*.

⁵ For two of the more compelling examinations of the issues surrounding this task, see Dumville, “Gildas and Maelgwn,” and Wood, “The End of Roman Britain,” in *GNA*. Additional material on this subject may be found in the notes on Gildas’ chronology in Larpi, *Prolegomena*, pp. 7–11. The most thorough and authoritative review of the question as it presently stands has recently been undertaken by Charles-Edwards in *Wales and the Britons*, pp. 202–19.

⁶ Higham, *Rome, Britain, and the Anglo-Saxons*, p. 161.

⁷ Miller, “Bede’s Use of Gildas.”

⁸ Sims-Williams, “The Settlement of England in Bede and the *Chronicle*,” p. 5.

Written in a skillful rhetorical style, *DEB* is, in essence, a hortatory letter in which Gildas uses familiar Christian and classical *topoi* to create a rich, multivalent text. Gildas situates the history of the Britons within a moral *schema* where their tribulations and oppression are the direct result of their moral degeneracy – brought on by their *luxuria* – while the destruction and turmoil caused by the repeated incursions of the *Scotti*, *Picti*, and, later, the Germanic tribes are interpreted as divine punishment for their shortcomings and as attempts by God to encourage their amendment. The received text of *DEB* consists of 110 sections divided into four sections – a preface (§1), a history of Britain (§§2–26), the condemnation of the secular authorities (§§27–65), and a similar condemnation of the ecclesiastical élites (§§66–110). In consequence of Gildas providing the only Insular narrative for the sub-Roman period, *DEB* has often been used by historians to provide insight into the end of Roman Britain and the subsequent Germanic conquest.⁹ As an historical source, Gildas has been accused of exaggeration or reporting information incorrectly.¹⁰ Yet this view neglects the fact that Gildas was not writing a history that, in the contemporary sense, purports to deal with so many facts and figures in what might be perceived (wrongly) to be an impartial fashion. Rather, Gildas’ jeremiad fits within a tradition that interweaves the Sallustian model of Roman historiography with biblical history and employs both classical and Christian *topoi* deftly in a multifaceted fashion.¹¹

Textual Witnesses

The text of *DEB* survives in six direct witnesses and is attested to in several indirect witnesses such as the Leiden and Corpus Glossaries, the sixteenth-century editions of the text,

⁹ See Higham, *Rome, Britain, and the Anglo-Saxons*; Wood, “The Fall of the Western Empire,” and Wood, “The End of Roman Britain,” for examples of this use of *DEB*.

¹⁰ For an answer to these arguments, see McKee, “Gildas: Lessons from History.”

¹¹ The discussion of Gildas’ position as an historian has evolved considerably over the years. Ahern’s recent study on the positioning of *luxuria* as a cause for moral and physical degeneracy in Late Antique historiography offers an important advance in this area. See Ahern, “Abundance, Luxuria, and Sin,” pp. 624–9.

two pieces of hagiography dealing with the life of Gildas, and in various literary works – including Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (*HE*). Of the six surviving direct witnesses, none remain intact. In chronological order, the manuscript tradition of *DEB* is comprised of the following items:¹²

- S - Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, MS 414 78r-79v. (s. ix^{ex.} – x^{in.})
- C - London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A.vi, 1r-37v. (s. x)
- X - Cambridge, University Library, Ff.I.27, ff. 1r-7v. (s. xii)
- A - Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale, 162, ff. 48r-63v. (s. xii^{ex.})
- D - Cambridge, University Library, Dd.I.17, ff. 83r-93v. (s. xiv^{ex.} – xv^{in.})
- E - Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 6235, ff. 7r-14v. (s. xv)

I omit from this survey the indirect witnesses as I will discuss the Leiden and Corpus glossaries later in this chapter in the section treating on the reception and use of *DEB* at the Canterbury school and address the early modern editions of Polydore Vergil and John Joscelyn in Chapter 4.

S - Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, MS 414 78r-79v. (s. ix^{ex.} – x^{in.})

The earliest surviving direct witness, designated, by Luca Larpi, as *S* is found on folios 78r-79v in a composite manuscript known as Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, 414. Long overlooked or unknown, it was first described, in brief, by W. H. Davies in 1968.¹³ After Davies’ initial remarks, little was done with the Gildasian material until Larpi performed an examination of the manuscript in 2006. As Larpi notes, the results of his study revealed that the scribe had essentially compiled a collection of quotations drawn from the section of *DEB* which addresses the failures of the secular elites (§§27-65).¹⁴ Bernhard Bischoff, as reported by Larpi, assigned the manuscript to some point during the latter half of the ninth century and the first half of the

¹² For a survey of the manuscripts, their provenances, and other details about the respective witnesses, see Larpi, *Prolegomena*, pp. 20–30.

¹³ Davies, “The Church in Wales,” p. 138.

¹⁴ Larpi, “Reims MS. 144.”

tenth and assigned its origins to Brittany.¹⁵ A digital reproduction of this manuscript is now available online.¹⁶

X - Cambridge, University Library, Ff.I.27, ff. 1r-7v. (s. xii)

This is the manuscript that forms the basis of my edition and this project. The text consists of a greatly shortened preface and a version of the *historia* that had been edited by an individual named Cormac. I provide a full discussion of its physical description, foliation, and contents, as well as an exploration of the complex questions related to its dating, origin, and provenance in Chapter 2. A digital reproduction of the manuscript is available online.¹⁷

C - London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A.vi, 1r-37v. (s. x)

Badly damaged in the 1731 Ashburnham House fire, *C* is the earliest surviving witness to the text that can be securely assigned an English provenance. Long dated to the eleventh century, a recent re-evaluation of the palaeographical evidence has re-assigned it to the mid-tenth century.¹⁸ It has been assigned a probable place of origin in southern England (possibly St Augustine’s Abbey, Canterbury where it was recorded by Joscelyn as part of the abbey holdings). In his essay, “English Square Minuscule Script: The Mid-Century Phases,” Dumville posits that this witness was likely copied from a Welsh or Cornish exemplar.¹⁹ The manuscript offers the sole early medieval attestation of the full span of the work. This witness served as the basis for Mommsen’s edition and, as such, has formed contemporary understanding of the structure of *DEB*. Inferences about lost content on the basis of the early editions of Vergil, Joscelyn, and Gale are risky at best. A digital reproduction of this manuscript is available online.²⁰

¹⁵ Larpi, *Prolegomena*, p. 21.

¹⁶ <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8449007v>

¹⁷ <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-FF-00001-00027/15>

¹⁸ Larpi, *Prolegomena*, p. 22.

¹⁹ Dumville, “English Square Minuscule Script,” p. 140, n. 38.

²⁰ http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Vitellius_A_VI

A - Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, 162, ff. 48r-63v. (s. xii^{ex.})

Originating at the monastery of Mont Saint-Michel, this witness is lacunose in the middle parts of the *historia* (§§14-22) and terminates suddenly at §103. Nevertheless, it is the only surviving central medieval copy to witness the full span of the work, ranging from the *praefatio* to the castigation of the ecclesiastics. The text, as Larpi notes, is heavily emended and frequently interpolated – likely the result of efforts to clarify Gildas’ prose style. As Larpi has shown in his proposed revision to the *stemma codicum* for *DEB*, both *A* and *X* belong to the β branch of the text and ultimately derive from a common exemplar. Of the surviving manuscript witnesses, *A* has the closest relationship to *X*. A digital reproduction of this manuscript is available online.²¹

D - Cambridge, University Library, Dd.I.17, ff. 83r-93v. (s. xiv^{ex.} – xv^{in.})

This late manuscript was likely produced in northern England using *C* as its exemplar. Lacunose, it is missing the *praefatio* and the first two chapters of the text as well as most of the third. The manuscript was corrected by Joscelyn against *C* and was used by him in the preparation of his edition. It was, according to Joscelyn, held as part of the collection at Glastonbury Abbey. The manuscript has also been associated by W. H. Davies with annotations preserved in the annotated copy of Joscelyn’s edition now held at Heidelberg, Public Library (formerly with provenance in Cambridge and London) given the siglum *H* by Mommsen.²²

E - Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 6235, ff. 7r-14v. (s. xi)

Once owned by William Cecil, Lord Burghley, this witness was taken to the Continent after his death. This witness, as Larpi describes it, consists of extracts from the *historia* (chapters 3-9, 11-12) that have had text omitted or been substantially shortened in other ways. The

²¹ <https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/17926/canvas/canvas-1460966/view>

²² For a discussion on the value of *H* as a textual witness to *DEB*, see Davies, “Gildas: Some Textual Notes and Corrections,” pp. 47–8.

manuscript includes a copy of the eleventh-century *Encomium Emmae reginae* which is, quite bizarrely, attributed here to Gildas!

Reading *DEB* in the Middle Ages

The survival of multiple copies of *DEB* and the evidence of indirect witnesses such as Bede and the Corpus and Leiden glossaries attest to the interest the work held for medieval readers. Nevertheless, compared to other early Insular Latin texts, its interest may have been somewhat limited and appears, if William of Newburgh's observation is any indication, to have waned by the later twelfth century despite the interest displayed by Geoffrey of Monmouth and other historians.²³ Although Gildas enjoyed a reputation as saint and historian, the decline from the ninth century onward in actual engagement with and use of *DEB* may, perhaps, have been the result of the work's Late Antique literary style falling out of fashion at a time when the memory of those whom Gildas castigated had grown dim as a new cultural hegemony took root.²⁴ While Gildas might not have been read widely at any point, authors writing in more approachable Latin repurposed his narrative within a century or so to support their own rhetorical aims. In this section, I shall briefly review what evidence survives of Gildas' influence on subsequent authors and works.

Columbanus (c. 543 – 615)

Owing to the general scarcity of extant texts written by early medieval Insular authors, we are fortunate that considerable evidence for Gildas *auctor* – an authoritative writer, historian, and teacher – survives in the works of an early (and major) Hiberno-Latin author, Columbanus of

²³ On this point, see Wright, "Geoffrey of Monmouth and Gildas," p. 3. I discuss Newburgh's perspective on Gildas and *DEB* below on pp. 63–4.

²⁴ For example, there are over forty witnesses to *HB* extant while Bede's *HE* survives in no fewer than 166 manuscript witnesses.

Bangor (and, later, Luxeuil and Bobbio). Indeed, Gildas is mentioned by name twice in Columbanus' letter (*Epistula* I) to Gregory the Great written *circa* 600 CE.²⁵ Written in the context of his dispute with the Gallic clergy over the celebration of Easter, Columbanus' first reference to Gildas accompanies an allusion to the condemnation of simoniac clergy in chapter 67 of *DEB*: *ceterum de episcopis illis quid iudicas, interrogo, qui contra canones ordinatur, id est quaestu; simoniacos et Gildas auctor pestes scripsit eos.*²⁶ Columbanus' knowledge of Gildas was not limited to *DEB*, however, as slightly later, he recounts that, on the subject of well-intentioned monks who, despite the wishes of their abbots, leave their monastery, "*Uennianus auctor Gildam de his interrogavit, et elegantissime ille recripsit.*"²⁷ Yet, the saint's familiarity with Gildas does not end with these citations. In further studies of Columbanus' *Epistulae*, Michael Winterbottom and Neil Wright have shown that his knowledge of *DEB* spans the breadth of these letters and appears in the form of allusions, verbal echoes, and direct citation. Moreover, they have shown that Columbanus drew heavily on Gildas' literary style in his own writings. Gildas' influence on Columbanus, however, is not limited to his *epistulae*. Indeed, Clare Stancliffe and Wright have both identified clear relationships between *DEB* and the *Instructiones* that have been long associated with Columbanus. In her very cogent study of these sermons, Stancliffe has pointed to their author's extensive knowledge of Gildas as evidence that they indeed were composed by Columbanus. To date, however, the evidence of Columbanus'

²⁵ The standard edition of the works of Columbanus is *Sancti Columbani Opera*, ed. & trans. by Walker. For ease of reference, I cite the number of the *epistula*, the relevant section assigned by Walker, the page number and, where relevant, the line numbers in Walker's edition.

²⁶ "Concerning those bishops, however, who ordain uncanonically, that is for hire, I ask what you decree; Gildas the writer set them down as simoniacs and plagues." Columbanus, *Epistula* I.6, p. 8.

²⁷ "Finnian the writer questioned Gildas about them, and he sent a most polished reply." Columbanus, *Epistula* I.7, p. 8. We are incredibly fortunate that Gildas' reply to Finnian has survived albeit in fragmentary form. This has been published alongside Mommsen's edition of *DEB* and in Winterbottom's edition and translation.

defense for writing

In hac epistola quicquid
deflendo potius quam
declamando, uili licet stilo,
tamen benigno, fuero
prosecutus, ne quis me affectu
cunctos spernentis omnibusue
melioris, quippe qui commune
bonorum dispendium
malorumque cumulum
lacrimosis querelis defleam,
sed condolentis patriae
incommoditatibus miseriisque
eius ac remediis condelectantis
edicturum putet. Quia non tam
fortissimorum militum
enuntiare trucis belli pericula
mihi statutum est quam
desidiosorum, silui, fateor,
cum immenso cordis dolore, ut
mihi renum scrutator testis est
dominus, spatio bilustri
temporis uel eo amplius
praetereuntis, imperitia sic ut
et nunc una cum uilibus me
meritis inhibentibus ne
qualemcumque
admonitiunculam scriberem.

respondeo non esse
praesumptionem ubi constat
esse necessitatem³¹

necessariae insinuationem
praesumptionis meae³²
Quid enim tacebit peregrinus
Christianus, quod iam diu
declamat vicinus Arrianus?³³
dolendum enim ac deflendum
est si in sede apostolica fides
catholica non tenetur.³⁴
lacrimis in his opus est magis
quam uerbis³⁵
necessitate magis quam
cenodoxia scribere **coactus**
sum³⁶

compulsion to speak

seu cogitatum rationibus vel
fratrum religionis precibus
coactus

³¹ *Epistula* V.2, p. 36, ln. 27.

³² *Epistula* V.3, p. 38, lns. 33–4.

³³ *Epistula* V.2, p. 36, lns. 29–30.

³⁴ *Epistula* V.9, p. 46, lns. 1–2.

³⁵ *Epistula* V.12, p. 50, lns. 20–1.

³⁶ *Epistula* V.16, p. 54, lns. 22–3.

author's worthlessness	Nam si haec surdis auribus audias, prophetas contempnas, Christum despicias, nosque, licet vilissimae qualitatis simus, nullius momenti ducas	non igitur pro vanitate aut procacitate scribere vilissimae qualitatis homunculus tam praecelsis viris praesumo ³⁷
weak ship on stormy sea	Quid ... in despecta ingenii nostri cymbula fluctuabimur	Sed quia fragilis ingenii cymba non tam in altum iuxta verbum Domini ducta est ³⁸ exaltans quasi tuba vocem tuam annunties populo domini tui, tibi ab eo commisso, peccata eorum et domui Iacob iniquitates eorum. ³⁹
obligation to proclaim sin	“si non ego implevero fortitudinem in spiritu et virtute domini ut enuntiem domui Iacob peccata eorum et domui Israhel sclere eorum”	in campo potius torpentis quam pugnantis, et partim, quod lacrimabilius est, adversariis potius manus dantis quam resistentis, periculum pertinet ⁴⁰
ineffectual army	non tam fortissimorum militum...quam desidiosorum	
	non militaris in mari classis parata fortiter dimicare pro patria nec quadratum agmen neque dextrum cornu aliive belli apparatus in litore conseruntur, sed terga pro scuto fugantibus dantur et colla gladiis, gelido per ossa tremore currente Statuitur ad haec in edito arcis acies, segnis ad pugnam, inhabilis ad fugam, tremantibus praecordiis inepta, quae diebus ac noctibus stupid sedili marcebat	
long rope of sin	hunc inolitorum scelerum funem per tot annorum spatia ininterrupte lateque protractum	ne igitur hoc fune erroris longissimo liget latro antiquus homines ⁴¹
Christians as sheep troubled by wolves	illi priores inimici ac si ambrones lupi profunda fame rabidi, siccis faucibus ovile	populus...tamquam grex pavidus turbatur et inde non cito securus est quia tantos Italia lupos habuit, quorum

³⁷ *Epistula* V.2, p. 38, lns. 1–2.

³⁸ *Epistula* V.8, p. 44, lns. 22–3.

³⁹ *Epistula* V.5, pp. 40–2, lns. 34–2.

⁴⁰ *Epistula* V.7, p. 44, lns. 1–3.

⁴¹ *Epistula* V.9, p. 44, lns. 29–30.

	transilientes non comparente pastore	catuli vix toti possunt elidi, dum nimirum inter antra tanti enutriti sunt. ⁴²
	Saxones...quasi in caulas lupi...intromitterentur tum erumpens grex catulorum de cubili leaenae barbarae	
bull as symbol of pride	illis quibus praecipitanter involvi solent pingues tauri moduli tui retibus pinguedinis gratia taurorum more raucos	quique oliginosis †celotes† paelearibus ⁴³
carnage imagery	cadaverum frustra crustis ac si gelantibus purpurei cruoris tectata ita ut sacrificii caelestis sedem purpurea ac si coagulati cruoris pallia attingerent	acsi campi bellici roscidus cadaverum ac madidus post pugnam contemplator ⁴⁴

Verbal echoes identified by Wright⁴⁵

Motif	Gildas	Columbanus
Church hastening to Kingdom of God	Ita ut agmine denso certatim...ad amoena caelorum regna... <i>tota</i> <i>festinaret ecclesia</i>	ut...uno impetu feruoris nimii <i>tota ad caelestia festinet</i> <i>ecclesia</i> ⁴⁶
key-bearer to Kingdom of God	<i>clavicularius ille caelorum</i> <i>regni</i>	ille enim certus <i>regni caelorum</i> <i>clavicularius est</i> ⁴⁷
reverence due	<i>salva sanctarum animarum</i> <i>reverentia</i>	<i>salva sanctorum reverentia</i> <i>cinerum</i> ⁴⁸

⁴² *Epistula* V.4, p. 40, lns. 10–4.

⁴³ *Epistula* V.14, p. 52, ln. 29.

⁴⁴ *Epistula* V.8, p. 44, ln. 19.

⁴⁵ Wright, "Columbanus's *Epistulae*," pp. 82–7.

⁴⁶ *Epistula* II.8, p. 22, lns. 9–10.

⁴⁷ *Epistula* V.11, p. 50, lns. 3–4.

⁴⁸ *Epistula* I.8, p. 10, ln. 9.

numbness to obligation	qui <i>torpetis potius quam</i> sedetis legitime in sacerdotali sede	totius exercitus Domini...in campo <i>potius torpentis quam</i> pugnantis et...adversariis potius <i>manus dantis</i> quam resistentis ⁴⁹
surrendering to enemy	alii... <i>manus</i> hostibus <i>dabant</i> , in aeuum seruituri	
sea is no barrier	non acies flammae quodammodo rigidi tenoris ad occidentem caeruleo oceani torrente potuit uel cohiberi uel extingui	Ausonici decoris...urbis...nomen...totum per orbem usque in occidua transmundialis limitis loca, triundialibus...pelagi uorticibus...non prohibentibus longe lateque uulgatum est. ⁵⁰

Gildasian vocabulary identified by Wright⁵¹

Word	Gildas	Columbanus
intransmeabilis	<i>intransmeabili</i> undique circulo...vallata	insuauis scilicet <i>intransmeabilique</i> non tam <i>tithis uisibilis</i> quam <i>intelligibilis dorso</i> , quod optime nostis, opposito.
Tithys visibilis	trans <i>Tithicam</i> vallem insulae...soli <i>uisibili</i> non proximae, uerus ille non de firmamento solum temporali sed de summa etiam caelorum arce...praeifulgidum suit coruscum ostendens Christus	
intelligibilis	affectu saltem <i>intelligibilis</i> asinae	
dorsum	ac si montanus torrens...sulcato <i>dorso</i> ...mirabiliter spumans	

⁴⁹ *Epistula* V.7, pp. 42–4, lns. 38, 1–3.

⁵⁰ *Epistula* V.11, p. 48, lns. 18–23.

⁵¹ Wright, “Columbanus’s *Epistulae*,” p. 85.

Gildasian phrases identified by Wright⁵²			
Gildas	Loc	Columbanus	Loc
<i>In hoc namque sermone lacrimis magis quam uerbis opus est</i>	<i>DEB</i> 108	<i>Lacrimis in his opus magis quam uerbis est</i>	<i>Epistula</i> V.12, <i>Instructio</i> XI.3
alii montanis collibus minacibus praeruptis uallatis et densissimis altibus marinisque rupibus uitam <i>suspecta semper mente</i> credentes, in patria licet trepidi prope est dies Domini - si prope tunc erat, quid nunc putabitur?	<i>DEB</i> 25	<i>suspecta semper mente</i> illum tremendum diuinii iudicii aduentum indesinenter cogitate	<i>Instructio</i> IX.1
<i>uili licet stylo</i>	<i>DEB</i> 1	nos <i>uiles licet</i>	<i>Instructio</i> II.1
		me, <i>uilem licet</i>	<i>Epistula</i> II.9 <i>Instructio</i> XII.2
<i>auriga currus</i> receptaculi ursi	<i>DEB</i> II	<i>auriga currus</i> illius	<i>Epistula</i> V.11
<i>licet tepide</i>	<i>DEB</i> I	<i>licet tepide</i>	<i>Epistula</i> II.6
quanta <i>ecclesiae matri laetitia</i>	<i>DEB</i> II	<i>laetitia ecclesiae matris</i>	<i>Epistula</i> V.17
uirgultis crescentibus et in immanem siluam iam iamque erumpentibus	<i>DEB</i> 1	in immanem nominum siluam creuerunt	<i>Regula monachorum</i> VIII
diuina, ut dicitur, statera terrae totius ponderatrice	<i>DEB</i> 1	quasi in quadam ponderatrice statera	<i>Regula monachorum</i> VIII
dei contempotor sortisque eius depressor	<i>DEB</i> 2	animi depressor	<i>Epistula</i> VI.2

⁵² Wright, "Columbanus's *Epistulae*," pp. 82–7.

Verbal echoes observed by Stancliffe⁵³

Gildas	Loc	Columbanus	Loc
sacris orationibus...quasi columnis quibus dam ac fulcris saluberrimis	<i>DEB</i> 26	quasi quibusdam fulcris tuae dirige fulcrum sententiae	<i>Instructio</i> I.2 <i>Epistula</i> I.4
in hunc ... odia telaque sine respectu contorquebantur	<i>DEB</i> 21	in aduersarios nostros tela torqueremus	<i>Instructio</i> II.3

Potentially Gildasian vocabulary observed by Stancliffe⁵⁴

Word	Gildas	Loc	Columbanus	Loc
caelicola	germanam eius, pepertuam deo uiduitatis castimoniam promittentem, ut poeta ait, summam ceu teneritudinem caelicolarum	<i>DEB</i> 32	Quis enim intellgeit uel semetipsum uel alterum, florem terrae et terram de terra factum, qua dignitate Dei filium et caelicolam facit terra et puluis post modicum futurus...	<i>Instructio</i> III.1
nutabundus	Interea famis dira ac famosissima vagis ac nutabundis haeret	<i>DEB</i> 20	et sic semper mobilis et nutabundus per cetera vitae meae spatia ero	<i>Instructio</i> VI.1
remordere	conscientia forte peccaminum remordente	<i>DEB</i> 34	de poena in poenam animo remordente mutabuntur	<i>Instructio</i> IX.1

The material marshalled by Winterbottom, Wright, and Stancliffe has the effect of negating the force of early arguments for the disunity (or even multiple authorship) of the text assigned to *DEB*. The evidence from Columbanus provides clear proof that *DEB* had its received form by c. 600.

⁵³ See Stancliffe, "Thirteen Sermons," p. 109.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 169–74.

Cummian (*s. vii ante med.*)

Cummian or Cummianus (likely from Cumméne) is the author of a letter known as *De controversia paschali*.⁵⁵ Addressed to his contemporaries, Ségéne, the abbot of Iona, and an eremitic correspondent named Béccán, Cummian's letter appears to be written in response to their criticism of the practices of churches in southern Ireland during the seventh-century controversy over the proper system for calculating the Easter feast that roiled Insular Christendom (and those continental monasteries and centers with close Irish connections). Of Cummian himself, we know very little. Cummian's familiarity with and his debt to *DEB* lies in how he framed the arguments that he adduces in support of his position. From Winterbottom's initial observation in his study of the preface to *DEB* that, "it [Gildas' *praefatio*] so struck the Irishman Cummian as to dictate the form of much of his celebrated letter to Seghene...on the Easter question. Cummian too delayed (in his case for a year...) before pronouncing on the new cycle (*silui*~ Gildas 1.2) and he too employed the interval reading the authorities which he deploys in his letter."⁵⁶ Later research by Maura Walsh examined Cummian's sources to illustrate his access to a well-stocked library, yet Walsh did not discuss Gildas.⁵⁷ This is a curious omission in the light of Winterbottom's statement as well as the simple fact that the text is redolent of *DEB*. Indeed, as Thomas Charles-Edwards has recently stated:

Here we have the same intellectual procedures as in Gildas's *De Excidio*, and even verbal echoes of the text. ... Cummian's letter is also of admonition; he also opens by explaining that he has delayed and hesitated before writing the letter; he also follows the same procedure of working through the Bible, the Old Testament

⁵⁵ The standard edition for Cummian's letter and related materials is found in *Cummian's Letter De Controversia Paschali and the De Ratione Computandi*, ed. and trans. Walsh and Ó Cróinín.

⁵⁶ Winterbottom, "The Preface of Gildas' 'De Excidio'," p. 286, n. 38.

⁵⁷ For an examination of Cummian's sources and influences, see Walsh, "Some Remarks on Cummian," pp. 216–29.

preceding the New, and then other authoritative texts, to find evidence for his judgement on the issue at stake. Just as Gildas's Preface has an autobiographical tinge to it, in that the texts and examples he has assembled are presented as things that 'I have read' or 'seen' while meditating anxiously on the state of Britain, so Cummian presents his collection of evidence as material that 'I have found'.⁵⁸

In another example, Cummian, after citing his biblical sources, employs the refrain *hoc timui* which, as Winterbottom states, "again recalls Gildas."⁵⁹ Although the text of *De controversia paschali* does not display the same extent of direct borrowing that we find in Columbanus' works, the overall affect of the letter is grounded in the *praefatio* of *DEB*.

Cogitosus (*fl. c. 650*)

An Irishman of Kildare, Cogitosus was the author of an early hagiography of Saint Brigid (*Vita sanctae Brigidae*). What little we know of the author is derived from Muirchú Maccu Mactheni's dedicatory preface to his *Vita sancti Patricii* in which he claims to be following the lead of his father whom he names as Cogitosus. Based on his analysis of the external evidence from Muirchú and the textual evidence of *Vita sanctae Brigidae*, Esposito proposed a floruit of 620–80 for Cogitosus. Evidence for Cogitosus' knowledge of Gildas is found late in the *Vita sanctae Brigidae*, in his description of the church where Brigid's relics are venerated, "*Ecclesia namque crescente numero fidelium et utroque sexu, solo spatiosa, et in altum minaci proceritate porrecta.*" This, Winterbottom suggests, was drawn directly from *DEB* 3, "*culmina minaci proceritate porrecta in edito,*" although the same phraseology seems to have appealed to Aldhelm as well as the Corpus glossators.

⁵⁸ Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons*, p. 208.

⁵⁹ Winterbottom, "Aldhelm's Prose Style and Its Origins," p. 54.

Hisperica famina (s. vii)

Surviving in four direct witnesses (of which only one – the A-text – appears to be complete), the *Hisperica famina* is a curious composition by one (or more) anonymous authors of the seventh century.⁶⁰ Standing at the head of the so-called “Hisperic” tradition of Latinity, the text is marked by abstruse diction and peculiar style. Herren, building on the work of earlier scholars, has shown that the authors were clearly conversant with *DEB* as there are many points of correspondence between the two texts, although some of these intersections may appear in only one of the surviving witnesses to the *Hisperica famina*. In the table below, I present the correspondences noted by Herren. I provide the source text from Gildas and its location referencing Mommsen’s edition. Against this, I offer the passage(s) in which the lexeme or phrase appears in the *Hisperica famina*. Since the A-text is the only witness that is not obviously lacunose, I have elected to restrict my focus to that text except where the lexeme or phrase is absent from it, but appears in one of the other witnesses or evidently related texts such as the poem *Rubisca*. These I have listed in a second table.

Points of Correspondence in <i>Hisperica famina</i> (A-Text)				
Lexeme	<i>DEB</i>	Loc	<i>Hisperica famina</i>	Loc
lacrimosus	quippe qui commune bonorum dispendium malorumque cumulum	p. 25, ln. 3	veternas mesta genitrix	A81
	lacrimosis querelis defleam post ingressum ignotae ac si Iordanis portae urbisque adversa moenia solis tubarum clangoribus iussu dei subruta		lacrimosis irrigat genas guttis	
clangor		p. 25, ln. 16	ac florigera resonare clangore per arua	A83
			Ut quid nos tonitruoso sermonum obruis clangore	A205
			verbalisque reboet clangor	A216

⁶⁰ Although Michael Herren advanced a fairly narrow period in the middle of the seventh century for the composition of the *Hisperica famina* in his edition of the A-text, I have adopted here the more conservative dating presented by Lapidge and Sharpe in their *Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature*. For Herren’s discussion of the dating and provenance of the *Hisperica famina*, see Herren, *Hisperica Famina*, pp. 32–9.

furibundus	quamquam ingrato ac furibundo	p. 27, ln. 20	ac furibundus teneram superat ursus bidentem Sed furibundos percellam amite amiclios ut furibunda evadam discrimina quidam furibundus armatorum latrunculus	A114 A275 A570 A573
piaculum	Cuius tam nefandi piaculi non ignarus est immundae leaenae Damnoniae tyrannicus catulus Constantinus.	p. 41, ln. 28	Caetera notantur piacula	
genetrix	sanctorum demum choris et genetrice comitantibus fretis amarissima enim quoddam de vite Sodomorum in cordis sui infructuosa bono semini gleba surculamen incredulitatis et insipientiae plantaverat	p. 42, ln. 2	veternas mesta genetrix lacrimosis irrigat genas guttis	A81
gleba	et revertenti sibi laetus occidere consuevit vitulum filio saginatum et proferre primam erranti stolam et regium anulum	p. 42, ln. 13	ca<m>paneas aculeant glevas	A150
saginat	et revertenti sibi laetus occidere consuevit vitulum filio saginatum et proferre primam erranti stolam et regium anulum	p. 42, ln. 27	saginat stricta mactat iuuencum ligitur[i]a sagintas pecodis dudum tegebat pernas	A99 A521
stolam	et revertenti sibi laetus occidere consuevit vitulum filio saginatum et proferre primam erranti stolam et regium anulum	p. 42, ln. 27	argentea<s> fuluis figite lunulas stolis alii cic[i]nias †castant† mediadis stolas	A194 A501
mortiferus	nonne pacem patriae mortiferum ceu serpentem odiens civiliaque bella et crebras iniuste praedas sitiens animae tuae calestis portas pacis ac refrigerii praecludis?	p. 43, ln. 6	repentina mortiferum irruerint voragine claustrum mortifera spoliant vestium strue cadavera	A425 A609
gurgites	quid te tam violenti peccatorum gurgites	p. 43, ln. 21	immensasque murmureo gurgite gestat scaphas	A414

sorbes	quos ut vinum optimum sorbes	p. 43, ln. 22	Quae dulciora sorbuistis solamina?	A297
essor	Urse multorum sessor aurigaeque currus receptaculi Ursi	p. 44, ln. 4	ferreosque soluunt sessoros cruribus sigellos	A169
auriga	Urse multorum sessor aurigaeque currus receptaculi Ursi	p. 44, ln. 4	ad tritas fra[n]gosis motibus meant aurigas [arrigas <i>MS</i>]	A168
			ferreos soniipedum fulcris nectunt aurigae sigillos	A315
globus	quam malum et amarum est reliquisse te dominum deum tuum et non esse timorem eius apud te et in futuro taetro ignium globo aeternorum te exuri nec tamen ullo modo mori	p. 44, ln. 21	nec futura temporalis globi per pagula	A47
			Ob hoc alma civiilis globi adeamus moenia	A319
palatus/palare	palata solum longe lateque per auras admissa testaturam	p. 45, ln. 5	Hinc mirificumtibi ingenioso libramine palo consultum	A76
angelicus	angelicis vultibus humanisque	p. 45, ln. 18	Angelicas olimpius suffulcit cateruas thronus	A376
ovilis	si non lupus callidus ille agnum ex lupo factum te ab ovili dominico	p. 46, ln. 2	Insontes dividuant ovilia <oi>ides	A159
doctores	nam et nunc certum est aliquos esse doctores contrario spiritu repletos et magis pravam voluptatem quam veritatem adserentes	p. 50, ln. 25	Doctoreum quaternis segregate chorum rithmis	A280
			ut hunc doctoreum colligerit diversorio coetum	A322
			quidam de hoc doctorereo congelamine sumantem adeat mancipator laticem	A210
			sed doctoreas effeto conamine comitaris historum turmas	A75
			aequali doctoreas torreo feruore cateruas	A97
			ne doctoreas rhetorum gravaverit vena<s>	A476
			ne doctoreis suscitavero fastidium castris	A530

	<p>iustos inopes immanes quasi angues torvis vultibus conspicantes et scleratos divites absque ullo verecundiae respectu sicut caelestes angelos venerantes dein cum magno apparatu magnaue fantasia uel potius insania repedantes ad patriam ex erecto erectiorem incessum pingunt et dudum summitates montium conspicantes nunc recte ad aethera uel ad summa nubium uellera luminum semidormitantes acies librant ac sese nova quaedam plasmata</p>			
torvis vultibus		p. 62, ln. 13	rostratas torvis fluctibus fulcit carinas	A412
aether		p. 64, ln. 5	mundanum vasto aethere proflant in follum priusquam atroces alitum veherent in aethera ungues	A488 A599
librare	<p>dein cum magno apparatu magnaue fantasia uel potius insania repedantes ad patriam ex erecto erectiorem incessum pingunt et dudum summitates montium conspicantes nunc recte ad aethera uel ad summa nubium uellera luminum semidormitantes acies librant ac sese nova quaedam plasmata</p>	p. 64, ln. 6	caloreum libraverit tactum alii nocturnas librent excubias	A269 A356
schema	<p>violenter manus non tam venerabilibus aris quam flammis inferni ultricibus dignas in tali schema positi sacrosanctis Christi sacrificiis extensuri</p>	p. 64, ln. 9	Innumera caeli cacuminis astant scemata Caetera non explico famine scemata	A379 A529
speculari	<p>qui haec tantum avide speculantur</p>	p. 64, ln. 13	equiperatam fulgidi rumoris speculabimur cateruam ac litterales speculamini apices	A48 A198

foveam	caecai educti a caecis pariter in inferni foveam cadetis liberato iusto regum quinque victriciumque turmarum exercitus ferales vincentibus et nequaquam aliena cupientibus sacrificum offerens	p. 64, ln. 16	Holerosa profundae separant rura foveae	A470
turma ⁶¹		p. 65, ln. 3	Frondicomas avitica orba latebras turma	A149
coruscus	mucrone corusco exactores sui spoliaverunt et mulieres dominatae sunt eius	p. 66, ln. 21	flammiuomo seca polum corusco supernum	
exactores		p. 70, ln. 11	Quislibet comptam exactor poscat editricem	A292
suillus	quasi qui sanguinem suillum offerat qui non tam nostra quam dei despiciunt fastidiunt avertunt, proteletur, simplicter et absque ullo verborum circuitio congesta uel congerenda sunt	p. 71, ln. 4	suillum [suillem <i>MS</i>] sorbent faucibus pastum	A590
protelare		p. 78, ln. 3	uti honorificam protelaverint acculae mansiam	A339
in agone queis = quis for quibus	nam et qui contendit in agone	p. 82, ln. 13	ob <hoc> cunctos †lastro in agonem coaevos quis alterni inherent crepitu not[h]i in quis compta lusit c<a>e[l]atura	A36 A486 A534
tithicus/titicus	quibus sunt trans Tithicam vallem evecti	p. 35, lns. 8– 9	tithicum tellato vixerit seminarium in temino tithico terrestrem obvallat limbo crepidinem Tithica aetherium irrigant stilli<ci>dia girum tithica flectit telluri cerula	A107 A563 A390 A481
sablones	opertisque sablone capitibus de deifico tenore monachorumque decretis sub dente primum multa ruminans	p. 34, ln. 4	terrestres suffodiunt rostris sablones	A164
ruminare		p. 45, ln. 16	holerosa sennosis motibus ruminant pabula erumnosos ruminant †gurgustos	A158 A418

⁶¹ Herren notes that this word is used frequently across variants and lists these in the *index verborum* for his edition. I offer here but one example in the interest of space. For a fuller treatment of this word, see Herren, *Hisperica Famina*, p. 233.

			carniferas pressis dentibus ruminavimus pernas	A300
macero	solo nomen Romanae servitutis haerere facturos ac non tam militari manu quam flagris callidam gentem maceratuos et	p. 30, ln. 18	cuius pitheum assiles macerat rostrum cidones ne pitheis truces maceraverint †mediada spiculis crudeles	A35 A234

The following lexemes or phrases are absent from the A-text of *Hisperica famina*, but are preserved in other witnesses to the text and closely related materials.

Points of Correspondence in Other Witnesses				
Lexeme	DEB	Loc	Hisperica famina	Loc
tyrones	et amicale quibusque egregiis Christi tironibus	p.27, ln. 23	que fulmineo candore congelat tiriones	B107
barathrum Tartari	merito proiciatur in tartari barathrum	p. 46, ln. 15	irruit belua vorotrum	B199
plasma	dein cum magno apparatu magnaue fantasia uel potius insania repedantes ad patriam ex erecto erectiorem incesum pingunt et dudum summitates montium conspicantes nunc recte ad aethera uel ad summa nubium uelleram luminum semidormitantes acies librant ac sese nova quaedam plasmata	p. 64, ln. 6	mutuum palatus plasma	D9
carbone	carbone ignito de altari forcipe Cherubin advecto Quibus statim Romam ob inopiam, ut aiebant, cespitis repedantibus	p. 67, ln. 3	plicat carbone flamas	D27
cespitis		p. 30, ln. 5	cespitis <i>telluris</i>	C16
Lexeme	DEB	Loc	Rubisca	Loc
molossi	more molossi aegri	p. 46, ln. 7	molosi rerum res dominatur	79

Given the paucity of Brittonic Latin sources from the early medieval period, it is difficult to assess the significance of the fact that the early Celtic citations of Gildas (down to c. 700) occur exclusively in the works of Irish authors. At any rate it is clear that texts of *DEB* had been transmitted to Ireland by c. 600 and possibly some deal earlier.

Canterbury School (669 – 690)

For the *magistri* at Canterbury, Gildas' rich, learned Late Antique Latin prose style and his choice of subject matter in *DEB* would have unquestionably drawn attention to the text. Indeed, their interest in *DEB* has been preserved in a number of sources; evidence of the pedagogy at Canterbury has been detected, in particular, in two groups of closely related bodies of texts: the so-called Leiden-family glossaries and the "English group" of glossaries.⁶² Of primary interest to this, project, however, are the eighth-century Leiden Glossary (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vossianus Latinus Quarto 69)⁶³ and the ninth-century Corpus Glossary (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 144)⁶⁴ both of which preserve materials that were traced to *DEB* over the course of the twentieth century. The connection between Leiden (and, by extension, Corpus) with the Canterbury school was realized by Lapidge after completing a painstaking examination of the former glossary. In his study, Lapidge argued that the batches of *glossae collectae* preserved in Leiden were very likely to have been drawn from the texts studied

⁶² For a discussion on the so-called "English group" of glossaries, see Lindsay, "Abstrusa Glossary," p. 120; Pheifer, "Early Anglo-Saxon Glossaries," pp. 18–9. For the palaeographical information related to the specific glossaries in the "English group," see Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*; additional palaeographic material may be found in Pheifer's introduction to his edition of the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary, see Pheifer, *Old English Glosses*; another survey is found in Bischoff, et al., eds., *The Épinal, Erfurt, Werden, and Corpus Glossaries*.

⁶³ The standard edition of the Leiden Glossary is *A Late Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary: Preserved in the Library of the Leiden University*, edited by Hessels.

⁶⁴ The standard print edition of the Corpus Glossary is *An Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary Preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, edited by Hessels. The Parker Library at Corpus Christ College, Cambridge, in collaboration with Stanford University Libraries, has published a digital facsimile of CCCC 144 online at Parker Library on the Web. It can be accessed at <https://dms-data.stanford.edu/data/manifests/Parker/mz111xq7301/manifest.json>.

under the Canterbury *magistri* and might thus provide insight into the school's program of study. Although scholars have begun considering the evidence of the other authors represented in the glossary, producing significant results, comparatively little has been done with the Gildasian material.

The Leiden Glossary

The Leiden Glossary, as described in a recent study by Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr., survives in a composite manuscript of fifty-four folios comprised of at least six different codicological units, the dating of which spans the ninth through thirteenth centuries.⁶⁵ The glossary itself is preserved between folios 20r and 36r of the second part of the manuscript (which comprises folios 7–47) and has been given a date of copying at some point in the late-eighth or early-ninth centuries.⁶⁶ It consists of five quires each of which originally possessed eight leaves and one quire of twelve leaves. Of the fifty-two leaves which initially formed the glossary, forty-one have survived. Multiple scribes were responsible for its production, but the script is, by and large, as Bremmer notes, “in a minuscule typical for the St Gall scriptorium, but sometimes with insular characteristics.”⁶⁷ The glossary, unlike the other members of the “English group,” is clearly in an early stage of compilation.⁶⁸

Contained within the Leiden Glossary are forty-eight numbered groups of glosses drawn from a variety of biblical and non-biblical sources. Amongst the non-biblical material represented in the glossary are *lemmata* excerpted from works by Athanasius, Cassian, Donatus

⁶⁵ For a detailed examination of the codicological features of this manuscript, see Bremmer, “Schoolbook, or Proto-Encyclopaedic Miscellany?” pp. 19–53.

⁶⁶ The glossary has, on the strength of the palaeographical evidence, been dated to the latter half of the eighth century. Arguments for an early ninth-century date of compilation may be found in Griffiths, “The Glosses on the *Regula S. Benedicti*,” pp. 55–83.

⁶⁷ See Bremmer, “Schoolbook, or Proto-Encyclopaedic Miscellany?” p. 22.

⁶⁸ See Lindsay, “The Abstrusa Glossary and the *Liber Glossarum*,” pp. 119–31. See also Pheifer, “Early Anglo-Saxon Glossaries,” pp. 17–44.

the Grammarian, Isidore of Seville, Jerome, Rufinus, Sulpicius Severus, and Gildas Sapiens.⁶⁹ Notably, material found within the *glossae collectae* belonging to the Leiden Glossary has been shown by Lindsay to be present within the closely related Épinal-Erfurt and Corpus glossaries—a fact that often provides an important check when studying these glosses.⁷⁰ If Lapidge’s hypothesis regarding the origin and transmission of the material preserved in the Leiden Glossary is correct, that “all the batches of glosses originated in a single centre and were transmitted sometimes whole, sometimes piecemeal to continental centres...,” then it seems reasonable to suggest that Leiden might not preserve the entirety of the Gildasian material produced at Canterbury.⁷¹ Sadly, the precise manner in which these glosses were transmitted to the Continent is lost to history. Yet, it is entirely plausible that the work of the original glossators was compiled and subsequently carried to the Continent in the course of the Anglo-Saxon missions as a pedagogical aid.⁷² Whether the exemplar that was used at Sankt Gallen was the original carried directly from Canterbury or was a copy produced elsewhere can, obviously, never be ascertained beyond question.

The identification of Gildasian material in the Leiden Glossary occurred while Placidus Glogger was engaged in the preparation of his edition of the glossary in 1901.⁷³ At the time, he identified two of its constituent batches of *glossae collectae* – VI *Incipit brevis exsolutio* and XL

⁶⁹ For a detailed list of the chapters and their contents, see Bremmer, “Schoolbook, or Proto-Encyclopaedic Miscellany?” pp. 27–8.

⁷⁰ Lindsay, *The Corpus, Épinal, Erfurt, and Leyden Glossaries*, p. 2.

⁷¹ This is a point that I plan to consider in greater detail in a forthcoming analysis of the putative Gildasian material preserved across the “English group” of glossaries. On the subject of the origin of the material, see Lapidge, “School of Theodore and Hadrian,” pp. 57–8.

⁷² For a study of how the second part of the manuscript Voss. Lat. Q. 69 – which includes the *glossae collectae* being examined here – formed the basis of a pedagogical text, see Bremmer, “Schoolbook or Proto-Encyclopaedic Miscellany?” pp. 19–54.

⁷³ Glogger, *Das Leidener Glossar*.

Item incipiunt Uerba – as predominately Gildasian.⁷⁴ After his fellow philologist, Jan Hendrik Hessels, contacted him in 1903 while his own edition of the glossary was being prepared to go to press, Glogger generously shared his findings with him.⁷⁵ Armed with this insight, Hessels began the task of tracing the passages of *DEB* from which these glosses may have been derived and included his findings among his addenda. A total of fifty-three glosses are preserved between the two batches of *glossae collectae* that Glogger and Hessels assigned to Gildas. There the matter rested until the Bollandist Paul Grosjean identified an additional six glosses in batch XLI *Item de nominibus diuersis* in his study of the Leiden material.⁷⁶ It is noteworthy that, while the sources of material from other authors and texts are often identified among the batches in the Leiden Glossary, all of the Gildasian material is found in generically titled batches that are essentially miscellanies. This has led me to suggest in my study of these glosses that the compiler of these *glossae collectae* was working from an earlier compilation of the glosses – the form of which is now impossible to discern. These three batches of *glossae collectae* comprise, on the whole, lexical glosses consisting typically of a *lemma* and a one-word *interpretamentum* separated by a *punctus* (or similar punctuation) for *id est*. It should be noted, however, that in a few instances, the glossator provides more detailed interpretations, though these never exceed a total of five words.⁷⁷

Nevertheless, as I have argued elsewhere, the glosses preserved in the Leiden group appear to represent the product of multiple glossators recording close readings of the text in a

⁷⁴ For a detailed explanation of the relationship between Glogger's work and Hessels edition, see Hessels, *Leiden*, p. xvii, note 1.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xxxviii.

⁷⁶ Grosjean, "Remarques," pp. 164–5.

⁷⁷ For a compilation of the glosses found in Leiden, see Table 1: *Glossae Collectae Attributed to the De Excidio Preserved in Leiden*, in Hardison, "Words, Meanings, Readings," p. 19.

didactic or source-critical context.⁷⁸ In other words, these may well represent all that remain of these students' reading notes. From these remnants, however, it is possible to obtain a glimpse into the classroom and so to reconstruct an example of the pedagogy at Canterbury. By using *DEB*, the *magister* could give a history lesson while simultaneously providing instruction on the *mien* suitable to members of the ecclesiastical community. These outcomes would have certainly been in accordance with the objectives of Theodore and Hadrian to educate a new generation of Anglo-Saxon Christians while promoting orthodoxy in the early English church.

The Corpus Glossary

As challenging as it was to trace the *lemmata* in the Leiden Glossary, identifying the source texts from which the glosses that form the Corpus Glossary were drawn has proven to be a significantly harder task owing to the fact it is in an advanced stage of compilation. Preserved in a single manuscript dated to the second quarter of the ninth century, the Corpus Glossary is constituted by a total of sixty-five leaves.⁷⁹ The aspect of the page is an orderly one with two columns (with additional space ruled for the initials) and thirty-three lines per page ruled in hard point. Folios 1r–3v are devoted to a small glossary titled in rubricated initials *Interp(rae)tatio nominum ebraicorum et grecoru(m)* which consists of the putative etymologies of various Greek and Hebrew names. The more significant (in scope, at least) glossarial material begins at the top of folio 4r with the rubricated heading *Incip(it) glosa sec(undum) ordine(m) elimentorum alphabeti*. The contents of the glossary itself are arranged in alphabetical sections which are presented in *ab*-order and are clearly differentiated by space and decorated initials. The *lemmata* found within the glossary are uniformly Latin. In contrast to the Leiden Glossary materials,

⁷⁸ Hardison, "Words, Meanings, Readings," p. 17.

⁷⁹ For a fuller discussion of the paleographical evidence used to date the manuscript, see Bischoff's and Parkes' palaeographical commentary in *The Épinal, Erfurt, Werden, and Corpus Glossaries*, pp. 22–5.

however, the *interpretamenta* (and this is an important point) are an admixture of Latin and Old English.

According to Lindsay, the glosses which comprise the Corpus Glossary were likely drawn from a variety of sources – in addition to the material derived from earlier continental sources such as the *Abstrusa*, *Abolita*, and *Philoxenus* glossaries, as well as the *Hermeneumata Pseudo-Dositheana* – including the Vulgate, Virgil’s *Aeneid*, church canons, Nonius Marcellus’ *De compendiosa doctrina*, the grammars of Phocas and Donatus, Rufinus’ translation of the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Eusebius, Orosius’ *Historia aduersus paganos*, Jerome’s *De viris illustribus* and his *Commentarii in evangelium Matthaei*, Cassiodorus’ *Expositio psalmorum*, the *De natura rerum* and *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville, Gregory the Great’s *Dialogi*, the *Vita sancti Martini* of Sulpicius Severus, as well as the *Regula sancti Benedicti*, the *Vita sanctae Eugeniae*, Augustine of Hippo’s *Sermones*, Cassian’s *Institutiones*, and the Latin translations of Clement’s *Recognitiones*, and the *Vita sancti Antonii*, with additional content drawn from the works of Aldhelm and Gildas.⁸⁰ This list, while extensive, is by no means exhaustive. It was through Lindsay’s efforts in work for his edition that some material in Corpus was identified as arguably derived from *DEB*. In total, he identified fourteen glosses possibly going back to *DEB*.⁸¹

⁸⁰ For the enumeration of sources, see Lindsay, *Glossaries*, pp. 1–16. See also Lindsay, *Corpus*, pp. xv–vi.

⁸¹ In his treatment of the Corpus, Épinal, Erfurt, and Leiden glossaries, Lindsay helpfully assembles much of the material into lengthy batches based on their probable source. Unfortunately, this help does not extend as far as Gildas whose “uncouth vocabulary” is expected to be readily identifiable. His separate edition of the Corpus Glossary, which was designed to serve as a companion to Hessels’ earlier edition, pursues a programme of significant editorial intervention to “correct” the readings of the glosses and trace their sources. In this edition, Lindsay *does* note possible readings derived from Gildas, but they are not collected into a single list. The result for readers, in either case, is a fairly tedious process of sifting through what might be charitably described as occasionally perplexing treatments of the glossarial material accompanied by an unhealthy dose of Lindsay’s cultural chauvinism that finds embodiment in his notes.

The first in-depth treatment of the glosses found in Corpus that were putatively drawn from *DEB* occurred in 1955 when Grosjean analyzed twenty-nine glosses in Corpus that he was inclined to trace back to Gildas. In his study, Grosjean sought to identify the passages from which the *lemmata* were derived as well as to compare them with the readings of the surviving witnesses. In the course of this undertaking, Grosjean observed that the majority of these glosses originated between chapters one to twenty-eight of Mommsen's edition and the use of the text tapered off from there.⁸² Grosjean offered several explanations for this fact ranging from fatigue to interpreting this as evidence in support of Arthur Wade-Evans's suspicions regarding the authenticity and unity of *DEB*.⁸³ Since an analysis of all forty-two unique glosses is outside the remit of this chapter,⁸⁴ I shall consider three examples that will, I believe, shed light on the glossing practice at Canterbury, notably its bilingual aspects.⁸⁵

I456 - intransmeabili . unoferfoere⁸⁶

*ut ita dicam intransmeabili undique circulo absque meridiana freto plagae, quo ad Galliam Belgicam nauigatur.*⁸⁷

intransmeabili: abl. sing. of the 3rd decl. adj. *intransmeabilis* 'impassable.' This Late Latin lemma is exceedingly rare; the *TLL* attests its use in a small number of sources such as the *Vetus Latina* (as well as in the Gospel of Luke in the Vulgate), Rufinus' translation of Origen's *De principiis*, and a fragment of Suetonius. The limited circulation of these works and recherché

⁸² Grosjean, "Remarques," p. 184.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 184–5.

⁸⁴ Lindsay's fourteen glosses and Grosjean's twenty-nine total forty-three glosses in all; one – *huscide: tolice* (H 154) – is a near duplicate of *uscide: tohlice* (U 294).

⁸⁵ In a forthcoming study, I plan to undertake an analysis of the forty-two unique glosses that have attributed by Lindsay and Grosjean using digital tools that make identifying points of correspondence much easier and surer.

⁸⁶ Hessels, *Corpus*, p. 70.

⁸⁷ Gildas, *DEB* (ed. Mommsen) p. 28, Ins. 10–1; "It is encircled, so it is said, on all sides by an impassable, spreading sea except for the southern straits where one can sail to Belgian Gaul" (translation mine).

quality of the *lemma* in the context of other Gildasian material allows us to establish it as Gildasian in origin.

unoferfoere: nom. sing. of the adj. *unoferfere* ‘not to be crossed, impassable’; this Old English *interpretamentum* appears to be a direct translation of the *lemma*. Owing to the absence of the ablative case in Old English, it appears that the glossator chose to provide the nominative instead.

I458 - in edito . in alto⁸⁸

*quarum culmina minaci proceritate porrecta in edito forti compage pangebantur...*⁸⁹

in edito: 2nd decl. abl. sing. of *editum* ‘a height’; the frequency of usage for this *lemma* is rather difficult to assess; however, while it is attested in Suetonius, Pliny, and Tacitus, it appears to be relatively obscure vocabulary. In other later attestations, it appears in the same form as the *lemma* in Rufinus’ translation of Eusebius but appears most frequently in Jerome and Aldhelm. The Hieronymian influence can probably be discounted as the texts in which the *lemma* appears do not seem to have provided other material to the Corpus Glossary. This narrows the search for the probable source of the *lemma* to Rufinus, Gildas, or Aldhelm. This is problematic as it becomes difficult to assign the *lemma* to *DEB* owing to the presence of other matter drawn from the *De uirginitate* and the Eusebian *Historia ecclesiastica* in the glossary. However, three points make it likely that it was drawn from *DEB*: first, the gloss is found among a batch of Gildasian glosses in Corpus. Second, another gloss in Corpus is drawn from the immediate area in the text of *DEB*. Third, in X the reading *in edito* is glossed (albeit with *excelso*) demonstrating that this

⁸⁸ Hessels, *Corpus*, p. 70.

⁸⁹ Gildas, *DEB* (ed. Mommsen) p. 28, ln. 15; “whose roofs, stretching out with threatening size, were made to extend on high with a strong structure” (translation mine).

usage by Gildas might well attract the efforts of glossators. Owing to these facts, it seems reasonable to trace this gloss back to Gildas.

in alto: 2nd decl. abl. sing. of *altum* ‘a height’; by comparison, the synonym provided in this *interpretamentum* is well-attested in Classical texts and in the Vulgate. Without recourse to bilingual glossing, the glossator offers a more common word for the reader.

I466 - *initiatum . gestoepid*⁹⁰

*ritu tyrannico et tumultuante initiatum milite...*⁹¹

initiatum: acc. sing. perf. pass. ptc. of *initio* ‘to begin, originate; to initiate, consecrate, or admit to.’ This *lemma* is well attested in a variety of classical and patristic sources ranging from Pliny and Cicero to Jerome and the Vulgate, although the particular oblique case of the *lemma* might support its identification as originating in *DEB*. Grosjean, in his notes, refers us to section XLI of the Leiden Glossary in which he identified six glosses derived from Gildas.⁹² One of these is *initiatu*<*m*>: *ordinatum*.⁹³ This *lemma* is also glossed in *X* where it is given the same *interpretamentum* as we find in the Leiden batch.

gestoepid: pret. ptc. subj. of *stepan* ‘to cause to take a step; to initiate’; this *interpretamentum* offers a direct translation of the *lemma* into the vernacular. The choice of a vernacular interpretation for the *lemma* is interesting. As the gloss in Leiden demonstrates, there is a perfectly serviceable Latin synonym for *initiatum*.

⁹⁰ Hessels, *Corpus*, p. 70.

⁹¹ Gildas, *DEB* (ed. Mommsen) p. 33, ln. 2; “initiated in the manner of a tyrant but with the army in uproar...” (translation mine).

⁹² Grosjean, “Remarques,” p. 181.

⁹³ Hessels, *Leiden*, p. 43.

While the identity of the glossator(s) is lost to us, it is possible to discern the likely audience for whom the work was performed. Although the lexical nature of the glosses might suggest the simple desire to assist in teaching the reader Latin, we should be cautious in embracing that answer. The challenging Latinity of Gildas does not readily lend itself to *viva voce* instruction during which students might transcribe material onto wax tablets for memorization.⁹⁴ Moreover, the glosses themselves speak against this idea, as the majority of both headwords and interpretations retain the grammatical form in which they are found in the text. This suggests that the glossed text would have been used by someone who did not require assistance with Latin declensions or conjugations. Thus, instead of providing basic instruction for *pueri* just beginning their study of Latin, it is far more likely that the glossator sought to aid an advanced reader (or readers) through the difficult prose style of *DEB*. Such assistance would almost certainly take place on a smaller scale than in a formal classroom setting; nevertheless, a pedagogical function is maintained by providing the reader with the means to improve their knowledge of the Latin lexicon while making the content of the text more readily accessible.

Laterculus Malalianus

Beyond the glossaries, evidence showing the interest of the Canterbury *magistri* in *DEB* survives in a number of places. Indeed, it is the presence of Gildasian material in one of these, the *Laterculus Malalianus*, which provides an essential clue in Stevenson's arguments

⁹⁴ Our knowledge of early medieval schools and their teaching methods is woefully inadequate. There are no extant written sources, if any were ever composed, on the subject. Consequently, scholars such as Riché have had to attempt to reconstruct medieval schools from piecemeal evidence. To briefly summarize Riché, elementary instruction involved learning the alphabet which the student copied onto a wax tablet using a stylus. Once the students had mastered the alphabet, they were expected to memorize the entirety of the Psalter. In addition, students were taught the basics of chant and computation (which should not be confused with the much more complex *computus*). After mastering these subjects, the students might progress to the study of Latin and, eventually, prosody which would give them the ability to read Latin actively. Teaching would have almost certainly been conducted *viva voce*. Despite the shift in focus from Classical authors and their works, education appears to have remained wholly rooted in the study of texts. See Riché, *Education and Culture*, pp. 447–77. For a study of Classical rhetorical instruction in Anglo-Saxon England, see Knappe, “Rhetorical Aspect,” pp. 1–34.

establishing its origin and relationship to the Canterbury school.⁹⁵ In her examination of the literary sources for the material contained within the *Laterculus*, Stevenson explores the biblical, Greek, Latin, and Syriac sources as evidence for authorship of this text.⁹⁶ Interestingly, the number of Latin works which influenced the composition of the text is remarkably few in comparison to the considerable amount of material derived from Eastern sources. Given the paucity of Latin texts represented in the *Laterculus*, it is very striking that *DEB* appears as one of these. As Stevenson observes:

The only other point where there seems to be a clear verbal echo of a Latin prose writer is in ch. 6, where the phrase ‘mittens manum militarem’ resembles a phrase in Gildas’s *De excidio*, ‘legatos Romam...mittit, *militarem manum*... poscens...’ There is thus a possible connection with the work of a British Latin writer known to have been taught at Canterbury which is strengthened by the use in the *Laterculus* of a phrase from the prophet Amos in a Latin version which has been preserved only in Gildas’s work.⁹⁷

Interestingly, the chapter of *DEB* where the passage in question is found is situated in the beginning chapters of the text.⁹⁸ The quotation from Amos, however, appears much later.⁹⁹ That these quotations are drawn from different thematic sections suggests that the author of the *Laterculus* was using a complete copy of *DEB*.¹⁰⁰ The fact that the quotations in the *Laterculus* are derived from material in different thematic sections suggests that its author was sufficiently

⁹⁵ For a discussion on the subject of the date and origin of this text, see Stevenson, *Laterculus*, pp. 8–20.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 56–73.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁹⁸ Gildas, *DEB* (ed. Mommsen) p. 33, ln. 15.

⁹⁹ Gildas, *DEB* (ed. Mommsen) p. 57, ln. 5.

¹⁰⁰ Although none of the glosses preserved in Corpus can be traced to the latter chapter of the text, there are glosses found in Leiden which suggest interest in that section of the text. Hardison, “Words, Meanings, and Readings,” p. 19.

familiar with the entirety of *DEB* to the extent that he could quote from it. The preponderance of Eastern textual evidence in conjunction with the Gildasian material in the *Laterculus*, as Stevenson argues, appears to point us directly to the Canterbury school and, most plausibly, the pen of Archbishop Theodore himself. In the light of the suggested resistance to pagan literature, it seems quite possible that the intricate, learned style of Gildas served as an unimpeachably correct Christian model for the advanced instruction of the *discipuli* at Canterbury.¹⁰¹

Aldhelm (c. 639 – 709/10)

As arguably the most celebrated *alumnus* of the Canterbury school, it is hardly surprising that Aldhelm would be conversant with *DEB*. Indeed, citing an evidently striking passage referenced twice above, he drew directly from *DEB* 3 (“*turrium serratarum portarum domorum, quarum culmina minaci proceritate porrecta in edito forti compage pangebantur*”) in his prose *De uirginitate* when he wrote, “*turrem eidem minaci proceritate in edito porrectam et forti liturae compage constructam eidem erexit.*”¹⁰² Moreover, Aldhelm’s penchant for recherché vocabulary overlaps with Gildas and makes identification of the origin of glossary words particularly challenging – especially if the glossary is in a late stage of compilation where the lack of concrete evidence pointing directly to one author leaves us with something akin to the chicken-or-the-egg conundrum.

Despite his borrowing from *DEB*, the extent to which Gildas served as a model for Aldhelm may well be limited in scope. In his study “Aldhelm’s Prose Style and Its Origins,” Winterbottom observes that “there is no doubt that some of Aldhelm’s stylistic peculiarities might be derived from his illustrious predecessor,” yet he nevertheless cautions that “there is no reason

¹⁰¹ Stevenson, *Laterculus*, p. 73.

¹⁰² Aldhelm, *De uirginitate* (ed. Gwara), p. 645, lns. 20–21.

why both Gildas and Aldhelm should not have separately found their inspiration in the practices of continental writers.”¹⁰³

Collectio canonum Hibernensis (c. s. vii^{ex} – s. viiiⁱⁿ)

Although the early medieval collection of Irish canon law – notable for its focus on local ecclesiastical authors and synods as well as patristic sources such as Gregory the Great and Isidore of Seville – includes Gildas among the authorities whose teachings it cites, there is no incontrovertible evidence that *DEB* served as a source text.¹⁰⁴ The compiler(s) who assembled the collection instead drew upon Gildas’ letter to Uinniau – of which only fragments are extant (bolstered, in part, by material found in the aforementioned *epistulae* of Columbanus)¹⁰⁵ – in which he treats upon various issues related chiefly to monastic discipline and communal life. In a recent article, Stephen Joyce argues that the compilers of the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis* deliberately reframed Gildasian material drawn from *DEB* in order to effectively anonymize it or recast it as Patrician in an effort to amplify the importance of Patrick in an evolving Irish church.¹⁰⁶ This suggestion clearly deserves further scrutiny.

Bede (672/3 – 735)

In both his *Chronica maiora* (725 CE) and *HE* (731 CE), the Venerable Bede’s familiarity with Gildas and his use of *DEB* as a source is on full display.¹⁰⁷ Although a full

¹⁰³ This point is situated in the middle of his examination of the influence Gildas may have exerted on Aldhelm; see Winterbottom, “Aldhelm’s Prose Style,” p. 49. Winterbottom also notes other potential borrowings in this article and offers important contextualization of Gildas for Aldhelm’s style.

¹⁰⁴ Sharpe advances the argument that early medieval Irish and British ecclesiastics recognized Gildas as a Church Father on the basis of his inclusion in the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis* coupled with the positive references to his teachings by Columbanus. Sharpe, “Gildas as a Father,” pp. 193–205.

¹⁰⁵ *Vide supra*, pp. 7–16.

¹⁰⁶ See Joyce, “Memories of Gildas,” pp. 148–68.

¹⁰⁷ Bede’s reliance on Gildas as a source has long been recognized. Indeed, editors, such as Plummer and Mommsen, have noted his reliance on *DEB* in their editions of the *HE* and the *Chronica minora*. Critical studies of how Bede put Gildas to use in his historiographical efforts include Hanning, *The Vision of History in Early Britain*, pp. 63–90; Miller, “Bede’s Use of Gildas”; Larpi, “Bede’s Use of Gildas: Frameworks,” pp. 7–15; and Larpi, *Prolegomena*, pp. 31–52.

discussion of Bede's debt to *DEB* is well beyond the scope of this chapter, the close relationship between the *X* text of *DEB* and Bede warrants scrutiny. Perhaps one of the best examples of this relationship may be found in their respective treatment of the invasions by the *Scotti* and *Picti* which prompted the Britons to seek further Roman aid. In Mommsen's edition, the passage appears in chapter 15:

Ob quarum infestationem ac dirissimam depressionem legatos Romam cum epistolis mittit, militarem manum ad se vindicandam lacrimosis postulationibus poscens et subiunctionem sui Romano imperio continue tota animi virtute, si hostis longius arceretur, vovens. Cui mox destinatur legio praeteriti mali immemor, sufficienter armis instructa, quae ratibus trans oceanum in patriam advecta et cominus cum gravibus hostibus congressa magnamque ex eis multitudinem sternens et omnes e finibus depulit et subiectos cives tam atroci dilacerationi ex imminente captivitate liberavit. Quos iussit construere inter duo maria trans insulam murum, ut esset arcendis hostibus turba instructus terrori civibusque tutamini; qui vulgo irrationabili absque rectore factus non tam lapidibus quam cespitibus non profuit.¹⁰⁸

In the *Chronica maiora*, Bede adapts this passage to suit his purpose – namely, providing local history as part of a larger chronicle treating on the history of the world. His entry for 473 states:

Brittani Scothorum Pictorumque infestationem non ferentes Romam mittunt et sui subiunctione promissa contra hostem auxilia flagitant. quibus statim missa legio magnam barbarorum multitudinem sternit, ceteros Britanniae finibus pellit ac

¹⁰⁸ Gildas, *DEB* (ed. Mommsen), p. 33, lns. 14–23.

*domum reversura praecepit sociis ob arcendos hostes murum trans insulam inter duo maria statuere, qui absque artifice magistro magis cespite quam lapide factus nil operantibus profuit. nam mox ut discessere Romani, advectus navibus prior hostis quasi maturam segitem obvia queque sibi caedit calcat devorat.*¹⁰⁹

If he recast the text of Gildas to suit his rhetorical aims in the *Chronica maiora*, Bede's treatment of the scene in *HE* I.12 is considerably closer to its Gildasian source:

*Ob harum ergo infestationem gentium Brettones legatos Romam cum epistulis mittentes, lacrimosis precibus auxilia flagitabant, subiunctionemque continuam, dummodo hostis inminens longius arceretur, promittebant. Quibus mox legio destinatur armata quae, ubi insulam aduecta et congressa est cum hostibus, mangam eorum multitudinem sternens, ceteros sociorum finibus expulit, eosque interim a dirissima depressione liberatos hortata est instruere inter duo maria trans insulam murum, qui arcendis hostibus posset esse praesidio.... At insulani murum, quem iussi fuerant, non tam lapidibus quam cespitibus construentes, utpote nullum tanti operis artificem habentes, ad nihil utilem statuunt.*¹¹⁰

With the focus of *HE* placed squarely on Britain, and with its purpose more narrative than in the *Chronica maiora*, it is hardly surprising that Bede chose to rely more heavily on Gildas while introducing revisions and additions to achieve his purpose. This same approach is seen across

¹⁰⁹ Bede, *Chronica maiora* (ed. Mommsen) in *MGH*, p. 301.

¹¹⁰ Bede, *HE* (ed. Colgrave and Mynors), pp. 40–2.

multiple entries for the *Chronica maiora* – §§406, 461, 473, 474, 483, 484, 489, and 504 – as well as large sections of Book I of *HE* (notably in chapters 12–16 and 22).¹¹¹

While Bede clearly drew on Gildas, the evidence of the *X* text shows that it was not a one-way exchange. Indeed, it seems clear that – in at least one instance – Bedan glossed material was absorbed into *X*.¹¹² One of the more striking instances of this textual exchange appears in the same passage discussed above: the beginning of Chapter IX in *X* (which corresponds to Chapter 15 in Mommsen’s edition of *DEB*). In *X*, this section begins, “**Gens igitur britonum scottorum pictorumque impetum non ferens** ob quorum infestationem ac durissimam depressionem legatos romam cum epistolis mittit.” The beginning in Mommsen’s text (which is based on the readings found in CDPQ) reads, “Ob quarum infestationem ac dirissimam depressionem legatos Romam cum epistolis mittit,” while Bede, in his account for 473 in *Chronica minora*, begins, “**Brittani Scothorum Pictorumque infestationem non ferentes** Romam mittunt....” This obvious correspondence between the *Chronica minora* and *X* has not gone unremarked. Following Mommsen’s suggestion, in Larpi’s words, that the redactor of *X* drew “inspiration, presumably as secondary source, not only from Bede’s *HE*, but also from his *CM*,” Larpi points to the presence of additional Bedan material on the description of the turf wall built by the Britons as supporting evidence for this argument.¹¹³ Yet, in his handling of the evidence, he overlooks another possibility: that the scribe responsible for the copying of this passage in *X* (or an exemplar) was working from an earlier exemplar glossed with Bedan material and that some of this was subsequently absorbed into the text during its copying. Indeed, the supporting

¹¹¹ In her essay studying how Bede turned Gildas’ writing to his purposes, Miller notes the entries for §§461, 474, 483, 489, and 504. Larpi drew attention to her omission of Bede’s reliance on Gildas for the entries for §§404, 473, and 484. Miller, “Bede’s Use of Gildas,” p. 1; Larpi, “Bede’s Use of Gildas: Frameworks,” p. 7, n. 8.

¹¹² For my discussion on this intrusive gloss and its relationship to Bede, *vide infra*, pp. 111–3.

¹¹³ Despite his preoccupation with reconstructing a “pure” text of *DEB* (a Sisyphean task if ever there was one), Larpi’s discussion of the Bedan material in *X* is the most exhaustive to date. See Larpi, *Prolegomena*, pp. 39–40.

evidence Larpi adduces – the mention of *Abercurnig* and *Alculth*, the direct quotation “*ad nihilum utilem statuunt*” in the description of the turf wall, and the measurements of the second wall – are all restricted to the *capitula* – which are unique to *X* (or, what seems more probable, its exemplar) – and, in both locations, are redolent of glosses that have been copied into the text – something that the copyists responsible for the *X* text have been shown to do elsewhere.

Moreover, barring the initial “*gens igitur britonum scottorum pictorumque impetum non ferens,*” the rest of the text in *X* stands closer to the other manuscript witnesses than does Bede’s account.

X (Ch. IX)

Gens igitur britonum
scottorum pictorumque
impetum non ferens ob
quorum infestationem ac
durissimam depressionem
legatos romam cum epistolis
mittit. militarem manum ad se
uindicandam lacrimosis
postulationibus poscens et
subiectionem sui romano
imperio continue tota animi
uirtute si hostis longius
arceretur uouens.

Cui mox destinatur legio
preteriti mali immemor
sufficenter armis
instructa:que ratibus trans
oceanium in patriam aduecta
et cominus cum grauibus
hostibus congressa.
magnamque ex eis
multitudinem sternens et
omnes a finibus depulit. et
subiectos ciues tam atroci
dilaceratione et imminente
captiuitate liberauit.

Mommsen (Ch. 15)

Ob quarum infestationem ac
dirissimam depressionem
legatos Romam cum epistolis
mittit, militarem manum ad se
uindicandam lacrimosis
postulationibus poscens et
subiectionem sui Romano
imperio continue tota animi
uirtute, si hostis longius
arceretur, uouens.

Cui mox destinatur legio
praeteriti mali immemor,
sufficenter armis instructa,
quae ratibus trans oceanum in
patriam aduecta et cominus
cum gravibus hostibus
congressa magnamque ex eis
multitudinem sternens et
omnes e finibus depulit et
subiectos ciues tam atroci
dilacerationi ex imminente
captiuitate liberauit.

Bede, HE I.12

Ob harum ergo infestationem
gentium Brettones legatos
Romam cum epistulis
mittentes, lacrimosis precibus
auxilia flagitabant,
subiectionemque continuam,
dummodo hostis inminens
longius arceretur,
promittebant.

Quibus mox legio destinatur
armata quae, ubi insulam
aduecta et congressa est cum
hostibus, mangam eorum
multitudinem sternens, ceteros
sociorum finibus expulit,
eosque interim a dirissima
depressionem liberatos hortata
est instruere inter duo maria
trans insulam murum, qui
arcendis hostibus posset esse
praesidio; sicque domum cum
triumpho magno reuersa est.

Quos iussit inter duo maria
construere trans insulam
murum ut esset arcendis
hostibus turba instructus
terrori. ciuibusque tutamini; qui
uulgo irrationabili absque
rectore factus; non tam
lapidibus quam cespitibus non
profuit.

Illa legione cum triumpho
magno et gaudio domum
repetente. illi priores inimici ac
quasi ambrones lupi profunda
fame rapidis siccisque
faucibus in ouile transilientes
non comparante pastore. alis
remorum remigumque brachiis
ac uelis uento sinuatis
uecti. terminos rumpunt. cedunt
omnia et queque obuia
maturam ceu segetem
metunt. calcant. transeunt

Quos iussit construere inter
duo maria trans insulam
murum, ut esset arcendis
hostibus turba instructus
terrori ciuibusque tutamini; qui
uulgo irrationabili absque
rectore factus non tam
lapidibus quam cespitibus non
profuit.

Illa domum cum triumpho
magno et gaudio repedante illi
priors inimici ac si ambrones
lupi profunda fame rabidi,
siccis faucibus ovile
transilientes non comparente
pastore, alis remorum
remigumque brachiis ac uelis
uento sinuatis vecti, terminos
rumpunt caeduntque omnia et
quaeque obuia maturam ceu
segetem metunt calcant
transeunt.

At insulani murum, quem iussi
fuerant, non tam lapidibus
quam cespitibus construentes,
utpote nullum tanti operis
artificem habentes, ad nihil
utilem statuunt. Fecerunt
autem eum inter duo freta uel
sinus, de quibus diximus,
maris per milia passuum
plurima, ut, ubi aquarum
munitio deerat, ibi praesidio
ualli fines suos ab hostium
inruptione defenderent.

Cuius operis ibidem facti, id
est ualli latissimi et altissimi,
usque hodie certissima
uestigiacermere licet. Incipit
autem duorum ferme milium
spatio a monasterio
Aebbercurnig ad occidentem
in loco qui sermone Pictorum
Peanfahel, lingua autem
Anglorum Penneltun
appellatur, et tendens contra
occidentem terminatur iuxta
urbem Alcuith.

Verum priores inimici, ut
Romanum militem abisse
conspexerant, mox aduecti
nauibus inrumpunt terminos
caeduntque omnia, et quasi
maturam segetem obuia
quae/que metunt calcant
transeunt.

Although Larpi and Mommsen propose a deliberate intervention by the redactor to create a Bede-informed text of *DEB*, the evidence presented thus far seems hardly conclusive.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ Gildas, *DEB* (ed. Mommsen), p. 17; Larpi, *Prolegomena*, p. 39.

Nevertheless, it is certain that Bede made extensive use of Gildas and, owing to Bede's *auctoritas* and expansion of Gildasian material with additional information, it would no doubt render *HE* a prime source, in later tradition, for material to expand upon Gildas' somewhat spare account of historical events. For example, Cormac, the named editor of the X text of *DEB*, may well have borrowed from Bede, though the extent to which it was a conscious and deliberate undertaking may always remain uncertain.

Alcuin (c. 735 – 804)

The extent to which the Northumbrian scholar Alcuin was directly familiar with Gildas' *DEB* has been unclear. While Alcuin refers to Gildas twice by name in his *epistolae*, texts attributed to Alcuin have not revealed direct borrowings from *DEB* in the same fashion as, say, those of Columbanus or Bede. Alcuin's first explicit reference to Gildas appears in a letter dated after June 8, 793 to Æðelheard, Archbishop of Canterbury.¹¹⁵ Alcuin writes:

*Legitur vero in libro Gildi Brettonum sapientissimi, quod idem ipsi Brettones propter rapinas et avaritiam principum, propter iniquitatem et iniustitiam iudicum, propter desidiam et pigritiam praedicationis episcoporum, propter luxoriam et malos mores populi patriam perdiderunt. Caveamus haec eadem nostris temporibus vitia inolescere; quatenus benedictio divina nobis patriam conservet in prosperitate bona, quam nobis in sua misericordia perdonare dignata est.*¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Alcuin, "Epistola X. Ad Aedilhardum (Athelardum)," col. 0155A.

¹¹⁶ "Truly, we read in the book of Gildas, the wisest of the Britons, that the Britons themselves, on account of the pillage and avarice of princes, on account of unfairness and injustice of judges, on account of the idleness and indolence of the sermons of bishops, on account of the luxuria and evil customs of the people, destroyed their homeland. Let us guard against the same vices taking root in our time; the divine blessing preserves our country in good condition, just as He, in His Mercy, has deigned to pardon us" (translation mine).

Alcuin's second reference to Gildas by name is found in a letter, dated to 797,¹¹⁷ written to the clergy and nobility of Kent:

Imminet vero maximum insulae huic et populo habitanti in ea periculum. Ecce quod nunquam antea auditum fuit, populus paganus solet vastare piratico latrocinio littora nostra: et illi ipsi populi Anglorum, et regna et reges dissentiunt inter se; et vix aliquis modo, quod sine lacrymis non dicam, ex antiqua regum prosapia invenitur, et tanto incertiores sunt originis, quanto minores sunt fortitudinis.

Similiter et per ecclesias Christi perierunt doctores veritatis; omnes pene vanitates saeculares sequuntur, et disciplinas regulares odio habent: et bellatores illorum magis avaritiae student quam justitiae. Discite Gyldum Brettonem sapientissimum, et videte ex quibus causis parentes Brittonum perdiderunt regnum et patriam: et considerate vosmetipsos, et in vobis pene similia inveniatis.

Written against the backdrop of incursions by Viking raiders, both letters invoke Gildas as a warning to the recipients. Alcuin's letter to Archbishop Æðelheard is particularly interesting in presenting evidence for the former's familiarity with *DEB*.¹¹⁸ In recounting the well-known charges against the British princes, judges, bishops, and people, Alcuin might well have been influenced by Bede, but Alcuin's use of the recondite verb *inolescere* (to grow in/on, to develop, become habitual/ingrained) to describe the sins taking root – *vitia inolescere* – is an echo of Gildas' preface where he questions whether it is his task, like a learned *doctor*, to speak *contra*

¹¹⁷ Alcuin, "*Epistola LXXIV. Ad gentem et populum Cantuariorum*," col. 0250D.

¹¹⁸ In a recent article, Carlson maintains that *DEB* was unknown to Alcuin and that his narrative was only understood second-hand through Bede, but his evidence is almost entirely negative – that evidence of verbal parallels and other borrowing is absent in Alcuin's surviving works – and his readings do not inspire confidence. Carlson, "Wulfstan, Alcuin, Bede, and Gildas," pp. 285–97.

hunc inolitorum scelerum funem. Since Bede does not follow Gildas' use of *inolescere* in *HE*, it seems unlikely that Alcuin's choice of verb was influenced by Bede.

If Alcuin's knowledge of Gildas was mediated by Bede, it is remarkable that he would then direct his audience "*discite Gyldum Brettonem sapientissimum,*" rather than "*Discite Bedae...*" who not only adopted much of Gildas' narrative, but enlarged upon it. Moreover, with his warnings against priestly indulgence in secular vanities, the striving in service of avarice instead of justice, the internecine conflict between the rulers of the Anglo-Saxons, and his tearful observation ("*quod sine lacrymis non dicam*") concerning the overall decline of the royal bloodlines, Alcuin's letter to the clergy and nobility of Kent strikes many notes reminiscent of *DEB*.¹¹⁹ Additionally, in his adaptation of Gildas' narrative, Bede does not dwell on the emotional turmoil that Gildas expresses in *DEB*. Notwithstanding claims to the contrary, examples such as these, coupled with the presence of Gildasian vocabulary, such as the term *commanipulares*,¹²⁰ in other surviving letters, among other verbal parallels, point firmly to Alcuin's acquaintance with *DEB*.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ This motif of tears appears throughout *DEB* and was later adopted by Columbanus. Although it appears limited here to the decline of the Anglo-Saxon kings, it is nevertheless noteworthy as a lament. Unlike Gildas or Columbanus, Alcuin, however, does not affect doubt about his right to speak to the worthies of Kent. For more examples of this motif, see Winterbottom, "Columbanus and Gildas," p. 313.

¹²⁰ Alcuin, "*Epistola CXIII. Ad Paulinum Patriarcham,*" col. 0342B.

¹²¹ Other examples include Alcuin's statement, in *Epistola* 58, "*testis est mihi renium scrutator,*" which has been variously attributed to Psalm 7:10, but, as Bullough notes is more closely related to Wisdom 1:6, "*quoniam renium illius testis est Deus, et cordis illius scrutator est verus et linguae ejus auditor.*" In his preface to *DEB*, Gildas wrote, "*ut mihi renium scrutator testis est dominus,*" however, Mommsen notes that both *A* and *X* preserve the variant reading *renium*. Although, in his poem on the bishops, kings, and saints of York, Alcuin does not mention Gildas alongside Aldhelm or Bede in his account of the authors whose works were available at York, his silence should not be taken as evidence that *DEB* was not among the texts there. Indeed, as he himself states, "there, reader, you will find many others, / teachers outstanding for their learning, art, and style, / who wrote many volumes with clear meaning. But to include all their names in this poem / would take longer than poetic usage demands." (vv. 1558–62) There is no good reason to not take Alcuin at his word. Godman also notes several other clear echoes of Gildas in the apparatus to his edition of the poem. Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 272, n. 59; Gildas, *DEB* (ed. Mommsen), p. 25, ln. 7, and note; and Alcuin, *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York* (ed. & trans. Godman), at pp. 126–7.

Historia Brittonum (c. 828)

The Latin composite historical text of Welsh origins known as *Historia Brittonum* (*HB*), going back to the ninth century but continuing to undergo revisions and expansions down to the later Middle Ages, shows evidence of reliance on Gildas and *DEB*, though it is difficult to ascertain the form of the text that was available to its earliest compiler(s).¹²² Nevertheless, it is apparent that the author of *HB* was informed by Gildasian narratives and – to a lesser extent – vocabulary when compiling their work. Although contemporary scholars are chary of assigning an identity to the author of *HB*, by the twelfth century, one recension in circulation was attributed to Gildas most probably a result of his status as the only named early medieval British historian. Owing to the slight echoes of Gildas’ narrative and vocabulary present in *HB*, this attribution to him creates some slight difficulty when evaluating whether later historians such as Henry of Huntingdon or William of Newburgh, when they refer to Gildas, were referring to *DEB* or *HB*. In the following table, I have arranged the source text of the Gildasian correspondences enumerated by Dumville and Mommsen alongside the related passage from *HB*. Far from offering a mechanical reproduction of Gildas, the author of *HB* eliminates the plangent rhetoric of his source while recasting and expanding upon it. That the author had access to *DEB* and was not simply relying on Bede’s narrative is made clear by the author’s use of words like *ciulis* or *ambrones* which are unattested in Bede.

¹²² For a discussion of the dating of *Historia Brittonum*, see Dumville, “On the North British Section of the *Historia Brittonum*,” pp. 353–4. On its authorship, see Dumville, “‘Nennius’ and the *Historia Brittonum*,” pp. 78–95. For a review of the problem of its value to historians, see Dumville, “The Historical Value of the *Historia Brittonum*,” pp. 1–26.

Gildasian Correspondences in the *HB*¹²³

<i>DEB</i>	Loc	<i>HB</i>	Loc
<p>Britannia insula in extremo ferme orbis limite circium occidentemque versus divina, ut dicitur, statera terrae totius ponderatrice librata ab Africo boreali propensius tensa axi, octigentorum in longo milium, ducentorum in lato spatium, exceptis diversorum prolixioribus promontiorum tractibus, quae arcuatis oceani sinibus ambiuntur, tenens, cuius diffusiore et, ut ita dicam, intransmeabili undique circulo absque meridiana freto plagae, quo ad Galliam Belgicam navigatur, vallata, duorum ostiis nobilium fluminum Tamesis ac Sabrinae veluti brachiis, per quae eidem olim transmarinae deliciae ratibus vehebantur....</p>	<p>3.1</p>	<p>Britannia insula a quodam Bruto consule Romano dicta, haec consurgit ab Africo boreali ad occidentem versus: DCCC in longitudine milium, CC in latitudine spatium habet. In ea sunt viginti octo civitates et innumerabilia promontoria cum inumeris castellis ex lapidibus et latere fabricatis et in ea habitant quattuor gentes Scotti Picti Saxones atque Brittones.</p>	<p>7</p>
<p>Exin Britannia omni armato milite, militaribus copiis, rectoribus licet immanibus, ingenti iuventute spoliata, quae comitata vestigiis supra dicti tyranni domum nusquam ultra rediit, et omnis belli usus ignara penitus, duabus primum gentibus transmarinis vehementer saevis, Scotorum a circione, Pictorum ab aquilone calcabilis, multosstupet gemitque annos.</p>	<p>14</p>	<p>Sunt in ea multa flumina, quae confluunt ad omnes partes, id est ad orientem, ad occidentem, ad meridiem, ad septentrionem, sed tamen duo flumina praeclariora ceteris fluminibus Tamesis ac Sabrinae quasi duo brachia Britanniae, per quae olim rates vehebantur ad portandas divitias pro causa negotiationis. Brittones olim implentes eam a mari usque ad mare iudicaverunt.</p> <p>Scotti autem, qui sunt in occidente, et Picti de aquilone pugnant unanimiter et uno impetu contra Brittones indesinenter, quia sine armis utebantur Brittones. Et post multum intervallum temporis Romani monarchiam totius mundi obtinuerunt.</p>	<p>9</p> <p>15</p>

¹²³ *HB* (ed. Mommsen) in *MGH*.

Haec erecta cervice et mente,
 ex quo inhabitata est, nunc
 deo, interdu civibus,
 nonnumquam etiam
 transmarins regibus et
 subiectis ingrata consurgit.
 Quid enim deformius quidque
 iniquius potest humanis ausibus
 vel esse vel intromitti
 negotium quam deo timorem,
 bonis civibus caritatem in
 altiore dignitate positis absque
 fidei detrimento debitum
 denegare honorem et frangere
 divino sensui humanoque
 fidem, et abiecto caeli
 terraeque metu propriis
 adinventionibus aliquem et
 libidinibus regi?

Etenim reges Romanorum cum
 orbis imperium obtinuissent
 subiugatisque finitimis
 quibusque regionibus vel
 insulis orientem versus
 primam Parthorum pacem
 Indorum confinium, qua
 peracta in omni paene terra
 tum cessavere bella, potioris
 famae viribus firmassent, non
 acies flammae quodammodo
 rigidi tenoris ad occidentem
 caeruleo oceani torrente potuit
 vel cohiberi vel extinguere, sed
 transfretans insulae parendi
 leges nullo obsistente advext,
 imbellemque populum sed
 infidelem non tam ferro igne
 machinis, ut alias gentes, quam
 solis minis vel iudiciorum
 concussionibus, in superficie
 tantum vultus presso in altum
 cordis dolore sui oboedientiam
 proferentem edictis subiugavit.

4.1

Romani autem, dum acciperent
 dominum totius mundi, ad
 Brittanos miserunt legatos, ut
 obsides et censum acciperent
 ab illis, sicut accipiebant ab
 universis regionibus et insulis.
 Britanni autem, cum essent
 tyranni et tumidi, legationem
 Romanorum contempserunt,
 tunc Iulius Caesar, cum
 accepisset singulare imperium
 primus et obtinuisset, iratus est
 valde et venit ad Britanniam
 cum sexaginta ciulis et tenuit
 in ostium Tamesis, in quo
 naufragium perpressae sunt
 naves illius, dum ipse
 pugnabat apud Dolobellum,
 qui erat proconsul regi
 Britannico, qui et ipse
 Bellinus vocabatur, et filius
 erat Minocanni, qui occupavit
 omnes insulas Tyrreni maris et
 Iulis reversus est sine victoria
 caesis militibus et fractis
 navibus.

19

5

Itemque tandem tyrannorum
virgularis crescentibus et in
immanem silvam iam iamque
erumpentibus insula, nomen
Romanum nec tamen morem
legemque tenens, quin potius
abiciens germen suae
plantationis amarissimae, ad
Gallias magna comitante
satellitum caterva, insuper
etiam imperatoris insignibus,
quae nec decenter usquam
gessit, non legitime, sed ritu
tyrannico et tumultuante
initiam milite, Maximum
mittit.

Qui callida primum arte potius
quam virtute finitimos
quosque pagos vel provincias
contra Romanum statum per
retia periurii mendacique sui
facinoroso regno adnectens, et
unam alarum ad Hispaniam,
alteram ad Italiam extendens et
thronum iniquissimi imperii
apud Treveros statuens tanta
insania in dominos
debacchatus est ut duos
imperatores legitimos, unum
Roma, aliam religiosissima
vita pelleret. Nec mora tam
feralibus vallatus audaciis
apud Aquileiam urbem capite
nefando caeditur, qui decorata
totius orbis capita regni
quodammodo deiecerat.

13.1

Septimus imperator regnavit in
Brittania Maximianus. Ipse
perrexit cum omnibus
militibus Brittonum a
Brittannia et occidit Gratianum
regem Romanorum et
imperium tenuit totius Europae
et noluit dimittere milites, qui
perrexerunt cum eo, ad
Brittanniam ad uxores suas et
ad filios suos et ad

13.2

possessiones suas, sed dedit
illis multas regiones a stagno
quod est super verticem
Montis Iovis usque ad
civitatem, quae vocatur Cant
Guic, et usque ad cumulum
occidentalem, id est, Cruc
Ochidient, hi sunt Brittones
Armorici et numquam reversi
sunt huc usque in hodiernum
diem. Propter hoc Brittannia
occupata est ab extraneis
gentibus et cives expulsi sunt,
usque dum deus auxilium
dederit illis.

27

Exin Britannia omni armato
 milite, militaribus copiis,
 rectoribus licet immanibus,
 ingenti iuventute spoliata, quae
 comitata vestigiis supra dicti
 tyranni domum nusquam ultra
 rediit, et omnis belli usus
 ignara penitus, duabus primum
 gentibus transmarinis
 vehementer saevis, Scottorum a
 circione, Pictorum ab aquilone
 calcabilis, multos stupet
 gemitque annos.

14

Itemque mittuntur queruli
 legati, scissis, ut dicitur,
 vestibibus, opertisque sablone
 capitibus, inpetrantes a
 Romanis auxilia ac veluti
 timidi pulli patrum fidissimis
 alis succumbentes, ne penitus
 misera patria deleretur
 nomenque Romanorum, quod
 verbis tantum apud eos auribus
 resultabat, vel exterarum
 gentium opprobrio obrosum
 vilesceret.

17.1

Tribus vicibus occisi sunt
 duces Romanorum a
 Britannis. Brittones autem
 dum anxiebantur a barbarorum
 gentibus, id est Scottorum et
 Pictorum, flagitabant auxilium
 Romanorum et dum legati
 mittebantur cum magno luctu
 et cum sablonibus super capita
 sua intrabant et portabant
 magna munera secum
 consulibus Romanorum pro
 admissio scelere occisionis

30

Quibus statim Romam ob inopiam, ut aiebant, cespitis repedantibus et nihil de rebellione suspicantibus rectores sibi relictos ad enuntianda plenius vel confirmanda Romani regni molimina leaena trucidavit dolosa. Quibus ita gestis cum talia senatui nuntiarentur et propero exercitu vulpeculas ut fingebat subdolas ulcisci festinaret, non militaris in mari classis parata fortiter dimicare pro patria nec quadratum agmen neque dextrum cornu aliive belli apparatus in litore conseruntur, sed terga pro scuto fugantibus dantur et colla gladiis, gelida per ossa tremore currente, manusque vincienda muliebriter protenduntur, ita ut in proverbium et derisum longe lateque eferretur quod Britanni nec in bello fortes sint nec in pace fideles.

6

ducum et suscipiebant consules grata dona ab illis, et promittebant cum iuramento accipere iugum Romanici iuris licet durum fuisset. Et Romani venerunt cum maximo exercitu ad auxilium eorum et posuerunt imperatores in Brittannia et composito imperatore cum ducibus revertebantur exercitus ad Romam usque et sic alternatim per CCCXLVIII annos faciebant. Brittones autem propter gravitatem imperii occidebant duces Romanorum et auxilium postea petebant. Romani autem ad imperium auxiliumque et ad vindicandum veniebant et spoliata Brittannia auro argentoque cum aere et omni pretiosa veste et melle cum magno triumpho revertebantur.

Ob quarum infestationem ac
 dirissimam depressionem
 legatos Romam cum epistolis
 mittit, militarem manum ad se
 vindicandam lacrimosis
 postulationibus poscens et
 subiectionem sui Romano
 imperio continue tota animi
 virtute, si hostis longius
 arcetur, vovens. Cui mox
 destinatur legio praeteriti mali
 immemor, sufficienter armis
 instructa, quae ratibus trans
 oceanum in patriam advecta et
 cominus cum gravibus
 hostibus congressa
 magnamque ex eis
 multitudinem sternens et
 omnes e finibus depulit et
 subiectos cives tam atroci
 dilacerationi ex imminente
 captivitate liberavit.

15.1–2

Igitur rursus miserae
 mittentes epistolas reliquiae ad
 Agitium Romanae potestatis
 virum, hoc modo loquentes:
 ‘Agito ter consuli gemitus
 Britannorum;’ et post pauca
 querentes: ‘repellunt barbari
 ad mare, repellit mare ad
 barbaros; inter haec duo
 genera funerum aut iugulamur
 aut mergimur;’ nec pro eis
 quicquam adiutorii habent.

20.1

Itaque multis Romani
 perfidorum caesis, nonnullis
 ad vertitum, ne terra penitus
 in solitudinem redigeretur,
 mancipalibus reservatis, patria
 vini oleique experte Italiam
 pertunt, suorum quosdam
 relinquentes praepositos
 indigenarum dorsis mastigias,
 cervicibus iugum, solo nomen
 Romanae servitutis haerere
 facturos ac non tam militari
 manu quam flagris callidam
 gentem maceratuos et, si res
 sic postulavisset, ensem, ut
 dicitur, vagina vacuum lateri
 eius accommodatuos, ita ut
 non Britannia sed Romania
 censeretur et quicquid habere
 potuisset aeris argenti vel auri
 imagine Caesaris notaretur.

7

duce Ambrosio Aureliano viro
 modesto, qui solus forte
 Romanae gentis tantae
 tempestatis collisione occisis in
 eadem parentibus purpura
 nimirum induis superfuerat

25.3

Guorthigirrus regnavit in
 Britannia et dum ipse
 regnabat, urgebatur a metu
 Pictorum Scottorumque et a
 Romano impetu nec non et a
 timore Ambrosii

31

Itaque illis ad sua remeantibus
 emergunt certatim de curucis,
 quibus sunt trans Tithicam
 vallem evecti, quasi in alto
 Titane incalescenteque
 caumate de artissimis
 foraminum caverniculis fusci
 verminculorum cunei, tetri
 Scottorum Pictorumque
 greges, moribus ex parte
 dissidentes, sed una eademque
 sanguinis fundendi aviditate
 concordēs furciferosque magis
 vultus pilis quam corporum
 pudenda pudendisque proxima
 vestibus tegentes, cognitaqua
 condebitorum reversione et
 reditus denegatione solito
 confidentiores omnem
 aquilonalem extremamque
 terrae partem pro indigenis
 muro tenus capessunt.

Illa domum cum triumpho
 magno et gaudio repedante illi
 priores inimici ac si ambrones
 lupi profunda fame rabidi,
 siccis faucibus ovile
 transilientes non comparente
 pastore, alis remorum
 remigumque brachiis ac velis
 vento sinuatis vecti, terminos
 rumpunt caeduntque omnia et
 quaeque obvia maturam ceu
 segetem metunt calcant
 transeunt.

19.1

16

Hengistus autem, cum esset
 vir doctus atque astutus et
 callidus, cum explorasset super
 regem inertem et super gentem
 illius, quae sine armis utebatur,
 inuito consilio dixit ad regem
 Britannicum: pauci sumus; si
 vis, mittemus ad patriam
 nostram et invitemus milites
 de militibus regionis nostrae,
 ut amplior sit numerus ad
 vertandum pro te et pro gente
 tua. Et ille imperavit ut
 facerent et miserunt, et legati
 transfretaverunt trans Tithicam
 vallem, et reversi sunt cum
 ciluis sedecim, et milites electi
 venerunt in illis, et in una ciula
 ex eis venit puella pulchra
 facie atque decorosa valde,
 filia Hengisti.

Echgfrid ipse est qui fecit
 bellum contra fratruem
 suum, qui erat rex Pictorum
 nomine Birdei et ibi corruit
 cum omni robore exercitus sui
 et Picti cum rege suo victores
 extiterunt et numquam
 addiderunt Saxones ambrorum
 ut a Pictis vectigal exigent.

37

57

Illa domum cum triumpho
 magno et gaudio repedante illi
 priores inimici ac si ambrones
 lupi profunda fame rabidi,
 siccis faucibus ovile
 transilientes non comparent
 pastore, alis remorum
 remigumque brachiis ac velis
 vento sinuatis vecti, terminos
 rumpunt caeduntque omnia et
 quaeque obvia maturam ceu
 segetem metunt calcant
 transeunt.

16

Eadgum vero in sequenti pascha
 baptismum suscepit et
 duodecim millia hominum
 baptizati sunt cum eo. Si quis
 scire voluerit, quis eos
 baptizavit, Rum map Urbgen
 baptizavit eos et per
 quadraginta dies non cessavit
 baptizare omne genus
 ambronum et per
 praedicationem illius multi
 crediderunt Christo.

63

Wulfstan (c. 950? – 1023)

The sermon *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* was composed, circa 1014, by Wulfstan, archbishop of York against the backdrop of decades of Viking raids in England and the ineffectual leadership of Æðelræd Unræd. Writing in a vigorous style, Wulfstan adopts the same Christian historiographical perspective that informed Gildas' *DEB* and excoriates his contemporaries for drawing God's wrath upon the country through their immorality. Toward the end of his sermon, Wulfstan writes, "An þeodwita wæs on Brytta tidum Gildas hatte,"¹²⁴ and proceeds to provide a summary of Gildas' narrative noting, as he does so that, "*se aprat be heora misdædum, hu hy mid heora synnum spa oferlice spyþe ðod zezræmedan þæt he let æt nyhstan Engla here heora eard zepinnan 7 Brytta duzeþe fordon mid ealle.*"¹²⁵ This passage and the summary that followed were drawn from Alcuin's letter to Archbishop Æðelheard and, as a result, much has been made about Wulfstan knowing Gildas only through Alcuin.¹²⁶ Nevertheless, putting

¹²⁴ "There was, in the time of the Britons, a man of great learning named Gildas," (translation mine). Elsewhere, I rely on R. M. Liuzza's translation of Wulfstan found in the critical apparatus to his edition of *Beowulf*. Liuzza, *Beowulf*, pp. 287–91. The Old English text of the *Sermo Lupi* is from Whitelock's edition of the text.

¹²⁵ "[W]ho wrote about their misdeeds, how they with their sins angered God so exceedingly that He finally allowed the army of the English to conquer their land and completely destroy the nobility of the Britons." Wulfstan, "Sermo Lupi ad Anglos," trans. Liuzza, *Beowulf*, p. 291; and Wulfstan, *Sermo Lupi* (ed. Whitelock), pp. 65–6.

¹²⁶ Carlson, "Wulfstan, Alcuin, Bede, and Gildas," pp. 285–97.

Alcuin's remarks to good use is not, of itself, proof that Wulfstan never read *DEB* and appeals to economy elide the fact that textual histories and people are rarely tidy and are usually complicated. Gildas' narrative notes the destruction wrought by the waves of Germanic warriors who had been given entry to Britain. Similarly, he records the degeneration and decline of the British rulers at several points. Moreover, although written in Old English, Wulfstan's sermon is nevertheless rhetorically reminiscent of Gildas:

*Nis eac nan pundor þeah us mislimpe, forþam pe pitan ful georne þæt nu fela
 geara men na ne rohtan foroft hpæt hy porhtan pordes oððe dæde, ac pearð þes
 þeodscipe, spa hit þincan mæg, spyþe forsynzod þurh mæniðfealde synna 7 þurh
 fela misdæda: þurh morðdæda 7 þurh mandæda, þurh zitsunza 7 þurh zifernessa,
 þurh stala 7 þurh strudunza, þurh mannsylena 7 þurh hæþene unsida, þurh
 spicdomas 7 þurh searacræftas, þurh lahbrycas 7 þurh æspicas, þurh mæzræsas
 7 þurh manslyhtas, þurh hadbrycas 7 þurh æpbrycas, þurh siblegeru 7 þurh
 mistlice forliġru.¹²⁷*

While this may simply be Wulfstan cycling through a list of stock immoralities and abuses deplored by the Church that were ready to hand as evidence for God's wrath, he touches on the same themes as Gildas: the corrupting influence of *luxuria*, the prevalence of fornication among the people, the collapse of justice, and of good rule which results in an environment where thievery, murder, and other misdeeds occur without punishment.

¹²⁷ "It is no wonder that misfortune should befall us, because we know full well that for many years now men have not cared what they did in word or deed. Rather it seems this nation has become thoroughly corrupted through manifold sins and many misdeeds: through acts of murder and evil, through avarice and greed, through theft and thievery, through slavery and pagan abuses, through treachery and trickery, through breach of law and order, through mayhem upon kinsmen and manslaughter, through crimes against clergy and adulteries, through incest and various fornications." Wulfstan, "Sermo Lupi ad Anglos," trans. Liuzza, *Beowulf*, p. 290; and Wulfstan, *Sermo Lupi* (ed. Whitelock), pp. 60–1.

By the same token, I find his subsequent characterization of the English and the widespread hatred of truth reminiscent of Gildas' account of the Britons' approval of falsehoods.

Wulfstan wrote:

*7 þy is nu ȝeporden pide 7 side to ful yfelan ȝepunan, þæt menn spyþor scamað nu for ȝoddædan þonne for misdædan; forþam to oft man mid hocere ȝoddæda hyrpeð 7 ȝodfyrhte lehtreð ealles to spyþe, 7 spyþost man tæleð 7 mid olle ȝeȝreteð ealles to ȝelome þa þe riht lufiað 7 ðodes eȝe habbað be ænigum dæle. 7 þurh þæt þe man spa deð þæt man eal hyrpeð þæt man scolde hereȝian 7 to forð laðet þæt man scolde lufian, þurh þæt man ȝebringeð ealles to maneȝe on yfelan ȝebance 7 on undæde, spa þæt hy ne scamað na þeah hy synȝian spyðe 7 pið ðod sylfne forþyrcean hy mid ealle....*¹²⁸

Compare this with Gildas' narrative in *DEB* 21.3–4:

*Non solum vero hoc vitium sed omnia quae humanae naturae accidere solent, et praecipue, quod et nunc quoque in ea totius boni evertit statum, odium veritatis cum assertoribus amorque mendacii cum suis fabricatoribus, susceptio mali pro bono, veneratio nequitiae pro benignitate, cupido tenebrarum pro sole, exceptio Satane pro angelo lucis.*¹²⁹

¹²⁸ “And therefore, it has now come far and wide to such an evil state that men are nowadays more ashamed of good deeds than of misdeeds; because too often good deeds are dismissed with derision and God-fearing men are reviled all too much, and especially mocked and treated with contempt are those who love justice and fear God to any extent. And because men behave thus, blaming all that they should praise and hating too much all that they ought to love, they bring all too many to evil intentions and wicked deeds, so they are never ashamed even though they sin greatly and commit wrongs against God himself,” Liuzza, *Beowulf*, p. 290. Wulfstan, *Sermo Lupi* (ed. Whitelock), pp. 62–3.

¹²⁹ “And it was not only this vice that flourished, but all those that generally befall human nature – and especially the one that is the downfall of every good condition nowadays too, the hatred of truth and its champions and the love of falsehood and its contrivers: the taking up of evil instead of good, the adoration of wickedness instead of kindness,

Unquestionably, the poetic Christian imagery that Gildas relies upon in his account of the past behaviors of the Britons is not identically matched in Wulfstan, but neither is the rhetorical situation; we find, however, close cognates between the texts such as Wulfstan's observation, "7 *þurh þæt þe man spa deð þæt man eal hyrpeð þæt man scolde heregian 7 to forð laðet þæt man scolde lufian,*"¹³⁰ and Gildas' "*odium veritatis cum assertoribus amorque mendacii cum suis fabricatoribus.*"¹³¹ Wulfstan might not be quoting Gildas verbatim, but he may well have used *DEB* as an inspiration and model for his homily. Owing to Wulfstan's use of the vernacular here, it is, perhaps, impossible to be certain one way or another, but Wulfstan's proficiency as a Latinist is not in question.¹³²

Henry of Huntingdon (c. 1088 – 1157)

In his *Historia Anglorum* (before c. 1137), Henry of Huntingdon drew heavily upon earlier historians as sources for his narrative.¹³³ In Book IX, *De miraculis Anglorum*, Henry, writing an account of Germanus of Auxerre, mentions Gildas, observing:

Secundo autem libro, cuius titulus est "De aduentu Anglorum," de miraculis que sanctus Germanus Altisidorensis episcopus in his gessit regionibus quedam reuelauimus. Quorum, si quis plura scire desiderat, legat historiam Gilde, qui cognominatur sapiens, quam de rebus gestis huius provincie scripsit, et in eo multa et miranda repperiet.

There are, of course, no extant texts securely attributed to Gildas that mention Germanus of Auxerre. The account referred to here is found in the so-called Vatican recension of *HB* which is

the desire for darkness instead of sun, the welcoming of Satan as an angel of light," Gildas, *DEB* (ed. and trans. Winterbottom), pp. 24–5. Gildas, *DEB* (ed. Mommsen), pp. 36–7.

¹³⁰ Wulfstan, *Sermo Lupi* (ed. Whitelock), pp. 62–3.

¹³¹ Gildas, *DEB* (ed. Mommsen), p. 37, ln. 2.

¹³² Hall, "Wulfstan's Latin Sermons," pp. 108–9; Cross and Hamer, eds., *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*.

¹³³ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* (ed. Greenway), pp. lxxxv–cvii.

not reliably attributed to any named author.¹³⁴ In her edition of *Historia Anglorum*, Greenwald notes that in the first and second versions of the text, Henry attributes the account of Arthur that occurs in Book I, chapter 18 to Gildas while, in the third and later versions, this attribution is removed.¹³⁵ While much of Henry's treatment of the history of the Britons preserves echoes of *DEB*, his text clearly offers an adaptation of Bede's narrative in *HE*. Although Henry refers vaguely to the "writing of the ancients" in connection to the origins of Britain, there is no evidence – whether through shared vocabulary or other lexical echoes – of Henry having direct knowledge of *DEB*.

Geoffrey of Monmouth (c. 1095 – c. 1155)

After Bede, the author who drew most heavily upon Gildas for material and inspiration was unquestionably Geoffrey of Monmouth. Since the full extent of Geoffrey's debt to Gildas is well beyond the the scope of this chapter, I share here several points of correspondence between *DEB* and Geoffrey's *De gestis Britonum* that exemplify Geoffrey's reliance on his predecessor.¹³⁶ Geoffrey names Gildas in the prologue to *De gestis Britonum* stating:

*Cum mecum multa et de multis saepius animo reuoluens in hystoriam regum
Britanniae inciderem, in mirum contuli quod infra mentionem quam de eis Gildas
et Beda luculento tractatu fecerant nichil de regibus qui ante incarnationem
Christi inhabitauerant, nichil etiam de Arturo ceterisque compluribus qui post*

¹³⁴ Greenwald examines this issue briefly in her introduction. Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* (ed. Greenwald), pp. xc–xci.

¹³⁵ Arthur, of course, is conspicuously absent from the narrative of *DEB*, but he is mentioned repeatedly in texts of *HB*.

¹³⁶ Foundational discussions of the relationship between Gildas and Geoffrey may be found in Wright's essays, "Geoffrey of Monmouth and Gildas" and "Geoffrey of Monmouth and Gildas Revisited." See also Hanning, *The Vision of History in Early Britain*, pp. 121–72. More recent scholarship in this area and on Geoffrey's treatment of his sources includes Guy, "Geoffrey of Monmouth's Welsh Sources," pp. 31–66; Henley, "Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Conventions of History Writing," pp. 291–314; Thomas' "Geoffrey of Monmouth and the English Past," pp. 105–28; and Russell, "Geoffrey of Monmouth's Classical and Biblical Inheritance," pp. 67–104.

*incarnationem successerunt repperissem, cum et gesta eorum digna aeternitate laudis constarent et a multis populis quasi inscripta iocunde et memoriter praedicentur.*¹³⁷

Throughout *De gestis Britonum*, Geoffrey cites Gildas by name a total of seven times. These citations, however, are almost all in connection with material that is not present in any surviving witness of *DEB*. Neil Wright has argued that this misattribution of material by Geoffrey was deliberate and in service to his work, since by choosing Gildas as their origin, Geoffrey could then use “his [*i.e.* Gildas’] reputation as an historian to shore up more dubious elements in his narrative. At the same time, he included in these passages conventional compliments to Gildas’ stature as a writer.” While appropriating the authority of Gildas for his own ends, in one instance, Geoffrey’s reference to his predecessor accompanies a lengthy quote from *DEB* which I have set in the table below for ease of comparison.

<i>DEB</i>	Loc	<i>DGB</i>	Loc
Non solum vero hoc vitium, sed et omnia quae humane naturae accidere solent, et praecipue, quod et nunc quoque in eat totius boni evertit statum, odium veritatis cum assertoribus amorque mendacii cum suis fabricatoribus, susceptio mali, pro bono, veneratio nequitiae pro benignitate, cupido tenebrarum pro sole, exceptio Satanae pro angelo lucis.	21.3	Et ut Gildas historicus testatur, non solum hoc uitium sed omnia quae humanae naturae accidere solent et praecipue, quod tocius boni euertit statum, odium ueritatis cum assertoribus suis amorque mendacii cum fabricatoribus suis, susceptio mali pro bono, ueneratio nequitiae pro benignitate, exceptio Sathanae pro angelo lucis.	11.195, Ins. 355–60

¹³⁷ “While my mind was often pondering many things in many ways, my thoughts turned to the history of the kings of Britain, and I was surprised that, among the references to them in the fine works of Gildas and Bede, I had found nothing concerning the kings who lived here before Christ’s Incarnation, and nothing about Arthur and the many others who succeeded after it, even though their deeds were worthy of eternal praise and are proclaimed by many people as if they had been entertainingly and memorably written down,” *Prologus* 1.1. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *DGB* (ed. Reeve & trans. Wright), pp. 4–5.

his kingdom to the malfeasance of his ancestors – and second, the circumstance that Geoffrey’s adaptation of the material amounts (chiefly) to the omission of the quotation from Isaiah.¹³⁸

Typically, though, Geoffrey borrows from Gildas without comment.¹³⁹ In one such example, Geoffrey draws upon four different chapters of *DEB* to craft his narrative on a plague besetting the Britons:

<i>DEB</i>	Loc	DGB	Loc
<p>interea famis dira ac famosissima vagis et nutabundis haeret... nam et ipsos mutuo, perexigui victus brevi sustentaculo miserrimorum civium, latrocinando temperabant: et augebantur extemae clades domesticis motibus, quod huiusquemodi tam crebris direptionibus vacuaretur omnis regio totius cibi baculo, excepto venatoriae artis solatio.</p>	<p>20</p> <p>19</p>	<p>quia fames dira ac famosissima insipienti populo adhaesit ita ut tocius cibi sustentaculo quaeque uacuaretur prouincia, excepto uenatoriae artis solatio. Quam uero famem pestifera mortis lues consecuta est, quae in breui tantam populi multitudinem strauit quantam non poterant uiui humare. Vnde miserae reliquiae, patriam factis agminibus diffugientes, transmarinas petebant regiones cum ululatu magno sub uelorum sinibus hoc modo cantantes: ‘Dedisti nos, Deus, tanquam oues escarum et in gentibus dispersisti nos’.</p>	<p>Book IX, 203 Ins. 522–29</p>

¹³⁸ For a discussion of how Geoffrey employs a Gildasian perspective of history in service of his rhetorical goals, see Henley, “Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Conventions of History Writing,” pp. 291–314.

¹³⁹ Wright, “Geoffrey of Monmouth and Gildas,” p. 23.

pestifera namque **lues** feraliter
 insipienti populo incumbit
 quae **in brevi tantam** eius 22
multitudinem remote
 mucrone **sternit** quantam ne
 possint **vivi humare.**

alii **transmarinas petebant**
regiones cum ululato magno
 ceu celeumatis vice **hoc modo** 25
sub velorum sinibus
cantantes: ‘dedisti nos
tamquam oves escarum et in
gentibus dispersisti nos.’

This patchwork approach conforms with other borrowings that Geoffrey makes from Gildas (and other sources for that matter) which Wright describes as a “a keynote of Geoffrey’s variation of his source material.”¹⁴⁰ From these few examples, it is readily apparent that Geoffrey had at least one copy of *DEB* available to him and was intimately familiar with the work. His reworking of material for his own purposes demonstrates a deftness that comes from a deep familiarity with this source.¹⁴¹

William of Malmesbury (c. 1095 – c. 1143)

Unlike his near contemporary, Geoffrey of Monmouth, William appears to have only known Gildas as the alleged author of *HB* and by reputation through authors such as Bede.¹⁴²

William mentions Gildas, once, in connection with Glastonbury Abbey, “*Nam, sicut a majoribus accepimus, Gildas, neque insulsus neque infacetus historicus, cui Britanni debent si quid notitiae*

¹⁴⁰ Wright, “Geoffrey and Gildas,” pp. 20

¹⁴¹ Geoffrey’s use of Gildas was not limited to the *DGB* but appears in his *Prophetiae Merlini* as well. See Wright, “Geoffrey and Gildas” and “Geoffrey and Gildas Revisited,” for an extensive discussion of his borrowings and adaptation of Gildas.

¹⁴² Thomson, “The Reading of William of Malmesbury,” p. 389; Wright, “Geoffrey and Gildas,” p. 2.

inter ceteras gentes habent, multum annorum ibi exegit loci sanctitudine captus."¹⁴³ Despite describing him as an historian who was neither insipid nor unsophisticated, William does not appear to quote from Gildas or employ any Gildasian vocabulary.¹⁴⁴ If William had no direct knowledge of Gildas, but only knew of him by reputation or through Bede or because of the *HB* having been attributed to him in one recension, his choice of adjectives to describe him strikes me as odd for several reasons. First, Bede rarely indicates his borrowings from Gildas in *HE* which would render it difficult for William to assess Gildas' style as an historian. Second, *HB* is many things, but sophisticated does not seem (at least to me) to be the *mot juste*. It is also true that William was, as Winterbottom emphasizes, a highly conscious stylist who drew inspiration from classical authors in crafting his own voice.¹⁴⁵ On the other hand, William *was* responsible for the library at Malmesbury Abbey and was assiduous in its development and, in the course of his work, he had travelled to Canterbury and other foundations where he might well have found the text.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, Malmesbury's famed abbot, Aldhelm, was familiar with *DEB* and there is no reason to rule out the possibility that a copy of *DEB* had been preserved at that house. Nevertheless, William, if he relied on *DEB* to inform his historical narrative, has left no evidence that Gildas influenced his Latin style.

William of Newburgh (1136 – 1198)

In contrast to the situation involving his namesake, the evidence for William of Newburgh's direct knowledge and use (albeit minor) of Gildas is clear. Following the well-worn

¹⁴³ "For, just as we learned from our ancestors, Gildas, neither a tasteless nor unrefined historian, to whom the Britons are indebted, if among the other nations any record is known, spent many years there, captivated by that holy place" [translation mine].

¹⁴⁴ Wright, "Geoffrey and Gildas," p. 2.

¹⁴⁵ Winterbottom, "Words, Words, Words...", pp. 203–18.

¹⁴⁶ Winterbottom, "The *Gesta regum* of William of Malmesbury," at pp. 160 and 165; See also, Winterbottom, "William of Malmesbury on Malmesbury," p. 198.

groove of naming Gildas as a source, William, in the preface to his *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, writes:

*Habuit autem gens Britonum ante nostrum Bedam proprium historiographum Gildam, quod et Beda testatur, quaedam eius verba suis literis inserens: sicut ipse probavi, cum ante annos aliquot in eiusdem Gildae librum legendum incidissem. Cum enim sermone sit admodum impolitus atque insipidus, paucis eum vel transcribere vel habere curantibus, raro invenitur. Integritatis tamen eius non leve documentum est, quia in veritate promenda propriae genti non parcit, et cum admodum parce bona de suis loquatur, multa in eis mala deplorat; nec veretur, ut verum non taceat, Brito de Britonibus scribere, quod nec in bello fortes fuerint, nec in pace fideles.*¹⁴⁷

William's statement that Bede "inserted some of his [*i.e.* Gildas'] words into his books"¹⁴⁸ is telling since Bede does not indicate when he borrows from Gildas. That William could identify Bede's repurposing of Gildas' prose for *HE* is hardly to be wondered at since William tells us (*sicut ipse probavi, cum ante annos aliquot in eiusdem Gildae librum legendum incidissem*)¹⁴⁹ that he had read Gildas several years earlier. Despite William considering Gildas dull and unpolished, he nevertheless praises Gildas' integrity concerning his unsparing condemnation of his fellow Britons' wrongdoings. He closes his observation on Gildas with quote from *DEB* 6.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum* (ed. Howlett), p. 11.

¹⁴⁸ The statement "*quaedam eius verba suis literis inserens*" leaves little doubt of William's meaning.

¹⁴⁹ "As I have learned, when I happened to read the very same book of Gildas several years before" (translation mine). William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum* (ed. Howlett), p. 11.

¹⁵⁰ Compare with *DEB* 6, "*Ita ut in proverbium et derisum longe lateque efferretur quod Britanni nec in bello fortes sint nec in pace fideles,*" Gildas, *DEB* (ed. Mommsen), p. 30.

Gerald of Wales (c. 1146 – c. 1223)

In the preface of his *Descriptio Kambriae*, Gerald of Wales mentions Gildas by name and praises his writing with the observation, “*Qui ea quae vidit et ipse cognovit scripto commendans, excidiumque gentis suae deplorans potius quam describens, veram magis historiam texuit quam ornatam.*”¹⁵¹ Wright notes that Gerald demonstrates his familiarity with *DEB* in his encomium through his parallel (*deplorans potius quam describens*) with its opening sentence (*deflendo potius quam declamando*).¹⁵² Gerald, however, does more than employ a simple parallelism, but quotes directly from *DEB* in Book II.2 of the *Descriptio Kambriae*, writing, in the first instance, “*Quod et Gildas olim in libro De excidio Britonum, more historico suae gentis vitia veritatis amore non suppressens, his verbis declaravit: ‘Nec in bello fortes, nec in pace fideles.’*”¹⁵³ This citation, from Chapter 6 of *DEB*, is followed by a second quotation from Book 20, “*Sed, e diverso, qui a Scotis et Pictis, populisque tam vilibus, fere debellati, auxiliatrices Romanas toties vexarunt legiones, dicentes sicut ex Gilda colligimus, ‘Barbari nos ad mare, mare autem ad barbaros impellit: hinc submergimur, hinc trucidamur.’*”¹⁵⁴ Gerald follows this with the note, “*Et quod omnium istorum validius ignaviae eorum argumentum est, quod Gildas, qui vir sanctus erat et de gente eadem, in cunctis quas de gestis eorum scripsit historiis, nihil unquam egregium de ipsis posteritati reliquit.*”¹⁵⁵ In addition to these direct quotations, hints of Gildasian vocabulary appear in Gerald’s work, such as his use of *molossus* in his earlier work *Itinerarium Kambriae*.¹⁵⁶ Although my focus here is restricted to highlighting the direct evidence of Gerald’s

¹⁵¹ Gerald of Wales, *Descriptio Kambriae* (ed. Dimock), p. 158.

¹⁵² Wright, “Geoffrey of Monmouth and Gildas,” p. 2.

¹⁵³ Gerald of Wales, *Descriptio Kambriae* (ed. Dimock), p. 207.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ “*Contigit autem his nostris diebus, eisdem in finibus, quod et notabile censui, suillam siluestrem, quia canem forte lactuerat odoris naribus sagacem, cuius mamillis apposita fuerat, adultam in ferarum persecutione ad miraculum usque fuisse perualidam, adeo quidem ut molossis, ad hoc natura iuuante tam institutis quam instructis, odora sagacitate longe praestantior inueniretur*” is found in *Itinerarium Kambriae* Book I.2. Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae* (ed. Dimock), pp. 27–8.

knowledge of Gildas, recent studies by Huw Pryce and Patrick Wadden have contributed greatly to our understanding of how Gerald employed Gildas – not only his writings, but his memory as a saint and historian – to serve his rhetorical and political aims.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ Pryce, “Gerald of Wales, Gildas, and the *Descriptio Cambriae*,” pp. 115–24; Wadden, “Gerald of Wales, the *Topographia Hiberniae*, and the History of the Vikings in Ireland,” pp. 273–310.

Chapter 2 : Manuscript Description and the Question of Provenance

In its current state, the manuscript that forms the basis of this project, Cambridge University Library Ff.1.27 (Ff.1.27), is a composite volume formed of materials from the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. The argument made by M. R. James that the twelfth-century content (which includes the text of *DEB*) had previously formed a single book together with the twelfth-century materials preserved in the manuscript now known as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 66 (CCCC 66) has been widely accepted. This manuscript (which I shall refer to using the siglum λ) came into the possession of Archbishop Matthew Parker (1504–75) – his signature, *Matthæus Cantuar* and the date 1574 appear at the top of the first leaf – and, while in his ownership, was divided into two parts which were then joined with the two halves of a fourteenth-century book from Bury St Edmunds to form two new composite manuscripts. One of these – Ff.1.27 – was donated to the University Library at Cambridge where it has remained since. The other, CCCC 66, was part of his bequest that formed the nucleus of the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Whether the division and combination of the two manuscripts was intentional or accidental cannot be determined at this remove. The production of the quires of λ that are preserved in Ff.1.27 and CCCC 66 has been variously dated between the second half of the twelfth century to the first third of the thirteenth on the strength of palaeographical, art-historical, and other internal evidence that I shall examine further in discussing the complex question of its provenance.

Physical Description of CUL Ff.1.27

Currently, CUL Ff.1.27 measures 20 cm by 29 cm. The pricking along the inside edge is still visible while the pricking – with two exceptions – has been trimmed away on the outside

edge. Evidence of the binder's knife is clear as the second leaf is 21.5 cm wide while leaf 237 is nearly 22.5 cm wide. Further evidence of trimming is apparent from the numerous marginal glosses that have been abruptly cut off, as revealed by their clearly missing words or letters. That the second leaf was not trimmed is an interesting (and welcome) quirk of fate as it not only preserves the marginal gloss, but the pricking along the exterior edge. This allows us to compare the pricking found on the other leaf – 237 – that survived being rebound. Examination of the pricking of leaf 2 reveals that it is not matched on 237 (on which the table accompanying Gilbert of Limerick's *De statu ecclesiae* appears) which suggests that the two written sections were not initially intended to have been copied out in a single group of homogeneous quires for the same codex but were brought together at a later stage. Indeed, as we shall see, λ seems to have been comprised of a number of sections that end flush with the final leaves of certain codicological sub-units whose precise interrelationship is not easy to establish.

The first leaf is fairly yellowed from age and handling and shows, along with the second leaf, some evidence of bookworm activity though the rest of the quire containing *DEB* is free of such damage. The recto side of the second leaf is fairly dirty along the second outer column of writing owing, most probably, to the handling of the leaf and the exterior edge curls under on account of not having been trimmed down to the same size as the others in the quire.

Foliation, Collation, and Contents of λ

Despite CUL Ff.I.27 now comprising matter drawn from two distinct codices, it has nonetheless been possible to reconstruct the collation of λ prior to coming into Parker's possession in the sixteenth century. In his study of CUL Ff.I.27 and its kindred codex CCCC 66, Dumville identified early modern foliation appearing in the lower right corner of each recto of

the material that was drawn from λ .¹⁵⁸ Based on its absence from the Bury materials, its disfigurement when the leaves of λ were cut down, and its disagreement with the current arrangement of the quires in CUL Ff.I.27 and CCCC 66, Dumville argues convincingly that this foliation appeared in λ before its contents were dissociated and redistributed in the formation of the two manuscripts that we now have.¹⁵⁹ Since the foliation is missing from some leaves where it would otherwise be expected, Dumville claims this is evidence that this foliation pre-dates 1574 when the manuscript underwent its last major trimming.¹⁶⁰ In the upper right corner of each recto in both CUL Ff.I.27 and CCCC 66 is a series (of now much faded) page numbers entered in burnt sienna crayon which appear likely to have been added while in Parker's possession.¹⁶¹ These page numbers continue to be referenced by scholars to the present day.

Based on the collected evidence, Dumville reconstructed the foliation of λ as follows:

Reconstructed λ		Norton		Contents	Present	
foliation	collation	Sections	Parts		MS	Pages
					66	1–98
1-33	I ¹⁺⁸ II ⁸ III ⁸ IV ⁸	i	One	<i>Imago mundi</i>		2–58
				Excerpts from Pliny the Younger and others on geography		58–64
34-50	V ¹⁺⁸ VI ⁸	ii		<i>Historia de origine Anglorum</i>		66–98
				Gilbert of Limerick, <i>De usu ecclesiastico</i> (preface)		98
					Ff.1.27	237–52
51-58	VII ⁸	iii		Gilbert of Limerick, <i>De usu ecclesiastico, De statu ecclesie</i>		237–42
				British kings		243–5
				Kings and prophets of Israel, Persia, and Chaldea		246–8

¹⁵⁸ Dumville, “Sixteenth-century History,” pp. 433–4.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 434.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 433.

				extract from <i>Compendiosum cronicum de regibus Francorum</i> (Pharamundus to Louis VI)		249–52
				Kings of England (Ine to Henry I)		252
					66	99–114
59-66	VIII ⁸	iv		Thibaut d'Étamps, <i>Epistola de confessione in ultimo ad Robertum Lincolniensem Episcopum</i>		99, 101
				<i>De sex alis et triginta pennis Cherubim</i>		100, 101–8
				<i>De tribus in penitentia considerandis</i>		108–12
				<i>Sermo de quatuor generibus confessionis</i>		112–4
					Ff.1.27	1–40, 73–120
67-86	IX ⁸ X ¹²	v	Two	Gildas, <i>DEB</i>		1–14
				Nennius, <i>HB</i>		14–40
87-107	XI ⁸ XII ⁸ XIII ⁸	vi	Three	Bede, <i>De temporum ratione</i> , preface and last six chapters		73–116
				Bede, <i>De natura rerum</i> verse preface		116
				Chronological pieces attributed to Bede		116–9
				“ <i>Hec duo miracula sunt sumpta de historia Willelmi Malmesberiensis monachi</i> ”		120
					Ff.1.27	203–20
108-116	XIV ¹⁰ (lacks 2)	vii		Æthelwulf, <i>De abbatibus</i>		203–15
				“ <i>De regibus et regnis et episcopatibus tocius Anglie</i> ”		215–6
				“ <i>Quomodo uel quo ordine episcopi Anglie debent sedere in concilio</i> ”		216
				“ <i>Miraculum inauditum de quodam die tempestuoso, de tribus militibus, de cineribus, de auibus, et de monte Bebio</i> ”		217–8

				<i>“Miraculum de Stephano a demonibus rapto in monte Bebio”</i>		218–9
				<i>“Miraculum terrificum de primo Henrico Angelorum rege filio Willelmi”</i>		219
				<i>“Visio cuiusdam monachi Sauigniensis”</i>		219–20
					Ff.1.27	121–202
117-157	XV ¹⁺⁴ XVI ⁸ XVII ⁸ XVIII ⁸ XIX ¹⁴ (lacks 6, 10)	viii		Symeon of Durham, <i>Historia Dunelmensis ecclesie</i>		122–86
				Tract on Northumbrian kings and on the geography and ecclesiastical and secular units of England		128–30
				Properties given to St Cuthbert by King Ecgrith		186
				Materials from the so-called “First Continuation” of the <i>Historia Dunelmensis ecclesie</i>		187–90
				The “Second Continuation” of the <i>Historia Dunelmensis ecclesie</i>		191–4
				<i>De electione et ordinatione Hugonis episcopi</i>		194
				List of relics owned by Durham Cathedral		194
				<i>Historia de sancto Cuthberto</i>		195–202
				“Karta regis Eþelstani”		201–2
				<i>De situ Dunelmi et de sanctorum reliquiis que ibidem continentur</i> (Old English poem)		202
					Ff.1.27	221–36
158-165	XX ⁸	ix		Richard of Hexham, <i>De moderno et antiquo statu Hagustaldensis ecclesie</i>		221–36

Dumville, after reconstructing the foliation of λ (which coincides happily with the surviving fifteenth-century table of contents), made no attempt to identify a rationale for the texts it contained, but gave some passing consideration to the reason for its dismemberment.¹⁶² In a subsequent study, Christopher Norton argued for a close relationship between the physical form of λ and its contents.¹⁶³ After comparing the quires with their contents, Norton pointed out that λ may be viewed as consisting of nine sections of varying lengths of one to five quires, where each section (save section v which contains *two* related texts: *DEB* and *HB*) is comprised of a single primary text that is supplemented with additional texts. This organizational principle, as Norton stresses, is clearly demonstrated by the fact that a section's primary text typically terminates before the end of its section and the secondary material (which – barring one exception – is on a subject related to the section's main text) then serves to fill the remaining space in the relevant quire to the last column on its last verso.¹⁶⁴

Further, Norton observes that while the amount of illumination varies throughout the different sections, the appearance of the leaves and the script employed in the manuscript is noticeably consistent with some occasional variations. Additionally, Norton argues that the decorated initials present in λ are additional evidence for the manuscript being conceived of as a unified whole even while quires were being worked on independently of one another. Appearing chiefly at the start of a text with smaller, plainer *litterae notabiliores* appearing at section breaks and other divisions of the text, Norton identified three stylistic types of decorated initials in λ .

¹⁶² Dumville, "Sixteenth-century History," pp. 436–7.

¹⁶³ Norton, "History, Wisdom, and Illumination," pp. 63–71.

¹⁶⁴ This exception – the duplication of the Prologue to Gilbert of Limerick's *De statu ecclesiae* at the end of section ii and the beginning of section iii – and its relationship to the *Imago ecclesie* that accompanies Gilbert's text is adduced by Norton as evidence for the manuscript being conceived of as a unified whole but being prepared separately in the same scriptorium. See Norton, "History, Wisdom, and Illumination," pp. 68–9.

The first, which he terms Style A, spans his sections i to iv.¹⁶⁵ Executed in gold with a thick, black ink outline, Style A letters are filled and surrounded by blue, green, and red scrollwork that is further decorated with dots.

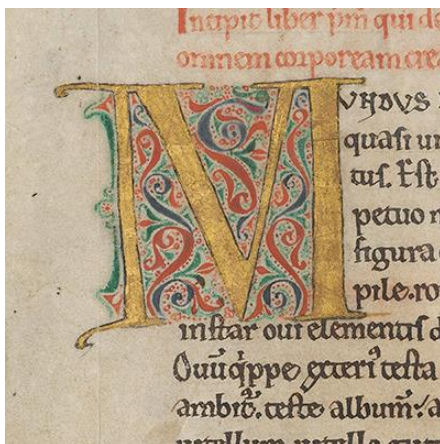


Figure 1: Example of a Style A decorated initial, the illuminated M beginning the “Imago mundi,” CCCC 66 3v.

The single exception to this is the unadorned pen-work initial for *Imago* on folio 52 in section iii (Figure 2). Norton suggests that this lack of adornment was likely intended to avoid the risk of a gold initial rubbing against the gold used in the *Imago ecclesie* illumination on the facing verso. Although this pen-work initial is somewhat less detailed, it nevertheless bears a resemblance to the initial A that is located in column A on the page where the *HB* begins (Figure 3). Although Norton makes no comment about this second initial, the similarities between these two initials suggest to me that the artists working on λ may have worked in stages, were not restricted to certain parts of the manuscript, or were making conscious efforts to maintain certain similarities in decoration.

¹⁶⁵ Norton, “History, Wisdom, and Illumination,” p. 70.

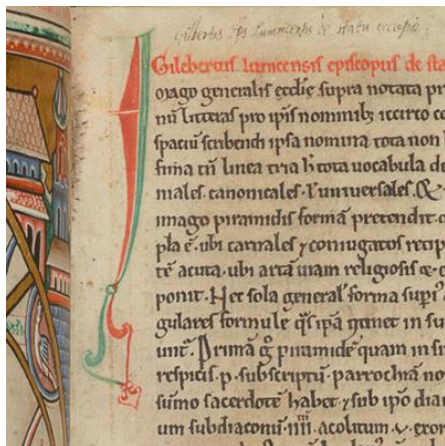


Figure 2: Detail of pen-work initial *I* (*imago*) beginning Gilbert of Limerick's "De statu ecclesie," CUL Ff.I.27 239r. (left)



Figure 3: Detail of the pen-work initial *A* that begins the synchronisms preceding *HB*, CUL Ff.I.27 11r. (right)

Interestingly, Norton's second type of initial – his Style B – accompanies only two texts – *DEB* and *HB*.¹⁶⁶ Altogether a more striking production, these initials are more elaborate, significantly larger, and otherwise appear markedly different from those assigned to Style A. The first, which appears after the *apologia* and *capitula* to *DEB* and marks the beginning of the main body of the text, is a fourteen-line arabesque initial **B** (for *Britannia*) illuminated in both gold and silver. The gold fills the lobes of the **B** while the silver is used in its descender. Although the silver has badly oxidized and now appears dark grey to the naked eye, the gold remains in good condition. The initial is embellished with blue, green, and red decorative tendrils and fretwork. The second Style B initial (Figure 4), like the first, follows the *apologia* and *capitula* to the *HB* and is a sixteen-line arabesque initial **B** (for *Britannia*).¹⁶⁷ It, too, is illuminated with gold, but unlike its counterpart in *DEB*, it lacks silver. Here the gold is restricted to filling cut-out fretwork in the descender and lobes of the **B**. Blue, green, and red again appear as the primary colors in the initial with white tendrils featuring foliate elements and animal heads filling the lobes of the **B**.

¹⁶⁶ Norton, "History, Wisdom, and Illumination," pp. 70–1.

¹⁶⁷ The top of this initial extends above the headline by about the width of two lines; see Figure 5.

The background of the upper lobe is filled with blue while the lower lobe is filled with green.

The colored backgrounds of both lobes are decorated with white dots. Although these initials are considerably more *de luxe* than those of either Styles A or C in Norton's scheme, neither appears to be the work of a first-rate artist.



Figure 4: Style B initial. Detail of initial B from Gildas, CUL Ff.I.27 2r. (left)



Figure 5: Style B initial. Detail of initial B from HB, CUL Ff.I.27 11r. (right)

The final type of initial (Style C) that Norton identified in λ , in contrast to first two, is not illuminated though it uses a similar palette albeit with the addition of a light brown.¹⁶⁸ The letters are formed of parallel lines that incorporate patterned designs of varying degrees of intricacy. The spaces formed by the bowls or lobes of letters are filled with bold scrollwork and patterns of foliage. This occasionally creates a solid effect (Figure 6) though in other instances there is sufficiently ample negative space to create an effect that is more open (Figure 7). The dotting or stippling that appears in Style A is absent in C. In his study, Norton notes that this form is restricted to the remaining four sections (vi to ix) of the manuscript (corresponding to quires XI

¹⁶⁸ Norton, "History, Wisdom, and Illumination," p. 71.

through XX).¹⁶⁹ Curiously, Norton is silent on the presence of the twenty-seven-line arabesque initial **I** of the *In hoc* that begins *DEB* (Figures 8 and 9 below), dominating the first page of his section v. Whether this was simply an oversight or whether he thought it did not belong to Style C is unclear. It is noteworthy that Norton did not offer a specific comment on this initial since it is clearly does not belong to Style B, but has a closer visual aspect to Style C, possibly connecting it to the later sections of λ . The body is composed of parallel lines of color – blue and green (the former much faded in parts) and filled with a cutwork pattern in red and negative space. The left side of the initial has a green and red saw-tooth pattern along its length (Figure 8) while the bottom right side terminates in a blue tendril decorated with red dotting (Figure 9). This is particularly relevant since Norton relies on his categorization of initial styles and their location in λ to argue that the manuscript is formed of three distinct parts.¹⁷⁰



Figure 6: Type C initial. Detail of initial D, CUL Ff.1.27 73r. (left)



Figure 7: Type C initial. Detail of initial R, CUL Ff.1.27 123r. (right)

¹⁶⁹ Norton, “History, Wisdom, and Illumination,” p. 71.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

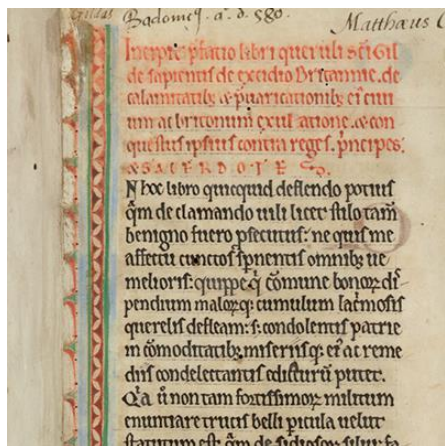


Figure 8: Detail of the upper half of the untyped initial *I(n hoc)* that begins *DEB*, *CUL Ff.I.27 1r.* (left)

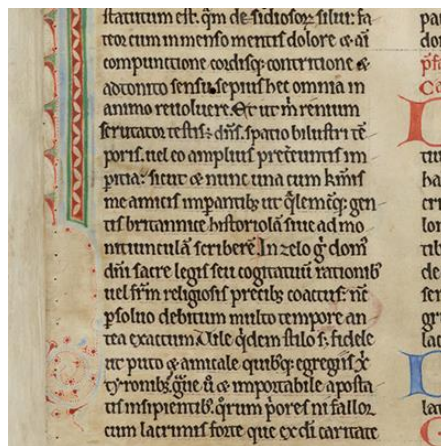


Figure 9: Detail of the upper half of the untyped initial *I(n hoc)* that begins *DEB*, *CUL Ff.I.27 1r.* (right)

Scribal Conventions, Abbreviations, and Orthography

In the following discussion, my focus is limited to the hand used for *DEB* and the leaves upon which it is written. The complex questions about the hands used throughout λ – and the related CCCC 139 – are beyond the scope of this study. Ruled with plummet in two columns of thirty-six lines, the hand is a neat, even English *praegothica* that exhibits features of Northern Textualis which appeared in England in the second half of the twelfth century.¹⁷¹ The scribe employed both the discrete Carolingian *r* as well as its 2-shaped form. The latter appears regularly throughout the text—chiefly after *o*, albeit inconsistently. (Conveniently, both forms may be seen in Figure 10, 2a). The *g* has a closed lower bow (Figure 10, 3a), which Derolez notes, was “gradually adopted” and became “the normal shape by the last decades of the [twelfth] century.”¹⁷² The Carolingian *d* with its vertical ascender predominates, but the uncial *d* with a sloping ascender is used intermittently (Figure 10, 6a) and occasionally features an

¹⁷¹ I follow Derolez here in the use of *praegothica* with the firm understanding that there are issues with the concept of “pre-dating” a script. The period in question was one of transition in book production and this had an impact on scribal practice. Derolez, *Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 72

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 61

ascender curving and terminating to the right.¹⁷³ For **s**, the scribe used both tall **s** and its rounded form though use of the latter tends to be limited to the ends of words or the beginning of abbreviations where, as Derolez notes, “an abbreviation stroke above the line would interfere with the straight **s**, as in the abbreviations for ‘sunt’ and ‘sibi’.”¹⁷⁴ When used, **y** is consistently dotted (Figure 10, 12b), and the double **v** form of **w** appears. The aspect of **x** is closer to the forms classified as Northern Textualis and is rounded in execution rather like an inverted **c** joined with **c** with the lower part of the leftmost bow ending on the baseline below its opposite (Figure 10, 6b).¹⁷⁵ Biting appears often, typically with **pp** (Figure 10, 13b), though occasionally with other letter pairs such as **po** (Figure 10, 2b). The **st** ligature (Figure 10, 4a) makes a regular appearance as does the ligature **ct**, though the latter is restrained in appearance with the top of the bow of **c** joining the horizontal bar of **t** (Figure 10, 3a). Consecutive **l** and **f** have linked serifs (Figure 10, 12b) while repeated **i** (Figure 10, 12b), as in *tyberii*, and repeated **e** (Figure 10, 7a) as in *leena*, are given acute lines. Classical Latin diphthongs, such as **ae** and **oe**, are regularly expressed as a simple **e** (Figure 10, 7a).

¹⁷³ In Figure 10, line 18a, the uncial **d** in *dabant* appears to have been used to provide space for the adjacent gloss *romanis* which suggests that the scribe was copying from a glossed exemplar. Otherwise, there is no clear reason for the additional space that this letter form would give.

¹⁷⁴ Derolez, *Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 64.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

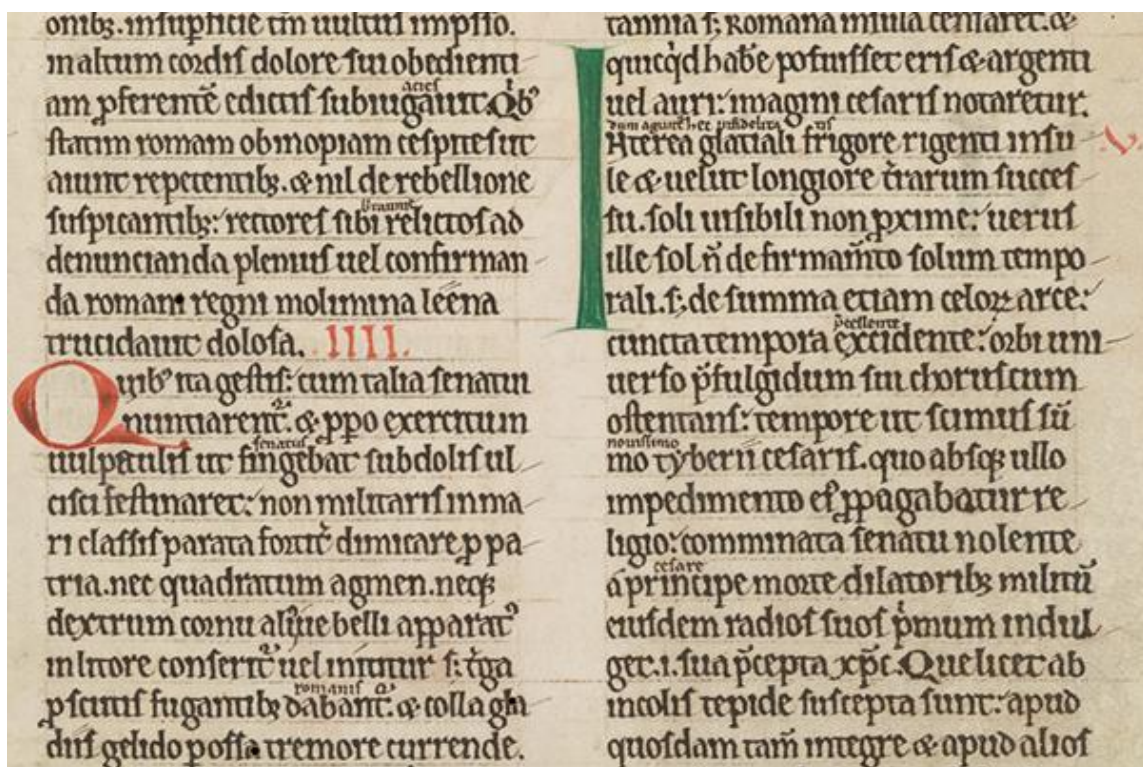


Figure 10: Detail of scribal features in Gildas, DEB, CUL Ff.1.27 3r.

Majuscule letter forms appear throughout the text of *DEB* in the various *incipits* and *explicits*, at the start of sentences, or to lend emphasis to certain words – particularly names of people. In some instances, a majuscule appears immediately after a *littera notabilior*, such as in Figure 10 (2-8b) where the green *littera notabilior* **i** that begins the word *interea* is followed by a majuscule **n**. This suggests that space was left by the scribe for the subsequent addition of the *litterae notabiliores*; however, this practice is, at best, sporadic.

Abbreviations are used regularly with ampersands appearing for **et** (Figure 10, 5a), **.i.** for *id est*, **÷** for *est*, and **ꝛ** for *-orum/-arum* (Figure 10, 8b). The Tironian *et* (**7**) only appears in glosses as does the nine-shaped abbreviation (**9**) for *con-*. The semicolon is used by the scribe for both the *-que* (Figure 10, 15a) abbreviation and in conjunction with a long *s* for *sed* (**f;**) (Figure 10, 17a). The abbreviation for *-bus* appears either as the single-stroke **3** (Figure 10, 5a) or as **9**

(Figure 10, 3a). As one might expect, the orthography of the scribe displays many of the idiosyncrasies of Insular Latin with certain letters being used interchangeably such as **i** and **y** in *martiribus* or *ydolatrarum*, **ci** for **ti** in *denuncianda* or in *praefacio* for *praefatio*, **i** and **e** in *imagini* for *image*, while others are omitted entirely like **h** in *pulcritudine*. Nonetheless, such exchanges are generally possible to distinguish clearly in the hand. Punctuation is used extensively – primarily in the form of a *punctus* (Figure 10, 1a) or *punctus elevatus* (Figure 10, 6a), though a *punctus interrogativus* appears once (Figure 11) to underscore the rhetorical effect of Gildas’ text. Word breaks at the end of a line are typically indicated with a hair line (Figure 10, 2a).

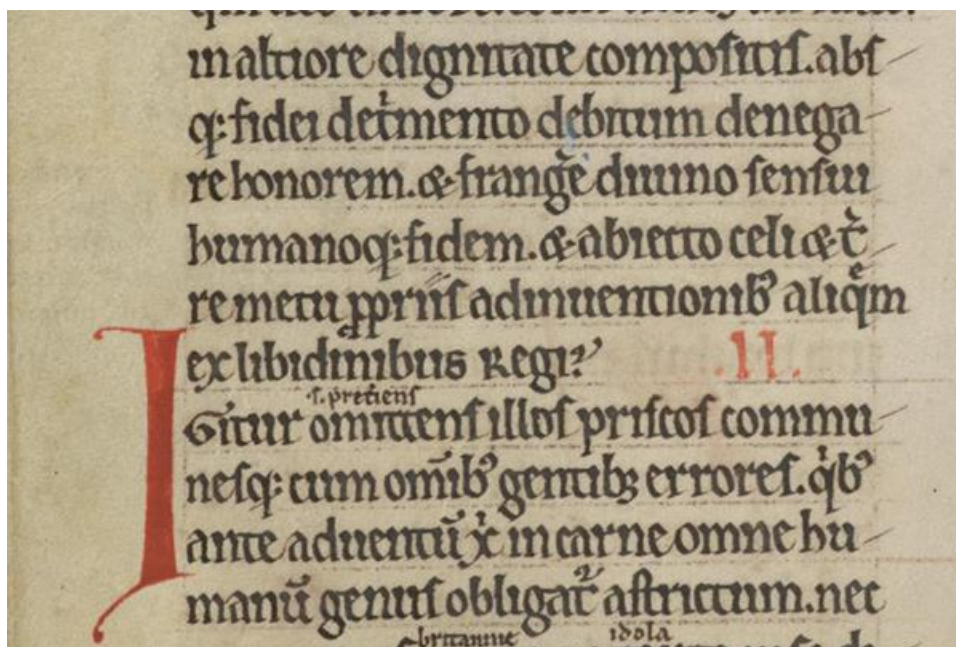


Figure 11: Detail showing *punctus interrogativus*, CUL Ff.1.27 2v.

Throughout the listing of *DEB*'s *capitula*, each section is distinguished with a pen-drawn *littera notabilior* that, typically, stands two lines tall (though there are several that are restricted to a single line) alternating between red and blue. One such is decorated with a dot in the center, another is given some scrollwork, while a third contains an **r** in green – presumably as a

correction – since the red **q** (Figure 12) that begins the line makes no sense as the description begins *recapitulatio singlorum que superius descripta sunt*. The *capitula* are numbered in rubricated Roman numerals – both in the initial listing and in the main body of the work. In the main body of the text, pen-drawn *litterae notabiliores* are used to mark the start of each new chapter. Apart from one such *littera* in green, they are red and blue and frequently plain in aspect. Some, however, are decorated with dots and stippling although one employs arabesque features while others have wavy zigzags and curling tails.

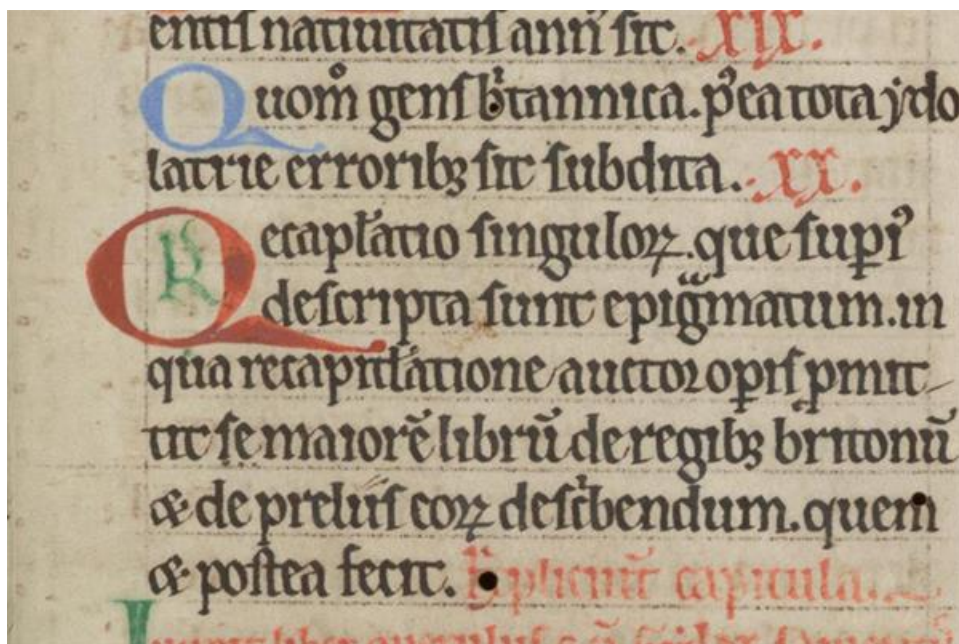


Figure 12: Detail of correction to capitulum in *DEB*, CUL Ff.I.27 2r.

Other than the Style B initial that begins Gildas' *historia*,¹⁷⁶ there is no elaborate artwork that accompanies the text. Alongside this initial, in red, blue, and green capitals, the first five words of the first sentence of Gildas' description of Britain occupy the remaining space in the column. This use of capitals is mirrored in the beginning of the *HB* which clearly indicates that

¹⁷⁶ This corresponds to Mommsen's section 3. Gildas, *DEB* (ed. Mommsen), p. 28.

artists or scribes responsible for the production of the initials and capitals were keen to create a sense of visual continuity between the two works (compare Figures 4 and 5 above).

Dating, Origin, and Provenance

The questions of dating, place of origin, and further localization of λ are closely intertwined with another twelfth-century manuscript now held in the collection of the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Known as CCCC 139, this manuscript's contents includes, among other things, the unique compilation known as Symeon of Durham's *Historia regum* and its subsequent *Continuatio* by John of Hexham, *Carmen de morte Sumerledi*, *De gestis regis Stephani et de bello standardii*, *Epistola ad Hugonem decanum Eboracensem de archiepiscopis Eboracensium*, *Descriptio de bello inter regem Scotiae et barones Angliae*, *Historia foundationis abbatae sanctae Mariae Eboracensis*, *Epistola de egressu monachorum Fontanensium*, and *Visio cuiusdam clerici de gloria regis Malcolmi*. Like the texts found in λ , the texts in CCCC 139 display a unifying sensibility that is distinctly northern. Further attesting to the concerns with early British history that engaged northern English historical writers which we see in the copies of *DEB* and *HB* in λ , CCCC 139 includes full texts of *HB* and a *Vita sancti Gildae*.¹⁷⁷ The treatment of the *HB* found in CCCC 139, including the annotations and other paratextual material, served as the direct exemplar for the integrated text that is preserved in CUL Ff.I.27 which silently incorporates nearly all of these.¹⁷⁸

Based on internal evidence related to the rubrics that accompany the *Historia regum*, Peter Hunter Blair determined that the material assigned to the *Historia regum* had been copied by September 1164, a conclusion that has met with wide acceptance.¹⁷⁹ Taken alongside the

¹⁷⁷ M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 137–45.

¹⁷⁸ Nennius, *HB* (ed. Mommsen), p. 125

¹⁷⁹ Hunter Blair, "Some Observations on the *Historia Regum*," pp. 75–8.

presence of texts dealing with the death of Somerled (†1164) and a clerical vision of King Malcolm IV (†1165), it is clear that the assembly of CCCC 139 took place over a period of several years approaching and running into the latter third of the twelfth century. Although seldom mentioned or interrogated in more recent scholarship, Hunter Blair's conclusion relies on an involved chain of deductive logic. His argument, while certainly plausible, rests on what might essentially be seen as a silent reference to Bede's death-date devised by one of the scribes involved in the creation of CCCC 139. Remarkably, two clear *termini* related to the reign of Henry II have been consistently neglected by later scholars investigating these materials. The first, in CCCC 139, appears in the *incipit* (Figure 13) to the sequence of texts attributed to Symeon of Durham. Written in rubricated letters, this introduction reads, "*incipit historia sancte et suavis memorie Symeonis monachi et precentoris ecclesie sancti Cuthberti Dunelmi de regibus anglorum et dacorum et creberimis bellis rapinis et incendiis eorum post obitum uenerabilis Bede presbyteri fere usque ad obitum regis primi henrici filii Willielmi nothi qui angliam adquisiuit id est cccc^{mo} xxix annorum et iiii mensium.*"

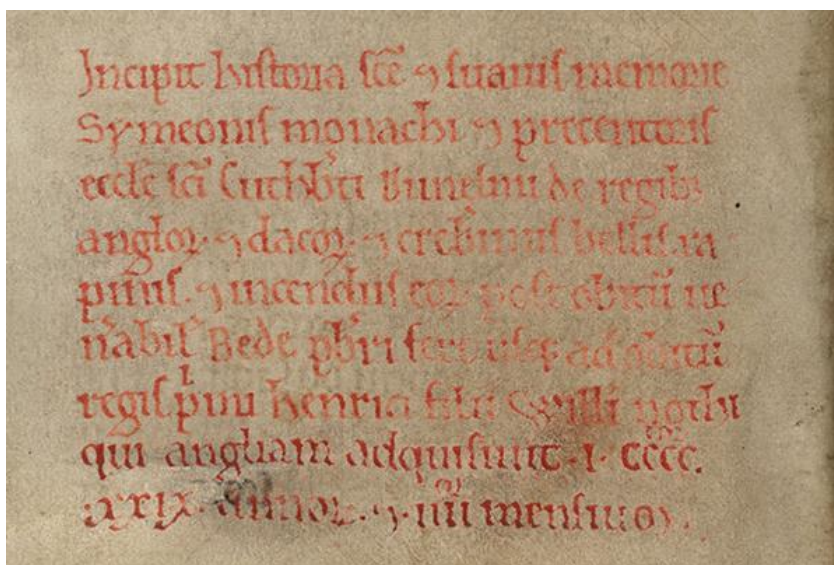


Figure 13: Detail of rubricated incipit to texts attributed to Symeon of Durham, CCCC 139 51v.

As Hunter Blair notes, the reference to the death of Henry *primus* immediately brings Henry *secundus* to mind. Thus, since Henry II became king in 1154, this rubric could not have been composed before that date. This *terminus* is corroborated by two pieces of evidence found in the *Historia Anglorum* which was formerly a part of λ and which is now preserved in CCCC 66. The first, found at the end of the regnal lists for England and its predecessor states – Wessex, Mercia, Bernicia, *et cetera* – on 78r of CCCC 66, is a clear notice of Henry II, “*Successit ei henricus filius Galfridi comitis andegauensis et Maltildis imperatricis filie henrici regis. Dux uero uxorem Alienorem reginam franciae. Filiam ducis Aquitaniae.*”

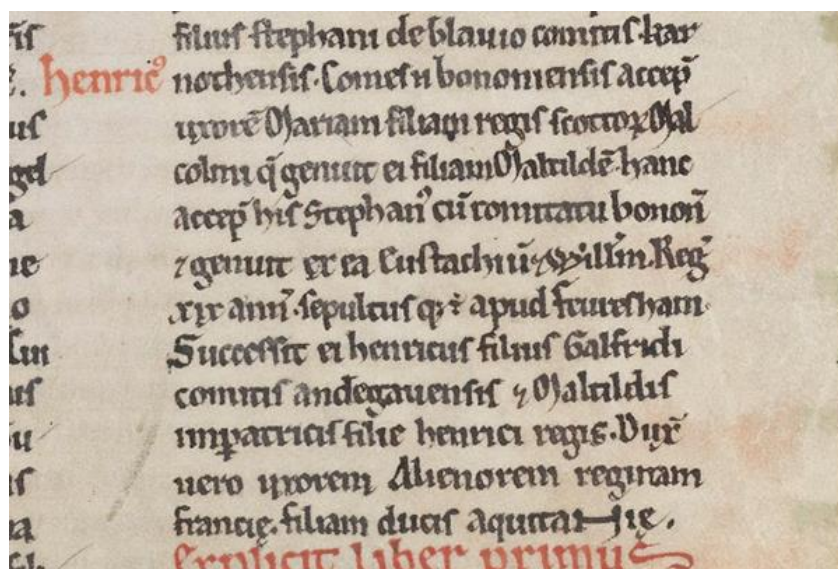


Figure 14: Detail of entry for Henry II, CCCC 66, 78r.

The *explicit* to this text, found at 98v (Figure 15), states:

Explicit historia de gestis omnium regum anglorum post aduentum illorum in angliam et episcoporum et omnium episcopatum tocius anglie post aduentum sancti Augustini in angliam usque in hodiernum diem id est usque ad annum post incarnationem Christi m.c. octogesimum. viii regnante glorioso rege henrico

secundo. Angli saxones regnante martiano secundo uenerunt ad britanniam anno uidelicet post passionem christi cccc^{mo} xl^o septimo.

Beyond its inclusion of another clear reference to Henry II (and the implicit *terminus a quo* of 1154), the scribe in λ also seems to point to a significantly later terminus, here in the year 1188. There is no question that the *Historia Anglorum* material could have been completed prior to the date of 1188 or that the copying of texts into λ may postdate that year. The use of the phrase *in hodiernum diem*, however, suggests that this *explicit* was not copied from an exemplar, but was contemporaneous with the completion of the copying of the *Historia Anglorum* sequence into λ .

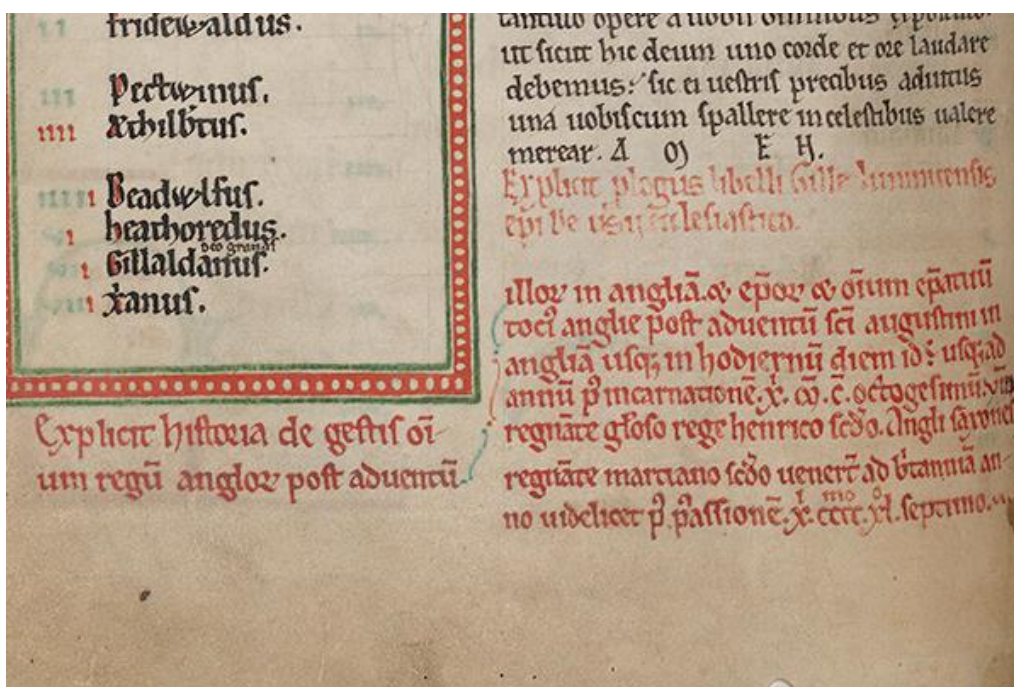


Figure 15: Detail of rubricated explicit to the “*Historia Anglorum*” in CCC 66 50v.

A year closer to Hunter Blair’s proposed earlier terminus of 1164 finds support in Dumville’s demonstration that a copy of the *HB* found in a third manuscript (Durham Cathedral Library B.II.35, s. xii¹ *in prima manu*; additions of s. xii²) received extensive annotations and

supplemental material drawn directly from CCCC 139 in the year 1166.¹⁸⁰ The production of B.II.35 at a scriptorium located at Durham itself has not been questioned, but a detailed examination of the textual evidence makes it equally clear that the exemplar of the *HB* in CCCC 139 was *not* produced at Durham – instead, the exemplar seems to have been borrowed and returned. From the available evidence, we may, with some degree of confidence, assign a period for the textual programme involving the compilation of CCCC 139 and λ to dates between *c.* 1166 and 1188.¹⁸¹ Most plausibly, however, this period should be regarded as extending some years before the earliest date (though in no case earlier than 1154) and later than 1188, but not, perhaps, as I shall discuss in due course, extending into the early thirteenth century as some scholars have maintained.

From his comparison of the additions to DCL B.II.35 to the full body of paratextual material in CCCC 139,¹⁸² Dumville further observed that the process of emending and annotating the *HB* had not ended by that point, as additional material present in the latter manuscript did not appear in the former.¹⁸³ This conclusion also draws upon his identification of no fewer than seven hands (which he designates hands C¹ to C⁷) involved in the development of the texts in CCCC 139 over a period of some years. The annotations and revisions made to CCCC 139 by three hands – C¹, C², and C³ – may be assigned to the period leading up to 1166 insofar as they appear in the revisions to DCL B.II.35 while those made by hands C⁴, C⁵, C⁶, and C⁷ do not. These latter four hands are – the conclusion being bolstered by his assessment of the palaeographical evidence – deemed by Dumville to postdate the others. We thus have a stratum

¹⁸⁰ Dumville, “Corpus Christi ‘Nennius’,” pp. 372–3.

¹⁸¹ These dates have significant implications concerning the probable origins of CCCC 139 and λ which I explore on pp. 90–97.

¹⁸² Dumville, “Corpus Christi ‘Nennius’,” p. 373.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 374–6.

of readings in CCCC 139 that can be thus most plausibly assigned to the period spanning 1166 × c. 1188, according to the criteria set out above. Dumville's claim regarding additions dated to *circa* 1200 and later are addressed below. In any case, the text of *HB* in CCCC 139 appears to have undergone a steady process of accretion, as it was collated with other manuscripts and material drawn from other sources, that extended well into the second half of the twelfth century.¹⁸⁴ It was this steady process of accretion that resulted in several other points of correspondence which reveal the close relationship between CCCC 139 and λ . In particular, two glosses to the text of *HB* in CCCC 139 were not copied into the *integrated* text found in λ , but appear as marginal glosses to that text and, in both instances, they are written in what Dumville has identified as the hand of C⁷.¹⁸⁵ The close connection between the two manuscripts throughout the period in question is illuminated further by the omission of a passage from the integrated text of λ that is found in CCCC 139, where it is marked in brackets, presumably as an indication for its proposed elimination in the course of subsequent copying.¹⁸⁶ Finally, Dumville notes that, "a hand having some of the charter-characteristics of C⁴" adds a commentary gloss (drawing on the putatively Celtic commonplace of *tempus*, *locus*, and *persona*) in the right margin of 2r of CUL Ff.I.27 near the start of the *capitula* accompanying the text of Gildas' *DEB* in λ .¹⁸⁷ Indeed, this contribution (Figure 16) provides a remarkable example in which a comment that is redolent of the Celtic (characteristically Welsh and also Irish-linked) glossing traditions which typify the annotations throughout CCCC 139 finds a place in direct proximity to the text of Gildas in λ .

¹⁸⁴ Dumville, "Corpus Christi 'Nennius'," at pp. 373 and 378.

¹⁸⁵ Dumville, "Celtic-Latin Texts," p. 37.

¹⁸⁶ Dumville, "Corpus Christi 'Nennius'," p. 376.

¹⁸⁷ Dumville, "Celtic-Latin Texts," pp. 45–9.



Figure 16: Detail of gloss showing a putative Celtic commonplace in DEB, CUL Ff.I.27 2r.

While Dumville's assessment of the dating rests, in part, on the inexact science of palaeography, he also points to contemporary references in a pair of annotations – the first made by C⁵, the latter by C⁷ – to CCC 139 as corroborating evidence for the period when C⁷ was active.¹⁸⁸ The note by C⁵, in addition to recording a trip by King Arthur to Jerusalem, observes that a fragment of the True Cross and an image of the Virgin Mary are held in great veneration at the Church of St Mary at Wedale in the Scottish Borders (*olim* Midlothian). The second note, according to Dumville, effectively offers a gloss to this gloss and is significantly more important since it might seem to offer a more secure, historically grounded, dating criterion.¹⁸⁹ This second note is also reproduced in the integrated text of the *HB* in λ (now CUL Ff.I.27). Situated in the margin of 177r in CCC 139, the addition by C⁷ reads:

¹⁸⁸ Dumville, "Corpus Christi 'Nennius'," pp. 376–7; See also Dumville, "Celtic-Latin Texts," pp. 37–8.

¹⁸⁹ Dumville, "Corpus Christi 'Nennius,'" p. 377.

Wedale anglice, uallis doloris latine. Wedale uilla est in prouintia Lodanesie, nunc uero iuris episcopi Sancti Andree Scotie, sex miliaria ab occidentali parte ab illo quondam nobili monasterio de MELROS.

Wedale in English, Valley of Sorrow in Latin. Wedale village is in the province of Lothian, now, in truth, of the right of the bishop of Saint Andrew of Scotland, six miles from the western side of that formerly noble monastery of Melrose.¹⁹⁰

For Dumville, this gloss was proof that C⁷ was writing after St Mary's Wedale had become part of the property of the bishop of St Andrews during the tenure of William Malvoisin (1202–38).¹⁹¹ This transfer of ownership from the hereditary priest had supposedly (according to a later tradition) occurred by 1207,¹⁹² when the bishop's right to church properties in Wedale was confirmed by Innocent III.¹⁹³ This, according to Dumville, offers proof that the work on the text

¹⁹⁰ It is unclear from the gloss whether the annotator is referring to Old Melrose Abbey founded by Aidan of Lindisfarne in 651 (which was destroyed in 839 in a raid by Kenneth I of Scotland) or the new foundation that was established in 1136 by Cistercians at the invitation of King David of Scotland I. Consultation with Google Maps reveals that – as the crow flies – neither is due east of Stow, but rather to the south east and at least 10 miles separates New Melrose from Wedale.

¹⁹¹ Dumville, "Corpus Christi 'Nennius'," p. 377.

¹⁹² As evidence of this, Dumville points to a marginal note dating to s. xiii/xiv found in a twelfth-century charter related to land dispute in Wedale between St Mary's and Melrose that is preserved in a cartulary from the latter. The authenticity and dating of this charter, however, is questionable. Dumville, "Corpus Christi 'Nennius'," p. 377, n. 3.; Barrow et al, *Regesta Regum Scottorum* II, p. 288–9.

¹⁹³ The full text of this document from Innocent III has not been cited previously in this connection. *CLXXV EPISCOPO SANCTI ANDREAE EJUSQUE SUCCESSORIBUS. CANONICE SUBSTITUENDIS IN PERPETUUM. De confirmatione privilegiorum. (Apud S. Petrum, XII Kal. Januarii.) Ideo sumus ad universalis Ecclesiae regimen, licet insufficientibus meritis, providentia supernae dispositionis assumpti ut circa universum corpus Ecclesiae aciem debeamus nostrae considerationis extendere et fratribus et coepiscopis nostris, tam iis qui prope sunt quam qui longe, apostolicum suffragium exhibere, ne alicui propter remotionem locorum apostolicae sedis desit providentia vel tutela. Eapropter, venerabilis in Christo frater episcopo, tuis justis postulationibus clementer annuimus, et ecclesiam Sancti Andreae, cui auctore Domino praeesse dignosceris, **ad exemplar felicitis recordationis Alexandri papae** praedecessoris nostri sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus et praesentis scripti patrocinio communitus, statuentes ut quascunque possessiones, quaecunque bona eadem Ecclesia in praesenti juste et canonice possidet, aut in futurum concessione pontificum, largitione regum vel principum, oblatione fidelium, seu aliis justis modis praestante Domino poterit adipisci, firma tibi tuisque successoribus et illibata permaneant, in quibus haec propriis duximus exprimenda vocabulis. In Fifh, Kilridmund, cum tota Shira, Derveisin, Uhtredinunesin. insulam Iohlevenoh cum appendiciis suis, Munemel, Terineth, Morcambus, Methkil, Kilecincath, Muccard, Pethgob, cum terris ecclesiarum, Straththeihten, Rescolpin, Cas, Dulbrudet, Russin, Losse, et juxta Perth Lungportin. In Maret Buhhan, Munemus, Culsamuel, Elon, cum terris **ecclesiarum suarum** et omnibus pertinentiis suis. In Laodonia Listune, Eggesmanekin, Keldeleth, Raththen, Lessuade, **Wedale**, Clerkintun,*

of the *HB* in CCCC 139 must have continued in the period 1202 × c. 1207, and thus the reproduction of this note in the integrated text in λ shows that this part of λ cannot have been produced before the period in question (*i.e.* 1202 × c. 1207).¹⁹⁴

Yet Dumville’s argument concerning the dating, although attractive in many ways, is not as ironclad as he asserts. That the marginal annotation made by C⁷ was subsequently absorbed into the text of the *HB* in λ is clear enough (along with nearly all the paratextual material in CCCC 139). In his argument against Dumville’s claim, Meehan questions Dumville’s reliance on “a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century marginal addition to a copy of a spurious charter” in establishing that St Mary’s Wedale became a part of the Bishop of St Andrews holdings during Malvoisin’s bishopric.¹⁹⁵ Moreover, he observes that the significance of the date 1207 is equally tenuous since it is entirely possible that St Mary’s Wedale had become a part of the bishop’s possessions earlier and that this transfer was only recorded later.¹⁹⁶ Indeed, Meehan suggests that Innocent’s statement that he is acting “in accordance with letters of Pope Alexander” (*ad*

Thiningan cum appendiciis suis, Brochesmuthe. Possessiones autem et redditus qui sunt in Can et Cunevet ad mensam episcopi deputati, sicut eos in praesenti juste ac canonice possides, tibi et successoribus tuis auctoritate apostolica nihilominus confirmamus. Insuper etiam praesenti pagina tibi duximus indulgendum ut possessiones et bona ecclesiae tibi commissae, si qua illicite alienata sunt vel distracta, tibi liceat legitime revocare. Liceat quoque tibi in ecclesia Sancti Andreae, cum priore vacaverit, eum sine contradictione qualibet instituere, sicut hactenus praedecessores tui et tu ipse fecistis, et ipsius excessus, si quando excesserit, digne corrigere. Decernimus ergo ut nulli omnino hominum liceat praefatam ecclesiam temere perturbare aut ejus possessiones auferre, vel ablatas retinere, minuere, seu quibuslibet vexationibus fatigare, sed omnia illibata et integra conserventur eorum pro quorum gubernatione ac sustentatione concessa sunt usibus omnimodis profutura: salva sedis apostolicae auctoritate. Si qua igitur in futurum ecclesiastica saecularisve persona, hanc nostrae constitutionis paginam sciens, contra eam temere venire tentaverit, secundo tertiove commonita nisi praesumptionem suam digna satisfactione correxerit, potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat, reamque se divino iudicio existere de perpetrata iniquitate cognoscat, et a sacratissimo corpore ac sanguine Dei et Domini Redemptoris nostri Jesu Christi aliena fiat, atque in extremo examine districtae ultioni subjaceat. Cunctis autem eidem ecclesiae sua jura servantibus sit pax Domini nostri Jesu Christi; quatenus et hic fructum bonae actionis percipiant, et apud districtum Iudicem praemia aeternae pacis inveniant. Amen. Datum Romae, apud Sanctum Petrum, per manum Joannis Sanctae Mariae in Cosmidin diaconi cardinalis S. R. E. cancellarii, XII Kal. Januarii, indictione XI, Incarnationis Dominicae anno 1206, pontificatus vero domini Innocentii PP. III, anno decimo. Innocent III, “CLXXV Episcopo Sancti Andreae ejusque successoribus,” PL 215, cols 1265A–1266A.

¹⁹⁴ Dumville, “Corpus Christi ‘Nennius,’” p. 377. This gloss appears in CUL Ff.I.27 on 19r at the bottom of column A. See Figures 22 and 23 for detailed images of the gloss.

¹⁹⁵ Meehan, “A Reconsideration of the Historical Works,” p. 75.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 74–5.

exemplar felicitis recordationis Alexandri papae) may indicate that Wedale had been transferred to the see of St Andrews during the papacy of Alexander III (1159-81) and subsequently confirmed by his successor.¹⁹⁷ In his discussion concerning the dating of this section of λ , Norton – joining Meehan – is equally skeptical of Dumville’s argument assigning it a thirteenth-century date.¹⁹⁸ Overall, Norton approaches the task of evaluating the date of λ in a different fashion and examines each part for evidence concerning its date of composition. Norton points out that there is no internal evidence in Part 2 of λ (which consists solely of *DEB* and *HB*) to establish a date for its composition and – accepting Dumville’s evidence of the inclusion of material from CCCC 139 – suggests that this part was composed “after the mid-1160s date of [CCCC 139] and probably not before the 1170s.”¹⁹⁹ Based on the inclusion of material concerning the activities of Hugh de Puiset as bishop of Durham (1153-95) – particularly that related to the construction of the Galilee Chapel in the cathedral around 1175 – in the portion of λ that he identifies as Part 3, Norton argues this part was probably composed between 1175 and 1195. Although he concludes his discussion with the observation that nothing in Parts 2 and 3 preclude the 1188 date of Part 1, Norton is careful to remind us that this should not be taken as a date unduly restricting the full span of years which saw the development of λ .

Although Meehan and Norton both take issue with evidence from the cartulary that Dumville adduces for his argument concerning the date of CUL Ff.I.27, it should be noted that Dumville’s reading of the annotation by C⁷ is not without difficulties either. It does not seem to have been pointed out previously that the annotation in fact says nothing explicitly about St Mary’s Wedale. Instead of writing about the *ecclesia sanctae Mariae* or even just the *ecclesia*,

¹⁹⁷ Meehan, “A Reconsideration of the Historical Works,” p. 75, n. 3.

¹⁹⁸ Norton, “History, Wisdom, and Illumination,” pp. 71–2, n. 20.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

the annotator states that *Wedale villa* (emphasis mine) lies within the episcopal see of St Andrews. The entry for *villa* in the DMLBS shows that medieval British texts used the term for rural dwellings, country estates, farms, villages, manors, and the like. It did not, however, appear to be used with reference to churches.²⁰⁰ Moreover, even if *villa* is understood to include St Mary's Wedale, it is by no means certain that the annotator was stating that the ownership of the church had been transferred to the immediate holdings of the bishop of St Andrews rather than indicating, in a more general way, that the village (*villa*) fell within the episcopal see of St Andrews, in a region whose villages were at times variously reckoned to be part of the see of Glasgow.

In many ways, the provenance of λ is as confounding as its dating. Since the provenance of CCCC 139 is closely related to λ , a brief survey of the history of that manuscript is in order. In his edition of the *HB*, Mommsen assigned the origin of CCCC 139 to Sawley Abbey – a Cistercian monastery in the West Riding of Yorkshire – and gave it a thirteenth-century date. Mommsen made this argument on the strength of an *ex libris* (dated by Ker to the later twelfth or thirteenth century) from Sawley Abbey present in CCCC 66 – the Sawley provenance of λ is not in question – which, owing to its relationship to CUL Ff.I.27 (and thus CCCC 139) led him to conclude that these manuscripts all originated there.²⁰¹ In his prefatory notes to *Symeonis monachi opera omnia* (Vol. II), Thomas Arnold argued that a northern origin for CCCC 139 was suggested by the preponderance of materials focused on northern subjects and suggested that the presence of Hexham-centred material amongst texts in CCCC 139 made it likely that Hexham was its place of origin and, based on palaeographical evidence, dated it to the second half of the

²⁰⁰ DMLBS s.v. 1 *villa*

²⁰¹ Nennius, *HB* (ed. Mommsen), p. 124.

twelfth century.²⁰² Similarly, M. R. James, in his *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, agreed that CCCC 139 was probably written at Hexham and dated the manuscript to the twelfth century.²⁰³ While concurring with the assessment that CCCC 139 likely originated in the north, Hunter Blair challenged the argument for Hexham on the basis of textual omissions that would have been inexplicable had CCCC 139 originated at that house.²⁰⁴ Instead, Hunter Blair agreed with Mommsen – initially on the basis of similarities in the *incipits* and *explicitis* related to the preface to and the main text of Symeon’s *Historia Dunelmensis* found in λ and CCCC 139, but ultimately on the new discovery of an erased *ex libris* for Sawley in the latter manuscript.²⁰⁵ Nevertheless, as noted, the evidence of these *ex libris* inscriptions is not proof that either CCCC 139 or λ originated at Sawley Abbey, merely that they were owned by the monastery in the later twelfth century or early in the thirteenth. Oflfer makes this point in his essay “Hexham and the *Historia Regum*” and observes that Sawley could have received λ either as a gift or through purchase, but his concerns were largely dismissed by Dumville as “a formal caveat.”²⁰⁶ Although Dumville is confident that Sawley Abbey was not only the point of origin for both CCCC 139 and λ , but also the home of a school (evidently with a well-equipped scriptorium and a workshop for illuminators proficient in the use of gold and silver), there are practical problems associated with Sawley as the source of these manuscripts – particularly for λ – which must be examined.

As part of the wave of English Cistercian houses being established in the twelfth century, Sawley Abbey was founded by William de Percy in January 1146/7 as a daughter house of

²⁰² Arnold, *Symeonis monachi opera omnia*, p. x.

²⁰³ James, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 323.

²⁰⁴ Hunter Blair, “Some Observations on the *Historia Regum*,” pp. 70–1.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 72–6.

²⁰⁶ Dumville, “Corpus Christi ‘Nennius’,” p. 372, n. 3.

Newminster Abbey (itself founded by monks from Fountains in 1137). Although the grants made by de Percy and other benefactors to Sawley after its establishment conveyed land and other important (and lucrative) rights, it nevertheless experienced financial exigencies. By 1189, after a visitation by the abbots of Clairvaux, Igny, and Mortemer, Sawley was being considered for destruction or relocation and was only saved by the grant of additional properties by Matilda, Countess of Warwick, de Percy's daughter. The financial struggles of the foundation are not only recorded in the textual record but reflected in the stages of its construction. In a recent thoroughgoing analysis of the architecture and other archaeological evidence at Sawley, Glyn Coppack identified four basic phases to the monastery's establishment which he described as a "remarkably slow and somewhat complex process which led to the development of a standard Cistercian layout by the first quarter of the thirteenth century."²⁰⁷ Indeed, in the light of evidence set out above establishing the date 1166 as a firm *terminus ante quem* for the production of CCCC 139 (with a firm outer range of 1154 × 1166 for the earlier *terminus*), this would follow, or conceivably overlap, with the the first phase (c. 1150-60) and the earlier phases of production would precede the second phase (c. 1170-75) of construction at Sawley. The first phase, according to Coppack, consisted of:

a partially-built stone church that housed only the altar and the monks' choir, and two substantial timber buildings, the uses of which are unknown. If they follow the near contemporary example of Meaux Abbey, they would have provided temporary accommodation for the monks and laybrothers. ... Apart from the

²⁰⁷ Coppack, "Sawley Abbey: An English Cistercian Abbey," p. 323.

church, this was meant to be a temporary phase that would be replaced as the community moved toward *stabilitas*.²⁰⁸

While the absence of evidence of a dedicated scriptorium cannot be taken as evidence of absence, the sparseness of the first phase of Sawley's foundation seems uncondusive to scribal activity, let alone establishing a school.²⁰⁹

Nevertheless, caution is warranted. In a study of twelfth-century English Cistercian manuscripts, Anne Lawrence-Mathers notes that, according to the statues of the Cistercians, "copying [was] expected to go on in all houses, not just of charters and professions, but of books...".²¹⁰ That space was expected to be employed for scribal work is made evident from one of the *capitula* promulgated by the General Chapter around the time that Sawley was established: *In omnibus scriptoriis, ubicumque ex consuetudine monachi scribunt, silentium teneatur sicut in claustro*.²¹¹ Whether or not there was a dedicated space for scribes to work cannot be determined at this remove and, as suggested by an anecdote in Reginald of Durham's *Libellus de vita et miraculis sancti Godrici heremitaie de Finchale*, there might well not have been. In this scene, a monk at Fountains – at the behest of the prior – undertakes to illuminate a manuscript copy of the

²⁰⁸ Coppack, "Sawley Abbey: An English Cistercian Abbey," p. 326.

²⁰⁹ In this study, as well as another by him, Coppack makes no mention of the presence of a scriptorium; he does, however, make the following observation in the latter article, "The eastern processional door to the cloister was placed in the west wall of the south transept as is normal where an unaisled nave was intended. Only the internal splay 1.7m wide survives, the ashlar casing having been robbed. The door was placed in an external widening in the same manner as the eastern processional door at Rievaulx and Fountains, to give it prominence. *To the south of this door, a wide recess above the plinth indicates the location of the cloister book cupboard, and to the south of that, in the face of the central pilaster buttress, was another cupboard with identical detailing.* [emphasis mine] Within the transept, the base of a stone night-stair survives against the west wall". While being keenly aware of the problems of arguments *ex silentio*, it appears likely that, instead of a purpose-built room to house the monastic library, Sawley may have relied on a pair of *armaria* for its books. Coppack, "Sawley Abbey: The Architecture and Archaeology," p. 47. This appears to be consistent with practice at other Cistercian foundations; see Lawrence, "English Cistercian Manuscripts," p. 287.

²¹⁰ Lawrence, "English Cistercian Manuscripts," p. 287.

²¹¹ Holdsworth dates this *capitulum*, L87, between c. 1119–51. Norton, "Table of Cistercian Legislation," in *Cistercian Art and Architecture*, p. 325.

vita sancti Godrici that had been received from Durham: *Nempe Sancto Dei devotus se totum ad opera haec illuminanda contulit, et foliis singulis separatim dispersis et divisis undique circa se in loco quo consedere in capitulo consueverat, circumspexit.*²¹² This passage, while brief, is interesting on a few counts. First, the vignette provides confirmation that manuscripts travelled between houses and, second, work on a manuscript was by no means restricted to one centre. As Lawrence is careful to note, however, this account specifies that it was the *illumination* of the manuscript that took place – as a devotional act – in the chapter house and is otherwise silent on where it was copied.²¹³ It is also interesting that the illuminator in Reginald’s narrative was located at Fountains which was demonstrably larger and better resourced than Sawley.²¹⁴ As valuable a piece of evidence as Reginald’s account seems, not only does he appear to be recounting it at second hand, through his contacts at Rievaulx, but he is doing so in the context of a saint’s *vita* – a genre whose conventions were often employed to further goals beyond the mere glorification of a saint. It is difficult to determine whether the narrative of the illuminator decorating the manuscript in the chapter house is simply a straightforward account or is an elaboration in service of some other goal. Without additional study of this *vita* and the context of its composition or evidence to the contrary, its testimony may be accepted *prima facie* albeit with caution.

²¹² The full account of this devotional act can be found in Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de vita miraculis sancti Godrici*, pp. 466–9.

²¹³ Lawrence, “English Cistercian Manuscripts,” p. 288.

²¹⁴ Of surviving manuscripts with a Cistercian origin or provenance, N. R. Ker records 240 volumes. As Lawrence observes, only forty-one of these can be assigned to Fountains. Compared to the two volumes – λ and CCC 139 - that are ascribed to Sawley, this certainly underscores the prosperity of Fountains and the productivity of its scriptorium. Nevertheless, despite the wealth and activity of the great Cistercian foundations in Yorkshire, it is clear that their libraries never rivalled those of foundations such as Christ Church, Canterbury. See Lawrence, “English Cistercian Manuscripts,” pp. 289–90.

During the second main phase of Sawley's development (c. 1170–75), the establishment saw progress on the monastery's church as well as the completion of the monks' dortoir, a kitchen, and other temporary buildings which evidently experienced heavy use as progress ground to a halt because of the house's financial predicament.²¹⁵ Yet this is precisely the period that has been held to have seen continuing work on the quires which, at the very least, would come to serve as an exemplar for a major section of λ . Indeed, it was not until the end of the third phase (which ran from c. 1190-1210) – after the date of the secure *terminus ad quem* for the writing of a good part of λ – that both the church and the cloister were completed.²¹⁶ With construction of the monastic buildings at Sawley being a protracted affair complicated by its financial instability, it is difficult to credit the notion that such a foundation would have the means to support a scriptorium capable of producing a recension of the *HB* that the well-established, better resourced scriptorium at Durham would wish to use for augmenting their own copy of the text.²¹⁷ Additionally, the economic impact of manuscript production – especially as it relates to a *de luxe* work such as λ , to judge by the illuminated initials and other artwork that survives in the quires of CUL Ff.I.27 and CCCC 66 – makes it seem unlikely that such work would have been prioritized at Sawley. As we have seen, the house was being considered for dissolution on account of its dire finances a year after the date that Norton's Part 1 of λ was completed. That Sawley was involved in copying books is probable based on the dictates of the Cistercian General Chapter, but it seems likely that the development of its scriptorium would have occurred in stages mirroring the house's own uncertain beginning.

²¹⁵ Coppack, "Sawley Abbey: An English Cistercian Abbey," p. 327.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p 331

²¹⁷ I discuss the use of CCCC 139 by Durham scribes as an exemplar when annotating their own copy of *HB* below on page 100.

Separate from the question of whether the monks of Sawley possessed the means necessary to produce works such as CCCC 139 and the comparatively more extravagant λ is whether, as Cistercians, they would undertake the creation of a manuscript like λ at all – a production that, with its use of gold and silver in illuminated initials and other artwork, ran counter to the austerity emphasized by their reforming order. In a break from the practices of their Benedictine origins, Cistercian scribal practice was guided by the direction that books should be made of one color and not be decorated (*litterae unius coloris fiant, et non depictae*).²¹⁸ This minimalist approach to manuscript-making evidently held sway among Cistercian communities in England during the twelfth century – precisely the period with which we are most concerned, though it had begun to evolve by the beginning of the thirteenth.²¹⁹ That λ would have been an unusual production for a Cistercian at the time is emphasized by Norton:

In this country [England], there appears to be not a single extant manuscript certainly written at a Cistercian monastery during the twelfth century with either full-page or full-colour illustrations with gold-leaf (to say nothing of both combined). Likewise elaborate multicoloured initials, with gold and silver, are extremely rare. In fact, the Sawley manuscript [λ] is quite without parallel among English twelfth-century Cistercian manuscripts, a point which is emphasised by the fact that it is the only manuscript of Cistercian provenance in the standard survey of twelfth-century illuminated manuscripts. The evidence could hardly be more unambiguous.²²⁰

²¹⁸ Waddell, *Twelfth-century Statutes*, p. 559.

²¹⁹ Lawrence, “English Cistercian Manuscripts,” pp. 285–6.

²²⁰ Norton, “History, Wisdom, and Illumination,” p. 74.

On account of its troubled early history and the prevailing contemporary practices of Cistercian scriptoria, if we consider Sawley to be an improbable probable for the origin of both λ and CCCC 139, the evidence of the Sawley *ex libris* inscriptions makes it plain that both manuscripts did become part of the collection owned by the community.²²¹ It seems more likely that these manuscripts came into Sawley's *armaria* through donation, purchase, or perhaps they simply arrived along with someone – whether having been transferred to Sawley from a larger Cistercian house such as Fountains or Riveaulx, or perhaps arriving at Sawley at an early stage of an administrative career, or simply preferring the reformist zeal of Cistercian life over Benedictine or Augustinian monasticism – than that the two manuscripts were created there.²²² That donations of this kind took place is attested in cartularies and it is also clear from other records that the Cistercians were keen to build their libraries.²²³

If, as seems likely, both CCCC 139 and λ originated (as the textual and palaeographical evidence strongly indicates) in a single scriptorium and that center was not Sawley, the question of where the work took place remains unanswered. While Hexham was suggested by both Arnold, James, and Powicke and both manuscripts incorporate items of interest to its Augustinian community, the challenges raised by Hunter Blair have not been satisfactorily addressed. Beyond the presence of works by two authors from Hexham or interpolations to the

²²¹ When, of course, the books arrived at Sawley is a matter for debate. The hands of the *ex libris* inscriptions have been dated by N. R. Ker (*apud* Hunter Blair) to the later twelfth- or thirteenth century and by Dumville to “within a quarter-century of 1200.” Dumville, “Sixteenth-century History,” p. 427; Hunter Blair, “Observations on the *Historia Regum*,” p. 73, n. 3.

²²² The idea of both manuscripts arriving at Sawley through some form of movement of persons is supported by Norton and would explain any reluctance on the part of the residents to destroy or deface illuminated content. Lawrence, however, observes that the absence of criticism is noteworthy and suggests that Cistercians' attitude toward book decoration may have been different from other forms of decorative arts. It may also be that visitors, understanding the unwillingness of a new house to reject donations, did not feel compelled to criticize them owing to the exigencies of stocking a library capable of supporting the community's obligatory Lenten reading. Norton, “History, Wisdom, and Illumination,” p. 74; Lawrence, “English Cistercian Manuscripts,” p. 287.

²²³ Lawrence, “English Cistercian Manuscripts,” p. 287.

Historia regum that focus on events at Hexham, there is little other evidence – whether textual, art-historical, codicological, or palaeographical – to bolster the argument. Further, interest in the topics covered by Richard of Hexham and John of Hexham in their works may not have been restricted solely to the Augustinian canons of Hexham.²²⁴ Without further, positive evidence, it is difficult to claim Hexham as the site of origin for this pair of manuscripts. Although there are textual associations – such as the letter from Symeon of Durham to Hugh, dean of York, and the account of the foundation of St Mary’s Abbey, York – with York and Northumbria more generally, the state of scholarship in York during the period in which CCCC 139 and λ were composed appears to have been lacking or at least disordered.²²⁵

Owing to the growing skepticism concerning the claims for Sawley, scholarly opinion has largely shifted to Durham as the most probable site for the production of both manuscripts. Yet, this attribution is an uneasy one as well, as I shall show. Among the witnesses to the textual programme undertaken by the annotators of CCCC 139 is the manuscript Durham Cathedral Library (DCL) B.II.35 (*s. xii*¹ *in prima manu*; additions of *s. xii*²) which contains a version of *HB* that belongs to a different branch of the “Gildasian” recension of the text than that found in CCCC 139. Dumville has shown that the apparatus of the DCL B.II.35 witness to the *Historia* was expanded considerably in the year 1166 using annotations drawn directly from CCCC 139.²²⁶ Yet, as Dumville has noted, the variant readings present in the main text of the *HB* in DCL B.II.35 have not exerted any influence on the extensive annotations present in CCCC 139 whose compilers were generally assiduous in drawing upon any variant tradition that came into

²²⁴ Hunter Blair, “Observations on the *Historia Regum*,” pp. 71–2

²²⁵ While Meehan offers a fairly dire view of the state of affairs in York, Lawrence-Mathers provides evidence of a more complicated situation that obtained during the period in question. Meehan, “A Reconsideration of the Historical Works,” pp. 258–63; Lawrence-Mathers, *Manuscripts in Northumbria*, pp. 119–33.

²²⁶ Dumville, “Corpus Christi ‘Nennius’,” p. 372.

their purview.²²⁷ Dumville perceives this as evidence that CCCC 139 was temporarily transferred from the library at Sawley to Durham to aid its composition of B.II.35.²²⁸ While I find it difficult to credit Sawley as the centre where CCCC 139 and – eventually – λ originated, the absence of textual variants found in the DCL B.II.35 copy of the *Historia* from the treatment of the *HB* in CCCC 139 (and the integrated copy in CUL Ff.I.27) makes it unlikely that the scriptorium of Durham was responsible for all three manuscripts.

Furthermore, in two interpolations to CCCC 139's text of the materials assigned to Symeon of Durham's *Historia regum*, Hunter Blair observed an additional complication to any single-origin theory for CCCC 139 and λ at Durham. Identifiable as interpolations owing to their very different style of composition, the Acca and Alcmund interpolations are found respectively under the years 740 and 781 in section 4 of the *Historia regum*. These passages were, as Hunter Blair notes, "written after 1113 and probably before 1155 by someone who was seeking to support Hexham against claims advanced by Symeon on behalf of Durham in his *Historia Dunelmensis ecclesiae*. There is no reason for supposing that they were written at Hexham and good reason for thinking that they were not written at Durham."²²⁹ Hunter Blair rules out the annotators responsible for CCCC 139 and λ as the source for these interpolations and concludes with the observation that there are no extant parallels "to this kind of writing among the northern English historians who were at work in the twelfth century." In brief, Hunter Blair maintains that the propagandistic elements in the passages unmistakably attack the interest of the church at

²²⁷ Dumville, "Corpus Christi 'Nennius'," p. 373.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ Hunter Blair, "Observations on the *Historia Regum*," p. 115.

Durham, while pointing to possible Cistercian or even Augustinian connections outside of Hexham.²³⁰

Additionally, there is internal evidence in λ that may militate against a Durham origin – though this point is by no means settled. Following the regnal lists of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and England (running to Henry II and thus, as noted above,²³¹ confirming the *terminus post quem* of 1154)²³² in the section of λ that now forms CCCC 66, between folios 42 recto and 50 verso occur a group of bishop-lists for the sees of Canterbury,²³³ Rochester, London, Selsey and Chichester,²³⁴ Winchester, Ramsbury, Crediton, Exeter, Salisbury, Somerset, Bath, Dorchester, Sherbourne, East Anglia, Elmham and Norwich, Ely, Mercia and Middle Anglia, Hereford, Worcester, Lichfield, Leicester, Lindsey, Lincoln, York, Hexham, Ripon, Lindisfarne/Durham, Carlisle, and Whithorn/Galloway and, in some instances, their precursor sees. Owing to the significant degree of similarity to a version of these lists in DCL B.II.35, involving many orthographic and other textual minutiae, Norton has argued that the latter is the immediate exemplar for the version in λ . Yet, upon comparison, various errors and omissions become apparent which have been presented as arguments against the Durham scriptorium that produced

²³⁰ Hunter Blair, “Observations on the *Historia Regum*,” p. 115.

²³¹ *Vide supra*, p. 84.

²³² A brief notice in the text accompanying the Durham bishop-list notes the election of Hugh de Puiset and the Scottish invasion that occurred in 1164, providing a clear *terminus post quem*.

²³³ The list of archbishops of Canterbury terminates with Thomas Becket with no mention of his martyrdom. Whether this may be taken as evidence that the original lists were compiled prior to 1170 is uncertain, but since he was canonized by 1173 strongly suggests that this may be the case – especially since Cuthbert is described in an annotation as *sanctus*. Another bishop, Eadwulf of Elmham (although listed under the heading of Norwich) is given a rubricated and dotted cross though no other bishops among the various lists are. What this means – if it means anything at all – is unclear since Eadwulf does not appear to have been canonized or culted. This adornment to the notice of Eadwulf is missing from the version found in DCL B.II.35. Might it, perhaps, offer a slender clue about the origins of the manuscript?

²³⁴ The manuscript reproduces the claim that the tumultuous Wilfrid was the bishop of the South Saxons and places him at the head of the succession for Selsey.

DCL B.II.35 as the place of origin for λ .²³⁵ Chief among these are disagreements between the accounts of the episcopal succession at Durham recorded in both CCCC 66 and CUL Ff.I.27. In CCCC 66, several Anglo-Saxon bishops (specifically Heaðored, Ecgred, Eanbert, Wigred, Uhtred, Sexhelm, and Alred) are omitted from the line of succession for the precursor sees of Durham in the bishop-lists now found in that manuscript. In CUL Ff.I.27, however, these bishops are recorded in the episcopal succession that accompanies Symeon's *Libellus de exordio*.²³⁶ These omissions, coupled with incorrect names for Eardulf and Tilred, both Anglo-Saxon bishops of predecessor sees to Durham, in CCCC 66 are hard to credit to the scriptorium at Durham, especially in the light of the agreement between the *Libellus de exordio* found in both DCL B.II.35 and CUL Ff.I.27. As Meehan notes in his discussion on this point, "it is hard to believe that so many errors of this kind could have been made in a scriptorium which had knowledge of the Durham succession, and especially that a scribe working on another gathering of a manuscript containing a copy of the *Libellus de exordio* could have been so ignorant of the contents of this work."²³⁷ Norton, on the other hand, has suggested that the copyist responsible for this section of λ relied on DCL B.II.35 up to its entry for Lindisfarne/Durham, but relied on another exemplar to complete the task since this material is wanting in DCL B.II.35.²³⁸ Moreover, Norton is more inclined to view the errors and omissions as evidence of scribal carelessness owing to haste or exhaustion.²³⁹ He points to an interlinear gloss – *Deo gratias* – found between the names of Bishops Heathored and Gille Aldan of of Whithorn as evidence for

²³⁵ Meehan also argues that this variation is an argument against λ having been conceived of as a unified text and proposes that it should be viewed as separate sections that were combined at an early stage. Meehan, "Durham Manuscripts," p. 444.

²³⁶ Meehan observes that the episcopal list accompanying the *Libellus de exordio* in CUL Ff.I.27 is consistent with several other twelfth-century manuscripts including DCL B.II.35. Meehan, "Durham Manuscripts," p. 444.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ Norton, "History, Wisdom, and Illumination," p. 86.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*

the scribe's relief at the end of a tedious task.²⁴⁰ It is by no means clear, however, that this aspect of Norton's critique arises inductively out of the available evidence. Meehan, in summarizing his arguments against a single origin at Durham, raises another point, unanswered by Norton, that an extended account of the bishops of Durham present in B.II35 is absent from a section of λ preserved in CCCC 66.²⁴¹

As yet another obstacle to a Durham origin or provenance for CCCC 139, at least, one with clear ramifications for λ , Dumville observed a series of glosses added to that manuscript's copy of *HB* in three distinct hands. These glosses were, Dumville has shown, derived from an exemplar (now lost) that belonged to what he refers to as the "Nennian" recension of *HB*. This corpus of glosses provides an extensive witness to what appears to have been a continuous text of *HB* whose readings are known in some detail on account of its use as a direct source for the Middle Irish translation and adaptation of *HB*, now edited and studied under the name *Lebor Bretnach*. That a complete exemplar of a rare text such as this might be found at Durham is plausible, but it is difficult (if not impossible) to credit the notion that it would be wholly undocumented and leave no trace – indeed, not so much as a gloss, nor other marginalia, nor other paratextual echo exists – whatsoever among the extant witnesses from the Durham scriptorium. The same general point might be made concerning the whole nexus of abstruse Celtic – Welsh and also Irish-linked – traditions elsewhere attested in the voluminous annotations added to the copy of *HB* in CCCC 139 by an impressively sizeable group of scribal collaborators. One possibility might explain these circumstances: namely that, after its production, CCCC 139 was carried to Durham where it was used as the exemplar for λ . But even

²⁴⁰ Norton, "History, Wisdom, and Illumination," p. 86.

²⁴¹ Meehan, "Durham Manuscripts," p. 446.

this scenario would seem to be precluded by evidence set out above closely connecting the physical codices of CCCC 139 and λ , which include the presence of the annotating hand C⁷ in both manuscripts and the appearance of a gloss accompanying the copy of *DEB* in λ (possibly by hand C⁴ and, in any case, presenting a unique example of a putatively Celtic *topos* in the precise style of the annotators).²⁴² Whatever the case may be, we are still left with the other problems related to identifying Durham as the site of production unresolved.

Owing to the relative scarcity of contemporary manuscript witnesses from northern England and the fact that the evidence points not so much in one direction, but in many different directions, it seems unlikely that these questions will ever be resolved satisfactorily. Nevertheless, I shall essay to bring these strands of discussion together in a meaningful fashion. Durham's scriptorium exerted significant cultural and intellectual influence in northern England, and it is well established that manuscripts were carried between houses for copying and annotation.²⁴³ Moreover, there is ample evidence that peripatetic professional artisans were active during the period in question.²⁴⁴ Based on these facts and the conflicted evidence of both CCCC 139 and λ , I would assign both manuscripts to a northern centre, such as Rievaulx, Fountains, St Andrews, Bridlington, or Hexham (but most likely not Sawley), participating in a Durham-centred network,²⁴⁵ and I would date their production to a period between *circa* 1166 and *circa* 1188 with both manuscripts arriving in Sawley by *circa* 1225.

²⁴² *Vide supra*, p. 87.

²⁴³ Lawrence-Mathers, *Manuscripts in Northumbria*, pp. 252–61.

²⁴⁴ Kauffmann, citing Lehmann-Brockhaus, observes that by the twelfth century, lay artists had supplanted monastic artists in decorating books. Further, he offers evidence of artists moving between monasteries in search of work. See Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, pp. 15–6. In his study, Alexander offers a “typical situation” in which a lay master craftsman might be called to a monastery to undertake a commission and provided board and lodging for as long as the project took to complete. Such a scenario seems to fit poorly with the notion of Sawley as the place of origin for λ . Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, p. 12 and also chs. 1 and 5 for a broader discussion of labour practices.

²⁴⁵ Lawrence, “Artistic Influence of Durham,” pp. 451–69.

Chapter 3 : The *DEB* Glosses of CUL Ff.I.27

Since early modernity, scholarly interest in Gildas has chiefly been concerned with establishing the text of *DEB* so that it might be deployed in service of various projects ranging from reconstructing the events of a period from which few pieces of documentary evidence remain to furthering the identity-building efforts of Tudor England and Victorian imperialism.²⁴⁶ To that end, when notice was taken of them, the glosses in the surviving manuscripts of *DEB* and in glossaries (such as the Leiden and Corpus Glossaries) have been framed as witnesses to the text – valuable insofar as they confirm or complicate readings of Gildas – or as a means to recover Old English vocabulary but, generally, not as objects worthy of study in their own right for what they can tell us about how medieval readers read the text, in what contexts, and why.²⁴⁷ To date, there has been no study of the glosses in *DEB* preserved in CUL Ff.I.27. With this edition, I aim to provide tools for researchers interested in glossography, reader reception and engagement, and ancillary fields. In the following sections of this chapter, I will discuss medieval glossing practice and offer a survey and initial analysis of these glosses.

²⁴⁶ An example *par excellence* may be found in the “General Introduction” to *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (a title which is more than a little reminiscent of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*) which I reproduce here: *The English Government has been reproached, both at home and abroad, for indifference towards the claims of our early historical literature, because, until the commencement of this great National Work in the year 1823, it had made no attempt to publish our ancient historians; but it must not be forgotten that during the present century a considerable sum of money has been expended in printing the ancient juridical muniments of the realm, which in some instances constitute the genuine sources of historical literature, and in others elucidate the statements and narratives of these very historians. The funds so liberally granted might, perhaps, in some instances, have been more judiciously applied; more might have been done for our early historical literature; and, after the bright example and success of other European States, a collection might have been formed of our early English historians in a manner which would have been honourable to us as a people, and worthy of our position as a great nation. Without stopping, however, to inquire into the merits of other countries in this respect, and the indifference so often imputed to us, it will be enough to show how far the efforts of private individuals have been successful in rescuing from oblivion the stores of our ancient History.* From this statement, it seems like the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* – a project approved of and funded by Parliament and that ended abruptly owing to criticism over Petrie’s methodological approach – was an (abortive) attempt to keep up with the Müllers. Hardy, *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 3.

²⁴⁷ This has begun to change in recent years. Hardison, “Words, Meanings, and Readings,” pp. 1–22.

Glosses as Fragments of Engagement

Frequently, scholars have depended on the presence of glossing as evidence of a book's use within a pedagogical context. Gernot Wieland, in particular, has advanced the argument that specific forms of glossing must be evident for a manuscript to be identifiable as having functioned as a classroom text.²⁴⁸ These forms were categorized by Wieland as lexical, prosodic, grammatical, syntactical, and commentary glosses, and have proven helpful for discussing the different forms of glossing which may occur in a manuscript.²⁴⁹ As such, they have served as a convenient starting point for the work of other scholars, such as Suzanne Reynolds, to further our understanding of the context in which glosses may appear in a text.²⁵⁰ As useful as this system of classifying glosses may be, the expectation that all of these types of glosses must be present for the text to have been used as a classroom text, however, is not without problems – as, effectively, is the definition of a “classroom.” The number of texts which could reasonably have supported such extensive and varied glossing would necessarily be limited. Moreover, it strikes me as a needlessly prescriptive requirement for identifying texts which may have been employed for a pedagogical purpose.

Without question, as Lapidge notes, glosses (and glossaries – albeit in a decontextualized fashion) are witnesses to the intellectual engagement of a glossator with the content of a text.²⁵¹ Nevertheless, as Lapidge subsequently cautioned in his response to Wieland, glossing in a

²⁴⁸ Wieland, *Arator*, p. 196.

²⁴⁹ For a discussion of how these different types of glosses might function within the context of a classroom, see Wieland, *Arator*, pp. 191–8.

²⁵⁰ Although the material which Reynolds cites is considerably later than that contained within either the Leiden or Corpus glossaries, her analysis of glossing as a pedagogical tool is thought-provoking in its approach. Of particular interest is her exploration of vernacular lexical glossing. Reynolds, *Medieval Reading*, pp. 61–72.

²⁵¹ Lapidge, “Old English Glossography,” p. 171.

manuscript is not, *ipso facto*, evidence that it was used within the sphere of a classroom or that it preserves the teachings of a *magister*.²⁵² Indeed, his own research has revealed the great extent to which established glosses may circulate with a text. As Lapidge observes further, glosses are important evidence for the extent to which the Anglo-Saxons assimilated Latin culture.²⁵³ Similarly, the glosses present in λ offer researchers a window into the Latinity of the glossator(s) who annotated *DEB*. Through careful assessment, it may be possible to discern the earliest contexts in which the glossing was undertaken, and to say something about its circulation, reception, and, perhaps, augmentation in λ .

Regardless of its type, a gloss exists to aid a reader and, depending on the identity of the reader, it may serve a didactic function. For example, the first time someone encounters an unfamiliar word such as the Old English-derived *kyulis* in *DEB*, the presence of the gloss *id est longis nauibus* defines the term. In subsequent readings by the same reader, the function of the gloss is no longer didactic; instead, its purpose shifts to that of an *aide-mémoire*. By the same token, so-called commentary glosses – whether providing encyclopaedic details about Neoplatonic philosophers or giving a description of the thematic content of a section of the text – may simultaneously fulfill multiple roles. Thus, the purpose and utility of a gloss is not defined by its type so much as by its reader.

²⁵² The arguments concerning what may be considered evidence of the classroom use of a manuscript are ongoing; see Rigg and Wieland, “A Canterbury Classbook,” pp. 113–30. In response, see Lapidge, “The Study of Latin Texts,” pp. 455–516. This was followed by Wieland, “The Glossed Manuscript,” pp. 153–73. A more recent contribution to the discussion may be found in Teeuwen, “Marginal Scholarship,” pp. 23–30.

²⁵³ Lapidge, “The Study of Latin Texts,” p. 498.

Survey and Analysis of the Glosses in CUL Ff.I.27

Across the span of the seven folia in λ upon which *DEB* was written, there are a total of 141 glosses that survive to the present day. The hand of the glossator appears to be contemporaneous to that of the copyist and is similar in aspect albeit with some differences in letter-forms.²⁵⁴ Whether these differences are an element of writing in the available space while accommodating ascenders or descenders of adjacent letters or indicative of the work of a different person from the main scribe cannot be easily determined and we should be cautious about accepting without question the assertion that it is the work of one person. While it is likely that the great bulk of the glosses were copied from an exemplar, it is by no means certain that this work was undertaken at the same time as the main text was copied or even in one pass. Close examination of the glosses shows that – for some glosses – the ink used by the glossator is visibly distinct from that of the main text. Throughout *DEB*, the main text is – barring some places where smudging, smearing, or other damage has occurred – copied out in a uniform dark black ink. In some instances, a similar ink is used by a glossing hand as shown in the detail of 3v (Figure 17) below.

²⁵⁴ In one study, Dumville asserts, baldly, that the scribe who copied *DEB* is also responsible for copying the glosses from the exemplar. Dumville, “Celtic-Latin Texts”, p. 45.



Figure 17: Detail of gloss in DEB, CUL Ff.1.27 3v.

Elsewhere, however, a lighter ink with a reddish-brown cast is employed by the glossing hand. Interestingly, as the following figures detail, this lighter ink (Figure 18) is very similar in appearance to the ink used to copy the main text of *HB* (Figure 19). This ink, however, is not introduced until 9r – shortly after the *capitula* for *HB* begin on 8v.

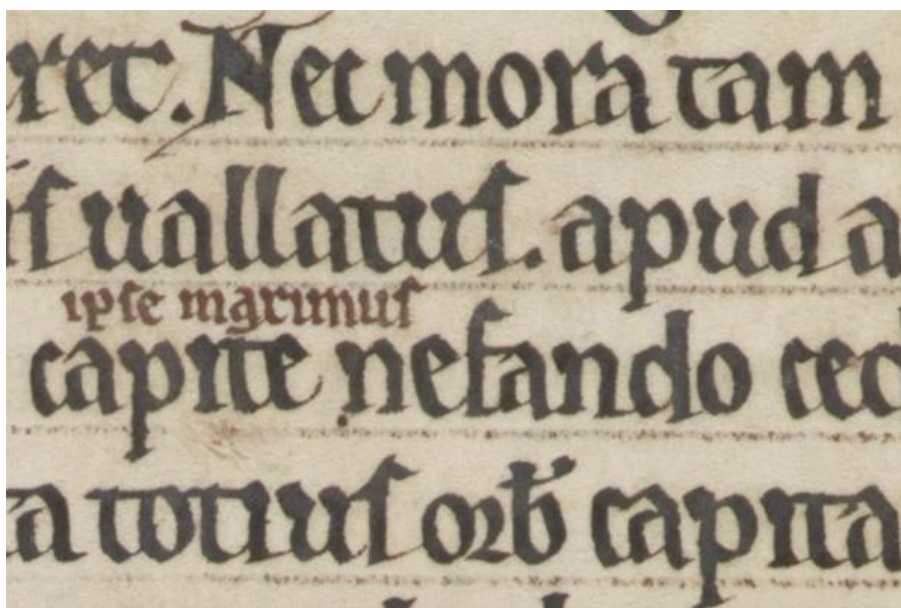


Figure 18: Detail of gloss in DEB, CUL Ff.1.27 4r.

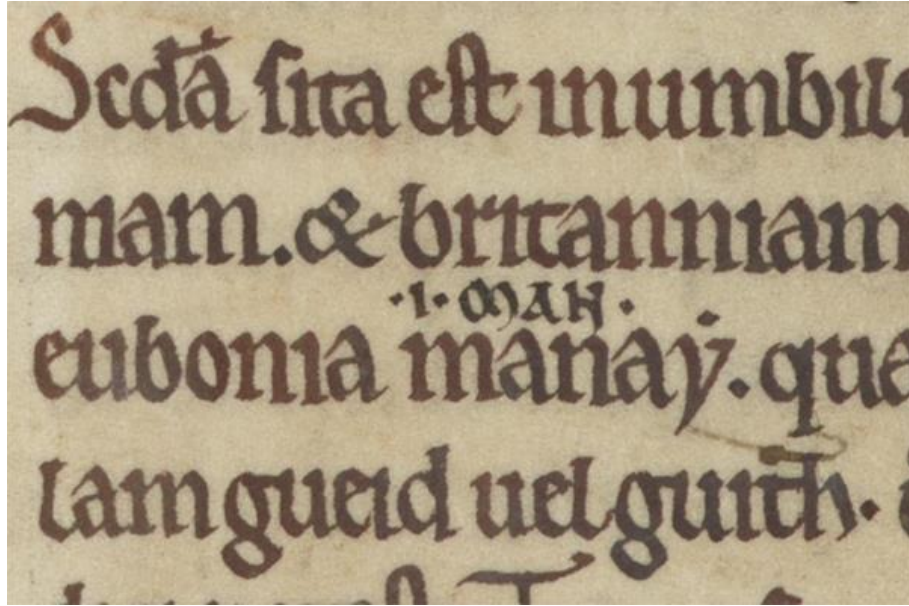


Figure 19: Detail of gloss from *HB*, CUL Ff.1.27 11r

In Figure 17, the glossator, interestingly, employs a darker black ink that is visually similar to that used in the earlier folia of *HB* and throughout *DEB*. This contributes to the impression that the work of copying and glossing *DEB* and the copying out of the main integrated text of *HB* did not happen all of a piece but may have been undertaken in multiple stints, and perhaps by (at least) two scribes, working on the project either concurrently or in succession.

Additionally, while the majority of the glosses in *DEB* are executed in a tidy manner, a few stand out owing to their thicker aspect and the encroachment of a rather less deft hand. This is particularly noteworthy in the example on 6r (Figure 20) where the smaller, neater gloss *populi* is found alongside *id est idolis* in a heavier hand whose letter forms are different from those of the preceding gloss.

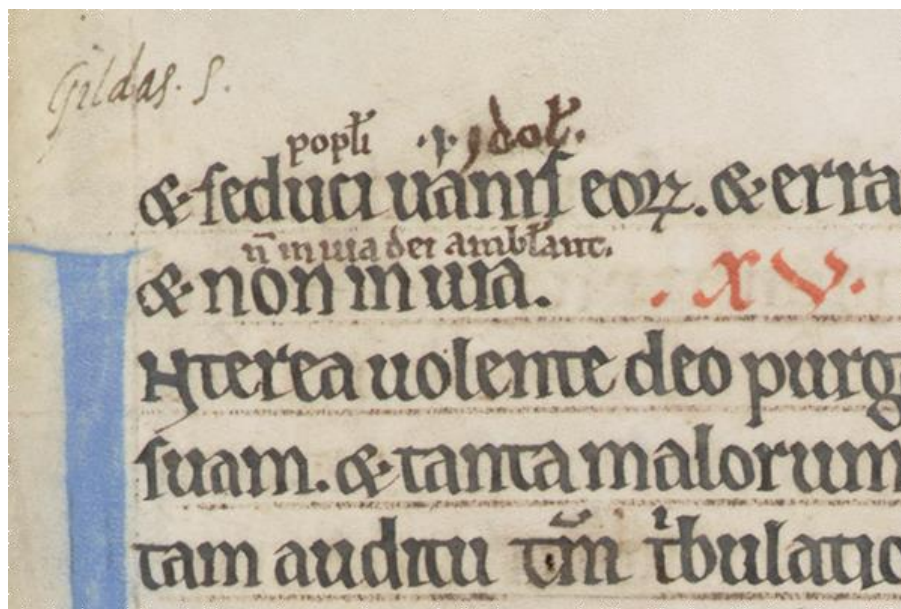


Figure 20: Detail of glosses and evidence of erasure above the line in DEB, CUL Ff.I.27 6r.

In particular, the initial **i** in *idolis* appears to have a curving tail (albeit one that may, in line with my comment below, stand here as a relic of an erasure). Moreover, the penstroke that forms the **I** curves upward and to the right at the baseline to form a hook while the wedge at the top of the ascender is more triangular in shape than squared off. Since these glosses appear at the top of the page, space constraints are hardly likely to have been a factor in their appearance. Whether this gloss and the others like it were added by a correcting hand while reviewing the finished work alongside its exemplar – indeed, in this instance, the roughened surface of the parchment, the darker ink used for **.i.**, and the bleeding of the ink of this gloss are clear indicators of an erasure – or a later addition by a glossator unassociated with the project of copying the manuscript cannot be resolved. Yet this evidence essentially proves that in some sense, at least, the glosses were added in stages.

Moreover, much like the gloss on Wedale and many other paratextual elements in CCCC 139 being absorbed into the integrated text of *HB* in λ , there is content in the *capitula* that

suggests that two glosses on *DEB* were absorbed into the apparatus of the received text preserved in λ . Whether this happened at an earlier stage and was simply copied over from the exemplar or occurred as a new development during the writing of λ is impossible to determine, but its similarity to the intrusive gloss on Wedale is remarkable. The first content in CUL Ff.I.27 suggestive of an absorbed gloss appears on 1v in *capitulum IX* (Figure 21), in particular, and as we shall see, other geographically informed comments, in both CCCC 139 and λ :

*Qualiter britones arctati a scottis et pictis pro romano miserint auxilio et
obtinuerint. et quale consilium romani eis dederint. uidelicet ut inter duo maria
murum per milia passuum plurima trans insulam instruerint. a mari scotie usque
ad mare hibernie. **id est. a kair eden ciuitas antiquissima duorum ferme milium
spacio a monasterio abercurnig quod nunc uocatur abercorn ad
occidentem. tendens contra occidentem iuxta urbem alcluth.** [emphasis mine]²⁵⁵ at
insulani murum non tam lapidibus quam cespitibus construunt. ad nichilum
utilem statuunt. quia statim romanis repatriantibus. iterum ab ipsis impugnati sunt.*

²⁵⁵ “By the most ancient city, Kair Eden, it stretches west almost two miles from Abercurnig monastery (which is now called Abercorn) unto the city of Alcluth.” For the surrounding text, and a translation, see my edition and translation that follows, pp. 4–5. This gloss appears to have been derived from Bede’s *HE* I.12. See my discussion on Bede and λ in Chapter 2 above.

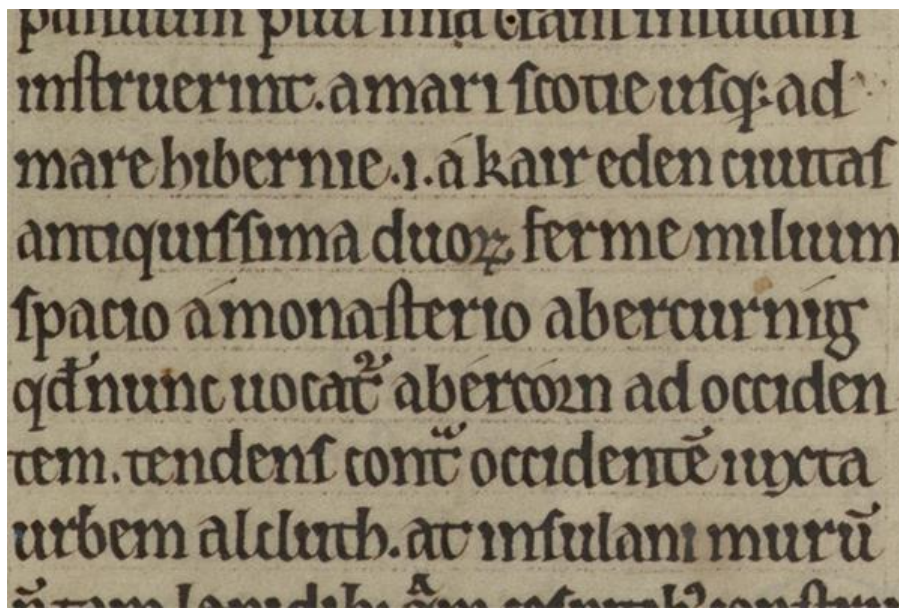


Figure 21: Detail of gloss in capitulum IX in *DEB*, *CUL Ff.I.27 1v*.

Compare this to the gloss absorbed into λ 's text of *HB* (Figures 22 and 23) that Dumville noted:

Wedale anglice, uallis doloris latine. Wedale uilla est in prouintia Lodanesie, nunc uero iuris episcopi Sancti Andree Scotie, sex miliaria ab occidentali parte ab illo quondam nobili monasterio de MELROS.

As I have observed briefly above, both the content of this gloss and the content that appears in *capitulum IX* offer geographical commentary and information about key features of a locale. In the example from *HB*, the latter is the straightforward presentation of Wedale's English name and its Latin calque followed by other details about its location. The material in the *capitulum* offers placenames with Celtic (here Scottish) elements along with a contemporary form and geographical details. Beyond this superficial similarity, it is remarkable to note that the information about Abercunig, the length of the wall, and its location goes unmentioned in the body of chapter IX of *DEB* and is not mentioned anywhere else. To be sure, the silence of *DEB* on all the details is crucial to the establishment of the language in question as an interpolation –

the text of the *capitula* for *DEB* in λ occurs nowhere else, so any interpolation has to be sleuthed out on source-historical grounds. In fact, this point of interpolated text is drawn from Bede's description of the construction of a useless turf wall by the Britons in *HE* I.12. There, Bede observes, "*Incipit autem duorum ferme milium spatio a monasterio Aebbercurnig ad occidentem in loco qui sermone Pictorum Peanfahel, lingua autem Anglorum Penneltun appellatur, et tendens contra occidentem terminatur iuxta urbem Alcluith.*" Owing to the glossators' interest in place names, it is fascinating that the onomastic information about *Peanfahel* or *Penneltun* was not included. This might indicate that the glossator was working from memory (though the extensive verbal correlations suggest otherwise), anticipating that the audience knew these details, thought them unimportant, or was working from a version of the *HE* that lacked this material.²⁵⁶

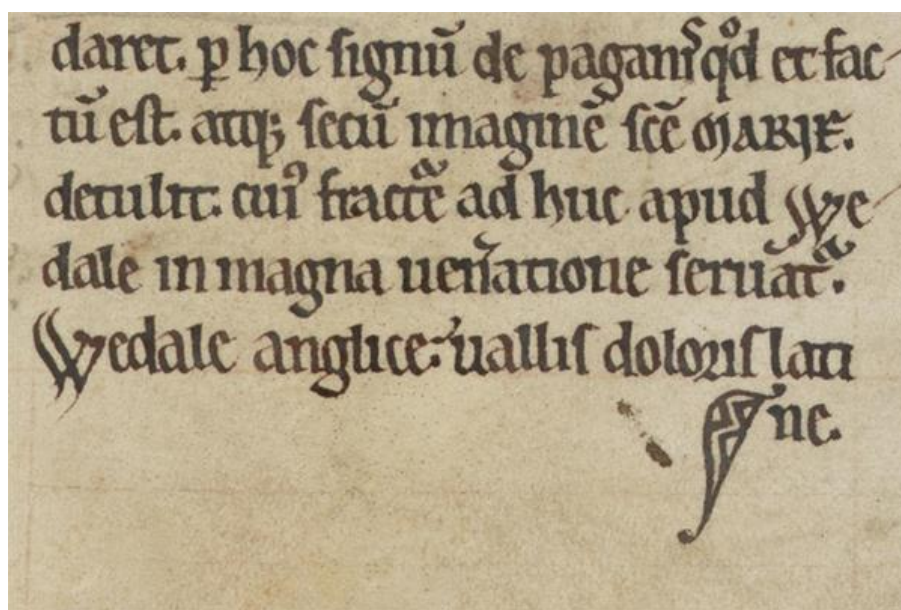


Figure 22: Detail of CUL Ff.I.27 19ra36 showing beginning of Wedale gloss.

²⁵⁶ In his treatment the relationship between X and Bede, Larpi makes note of this interpolation, but does not register that the mention of Alcluth is restricted to the *capitulum* and appears nowhere else in the text of X. Larpi, *Prolegomena*, pp. 39–52.

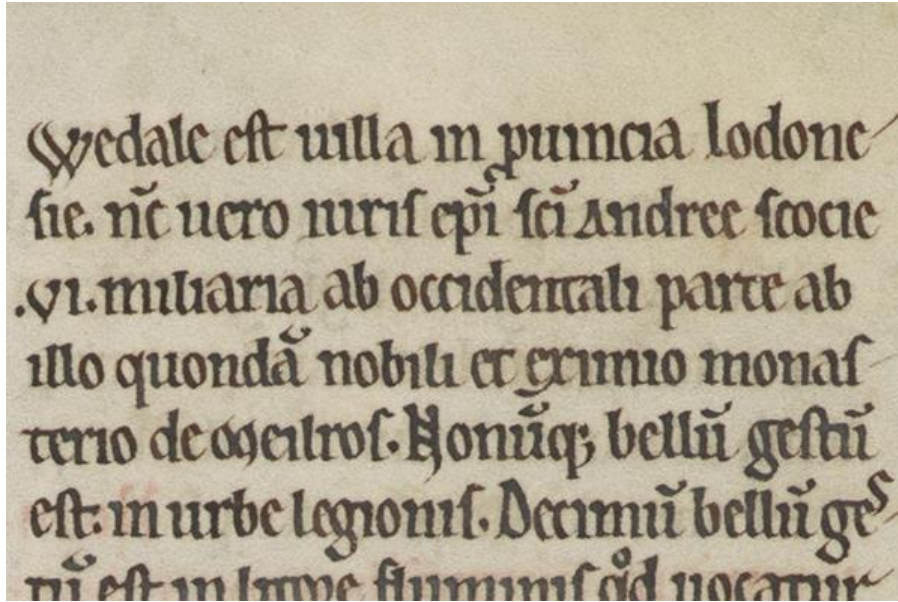


Figure 23: Detail of CUL Ff.1.27 19rb1–5 showing the continuation of the Wedale gloss.

While one such commentary might be unremarkable, a second, similar, occurrence in *capitulum* XI reinforces the impression of glosses being absorbed into the text. Consider the text of this second *capitulum* (Figure 24):

Quomodo britones rursum romanum solatium repetierunt. et qualiter romani sese excusauerunt. sed tamen laudare et monere ceperunt. ut murum a mari ad mare facerent. quod et fecerunt. a mari norwagie usque ad mare galwadie. per octo pedes latum. et duodecim altum. et turres per interualla construxerunt. eo in loco ubi seuerus imperator maximam fossam firmissimumque uallum. crebris insuper turribus communitum. per. centum. triginta et duo. milia passuum longe ante fecerat. id est. a uilla que anglice Wallesende dicitur. latine uero caput muri interpretantur. que est iuxta tinemuthe qui murus multum distat a prefato uallo

*apud meridiem quem antea apud kair eden super mare scotie
constituerint.* [emphasis mine]²⁵⁷

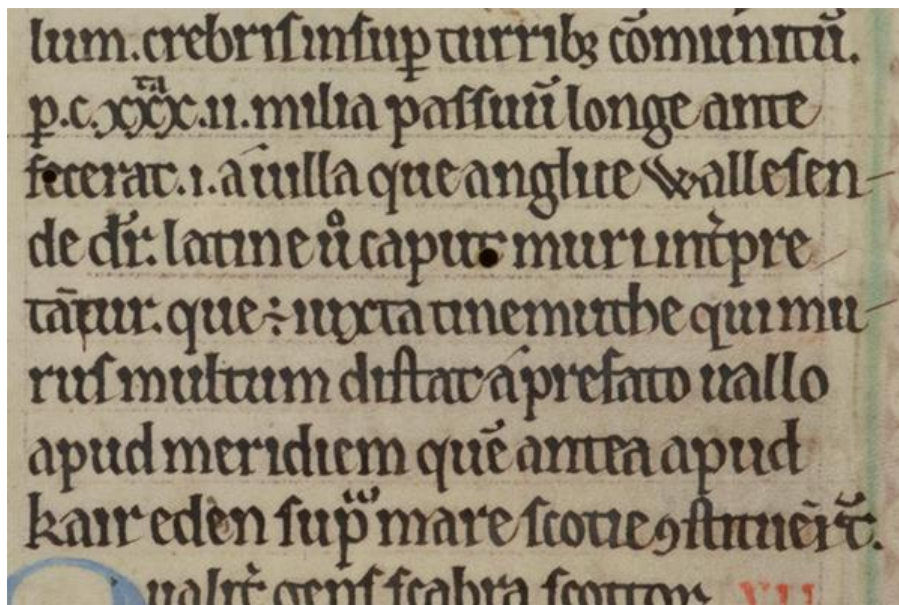


Figure 24: Detail of absorbed gloss in capitulum XI to DEB in CUL Ff.I.27 1vb18–25.

Again, the reader is given information about a place name in English and Latin, another placename with Celtic (Welsh in this instance) elements, and geographic details. If one such commentary gloss being absorbed into the text is interesting, two are noteworthy, and three such becomes a pattern.

Indeed, this same pattern appears elsewhere in the contents of λ and, as we shall see now, it also occurs in CCCC 139. A striking example appears within the *Epistola ad Hugonem decanum Eboracensem de archiepiscopis Eboracensium* attributed to Symeon of Durham in CCCC 139. Originally described by Raines – albeit incorrectly – as an interlinear gloss to the manuscript’s copy of the letter, Hunter Blair corrects this observation and notes that there are no

²⁵⁷ “It is, from the town which, in English, is called Wallesende and is understood in Latin as Caput Muri and is beside the Tynemouth. The rampart and the wall is far from the aforementioned earthwork to the south which had been built at Kair Eden at the Scottish Sea.” See my translation and edition that follows, p. 5.

glosses – either marginal or interlinear – on the page. The passage in question (Figures 25 and 26) reads:

Inter has strages remotius se agebat episcopus Wlferius apud addingeham in occidentali parte eboraci in ualle que vocatur hwerverdale, super ripam fluminis hwerf inter oteleiam et castellum de scipctun.

At first glance, this passage seems unremarkable until compared to its counterpart in British Library, MS Cotton Titus A XIX which reads, simply, “*inter has strages remotius se agebat apud Hatyngham episcopus.*” As with the previous three examples, the expanded text, clearly embodying an absorbed gloss, shows the same didactic concern with onomastic and geographic detail.

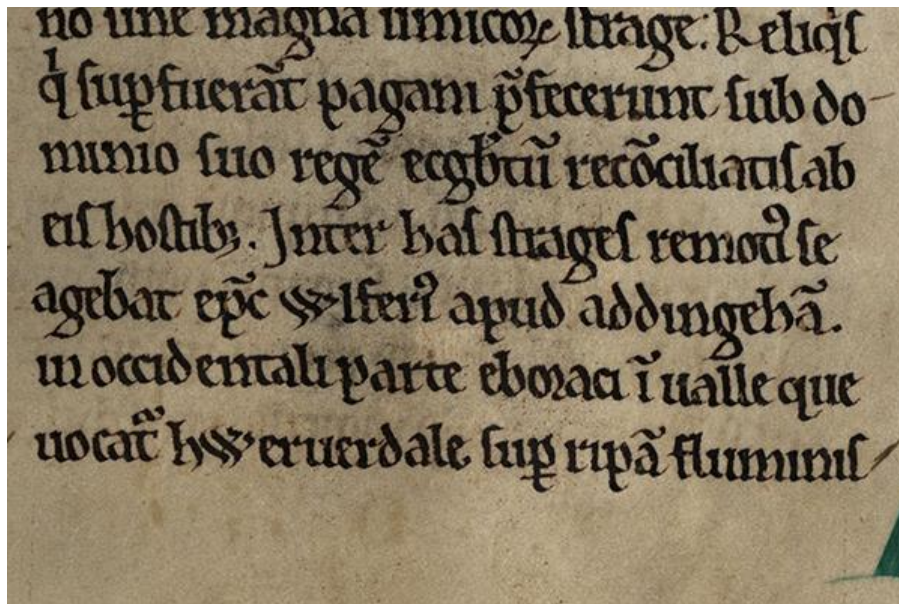


Figure 25: Detail of gloss from CCCC 139 50ra34–7.

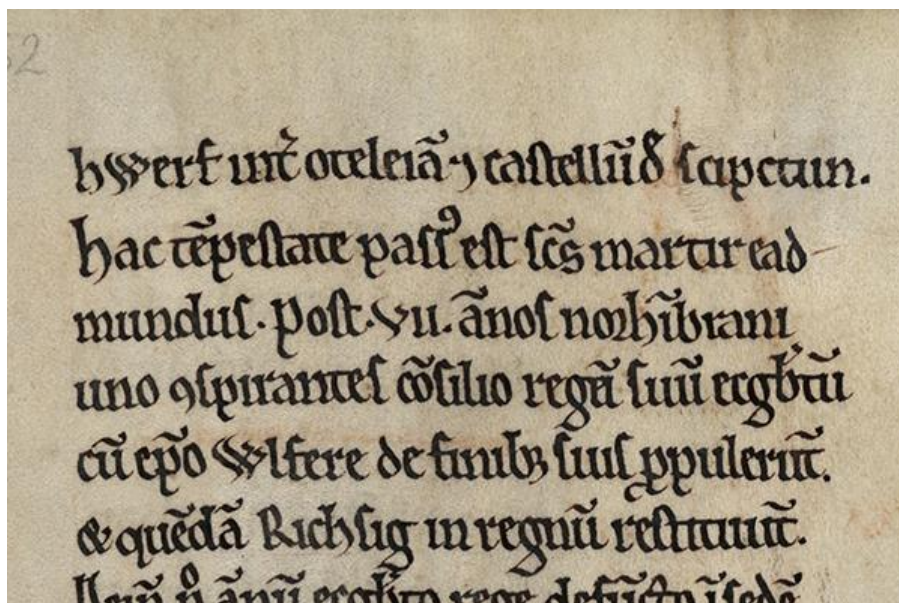


Figure 26: Detail of gloss from CCCC 139 50rb1.

As the table below indicates, glosses appear throughout the text of *DEB* – including in the *capitula* unique to λ – with the exception of the abbreviated version of the preface that serves to introduce the received text.

Distribution of Glosses by Chapter		
<u>Divisions in λ</u>	<u>Standard <i>DEB</i> Chapters with Winterbottom's subsections</u>	<u>Glosses</u>
<i>Prefatio</i>	1.1–2, 1.16, 2	0
<i>Capitula</i>	–	1
Chapter I	3–4.1	32
Chapter II	4.2–4.4	11
Chapter III	5–6.1	5
Chapter IV	6.2–7	3
Chapter V	8–9	5
Chapter VI	10–11	10
Chapter VII	12	5
Chapter VIII	13–14	4
Chapter IX	15–16	3
Chapter X	17	4
Chapter XI	18	4
Chapter XII	19	8

Chapter XIII	20–21.1	4
Chapter XIII	21.1–21.6	14
Chapter XV	22–23.2	9
Chapter XVI	23.3–4	2
Chapter XVII	23.5–25.1	5
Chapter XVIII	25.2–26.2	8
Chapter XIX	26.2–26.4	1
Chapter XX	26.4	3

An evaluation of the distribution reveals several things: with an average of 6 glosses per division in λ (the median is 4.5), most chapters, are comparatively lightly glossed. Even given the varying lengths of certain divisions of the text, several sections in λ stand out – Chapters I, II, VI, XII, XIII, XV, and XVIII – on account of the greater number of glosses appearing therein. From a purely numerical perspective, the increased engagement with the text suggests greater interest in their contents; it is impossible, however, to determine whether this interest reflects a single reader or an accretion of glosses by multiple readers if the glosses originated from the exemplar.²⁵⁸

Likewise, with the caveat that the types of glosses are by no means certain or that each type may, in fact, serve multiple roles – *e.g.*, a commentary gloss may provide a reader with information about a point of grammar while also serving as a lexical aid – a closer look at the types of glosses found in each chapter offers some noteworthy details. First, the glosses in *DEB* are almost evenly divided between commentary and lexical glosses. Second, nearly fifty-five percent of the lexical glosses accompanying the text of *DEB* appear in the first two chapters of the text with over a third of the total appearing in Chapter I alone. The commentary glosses, on the other hand, are fairly even in their distribution, but with chapters XIII and XV showing

²⁵⁸ Dumville, “Celtic-Latin Texts,” p. 45.

significantly more of this type of gloss, with nearly a third of the total for this type occurring in these two chapters.

Types of Glosses by Chapter					
Chapter	commentary	grammatical	lexical	uncertain	Total
<i>Praefatio</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Capitula</i>			1		1
I	5	4	22	1	32
II	3		7	1	11
III	2	1	1	1	5
IV	2		1		3
V	1		4		5
VI	3	2	4	1	10
VII	2		3		5
VIII	3		1		4
IX	1		2		3
X	2		1	1	4
XI	1		3		4
XII	4		3	1	8
XIII	3			1	4
XIII	10		3	1	14
XV	8			1	9
XVI	2				2
XVII	2	1	2		5
XVIII	4		4		8
XIX	1				1
XX	3				3
Total	62	8	62	9	141

The Clustering of Commentary Glosses in *DEB*

Since the commentary gloss is arguably the most inclusive category of gloss, it is perhaps unsurprising to find examples throughout the folios given over to *DEB*, but the clustering in XIII and XV invites inquiry. Thematically, chapter XIII focuses on *luxuria* and the widespread immorality that it brought to Britain as well as the Britons after the retreat of the Picts to their winter quarters. In this chapter, Gildas grounds his narrative in biblical material illustrated with

quotes from the writings of Paul (1 Corinthians 5:1), as well as Isaiah (1:5–6), and Psalms (106:40). He also makes use of familiar Christian metaphors – God as a physician and the Gospels as medicine and equates the Sun with God and justice and darkness with wickedness and Satan. From a postmedieval perspective, this chapter may not appear to offer the most informative historical narrative, but it is in keeping with the classical *topos* of abundance causing moral decline that was adopted by Christian historiographers of Late Antiquity.²⁵⁹ In Chapter XV, Gildas elaborates on the continued foolishness of the Britons and the various attempts by God to purge them of their sinfulness – raids by their traditional enemies, plague, and, at last, the Germanic incursions. Here too, Gildas grounds the narrative in biblical material drawing quotes from Proverbs 29:19, and Isaiah 19:13 and 22:12–3, as well as alluding to the wickedness of the Amorites.²⁶⁰

The following analysis presents the *lemmata* and their *interpretamenta* according to their appearance in the text. For each gloss, I note the folio, column, and line number(s) where it appears. When the gloss is a commentary on a passage, I provide the passage and, in a footnote, offer a translation to provide its context. For glosses that consist of word pairs, I note the lexical categories to which both the *lemma* and *interpretamentum* belong and detail, as may be appropriate, number, case, tense and so on in a brief grammatical summary. The short definitions provided for both the headwords and the gloss are mainly derived from Lewis and Short's *Latin*

²⁵⁹ Ahern, “Abundance, Luxuria, and Sin,” pp. 605–31.

²⁶⁰ The passage to which I refer reads, *Appropinquabat siquidem tempus quo eius iniquitates ut olim amorreorum complerentur*. (Accordingly, the time approached where their wickedness, like that of the Amorites of old, would be complete.) In the hand-list of biblical references that accompanies his edition, Winterbottom makes the association with Genesis 15:16, *generatione autem quarta revertentur huc: necdum enim completae sunt iniquitates Amorrhaeorum usque ad praesens tempus*, presumably on the basis of the verbal parallel *iniquitates Amorrhaeorum*. Since the Amorites make a number of other appearances throughout the Old Testament, including episodes in Numbers 21:21–35 and Joshua 10:5–43, where God is said to deliver them into the hands of the Israelites, the medieval reader might well think of the slaughter of the Amorites that accompanies these other accounts.

Dictionary with frequent reference to the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*.

Wherever I comment on the frequency of attestation, I do so having consulted *Logeion*,²⁶¹ the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*,²⁶² and Brepols' *Library of Latin Texts Online* and *Archive of Celtic Latin Literature*.²⁶³ The translations of the passages are my own.

Analysis of Commentary Glosses in Chapter XIII

5va15-16 [u]bi picti habitabant [ant]iquitus²⁶⁴ – This marginal gloss is a straightforward encyclopaedic gloss that provides the reader with contextual information about the Picts.

5va25 [l]uxuria²⁶⁵ – This simple gloss appears to summarize the thematic content of this chapter and, like others of its kind found in this copy of *DEB*, presumably served as an aid to readers searching the text for specific sections or content.

5va27 Paulus dicit²⁶⁶ – *Omnino talis auditur inter uos fornicatio. qualis nec inter gentes erat.*

This commentary gloss provides the reader with a reference to the source of this passage – in this case Paul. The exact location of letter containing the passage – his first letter to the Corinthians – is not provided.

²⁶¹ *Logeion* may be accessed at: <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/>

²⁶² For the *TLL*, I have made use of the open access version as the search tool published by De Gruyter remains inoperative. The open access version, published by the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften may be accessed here: <https://thesaurus.badw.de/en/tll-digital/tll-open-access.html>

²⁶³ Since the University of Washington libraries do not subscribe to these databases and Brepols' declined to respond to my inquiry regarding individual access on a short-term basis, I wish to register my gratitude to a friend for his willingness to make use of his institutional access in order to serve as my research assistant for this project. In their wisdom, Brepols has elected to put profit ahead of scholarship and subscriptions to these very valuable databases are available to individuals albeit at an eye-watering price while the exceedingly useful *Cross Database Search* tool (which enables users to reference both databases simultaneously) is only available to institutions at, one can only presume, a commensurately more eye-watering rate that puts it outside the budget of perennially underfunded state schools. Although Brepols does many things well, developing product offerings and pricing schemes that are accessible to graduate students and other early career researchers is not one of them.

²⁶⁴ "Where the Picts used to dwell of old."

²⁶⁵ *Luxuria*: 1st decl. nom sing. 'riotous living, extravagance, profusion, luxury, excess.'

²⁶⁶ "Paul says," cf. 1 Cor 5:1.

5vb2 sole | iusticie²⁶⁷ – *Odiū ueritatis fuit cum assertoribus suis. Amor mendacii cum suis fabricatoribus. Susceptio mali :pro bono. Veneratio nequitie :pro benignitate. Cupido tenebrarum :pro sole. Exceptio sathane :pro angelo lucis.*²⁶⁸ At first glance, this appears to be a lexical gloss, however, the *interpretamentum* does not match the case of the *lemma*. While this is not in itself an ironclad reason for discounting this as a lexical gloss, the function of the *interpretamentum* is less about providing an approximate meaning of *sole* (although it does this) than it is about explaining the extended metaphor employed by Gildas – in this case, the commonplace equation of good and evil with light and darkness – throughout this passage.

5vb25 medicine | euangelium²⁶⁹ ; **5vb26 medico | deo**²⁷⁰ – *ac si nil largiretur mundo medicine a uero omnium medico.*²⁷¹ Similar to the preceding gloss, these initially appear to be lexical glosses, but their function as commentary glosses are apparent as the *interpretamenta* explain the nature of the remedy and the physician in question as part of the metaphor that Gildas uses in this passage.

5vb27 hac | luxuria²⁷² – *Et non solum hac seculares uiri :sed et ipsi greges domini pastoresque eius. qui exemplo esse omni plebi debuerant :ebrietate quam plurimi quasi uino madidi torpebant*

²⁶⁷ *Sole*: 3rd decl. abl. sing. of *sol* ‘sun’; *iusticie*: 1st decl. gen. sing. of *iustitia* ‘justice, equity, uprightness, esp. righteousness, holiness, conduct in accordance with the divine law.’ The *interpretamentum* shows the interchange between **ti/ci** and the absence of **a** in the **ae** diphthong that characterizes medieval Latin orthography.

²⁶⁸ “There existed hatred of truth together with its champions, love of untruth together with its devisers, undertaking evil instead of good, reverence of wickedness rather than kindness, lust for shadows instead of the sun, welcoming Satan rather than the angel of light.”

²⁶⁹ *Medicine*: 1st decl. dat. sing. of *medicina* ‘a remedy, medicine, trop. remedy, relief, antidote’; *euangelium*: 2nd decl. nom. sing. ‘Gospel, good news.’

²⁷⁰ *Medico*: 2nd decl. abl. sing. of *medicus* ‘medic, physician, surgeon’; *deo*: 2nd decl. abl. sing. of *deus* ‘god, deity, specifically the Christian – or Jewish – God.’

²⁷¹ “[j]ust as if no relief to the world might be granted by the true physician of everyone.”

²⁷² *Hac*: adv. ‘by this way or route, on this side’; *luxuria*: 1st decl. nom. sing. ‘riotous living, extravagance, profusion, luxury, excess.’

resoluti.²⁷³ Here, the glossator explains that excess is the way in which the people – both secular and ecclesiastic – were enervated and immoral.

6ra1 seduci | populi²⁷⁴ – *ut perspicue sicut et nunc est. effundi uidetur contemptio super principes. et seduci uanis eorum. et errare in inuio et non in uia.*²⁷⁵ The *interpretamentum* is an uncomplicated explanation of the subject of the verb *seducere*.

6ra1 vanis | id est idolis²⁷⁶ – The glossator’s interpretation is an interesting reading of the text since it equates the vanities of the Britons not with the luxurious excess and attendant sinfulness described by Gildas, but with idolatry – a theme that is otherwise absent in this chapter.

6ra2 non in via | non in via dei ambulant²⁷⁷ – Gildas quotes from Psalm 106:40 in this passage and, curiously, the glossator offers an expansion on what is meant. Since memorization of the Psalter was a critical component of Latin education in the Middle Ages, it is remarkable that the glossator felt the need to provide this clarification since it might be reasonable to expect that it would be understood by the readers based on the source and the context of the passage in which it appears.

Taken as a whole, the commentary glosses present in Chapter XIII are remarkable for their relative simplicity. Among explanations of common Christian *topoi*, references to biblical sources, and interpretative aids, the overall impression left by these glosses is that they were not

²⁷³ “And not only worldly men in this way, but even the flocks of the Lord and the shepherds too – who were obliged to be as an example to all the people – very many were enervated, stupefied from drunkenness as if drenched in wine.”

²⁷⁴ *Seduci*: 3rd conj. pres. pass. inf. of *seducere* ‘to lead aside, take apart, draw aside, lead away, carry off, set aside, put by’; partic. in ecl. Lat. ‘to lead astray, mislead, seduce’; *populi*: 2nd decl. nom. pl. of *populus* ‘a people; state, nation.’

²⁷⁵ “So that it is perceived clearly contempt was to be poured upon the princes just as it is now both to be led astray through their vanities and to wander in a trackless waste and not on the Way.”

²⁷⁶ *Vanis*: 1st decl. abl. sing. of adj. *vanus* ‘containing nothing, empty, void, vacant,’ esp. of persons ‘vainglorious, ostentatious, boastful, vain’; *idolis*: 2nd decl. abl. pl. of *idolum* ‘an image, form,’ in patristics: ‘an idol.’

²⁷⁷ “not on the Way”; “they do not walk on the way of God.”

introduced for the benefit of well-educated individuals steeped in biblical and patristic reading but were added to assist readers who needed help understanding the metaphors and sources that Gildas used.

Analysis of the Commentary Glosses in Chapter XV

6ra23 remoto | hostium²⁷⁸ – *pestifera namque lues feraliter insipienti populo incubuit.que in breui tempore tantam eius multitudinem remoto mucrone sternit.*²⁷⁹ Although it looks like a lexical gloss, since the *lemma* and the *interpretamentum* belong to different parts of speech (although the participle functions as an adjective) and are mismatched in number and case, the gloss better fits the category of commentary. As a commentary gloss, it is clear-cut: the glossator offers clarification for the reader that it is the sword of the enemies that has been laid aside.

6ra24 humare | mortuos²⁸⁰ – *quantum ne possint uiui humare.*²⁸¹ While recognizing that simplicity may be entirely in the eye of the beholder (or the mind of the reader), the passage for which this gloss is providing clarification seems direct and the context uncomplicated. The facile nature of this gloss suggests an unsophisticated or novice reader who is not working through the text in isolation, but in tandem with a *magister*.

6ra34 iniquitates | populi²⁸² – *Appropinquabat siquidem tempus quo eius iniquitates ut olim amorreorum completerentur.*²⁸³ This gloss, like the previous two, is an explanation of the context

²⁷⁸ *Remoto*: 2nd conj. perf. pass. ptc. abl. of *removere* ‘to move back, take away, set aside, put off, drive away, withdraw, remove’; *hostium*: 3rd decl. gen. pl. of *hostis* ‘a stranger; foreigner, enemy.’

²⁷⁹ “For indeed, a baleful plague settled with deadly effect upon the senseless people; which, in a brief time, strikes down so great a multitude of them with the sword having been laid aside.”

²⁸⁰ *Humare*: 1st conj. pres. act. inf. ‘to cover with earth; to inter, bury’; *mortuos*: 2nd decl. acc. pl. of *mortuus* ‘a dead person, dead man, corpse.’

²⁸¹ “To such a great extent, the living were unable to bury them.”

²⁸² *Iniquitates*: 3rd decl. acc. pl. of *iniquitas* ‘wickedness, sinfulness; wrongful, wicked, or sinful act or acts’; *populi*: 2nd decl. gen. sing. of *populus* ‘a people; state, nation’

²⁸³ “Accordingly, the time approached where their wickedness, like that of the Amorites of old, would be complete.”

of the passage. In this case, the glossator is explicating whose wickedness is being referred to by Gildas in this comparatively unambiguous passage.

6rb3 ruptiones | scottoꝝ 7 pictoꝝ²⁸⁴ – *Initur nanque consilium quid optimum quidue saluberrimum ad repellendas tam crebras et tam ferales superdictarum gentium ruptiones predasque decerni potius deberet.*²⁸⁵ The lemma is indicated by a *signe de renvoi* (Figure 27), however, based on the context of the passage and the *interpretamentum*, it appears that the *signe* was likely slightly misplaced. While the glossator may well have been clarifying who was responsible for the various *ruptiones* that had plagued the Britons, *gentium* (3rd decl. gen. pl. of *gens* – race, nation, clan, or house) seems like the more obvious (and better suited) candidate for this gloss.

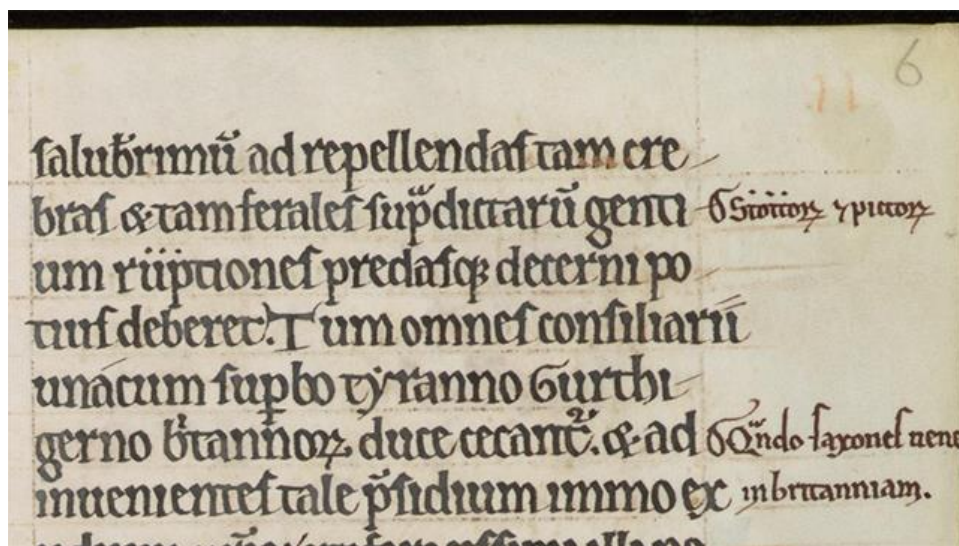


Figure 27: Detail of 'ruptiones' gloss in DEB, CUL Ff.1.27 6rb3

²⁸⁴ *Ruptiones*: 3rd decl. acc. pl. of *ruptio* 'a breaking, fracture; an injuring, damage, bursting, rupture'; *scottorum 7 pictorum* "of the Scotti and the Picti."

²⁸⁵ "For indeed, they were bound to undertake a council chiefly to discern the best thing or, if you will, the most advantageous, for repelling the so frequent and so deadly ruptures and looting of the aforementioned peoples."

6rb6–7 Quando saxones vene[re] in britanniam²⁸⁶ – This marginal gloss summarizes the content of Chapter XV and would serve as an aid for anyone skimming the text.

6rb12–13 nil | Nil britonibus usquam pernitiosius factum²⁸⁷ – *quo utique nil eis usquam pernitiosius. nilque amarius factum est.*²⁸⁸ This gloss is indicated by the presence of a *signe de renvoi* (Figure 28). As a commentary, it simply restates part of the passage it is glossing and merely identifies for whom the invitation to the Saxons made by Gurthigernus and his advisors would prove to be so devastating. In short, a more obvious commentary for this passage would be difficult to imagine. Based on the presence of the *signe de renvoi* and the previous gloss summarizing the content of the chapter, it seems unlikely that this gloss was meant as an aid to a reader skimming the text.

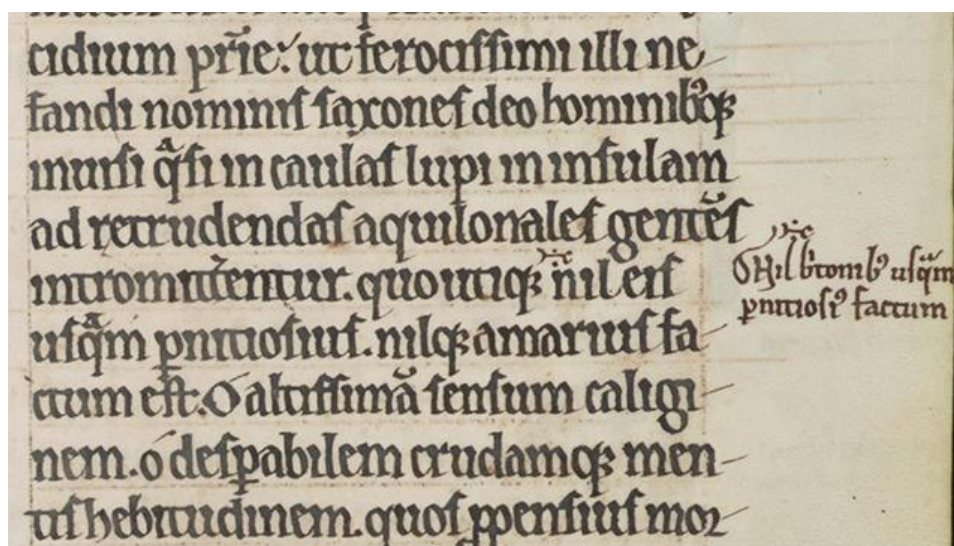


Figure 28: Detail of gloss on 'nil' in DEB, CUL Ff.I.27 6rb12

²⁸⁶ “When the Saxons came to Britain.”

²⁸⁷ “Nothing more destructive was done to the Britons in any way.”

²⁸⁸ “Undoubtedly, nothing more destructive and nothing more bitter happened to them than this.”

6rb19 invitabant | cum essent in germania²⁸⁹ – *quos propensius morte cum abessent*

*cremebant sponte ut ita dicam sub unius tecti culmine inuitabant.*²⁹⁰ An encyclopaedic gloss that provides the reader with context about the homeland of the Germanic settlers.

**6rb19–24 Stulti sunt principes tafneos dantes.id est.su(aden?)tibus Faraoni ut r::::retur
populus israel(is?) et (:::?) persequeretur eos.iter(um?) ita germanie c(u?:) Gurtingerno**

insip(ienti?)²⁹¹ – *Stulti sunt principes ut dictum est thafneos.dantes pharaoni consilium*

*insipienti.*²⁹² A victim of the binder’s knife, this gloss (Figure 29) is sadly lacunose.

Nevertheless, both Stevenson and Petrie endeavored to supply the absent materials in their respective editions. In his apparatus, Stevenson suggested, *Stulti sunt principes Tafneos, dantes, id est, suadentibus [sic] Pharaoni, ut plecteretur (?) populus Israel et ut persequeretur eos iterum, ita Germaniae cum Gurtigerno insipienti.* Petrie, on the other hand, offered, *Stulti sunt principes Tafneos dantes, id est, su[aden]tibus Faraoni ut [t]r[ude]retur populus Israel et [ut] persequeretur eos iter[um] ita Germaniae cu....Gurtingerno insip[ienti].* Neither editor, however, appears to be entirely successful in reconstructing the gloss. Indeed, the evidence of the manuscript militates against both Stevenson’s *plecteretur* and Petrie’s *truderetur*. Whatever the missing verb may be, the purpose of this gloss – providing an explanation of the stupidity of the princes of Tanis in their recommendations to Pharaoh and comparing them with Gurthigernus is clear enough. Nevertheless, it is certainly interesting that this passage requires explication since

²⁸⁹ *Invitabant*: 1st conj. 3rd pl. impf. act. of *invitare* ‘invite, summon, challenge’; ‘since they were in Germania.’

²⁹⁰ ‘Those who, when they were absent, they had been more inclined to tremble at than death, of their own free will as it may be said, under the summit of one roof, they had invited.’

²⁹¹ ‘Stupid are the princes of Tanis giving, that is by suggesting to Pharaoh that...the nation of Israel and...they might overtake them a second time, in such a way, to Germania...with foolish [?] to Gurthigernus’

²⁹² ‘‘Stupid are the princes of Tanis,’ as it is said, ‘giving foolish counsel to Pharaoh.’’’

Gildas is quoting Isaiah 19:13 and a reader well-versed in the Bible might well be expected to recognize the passage and its significance.

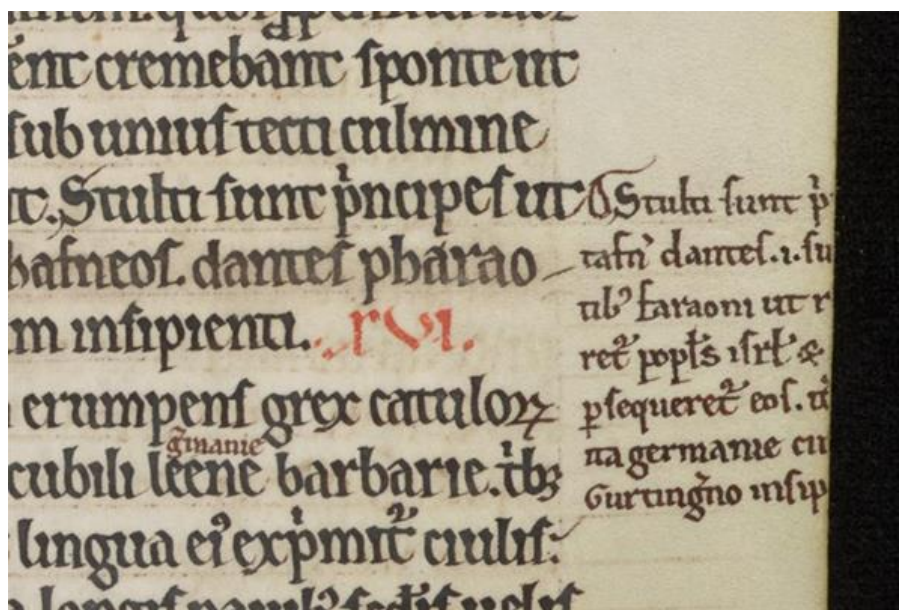


Figure 29: Detail of gloss 'Stulti sunt principes' in *DEB*, CUL Ff.1.27 6rb19–24.

Much like the commentary glosses in Chapter XIII, those found in Chapter XV treat largely of passages that – especially for the notoriously recondite Gildas – are unambivalent. After examining both these glosses and those found in the previous chapter, one thing is clear: these glosses were unlikely to have been conceived of with a well-read or sophisticated reader in mind. Indeed, the impression given by the commentary glosses in Chapter XV – even more so than those in Chapter XIII – is that they were designed to provide instruction to someone who might experience some difficulty in navigating Gildas' Latin and might not be as familiar with the Psalter, Isaiah, the Pauline epistles, or other biblical materials that he draws upon in his text. In short, these glosses suggest that they were intended to support the efforts of a novice reading through *DEB* under the tutelage of a *magister*. Although it is entirely possible that I am mistaken in this and that these glosses were originally *aides-mémoires* for an educated reader – or even

simply notes added by a reader in passing with no future audience imagined – this seems more likely to be an improbable possibility than not.

Discussion of the Commentary Glosses in Chapter XX

Situated at the end of the text – where they accompany a repetition of the conclusion to the preface which has been lightly reworked – are three commentary glosses that warrant comment since this recapitulation may have been unique to λ and was, if Dumville’s argument is correct, created to provide “a neat conclusion to the text.”²⁹³ Elsewhere in his survey of CUL Ff.I.27, Dumville states that its copy of *DEB* “is also notable for a series of glosses, all by the text hand and undoubtedly copied from the exemplar.”²⁹⁴ In view of these claims, the presence of these glosses complicates Dumville’s arguments. The glosses themselves are as follows:

7va6-9 [Fe]cit nanque ipse gilda [lib]rum magnum de regibus [Bri]tonum ꝛ de proeliis eorum. [sed q]uia uituperavit eos mul[tu]m in illo libro, incende[ru]nt ipsi librum illum²⁹⁵ –

Another victim of rebinding, this gloss is lacunose, but the letters that are wanting may be reasonably deduced.²⁹⁶ Dumville argues that this gloss is an explanation from the glossators in λ offering a comment *in prima manu* for “the absence of Book II, which they understood to be a separate work, a work which they had never seen and which they believed lost.”²⁹⁷ While this claim is largely credible, his attribution of this gloss to the copyist(s) responsible for the creation of λ is by no means certain since it too may have originated in the exemplar and there is nothing

²⁹³ Dumville, “Celtic-Latin Texts,” p. 46.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

²⁹⁵ “Indeed, Gildas himself composed an extensive book concerning the kings of Britain and their battles, but because he reproached them greatly in that book, they themselves have burned the book.”

²⁹⁶ I follow here the suggestions of both Petrie and Stevenson. Dumville, on the other hand, offers *[Fe]cit nanque ipse gilda [lib]rum magnum de regibus [Bri]tonum et de preliis eorum. [et q]uia uituperavit eos mul[...]re in illo libro, incende[ban]t ipsi librum illum*. The difference between the 3rd plural perfect indicative active of *incendere* ‘have burned’ versus its 3rd plural imperfect indicative active tense ‘burned’ is one without much distinction. Gildas, *DEB* (ed. Petrie), p. 15; Gildas, *DEB* (ed. Stevenson), p. 35; Dumville, p. 44, n.124.

²⁹⁷ Dumville, “Celtic-Latin Texts,” p. 44.

about the gloss itself that warrants such confidence about its authorship. It should be also acknowledged here that this suggestion brings with it the assumption that the reworked concluding passage above also pre-dates the production of λ and was transmitted in the exemplar.

7va9 de situ | insule; de contumacia | gentis – *Sed ante promissum deo uolente pauca de situ.de contumacia ac duro famulatu.de religione...*²⁹⁸ For anyone who had read the text of *DEB* through to this point, these glosses (Figure 30), as commentaries, are blindingly obvious. Thus, their placement at the *conclusion* of the text is perplexing because it is difficult to conceive of a case where someone – at this late stage of reading the text – would benefit from the information that the site discussed by Gildas is the island or that he describes the disobedience of its people. If, however, this gloss was copied along with text drawn from an exemplar of the preface of *DEB*, then, in its original location, this information would have proved more useful indeed to a reader. (Again, it may remain impossible to conclude whether the shift was effected in the course of the production of λ or at an earlier stage of transmission.) Moreover, this would indicate that there were glosses once present in the earlier part of the text of *DEB* that were omitted by scribes involved in the transmission of earlier exemplars, or, conceivably (albeit most doubtfully), in the production of λ itself. Further, the limited utility of these two glosses on account of their present location suggests that the scribe who copied them out did so in a mechanical fashion without much consideration for their value to the reader.

²⁹⁸ “Now, the earlier promise – God willing! – a few words on the location, about her disobedience, and harsh slavery; about religion....”

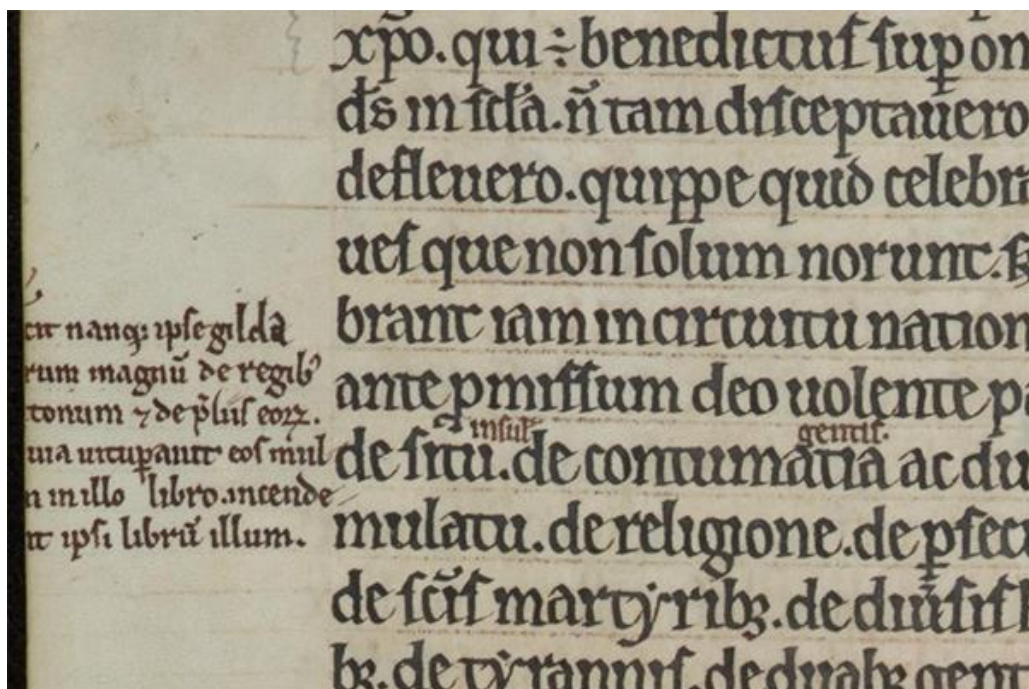


Figure 30: Detail of marginal and interlinear glosses at the end of Chapter XX in *DEB*, CUL Ff.I.27 7va7–10

If, however, these three glosses were derived from an exemplar that did not have the revised prefatory passage serving as a “neat conclusion,” then these glosses could only have been taken over from that exemplar – if, presumably, they accompanied the text of the preface.²⁹⁹ In this connection, it is worth stressing that the preface of the text in λ is not glossed. In fact, prior to the main body of *DEB*, only *one* gloss appears and that is a lexical gloss on the word *kyulis* found in the *capitulum* for Chapter XVI. I exclude from this assessment the embedded glosses in the *capitula* discussed above. On the origin of these glosses, Dumville states that “the Sawley text [of *DEB*] is also notable for a series of glosses, all by the text hand and undoubtedly copied from the exemplar....”³⁰⁰ If the text in the immediate exemplar of λ had a glossed preface, then the scribes responsible for copying over glosses to accompany the text of *DEB* in λ appear to have exercised some degree of editorial control over the content, either of their own accord or by

²⁹⁹ Dumville, “Celtic-Latin Texts,” p. 46.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

following the directions given by someone else. If, on the other hand, no glosses accompanied the preface in the immediate exemplar of λ , then Dumville's claim regarding the origin of the glosses in CUL Ff.I.27 cannot be fully credited. The three glosses appearing with the revised prefatory material near the end of the copy of *DEB* in λ must have dropped out of the preface in a text earlier in the chain of exemplars. Italicized *lemmata* are wanting in the manuscript.

List of Commentary Glosses in *DEB*

Lemma	Interpretamentum [commentary type]	Chapter	Type	Location
	locus in quo factus est hic liber est guales insula marina tempore Arthuri regis. persona Gilde sapientis	I	commentary	2rb1–4
orbis	terrarum	I	commentary	2rb15
ponderatice	terrarum	I	commentary	2rb17
	De situ patriae	I	commentary	2rb18
	Belgica prima in qua est metropolis treueris. Belgica secunda in qua est transitus ad britanniam. in qua est metropolis ciuitas remorum	I	commentary	2rb24–7
numero uincientia egyptia	multitudine idolorum supra dictorum	II	commentary	2va34
	porphirius iste quidam hereticus fuit ideoque nominat eum canem quia dixit quod propheta danielus non fuit propheta sed historia. aduersus istum			
porphirius	ieronimus exposuit danielem.	II	commentary	2vb9
medium	scilicet britannie	II	commentary	2vb12
insule	britannie	III	commentary	2vb34
aduexit	imperium adortauit	III	commentary	2vb35
fingebat	senatus	IV	commentary	3ra14
dabant	romanis	IV	commentary	3ra20
	dum aguntur hec infidelitatis	V	commentary	3rb6
vocans	deus	VI	commentary	3va8
divortione	scilicet discordia	VI	commentary	3va16–7
aperiret	Albanus	VI	commentary	3vb10

	Agricola quidam homo discipulus arriani qui perturbauit fidem britonum.	VII	commentary	4ra3–8
	scilicet mortale discordia.	VII	commentary	4ra3–8
	Occidit nanque [gra]tianum Valentinianum uero cum m[atre] Roma expulit.	VIII	commentary	4rb3–5
capite	ipse maximus	VIII	commentary	4rb4
	Quia scotti tu[nc] temporis in hybern[ia] habitabant.et pic[ti] in scotia id est ab aqu[ilo]ne scilicet occisio imperatoris	VIII	commentary	4rb11–5
transmarinus				
mali immemor	gratiani	IX	commentary	4rb27
	similitudinem ut hec omnia	X	commentary	4va27
fugauerunt	Romani eos	X	commentary	4vb8
	Hec omnia denuntiant romani britonibus	XI	commentary	4v18
	hic calumniat Scottos quod non sunt bene uestiti	XII	commentary	5ra16
magis	habentes	XII	commentary	5ra16
lanionibus	scilicet lupis	XII	commentary	5rb3
laniant	britones	XII	commentary	5rb6
britannorum	mittitur	XIII	commentary	5rb18
	nec pro eis epistolis	XIII	commentary	5rb23
	Britannia super inimicos suos [u]bi picti habitabant [ant]iquitus	XIII	commentary	5rb36
	[l]uxuria.	XIII	commentary	5va15–6
	Paulus dicit	XIII	commentary	5va25
Sole	iusticie	XIII	commentary	5va27
medicine	euangelium	XIII	commentary	5vb2
medico	deo	XIII	commentary	5vb25
hac	luxuria	XIII	commentary	5vb26
seduci	populi	XIII	commentary	5vb27
vanis	id est idolis	XIII	commentary	6ra1
non in via	non in via dei ambulant.	XIII	commentary	6ra1
remoto	hostium	XV	commentary	6ra2
humare	mortuos	XV	commentary	6ra23
iniquitates	populi	XV	commentary	6ra24
ruptiones	scottoꝝ 7 pictoꝝ	XV	commentary	6ra34
	Quando saxones vene[re] in britanniam	XV	commentary	6rb3
nil	Nil britonibus usquam pernitiosius factum	XV	commentary	6rb6–7
				6rb12–3

invitabant	cum essent in germania	XV	commentary	6rb19
	Stulti sunt principes tafneos dantes.id est.su(aden?)tibus Faraoni ut r:::retur populus israel(is?) et (:::?) persequeretur eos.iter(um?) ita germanie c(u?::) Guringerno insip(ienti?)	XV	commentary	6rb19– 24
leene	germanie	XVI	commentary	6rb24
cui	id est barbara leen(a) germanie.	XVI	commentary	6rb35
deplorans	propheta Carmen nautarum eleuma dicitur	XVII	commentary	6va33
reliquiae	britonum	XVIII	commentary	7ra10
	id est ambrosius aurelianus qui comes fortis. fidelis. ueraxque fuit.	XVIII	commentary	7ra14
eum	Saxones	XVIII	commentary	7ra23
	furtiferos appellat Scottos 7 pictos	XVIII	commentary	7ra34–5
<i>furciferis</i>	ad mortem	XIX	commentary	7rb13
	[Fe]cit nanque ipse gilda [lib]rum magnum de regibus [Bri]tonum 7 de proeliis eorum. [sed q]uia uituperavit eos mul[tu]m in illo libro, incende[ru]nt ipsi librum illum	XX	commentary	7va6–9
de situ	insule	XX	commentary	7va9
de contumacia	gentis	XX	commentary	7va9

The Lexical Glosses in *DEB*

It is well-established that the abstruse style and vocabulary that Gildas employs in *DEB* proved fertile ground for the *magistri* at the Canterbury school of Archbishop Theodore. Remnants of their interest in the text survives in the Leiden Glossary while closely related glossaries – such as Corpus – hold yet more evidence that glossed copies of *DEB* were in circulation. Owing to the nature of glossaries and *glossae collectae* generally, unsurprisingly what survives are predominantly lexical glosses. As the most common form of gloss, lexical

glosses accompany most chapters of *DEB* in λ ; some sections, however – namely, the preface, Chapters XIII, XV, XVI, XIX, and XX – are devoid of such glosses. As with the commentary glosses, two chapters, in particular, might be cited that stand out because of the significant amount of lexical glossing occurring in them.

While the chapters with lexical glosses typically have between one and four such glosses, Chapter I has twenty-two while Chapter II has seven. The extensive lexical glossing in these two chapters raises further questions about the origins of all of the glosses. Indeed, the rationale for heavily glossing the first chapter is unclear: Gildas' prose, after all, is not markedly easier to follow in subsequent chapters. Three explanations for this distribution might spring to mind. First, this may be evidence of a project undertaken by one or more glossators that began with an enthusiasm that quickly waned. Second, the lexical glosses amassed in Chapter I might represent the interactions of multiple glossators with the text at different times. Third, either the copyists of the exemplar or of λ itself had recourse to other glossed copies of the text from which they derived additional glosses. Of the three scenarios, the third seems – on its face – the least likely since one might reasonably expect the collecting of glosses to have been more widespread throughout the text. Moreover, owing to the absence of material from Books II and III of *DEB* in λ , these other glossed copies might be suspected to have consisted only of Book I and here, perhaps, only the earlier part of that book. (This is not an insurmountable problem since the evidence of λ itself suggests that the books that comprise *DEB* may have circulated individually as *libelli*.) The first scenario is certainly plausible and there is nothing in the surviving evidence to rule it out as a possibility. There is, however, a small piece of evidence that points to the second option, involving multiple approaches to the text – a gloss in Chapter I – *ratibus id est nauibus* – is effectively duplicated in Chapter 9 – *ratibus nauibus*. The repeated glossing of the

same comparatively uncomplicated headword strikes me as potentially instructive in text-historical terms. Although it is impossible to be certain, the near repetition of this gloss hints at least two glossators annotating the text at different times, either by annotating the text *in prima manu* or by copying over glosses from one or more existing exemplars.

Potential Evidence for a Shared Glossing Tradition

With glosses in both the Leiden Glossary (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vossianus Latinus Quarto 69) and the related Corpus Glossary (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 144) having been securely attributed to *DEB*, comparison of the lexical glosses in CUL Ff.I.27 against these witnesses may reveal evidence for a glossing tradition for *DEB* that circulated with its copies in manuscript. Indeed, examination of this material shows that ten of the glosses in CUL Ff.I.27 share *lemmata* either with Leiden or Corpus or with both. In the following analysis, italicized headwords indicate that the glossator either employed a *signe de renvoi* to connect the gloss with its *lemma* or simply wrote the gloss in an adjacent margin where proximity would make clear the purpose of the gloss.

2rb30 meliorata | id est ornata – *meliorata*: 1st conj. abl. sing. perf. pass. ptc. of *melioro* ‘to make better; to better, improve,’ is a post-Classical construction employed by Cassiodorus, Ambrose, Gregory the Great, Ennodius, and other Christian authors. *Ornata*: 1st conj. abl. sing. perf. pass. ptc. of *ornō* ‘to fit out, furnish, provide, supply, equip, get ready, prepare,’ a verb that is very well-attested among Classical authors. While the *lemma* is not exceptionally rare, the glossator was clearly providing a reader with a significantly more familiar word to aid their understanding of the text. This gloss appears verbatim in a batch of Gildasian *glossae collectae* preserved in the Leiden Glossary under the heading VI INCIPIT BREUIS. EXSOLUTIO.

2va10 pallantibus | revelantibus – palantibus: 1st conj. abl. sing. pres. act. ptc. of *palo* ‘to make visible; to show, display’. *Revelantibus:* 1st conj. abl. sing. pres. act. ptc. of *revelo* ‘to unveil, uncover, lay bare.’ This *lemma* has been a point of contention for scholars. Petrie’s edition of λ emends the text to *pellentibus* (from *pello*, ‘to beat, strike, knock, push, drive, hurl, impel, propel’) and makes note of the manuscript reading in the apparatus. Similarly, in his edition, Mommsen records the reading of λ and the similar form – *palantibus* – found in the witness known as *H* (which has since been shown by W. H. Davies to lack textual authority) in his notes and follows the use of *pellentibus* by Vergil and Joscelyn in their respective editions of the text. Two glosses preserved in the Leiden Glossary, however, suggest that the correct reading is, in fact, derived from *palo*. Both glosses are found in the batch XL ITEM INCIPIUNT UERBA. The first is *palantibus . pendentibus* while the second is *pallantibus ; apparentibus*. Although we must exercise caution in using the *interpretamentum* to make sense of the headword, it is worth noting that the explanations offered by the glossators responsible for the material in Leiden and λ seem to resist the reading *pello*. Indeed, neither *pendeo* ‘to hang, hang down, be suspended,’ nor *pendo* ‘to cause to hang down, to suspend, to weigh,’ nor *appareo* ‘to come in sight, to appear, become visible’ offer much insight into the meaning of *pello*, though the possibility remains that they may provide a context for the glossed passage (e.g. *pendentibus* might refer to waters of the *fontes* hanging in air). As I have argued elsewhere, *palo* (from the adverb *palam*) seems a more probable candidate and would be consistent with an Insular tendency toward back-formation by dropping the prefixes of verbs.³⁰¹ This reading, if correct, makes sense of both *revelantibus* and *apparentibus* as interpretations.

³⁰¹ The same verb appears in *Hisperica famina*. In the notes to his edition, Herren, following Löfstedt, provides a compact summary of the formation. He writes, “the formation of the verb *palare* from the adv. *palam* is not an Hispericism. The verb *propalare*, with the same meaning, existed from the fourth century; cf. Sid. *Ep.* 9, 11; Oros. 6, 5; Aug. *Ep.* 137; Vulg. Heb. 9, 8. *Propalare* is fairly frequent in Aldhelm, e.g. *D. V. pros.* p. 277, 12,

2rb35 in edito | excelso – *in edito*: 2nd decl. abl. sing. of *editum* ‘a height’; the frequency of usage for this *lemma* is rather difficult to assess; while it is attested in Suetonius, Pliny, and Tacitus, it appears, however, to be relatively obscure vocabulary. Of later attestations, it is used most frequently by Rufinus, Jerome, and Aldhelm. This headword appears in the Corpus Glossary among a batch of materials drawn from Gildas with a different gloss – *in alto*. While securely attributing the headword in Corpus to Gildas has proven challenging owing to the inclusion of matter drawn from *De uirginitate* and the *Historia ecclesiastica* (a Hieronymian influence can likely be discounted as the texts in which the *lemma* appears do not appear to have provided material to the glossary), the appearance of this gloss in λ – albeit with a different explanation – reinforces my impression that the gloss in Corpus was originally drawn from Gildas because it demonstrates that other glossators were engaged with the word. *excelso*: 2nd decl. abl. sing. of *excelsum* ‘a height’ (from *excello*); by comparison, the synonym provided in this *interpretamentum* is well-attested in Classical and Late Antique works as well as the Vulgate.

2rb35 pangebantur | fabricabantur – *pangebantur*: 3rd conj. 3rd pl. imperf. pass. of *pango* ‘to fix firmly, fasten, bind.’ This headword is a comparatively rare verb which, during the Classical period, appears in the works of Cicero, Tacitus, Livy, and Pliny the Elder. Its Late Antique authorities include the early Christian authors Tertullian, Prudentius, and Sidonius Apollinaris. *Fabricabantur*: 1st conj. 3rd pl. imperf. pass. of *fabrico* ‘to make, build, construct, erect’ is

‘*Christum...cunctis publice voce propalat.*’ Stow, in his commentary notes that *propalare* is used by Gildas and cites the use of *praepalare* by Virgilius Maro (18.4H) For the HL tendency to delete the essential prefixal element in verbs, see the introd. To Malsachanus, Gram., (B. Löfstedt, p. 136).” Löfstedt, *Der Hibernolateinische Grammatiker Malsachanus*, p. 136; Hardison, “Words, Meanings, and Readings,” pp. 13–4.

significantly better attested in both Classical and Late Antique works as well as the Vulgate. The *lemma* appears in Leiden in XL ITEM INCIPIUNT UERBA as *pangebantur : iungebtur*.

2vb1 rigentia | id est siccentia – *rigentia*: 2nd conj. acc. pl. pres. act. ptc. of *rigeo* ‘stiff, inflexible, rigid, frozen’; Lewis and Short note that this *lemma* was used in a figurative fashion and in primarily post-Classical texts though it is attested in Classical sources such as Pliny the Elder. The glossator offers the explanation, *siccentia*: 3rd conj. acc. pl. pres. act. ptc. of *sicco* ‘to make dry, dry, dry up.’ The *lemma* appears in Leiden – *rigentia uigentia*. – in XL ITEM INCIPIUNT UERBA, while in Corpus, it is given an Old English *interpretamentum* – *rigentia* . *forclingendu*. The explanation offered by the glossator in Leiden is rather interesting since DMLBS records that the present participle of *vigeo* ‘to have vigour, strength, power, or force; to be strong or active, to flourish,’ when used as an adjective, has the sense ‘vigorous, strong.’ The sense of the Old English *forclingendu* (pres. ptc. of *forclingan*) has been a point of some debate. Bosworth-Toller offers two entries for *forclingan*. The first indicates the form was derived from the verb *clingan* ‘to wither, pine, or shrink up; to shrink together from heat or cold.’ The second entry cites Wright’s edition of the Old English glosses from Corpus but does not provide a definition. In his edition, Mommsen notes that C. W. King proposed the reading *ringentia* (pres. ptc. of *ringor*) ‘to snarl’ for the headword; however, Grosjean observed that the Corpus reading accords with the manuscript tradition and Leiden, thus disproving King’s suggestion. Further, Grosjean translated the Old English as “wither.” The Toronto *Dictionary of Old English*, however, interprets the pres. ptc. of *forclingan* as “stark” according to the sense of the passage from which the gloss is derived. From the fields of meaning of the various *interpretamenta*, it appears as if the glossators were interpreting *rigentia* as something akin to “inflexible.”

2vb2 inlamitans | id est nuntians – *inlamitans*: pres. act. ptc. of *inlamito* ‘to call out, or exclaim against; abuse/scold’; this *lemma* is particularly rare, with the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* offering a total of only six attestations with two derived from Gildas, another appearing in Plautus, and in both the Placidus and Pseudo-Placidus glossaries. The *interpretamentum* offered by the glossator of λ – *nuntians*: pres. act. ptc. of *nuntio* ‘to announce, declare, report, relate, narrate, make known, inform, give intelligence of’ – at first blush appears slightly off the mark; the sense of *nuntio* in juridical contexts, however, is rendered as ‘to denounce, inform against.’ The same headword appears in Corpus as *inlamita(n)s* and is glossed *sepeclamo*. In his edition of Corpus, Hessels renders this as two separate words – *saepe* ‘often, oft, many times, frequently’ and *clamo*: 1st sing. pres. ind. act. of *clamo* ‘to call, cry out, shout aloud; to complain with a loud voice.’ While the *interpretamentum* in λ matches the number and case of the *lemma*, the gloss in Corpus does not.

4ra26 initiatum | ordinatum – *initiatum*: nom./acc. sing. perf. pass. ptc. of *initio* ‘to begin, originate, to initiate, consecrate, or admit to.’ This *lemma* is well attested in a variety of Classical and Patristic authors ranging from Pliny and Cicero to Jerome and the Vulgate. This same gloss appears in XLI ITEM DE NOMINIBUS DIUERSIS in Leiden. This is a batch of *glossae collectae* which remain largely unidentified, though several (of which this gloss is one) have been connected to Gildas. The headword also appears in Corpus, although it is given the Old English vernacular interpretation *gestoepid*. This is the pret. ptc. subj. of *steppe* ‘to cause to take a step; to initiate’; this *interpretamentum* offers a direct translation of the *lemma* into the vernacular.

4va7 ambrones | id est seui – *ambrones*: 3rd decl. nom. pl. of *ambro* ‘glutton, lecher.’ This is an obscure word that appears in only a handful of sources in addition to Gildas. Among these, the

Thesaurus Linguae Latinae records attestations in Strabo, Cassius Dio, Festus, Vegetius, and Orosius. Gildas applied it as an epithet for the hostile Germanic tribes that he identified as *Saxones* and this sense was subsequently transmitted by texts of *HB* and by Geoffrey of Monmouth. *Saevi*: 1st decl. nom. pl. of *saevus* ‘aging, mad, furious, fell, fierce, savage, ferocious.’ This *interpretamentum* is well-attested in Classical and post-Classical sources, including the Vulgate. This headword appears in Leiden and Corpus both. The *interpretamentum* in Leiden, *deuoratores* - 3rd decl. nom. pl. of *devorator* ‘glutton, devourer’ – is Late Latin and appears in the Vulgate as well as the works of Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory the Great, and others. Corpus, however, offers a vernacular interpretation *gredge* ‘gluttonous, voracious.’

4v15 *stigmata* | *stigmata sunt signa victritia* – *stigmata*: 3rd decl. acc. pl. of *stigma* ‘a mark burned in, brand, mark of disgrace.’ This *lemma* does not appear to have enjoyed wide currency prior to the Patristic period when its use within Christian contexts to describe the wounds of Christ saw its more widespread adoption. It appears infrequently in the works of Pliny the Elder, Suetonius, Petronius, Martial, Quintillian, and Seneca among others. Here, the glossing in λ offers the reader a thoroughly Christian interpretation of the word. Corpus also preserves this headword and, while it is harder to establish its connection to Gildas, W. M. Lindsay suggested that it was drawn from *DEB* and a survey of the later attestations of the word lend support to this claim. Many of the texts in which some form of the *lemma* appears may be discounted as they are otherwise absent from the glossary or, as is the case with its appearance in the *Etymologiae* of Isidore, the sense of the *interpretamentum* directs us elsewhere. Consequently, of the remaining texts, only Aldhelm’s *Carmina ecclesiastica* and *DEB* are possible contenders. Yet, it is unlikely that the *lemma* was derived from Aldhelm. First, it appears in the *Carmina ecclesiastica* in the dat. sing. whereas it appears twice in the acc. pl. in *DEB*. Moreover, it

appears that the glossator drew material primarily from Aldhelm's prose *De uirginitate* – a text in which the *lemma* does not appear. On the whole, Lindsay's argument for *DEB* seems the most probable. The sense of its *interpretamentum* in Corpus – *plagae* (nom. pl. of *plaga* 'a blow, stroke, wound') – also narrows the field since it makes more sense in the context of St Alban's martyrdom than it does in the second passage where it is used in reference to the standards of the Roman legions.

5v13-4 lance | lancee statera. – *lancee*: 3rd decl. abl. sing. of *lanx* 'a plate, platter, charger, dish, scales; fig. to weigh.' The scribe (either here or in an exemplar) appears to have inadvertently duplicated the final *e* in *lance* when composing this gloss. The headword itself is not particularly obscure with attestations in Vergil, Pliny the Elder, Martial, Cicero, Suetonius, and other Classical and Late Antique authors. It is, however, absent from the Vulgate. *Statera*: 1st decl. abl. sing. of *statera* 'a balance, goldsmith's scales; a steelyard,' by contrast, is much less well-attested in Classical works, but appears in the Vulgate as well as the works of Insular and later Anglo-Latin authors such as Aldhelm, Alcuin, and Anselm of Canterbury. In Leiden, it is glossed with *mensura*: 1st decl. abl. sing. of *mensura* 'a measure.'

Of the ten glosses appearing in λ that intersect with the Gildasian materials found in the Corpus and Leiden glossaries, only two are identical in form and both of these are found in Leiden. The batches of Gildasian glosses preserved in both Leiden and Corpus, however, were likely derived from a glossed manuscript that formed a part of the pedagogical efforts of the seventh-century Canterbury school. Although the evidence is too scanty to draw any firm conclusions, the absence of vernacular glosses and the two shared glosses suggest that glosses in λ are more likely to owe some debt to the Leiden tradition than to the glosses of the received Corpus tradition, with their prevalent inclusion of Old English. The evidence of these glosses

points to multiple glossators working through the text in a systematic way albeit with some sections drawing more interest than others – much like the configuration of glosses observed in λ . While it is impossible to say with certainty that these glosses (or a stratum of these glosses) were ultimately derived from materials that originated at Canterbury, the scarcity of identical matches in the *DEB*-linked tradition should not be taken as proof to the contrary. Indeed, the breadth and variety of Gildasian glosses from Canterbury point to a diverse body of accumulated materials.

Taken as a whole, it is, I think, safe to infer from the evidence that the glosses in λ represent the work of multiple glossators active at various points in the chain of exemplars and, in some cases, multiple hands involved in the production of the apparatus of glosses in λ . Some – but not all – were drawn from the exemplar of *DEB* used by the main scribe and the process of copying the glosses occurred in stages. Moreover, there is evidence that some of the glosses as they appear in λ were copied mechanically with little consideration for their usefulness to the reader. Further, the nature of the glosses themselves suggest that they were designed in the main to serve the needs of novice readers. Finally, the patterns of glossing in λ point to layers of glossing already present in the immediate exemplar which suggests that the text of *DEB* even before the writing of λ was actively read and discussed by members of medieval religious communities at multiple levels and was not merely preserved as an obscure piece to be pulled out of an *armarium* that saw use only occasionally by highly educated members of the community.³⁰² Italicized *lemmata* in the following tables are wanting in the manuscript.

³⁰² In an important article, Lapidge illustrates how caution must be exercised in evaluating the origins of glosses. Specifically, the glosses might represent reader engagement that long predates a particular manuscript witness. Lapidge, “Old English Glossography: The Latin Context,” pp. 169–81.

List of Lexical Glosses in *DEB*

Location	lemma	interpretamentum	Chapter	Type
2ra5	kyulis	id est longis nauibus	Capitula	lexical
2rb17	librata	mensurata	I	lexical
2rb29	ratibus	id est nauibus	I	lexical
2rb30	meliorata	id est ornata	I	lexical
2rb30–1	bis denis . bisque quaternis	xxviii	I	lexical
2rb34	proq̄eleritate	celsitudine	I	lexical
2rb34	porrecta	extensa	I	lexical
2rb35	in edito	excelso	I	lexical
2rb35	pangebantur	fabricabantur	I	lexical
2rb36	molitionibus	uarietatibus	I	lexical
2rb36	instructis	ornatis	I	lexical
2va1	pansis	apertis	I	lexical
2va2	locatis	congregatis	I	lexical
2va2	praepollenti	abundanti	I	lexical
2va7	imprimebant	ostendebant	I	lexical
2va9	lucidis	signabant	I	lexical
2va10	pallantibus	revelantibus	I	lexical
2va12	accusantibus	occupantibus	I	lexical
2va13	pignus	piscis	I	lexical
2va13	pretendentibus	dantibus	I	lexical
2va14	exundantibus	id est manantibus	I	lexical
2va19	Quod enim deformius	scilicet interrogatio	I	lexical
2va22	caritatem	scilicet debitam	I	lexical
2va29	omittens	scilicet preteriens	II	lexical
2va33	patrie	britannie	II	lexical
2va33	portenta	idola	II	lexical
2vb1	rigentia	id est siccentia	II	lexical
2vb2	inclamitans	id est nuntians	II	lexical
2vb4	exitiabiles	scilicet periculosos uel mortiferos	II	lexical
2vb7	immanium	scilicet gentium	II	lexical
2vb30	uiribus	id est virtutibus	III	lexical
3ra24	efferatur	narratur	IV	lexical
3rb11	excidente	precellente	V	lexical
3rb14	summo	nouissimo	V	lexical
3rb17	principe	cesare	V	lexical
3rb28	ouibus	laicis fidelibus	V	lexical
3va31	occuluit	occultauit	VI	lexical
3va31	discrimini	periculo	VI	lexical
3vb3	arenti	sicce	VI	lexical

3vb9	modo	similitudine	VI	lexical
3vb28	auctorum	persecutorum	VII	lexical
3vb36	propalant	publicant	VII	lexical
4ra8	seiungi	separari	VII	lexical
4ra26	initiatum	ordinatum	VIII	lexical
4rb28	ratibus	nauibus	IX	lexical
4va7	ambrones	id est seui	IX	lexical
4va17	impestrantes	querentes	X	lexical
4v15	<i>stigmata</i>	stigmata sunt signa victritia	XI	lexical
4v24	<i>peltis</i>	peltis scilicet scutis.ensibus.gladiis.	XI	lexical
4v34	<i>librant</i>	librant . mensurant	XI	lexical
5ra24	<i>segnis</i>	segnis piger.	XII	lexical
5ra32	pignorum	filiorum	XII	lexical
5rb6	assimularetur	commemorationi	XII	lexical
5va14	multum	uel longum	XIII	lexical
5va18	induciis	quietibus	XIII	lexical
5v13-4	<i>lance</i>	lancee statera.	XIII	lexical
6va13	<i>annonas</i>	annonas sumptus	XVII	lexical
6va15	<i>epimonia</i>	epimonia sumptus	XVII	lexical
7ra26	quis	id est quibus	XVIII	lexical
7ra36	oritur	uel orditur	XVIII	lexical
7rb1	mense	anni	XVIII	lexical
7rb1	primo	uel uno	XVIII	lexical

Table of Glosses of All Types found in *DEB*

<i>lemma</i>	<i>interpretamentum</i>	Chapter	Type	Location
kyulis	id est longis nauibus	Capitula	lexical	2ra5
	locus in quo factus est hic liber est guales insula marina tempore Arthuri regis. persona Gilde sapientis	I	commentary	2rb1–4
orbis	terrarum	I	lexical	2rb15
ponderatice	terrarum	I	commentary	2rb17
librata	mensurata	I	lexical	2rb17
propensius	id est longius	I	uncertain	2rb18
	De situ patriae	I	commentary	2rb18
	Belgica prima in qua est metropolis treueris. Belgica secunda in qua est transitus ad britanniam.in qua est metropolis ciuitas remorum	I	commentary	2rb24–7
eidem	insulae	I	grammatical	2rb28
ratibus	id est nauibus	I	lexical	2rb29
meliorata	id est ornata	I	lexical	2rb30
bis denis . bisque quaternis	xxviii	I	lexical	2rb30–1
proueleritate	celsitudine	I	lexical	2rb34
porrecta	extensa	I	lexical	2rb34
in edito	excelso	I	lexical	2rb35
pangebantur	fabricabantur	I	lexical	2rb35
molitionibus	uarietatibus	I	lexical	2rb36
instructis	ornatis	I	lexical	2rb36
pansis	apertis	I	lexical	2va1
locatis	congregatis	I	lexical	2va2
praepollenti	abundanti	I	lexical	2va2
eisdem	montibus	I	grammatical	2va7
imprimebant	ostendebant	I	lexical	2va7
lucidis	signabant	I	lexical	2va9
pallantibus	revelantibus	I	lexical	2va10
accusantibus	occupantibus	I	lexical	2va12
pignus	piscis	I	lexical	2va13
pretendentibus	dantibus	I	lexical	2va13
exundantibus	id est manantibus	I	lexical	2va14
ex quo	scilicet tempore	I	grammatical	2va16
subiectis	scilicet hominibus	I	grammatical	2va18
Quod enim deformius	scilicet interrogatio	I	lexical	2va19
caritatem	scilicet debitam	I	lexical	2va22

omittens	scilicet preteriens	II	lexical	2va29
patrie	britannie	II	lexical	2va33
portenta	idola	II	lexical	2va33
	multitudine idolorum supra			
numero uincentia egyptia	dictorum	II	commentary	2va34
rigentia	id est siccentia	II	lexical	2vb1
inclamitans	id est nuntians	II	lexical	2vb2
	scilicet periculosos uel			
exitiables	mortiferos	II	lexical	2vb4
utiles	scilicet s[...]?t?	II	uncertain	2vb5
immanium	scilicet gentium	II	lexical	2vb7
	porphirius iste quidam hereticus			
	fuit ideoque nominat eum canem			
	quia dixit quod propheta			
	danielus non fuit propheta sed			
	historia.aduersus istum			
porphirius	ieronimus exposuit danielem.	II	commentary	2vb9
medium	scilicet britannie	II	commentary	2vb12
uiribus	id est virtutibus	III	lexical	2vb30
insule	britannie	III	commentary	2vb34
aduexit	imperium adortauit	III	commentary	2vb35
subiugauit	acies	III	uncertain	3ra5
sibi relictos	britannie	III	grammatical	3ra8
fingebat	senatus	IV	commentary	3ra14
dabant	romanis	IV	commentary	3ra20
efferatur	narratur	IV	lexical	3ra24
	dum aguntur hec infidelitatis	V	commentary	3rb6
excidente	precellente	V	lexical	3rb11
summo	nouissimo	V	lexical	3rb14
principe	cesare	V	lexical	3rb17
ouibus	laicis fidelibus	V	lexical	3rb28
vocans	deus	VI	commentary	3va8
eos	hereticos	VI	grammatical	3va9
divortione	scilicet discordia	VI	commentary	3va16–7
barbarorum	gressus	VI	uncertain	3va17
prior	albanus	VI	grammatical	3va25
occuluit	occultauit	VI	lexical	3va31
discrimini	periculo	VI	lexical	3va31
arenti	sicce	VI	lexical	3vb3
modo	similitudine	VI	lexical	3vb9
aperiret	albanus	VI	commentary	3vb10

auctorum	persecutorum	VII	lexical	3vb28
propalant	publicant	VII	lexical	3vb36
	Agricola quidam homo discipulus arriani qui perturbavit fidem britonum.	VII	commentary	4ra3–8
	scilicet mortale discordia.	VII	commentary	4ra3–8
seiungi	separari	VII	lexical	4ra8
initiatum	ordinatum	VIII	lexical	4ra26
	Occidit nanque [gra]tianum Valentinianum uero cum m[at]re] Roma expulit.	VIII	commentary	4rb3–5
capite	ipse maximus	VIII	commentary	4rb4
	Quia scotti tu[nc] temporis in hybern[ia] habitabant.et pic[ti] in scotia id est ab aqu[ilo]ne	VIII	commentary	4rb11–5
	scilicet occisio imperatoris gratiani	IX	commentary	4rb27
mali immemor	nauibus	IX	lexical	4rb28
ratibus	id est seui	IX	lexical	4va7
ambrones	querentes	X	lexical	4va17
impetrantes	similitudinem ut hec omnia	X	commentary	4va27
veluti	eis	X	uncertain	4vb4
fugauerunt	Romani eos	X	commentary	4vb8
stigmata	stigmata sunt signa victritia	XI	lexical	4v15
	Hec omnia denuntiant romani britonibus	XI	commentary	4v18
	peltis scilicet scutis.ensibus.gladiis.	XI	lexical	4v24
<i>peltis</i>	librant . mensurant	XI	lexical	4v34
	hic calumniat Scottos quod non sunt bene uestiti	XII	commentary	5ra16
magis	habentes	XII	commentary	5ra16
<i>segnis</i>	segnis piger.	XII	lexical	5ra24
pignorum	filiorum	XII	lexical	5ra32
lanionibus	scilicet lupis	XII	commentary	5rb3
assimularetur	commemorationi	XII	lexical	5rb6
laniant	britones	XII	commentary	5rb6
latrocinando	temperabant	XII	uncertain	5rb9
britannorum	mittitur	XIII	commentary	5rb18
	nec pro eis epistolis	XIII	commentary	5rb23
<i>paxillum</i>	paxillum ꝛ mod[...]	XIII	uncertain	5rb26
	Britannia super inimicos suos	XIII	commentary	5rb36
multum	uel longum	XIII	lexical	5va14

	[u]bi picti habitabant [ant]iquitus	XIII	commentary	5va15–6
induciis	quietibus	XIII	lexical	5va18
cicatrix	famis	XIII	uncertain	5va19
	[l]uxuria.	XIII	commentary	5va25
	Paulus dicit	XIII	commentary	5va27
sole	iusticie	XIII	commentary	5vb2
<i>lance</i>	lancee statera.	XIII	lexical	5v13–4
medicine	euangelium	XIII	commentary	5vb25
medico	deo	XIII	commentary	5vb26
hac	luxuria	XIII	commentary	5vb27
seduci	populi	XIII	commentary	6ra1
vanis	id est idolis	XIII	commentary	6ra1
non in via	non in via dei ambulat.	XIII	commentary	6ra2
namque	etiam	XV	uncertain	6ra20
remoto	hostium	XV	commentary	6ra23
humare	mortuos	XV	commentary	6ra24
iniquitates	populi	XV	commentary	6ra34
ruptiones	scottoꝝ 7 pictoꝝ	XV	commentary	6rb3
	Quando saxones vene[re] in britanniam	XV	commentary	6rb6–7
nil	Nil britonibus usquam pernitiosius factum	XV	commentary	6rb12–3
invitabant	cum essent in germania	XV	commentary	6rb19
	Stulti sunt p(r)i(ncipes) tafn(eos) dantes .i(d est). su(aden?) tib(us) Faraoni ut r::: ret(ur) pop(u)l(us) isr(ae)l et (ut?) p(er)sequeret(ur) eos. iter(um?) ita germanie ci(u?:)			6rb19– 24
Stulti sunt principes tafneos dantes leene	Gurting(er)no insip(ienti?) germanie	XV XVI	commentary commentary	6rb24
cui	id est barbara leen(a) germanie.	XVI	commentary	6rb35
<i>annonas</i>	annonas sumptus	XVII	lexical	6va13
<i>epimenia</i>	epimenia sumptus	XVII	lexical	6va15
canis	clausit	XVII	grammatical	6va15
deplorans	propheta	XVII	commentary	6va33
	Carmen nautarum eleuma dicitur	XVII	commentary	6v34–6
reliquiae	britonum	XVIII	commentary	7ra10
eum	id est ambrosius aurelianus qui comes fortis. fidelis. ueraxque fuit.	XVIII	commentary	7ra14

	Saxones	XVIII	commentary	7ra23
quis	id est quibus	XVIII	lexical	7ra26
	furtiferos appellat Scottos 7			
<i>furciferis</i>	pictos	XVIII	commentary	7ra34–5
oritur	uel orditur	XVIII	lexical	7ra36
mense	anni	XVIII	lexical	7rb1
primo	uel uno	XVIII	lexical	7rb1
discendentibus	ad mortem	XIX	commentary	7rb13
	[Fe]cit nanque ipse gilda [lib]rum magnum de regibus [Bri]tonum 7 de proeliis eorum. [sed q]uia uituperavit eos mul[tu]m in illo libro, incende[ru]nt ipsi librum illum	XX	commentary	7va6–9
de situ	insule	XX	commentary	7va9
de contumacia	gentis	XX	commentary	7va9

Chapter 4 : Editorial Principles and Approach to the Translation

Previous Editions of *DEB*

The account that Gildas offers regarding the situation that obtained in Britain prior to its colonization by the Germanic peoples who would come to be known, collectively, as the Anglo-Saxons has generated historical interest since – at least – the eighth century when Bede made use of the text when composing his *HE*.³⁰³ The earliest modern text of *DEB*, appearing in 1525, was prepared by the humanist Polydore Vergil. In preparing his edition, Vergil relied on two manuscripts, one of which Mommsen believed to be *C* (which is now badly damaged) and another, unknown manuscript, similar to *A*, that is now lost.³⁰⁴ Over the course of editing *DEB*, Vergil emended the text extensively and omitted a significant quantity of the biblical material used by Gildas – Larpi estimates that these excised passages accounted for approximately 27% of the overall text.³⁰⁵ The resulting edition, when used cautiously, still offers scholars a valuable opportunity to reconstruct readings in *C* that were lost or obscured on account of the damage it sustained in the Ashburnham House fire. Vergil is also responsible for first presenting the received text as two distinct parts – the *historia* and *epistola* (the latter beginning with Gildas’ denunciation of the ecclesiastical elites). Although Vergil’s editorial approach to the text of *DEB* presents a distorted view of how it was received and circulated in the tenth century, when *C* was

³⁰³ The use of the catch-all term “Anglo-Saxon” to describe the various peoples who were involved in colonizing Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries has, in the last decade, come under increased scrutiny by scholars of early medieval Britain since the legacy of these peoples has been frequently employed to provide justification for various systems of oppression and racism. In our contemporary moment, it was adopted by right-wing extremists and further politicized during the administration that followed the Obama presidency. I use the term only to signify the early medieval Germanic peoples who settled in Britain.

³⁰⁴ Gildas, *DEB* (ed. Mommsen), p. 19.

³⁰⁵ Larpi, *Prolegomena*, p. 91.

produced, it nevertheless offers valuable insight into the historiographical concerns and practices of early modern England.

When John Joscelyn – antiquarian and Latin secretary to Archbishop Parker – subsequently produced his edition of *DEB* in 1568, he prepared a fresh edition – using *C* and *D* as his guides – after comparing Vergil’s efforts against *C* and discovering the extensive editorial interventions and redactions of his predecessor. Joscelyn approached his task from a different perspective and sought to provide an edition that was faithful to the received text.³⁰⁶ Moreover, Joscelyn discarded the artificial bifurcation of the text adopted by Vergil and peppered his edition with marginal notes such as this, “*Polydorus commutando huius sententiae verba, et vergorum ordinem mutavit et sensum. Est sane locus perspicuus quo iam ostenditur Britannos ab ipso ortu Evangelii Christianam suscepisse fidem, de quo nihil extat apud Bedam, qui tamen alias ad verbum solet exprimere Gildam.*”³⁰⁷ These notes not only critique his predecessor’s editorial practices, but provide readers with more insight into the text, while demonstrating his familiarity with other authorities such as Bede. In other annotations, Joscelyn notes how authors indebted to Gildas’ work either employed the received text or varied from it and occasionally contextualized it with Vergil. One annotation in conjunction with the passage *latrunculos Romana stigmata tantum talemque exercitum terra ac mari fatigari* in *capitulum* 14, Joscelyn notes, “*Galfridius pro stigmata habet stemata, Polydorus ex coniectura mutans habet signa.*”³⁰⁸ On the evidence of these notes, while Joscelyn appears unsatisfied with multiple aspects of Vergil’s edition, it is also

³⁰⁶ In the preface to his edition, Joscelyn describes his approach thus, “[a]tqui hoc totum feci auctoritate tantum veterum exemplariorum adiutus, nequaquam mihi libertatem permittens, ex ingenio ut quicquam mutem de ordine, uel auferam de verbis et sententiis,” Gildas, *DEB* (ed. Joscelyn), p. iv.

³⁰⁷ Marginal note to *capitulum* 6, Gildas, *DEB* (ed. Joscelyn), 9v.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 15r.

clear that, wherever possible, he sought to provide the reader with a corrected text, frequently including supporting evidence.

After Joscelin's effort, a major edition was prepared by Thomas Gale which appeared in his *Historiae Britannicae, Saxonicae, Anglo-Danicae, Scriptores XV*, published in Oxford in 1691. In his prefatory notes, Gale observed that, "*ex his autem scriptoribus Gildas primo cum praefatione Polydori Virgilio exivit; deinde cura Joannis Josselini. Hae duae editiones adeo inter se discordabant, ut omnem fidem auctori suo detraherent, et Gildam in Gilda adhuc quaereres.*" In an attempt to resolve the disagreements and restore faith in the witness of Gildas, Gale turned to X, preserved in CUL Ff.I.27, to serve as the base text when he produced his edition which, he hoped, *purus effret a foeda et absurda interpolatione, quae alia exemplaria infamarat*. As he noted in his preface, Gale relied on multiple witnesses – C and X – in the production of his edition. Owing to his collation of these two texts, the critical apparatus he provided is greatly expanded over those offered by either Vergil or Joscelin. Gale's choice of X as his base text would prove to be problematic because the X text ends abruptly at the conclusion of the historical material. Consequently, Gale presented *DEB* not as a unified text, but followed the division between the *historia* and the *epistola* that had been first established by Vergil with the key difference that there were now two separate *epistolae* – one to the kings and one to the clergy. This exceptionally unfortunate editorial decision had the result of leading later scholars, notably Arthur Wade-Evans and Paul Grosjean, to treat parts of the text as a medieval forgery.³⁰⁹ Moreover, at a distance, we may further regret Gale's elevation of the witness of X for the first

³⁰⁹ O'Sullivan, *The De Excidio of Gildas*, pp. 5–22.

part of *DEB*, since Gale's edition was the last to have the opportunity to draw extensively on the text of *C* before the catastrophic fire of 1731.

Owing to its ready availability, a few words should be said here regarding the edition of the text printed by Jacques-Paul Migne as part of his larger series known as the *Patrologia Latina*. Operating as he did in the aftermath of the French Revolution and in the face of rising secularism, Migne sought to produce affordable volumes of both Latin patristic and theological texts for the clergy. On account of the sheer volume of material that was produced for the *Patrologia Latina* (and its sister series, the *Patrologia Graeca*), however, there is little question that Migne cut corners in the process.³¹⁰ Indeed, for the *Patrologia Latina*, Migne simply repackaged the Gale edition and, as we see elsewhere, made no editorial acknowledgement of this fact.

Gale's edition stood as the primary edition until the nineteenth century which saw the publication of four editions of *DEB*. The first, published in 1838 for the English Historical Society, was prepared by Joseph Stevenson. He employed *X* as the basis for his edition of the *historia* and relied on *D* and the editions of Joscelyn and Vergil to resolve difficulties in the text.³¹¹ This edition also follows Vergil's treatment of the *historia* and the *epistola* as two separate texts. Stevenson followed Gale in preferring to use the text in *X*, but since the *epistola* is absent from *X*, Stevenson relied on *D* (a later medieval witness of uneven authority, now in Cambridge) for the preparation of that material and emended it with content supplied from the editions of Vergil and Joscelyn. Unlike Gale, Stevenson includes some of the glosses (those

³¹⁰ For a discussion of Migne and his activities, see Bloch, *God's Plagiarist*.

³¹¹ Remarkably, in his exploration of the manuscript tradition and his editorial approach in the prefatory note to his edition, Stevenson states that he uses *X* as the basis for the text of the *epistola* – despite noting in a previous section that this manuscript is missing the text of the *epistola*. This confusion seems unlikely to be the fault of the printer and more likely stands as a howler by Stevenson. Gildas, *DEB* (ed. Stevenson), p. xxii.

which he deemed “valuable”) that accompany the text in his critical apparatus. His note about the condition of *X* and that its margins had “suffered by the knife of the binder” establishes the *terminus ante quem* for the trimming which resulted in the loss of numerous glosses.

Chronologically, the next edition was found in the posthumous publication of Henry Petrie’s *Monumenta Historica Britannica* in 1848. Completed by his student, Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, after his death, this volume essayed to present a “corrected” version of *DEB*. In his lengthy introduction to the work, Hardy recounted the conclusion of Petrie that Gale’s use of *X* as the base text for his edition was misguided because it “exhibits the text of Gildas not only in a depraved but truncated form.”³¹² Moreover, Petrie – or Hardy at any rate – was critical of Gale’s edition because he “had taken a liberty, not unusual with him, of arbitrarily changing, and without notice, and sometimes without the appearance of necessity, such words as he supposed to be corrupt...”³¹³ Nevertheless, despite his objections to Gale’s method, Petrie adopted his edition and made use of Joscelin’s edition – and to a much lesser extent, Vergil’s edition – and both *X* and *D* to “correct” it.³¹⁴ The text prepared by Petrie and Hardy had the merit of presenting a more full (albeit still incomplete) treatment of the various glosses and annotations in *X*, at which the editions of Gale and Stevenson had obliquely nodded occasionally. The third edition, undertaken by Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs, appeared in the first volume of their multi-volume series *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland* published in 1869. They did not publish the *historia* in their edition – presumably since it fell outside the focus of their project – but presented, instead, the prologue and the *epistola*.³¹⁵ They attempted to reconstruct the lost readings of *C* by employing Joscelin’s edition as the base

³¹² Gildas, *DEB* (eds. Petrie and Hardy), p. 62.

³¹³ *Ibid.*

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*

³¹⁵ Gildas, *Epistola Gildae* (eds. Haddan and Stubbs), pp. 44–107.

text for that manuscript, collating and emending it with content drawn from the Vergil and Gale editions of *DEB*.³¹⁶ For their truncated edition, their reconstruction of *C* served as the base text for the *epistola* with various readings for the prologue drawn chiefly from *X*. Haddan and Stubbs drew readings from *D* to supplement the *epistola* with further emendations sourced from the *Vita sancti Gildae* printed in Bosco's seventeenth-century collection *Bibliotheca Floriacensis*. In sum, these editions are notable chiefly for the perspective they offer scholars on the evolution of historiography and scholarship related to Gildas in the nineteenth century.

With the publication of Theodor Mommsen's edition of *DEB* in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* in 1898, the division between the *historia* and the *epistolae* was discarded once more.³¹⁷ This edition presents *DEB* as a unified text which is followed by the fragmentary letters and penitential attributed to Gildas, as well as the two *Vitae sancti Gildae*. In the preparation of his edition, Mommsen surpassed the efforts of the previous editors of the text and identified additional witnesses to the text. He subsequently collated most of the known witnesses of the text – both direct and indirect – and provided an extensive *apparatus criticus*. Specifically, for his edition, Mommsen examined the *C*, *D*, *A*, and *X* witnesses in addition to the editions produced by Polydore Vergil (*P*), Joscelyn (*Q*), and an annotated copy of Joscelyn's edition held in Heidelberg (*H*).³¹⁸ Mommsen also made substantial use of indirect witnesses, such as those in the works of Bede and Geoffrey of Monmouth, the anonymous *Vitae sancti Gildae*, as well as a very limited amount of gloss-derived evidence.³¹⁹ According to his introductory notes, Mommsen determined that *C* had been the archetype of the exemplar used by the copyist responsible for *D* and that *C* had served as the basis of both *P* and *Q*. Discounting the heavily

³¹⁶ Gildas, *Epistola Gildae* (eds. Haddan and Stubbs), pp. 44–5.

³¹⁷ Gildas, *DEB* (ed. Mommsen), pp. 25–85.

³¹⁸ This last source has been shown to be textually irrelevant in a detailed study by Davies, *vide supra* p. 6 n. 22.

³¹⁹ Gildas, *DEB* (ed. Mommsen), pp. 1–24.

interpolated and emended *A* text, Mommsen cast a critical eye on the Gildasian material found in Bede, as well as certain other indirect witnesses, and chose to base his edition on the text preserved in *C*; owing to the generally poor condition of the *C* text, however, Mommsen relied heavily on the witnesses which were derived from *C* in his task of reconstructing the text.

Mommsen's edition is particularly noteworthy as it provided for the first time a collation of all the then known witnesses to the text with a clear explanation of his editorial approach and an extensive *apparatus criticus*. Its scholarly value is unquestionably immense, and his edition has served the academic community as *the* text of *DEB* for well over a century. Nevertheless, Mommsen's edition may reveal several shortcomings. In a recent examination of Mommsen's editorial practices, Larpi follows some of Grosjean's criticism regarding the edition – the first of which deals with two of the oldest witnesses to the text. As Larpi notes, “Grosjean showed that Mommsen ignored two important indirect witnesses of *DEB*, the Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary of Leiden (s. VIII^{ex}. – IXⁱⁿ.) and the glossary of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge (s. IX).”³²⁰ The omission of the glossary evidence, while unfortunate, is entirely understandable in the light of the marginal position that the study of glossography occupied when Mommsen prepared his edition. Further, since the *S* witness had yet to be identified, Mommsen, naturally, was unable to incorporate it into his collation. For the purposes of critical editing, Larpi's demonstration that *S* and *A* were derived from a common ancestor is important since *S* may thus potentially offer readings of the text preferable to those of *C*.³²¹ Arguably, however, the more immediate difficulties presented by Mommsen's edition are practical considerations. Standing, as it does, as the pre-eminent edition of the text, it is nonetheless not particularly welcoming to novice

³²⁰ Larpi, *Prolegomena*, p. 125; For Grosjean's complete examination, see Grosjean, “*Remarques*,” pp. 156–87.

³²¹ Larpi, “Reims MS. 144,” pp. 20–1.

researchers since Mommsen's introduction is composed in Latin. Coupled with his extensive (and somewhat unwieldy) *apparatus criticus*, it is difficult for scholars with little Latin or limited familiarity with the multi-tiered structure preferred by editions in the *MGH* series to find purchase in the text.³²²

After Mommsen's edition, the next edition of *DEB* is the one published by Michael Winterbottom in 1978.³²³ A few remarks concerning this edition will suffice. Winterbottom, rather than preparing a fresh edition, largely reproduced Mommsen's edition while omitting his *apparatus criticus* although he does incorporate his own list of variants from Mommsen's text at the end of the book. While he did not present a new edition of *DEB* as such, Winterbottom did provide an English translation of the text and the minor works attributed to Gildas. His edition has filled an important gap for teaching purposes and remains the most accessible. Other welcome innovations by Winterbottom are the subdivisions of the traditional chapters which make it easier to locate passages, and a checklist of sources. Although no longer in print, it can be found secondhand at somewhat reasonable prices. While a welcome addition to scholarship, the translation unfortunately is not presented in a facing-page format; instead, the Latin text follows the translation which can make attempts at referring to both the Latin and English texts a somewhat frustrating exercise.

³²² It would be remiss of me to fail to note that another practical difficulty presented by this edition is related to its accessibility. Owing to the age of the *MGH*, it is not always readily available in library stacks or has been moved to Special Collections. Moreover, the lengthy Latin names of its constituent volumes often prove confounding to library catalogues and thus render it difficult to locate in the first place. Thankfully, with the increasing digitization of older material, the *MGH* is now available online for free, but the texts are in PDFs which have not been optimized through optical character recognition to support in-text searches. This is a disappointing and, frankly, puzzling oversight that one hopes will be remedied in future iterations of the new site.

³²³ Gildas, *The Ruin of Britain* (ed. & trans. Winterbottom).

Editorial Practice

At its root, the work of an editor is making choices. These choices range from determining what text will benefit from an edition, to deciding whether to adopt contemporary punctuation or not, and many decisions in between. After choosing the text to edit, the editor must choose the goal(s) for their project. That has been as true of this project as any. Before turning to the choices that I have made in this project, a brief summary of the scholarly debates that informed my choices is warranted.

Before the latter half of the twentieth century, the primary goal of editors of medieval texts was to reconstruct the authorial text. Unsurprisingly, the editorial approach chosen by most of the previous editors of *DEB* has conformed to well-established eclectic methods of textual criticism. Rooted in editing biblical and Classical texts, this approach was adopted by medievalists as the field emerged. Owing to the vagaries of transmission and (often) the existence of multiple varied texts, earlier scholars were driven by the desire to establish the authorial text. With this approach, the editor is ostensibly capable of determining the “correct” authorial text through the evidence of the surviving witnesses by, as R. J. Tarrant states, “cull[ing] what are judged the best or most reliably attested readings from a variety of manuscript sources to produce a text that resembles the original more closely than would the text of any single manuscript.”³²⁴ Practically speaking, the editor begins by identifying as many witnesses as possible before evaluating their value to the project on the basis of their internal and external evidence. The first consideration, external evidence, examines the date of composition and origin – typically relying on palaeographical evidence to establish these – and its relationship

³²⁴As a methodology, this practice – as it is executed by contemporary editors of medieval Latin like Lapidge – is curiously undertheorized by medievalists. For a basic description of eclectic editing, I have turned to Tarrant, “Classical Latin Literature,” pp. 95–148 at p. 96.

to other extant witnesses.³²⁵ Frequently, eclectic editors privilege age in their evaluation on the presumption that the older witnesses are likely closer to the archetype in form – though this is by no means a given. Having evaluated the witnesses based on external evidence, the editor shifts focus to the internal textual evidence.³²⁶ Here the editor must rely on their knowledge of the author’s *oeuvre* in order to determine what material is appropriate to the author’s lexis and style. Once the reliability of the witnesses has been evaluated, the editor proceeds to assemble the text by selecting readings supported by the preferred witnesses and emending the text where the editor deems it faulty on the strength of the internal evidence. The fraught nature of this process is best illustrated in Michael Lapidge’s study of editing Anglo-Latin texts when he states:

the editor of Anglo-Latin texts must therefore use every means at his disposal to determine whether an error in a transmitted text derives from the author or from a subsequent copyist. If, after due reflection, the error is thought by the editor to be scribal rather than authorial, then – in my view – it is his duty to correct it, according to his sense of what constituted “correct” Latinity for the author in question. But the editor’s sense of what is correct can only be acquired by thorough familiarity with the manuscripts in which that author’s works are transmitted.³²⁷

The position articulated by Lapidge, situated as it is in the notion of fidelity to the author, warrants scrutiny. Any proposed emendation is suspect since it must, ultimately, rest not on any *textual* evidence but merely on the editor’s ideas concerning the author’s style and taste. In that

³²⁵ An excellent example of this, in which the direct and indirect witnesses of a text are surveyed, might be found in Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St Æthelwold* (eds. & trans. Lapidge and Winterbottom), pp. clxviii–clxxxvi.

³²⁶ Here editorial principles such, as *lectio difficilior*, are frequently deployed. Tarrant, “Classical Latin Literature,” p. 118.

³²⁷ Lapidge, “Textual Criticism,” pp. 17–45.

respect, despite undertaking the editorial task in an attempt to recover the original work of the author, the editor is, in effect, choosing to guess at the what the author wrote – an educated guess, certainly, but a guess, nonetheless. This approach also presupposes that there was either only one authorial version of the text in circulation or that the last version produced by the author is the preferred version. Moreover, the eclectic approach to editing, grounded as it is in *lectio difficilior*, furthers Romantic notions of the Author and the belief that scribes might only ever *corrupt* a text, never improve it. Finally, there is the very real possibility that, by assembling textual elements drawn from a myriad of witnesses, the editor employing the eclectic method may just as easily produce an “authorial” text which may not be supported by any one manuscript and may have never existed in the first place.

Indeed, the problems of eclectic editing are perfectly encapsulated by the various editions of Gildas’ *DEB*. It is the only major work of Gildas to have survived, which makes the *oeuvre* available to editors quite small indeed. Its survival in a mere handful of direct and indirect witnesses that post-date his *floruit* by several centuries complicates matters further. None of the surviving witnesses are free of scribal intervention – whether positive or negative – and the various witnesses, at different times, were either unavailable or unknown to editors while others were discounted as unimportant because of their scholarly biases. Consequently, beginning with Vergil, editors have struggled to build a solid text of *DEB* on an unstable foundation of fragmentary evidence.

By the late 1960s, a new choice of approach for editors of medieval texts was made available with the introduction of the *Toronto Medieval Latin Texts* (TMLT) series. Under the direction of A. G. Rigg, the editors undertook to produce editions:

based on one MS only, with a minimum of textual apparatus; emendations are made only where the text fails to make sense, not in order to restore the author's original version. The effect is to produce a 'scribal version' of a text – a version that was acceptable to its scribe and was read and understood by medieval readers. Editors are required to select their MS with great care, choosing one that reflects a textual tradition as little removed from the original as possible, or one that is important for some other reason (such as a local variant of a text, or a widely influential version). Manuscript orthography and syntax are carefully preserved.³²⁸

Derived from Bédier's "best text" method (which was, in turn, a response to the flaws of the stemmatic system),³²⁹ semi-diplomatic editions of this nature offer readers a means to engage with a textual witness in order to understand how a work was being read and understood by a particular audience. Unfortunately, this approach by the editors of the TMLT was met with hostility from scholars who had been inculcated in the eclectic and stemmatic schools of textual criticism. By not restricting the focus of TMLT to vernacular texts as Bédier had, Rigg's "intentionally provocative" editorial approach (as Lapidge would describe it) created had a polarizing effect.³³⁰ In an early broadside, J. B. Hall charged that:

³²⁸ Rigg, "Preface," *Three Lives of English Saints*, p. iv.

³²⁹ Keleman offers an excellent explanation of the editing methodology that is variously called stemmatic, Lachmannian, or genealogical editing. In describing this approach, he notes, it is "by definition interested in more than one document, and is particularly interested in the relation of one document to the next, but not in order to determine the process of composition. It instead aims to determine and fix (in the sense of *pinning down*, but also in the sense of *correcting*) the form of a text that no longer exists in any document – in other words, an ideal text." This method, of course, was systematized by Paul Maas based on his understanding of Lachmann's writings. Keleman, *Textual Editing and Criticism*, pp. 83–95 at p. 83.

³³⁰ Lapidge, "The Edition of Medieval Latin," pp. 199–220.

the editors of the Toronto Medieval Latin Texts series say in effect that they do not give a hang if they do misrepresent the authors whose works they edit, and, because the authors are long since dead and their works in Latin, they presumably expect that no one will be offended by their unethical conduct or care to lodge a protest on behalf of the misrepresented authors. Pitiful many of the pieces in this anthology may be, and anonymous in most cases their authors, but, whoever they were, those authors might at least expect that editors would feel under an obligation to do the decent thing and endeavour to restore to them the words they actually wrote, not the rehash of one of their copyists. At the root of such obligation and such endeavour is the cardinal principle of textual criticism, respect for the truth, which has long been known to the best biblical, classical, and medieval scholars.³³¹

Hall's appeal to both "truth" and morality in his defense of eclectic and stemmatic editing is a remarkable choice; not least because he elides the fact that these editions are no less likely to "misrepresent" the authors whose works are being edited since both editorial methods ultimately rely on the editor's personal understanding of the author's style and work as well as their own Latinity.

In her preface to a collection of essays on the subject of editing Old English verse, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe summarized the problems inherent in the various approaches to editing medieval texts when she noted that "in the celebration of variance, where the vicissitudes of transmission produce a 'social' text that editorial strategy strives to represent by preserving

³³¹ Hall, "The Editing and Emendation of Medieval Latin Texts," pp. 443–66.

multiplicity and recording evidence for reception history, the author disappears. In an alternating strategy, where the editor strives for a best text (rescuing the work from the interventions of its copyists), history itself quietly vanishes.”³³² As O’Brien O’Keeffe aptly illustrates, the concern with fidelity to an authorial ideal espoused by both the eclectic editor and the stemmatic editor presents challenges for scholars interested in studying the reception of a text by medieval readers. By approaching the witnesses with the intent of eliminating “corruption” and “scribal error”, critics working with this method relegate (or eliminate) evidence of reading practice or engagement with a text (such as glosses) to an *apparatus criticus*.³³³ This is not to say that there is no value whatsoever to choosing either the eclectic or stemmatic approach to editing. Rather, what is needed is a shift in perception and terminology that moves toward a greater sense of humility concerning an edited text.³³⁴

Indeed, while the stemmatic and eclectic approaches are both open to critique, they conform, in some ways, with the medieval concern for *auctoritas*. In his study of medieval authorship, A. J. Minnis found that “to be ‘authentic’, a saying or a piece of writing had to be the genuine production of a named *auctor*. Works of unknown or uncertain authorship were regarded as ‘apocryphal’ and believed to possess an *auctoritas* far inferior to that of works which

³³² In her introduction to a volume on editorial approaches to Old English verse, Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe addresses many of the shortcomings of both approaches. The most salient of her critiques I cite above. O’Brien O’Keeffe, “Introduction,” in *New Approaches to Editing Old English Verse*, p. 4.

³³³ In one discussion of the two opposing positions on the editorial practices for medieval texts, Lapidge explores the origins of the liberal approach to editing (in which the editor readily engages in emendation as opposed to the conservative principles which resist interventions in the text unless necessary) as an approach with its origins in the study of the Classics and argues that the study of vernacular languages, such as Old English, would benefit from editors willing to engage in more extensive emendation along the Classical model. Frantzen, in a response to Lapidge, examines the ways in which the liberal approach to editing espoused by Lapidge actually results in a more conservative text that elides its social and living natures. This discourse while separate, to a degree, from the means of arriving at the text to be edited certainly inflects it. See Frantzen, “The Living and the Dead,” pp. 159–81; Lapidge, “Edition, Emendation, and Reconstruction,” pp. 131–57.

³³⁴ Boyle, “Optimist and Recensionist,” pp. 271–4.

circulated under the names of *auctores*.”³³⁵ Thus eclectic and stemmatic editors are, in a very real way, approaching their task with a similar degree of concern for authenticity as the medieval readers of the text. Incidentally, I argue that the same can be said for the scribal variant since “[i]t was regarded as a very drastic step to dispute an attribution and deprive a work of its *auctor*. Much more common was the tendency to accept improbable attributions of currently popular works to older and respected writers.”³³⁶ If the people who produced the texts that we study as medievalists were more accepting of variance and richness, then it behooves us to be willing to accept different editorial choices in the same spirit lest valuable insight into the period we study remain undiscovered.

While considering the approach for this project, I found myself more interested in creating a tool that might help illuminate how the text was read and used by medieval readers rather than undertaking the Sisyphean task of reconstructing the text that Gildas wrote. Producing a text that could serve both students and researchers interested in Gildas, textual transmission, and other ancillary fields struck me as a far more productive effort. To that end, I have inclined more naturally to the scribal variant approach advocated for by the editors of TMLT. By preparing a semi-diplomatic edition of the *X* text of *DEB* with a facing-page translation, both researchers and students could make use of my edition in a variety of contexts – especially in tandem with the digital facsimile that has been made freely available on the Cambridge University Library website.³³⁷

³³⁵ Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, p. 11.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*

³³⁷ When I began work on my edition shortly after completing my PhD exams in 2016, the University Library had not yet digitized CUL Ff.I.27. During my last research trip to Cambridge, I had secured digital photographs of the relevant folia, but casual photos are no substitute for those taken with better equipment. When wrestling an unclear gloss, I discovered the digitization of CUL Ff.I.27 – and that of many of the other surviving witnesses to *DEB* – while working on the project during the course of the continuing COVID-19 plague. It is laudable that more archives are digitizing their manuscripts, but I am also aware that this are often used as reasons to deny researchers access to

For this project, I have largely adopted the principles outlined by the editors of the TMLT series. I have, to the greatest extent possible, endeavoured to reproduce the scribal practice of the copyist responsible for the production of this witness. As shown in Chapter 2, by the time that λ and its text of *DEB* were produced, centuries of external influences had made themselves felt on Classical Latin orthography despite the efforts of authors such as Bede. Naturally, the manuscript exhibits these characteristic elements of medieval Latin. For example, the scribe routinely employs *ci* before vowels where Classical conventions would expect a *ti*. Thus, we find *tristicia* for *tristitia*. Similarly, *y* is occasionally substituted for *i* as in *ydolatrarum*. The Latin diphthongs *ae* and *oe* are routinely rendered as simply *e*. Rather than imposing an anachronic consistency on the text, I have opted to preserve the orthography of the scribe. I have similarly elected to preserve the limited range of punctuation that the scribe used rather than introduce contemporary punctuation.³³⁸ Although the medieval orthography from the manuscript is maintained, I have decided to expand abbreviations in order to make the text of the edition more accessible. While some abbreviations and sigla, such as ÷ for *est* or **ſ** for *sed*, are essentially standard, in other cases, however, it is not always apparent what the correct expansion is – especially for students who are just beginning to grapple with their protean nature.

Additionally, I have also sought to preserve the *mise-en-page* of the manuscript as far as I am able – for all the advances of desktop publishing in recent years, there are still many things that are easier to achieve with pen and parchment than with mouse (or stylus) and keyboard! To

the physical artefact. My sincere hope is that the creation of digital facsimiles continues unabated though not to the detriment of being able to consult the physical manuscript.

³³⁸ Obsolete punctuation marks like the *punctus elevatus* are now quite easy to employ because of the monumental work of the Medieval Unicode Font Initiative (MUFI). I would like to record here my thanks to the scholars and font designers who have labored on this revolutionary project. Throughout my edition, I have relied on the MUFI-compatible font Andron Scriptor Web by Andreas Stötzner to reproduce features of scribal practice that would otherwise be unavailable.

that end, I have attempted to reproduce the appearance of the *litterae notabiliores* through the use of drop caps sized to approximate the corresponding initial. Sadly, some initials, such as the more elaborately decorated initial *I* that begins the *praefatio*, the illuminated *B* at the start of the geographic description of Britain, and some of the smaller cutwork initials could not be reproduced and a single-color drop cap is used. Likewise, where the scribe has used a majuscule letter form, I have used small capitals to achieve a similar effect. Throughout the text, there are rarely spaces after a *punctus* or other punctuation. Where a *punctus* appears at the end of a line in the manuscript but appears in the middle of a line in the edition, to remain consistent with the scribe's practice, I have chosen not to introduce a space between the *punctus* and the following word.

In previous editions, the glosses that accompany the *X* text of *DEB* were relegated to the *apparatus criticus* – provided the editor took note of them and deemed them sufficiently “valuable” to warrant their inclusion. Their choice to omit these is easy enough to understand since, at first glance, many are not particularly noteworthy or are even bewildering. Yet, taken as a whole, these paratextual elements offer researchers a snapshot of an individual's interaction with the text and may provide clues about who read the text, their level of education, why they read it, when they read it, and potentially much more. In this edition, I have chosen to include the glosses on the pages where they are found. Where the glossator(s) used *signes de renvoi*, I have attempted to render them as near in appearance to the original as possible. In several places in the manuscript, marginal glosses are now lacunose after the leaves were trimmed during its rebinding. In these instances, I have followed Petrie and Stevenson and supplied a conjectured gloss.

Additionally, where a likely error appears in the Latin text, I have rendered it in translation – if possible – rather than emending the text. Rather than simply letting the garbled reading stand, I have made a note of the crux in the *apparatus criticus* where I offer a probable reading and supplied a translation of this in brackets. In the following passage, for example, *accusantibus* proved confounding to a medieval reader who supplied the gloss *occupantibus* in an effort to clarify the sense.

signabant
diuersis ornata fontibus lucidis crebris undis niueas ueluti glareas
 reuelantibus
pallantibus pernitidisque riuus leni murmure serpentibus quorumque in ripis
 occupantibus
accusantibus suauis saporis pignus pretenduntibus et lacubus frigidum aque torrentem
uiue exundantibus irrigua.

In translation, I have rendered it thus:

The island is well-watered by numerous clear springs with their waters dashing pebbles white as snow and brilliant streams that glide with a gentle murmur and a guarantee of sweet sleep for those who reproaching [*recte* reclining] stretch out on their banks and lakes overflowing with a cool rush of living water.

By leaving the unclear reading in place while offering an explanatory note, I have, after a fashion, reproduced the medieval experience of grappling with an uncertain meaning through paratextual elements for the contemporary reader.

In a departure from the TMLT approach, I have incorporated an extensive *apparatus criticus*. Here I have made note of details such as uncertain expansions for abbreviations, record information about emendations and renderings adopted by previous editors, orthographical observations, and lexicographical comments. While this edition is of a single manuscript witness,

I have, nevertheless, found it worthwhile to consult the other surviving witnesses on occasion – especially when attempting to clarify heavily abbreviated words – which I have similarly recorded in the apparatus criticus.

Translation Conventions

If the task of editing a text may be characterized as a process of making choices, the work of translation is no less so. Even redacted (as it is in *X*), Gildas' text is written in a complex Latin style that challenges readers to attend carefully to the text. When we consider the significant evolution of reading practices in the centuries since Gildas composed *DEB*, it is not enough to think about in terms of a single reader, silently engaged with the text. Instead, we must remember that for many who encountered *DEB*, it is likely that they would have done so *aurally* – whether within the context of a monastic classroom, refectory, or similar communal setting. While the text might well have formed part of a monk's Lenten reading, the oral delivery of *DEB* would have been at the top of Gildas' mind when he was writing. Numerous questions about its *oral* performance and *aural* reception arise in the light of Gildas' propensity for *recherché* words, difficult syntax, and allusion. One thing, however, is certain: Gildas wanted his audience to pay attention.

In his edition, Michael Winterbottom captured a great deal of the richness of Gildas' vocabulary and style but smoothed over certain features of his Latin prose. For example, when recounting events in the past, Gildas made frequent use of the historic present. His use of the *praesans historicum* imbues a vivid or dramatic quality to the events recounted. Rather than translating this into the past tense, I have elected to keep this tense to provide additional texture to the prose. Similarly, when translating the ablative absolute, I have opted to render these

somewhat literally to capture both the chronological sequence of events and to create an effect that attempts to approximate the experience of hearing the text rather than recasting these into what might be considered a “better” English style.

Since Winterbottom’s translation was published, English usage has, of course, continued to evolve. As a result, some elements of his translation may strike the reader as objectionable, *e.g.* “all men” for *homines* certainly has a sexist impact (even if the intent was not sexist), though they are an accurate translation or easily understood by contemporary audiences. Nevertheless, I have preferred to employ more inclusive language (such as “humanity” for *homines*) in English since this expansiveness is not at odds with Gildas’ meaning. Similarly, I have opted to not render the Latin name *Scotti* simply as “Scots” since, at the time Gildas wrote, the term would have included the Gaels of the kingdom of Dál Riata – which spanned the western seaboard of present-day Scotland and the north-eastern corner of Ireland – and the various Irish polities. Instead, I have left the names *Scotti* and *Picti* untranslated.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Alcuin, “Epistola X. Ad Aedilhardum (Athelardum) archiepiscopum Doroensis Civitatis. (Anno 793 vel seq.),” in *Saeculum IX. Beati Flacci Albini seu Alcuini. Abbatis et Caroli Magni Imperatoris magistri. Opera Omnia: Tomus Primus*, ed. by J.-P. Migne, Patrologia Latina 100 (Paris, 1851), cols. 0152B–0156D
- , “Epistola LXXIV. Ad gentem et populum Cantuariorum. (Anno 797.),” in *Saeculum IX. Beati Flacci Albini seu Alcuini. Abbatis et Caroli Magni Imperatoris magistri. Opera Omnia: Tomus Primus*, ed. by J.-P. Migne, Patrologia Latina 100 (Paris, 1851) cols. 0249C–0251C.
- , *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, ed. & trans. by P. Godman, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1982)
- Aldhelm, *Aldhelmi Malmesbiriensis Prosa de Virginitate: cum glosa Latina atque Anglosaxonica*, ed. by S. Gwara, Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina 124A (Turnholt, 2001)
- Bede, *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1969)
- , “Chronica maiora ad A. DCCXXV,” in *Chronica Minora saec. IV V. VI. VII.*, ed. by T. Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, AUCTORES ANTIQUISSIMORUM III (Berlin, 1898), 223–353
- Columbanus, *Sancti Columbani Opera*, ed. & trans. by G. S. M. Walker, Scriptorum Latini Hiberniae 2 (Dublin, 1970)

Cummian, *Cummian's Letter De Controversia Paschali and the De Ratione Computandi*, ed. and trans. by M. Walsh and D. Ó Cróinín, Studies and Texts (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies) 86 (Toronto, 1988)

Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of The Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of De Gestis Britonum (Historia Regum Britanniae)*, ed. by M. D. Reeve, trans. by N. Wright, Arthurian Studies 69 (Woodbridge, 2007)

Gerald of Wales, *Descriptio Kambriae*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, ed. by J. F. Dimock, Rolls Series 21, 8 vols (London, 1861), VI, 155–227

———, *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, ed. by J. F. Dimock, Rolls Series 21, 8 vols (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, & Dyer, 1861), VI

———, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, ed. by J. F. Dimock, Rolls Series, 21, 8 vols (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, & Dyer, 1861), VI, 3–152

Gildas, *De excidio Britanniae*, ed. by J. Stevenson, English Historical Society Publications (London, 1838)

———, *De excidio Britanniae Historia*, in *Monumenta Historica Britannica, or Materials for the History of Britain*, ed. by H. Petrie and T. D. Hardy (London, 1848)

———, *De excidio et conquestu Britanniae ac flebili castigatione in reges principes et sacerdotes* in *Chronica Minora sæc. IV V. VI. VII.*, ed. by T. Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, AUCTORES ANTIQUISSIMORUM III (Berlin, 1898), 1–85

———, *Epistola Gildae*, in *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, 4 vols (Oxford, 1869), I, 44–107

- , *The Ruin of Britain and Other Works*, ed. & trans. by M. Winterbottom (London, 1978)
- Glogger, P., ed., *Das Leidener Glossar, cod. Voss. lat. 4 89; 1. Teil. Text der Handschrift*
(Augsburg, 1901)
- Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People*, ed. by D.
Greenway, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1996)
- Hessels, J. H., ed., *A Late Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary: Preserved in the Library
of the Leiden University* (Cambridge, 1906)
- , *An Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary Preserved in the Library of Corpus
Christi College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1890)
- Innocent III, “CLXXV Episcopo Sancti Andreae ejusque successoribus. Canonice substituendis
in perpetuum. De confirmatione privilegiorum. (apud S. Petrum, xii kal. Januarii.)” in
Saeculum XIII. Innocenti III Romani Pontificis Opera Omnia: Tomus Secundus, ed. by J-
P. Migne, Patrologia Latina 215 (Paris, 1855), cols. 1264D–1266A
- Pseudo-Nennius, *Historia Brittonum cum additamentis Nennii*, in *Chronica Minora saec. IV V.
VI. VII.*, ed. by T. Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, AUCTORES
ANTIQUISSIMORUM III (Berlin, 1898), 111–222
- Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de Vita Miraculis Sancti Godrici, Heremitaе de Finchale*, ed. by J.
Stevenson, Publications of the Surtees Society 20 (London, 1847)
- Symeon of Durham, *Historia regum*, in *Symeonis monachi opera omnia*, ed. by T. Arnold, Rolls
Series 70, 2 vols. (London, 1885), II

William of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum Anglorum*, in *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi De gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque; Historiae Novellae libri tres.*, ed. by W. Stubbs, Rolls Series 90, 3 vols (London, 1887), I

William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, ed. by R. Howlett, Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I, 4 vols (London, 1884), I

Wulfstan, *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. by D. Whitelock (London: Methuen, 1952)

———, “Sermo Lupi ad Anglos (1014),” in *Beowulf*, ed. & trans. by R. M. Liuzza, Broadview Editions, 2nd ed. (Peterborough, Ont., 2013), pp. 287–91

Digital Resources

Archive of Celtic-Latin Literature, Brepols, <http://clt.brepolis.net/acll/Default.aspx>

Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, Charles University in Prague,

<http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/>

The Dictionary of Old English, University of Toronto, <http://www.doe.utoronto.ca/>

Library of Latin Texts Online, Brepols, <http://clt.brepolis.net/llta/Default.aspx>

Logeion, University of Chicago, <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/>>

Monumenta Germaniae Historica, MGH and Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, <https://www.dmgh.de/>

Parker Library on the Web, the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge and Stanford University Libraries, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/>

Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, De Gruyter, <http://www.degruyter.com/view/db/tll>

Print Resources

Ahern, E., ‘Abundance, Luxuria, and Sin in Late Antique Historiography’, *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 25 (2017), 605–31

Alexander, J. J. G., *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven, 1992)

Barrow, G. W. S., et al, eds., *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, 8 vols (Edinburgh, 1971), II

Bischoff, B., *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. by D. Ó Cróinín and D. Ganz (Cambridge, 1990)

Bischoff, B., M. Budny, C. G. C. Harlow, M. B. Parkes, and J. D. Pfeifer, eds., *The Épinal, Erfurt, Werden, and Corpus glossaries*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 22 (Copenhagen, 1988)

Bloch, R. H., *God’s Plagiarist: Being an Account of the Fabulous Industry and Irregular Commerce of the Abbé Migne* (Chicago, 1994)

Boyle, L. E., “Optimist and Recensionist: ‘Common Errors’ or ‘Common Variations’,” in *Latin Script and Letters A.D. 400–900: Festschrift Presented to Ludwig Bieler on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, ed. by L. Bieler, J. J. O’Meara, and B. Naumann (Leiden, 1976), pp. 264–74

Bremmer, R. H., “Leiden, *Vossianus Lat. Q. 69* (Part 2): Schoolbook, or Proto-Encyclopaedic Miscellany?,” in *Practice in Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by R. H. Bremmer and K. Dekker, Storehouses of Wholesome Learning 2 (Leuven, 2010), pp. 19–53

Bullough, D. A., *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation, Being Part of the Ford Lectures Delivered in Oxford in Hilary Term 1980* (Leiden, 2003)

- Byron Smith, J., and G. Henley, eds., *A Companion to Geoffrey of Monmouth*, Brill's Companion to European History 22 (Leiden, 2020)
- Carlson, D., "Wulfstan, Alcuin, Bede, and Gildas: Derivation of a Late Pagan *Uirga Furoris*," *Anglia*, 134 (2016), 285–97
- Chadwick, N. K., and K. H. Jackson, eds., *Celt and Saxon: Studies in the Early British Border* (Cambridge, 1963)
- Chadwick, O., "Gildas and the Monastic Order," *Journal of Theological Studies*, 5 (1954), 78–80
- Charles-Edwards, T. M., *Wales and the Britons, 350–1064*, History of Wales (Oxford, 2012)
- Coppack, G., "Sawley Abbey: An English Cistercian Abbey on the Edge of *Stabilitas*," *Cîteaux, Commentarii Cistercienses*, 52 (2001), 319–36
- Coppack, G., C. Hayfield, and R. Williams, "Sawley Abbey: The Architecture and Archaeology of a Smaller Cistercian Abbey," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 155 (2002), 22–114
- Cross, J. E., and A. Hamer, eds., *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, Anglo-Saxon Texts 1 (Cambridge, 1999)
- Davies, W. H., "Gildas: Some Textual Notes and Corrections," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 15 (1939), 42–48
- , "The Church in Wales," in *Christianity in Britain, 300–700: Papers Presented to the Conference on Christianity in Roman and Sub-Roman Britain, Held at the University of Nottingham, 17–20 April 1967*, ed. by M. W. Barley and R. P. C. Hanson (Leicester, 1968), pp. 131–50

- Derolez, A., *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 9 (Cambridge, 2003)
- Dumville, D. N., “Celtic-Latin Texts in Northern England, c. 1150–c. 1250,” *Celtica* (Dublin), 12 (1977), 19–49
- , “English Square Minuscule Script: The Mid-Century Phases,” *Anglo-Saxon England*, 23 (1994), 133–64
- , “Gildas and Maelgwn: Problems of Dating,” in *Gildas: New Approaches*, ed. by M. Lapidge and D. N. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 51–60
- , “Gildas and Uinniau,” in *Gildas: New Approaches*, ed. by M. Lapidge and D. N. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 207–14
- , *Histories and Pseudo-Histories of the Insular Middle Ages*, Collected Studies CS316 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1990)
- , “‘Nennius’ and the *Historia Brittonum*,” *Studia Celtica*, 10–11 (1975) 78–95
- , “On the North British Section of the *Historia Brittonum*,” *Welsh History Review*, 8 (1976), 345–54.
- , “Sub-Roman Britain: History and Legend,” *History*, 62.205 (1977), 173–92
- , “The Corpus Christi ‘Nennius’,” *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 25 (1972)
- , “The Historical Value of the *Historia Brittonum*,” *Arthurian Literature*, 6 (1986), 1–26

- , “The Sixteenth-Century History of Two Cambridge Books from Sawley,” *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 7 (1980), 427–44
- Frantzen, A. J., “The Living and the Dead: Responses to Papers on the Politics of Editing Medieval Texts,” in *The Politics of Editing Medieval Texts: Papers Given at the Twenty-Seventh Annual Conference on Editorial Problems, University of Toronto, 1–2 November 1991*, ed. by R. Frank (New York, 1993), pp. 159–81
- Greetham, D. C., ed., *Scholarly Editing: A Guide to Research* (New York, 1995)
- Griffiths, A., “The Glosses on the *Regula S. Benedicti* in Leiden, Universiteitbibliotheek, Vossianus Latinus Q. 69: A Systematic Sifting, Old and New,” in *Practice in Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by R. H. Bremmer and K. Dekker, *Storehouses of Wholesome Learning 2* (Leuven, 2010), pp. 55–83
- Grosjean, P., “Remarques sur le *De excidio* attribué à Gildas,” *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, 25 (1955), 156–87
- Guy, B., “Geoffrey of Monmouth’s Welsh Sources,” in *A Companion to Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. by J. Byron Smith and G. Henley (Leiden, 2020), pp. 31–66
- Haddan, A. W., and W. Stubbs, eds., *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1869)
- Hall, J. B., “The Editing and Emendation of Medieval Latin Texts: Two Case Histories,” *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser., 19 (1978), 443–66

- Hall, T. N., “Wulfstan’s Latin Sermons,” in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. by M. Townend, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 10 (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 93–139
- Hanning, R. W., *The Vision of History in Early Britain: From Gildas to Geoffrey of Monmouth* (New York, 1966)
- Hardison, B. C., “Words, Meanings, and Readings: Reconstructing the Use of Gildas’s *De Excidio Britanniae* at the Canterbury School,” *Viator* (Berkeley), 47.1 (2016), 1–22
- Henley, G., “Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Conventions of History Writing in Early 12th-Century England,” in *A Companion to Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. by J. Byron Smith and G. Henley (Leiden, 2020), pp. 291–314
- Herren, M. W., ed., *The Hisperica famina: I. The A-Text; A New Critical Edition with English Translation and Philological Commentary*, Studies and Texts 31 (Toronto, 1974)
- Higham, N., *Rome, Britain, and the Anglo Saxons*, Archaeology of Change Series (London, 1992)
- Hunter Blair, P., “Some Observations on the *Historia Regum* Attributed to Symeon of Durham,” in *Celt and Saxon: Studies in the Early British Border*, ed. by N. K. Chadwick and K. H. Jackson (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 63–118
- James, M. R., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1909)
- Jankulak, K., *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, Writers of Wales (Cardiff, 2010)

- Joyce, S., “Memories of Gildas: Gildas and the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*,” in *Prophecy, Fate and Memory in the Early Medieval Celtic World*, ed. by J. M. Wooding and L. Olson (Sydney, 2020), pp. 148–69
- Kauffmann, C. M., *Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066–1190*, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 6 vols. (London, 1975) III
- Keefer, S. L., and K. O’Brien O’Keeffe, eds. *New Approaches to Editing Old English Verse* (Rochester, 1998)
- Kelemen, E., *Textual Editing and Criticism: An Introduction* (New York, 2009)
- Ker, N. R., *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, Guides and Handbooks 3, 2nd ed. (London, 1964)
- Kerlouégan, F., *Le “De excidio Britanniae” de Gildas: Les destinées de la culture Latine dans l’île de Bretagne au VI^e siècle*, Histoire ancienne et médiévale (Paris, 1987)
- Knappe, G., “The Rhetorical Aspect of Grammar Teaching in Anglo-Saxon England,” *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric*, 17 (1999), 1–34
- Lapidge, M., *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600–899* (London, 1996)
- , “Gildas’s Education and the Latin Culture of Sub-Roman Britain,” in *Gildas: New Approaches*, ed. by M. Lapidge and D. N. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 27–50
- , “Old English Glossography: The Latin Context,” in *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600–899* (London, 1996), pp. 169–81
- , “Textual Criticism and the Literature of Anglo-Saxon England,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 73.1 (1991), 17–45

———, “The Edition, Emendation, and Reconstruction of Anglo-Saxon Texts,” in *The Politics of Editing Medieval Texts: Papers Given at the Twenty-Seventh Annual Conference on Editorial Problems, University of Toronto, 1–2 November 1991*, ed. by R. Frank (New York, 1993), pp. 131–57

———, “The Edition of Medieval Latin Texts in the English-Speaking World,” *Sacris Erudiri*, 38 (2008), 199–220

———, “The School of Theodore and Hadrian,” *Anglo-Saxon England*, 15 (1986), 45–72

———, “The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England,” in *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. by N. Brooks, Studies in the Early History of Britain (Leicester, 1982), pp. 99–140

Lapidge, M., and D. N. Dumville, eds., *Gildas: New Approaches* (Woodbridge, 1984)

Lapidge, M., and R. Sharpe, eds., *A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature, 400–1200*, Royal Irish Academy Dictionary of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources. Ancillary Publications 4 (Dublin, 1985)

Larpi, L., “Bede’s Use of Gildas: Two Different Chronological Frameworks,” in *The Anglo-Saxons: The World through Their Eyes*, ed. by G. R. Owen-Crocker and B. W. Schneider, BAR British Series 595 (Oxford, 2014), pp. 7–15

———, *Prolegomena to a New Edition of Gildas Sapiens ‘De Excidio Britanniae’*, Opuscoli (Fondazione Ezio Franceschini) 8 (Florence, 2012)

———, “Reims MS. 144. A ‘New’ Witness of Gildas Sapiens’ *De Excidio Britanniae*,” *Filologia Mediolatina*, 18 (2011), 1–21

- Latham, R. E., D. R. Howlett, and R. Ashdowne, eds., *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (Oxford, 2018)
- Lawrence, A., “English Cistercian Manuscripts of the Twelfth Century,” in *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, ed. by C. Norton and D. Park (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 284–98
- , “The Artistic Influence of Durham Manuscripts,” in *Anglo-Norman Durham: 1093–1193*, ed. by D. W. Rollason, M. M. Harvey, and M. Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 451–70
- Lawrence-Mathers, A., *Manuscripts in Northumbria in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Woodbridge, 2003)
- Lindsay, W. M., “The Abstrusa Glossary and the *Liber Glossarum*,” *Classical Quarterly*, 11.3 (1917), 119–31
- , *The Corpus, Épinal, Erfurt, and Leyden Glossaries*, Publications of the Philological Society 8 (Oxford, 1921)
- Löfstedt, B., *Der hibernolateinische Grammatiker Malsachanus*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Latina Upsaliensia 3 (Uppsala, 1965)
- McKee, I., “Gildas: Lessons from History,” *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 51 (2006) 1–36
- Meehan, B., “A Reconsideration of the Historical Works Associated with Symeon of Durham: Manuscripts, Texts and Influences” (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1979)

- , “Durham Twelfth-Century Manuscripts in Cistercian Houses,” in *Anglo-Norman Durham: 1093–1193*, ed. by D. W. Rollason, M. M. Harvey, and M. Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 439–50
- Miller, M., “Bede’s Use of Gildas,” *The English Historical Review*, 90.355 (1975), 241–61
- Minnis, A. J., *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1984)
- Norton, C., “History, Wisdom, and Illumination,” in *Symeon of Durham: Historian of Durham and the North*, ed. by D. W. Rollason, *Studies in North-Eastern History* 1 (Stamford, 1999), pp. 61–105
- Norton, C., and D. Park, eds., *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1986)
- O’Sullivan, T. D., *The “De Excidio” of Gildas: Its Authenticity and Date* (Leiden, 1978)
- Petrie, H., and T. D. Hardy, eds., *Monumenta Historica Britannica, or Materials for the History of Britain* (London, 1848)
- Pheifer, J. D., “Early Anglo-Saxon Glossaries and the School of Canterbury,” *Anglo-Saxon England*, 16 (1987), 17–44
- Pryce, H., “Gerald of Wales, Gildas, and the *Descriptio Kambriae*,” in *Tome: Studies in Medieval Celtic History and Law in Honour of Thomas Charles-Edwards*, ed. by F. Edmonds and P. Russell (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 115–24
- Reynolds, S., *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric, and the Classical Text*, *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature* 27 (Cambridge, 1996)

- Riché, P., *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, Sixth through Eighth Centuries*, trans. by J. J. Contreni, 1st ed. (Columbia, 1976)
- Rigg, A. G., “Preface,” in *Three Lives of English Saints*, ed. & trans. by M. Winterbottom (Toronto, 1972), p. i–ii
- Rigg, A. G., and G. R. Wieland, “A Canterbury Classbook of the Mid-Eleventh Century (the ‘Cambridge Songs’ Manuscript),” *Anglo-Saxon England*, 4 (1975), 113–30
- Rollason, D. W., ed., *Symeon of Durham: Historian of Durham and the North*, Studies in North-Eastern History 1 (Stamford, 1999)
- Rollason, D. W., M. M. Harvey, and M. Prestwich, eds., *Anglo-Norman Durham: 1093–1193* (Woodbridge, 1994)
- Russell, P., “Geoffrey of Monmouth’s Classical and Biblical Inheritance,” in *A Companion to Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. by J. Byron Smith and G. Henley (Leiden, 2020), pp. 67–104
- Sharpe, R., “Gildas as a Father of the Church,” in *Gildas: New Approaches*, ed. by M. Lapidge and D. N. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 191–206
- Sidwell, K. C., *Reading Medieval Latin* (Cambridge, 1995)
- Sims-Williams, P., “The Settlement of England in Bede and the Chronicle,” *Anglo-Saxon England*, 12 (1983), 1–41
- Stevenson, J., “*Rubisca*, Hiberno-Latin and the Hermeneutic Tradition,” in *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 36 (1992), 15–41
- , *The “Laterculus Malalianus” and the School of Archbishop Theodore* (Cambridge, 1995)

- Tarrant, R. J., "Classical Latin Literature," in *Scholarly Editing: A Guide to Research*, ed. by D. C. Greetham (New York, 1995), pp. 95–148
- Teeuwen, M., "Marginal Scholarship: Rethinking the Function of Latin Glosses in Early Medieval Manuscripts," in *Rethinking and Recontextualizing Glosses: New Perspectives in the Study of Late Anglo-Saxon Glossography*, ed. by P. Lendinara, L. Lazzari, and C. Di Sciacca, *Textes et Études du Moyen Âge* 54 (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 19–38
- Thomas, R., "Geoffrey of Monmouth and the English Past," in *A Companion to Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. by J. Byron Smith and G. Henley (Leiden, 2020), pp. 105–28
- Thomson, R. M., "The Reading of William of Malmesbury," *Revue Bénédictine*, 85 (1975), 362–402
- Thomson, R. M., E. Dolmans, and E. A. Winkler, eds., *Discovering William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge, 2017)
- Townend, M., ed., *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages* 10 (Turnhout, 2004)
- Waddell, C., ed., *Twelfth-Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter* (Brecht, 2002)
- Wadden, P., "Gerald of Wales, the *Topographia Hiberniae*, and the History of the Vikings in Ireland," *Viator* (Berkeley), 51.1 (2020), 273–310
- Walsh, M., "Some Remarks on Cumman's Paschal Letter and the Commentary on Mark Ascribed to Cumman," in *Ireland and Christendom: The Bible and the Missions*, ed. by P. Ní Chathain and M. Richter, *Veröffentlichungen des Europa Zentrums*, Tübingen; *Kulturwissenschaftliche Reihe* (Stuttgart, 1987), pp. 216–29

- Wieland, G. R., “The Glossed Manuscript: Classbook or Library Book?,” *Anglo-Saxon England*, 14 (1985), 153–73
- , *The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius in Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.5.35* (Toronto, 1983)
- Winterbottom, M., “Aldhelm’s Prose Style and Its Origins,” *Anglo-Saxon England*, 6 (1977), 39–76
- , “Columbanus and Gildas,” *Vigiliae Christianae*, 30 (1976), 310–17
- , *Style and Scholarship: Latin Prose from Gildas to Raffaele Regio: Selected Papers*, ed. by R. Gamberini (Florence, 2020)
- , “The *Gesta Regum* of William of Malmesbury,” *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 5 (1995), 158–73
- , “William of Malmesbury on Malmesbury,” in *Style and Scholarship: Latin Prose from Gildas to Raffaele Regio: Selected Papers*, ed. by R. Gamberini (Florence, 2020), pp. 197–205
- , “Words, Words, Words...,” in *Discovering William of Malmesbury*, ed. by R. M. Thomson, E. Dolmans, and E. A. Winkler (Woodbridge, 2017), pp. 203–18
- Wood, I., “The End of Roman Britain: Continental Evidence and Parallels,” in *Gildas: New Approaches*, ed. by M. Lapidge and D. N. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 1–26
- , “The Fall of the Western Empire and the End of Roman Britain,” *Britannia*, 18 (1987), 251–62

Wooding, J. M., and L. Olson, eds., *Prophecy, Fate and Memory in the Early Medieval Celtic World* (Sydney, 2020)

Wright, N., “Geoffrey of Monmouth and Gildas,” in *Arthurian Literature*, ed. by R. Barber (Woodbridge, 1982), II, 1–40

———, “Geoffrey of Monmouth and Gildas Revisited,” in *Arthurian Literature*, ed. R. Barber (Woodbridge, 1985), IV, 155–63

———, “Gildas’s Prose Style and Its Origins,” in *Gildas: New Approaches*, ed. by M. Lapidge and D. N. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 107–28

Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. by M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1991)

Gildas

On the Ruin of Britain

As preserved in Cambridge University Library Ff.I.27

Translated and edited
by
Brian Christopher Hardison

Incipit prefatio libri queruli sancti Gilde sapientis de
excidio Britannie.de calamitatibus et preuaricationibus
eius ciuium ac britonum exultatione.et conquestus ipsius
contra reges.principes.et SACERDOTES.

IN hoc libro quicquid deflendo potius quam declamando
uili licet stilo¹ tamen benigno fuero persecutus: ne quis
me affectu cunctos spernentis omnibusue melioris:
quippe qui commune bonorum dispendium malorumque
cumulum lacrimosis querelis defleam: sed condolentis
patrie incommoditatibus miserisue eius ac remediis
condelectantis edicturum putet. Quia uero non tam
fortissimorum militum enuntiare² trucis belli pericula
uelut³ statutum est. quam desidiosorum silui: fateor cum
in mensa⁴ mentis dolore⁵ et animi compunctione
cordisque contritione et adtonito sensu sepius hec omnia
in animo reuoluere. Et ut mihi renium⁶ scrutator testis est
dominus. spatio bilustri temporis. uel eo amplius
pretereuntis imperitia: sicut⁷ et nunc una cum karissimis⁸
me amicis imperantibus ut qualemcumque⁹ gentis
britannice historiolum siue admonitiunculam scriberem. In
zelo igitur domus domini sacre legis seu cogitatum
rationibus uel fratrum religiosi precibus coactus: nunc
persoluo debitum multo tempore antea exactum. Uile
quidem stilo¹⁰ sed fidele ut puto et amicale quibusque
egregiis christi tyronibus graue uero et importabile
apostatis insipientibus. quorum priores ni fallor cum
lacrimis forte que ex dei caritate

profluunt: alii enim atque cum tristitia¹¹. sed que de
indignatione et pusillanimitate deprehense conscientie
extorquetur illud excipient. Igitur deo uolente pauca de
situ britannie. de contumacia. de subiectione. de rebellione.
de secunda subiectione ac diro famulatu. de religione. de
persecutione. de sanctis martiribus. de diuersis
heresibus. de tyrannis. de duabus gentibus uastatricibus de
prima uastatione. de defensione. de secunda uastatione. de
secunda ultione. de tercia uastatione. de fame. de
epistolis. de uictoria. de sceleribus. de nunciatis subito
hostibus. de famosa peste. de consilio. de seuiore multo
primis hoste. de urbium subuersione. de reliquiis. de
postrema pace que temporibus nostris dei nutu ei donata
est. dicere conamur. **Explicit prae-facio. Incipiunt capitula
libri sequentis. Capitulum primum.**

DEscriptio britannie insule. et quod illa diuina
statera terre totius ponderatrice sit librata. de
eius situ habitu et qualitate. de amenitate¹² et pulcritudine.
de fertilitate et ubertate. de longitudine et latitudine. de
ciuitatibus antiquis et fluminibus precipuis¹³. de riuis
pernitidis et leni murmure serpentibus. de lucidis fontibus
et congruis animalium pastibus. de frigidis lacubus et
torrentibus exundantibus. **II**

DE nimia tyrannide indigenarum. et crudelitate
seuissima¹⁴ ydolatrarum¹⁵. **.III.**

Quam dolose romani. britones

¹ In their respective editions, Polydore Vergil, John Joscelin, Thomas Gale, Joseph Stevenson, and Henry Petrie silently emend this to *stilo*. ² Vergil, Joscelin, Gale, Stevenson, and Petrie silently normalize the spelling to *enunciare*. It is unclear whether Mommsen's reading *enuntiare* reflects his use of X or his own approach to normalizing the orthography of Gildas. ³ In his edition, which is followed by later editors, Vergil emends the text to read *mibi*. Stevenson, Petrie, and Mommsen all record the X variant in their editions. ⁴ Stevenson, following Vergil and Joscelin, silently emends the text here to read *immensa*. Here too it is unclear whether Mommsen's reading is driven by his use of X or his approach to orthography. ⁵ Curiously, Stevenson does not note that both Vergil and Joscelin omit *et animi compunctione cordisque contritione et adtonito sensu sepius hec omnia in animo reuoluere* in their respective editions. ⁶ Stevenson silently emends the manuscript reading *renium* to *renum*; for the form *renium*, see Lewis and Short *renes* and DMLBS under *ren*. ⁷ Mommsen renders this as *sic ut* against the manuscript reading. ⁸ Stevenson emends this to *carissimis*. ⁹ The expansion is uncertain. Stevenson and Petrie both render this as *qualemcumque* while Mommsen offers *qualemcumque*. See Lewis and Short, *qualiscumque*. ¹⁰ Stevenson and Petrie silently emend this to *stilo*. Mommsen reports the manuscript reading correctly in his apparatus. ¹¹ Stevenson, Petrie, and Mommsen all silently emend this to *tristitia*. ¹² Stevenson, Petrie, and Mommsen all silently emend this to *amenitate*, DMLBS lists *amenitas* as a variant spelling of *amenitas*, see DMLBS *amenitas*. ¹³ Previous editors silently emend this to *praecipius*. ¹⁴ This has also been previously edited to *seuissima*. DMLBS does not record a variant for *seuissima*. ¹⁵ Stevenson and Petrie both silently emend this to *idololatrarum*. For *idolatra*, see DMLBS *idololatra*. The editors of DMLBS record an attestation of *idolatrae* in chapter 38 of the *De excidio*—the X text only preserves through chapter 26.

Here begins the preface of the book expressing the grievance of holy Gildas the Wise on the destruction of Britain: on the misfortunes and the transgressions of its inhabitants and the exile of the Britons, and his vehement complaint against kings, princes, and priests.

IN this book I shall deplore rather than denounce, although my style is worthless, nevertheless I shall have proceeded with a kindly spirit. No one should think I will speak forth from a feeling of despising toward all persons or that I am better than them — I deplore with tearful complaint because of that loss of the general good and the mass of evil — but from a feeling of empathizing with my country's misfortunes and its sufferings and from a feeling of delighting in their remedies. Because truly, to speak out about the dangers (of the lazy rather than of the mightiest warrior's fierce wars I kept silent) it was decided. I confess, whilst in the midst of anguish of the mind and with the prick of conscience, and with contrition of heart and with senses frequently struck with prophetic fury, all these things turned over in the mind. And that the Lord, the surveyor of consciences, is witness to me, after a space lasting ten years of time (or more) passing by in that ignorance — just as now — and together with friends most dear to me commanding, that I should have written some kind of short account or mild rebuke of the people of Britain. Therefore in zeal for the sacred law of the house of the Lord, compelled by my own thoughts or indeed the devout prayers of my brethren. I now pay the debt incurred so long ago: worthless in style, indeed, but, as I think, true to the faith and friendly toward every noble soldier of Christ though displeasing and intolerable for foolish rebels. The former will receive it, if I am not mistaken, with tears that flow

from the charity of God but the others with sadness—the sadness that is wrung from the indignation and faintheartedness accompanying a pricked conscience. Thus—God willing!—I shall try to say a few words on the location of Britain, about her disobedience, subjection, and rebellion, her second subjection and cruel slavery; about religion, persecution, the holy martyrs, diverse heresies, tyrants, and two ravaging nations; about the first devastation, the defense, and a second devastation, about the second revenge, a third devastation, and a famine; about letters, a victory, wickedness, enemies suddenly reported, an infamous plague, a council, an enemy much more savage than the first, the destruction of cities, concerning the survivors, and about the final peace bestowed in our time by the will of God. Here ends the preface. Here begins the chapters of the following book.

Chapter I

A description of the island of Britain and which may be poised in the divine scales that weigh the whole world; about its location, condition, and characteristics, about its pleasantness and beauty, concerning its fruitfulness and abundance; about its length and its width, its ancient cities and foremost rivers, its glittering streams that glide with a gentle murmur, about fodder suitable for animals, frigid lakes and rushing streams gushing forth.

Chapter II

Concerning the excessively tyrannical behavior of the natives and the savage cruelty of idolators.

Chapter III

How the Romans

sibi subegerint et quam bellicose ipsis diutius
reluctauerint. **.IIII.**

Quomodo romani postremo britonibus praepositos¹
uectigales praefecerint².ita ut non britannia sed
romania insula censeretur.et quicquid habere potuisset.
eris³ et argenti.uel auri:imagini⁴ cesaris⁵ notaretur. **.V.**

Quo tempore christus in mundum uenerit et quanta
persecutio tempore diocliciani⁶ emerit. **.VI.**

Quanta martirum⁷ gloria tam in britannia quam in
uniuersa tunc effloruerit ecclesia. **.VII.**

Quomodo ecclesia rediuiuo flore respirauerit.sed
tamen arriani⁸ contagio infecta defecerit. **.VIII.**

Qualiter gens britonum imperatores romanos
attriuerit. **.IX.**

Qualiter britones arctati a scottis et pictis pro
romano miserint auxilio et obtinuerint.et quale
consilium romani eis dederint.uidelicet ut inter duo maria
murum per milia passuum plurima trans insulam
instruerint⁹.a mari scotie usque ad mare hibernie.id est.a
kair eden ciuitas antiquissima duorum ferme milium
spacio¹⁰ a monasterio abercurnig quod nunc uocatur
abercorn ad occidentem.tendens contra occidentem iuxta
urbem alcluth.at insulani murum non tam lapidibus quam
cespitibus construentes.ad nichilum¹¹ utilem statuunt.quia
statim romanis repatriantibus.iterum ab ipsis impugnati
sunt. **X.**

Quam misere legati britonum romam iterum
mittuntur.scissis uestibus.nudis pedibus.opertis
sablone capitibus.lubricis gressibus lacrimosis
postulationibus.querulis uocibus.cunctis membris¹²
contrementibus.a romanis auxilia petentes et impetrantes.

XI.

Quomodo britones rursus romanum¹³ solatium
repetierunt¹⁴.et qualiter romani sese
excusauerunt¹⁵.sed tamen laudare et monere ceperunt¹⁶.ut
murum a mari ad mare facerent.quod et fecerunt.a mari
norwagie usque ad mare galwadie.per octo pedes latum.et
duodecim altum.et turre per interualla construxerunt.eo
in loco ubi seuerus imperator maximam fossam
firmissimumque uallum.crebris insuper turribus
communitum.per.centum.triginta¹⁷ et duo.milia passuum
longe ante fecerat.id est.a uilla que anglice Wallesende
dicitur. latine uero caput muri interpretantur¹⁸.que est
iuxta tinemuthe qui murus multum distat a prefato uallo
apud meridiem quem antea apud kair eden super mare
scotie constituerint¹⁹.

Qualiter gens scabra scottorum²⁰ **XII.**
comperta excusatione romanorum in britones
insurrexerint:et eos persequendo lacesserint. **XIII.**

Quod britones adhuc more solito ad romanos
mittentes nichil²¹ profecerint.sed rursus suis
uiribus innitentes.pictos propulerint. **XIIII.**

Quomodo omnis iusticia²² a britonibus perierit:et
omnis nequitia pro ueritate etiam inter religiosos
succreuent.²³ **XV.**

¹The expansion is uncertain. See page 2 note 1. ²Again the expansion is uncertain. ³Gale, Stevenson, Mommsen, and Petrie silently emend to *aeris*, see DMLBS *aes* for the Insular variant *eris*. ⁴Stevenson and Mommsen both silently emend this to *imagine*. Gale and Petrie, however, record the manuscript reading. ⁵Gale, Stevenson, Mommsen, and Petrie all silently emend this to *Caesaris*. ⁶Although Gale, Stevenson, and Petrie both silently emend this to *Diocletiani*, Mommsen records the manuscript spelling. ⁷Gale, Stevenson, Mommsen, and Petrie all silently emend this to *Martyrum* against the manuscript. DMLBS records *martir* as a variant of *martyr*, cf. DMLBS *martir*. ⁸Stevenson silently emends this to *Ariani*. ⁹All previous editors emend this to *instruerent*; Mommsen, however, is the only one to note the manuscript reading. ¹⁰All previous editors silently emended the text to *spatio*. ¹¹Previous editors have uniformly emended this silently to *nihil*, cf. DMLBS *nihil* for evidence of *nichil* as an attested variant. ¹²The expansion is uncertain. The manuscript reading appears to be *mti*¹⁸ (with the *t* possibly altered from *l*) which would suggest *mentiis* (which is not a word), but it seems likely to be a hasty and not entirely effective correction to *membris* for an eyeskip error related to the following word *contrementibus*. Another possible rendering might be *mentibus*, also relating to possible eyeskip. ¹³Stevenson and Petrie (the latter clearly following Gale) silently emend this to *Romanorum*. ¹⁴The expansion is uncertain. Mommsen and Petrie chose to expand this as *repetierunt* while Stevenson and Gale both expand this to *repetierint*. ¹⁵As with the previous verb, the expansion is uncertain. Mommsen and Petrie chose to read this as *excusauerunt* while Gale and Stevenson opted for *-int*. ¹⁶Here the scribe appears to have followed their practice of omitting the *a* in *ae* diphthongs and omitted the *o* in *oe*, see Lewis *coepi* and DMLBS *coepis*. ¹⁷The expansion follows Stevenson. No editor has documented the *xxx* abbreviation used by the scribe. ¹⁸In their respective editions, Mommsen and Stevenson silently emend this to *interpretatur*. Petrie, following Gale, preserves the manuscript reading *interpretantur*. ¹⁹The expansion is uncertain. The scribe was pressed for space and heavily abbreviated the word to make it fit the line. ²⁰Stevenson and Petrie following Gale emend *scottorum* to *Scotorum* while Mommsen records the manuscript reading albeit with capitalization absent from the original. ²¹With the exception of Mommsen, all previous editors emend this. See 11 above. ²²Previous editors emend this to *justitia* against the manuscript. ²³This appears to be a mangling of the verb *succresco*.

guilefully subdued the Britons to themselves and how, given to fighting, they fought against themselves.

Chapter IV

How at last the Romans having been set over the Britons and they were made subject to taxation in such a way that the island should be thought not as Britain, but as Rome, and could have whatever amount of copper, silver, or gold marked with the image of the emperor.

Chapter V

At what time Christ came into the world and how great a persecution emerged in the time of Diocletian.

Chapter VI

How the great glory of the martyrs then flourished in the Church in Britain as well as the whole world.

Chapter VII

How the Church recovered into renewed glory but nevertheless waned having been poisoned by the contagion of Arianus.

Chapter VIII

How the people of Britain chafed at the Roman emperors.

Chapter IX

How the Britons, having been cornered by the Scotti and the Picts, sent for help from the Romans and they prevailed. And what kind of counsel did the Romans give? Namely that they build a wall between the two seas for many miles across the island from the Scottish Sea all the way to the Irish Sea. By the most ancient city, Kair Eden, it stretches west almost two miles from Abercunig monastery (which is now called Abercorn) unto the city of Alcluth. But since the island's wall was built of earth instead of stone, they built to no purpose because immediately after the Romans returned home, they were attacked again.

Chapter X

How the Britons desperately sent envoys with torn clothes, bare feet, with dust in their hair, faltering steps, and tearful petition to Rome a second time. With querulous voice and all their limbs trembling, they begged help from the Romans and obtained it.

Chapter XI

How the Britons once again sought Roman assistance and how the Romans excused themselves but nevertheless advised and admonished that they begin to construct a wall from sea to sea. They did this from the Norwegian Sea to the Sea of Galway. It was eight feet from side to side and twelve feet high and 132 miles long and they built turrets at intervals in the region where the Emperor Severus had previously built the longest and stoutest dike and palisade which had been fortified heavily with turrets. It is, from the town which, in English, is called Wallesende and is understood in Latin as Caput Muri and is beside the Tynemouth. The rampart and the wall is far from the aforementioned earthwork to the south which had been built at Kair Eden at the Scottish Sea.

Chapter XII

In what way the rough people of the Scotti revolted having learned of the Romans excuse to the British and they overtook and harried them.

Chapter XIII

How the Britons, as they were accustomed to, sent to the Romans and they accomplished nothing, but once again leaning upon their own strength, they drove forth the Picts.

Chapter XIII

How all justice passed away from the Britons and between the devout, instead of truth, wickedness grew up.

Quod britones pro saxonibus miserunt: et eos deo iudicante pro peccati flagello susceperunt. .XVI.

Qualiter gens saxonica cum tribus kyulis britanniam appulerit. et postea britones impugnauerit. .XVII.

Quomodo saxones sumptus² maiores solito expetunt. et hoc genere impugnandi materias quesierunt³: et sancta dei diripuerunt. .XVIII.

Qualiter Ambrosius aurelianus solus eis restiterit: et quis Gilde sapientis natiuitatis annus sit. .XIX.

Quomodo gens britannica. postea tota ydolatrie⁴ erroribus sit subdita. .XX.

Recapitulatio singulorum. que superius descripta sunt epigramatum⁵. in qua recapitulatione auctor operis promittit se maiorem librum de regibus britonum et de preliis⁶ eorum describendum. quem et postea fecit.⁷

Expliciunt capitula. ~

Incipit liber querulus sancti Gylde⁸ sapientis. de excidio Britannie. De calamitatibus et

preuaricationibus⁹ eius ciuium. De exulacione¹⁰

Britonum. ex duris oppressionibus eorum. et quam dolose

Romani eos sibi subegerint. et quam bellicose ipsis

dusius¹¹ restiterint. et quomodo Romani postremo eis

prepositos¹² uectigales prefecerint¹³. ita ut non Britannia

sed Romana insula uocaretur¹⁴. et omnis

moneta. auri. argenti. et eris¹⁵. imagini¹⁶ cesaris¹⁷

notaretur. quo tempore christus in mundum uenerit. et

quanta persecutio tempore Diocletiani emerit. quanta¹⁸

martirum¹⁹ gloria tunc Britannia effloruerit et²⁰ qualiter

gens Britonum imperatores Romanos attri

uerit

B RITANNIA
INSULA IN .I.
EXTREMO
FERME

locus in quo factus est hic liber est guales insula marina tempore Arthuri regis. persona Gilde sapientis

terrarum
orbis limite circium occidentemque uersus ⁊ diuina ut dicitur statera terre tocium ponderatrice²¹ librata. ab affrico boreali²² propensius tensa axi. occentorum²³ in longo

DE SITU PATRIAE

milium. ducentorum in lato spatium ⁊ exceptis diuersorum prolixioribus montiorum²⁴ tractibus uel ductibus²⁵. que arcuatis oceani sinibus ambuitur²⁶. Cuius diffusionem et ut ita dicam intransmeabili undique circulo absque meridiane freto plage. quo ad galliam belgicam nauigatur uallata.

Belgica prima in qua est metropolis treuens. Belgica secunda in qua est transitus ad britanniam. in qua est metropolis ciuitas remorum

Duum hostis²⁷ nobilium tamensis et sabrine fluminum ueluti brachiis. per que eidem olim transmarine delicie

uehebantur ratibus. aliorumque minorum

meliorata. bis denis. bisque quaternis ciuitatibus. ac

nonnullis castellis murorum turrium serratarum portarum domorumque Quorum culmina minaci proueleritate²⁸

porrecta in edito. forte compage pangebantur molitionibus

non inprobabiliter²⁹ instructis

¹ Stevenson omits this gloss in his edition. ² Stevenson, Mommsen, and Williamson emend this to *sumtus*, see DMLBS *sumptus* for the treatment of *sumtus* as a headword level variant. ³ Previous editors emend this to *quaesierunt* against the manuscript, see DMBLS *quaerere* for an abundance of attestations of *ques-*. See also Latham *quero*. ⁴ Stevenson and Petrie—following Gale—emend this to *idololatriae*. For a discussion of this see n. 17 on page 2. ⁵ Gale, followed by Stevenson and Petrie, emends this to *epigrammatum*. See DMLBS, *epigramma* for attestations of this variant. ⁶ See p. 26, n.9 for a discussion of this word and its treatment. ⁷ Previous editors silently emended this to *facit* against the manuscript. ⁸ Stevenson and Petrie both silently emend this to *Gildae*. ⁹ The expansion is uncertain. See DMLBS, *praeuaricatio* for variants, cf. Latham *preuaricatio* ¹⁰ Stevenson silently emends this to *exsulacione*. ¹¹ Stevenson and Petrie both silently emend this to *dusius*, the orthography and phonology of *dusius* is hitherto unattested in Insular Latin sources. See DMLBS, “Linguistic Features: Spelling” on Insular orthography. ¹² The expansion is uncertain. See DMLBS, *praeponere* for attestations of the variant *prepono* including examples predating this manuscript, cf. Latham, *prepono* for *propono*. ¹³ Stevenson and Petrie silently emend this to *praefecerint* against the manuscript, see DMLBS *praeficere* for evidence of *pre-* usage. ¹⁴ The ink here is badly faded and partly illegible. ¹⁵ See page 4 note 3. ¹⁶ Once again Stevenson silently emends to *imagine*. ¹⁷ See page 4 note 5 ¹⁸ Stevenson inexplicably silently emends this to *quantum*; the ink at this point is worn and challenging to read with the naked eye. ¹⁹ Stevenson and Petrie silently emend to *martyrum* against the manuscript. ²⁰ Both Stevenson and Petrie omit the Tironian *et* that is present in the manuscript albeit in a badly faded state. ²¹ The superscript *i* in the manuscript here appears to serve as a suspension representing the letters *-ri-*. ²² *boreali*, *C*; this variant is not noted by Mommsen in *X*. ²³ *recte octingentorum*; whether this scribal error is a result of a lost or disregarded mark suspension of *oct* from *octin-* being construed as *occi-* or some other mistake in copying is impossible to determine. A textual variant involving forms of *octo-* and *centum* cannot be ruled out. ²⁴ *promontiorum*, *P*, *Q* ²⁵ *tractibus*, *C*; *tractibus uel ductibus* may be the result of a gloss being embedded in either *X* or an exemplar. ²⁶ *recte ambiuntur* ²⁷ *recte hostiis* ²⁸ The manuscript reads *proueleritate*. The first minim of the *u* is cancelled with a subpunctum which creates the reading *proceleritate*. In his edition, Mommsen uses the reading preserved in the other manuscript traditions—*proceritate*— but acknowledges both readings in *X*, but records no other variants in his *apparatus*

Chapter XV

How the Britons sent for the Saxons and, with God having passed judgment, the Britons received them as payment for the lash of sin.

Chapter XVI

In what way the Saxon people put ashore in Britain with ^{that is long ships} three keels and afterwards fought against the Britons.

Chapter XVII

How the Saxons were wont to demand sums of money greater than usual and threatened to attack unless they obtained it and they plundered the holy places of God.

Chapter XVIII

How Ambrosius Aurelianus alone resisted them and how the birth of Gildas the Wise was in that year.

Chapter XIX

How the people of Britain afterwards were all made subject to the grave sin of idolatry.

Chapter XX

Summing up of each of the epigraphs which are described above. In that recapitulation, the author of the work promises to engage himself with the great book of the kings of Britain and descriptions of their great battles and afterwards he does it.

Here end the chapters.

Here begins the book expressing the grievance of holy Gildas the Wise on the destruction of Britain: on the misfortunes and the transgressions of the inhabitants; on the exile from Britain because of their cruel oppression, and how the Romans cunningly subjugated them and they resisted for a considerable time because of their military skill. And in what way the Romans at last were set over them and they were made subject to taxation in such a way that the island should be called not Britain, but Roman and all the money of gold, of silver, and of copper was marked with the image of the emperor. From the time where Christ came into the world and until the time the great persecution of Diocletian emerged; how the great glory of the martyrs also flourished in Britain; and how the people of Britain chafed at the Roman emperors.

Britain is an island at the uttermost end

The place where this book was made is the sea-island of Wales in the time of King Arthur. By the person Gildas the Wise.

^{of the earth} of the world between the northwest and the west. Poised in the ^{Having been measured} of the earth divine scales, as it is said, that weigh the whole world. From the southwest, ^{It is distant} it extends towards the north pole. It is eight hundred miles long and two hundred miles wide with the exception of various elongated cliffs that stretch or jut out between the bow-shaped bays of the sea. It is encircled, so it is said, on all sides by an impassable, spreading sea except for the southern straits where one can sail to Belgian Gaul; ^{the island} it is improved by the mouths of two noble rivers, the Thames and the Severn, and other smaller ones, arms of the sea as it were by which luxuries from overseas were formerly ^{That is ships} ^{That is ornamented} ²⁸ carried by boats. It is adorned with twenty-eight cities and quite a few castles, and well equipped by fortifications—walls, towers, crenellated gates and fortified houses whose roofs stretched ^{stretched} ^{height} ^{on high} menacingly with great height toward the sky – with stout joints ^{was built} ^{equipped} fastened by construction not improperly devised.

On the position of the country

Belgica prima in which the chief city of the Treveri is. Belgica secunda in which the passage to Britain is, in which the city of the Remi is.

criticus. It is possible that the ‘el’ intrusion is a result of the gloss *celitudine* above the word which suggests that the copyist was working from a glossed text. Nonetheless, a reading *pro celeritate* (*i.e.* on account of [their] haste) might reflect a copyist or corrector reaching for some notion related to *celeritas*, yet this reading makes little sense within the context of the passage.

²⁹ *improbabilitur, C*

decorata campis late ^{apertis} pansis. ^{congregatis} collibusque ameno situ locatis

^{abundanti} prepollenti culture aptis. montibusque

alternandis. animalium pastibus magne¹

conuenientibus. diuersorum colorum flores humanis

gressibus pulsati. non indicentem quandam ceu picturam

^{montibus} ^{ostendebant} eisdem imprimebant. Electa ueluti sponsa

^{signabant} monilibus. diuersis ornata fontibus lucidis. crebris undis

^{reuelantibus} niueas ueluti glareas pallantibus². pernitidisque riuis leni

murmure serpentibus. quorumque in ripis

^{occupantibus} ^{piscis} ^{dantibus} accusantibus³. suauis saporis pignus pretendentibus et

lacubus frigidum aque torrentem uiue ^{id est manantibus} exundantibus

irrigua. Hec erecta ceruice et mente. ^{scilicet tempore} ex quo inhabitata est

ꝫ nunc deo. interdum ciuibus nonnunquam etiam

^{scilicet hominibus} transmarinis regibus et subiectis ingrata consurgit. Quod

^{scilicet interrogatio} enim deformius. quodque⁴ iniquius⁵. potest humanis

ausibus uel esse uel intromitti. negotium. quam deo

timorem. bonis ciuibus ^{scilicet debitam} caritatem. in altiore dignitate

compositis⁶. absque fidei detrimento debitum denegare

honorem. et frangere diuino sensui humanoque fidem. et

abiecto celi et terre metu propriis adinventionibus

aliquem ex libidinibus regi? **.II.**

Igitur ^{scilicet preteriens} omittens illos priscos communesque

cum omnibus gentibus errores. quibus ante

aduentum christi in carne omne humanum

genus obligatur astrictum. nec enumerans

^{britannie} ^{idola} patrie portenta ipsa diabolica pene numero uincientia

^{supra dictorum} egyptia⁷ quorum nonnulla liniamentis adhuc deformibus

intra uel extra deserta menia.

solito more ^{id est siccitia⁸} rigentia. toruis uultibus intuemur. Neque

nominatim ^{id est nuntians⁹} inlclamitans montes ipsos aut fontes uel colles.

aut ^{scilicet periculosos uel mortiferos¹⁰} fluuios olim exitiabiles. nunc uero humanis usibus

^{scilicet s...[a?]} utiles. quibus diuinus honor a ceco tunc populo

cumulabatur. et tacens ^{scilicet gentium} uetustos immanium tyrannorum

annos. qui in aliis longe positis regionibus uulgati sunt. ita

⁹⁺⁹ ut porphirius rapidus¹² canis orientalis aduersus ecclesiam

dementie sue ac uanitatis stilo hoc etiam annexerit

Britannia est inquiens fertilis prouincia tyrannorum. Illa

tamen proferre conabor in medium. que temporibus

imperatorum Romanorum et passa est. et aliis intulit

ciuibus longe positis mala. Quantum tamen potuero non

tam ex scripturis patrie scriptorumue monimentis. quippe

que uel si qua fuerint aut ignibus hostium. exusta. aut

ciuium exilii classe longius deportata. non comparent.ꝫ

quam transmarina relatione que crebris irrupta

intercapedinibus non satis claret.

Etenim Romanorum reges cum orbis imperium optinuissent. subiugatisque finitimis quibusque regionibus uel insulis orientem uersus.ꝫ prima

partorum pace indorumque¹³ confinium. qua peracta in

omni terra tum cessauere bella potioris fame uiribus ^{id est uirtutibus¹⁴}

firmassent. non acies flamme quodammodo rigidi tenoris

ad occidentem ceruleo oceani torrente uel coiberi potuit

uel extingui. sed transfretans ^{britannie¹⁵} insule parendi leges nullo

^{impenium adortau[...].¹⁶} obsistente aduexit. imbellemque populum sed

infidelem. non tam

9+9

porphirius iste quidam hereticus fuit ideoque nominat eum canem quia dixit quod propheta danielus non fuit propheta sed historia. aduersus istum ieronimus exposuit danielum.

¹ In his edition, Stevenson emended the text to read *optime* against the manuscript reading of *magne*. ² The gloss *reuelantibus* lends credence to the argument that “pallantibus” is a back formation from the verb *palo*. See page 139, note 309. ³ The manuscript reading here appears to be an error in transmission for *accubantibus*. The gloss *occupantibus* (*occupo* “to take into possession, seize, occupy, master, win”) does not, at first, appear to offer much clarity for this crux; as *p* and *b* were frequently interchangeable in Insular Latin, however, *occupantibus* might be read *occubantibus* (*occubo*, “to lie low, lie prostrate, lie dead”) which makes considerably more sense. ⁴ Mommsen’s edition records *quid...quidque*. ⁵ *D iniquus* ⁶ Mommsen prefers *positis* from C against other witnesses. ⁷ In his edition, Stevenson emends the text to read “Aegyptiaca” following Vergil against the manuscript reading of *egyptia*. “Aegyptius” is an attested Insular form appearing in Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica*, cf. DMLBS “Aegyptius” without reference to Gildas. ⁸ Stevenson notes this gloss as “sientia” against the reading of the manuscript. The *lemma* appears in both the Leiden and Corpus glossaries albeit with different *interpretamenta* which suggests that this gloss, at least, was the work of a different glossator. ⁹ This gloss is omitted in Stevenson’s edition. The *lemma* *inlclamitans* is included amongst the Gildasian material preserved within the Corpus Glossary however the *interpretamentum* there is different. ¹⁰ Stevenson again omits this gloss in the notes to his edition. ¹¹ Omitted by Stevenson from his edition, this gloss is intractable. It may, perhaps, represent some form of *sero* (to wreath, join, entwine, interweave), perhaps *s(er)ti*, from which a chain of nouns are derived with the sense of festooning with honors, garlands, or wreaths and may refer to the divine honors associated with these elements of the natural world. Consistent with Gildasian agricultural imagery, this may have resonance with *sero* (to sow, plant, beget; the participial form would properly be *sata*) which might encompass the use that humans now enjoy of these mountains, springs, hills, and rivers. Alternatively, this may represent *sunt* and refer back to the *montes, fontes, colles*, and *fluuios*, but one could imagine a scribe generating the wrong perfect passive participle from the wrong *sero*. ¹² Stevenson emends this to read “ravidus” against the manuscript reading of “rapidus”. Mommsen notes that the *D* text originally shared this reading but was corrected. ¹³ Unlike Mommsen who records “prima parthorum pace indorumque,” Stevenson emends the text with a heavy hand to reproduce the text of Polydore Vergil’s edition. ^{14,15,16} Stevenson does not record these glosses. For *adortau?*, DMLBS records *ortare*, citing Bede, which is derived from *orior* cf. *adorior* to establish.

Like a chosen bride richly-adorned with different jewels, Britain is
graced with broad, ^{open} spreading plains and hills ^{assembled} arranged in pleasant
sites ^{abundantly} excellently suited for cultivation and mountains suitable for

varying the pasture of animals. Flowers of diverse colors underfoot
^{showed} the mountains
marked them pleasantly just like a painting. The island is well-

watered by numerous clear springs with their waters revealing¹

pebbles white as snow and brilliant streams that glide with a gentle
murmur and a guarantee of sweet sleep for those who ^{reproaching}
^{giving} [*recte* reclining³] stretch out on their banks and lakes overflowing

with a cool rush of living water. ^{that is to say from the time} Since Britain was inhabited, she has
been ungrateful, stiff-necked, and insolent: now against God,

occasionally against her people and sometimes ^{rising} against kings

from overseas and their subjects. ^{that is to say by the people} Indeed, what in human

enterprises can be more shameful and what more wicked, either to

be or to be admitted, than to deny fear to God, charity to good

citizens, due honor to those set in higher dignity without detriment

to the faith and to break faith with the divine and with human

reason and, with fear of heaven and earth having been cast away,

anyone being ruled by their individual contrivances according to

their lusts. **.II.**

Consequently, ^{that is to say passing by} setting aside those ancient errors
common among all people that bound all humanity
before the coming of Christ in the flesh, and

without enumerating those devilish monstrosities of my homeland

^{from the multitude of idols mentioned above} (in number almost like those afflicting Egypt) – many of which we

look at even now, inside and outside the deserted city walls, with

deformed features, as typically unyielding in their grim form – and

without rebuking by name these very mountains and fountains or

hills and rivers once so ^{that is to say perilous or deadly} deadly – now truly profitable for the uses of

humankind – to which divine honor was then heaped up by a then

-blind populace, and saying nothing of savage tyrants ^{that is to say of the people} from times

long ago who became infamous in other lands located far away so

^{9÷9} that Porphyrius (that dog of the east), predatory against the Church,

added this also with his pen in keeping with his madness and vanity,

saying, “Britain is a turbulent province fertile of tyrants,” yet I shall

endeavor to make public those evils which ^{that is to say to Britain} Britain suffered during

the times of the Roman emperors and also those evils Britain

inflicted on other peoples living far away. Nevertheless, I shall have

done it to the best of my ability, not so much from the literature

and documents from British writers which, if they existed, are not

extant and were either burned in the fires of enemies or carried far

away by a group of my fellow Britons in exile. Rather, I shall have

done it from continental accounts which, having been broken up

by frequent omissions, may be insufficiently clear.

Indeed, when they had gained dominion of the world and
with all the neighboring regions or islands in the direction **.III.**
of the rising sun having been subjugated, and when,

^{That is by strength} through the strength of their great renown, the kings of the

Romans had secured the first peace with the Parthians and the

border of India, the wars, after having been carried throughout the

entire world, then ceased. The keen edge of flame could neither be

contained nor extinguished on its uninterrupted course toward the

setting sun by the blue rushing of the sea. But, crossing the channel,

^{The empire ?[established]?} with no resistance, it carried laws which ought to be obeyed to the

^{Britain} island. And the people, unwarlike, but faithless,

9÷9

That certain Porphyrius was a heretic and for that reason he calls him a dog. Because he said that Daniel's prophecy was not prophecy but history. Jerome expounds against him [in *Commentary on the Prophet*] Daniel.

¹ The gloss suggests that the glossator read this as the participle of *pala*, I've adopted that reading here. ² This meaning of this gloss is unclear. It may, perhaps, be a reference to Jesus Christ as ΙΧΘΥΣ 'fish' as an acronym from Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ. ³ It is unclear what the glossator intended with this gloss. The perfect of *adorior* would be *adortus est*. One possibility is that the glossator conjugated *adorior* following the first conjugation *ortare* (which is only attested in Bede *HE*) which might explain *adortanit*.

ferro et igni machinisque ut alias gentes quam solis minis
 uel iuditorum concussionibus. in superficie tamen¹ uultus
 impresso. in altum cordis dolore sui obedientiam
 proferentem edictis ^{acies} subiugauit. Quibus statim romam ob
 inopiam cespites ut aiunt repetentibus. et nil de rebellione
 suspicantibus: ^{britannie} rectores sibi relictos ad denuncianda
 plenius uel confirmanda romani regni molimina leena
 trucidauit dolosa. .III.

Quibus ita gestis: cum talia senatui
 nuntiarentur. et propero exercitum
 uulpeculis ut ^{senatus} fingebat subdolis ulcisci
 festinaret: non militaris in mari classis
 parata fortiter dimicare pro patria. nec quadratum
 agmen. neque dextrum cornu aliusue belli apparatus in
 litore conseritur uel inicitur sed terga pro scutis fugantibus
^{romanis} dabant. et colla gladiis gelido per ossa tremore currende³
 manusque uincende muliebriter protenduntur. ita ut in
 prouerbium et in derisum longe lateque ^{narratur} efferatur⁴: quod
 non britanni sint in bello fortes. nec in pace fideles. Itaque
 multis romani perfidorum cesis: nonnullis ad seruitutem
 ne terra penitus in solitudinem redigeretur mancipalibus
 reseruatis: patria uini oleique experta⁵ relicta: italiam
 petunt. suorumque quosdam prepositos relinquentes
 indigenarum dorsis mastigias ceruicibus iugum solo
 nomine⁶ romane seruitutis herere facturos. ac non tam
 militari manu quam flagellis callidam gentem maceratuos
 et si res sic po-

stulasset: ensem ut dicitur uagina uacuum lateri eius
 populi accomodatuos: ita ut non britannia sed Romana
 insula censaretur⁷. et quicquid habere posuisset eris et
 argenti uel auri: imagini⁸ cesaris notaretur. .V.

Interea glaciali frigore rigenti insule et uelut
 longiore terrarum successu⁹. soli uisibili non
 proxime: uerus ille sol non de firmamento
 solum temporali. sed de summa etiam celorum
^{precellente} arce: cuncta tempora excidente: orbi uniuerso
 prefulgidum sui choruscum ostentans: tempore ut scimus
^{nouissimo} summo tyberii cesaris. quo absque ullo impedimento eius
 propagabatur religio: comminata senatu nolente a
^{cesare} principe morte dilatoribus¹⁰ militum eiusdem radios suos
 primum indulget id est sua precepta christus. Quelicet¹¹ ab
 incolis tepide suscepta sunt: apud quosdam tamen integre
 et apud alios minus. usque ad persecutionem dioclitiani
 tyranni nouennem. in qua subuerse per totum mundum
 sunt ecclesie. et cuncte sacre scripture que inueniri
 potuerunt in plateis exuste: et electi sacerdotes gregis
 domini. cum ^{laicis fidelibus} innocentibus ouibus trucidati. ita ut ne
 uestigium quid si fieri potuisset: in nonnullis prouinciis
 christiane religionis appareret. Permansere¹² tunc quante
 fuge. quante strages quante diuersarum mortium
 pene. quante religionis apostatarum ruine. quante
 gloriosissimorum¹³ martirum corone. quanti persecutorum
 rapidi furores. quante e contrario sanctorum

¹ The scribe employs the abbreviation *t̄m* in the manuscript which would admit *tamen* or *tantum*. Mommsen has *tantum* while Stevenson (following Polydore Vergil) gives *tamen*. ² After the gloss *romanis*, a glossing hand has apparently included an *a* the meaning or referent of which is uncertain. Alternately, this may be a suspension indicating the reading *dabantur* and thus agreeing with Polydore Vergil. This possible variant was overlooked by both Stevenson and Mommsen, cf. the footnote in column 0336B in *Patrologia Latina* 69. ³ The scribe has interchanged *d* for *t* in *currente*. Mommsen and Stevenson both silently emend this in their respective editions. ⁴ Mommsen's apparatus erroneously reports *afferatur* for X and *efferatur* for D ⁵ Stevensen, in agreement with Vergil, Joscelin, and Avranches, presents *experte* against the manuscript reading *experta*. For a brief discussion of *relicta*, see Winterbottom, pg 160, for a variant from Mommsen's text. ⁶ Again, Stevenson follows Vergil's edition and presents *nomen* rather than following the text of the manuscript. ⁷ Here too, Stevenson follows Vergil's edition against the manuscript. Mommsen does not make note of the manuscript reading in his critical apparatus. This may, in fact, not be an orthographical error, but represent a scribal hypercorrection or else a misreading of the exemplar, see DMLBS' entry for *censare/tensare*. ⁸ Stevenson once again follows Vergil's edition with *imagine*. Medieval Latin orthography frequently exchanged the letters *i* and *e*. ⁹ In this passage, Stevenson follows Vergil and corrects *glaciali* to Classical Latin orthography and silently emends *successu* to *secessu* against the manuscript. In this passage, *successu* appears to be an adjectival form of *succedo* (to go below, come under, etc.) which is a usage previously unattested in Insular Latin contexts. ¹⁰ Mommsen prints *delatoribus* following the text of the Avranches manuscript while citing Jerome. Gildas appears to offer an early witness to a major redaction of a now lost Latin chronicle by Jerome represented in PL 27 Col 0575: *Pilato de Christianorum dogmate ad Tiberium referente, Tiberius retulit ad Senatum, ut inter caetera sacra reciperentur. Verum cum ex consulti Patrum Christianos eliminari urbe placuisset, Tiberius per edictum accusatoribus Christianorum comminatus est mortem.* ¹¹ Although Mommsen and other editors chose to insert a paragraph break after *Christus* and began the following paragraph with "*Quae, licet...*", this seems counter to the reading preserved in the manuscript which has a *punctus elevatus* following *sunt*. Further, with *quae* referring back Christ's precepts, it appears probable that the scribe considered this part of the same passage. Owing to the absence a clear space between *quae* and *licet*, I have chosen to present this as *quaelicet* following the attested Insular Latin *quelicet*, cf. DMLBS. ¹² *Permansere* is the poetic form of the perfect indicative active. In X, this verb appears to govern the following series of illis prefaced by *quanta*. ¹³ In his edition, Mommsen demonstrates that even noble Homer nods by attributing the superlative form to D alone.

sharp edges
 were forced into submission - not so much by the sword and fire
 and machines like other peoples – but threats alone or by
 intimidations through legal judgments - showing their obedience to
 the edicts on the surface of their face, yet with resentment driven
 deep into their heart. And having no suspicions of rebellion, they
 immediately returned to Rome, so they said, on account of the
 scarcity of land. A deceitful lioness slaughtered the governors they
 of Britain
 had left behind to convey utterly – or enforce – the undertaking of
 Roman rule. .IIII.

And so, when these deeds came to pass, such things
 were reported to the Senate and it hastened to take
 the Senate
 revenge on those deceitful foxes (as it seemed)
 with a swift army. No warlike fleet was ready at sea to fight boldly
 for the country neither an orderly column nor a right wing of an
 army nor other apparatus of war to be engaged in or to take part in
 to the Romans
 battle on the coast. But they gave their backs instead of their shields
 to their pursuers and their necks to the swords, with a cold
 trembling coursing through their bones, and their hands were
 stretched forth, unmanfully, so they might be shackled. Thus, as in
 it is told
 a derisive proverb, it was carried far and wide that the British are
 neither strong in war nor faithful in peace.

Consequently, the Romans slaughtered many of the treacherous
 with some bought as slaves having been kept in servitude so the
 land might not be utterly reduced to waste. With Britain having
 been left devoid of wine and oil, the Romans made for Italy. And
 leaving certain of their people as governors of the natives –
 scourges for their backs, yokes for their necks – they should make
 the name of Roman servitude cling to the land and they should
 weaken the artful people not with military force but with scourges.
 And if, at any time, the situation might demand it, they might apply
 the sword, as it is said, free of its scabbard, to their sides. Thus, the
 island should be thought not as Britain, but as Rome, and it might
 have whatever amount of copper, silver, or gold made to be

marked with the image of the emperor. .V.

M when they are driven by unbelief
 canwhile, to an island numb with icy cold, as
 though in a distant, withdrawn corner of the
 world, and exceedingly far from the visible
 sun, He, the true Sun, not of the transitory firmament alone, but of
 the highest fortress of the heavens ^{surpassing} transcending all time, revealing
 his dazzling brilliance to the entire world – in the ^{the latest} last years, as we
 know, of Tiberius Caesar, when His religion was being extended
 without any impediment, after that ^{Caesar} emperor, with the Senate
 unwilling, threatened death to the informers against the soldiers of
 God – Christ first grants His rays, that is, His precepts – whichever
 they may have been – were tepidly received by the inhabitants.
 However, they were accepted wholly by certain inhabitants and less
 so by others until the ninth persecution of the tyrant Diocletian. In
 which persecution, churches throughout the whole world were
 destroyed and all the sacred scriptures which could be found were
 burnt in the open streets and chosen priests of the Lord's flock,
 faithful laypeople
 together with the innocent sheep, were slaughtered. So that, if it
 could be brought to pass, not even a trace of the Christian religion
 might appear in many provinces. How many exiles, how many
 massacres, how many diverse death sentences, how many falls of
 the religion's apostates, how many crowns of the most glorious
 martyrs, how many mad furies of persecution, they endured, and –
 by contrast – what sufferings of the saints there were,

patientie fuere ecclesiastica historia narrat¹.ita ut
agmine denso certatim relictis post tergum
mundialibus tenebris ad amena celorum regna
quasi ad propriam sedem tota festinaret ecclesia.

.VI.

Magnificauit igitur
misericordiam suam
deus nobiscum².uolens
omnes homines saluos

feri.et uocans non minus peccatores ^{deus} quam eos ^{hereticos}
qui putant se esse iustos.Qui gratuito munere
supradicto ut cognoscimus persecutionis
tempore.ne crassa atra³ noctis caligine britannia
obscuraretur:clarissimas lampades sanctorum
martirum nobis accendit.Quorum nunc
corporum sepulture et passionum loca.si non
lugubri diuortione barbarorum quam plurima ob
scelera nostra ciuibus adimerentur:non
minimum intuentium mentibus ardorem diuine
caritatis incuterent.Sanctum ALBANUM

uerolamensem et aaron et iulium legionum urbis
ciues:et ceteros utriusque sexus diuersis in locis⁴
summa et magnanimitate in acie christi
perstantes dico.Quorum prior postquam karitatis
gratia confessorem alium persecutoribus
insectatum.et iam iamque comprehendendum:
imitans et in hoc christum animam pro ouibus
ponentem.domo primum ac mutatis dein mutuo
uestibus occuluit:et discrimini se fratris in
supradicti uestimentis libenter persequendum
dedit.Ita deo placens inter sacram confessionem
cruoremque coram impiis romana tum
stigmata.cum orribili fan-

tasmate preferentibus:signorumque miraculis
mirabiliter adornatus est.ut oratione feruenti illi
israelitice arenti uie minusque trite stante diu
archa prope glareas testamenti in medio iordanis
canali simile iter ignotum trans nobilis fluuii
alueum cum mille uiris sicco ingrediens pede
suspensis utriusque modo ^{similitudine} preruptorum
fluuialibus montium gurgitibus ^{albanus} aperiret.et
priorem carnificem tanta prodigia uidentem in
agnum ex lupo mutaret.et una secum
triumphale⁵ martirii palmam sistere⁶
uehementius et excipere fortius faceret.Ceteri
uero sic diuersis cruciatibus torsi sunt.et inaudita
membrorum decerptione lacerati sunt:ut absque
cunctamine gloriosi in egregiis ierusalem ueluti
portis martyrii⁷ sui trophea defigerent.Nam qui
superfuerant siluis ac desertis abditis speluncis se
occultauere.expectantes a iusto rectore omnium
deo carnificibus seuera quandoque iuditia.sibi
uero animarum tutamina. .VII.

Igitur bilustro supradicti turbinis
necdum adimpleto⁸ ad integrum
marcescentibusque nece sui
auctorum nefariis edictis:letis
luminibus omnes christi tirones quasi post
hyemalem ac prolixam noctem temperiem
lucemque serenam aure celestis
excipiunt.Renouant ecclesias ad solum usque
destructas.basilicas sanctorum martirum
fundant.construunt.perficiunt.ac uelut uictricia
signa passim ^{publicant} propalant.dies festos cele-

¹ In this passage, *ecclesiastica historia narrat* looks back to the series of ills that befell the faithful during the persecution. ² Both Stevenson and Mommsen emend the word order of *deus nobiscum* to *nobiscum deus* in their respective editions. Mommsen's apparatus, however, is slightly misleading as it suggests a second hand corrected the word order and placed it before *misericordiam suam*. ³ Stevenson follows Vergil in emending *atra* to *atrae* against the manuscript. ⁴ Mommsen does not record the reading *locis* in his critical apparatus. ⁵ Stevenson follows Vergil in his edition and presents *triumphalem* against the manuscript. ⁶ Following the expansion offered by Mommsen and Stevenson, with no clear Anglo-Latin precedent, c.f. Latham and DMLBS for *sisto* and DMLBS for *sistere* (where the citations might support a form *sistare*). ⁷ Throughout X, *martyr* is typically spelled as *martir*. ⁸ Trans ppte *adimpleo*.

the *Historia ecclesiastica* relates. So that the whole church made haste, in dense company, eagerly leaving behind the shadows of the world for the beautiful realms of the heavens as if to their proper seat.

.VI.

Therefore God, wishing for all humanity to be saved and calling out to sinners no less than ^{God} heretics to those who suppose themselves to be just, increased his mercy for us. He who, by the

gift of his grace – as we have learned – in the time of this aforementioned persecution, kindled for us the most brilliant spiritual beacons of the holy martyrs so that Britain might not be forgotten in this oppressive moral darkness of deadly ignorance.

Now the places of their martyrdoms and of their bodies' interment might instill the fire of divine charity to the minds of those who look upon them, if not for the grievous disruption caused by the ^{that is to say discord} the feet foreigners, they having been deprived from our people on account

of our many sins. I speak of Saint Alban of Verulamium, and of Aaron and Julian, inhabitants of Caerleon, and of the others of

both sexes in diverse places remaining steadfast and with the highest courage in the battalion of Christ. When the first of these, ^{Alban}

Alban, with the divine grace of Christian love, in the first place ^{he hid} concealed in his house another confessor being hounded by persecutors at the very moment of being seized – and in this imitating Christ surrendering his life for the sheep – and afterward, with each of them having exchanged clothes with the other, he gladly yielded himself to the ^{danger} of being pursued in the

aforementioned clothing of the brother. Thus pleasing to God, between his holy confession and the spilling of his blood, he was miraculously embellished by signs and wonders before the eyes of the impious carrying Roman standards of horrible appearance before them. So that, through fervent prayer, he opened up an unknown passage across the channel of the noble river, like the ^{dry} Israelites' waterless and less trodden way when the Ark of the

Testament stood for a time on the gravel in the middle of the channel of the Jordan, he walked with dry foot with a thousand men, with the eddies of the river being suspended on either side in ^{resemblance} the manner of steep mountains, and, the first executioner, seeing so great a miracle, changed from a wolf into a sheep and was made to present himself ardently and to receive bravely the triumphant palm of martyrdom. But the others thus were tormented with diverse tortures and they were mangled by the unheard of evisceration of their bodies so that without hesitation they secured the trophies of their glorious martyrdom as if at the celebrated gates of Jerusalem. On the other hand, those who survived concealed themselves in forests, in wastes, and in secluded caves trusting the safeguard of their souls by God, the just ruler of all, and, in due course, harsh judgments for their tormenters. .VII.

Then, with ten years of the aforementioned tempest not yet completed, and with the heinous edicts wholly wasting away with the violent death of the authors themselves, with ^{of the persecutors}

joyful eyes all of Christ's recruits greet the calm and the serene light of the breeze of heaven as if after a wintery and extended night. They restore the churches that had been torn down to the ground. They lay foundations for basilicas of the holy martyrs, they build them, and they bring them to completion, and they display them ^{they reveal} everywhere as if victorious signs.

brant.sacramenta mundo corde oreque

roma alium religiosissima uita repelleret.Nec

Agricola quidam
homo discipulus
arriani qui per-
turbauit fidem
britonum.

perficiunt.omnes exultant filii gremio ac si matris

mora tam fertilibus audaciis uallatus.apud

ecclesie confoti.Mansit nanque hec christi capitis

ipse maximus⁵
aquileiam urbem capite nefando ceditur.qui

Occidit nanque [gru]
tianum Valentinia-
num uero cum m
[atre] Roma expulit.

membrorumque consonantia suauis:donec

decorata totius orbem capita regni quodammodo

arriana perfidia atrox ceu anguis transmarina

ceruicibus deiecerat.Exin britannia omni armato

nobis euomens uenena.fratres in unum

milite militaribusque copiis ac rectoribus

habitantes exitiabile faceret ^{separari²}serungi.ac sic quasi

linquitur immanibus ingenti iuuentute

uia facta trans oceanum:omnes omnino bestie

spoliata.comitata uestigiis supradicti tyranni

fere mortiferum cuiuslibet hereseos

domum nunquam ultra redit. Et omnis belli usus

uirus.horrido ore uibrantes.letalia dentium

ignara penitus:duobus primum gentibus

uulnera patrie noui semper aliquid audire uolenti

^{9÷c}transmarinis uehementer seuis.scottorum ab

9÷c
Quia scotti tu[n]
temporis in hybern
[id] habitabant.et pic
[id] in scotia id est ab
aqu[id]ne

et nil³ certi stabiliter optinenti infigebant. .VIII.

circione.pictorum ab aquilone.calcabilis multos

I Temque tandem tyrannorum uirgultis

stupet gemetque per annos..IX.

crescentibus et immanem siluam

G ens igitur britonum

iamiamque erumpentibus:insula

scottorum pictorumque

nomen Romanum nec tamen mores

impetum non ferens⁶ ob

legesque tenens quin potius abitiens:germen sue

quorum infestationem ac

plantationis amarissime ad gallias magna

durissimam depressionem legatos romam cum

comitante satellitum caterua insuper etiam

epistolis mittit.militarem manum ad se

imperatoris insignibus que nec decenter usquam

uindicandam lacrimosis postulationibus poscens

gessit nec legitime sed ritu tyrannico et

et subiectionem sui romano imperio continue

tumultuante ^{ordinatum}initiatum milite maximum mittit qui

tota animi uirtute si hostis longius arceretur

callida primum arte potius quam uirtute

uouens.Cui mox destinatur legio preteriti mali

finitimos quosque pagos uel prouincias contra

^{imperatoris gratiani}immemor sufficienter armis instructa:que

romanum statum per retia periurii mendaciique

^{nauib⁷}ratibus trans oceanum in patriam aduecta et

sui facinoroso regno annectens⁴.et unam alarum

cominus cum grauib⁷ hostibus congressa.

ad hispaniam alteram ad italiam extendens et

magnamque ex eis multitudinem sternens et

thronum iniquissimi imperii apud treueros

omnes a finibus depulit.et subiectos ciues tam

statuens.tanta insania in dominos debachatus est

atroci dilaceratione et imminente captiuitate

:ut duos imperatores legitimos.unum

liberauit.Quos iussit inter duo maria construere

trans insulam murum

scilicet mortale
discordia.¹

¹ Stevenson hypercorrects this to *mortali* in his edition. ² This gloss, too, is omitted by Stevenson in his edition. ³ Again Stevenson offers Vergil's reading in his edition against the manuscript itself. ⁴ *Annectans* is only offered by Vergil; Mommsen and Stevenson both silently emend the text to *adnectans*. ⁵ The interlinear gloss *ipse maximus* is omitted by Stevenson in his *apparatus criticus*; he does, however, note the marginal gloss against *capite*. From this it appears that he had access to the manuscript prior to it being trimmed. In its current state, part of this marginal gloss is now lost. ⁶ The beginning of this chapter—*Gens igitur britonum scottorum pictorumque impetum non ferens*—is relegated to Mommsen's *apparatus criticus* as a variant which, he notes, appears before *ob* and is not attested to in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*. This may be authorial, a variant manuscript reading, or it may be evidence of a capitulum that was integrated into the text. Dismissing it on entirely on the strength of Bede, however, is problematic since there's no certainty that he was employing a complete text of the *De excidio* and, in any case, the text may be conducive to loss through *homoioteleuton*. Stevenson, on the other hand, prints the entirety of the sentence. ⁷ This gloss is omitted in Stevenson's edition.

They celebrate feast days. With clean heart and countenance, they perform the sacrament. All rejoice as though children in the cherishing lap of mother church. Indeed, this agreeable conformity of Christ's head and limbs endured up to that time at which the Arian faithlessness, like an atrocious, death-dealing serpent vomiting its foreign poison upon us, caused brothers living as one to be separated. And thus, as if a path were made across the sea, all those beasts, savage in every respect, brandishing in their horrid mouths the destructive venom of whichever heresy, they inflicted lethal wounds with their teeth on a country always willing to listen to something new and never getting firm hold of anything certain.

.VIII.

Moreover, after some time, with thickets of tyrants springing up and, at this very moment, bursting forth as a vast forest, the island, keeping the Roman name and yet not the morals and laws, but rather, casting off a sprout of its own bitterest cultivation, to the provinces of the Gauls, with a great crowd of minions following and even carried above – with neither decency nor legitimacy – the imperial insignia, ^{ordained} initiated in the manner of a tyrant and with the military in an uproar, sends Maximus – who first with clever wile rather than virtue, against the Roman state, annexes neighboring regions or provinces by means of nets of perjury and fraud to his criminal reign and extends one wing of cavalry to Hispania and another to Italia and establishes a throne of his most unjust dominion at the city of the Treviri. With such great folly, he raged against his lords, so that two lawful emperors he drove away – one from Rome and the other from a most pious life. Without delay, walled in by abundant shamelessness, at the city of Aquileia, a fatal blow is ^{Maximus himself} struck to his impious head – who had, in a similar way, hurled down from their necks, the heads of royal authority that graced the whole world. After that, having been despoiled of all armed soldiery

A certain man, Agricola, disciple of Arius, who confused the faith of the Britons

that is fatal discord

For he slew Gratian, moreover, he drove Valentinian with his mother from Rome.

and military resources, Britain is abandoned by brutal governors and by strong youth – they having followed in the footsteps of the aforementioned tyrant – never to return home thereafter. And wholly ignorant of all the ways of war, Britain, trampled underfoot with two peoples, raging violently, crossing the sea – ^{9÷c} the Scotti from the northwest, the Picts from the north – is struck senseless and groans for many years. **.IX.**

^{9÷c} Because the Scotti at that time lived in Ireland and the Picti in Scotia. It is to the north.

Consequently, not enduring the onslaught of the Scotti and Picts, the people of Britain, on account of their harassment and cruelest oppression, send envoys with letters to Rome, entreating, with tearful request, an armed force to liberate and avenge them and dedicating their lasting submission to Roman authority with the entire strength of their will if the enemies were to be repelled for all time. Soon, giving no thought to misdeeds ^{namely the murder of Emperor Gratian} of the past, a large host – fully furnished with weaponry – ^{by ships} was dispatched to them. This host, carried by ships, crossed the ocean to Britain and, in close combat, joined battle against the terrible enemy and, casting down a great throng of them, drive them all from the country and then liberated the people made subject to savage butchering and with bondage imminent. The Britons they ordered to build a wall across the island between the two seas so that, fearsomely constructed, it might be a cause of disorder in repelling the enemy and a means of protection for the people. Made by the common herd – irrational and without a leader – not with stone so much as with turf, it was of no benefit. With great triumph and joy, the legion returns home. And like gluttons, ^{that is savage} the aforementioned enemies – wolves with insatiable hunger, with jaws fierce and thirsting for blood – spring across into the fold with no shepherd making ready. Carried by the wings of their oars and the arms of the rowers and

ut esset arcendis hostibus turba instructus
terrori.ciuibusque tutamini:qui uulgo irrationabili absque
rectore factus:non tam lapidibus quam cespitibus non
profuit.Illa legione cum triumpho magno et gaudio
domum repetente.illi priores inimici ac quasi ambrones^{id est seui}
lupi profunda fame rapidis siccisque faucibus in ouile
transilientes non comparante pastore.alis remorum
remigumque brachiis ac uelis uento sinuatis
uecti.terminos rumpunt.cedunt omnia et queque obuia
maturam ceu segetem metunt.calcant.transeunt .X.

I Temque mittuntur queruli legati scissis ut
dicitur uestibus.opertis sablone
capitibus.^{querentes}impetrantes a romanis auxilia:ac
uelut timidi pulli patrum fidelissimis alis

succumbentes.ne penitus misera patria
deleteretur.nomenque romanum quod uerbis tantum apud
eos auribus resultabat.uel extranearum gentium opprobria
uilesceret.At illi quantum humane nature possibile est
commoti.tante historia tragedie uolatus ceu aquilarum
equitum in terra.nautarum in mari cursus
accelerantes.inopinatas¹ primum tandem terribiles
inimicorum unguis ceruicibus infigunt
mucronum.casibusque foliorum tempore certo
adsimulandam istam peragunt stragem.ac fit si montanus
torrens crebris tempestatum riuulis auctus.sonorosoque²
meatu alueos exundans ac sulcato dorso fronteque acra
erectis ut aiunt ad nebulas undis.lumi-

[si]militudinem
ut hec omnia.

num quibus pupilli persepe licet palpebrarum
conuolatibus innouati adiunctis sibi minutissimarum
rotarum tautonibus³ ueluti fuscantur mirabiliter^{eis⁴}
spumans.Ast uno abiectas sibi euincit gurgite moles.ita
emulorum agmina auxiliores egregii si qua tamen
euadere potuerant⁵ propere transmaria fugauerunt.qui^{Romani eos.}
anniuersarias auide predas nullo obsistente transmaria
exaggerabant..XI.

I Gitur romani patrie reuersi denunciantes
nequaquam se tam laboriosis expeditionibus
posse frequentius uexari.et ob imbelles
erraticosque latrunculos romana stigmata⁶
tantum talemque exercitum terra ac mari

∴
Stigmata
sunt signa
uictritia⁶

fatigari:sed ut insula potius consuescendo armis ac
uiriliter dimicando terram
substantiolam.coniuges.liberos.et quod his maius
libertatem uitamque totis uiribus uendicaret.et gentibus
nequaquam se fortioribus nisi segnitia et torpore
dissolueretur.ut inermes uinculis uincendas nullo modo
sed instructas peltis.ensibus.hastis.et ad cedem promptas
protendere manus suadentes.Quia et hoc putabant aliquid
derelinquendo populo commodi accrescere murum non
ut alterum sumptu publico priuatoque adiunctis secum
miserabilibus indigenis solito structure more tramite a
mari usque ad mare inter urbes que ibidem forte ob
metum hostium collocatae fuerant directo librant.fortia
formidoloso populo monita tradunt.exemplaria
instituentium armorum relinquunt.

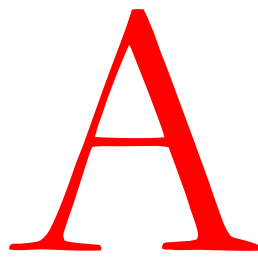
Hec omnia
denuntiant
romani
britonibus

peltis scilicet
scutis.ensibus.
gladiis.⁷

librant.
mensurant

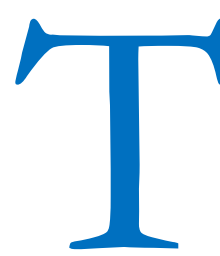
¹ Following Vergil, Stevenson silently emends the text to *inopinatos*. This appears to be either a scribal error or, potentially, an orthographical variant though the latter is less likely. ²This appears to be a previously unattested witness to the Anglo-Latin *sonorosus* which, according to the DMLBS, appears only in the *Quaestiones Salernitani*, an anonymous collection of materials treating on science and medicine composed by an English author c. 1200. ³The reading in X appears to preserve the pre-Conquest glossary tradition of *tautones*, *palpabrae*, and *rotae* in reference to anatomical terms related to the eye. The Gildasian affinities of this tradition are absent from the DMLBS s.v. *tanto*. See further DMLBS *rota* 6a. ⁴This gloss is not recorded by Stevenson in his edition. ⁵In his critical apparatus, Mommsen records *potuerunt* for X without explanation. ⁶Curiously, Stevenson, in his edition, does not give the entirety of the gloss, but simply presents the *interpretamentum*. ⁷This gloss is also omitted by Stevenson.

with sails having billowed out with wind, they force open the borders. They slay everything, and anything in the way they reap in the same way as a ripe crop. They trample. They pass over. **.X.**



And after the same fashion, with rent clothes, with heads covered with sand, so it is said, wailing envoys ^{that is seeking} were sent seeking help from the Romans – and just as timid fowls lying beneath the most dependable wings of their parents – lest the miserable country be utterly destroyed and the name of Rome which, in their ears, was reverberating merely in words, might even become worthless [in the] taunts of foreign peoples. But the Romans, to the extent it is possible in human nature, were shaken by the account of so great a tragedy. Speeding, like the flight of eagles, the courses of cavalry on land, of sailors on the sea, they thrust the claws of swords – surprising at first, terrifying at last – into the necks of the enemies. They go through with this massacre and it is to be compared with the falling of leaves at their specified time and, as if a mountain torrent enlarged by the numerous rivulets of storms and overflowing its stream-bed with roaring motion, waves raised – as it is said – to the clouds, being marvellously covered in foam and, with one of its swirling masses of water, it overcomes the dejected multitude; it is done with the back having been arched and furious brow (by which the pupils in the smallest irises of the eyes, notwithstanding having been refreshed very often through blinking of the eyelids, as if with the same having ^{with them} been joined together, are being obscured). Thus the distinguished confederates speedily put the swarm of ^{the Romans} rivals to flight across the sea – if any still had the power

to flee. They used to heap up greedily the yearly plunder across the sea with no one standing in the way. **.XI.**



To their native land, the Romans then turned back, declaring that they could no longer constantly trouble themselves to such an extent with laborious campaigns and no longer could the Roman standards – so large and so distinguished an army – be worn down on land and sea because of cowardly and wandering marauders, but that rather the island, by becoming familiar with arms and by fighting courageously, should defend with all their strength land, wealth, wives, children, and that which is greater than these, liberty and life. And that, by a people by no means as strong as themselves, in no way should they be constrained, unarmed, in chains, unless through inertia and sloth they should become negligent, but that they should be fitted out with shields, swords, spears, and urging that, having been made ready, hands might be extended to slaughter. And because they reckoned this to increase anything of advantage for the people who would be left behind, a wall, unlike the other, by public and private expense, with help from the wretched natives, in the usual fashion of construction, by a course from sea to sea between cities that, perhaps, had been established in that place because of fear of the foreigners, they make level in a straight line. They deliver to the timorous people firm admonishment. They leave behind exemplars in the training of the use of weapons. Also, on the headland of the sea toward the southern territory, where their ships had been kept and from which place wild barbarian beasts were feared, keeps at intervals with a view of the sea they establish. As if never to return again,

∴
the wounds
are victory
signs

The Romans
declare all
this to the
Britons

with light
shields, that is
to say with
bucklers,
glaiives, swords

they make equal,
they measure

In littore¹ quoque oceani ad meridianam plagam qua
naues eorum habebantur.et inde barbarie fere bestie
timebantur:⁹turres per interualla ad prospectum maris
collocant.Vale dicunt²:⁹tanquam ultra non reuersuri.

.XII.

Itaque illis ad sua reuertentibus.emergunt
certatim de curicis quibus sunt trans
tithicam uallem uecti.quasi in alto titane
incalescenteque caumate de arctissimis³
foraminum cauernulis fusci uermiculorum cenei
tetri.Scottorum pictorumque greges.moribus ex parte
dissidentes:⁹et⁴ una eademque sanguinis fundendi
auiditate concordēs.furciferosque ^{habentes} magis
uultus.pilis.quam corporum pudenda.pudendisque
proxima uestibus tegentes.Cognitaque condebitorum
reuersione.et reditus denegatione:⁹solito confidentiores
omnem aquilonem⁵ extremamque terre partem pro
indigenis muro tenus capessunt.Statuitur ad hec in
edito arcis.segnis ad pugnam.inhabilis ad
fugam.trementibus praecordiis inepta:⁹que diebus ac
noctibus stupido sedili marcebat.Interea ~~sedili~~ non
cessant uincinata⁶ nodorum tela quibus miserrimi ciues
de muris tracti solo allidebantur.hoc scilicet eis
imature mortis supplicium qui tali funere rapiebantur
fratrum quo pignorum suorum miserandas imminentes
penas cito exitu deuitabant.Quid plura loquar?Relictis
ciuitatibus muroque celso:⁹iterum quibus fuge iterum
dispersiones solito de-
sperabiliores.item ab hoste insectationes.item⁸ strages

hic calumniat
Scottos quod
non sunt
bene uestiti

Segnis
piger.⁷

accelerantur crudeliores.Et sicut agni a lanionibus.ita
deflendi ciues ab inimicis discerpuntur.ut
commemoratio⁹ eorum ferarum assimilaretur¹⁰
agrestium.Nam laniant et seipsos¹¹ mutuo.nec pro
exigui uictus breui sustentaculo miserorum ciuium

latrocinando. Et augebantur extraneae clades
domesticis motibus.quo et huiusmodi crebris
direptionibus uacuaretur omnis regio totius cibi baculo
:⁹excepto uenatorie artis solatio. .XIII.

Igitur rursus miserie reliquie mittentes
epistolas ad agitium romane potestatis
uirum.hoc modo loquentes inquit.Agito
ter consuli:⁹gemitus britannorum.et post
pauca loquentes.Repellunt nos barbari ad mare repellit
nos mare:⁹ad barbaros.Inter hec oriuntur duo genera
funerum.aut iugulamur:⁹aut mergimur.Nec pro eis
quicquam adiutorii habent.Interea famis dira ac
famosissima uagis ac nutabundis heret.que multos
eorum cruentis compellit predonibus sine dilatione
uictas dare manus.ut paxillum ad refocilandam animam
cibi caperent.Alios uero nusquam quin.potius de ipsis
montibus speluncis ac saltibus diuinis
consertis.continue rebellabant.Et tum primum inimicis
per multos annos in terra agentibus strages dabant.non
confidentes¹⁴ in hominem sed in deo.secundum illud
exemplum philonis.Necesse est.adesse diuinum:⁹

Nec pro eis epistolis.¹⁵

paxillum:⁹mod[...]¹⁶

Britanni super
inimicos suos.¹⁷

¹ This form of *litus* with the doubled consonant is an attested Insular variant; the locus in Gildas, however, is not recorded in the DMLBS, *s.v.* litus, littus. ² In their respective editions, Mommsen and Stevenson overlook X's reading *vale dicunt* as two words following the Classical tradition, Lewis & Short and OLD, *s.v.* *valeo* and *valedico*. ³ In his edition, Mommsen prints *artissimis* without recording variants from any source, including the reading *altissimis* proffered by Vergil either through conjecture or error. Compare Joscelin, *artissimis*. ⁴ Stevenson and Mommsen emend to *sed* with no support in any manuscript. Vergil, followed by Joscelin, has *et*. ⁵ Adjectival *aquilonalem* is printed as a critical reading by Mommsen and as an emended reading by Stevenson. It is not attributed to Gildas in the DMLBS, *s.v.* *aquilonalis*. ⁶ Neither Mommsen nor Stevenson report the manuscript reading *uincinata* in the notes of their edition, but print *uincinata*. ⁷ Stevenson omits this gloss in his edition. ⁸ Mommsen, against all the manuscript readings, emends the text to *iterum* following a reading found in Geoffrey of Monmouth. ⁹ Mommsen follows Vergil and Joscelin in emending the text to *commoratio*. This reading is supported by the A manuscript, however, Mommsen report of the reading—*commorationi*—is incorrect. DMLBS cites Gildas as evidence of Insular use; no additional evidence of its use is recorded until 1598 which postdates both Vergil and Joscelin's editions. ¹⁰ The reading *assimilaretur* is unrecorded by previous editors. Mommsen and Stevenson both print *assimilaretur* which appears in Vergil, Joscelin, and A while eliding the variant in their *apparati critici*. The reading in X, however, is consistent with Classical traditions. ¹¹ This reading—*seipsos*—is elided by Mommsen in his notes. See DMLBS, *seipse*. ¹² The status of the reading *temperabant* as a gloss is overlooked by Stevenson. ¹³ This gloss is also omitted by Stevenson. ¹⁴ Mommsen offers the reading *fidentes* in agreement with multiple authorities (including A in a previously unreported reading) against X and Bede. ¹⁵ This gloss is unrecorded by Stevenson. ¹⁶ Sadly, part of this gloss has been lost to the binder's knife. Stevenson does not record gloss in his edition. ¹⁷ Stevenson omits this gloss in his edition.

they say farewell. .XII.

Here he ?
deplores? the
Scotti because
they are not
well-covered.

A

nd so, with the Romans having gone
back to their own affairs, there
quickly emerged from their ships in
which they were borne across

Tethys's vale, just like swarthy, loathsome masses of
worms from the narrow little hollows of fissures when
the sun is on high and the heat increases, a swarm of the
Scotti and Picts. In custom they differ in part and in one
and the same passion, at the point of blood having to be
shed they were of one mind—and in preferring to cover
their rascally features with hair rather than their bodies'
genitals and nearest parts with clothes. With the return of
the fellow debtors having been ascertained, along with
their rejection of coming back, they became more
shameless than usual. The whole of the northern and
farthest part of the land from the natives, as far as the
wall, they seize. Near this, positioned in the heights of the
citadels, are troops – disinclined to battle, incapable of
fleeing, foolish with trembling hearts – which, by day and
by night, wasted away in paralysis on benches.

disinclined to battle, lazy

Meanwhile, the barbed spears of the naked ones - by
which the most wretched Britons, having been dragged
from the walls, to the ground were dashed - were not
idle. You may be sure the punishment of untimely death
for them – those who were snatched and dragged off by
such a violent death – that by this swift end they avoided
the deplorable torments threatening their brothers and
children. What more should I say? After the cities and the
high wall had been abandoned, once again with flight by
the people, they who are scattered yet again are more
hopeless than usual, likewise persecutions by the enemy,
likewise bloodthirsty slaughters are quickened. And just

that is to say wolves

as lambs by butchers, thus the people at the point of
giving themselves up to tears are torn to pieces by the
enemies, so that of them a suggestion of wild beasts
might be made in comparison. For they claw away even
at themselves, by turns, in starting to despoil, and not for
little sustenance from the mean way of life among the
miserable people. And by the internal commotions the
devastation from abroad was multiplied. Therefore by
frequent plundering of this sort, the whole country was
made devoid of all food's support with only the skills of a
hunter as a source of relief. .XIII.

C

onsequently, again to Agitius, a soldier
of Roman authority, the wretched
survivors sending letters, speaking in
this way, they say “to Agitius, consul
on three occasions, the groans of the British” and, a few
words later, saying “The barbarians drive us to the sea,
the sea thrusts us back at the barbarians. Between these
emerge two kinds of death: either our throats are cut or
we are drowned.” And they have not any kind of help for
them. Amid these things, the dire and most infamous
famine persists for the wandering and staggering ones,
which compels many of them to give up their conquered
hands to the bloodstained brigands without delay, in
order that a prop of food for the reviving of life might be
received. Others, under no circumstance, however, [were]
never [so compelled]. Rather, from mountains, caves, and
steep-sided ravines themselves, joining battle inspired by
God, they rebelled continually. And, then, for the first
time, they inflicted a slaughter on the enemies plundering
for many years in the land, not trusting firmly in men but
in God according to this moral example of Philo, “it is
essential for that which comes from God to be present

and no letters
for them

a prop ; ?

ubi humanum cessat auxilium. Quieuit parumper
 inimicorum audacia: nec tamen nostrorum
 malitia. Recesserunt hostes a ciuibus. nec ciues a suis
 sceleribus. Moris nanque continui erat genti. sicut et
 nunc est: ut infirma esset ad repellenda hostium tela. et
 fortis et inuicta ad ciuilia bella. et ad honera
 peccatorum sustentanda. Infirma est. ut inquam ad
 sequenda pacis et¹ ueritatis insignia: fortis ad scelera et
 mendacia. **.XIII.**

Reuertuntur ergo impudentes
 grassatores ad hibernas domus²
 post non multum tempus³
 reuersuri. Picti in extrema parte

[u]bi picti habitabant
 [ant]iquitus

insule tum primum et deinceps requieuerunt. praedas
 et contriciones nonnunquam facientes. In talibus itaque
 induciis desoluto populo seua cicatrix obducitur. alia
 uirulentiore tactus pullulante. Quiescente autem
 uastatio est tantis abundantiarum copiis insula
 effluebat: ut nulla haberi talis⁴ retro etas
 meminisset. Cum quibus omnimodis et luxuria⁵
 crescit. Creuit etenim germine praepollenti. ita ut
 competenter eodem tempore diceretur. Omnino talis
 auditur inter uos fornicatio. qualis nec inter gentes
 erat. Non solum uero fuit hoc uitium: sed fuerunt
 omnia que humane nature accedere solent. et precipue
 quod nunc quoque in ea totius boni euertit
 statum. Odium ueritatis fuit cum assertoribus
 suis. Amor mendacii cum suis fabricatoribus. Susceptio
 mali: pro bono. Veneratio nequitie: pro

[l]uxuria.⁵

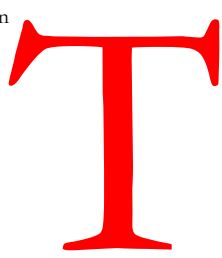
benignitate. Cupido tenebrarum: pro sole. Exceptio
 sathane: pro angelo lucis. Ungebantur reges. et non per
 deum: sed qui ceteris crudeliores extarent. Et paulo
 post ab unctoribus non pro ueri examinatione
 trucidabantur: aliis electis truculentioribus⁷: Si quis
 uero mitior eorum et ueritati aliquatenus proprior⁸
 uideretur: in hunc britannie quasi in
 subusorem⁹. omnium odia telaque sine respectu
 torquebantur. Et omnia que displicuerant deo
 placuerantque: equali¹⁰ lance pendebantur. Si non
 gratiora fuissent displicentia. ita ut merito patrie illud
 exemplum propheticum quod ueterano illi populo
 denunciatum est: poterit aptari. Filii inquiens sine
 lege. dereliquistis dominum. et ad iram prouocastis
 sanctum israel. Quid adhuc percunctemini apponentes
 iniquitatem? Omne caput languidum. et omne cor
 merens. a planta pedis usque ad uerticem non est
 sanitas in eo. Sicque agebantur cuncta que saluti
 contraria fuerant: ac si nil largiretur mundo medicine a
 uero omnium medico. Et non solum hac seculares uiri:
 sed et ipsi greges domini pastoresque eius¹². qui
 exemplo esse omni plebi debuerant: ebrietate quam
 plurimi quasi uino madidi torpebant resoluti et
 animositatum tumore iurgiorum contentione. inuidie
 capatibus unguis indiscreto boni malique iudicio
 carpebantur. ita: ut perspicue sicut et nunc est. effundi
 uidetur¹³ contemptio¹⁴ super principes.

¹ Stevenson prints *ac* against the reading of X. This emendation may be drawn from his own Latinity or else he has silently preferred the reading of D or Vergil. ² Mommsen prints *domos* and notes that X records *domus*. The expansion is uncertain; the mark of suspension, however, is consistent with *-us*. In his edition, Stevenson gives *domos* possibly reflecting his sense of the morphology or else drawing on his consultation of D. Vergil and Joscelyn both print *domum*. ³ In his edition, Mommsen offers the reading *longum*—which appears here as a lexical gloss—and records X *multum* as a variant without noting the gloss. ⁴ Mommsen records *talīs* as a variant in his *apparatus criticus* which would suggest the presence of a mark of correction; in the manuscript, however, there is no subpunctum beneath the minim for i. Stevenson emends to *tales* citing D. ⁵ Stevenson omits this mutilated gloss in his edition. It appears to consist solely of the headword *luxuria*, although the initial letter has been destroyed (along with other marginal glosses) through the lack of care on the part of a binder. ⁶ Although he notes the Pauline origins of this passage, Stevenson omits the gloss from his edition. ⁷ Stevenson prints *trucioribus* against the reading of the manuscript and fails to record this in his notes. Mommsen acknowledges *truculentioribus* from X, but similarly fails to note support for the reading *trucioribus* in A, P, and Q. ⁸ The scribe heavily abbreviated this word—*ppor*—and the expansion is uncertain. Comparison with published examples of scribal abbreviations suggest *proprior*, the form favored by Vergil, while Mommsen prints *proprior* with support from A, Q. ⁹ Stevenson silently emends the text to *subuersorem*. From the context, it is clearly an error in which a mark of suspension was omitted by the scribe. ¹⁰ Mommsen prints *aequali saltem lance* in his edition. His *apparatus criticus*, however, appears to have been garbled for this passage and might suggest a contemplated reading *salim* for the critical text, *c.f.* DEB 93 line 26: *uno salim die potest implere?* What is certain, though, is Mommsen incorrectly attributes *saltem* to Joscelyn who reads *salim*. Stevenson attempts to correct the text of X by inserting *saltem* for which he cites D even as his text appears to follow Vergil. ¹¹ This gloss is omitted by Stevenson. ¹² Stevenson silently emends the text to *eiusque pastores* following Vergil. ¹³ Stevenson silently emends this to *uideretur* following Vergil. ¹⁴ The orthography of *contemptio* (also attested in C and Q) is obscured by Mommsen in his *criticus apparatus* where he reports *contentio* for both X and D. He likewise garbles the reading of A by recording *contentio* against the manuscript's *contentione*.

Britain against
her enemies

when human help ends.” The insolence of the enemies
ceased for a short time, yet not our wickedness. The
enemies withdrew from the people, yet from their evil
deeds, our people did not. Indeed, concerning that
nation, they were of the continual habit (and just as they
are now) that, at the point of repelling the weapons of
the enemy, they were weak, and, at the point of showing
endurance, powerful and resolute with regard to civil war
and in relation to their load of sins. They were weak, as I
said, regarding striving for standards of peace and truth
and strong towards evil deeds and lying. **.XIII.**

where the Picts lived in
ancient times



herefore back to their winter barracks
the shameless marauders go – not long
after to return. In the farthest part of
the island, the Picts, for the first time

(and thereafter) rested, sometimes acquiring spoils and
causing grief. And thus, within such a period of peace,
the cruel scar is healed for the dissolute people, with a
different, more virulent influence springing forth. On the
other hand, there is devastation while being at peace. The
island became known for such an abundance of riches, so
that no previous age was recalled to have such. And
together with that, licentiousness of every possible kind
thrives. And indeed, it grew with a very strong shoot.

lack of moral restraint

Thus so that it might be properly said of that time, “Such
whoredom is heard of among you, the kind of which was
not at all among the Gentiles.” Truly, this vice was not
the only one, but all existed which are wont to befall
human nature and especially that which ruins the status
of everything good in it even now. There existed hatred
of truth together with its champions, love of untruth
together with its devisers, undertaking evil instead of
good, reverence of wickedness rather than kindness, lust

scales
a balance

of righteousness

for shadows instead of the sun, welcoming Satan rather
than the angel of light. Kings were anointed and not
through God, but in fact, who might stand out from the
others in bloodthirstiness. And just after, they would be
killed without scrutiny into the truth by the anointers
with others more ferocious having been chosen. Truly, if
any one of them might appear to be more mild and
somewhat extraordinary through honesty, the hatred and
spears of all men were hurled toward him without
respect, as if against a subvertor of Britain. And all things
that had displeased and had pleased God in like manner
in the balance weighed – unless the displeasing were
more acceptable. In such a way the well-known warning
of the prophet that had been foretold to that ancient
nation to our country shall be deserved to be applied,
saying, “Sons without laws, you have forsaken the Lord
and you have provoked holy Israel to wrath. Why might
you, even now, adding to wickedness, be thoroughly slow
to act? With every head dull and every heart grieving,
from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head, good
sense is not in it.” In such a way, all things that pertained
to salvation they were driven against, just as if no relief to
the world might be granted by the true physician of
everyone. And not only worldly men in this way, but
even the flocks of the Lord and the shepherds too – who
were obliged to be as an example to all the people – very
many were enervated – stupefied from drunkenness as if
drenched in wine. And through the swelling of grudges,
through the exertion of quarrels, through the retentive
talons of envy, and through indiscriminate judgment of
good and of evil, thus they are reviled. So that it is
perceived clearly contempt was to be poured upon the
princes just as it is now both to be led astray through

populi id est idolis
et seduci uanis eorum. et errare in inuio
non in via dei ambulat¹
et non in uia. **.XV.**

Interea uolente deo purgare familiam
suam. et tanta malorum labe infectam
auditu tamen² tribulationis emendare non
ignoti rumoris penniger ceu uolatus arectas³
omnium penetrat aures. iam iamque aduentus ueterum
inimicorum⁴ uolentium penitus totam delere. et
inhabitare solito more a fine usque ad terminum
regionum. Nequaquam tamen ob hoc proficiunt. sed
comparati iumentis insipientibus strictis morsibus
rationis frenum offirmantes. per latam diuersorum
uitiorum mortique procliue ducentem relicto salutari
licet arcto itinere discurrebant uiam. dum ergo ut
Salomon⁶ ait. seruus durus non emendatur
uerbis. flagellatur stultus et non sentit. pestifera namque^{etiam}
lues feraliter insipienti populo incubuit. que in breui
tempore tantam eius multitudinem remoto mucrone^{hostium}
sternit. quantum ne possint uiui humare. Sed ne hac^{mortuos.}
quidem emendantur. ut illud ysaie prophete in hoc
quoque populo impleretur dicentis. et uocauit deus
populum ad planctum et ad caluicium⁸ et ad cingulum
sacci. ecce ceperunt occidere uitulos et iugulare arietes.
ecce manducare et bibere et dicere. manducemus et
bibamus cras enim moriamur. Appropinquabat^{populi}
siquidem tempus quo eius iniquitates ut olim
amorreorum⁹ complerentur. Initur nanque¹⁰ consilium
quid optimum quidue

¹ Stevenson omits the glosses *populi, id est idolis*, and *non in via dei ambulat* from his edition. ² The scribe employs the abbreviation *t̄m* in the manuscript which would admit *tamen* or *tantum* (also appearing in A). Despite C, P, Q, Mommsen, and Stevenson offering *tantum*, nevertheless the expansion of the abbreviation in X remains uncertain, *vide supra* p.10, n.1. ³ The Anglo-Latin orthography of *arectas* with a single *r* has not been noted for this *locus* in Gildas. Other MSS, including A and C, record two *rs*, c.f. DMLBS *arrigere* which cites the Corpus Glossary (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 144) *arectas . bhysnendi* which had tentatively been assigned Gildasian origins by Paul Grosjean though this point was disputed by Luca Larpi. See Hardison, Brian C. "Glossing the Past: The Pedagogical Context of the Gildasian Glosses Preserved in the Corpus Glossary (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 144)" (unpub. M.Phil dissertation, Cambridge). ⁴ Bizarrely, Stevenson prints *hostium* against the reading of X and notes that the reading is omitted in D while failing to record the manuscript reading. This emendation is, at best, questionable since it appears to have been created by Vergil without support from any surviving witnesses. ⁵ Consistent with his previous treatment of *arctus*, Mommsen prints *arto* against all surviving witnesses and the editions of Vergil, Joscelyn, and Stevenson, *vide supra*, p.18 n.3 ⁶ Following Vergil, Stevenson silently emends the text to *Solomon*. ⁷ This gloss is omitted by Stevenson in his edition. ⁸ This orthographical variant of *caluitium* is not recorded in the OLD, DMLBS, Latham, and all previous editions give *caluitium* including Stevenson who silently emends against the manuscript. ⁹ In his *apparatus criticus*, Mommsen reports the X variant as *amoreorum*. Similarly, he records a variant in Joscelyn that does not exist: *amorraeorum*. ¹⁰ The Anglo-Latin orthography of *nanque*, here spelled out in full, is previously unreported. Mommsen, Stevenson, Gale, and Joscelyn all print *namque* in their editions. Vergil, however, prints *nanq*; on the uncertain authority of an unidentified manuscript. ¹¹ The unspaced variant orthography augments witnesses to *una* in DMLBS. Stevenson silently emends the text to introduce the space. ¹² While Mommsen prints the reading of X as a variant, the verb *retrudere* (to thrust back) is an interesting, recondite word that appears in Cicero, Plautus, the Vulgate, Bede, and Aldhelm among other, later Anglo-Latin authors. ¹³ There is an odd penstroke similar to a mark of suspension over the second e in *gentes*. Owing to its position at the end of line, perhaps the scribe misjudged the room available for the full word and subsequently changed their mind. ¹⁴ Mommsen records the X reading as a variant while Stevenson silently emends the text. The spelling *nichil* in A is previously unrecorded. ¹⁵ This gloss is omitted by Stevenson. ¹⁶ Stevenson silently emends this to *hebetudinem* while Mommsen prints the same on the authority of the early editions of Joscelyn and Vergil against all MSS readings. X (along with A, C, and D) thus augment the single orthographical variant recorded under *hebetudo* in DMLBS. ¹⁷ This appears to be a scribal error for *tremebant* – potentially an artefact of c/t interchange, though it may represent an error in the immediate exemplar. ¹⁸ Stevenson chose to silently emend the text to conform with the orthography in early editions (*cyulis*), found in the text of A and D and barely legible in C (f.7v, ln 18); the eleventh-century Harley Glossary (London, British Library Harley MS 3376, f.28v, ln 8.) preserves the gloss *ciula . ceol*. Similar forms are found in MSS of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De gestis Britonum*. ¹⁹ This reading shows the i/e interchange in *omine*. ²⁰ Mommsen records this as *pras* in his critical apparatus. ²¹ Mommsen renders this as *dimidio* and does not record the variant reading that appears in X despite the presence of a clear space between *de* and *medio* that also appears in A. ²² The scribe again has exchanged t for c in *certius*. This was not reported in Mommsen. ²³ *Genitrix* (for *genetrix*) is an accepted Late Latin spelling attested in Lewis and Short and preferred by Latham, *pace* DMLBS (s.v. *genetrix*).

saluberrimum ad repellendas tam crebras et tam ferales
superdictarum gentium rüptiones predasque decerni
potius deberet. Tum omnes consiliarii unacum¹¹
superbo tyranno Gurthigerno britannorum duce
cecantur. et adinuenientes tale praesidium immo
excidium patrie. ut ferocissimi illi nefandi nominis
saxones deo hominibusque inuisi quasi in caulas lupi in
insulam ad retrudendas¹² aquilonaes gentes¹³
intromitterentur. quo utique nil¹⁴ eis usquam
pernitiosius. nilque amarius factum est. O altissimam
sensum caliginem. o desperabilem crudamque mentis
hebitudinem¹⁶. quos propensius morte cum abessent
cremebant¹⁷ sponte ut ita dicam sub unius tecti
culmine inuitabant. Stulti sunt principes ut dictum est
thafneos. dantes pharaoni consilium insipienti. **.XVI.**

Tum erumpens grex catulorum de
cubili leene barbarie. tribus ut lingua
eius exprimitur ciulis¹⁸. nostra
lingua longis nauibus. secundis uelis
secundo omene¹⁹ auguriisque quibus uaticinabatur
certo apud eum presagio. quod ter centum annis terram
cui proras²⁰ librabat. insideret. centum uero
quingenta hoc est. de medio²¹ temporis sepius
quoque uastaret euctus. primum in orientali parte
insule iubente infausto tyranno terribiles infixit
ungues. quasi pro patria pugnaturus. sed eam cercius²²
impugnaturus. Cui supradicta genitrix²³ primo
comperiens agmini fuisse

...
scottoz ꝛ pictoz

Quando saxones uene[re]
in britanniam.

)=c
Nil britonibus usquam
pernitiosius factum¹⁵

Stulti sunt p(r)i(ncipes?)
tafn(eos) dantes .i(d est). su(aden?)
tib(us) Faraoni ut r:::
ret(ur) pop(u)l(us) isr(ae)l et (ut?)
p(er)sequeret(ur) eos. iter(um?)
ita germanie ci(u?::)
Gurting(er)no insip(ienti?)

∴ id est barbara leen(a)
germanie.

the people that is by idolatry

their vanities and to wander in a trackless waste and not
they do not walk on the Way of God
on the Way. .XV.

M

eanwhile, with God wishing to
cleanse his family, and to
correct it – corrupted as it was
with so great a stain of evil –

by a mere report of trouble, the flight of a not-unfamiliar
rumor (as if winged) enters the pricked ears of all people:
at this very moment, the arrival of the foes of old,
wishing thoroughly to destroy everything after their usual
custom and to settle from the border all the way to limit
of the country. Yet they profit not at all on account of
this, but they are paired like foolish beasts of burden
holding fast with teeth clenched to the bit of reason.

With the narrow road to salvation having been
abandoned, they run about without restraint on the broad
way of different vices that slopes downward, leading to
death. Thus, while, as Solomon said, “the intractable
slave is not corrected by words,” the fool is flogged and
does not feel. For indeed, a baleful plague settled with

deadly effect upon the senseless people; which, in a brief
time, strikes down so great a multitude of them with the
sword having been laid aside. To such a great extent, the
living were unable to bury them. But, in fact, they were
not chastened from this, so that the well-known dictum
of the prophet Isaiah might be discharged in these people
too, saying, “And God has called the people to
lamentation and to baldness and to a girdle of sack-cloth.
Behold! They took to killing the calves and to butchering
the rams. Look! To eating and to drinking and to talking!
Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we shall die.”

Accordingly, the time approached where their
wickedness, like that of the Amorites of old, would be

complete. For indeed, a deliberation was initiated as to
what best or what most advantageous thing for repelling
the so frequent and so deadly ruptures and looting of the
aforementioned peoples. Then all the advisors with the
arrogant ruler, Gurthigernus, leader of the Britons, were
blinded at the same time and, devising so great a
protection (or, more correctly, destruction) of the
country, whereby those most warlike Saxons (of
abominable name!), hateful to people and to God, might
be admitted into the island – like wolves into the
sheepfold – so the northern peoples might be thrust
back. Undoubtedly, nothing more destructive and
nothing more bitter happened to them than this. O most
profound blindness of sense! O hopeless and cruel
sluggishness of mind! Those who, when they were
absent, they had been more inclined to tremble at than
death, of their own free will as it may be said, under the
summit of one roof, they had invited. “Stupid are the
princes of Tanis,” as it is said, “giving counsel to foolish
Pharaoh.” .XVI.

Then a swarm of whelps, bursting forth
from the lair of the barbarian lioness,
by three – what in their speech is
called keels – in our tongue, warships
– they were conveyed, by fair sails and with favorable
omen and auguries from which it had been prophesized
according to a sure prediction among them that, for three
hundred years, they might take possession of the land to
which they swung their prows, that – to be sure - for 150
years – that is from the middle of that time (or indeed
more often) – they might ravage. First, in the eastern
part of the island, at the bidding of the ill-fated tyrant,
they drove in their terrible talons as though about to fight

...
of the Scotti and
the Picts

When the Saxons
came to Britain

)=c
Nothing more
destructive has
happened to the
Britons in any
way

Stupid are the
princes? of Tanis
giving . it is for
recommending to
Pharaoh that [...]
the Israelite
people and ?
that? they might
pursue? them. ?
Again? thus
Germania's [...]
Gurthigernus acts
foolishly.

prosperatum. Item mittit satellitum canumque
 prolixiorē catastam. que ratibus aduecta adunatur
 comanipularibus¹ spuriis. Inde germen
 iniquitatis. radix amaritudinis. uirulenta
 plantatio. nostris condigna meritis. in nostro cespite
 ferocibus² palmitibus pampinisque pullulabat.

Igitur intromissis .XVII.
 in insulam barbaris ueluti militibus. et
 magna ut mentiebantur pro bonis
 discrimina hospitibus subituris impetrant

annonas sumptus sibi annonas dari. que multo tempore impertite
 epimēnia sumptus clausurunt ut dicitur canis faucem. Item queruntur
 non affluenter sibi epimēnia contribui. occasiones de
 industria colorantes. et nisi profusior eis in
 unificētia⁴ cumularetur. testantur se cuncta insule
 rupto federe depopulatos. Nec mora. minas
 effectibus⁵ prosequantur⁶. Confouebatur nanque⁷
 ultionis iuste precedentium scelerum causa. de mari
 usque ad mare ignis orientalis sacrilegorum manu
 exaggeratus. et finitimas quasque ciuitates agrosque
 populans. Qui non quieuit accensus. donec cunctam
 pene exurans insule superficiem rubra occidentalem
 trucique oceanum lingua dilamberet. In hoc ergo
 impetu assirio⁸ olim in iudeam comparando quoque
 impletur in nobis secundum historiam deplorans⁹ ut
 dicitur. Incenderunt igni sanctuarium tuum. in terra
 polluerunt tabernaculum nominis tui. Et iterum dicit.

carmen
 nautarum
 cleuma
 dicitur

Deus uenerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam. polluerunt
 templum sanctum tuum et cetera. ita ut cuncte
 colonne crebris arietibus. omnesque coloni cum
 prepositis ecclesie. cum sacerdotibus ac populo
 mucronibus undique micantibus ac flammis
 crepitantibus simul solo sternerentur. Et miserabili
 uisu in medio platearum una turrium edito cardine
 euulsarum. murorumque celsorum saxa sacra altaria
 et¹⁰ cadauerum frustra¹¹ crustis ac semigelantibus¹²
 purpurei cruoris tecta uelut in quodam horrendo
 torculari mixta uiderentur. et nulla esset omnimodis
 preter horribiles domorum ruinas. bestiarum
 uolucrumque uentres in medio sepultura. Salua erat¹³
 sanctarum animarum reuerentia. si tamen multe
 inuente sunt¹⁴. que arduis celi per id temporis a
 sanctis angelis uehebantur. Ita enim degenerauerat
 tunc uinea illa olim bona. in amaritudinem uersa. uti
 raro secundum prophetam uideretur. quasi post
 tergum uindemiatorum aut messorum racemus aut
 spica. Itaque nonnulli miserarum reliquiarum in
 montibus deprehensi. aceruatim iugulabantur. Alii
 fame confecti. accedentes manus hostibus dabant. in
 eum seruituri. si tamen non continuo
 trucidarentur. quod altissime gratie stabat in loco. Alii
 transmarinas petebant regiones cum ululatu magno
 ceu celeumatis uice. hoc modo sub uelorum sinibus
 cantantes. Dedisti nos tanquam oues escarum. et

¹ Although Mommsen and prior editors relegate *comanipularibus* to the status of a variant, the word itself is widely attested in Anglo-Latin sources including Gildas himself, the Corpus Glossary, Aldhelm, and Alcuin. The reading *cum manipularibus* in Vergil is misreported by Mommsen—who silently follows Joscelyn and A—in his *apparatus*. ² In X, the copyist corrected their error *forocibus* by overwriting the first *o* with an *e*. This correction is not reported by either Mommsen or Stevenson in their respective editions. ³ Stevenson associates the interlinear gloss *clausit* with the verb *clausurunt* rather than *canis*. For both marginal glosses, he misreports the glossator's orthography and recasts the interpretamenta as *sumtus* instead. See OLD *sumptus*. ⁴ Neither Mommsen nor Stevenson record the manuscript reading *in unificētia* most likely because it appears to be straightforward scribal error but instead silently emend the text to *munificētia*. The immediate source of this reading remains uncertain since Vergil provides *magnificētia* and this passage of the text is missing from C. ⁵ In their editions, both Mommsen and Stevenson normalize the orthography of *effectibus*; this appears to be a previously unreported attestation to the single *f*-variant. See DMLBS, *effectus*, entry 2. ⁶ Stevenson silently emends this reading to *prosequuntur* in his edition—presumably following Vergil. ⁷ See page 22, note 10. ⁸ None of the previous editions of the text record the *assirio* spelling preserved in A and X. ⁹ In this passage, Stevenson silently interpolates the text with material from D and Q, but omits *ut*. The presence of the nominative *deplorans* suggests that this passage was transmitted incorrectly with the commentary gloss above it appearing to supply the missing speaker. Otherwise it should read *secundum historiam deplorantem*. ¹⁰ Both Gale and Stevenson appear to follow Vergil and Joscelyn in their respective editions and silently omit *et*. ¹¹ In his edition, Mommsen prefers *frusta* and records support for this reading in Vergil (inexplicably omitting the previously unreported support of A) and reports *frustra* as a variant found in C, D, Q, and X. Gale and Stevenson, following Vergil, prefer *frusta* and make no note of the variant reading. The spelling *frustrum* and its oblique forms is widely attested as a variant of the Classical Latin *fustum* in the DMLBS. ¹² Gale omits *semi* and emends to *gelantibus* against all editions and manuscript readings. Mommsen employs a similar logic with his edition and offers *ac si gelantibus* which more closely approximates *ac sigilantibus* (C). See also the DMLBS entries for *gelare*, *semigelatus*, and *crustus*. ¹³ Presumably influenced by Vergil or Joscelyn, Gale and Stevenson both silently omit *erat* in their respective editions. ¹⁴ Mommsen reads *sint* against the clear—and previously unreported—reading (*sunt*) of C. possibly influenced by Vergil and Joscelyn, as were Gale and Stevenson neither of whom record a variant at this point. A reads *st* which is expanded to *sint* by Mommsen on dubious grounds.

∴ that is the the
foreign lioness of
Germania

for the country, yet surely they were on the point of
∴
attacking it. To that swarm the aforementioned mother,
learning that the first herd had been rendered prosperous,
sends minions and parasites after the same fashion – a
lengthier means of torture – which, carried by ships, with
their false comrades are united. From that time, the
sprout of sinfulness, the root of grief, the noxious
transplant appropriate to our faults in our soil sent forth
new growth with wild vines and creepers. **.XVII.**

provisions resources

provisions resources

In short, with the foreigners having been let
into the island as soldiers – who would
undergo great risks for their good hosts, they
claimed falsely – they obtained by demand the
provisions to be given them. Bestowed, these shut, as it is
said, the maw of the dog ^{it shut} for some time. After the same
fashion, they complained the provisions were not
abundantly paid to them, coloring circumstances by
design; and indeed, unless a more lavish unification [*recte*
endowment] was heaped upon them, they swore that
they, with the treaty having been broken, would lay waste
to everything in the island. Without delay, they followed
threats with action. For indeed, from sea to sea, a
conflagration of just vengeance was heaped up and
fostered – on account of the preceding enormities – by
the gang of impious easterners, and, having been kindled,
devastating all the neighboring communities and farms; it
did not subside until – burning up nearly the entire
surface of the island – with its wild, red tongue, it had
licked the western ocean. In this, which may be
comparable to the Assyrian assault on Judea of old, thus
is fulfilled in us, according to the account that says,
by the prophet
despairing, “They burned your Temple with fire. In the
land, they violated the Tabernacle of your Name.” And

he says again, ‘God, the Gentiles came into your
inheritance. They defiled your holy Temple,” and so
forth. Just as all of the columns after frequent blows with
rams, and so too all the townspeople together with
officials of the church, with priests, and with the
common folk with sword points flashing from every
direction and with flames crackling at the same time,
were thrown down to the ground. And – deplorable to
see – at the same time, in the midst of the broad roads
the toppled towers with their lofty beams, as well as the
proud walls, there are seen stones and sacred altars
covered with the half-congealed encrustation of the dark
red blood of the corpses, as if blended – for no reason –
in some kind of dreadful wine press. And there was no
burial whatsoever in that place except the shocking ruins
of houses, the bowels of beasts and flying things. Respect
for the holy souls was preserved – if, however, many
were to be found – which, during that time, by the holy
angels were carried to the heights of heaven. So, in fact,
the vineyard that was formerly good, at that time, had
degenerated and turned into grief so that, according to
the prophet, clusters of grapes or heads of grain were
seldom to be seen behind the back of grape-pickers or
reapers as it were. And so, a few of the miserable
remnants were captured in the mountains. They were
butchered in heaps. Others were exhausted by hunger.
Coming forth, they gave their hands to the enemy to be
enslaved forever – if they were not slaughtered without
further ado, which stood as the greatest kindness at that
time. Others made for regions across the sea beneath the
curve of sails, with great wailing instead of the rhythmic
chant for the rowers, singing in this way, “Thou hast
given us up like sheep to be eaten: thou hast scattered us

the song of the
sailors is called
"eleuma"

in gentibus dispersisti nos deus. Alii a montanis collibus
 minacibus praeruptis uallati. et densissimis¹ saltibus
 marisque rupibus uitam suspectam semper mente
 credentes: in patria licet trepidi perstabant. **.XVIII.**

anni uel uno¹³
 mense primo emenso: qui iam et mee natiuitatis est. Sed
 ne nunc quidem ut antea ciuitates inhabitantur patrie¹⁴
 : sed deserte diruteque hactenus scalent¹⁵. cessantibus
 licet extremis bellis¹⁶: sed non tamen ciuilibus. **.XVIII.**

Tempore igitur interueniente
 aliquando cum recessissent domi
 crudelissimi predones. roborate a
 domino ^{britonum} reliquie quibus confugiunt

Hesit etenim tam desperati
 insule excidii insperatique
 mentio auxilii memori eorum:
 qui utriusque miraculi testes

undique diuersis in locis miserrimi ciues tam auide
 quam apes alueario² procella imminente. simul
 deprecantes eum toto corde. et ut dicitur innumeris
 onerantes ethera uotis ne ad interneccionem ita usque
 quaque⁴ delerentur. duce ambrosio auReliano⁵ uiro
 modesto qui solus fuit comes⁶ fidelis. fortis. ueraxque
 forte Romane gentis. qui tante tempestatis collisione
 occisis in eadem parentibus purpura nimirum indutis
 superfuerat. Cuius nunc temporibus nostris sobolis⁷
 magnopere auita bonitate degenerauit. Vires capessunt
 uictores prouocantes ad praelium⁹. quis uictoria deo
 annuente ex uoto cessit. Et ex eo tempore nunc ciues
 nunc hostes uincebant. ut in ista gente experiretur
 dominus solito more presentem ierusalem. utrum
 diligat eum dominus an non¹⁰: usque ad annum
 obsessionis badonici montis. qui prope sabrinum
 hostium habetur. nouissimeque forme de furciferis non
 minime strages¹¹. quique quadragesimus quartus ut
 uel orditur
 noui oritur annus

existere. et ab hoc reges publici
 priuati que sacerdotes ecclesiastici: suum¹⁷ ordinem
 seruauerunt. At illis ^{ad mortem} discendentibus. cum successisset
 etas tempestatis illius nescia et praesentis¹⁸ tantum
 serenitatis ac iusticie experta: ita cuncta ueritatis ac
 iusticie moderamina concussa ac subuersa sunt: ut
 eorum non dicam uestigium. sed ne monumentum
 quidem in supradictis propemodum ordinibus appareat
 : exceptis paucis et ualde paucis. Qui ob amissionem
 tante multitudinis que cotidie prona fuit¹⁹ ad tartara
 tam breuis numeri habentur ut eos quodammodo
 uenerabilis mater ecclesia ut in suo sinu recumbentes
 non uideat. quos solos ueros habet. Quorum ne quis me
 egregiam uitam hominibus²⁰ amabilem²¹. deo que ad
 inamabilem carpere putet. quibus nostra infirmitas
 sacris orationibus ut non penitus collabatur²² quasi
 columnis quibusdam ac fulcris. saluberrimis
 sustentabatur. **.XX.**

Dixi si qua liberius de his immo²³ lugubrius
 cumulo malorum compulsus²⁴. qui seruiunt

9. Id est ambrosium aurelianum qui comes fortis fidelis ueraxque fuit.³

saxones⁸

furtiferos appellat scottos ꝛ pictos.¹²

¹ Previous editors have, in their respective editions, hypercorrected this to *densissimus* despite the fact that *s* and *ss* are frequently interchangeable in medieval Latin orthography. ² In his edition, Gale omits the X reading in favor of *aluearii*. ³ Stevenson omits this gloss from his edition. ⁴ Both Stevenson and Gale render this as *usquequaque*; compare with the variant *usque quaque* recorded by Mommsen. See DMLBS *usquequaque* which gives *usque quaque* as a headword variant. ⁵ Here the scribe employed a smaller majuscule R and N within the name Aureliano. It is unclear why, though it was perhaps an effort to make use of the rest of the line before the column break. ⁶ In the *Monumenta* reprint of Gale's edition, the apparatus incorrectly records *come* as the reading for X. ⁷ Despite i and e being interchangeable in medieval Latin, both Gale and Stevenson silently emend this to *soboles* while Mommsen records the X spelling in his apparatus. However, Mommsen silently emends the first syllable of his critical reading to *suboles* according to Classical usage against all manuscript witnesses—including C which reads *sob[...]* ⁸ This gloss is omitted by Stevenson. While recorded in the Gale apparatus, it is associated with *hostes* two sentences later. ⁹ The expansion of *plium* in X is uncertain. Mommsen appears to have silently followed C's reading *proelium*. P Q and Gale record *praelium* in their editions. Compare Stevenson's *praelium*. See also Latham *praelium*, p. 367 ¹⁰ Both Gale and Stevenson normalize to *presentem* in their editions presumably following Vergil and Joscelin, *c.f.* Latham *presens* and DMLBS *praeesse*. The repetition of *dominus* may have been a gloss previously situated above *eum* that was absorbed into the main body of the text. See my discussion of absorbed glosses in my chapters 2 and 3. ¹¹ Neither Gale nor Stevenson report the correct reading of X in their editions. Instead, they report *strage*. ¹² For the orthography of *furtiferos*, see DMLBS *furcifer*. This gloss is misreported by both Stevenson and Gale. ¹³ Stevenson omits both of these glosses from his edition while Gale renders them as a single gloss *anni uel uno*. ¹⁴ Gale's erroneously characterizes *patriae* as an addition by Joscelin. ¹⁵ Both Gale and Stevenson emend this to *squalent* and fail to note the X reading in their notes. DMBLS records *scolor* as a variant of *squalor* which suggests this is an unrecorded Insular variant of *squaleo*. ¹⁵ In this passage, *extremis* (as against *externis*) appears to be used in the sense of *outermost* or *remotest* which I have rendered in English as *foreign*. ¹⁶ In his edition, Mommsen prints *quique* after *suum* on the strength of CPDQ. In his apparatus, he notes the omission from X; he does not, however, note the variant *quisque* that appears in A. ¹⁷ The expansion is uncertain. See note 9 above. ¹⁸ Stevenson silently emends to *ruit*, possibly influenced by Vergil and Joscelin. ¹⁹ Stevenson does not record the variant *omnibus* that is preserved in D, nor does he note that Joscelin and Vergil both prefer this reading. ²⁰ Mommsen records *omnibus* in CDPQ with both X and A offering *hominibus*. ²¹ *Amabilem* as a variant for *admirabilem* is not uncommon. The usage in X is an earlier attestation than those that appear in DMLBS. ²² Mommsen does not record this reading in his apparatus. ²³ The reading *immo* appears in C and is represented in X against all other authorities which Mommsen notes as showing *imo*. ²⁴ *Compulsus* is found in C. All authorities except for Mommsen present this as *compulsus*.

among the nations.” Others, fortified by steep, menacing, mountainous high grounds, and in the densest forests, and in the crags of the sea, consigning their way of life (always with a wary disposition), stood firm – though anxious – in the land. **.XVIII.**

With time intervening, therefore, when the most savage plunderers finally had retired ^{of the Britons} homewards, the survivors

were strengthened by the Lord. To join whom, the most miserable country folk fled from every direction, from diverse locations, as eagerly as bees to a beehive when a storm threatens. Simultaneously begging God for mercy with whole heart and, as it is said, “burdening heaven with prayers innumerable,” ^{9.} so they might not be slaughtered everywhere to the point of extermination.

Their commander was Ambrosius Aurelianus, a virtuous man who alone, as luck would have it, was a strong, faithful, and honest comrade of Roman descent who had survived the shock of such a great calamity – after his parents, clothed in the purple (to be sure), were slain in it; one whose offspring now has greatly degenerated from ancestral integrity in our times. They gather their strength, challenging the conquerors to battle. With, as a result of prayer, God assenting, the victory was granted ^{that is to whom} to them. And, from that time, sometimes the country folk – sometimes the enemies – were victorious, so that with regard to that people, the Lord (after His usual way) might put to the test this modern Jerusalem whether they might love Him or not up to the year of the siege of

Mons Badonicus, which is found [or, is considered to be] near the Severn’s mouth – the latest massacres (and by no means the least) of these kinds of rascals – and which ^{or it begins} begins, as I know, the forty-fourth year ^{or with one} (with the first ^{of a year} month measured out), which, before the present day, is

also the time of my birth. But, indeed, in our time, the towns of the land are not inhabited as before, but til now, deserted and overthrown, they lie in waste with foreign wars ceasing notwithstanding, but yet not the civil [wars].

.XVIII.

Nevertheless, there remained fixed, as a matter of fact, a calling to mind of the desperate destruction of the island and unexpected

relief in their memory, those who are witnesses of each amazing event. And, after this, kings, magistrates and private person, priests, ecclesiastics preserved their own class. But after those having died, ^{to death} when, ignorant of the former tempest, an age had followed with experience only of the present serenity and righteousness, thus with all the means of governing truth and justice having been shaken and subverted, so that virtually no trace of them can be said – not even a memorial – to appear among the aforementioned classes – except a few, exceedingly few.

Those who (on account of the loss of such a great multitude, who daily have stooped toward hell) are reckoned of such a small number so that, in a certain sense, the holy mother church does not see them reclining in her lap, as it were, she considers them alone true. Of these, no one ought think me to vilify their exceptional lives as almost disagreeable to God and admirable to men, by whose holy prayers, just like certain pillars or props most conducive to salvation, without which my weakness might totally collapse, it has been supported for the well-being of the soul. **.XX.**

If I spoke with any more frankness (really I should say more sorrow), compelled by a heap of evils, about those who are not only slaves to the stomach, but to the devil rather

Indeed, Gildas himself composed an extensive book concerning the kings of Britain and their battles, but because he reproached them greatly in that book, they themselves have burned the book.

9.
It is Ambrosius Aurelianus who was a brave, faithful, and truthful nobleman

The Saxons

He calls the Scotti and Picts rascals

non solum uentri: sed diabolo potius quam christo. qui
est benedictus super omnia deus in secula. non tam
disceptauero quam defleuero. quippe quid celebrant
ciues que non solum norunt. sed exprobrant iam in
circuitu nationes. Sed ante promissum deo uolente
pauca de situ. de contumacia ac duro famulatu. de
religione. de persecutione. de sanctis martyribus. de
diuersis heresibus. de tyrannis. de duabus gentibus
uictricibus. de defensione itemque uastatione. de
secunda ultione. terciisque⁵ uastatione. de fame. de
epistolis ad agitium. de uictoria. de sceleribus⁶ de
nunciatis hostibus subito. de famosa peste. de
consilio. de seuitione⁷ multo primis hoste. de urbium
subuersione. de reliquiis. de postrema uictoria patrie. que
postrema uictoria temporibus nostris dei nutu donata
dicere CURABO.

Explicit liber GilDE sapientis de excidio BRITANNIE. et
britonum†

Historiam gylde. cormac sic perlege scriptam.

†exulacione.⁸ ~

Doctoris digitis. sensu cultuque redACTAM.

Hec tenues superat. multos carpitque SUPERBOS.

[f]icit nanque¹ ipse
gilde [lib]rum mag-
num de regibus [bri-
(t?)]tonum 7 de
proeliis² eorum.
[sed] [q]uia uituper-
auit eos mul[tu]m
in illo libro. incende
[ru]nt ipsi librum
illum.

insule³ gentis⁴

¹ In reporting this gloss, Stevenson silently emends the reading *nanque* (which appears repeatedly in X) to *namque*. ²The expansion is uncertain. See the discussion in notes 9 and 17 on page 26; the mark of suspension, however, is slightly different from that used in the main text. Whether this is evidence that the glosses were added by a later glossator or simply the work of the scribe copying the glosses exactly as they appeared in the exemplar is unclear. ^{3,4}Stevenson omits both of these glosses from his edition. They appear in Petrie's revision of Gale. ⁵Both Stevenson and Petrie normalize the *tercia* to *tertia* in their text. ⁶In their respective editions, Petrie and Stevenson insert a comma and space after *sceleribus* to supply a modern interpretation of a *punctus* omitted by the scribe. ⁷This appears to be a *bapax legomenon* for "with ferocity". ⁸Here both Petrie and Stevenson intervene to normalize *exulacione* to *exulacione* and presents this after *britonum* in their texts despite it appearing two lines down as a convenient line filler with a *signe de renvoi*.

than to Christ, who is God over all things,
blessed through the ages, I shall not have judged
so much as I shall have mourned. To be sure,
why do the people of the country celebrate what
the nations of this region not only know but
already reprove? But, before the promised
thing—God willing!—a few words on the
of the island of the people
location, about her disobedience, and harsh
slavery; about religion, persecution, the holy
martyrs, diverse heresies, tyrants, and two
ravaging nations; about the first devastation, the
defense, and a second retribution, a third
devastation, and a famine; about letters to
Agitius, a victory, wickedness, enemies suddenly
reported, an infamous plague, a council, an
enemy of much greater ferocity than the first,
the destruction of cities, concerning the
survivors, and about the final victory of our
country bestowed in our time by the will of
God, I SHALL UNDERTAKE to say.

**The book of GILDAS the Wise on the ruin OF
BRITAIN and the exile of the Britons is ended.**

The account of Gildas, thus written by Cormac,
read it through!

By the fingers of this scholar, with sense and
polish RENDERED

He has excluded these unimportant things and
gathered many DISTINGUISHED ONES.