

**Department of History  
University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire**

**“HIC FACET ARTHURUS, REX QUONDAM, REXQUE FUTURUS”  
THE ANALYSIS OF ORIGINAL MEDIEVAL SOURCES  
IN THE SEARCH FOR THE HISTORICAL KING ARTHUR**

**Final Paper  
History 489: Research Seminar  
Professor Thomas Miller  
Cooperating Professor:  
Professor Matthew Waters**

**By  
Erin Pevan**

**November 21, 2006**

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The stories of Arthurian literary tradition have provided our modern age with gripping tales of chivalry, adventure, and betrayal. King Arthur remains a hero of legend in the annals of the British Isles. However, one question remains: did King Arthur actually exist? Early medieval historical sources provide clues that have identified various figures that may have been the template for King Arthur. Such candidates such as the second century Roman general Lucius Artorius Castus, the fifth century Breton leader Riothamus, and the sixth century British leader Ambrosius Aurelianus hold high esteem as possible candidates for the historical King Arthur. Through the analysis of original sources and authors such as the *Easter Annals*, Nennius, Bede, Gildas, and the *Annales Cambriae*, parallels can be established which connect these historical figures to aspects of the Arthur of literary tradition.

**“And there was he sworn unto his lords and the commons for to be a true king, to stand  
with true justice from thenceforth the days of his life.”  
– Sir Thomas Malory, *Le Morte d’Arthur***

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## **Introduction: The Legend of King Arthur**

The heroic tales of the legendary King Arthur have survived throughout many centuries. Modern society has learned of this celebrated figure through oral and literary tradition, such as the works of Geoffrey of Monmouth's pseudo-history *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Sir Thomas Malory's romantic epic *Le Morte d'Arthur* and medieval Arthurian poetry. The King Arthur of these works filled the role of a victorious leader and passionate protector of his kingdom. Along with these stories of romance, a question has persisted within the literary tradition. Are the stories of King Arthur, his knights, their adventures, and Camelot just fanciful tales, or did these people and places actually exist? Scholars have often debated and rejected the chance of such a literary figure existing, and the legends became little more than a story. However, with the amount of historical evidence that has demonstrated the possibility of a historical Arthurian figure, there remains no reason to assume such a person only existed in myth. The examination of early British and Welsh medieval sources reveals important connections between the benevolent King Arthur of legend and a real historical figure who exemplified the role of a great military leader in times of great political turmoil. While the possibilities for a historical King Arthur abound, through the words of medieval Arthurian contemporaries the famed hero of literary legend came to life.

## **Arthurian Romance**

### **Sir Thomas Malory: *Le Morte d'Arthur***

The story of King Arthur as told in *Le Morte d'Arthur*, by Sir Thomas Malory, has presented the most popular version of the Arthurian legend known to most people. Arthurian scholars have believed that Malory composed this work to illustrate the problems of England at

the time of the War of the Roses. Written between 1450 and 1470 C.E., this story chronicled the entire life of the legendary King Arthur, from his birth to his mysterious death.<sup>1</sup> Malory's story began with the conception of Arthur, the product of a forbidden affair between Arthur's father Uther Pendragon, and Igraine, the wife of Uther's enemy Gorlois, the duke of Cornwall. Merlin, Uther's trusted advisor, sent Arthur away to live with Sir Ector, a lord in the lands of King Uther, in order to hide the identity of the child.

Upon the death of Uther, Arthur soon learned the truth of his lineage. Uther declared, just before his death, that the true heir to his throne would be able to pull his sword from a stone located at a church in London. During a New Year's Day Joust, Sir Kay, foster brother to Arthur, revealed that Arthur pulled the sword from the stone. Sir Ector told Arthur the truth of his parentage and his rightful place as king. The Archbishop and other lords tried to delay the coronation, and they made Arthur repeatedly pull the sword from the stone, hoping to wait until a later holiday to crown Arthur king. However, by Pentecost the Archbishop crowned Arthur the King of England.<sup>2</sup>

The rest of Malory's work told of the adventures of King Arthur, his Knights of the Round Table, and Merlin, his trusted advisor. The most popular of the stories included Arthur's marriage to Guinevere, the quest for the Holy Grail, the adventures of Sir Tristram (or Tristan) the life and madness of Sir Launcelot (or Lancelot), the adulterous affair between Guinevere and Launcelot, the birth and strife of Mordred, and the death of Arthur and his journey to Avalon. Malory divided these stories into twenty-one books, with the total sum of five hundred and four chapters.

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Malory, *Le Morte d'Arthur*, (New York, NY: The Modern Library, Random House Inc., 1999), xi.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-12.

## **The *Mabinogion***

In addition to the popular stories of Malory, Welsh tradition also included tales of Arthur. Many poems and bardic stories are dedicated to Arthur. *Culhwch and Olwen*, from the Welsh collection of folktales called the *Mabinogion*, served as one of the earliest Arthurian stories.<sup>3</sup> Written in the eleventh century and based on an even older oral tale, this story of tragic love took place at the court of Arthur in Wales, and made Culhwch the cousin of Arthur.<sup>4</sup> Culhwch found himself cursed by his stepmother for refusing to marry her daughter. Thereafter, his stepmother only allowed him to marry the daughter, Olwen, of a local giant. The giant ordered Culhwch to perform tasks to prove his worthiness to his daughter, and with the help of Arthur, Culhwch succeeded and married Olwen. Later in another part of the *Mabinogion*, Arthur reappeared in *The Dream of Rhonabwy*, fighting in the Welsh countryside.<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that the tales of the *Mabinogion* did not specifically call Arthur a king. Rather, Arthur lived more as a regional military leader. This seemingly slight omission of the word “king” made a difference when looking for the historical King Arthur. By not addressing Arthur as a king, the *Mabinogion* provided a clue that the historical King Arthur may not have been a king at all.

## **Geoffrey of Monmouth: *Historia Regum Britanniae***

In addition to *Le Morte d'Arthur* and the *Mabinogion*, the work *Historia Regum Britanniae*, or the *History of the Kings of Britain*, provided a detailed account of the lives of the

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<sup>3</sup> Author unknown, *The Mabinogion*, Trans. Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones, North Clarendon, VT: Everyman Library, 1949. Revised, 1974), 80.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., ix.

<sup>5</sup> See a portion of *The Dream of Rhonabwy* reproduced online at <http://www.britannia.com/history/docs/rhonabwy.html>. Translated by Jeffrey Gantz.



kings of Britain from 1115 B.C.E. to 689 C.E.<sup>6</sup> According to this work, the foundation of the British line of kings dated back to the Roman Brutus, son of the Trojan War hero Aeneas. This piece, penned by Geoffrey of Monmouth between 1136 and 1138, served as a source for the romanticized legend of Arthur by Malory. Having completed his work in southeast Wales, the mythological realm of King Arthur, Geoffrey of Monmouth used sources from such authors as Gildas, Nennius, Bede, and the *Annales Cambriae*. Despite its claim as a source that has completely recorded the British royal lineage, some scholars of Arthurian sources, such as Steven Blake and Scott Lloyd, have asserted that much of the information is unsubstantiated. Others have claimed that the *Historia* served more as a propagandistic tool to attest to the political legitimacy of the patrons of Geoffrey of Monmouth. The information presented in the *Historia* seemed more as an earlier work of fiction or as a pseudo-history of British kings.

According to Geoffrey of Monmouth, Arthur became king upon the death of his father, Utherpendragon. Chosen by the Archbishop and the leaders of the British provinces, Arthur soon assembled an army of the provinces to quell the increasing threat of the Saxon advance.<sup>7</sup> Later in the *Historia*, Arthur also led campaigns against the Picts, Scots, and Irish when the leaders of these groups began to invade England. Geoffrey of Monmouth also spent a great deal of his text on Arthur's battles in Gaul, fighting against the Romans.<sup>8</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of the reign of Arthur ended with Arthur's death at the Battle of Camblan. Here, a mortally wounded Arthur killed his nephew and son Mordred. Thereafter he sailed off to the Isle of Avalon, implying the possibility of his return.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, Trans. Lewis Thorpe, (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1966), 286-288.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 213.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 230-58.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 261.

The life of the real historical Arthur, if such existed, resembled very little of the life of the legendary hero. The real Arthur most likely came from a time in the later fifth century, when Britain suffered invasions from Saxons, Scots, and Picts after the departure of the Roman forces in 410 C.E. In this world, no Round Table or romantic intrigues existed; Arthur's world saw much hardship, blood, tyranny, and death. The real Arthur existed as a figure far removed from the chivalrous king of Malory's story, and he led a life protecting the people of Britain from invasion.

### **Searching for a Historical King Arthur**

If people have best known King Arthur as a legendary hero, why, then, do scholars spend copious amounts of time searching for a real person? There have been many reasons. Not only have Arthurian scholars such as Geoffrey Ashe or Norma Lorre Goodrich wished to find a historical truth to the legend of King Arthur, but people throughout the history of Britain have tried to connect this legend to a piece of their true history.

Geoffrey of Monmouth had many motives for the production of his work, the *Historia Regum Britanniae*. For Britain, he created a work of history to provide information about the history of pre-Roman Britain.<sup>10</sup> He also wanted to create a lineage of the Britons that traced back to Brutus, the son of the Trojan hero, Aeneas, thus giving the nation of Britain a classical origin.<sup>11</sup> Also, by tracing the British line to Brutus, he explained the origin of the name of their nation. He traced the line of kings from Brutus to his own time period, and in this line included Arthur.<sup>12</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth likely wanted to include this popular hero within the lineage

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<sup>10</sup> Steve Blake, & Scott Lloyd, *Pendragon: The Definitive Account of the Origins of Arthur*, (Guilford, CT: The Globe Pequot Press, 2004. Reprint, 2006), 32.

<sup>11</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, Trans. Lewis Thorpe, 55.

<sup>12</sup> See Appendix I on page 44.

of his people to demonstrate the greatness of the British kings. The tales of Arthur spread throughout the medieval world, and many other nations admired the deeds of this king. By claiming this great hero as a real British king, Geoffrey created a powerful propaganda tool for Britain that glorified the kings and subjects of Britain through association. Even though his history has since been shown as more a work of fiction or piece of propaganda, Geoffrey nonetheless planted the seeds for the search for a true King Arthur.<sup>13</sup>

Historical sources clearly described a person, whether a king, British general, or Roman warlord, fitting in the time period and historical context accepted for the historical Arthur.<sup>14</sup> Many have tried to dismiss Arthur as purely fictional, and the product of medieval legend. However, a number of coincidental parallels matched between the legends and the historical sources, and they could not be dismissed as simply the product of a fictionalized story. The names of Arthur's battles as listed in sources such as Nennius' *Historia Britonum* promoted the search for connections to actual locations. Many of these battle sites had names that resembled many modern names. Despite continuous research, the exact locations for many of these sites have remained unknown.<sup>15</sup>

Scholars have taken many different approaches to studying the historical King Arthur. While some scholars, such as Geoffrey Ashe, relied specifically upon the earliest of Arthurian historical sources, others studied additional historical material that fits within the context of the Arthurian legend. Scholars Steve Blake and Scott Lloyd focused attention on other historical figures that fit the right time period and description of Arthur. They wanted to move beyond the consideration of people who had the name *Arthur* or '*Art(h)*' in their name.<sup>16</sup> Choosing

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<sup>13</sup> Blake & Lloyd, 33.

<sup>14</sup> Blake & Lloyd, 142.

<sup>15</sup> See the section on Nennius on page 22 to get a list of possible present-day locations of Arthurian places.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 144.

historical figures with *Art(h)* in their name seemed logical at first, but not all historical people with this prefix could fit the mold of the legendary King Arthur. Similarly, there existed many historical figures without this linguistic flag who could have been Arthur. Therefore, scholars searched through the books of British and Welsh history to find a person who fit a description of Arthur based on the stories of Malory and Geoffrey of Monmouth.

### **Common Names in Arthurian tradition**

In the search for a real King Arthur, many names repeatedly appeared throughout the sources. It is important to understand what these names signify in the context of the Arthurian legend and the historical King Arthur. The first names were of the three men most commonly presented as the historical King Arthur: Ambrosius Aurelianus, Lucius Artorius Castus, and Riothamus.<sup>17</sup>

Some scholars have contended that Ambrosius Aurelianus (or in some sources Aurelius Ambrosius), who lived in the later fifth century, could be a candidate for the historical King Arthur. According to historical sources that will be discussed later in this paper, Ambrosius was a British military leader during the invasions of the Saxons in the fifth century. He may have led the British to victory in the Battle of Badon Hill, which saw the defeat of the Saxons; however, the sources did not expressly identify him as the leader. Geoffrey of Monmouth listed Ambrosius as one of the kings of Britain and also made him a brother to Uther Pendragon, Arthur's father.

Additional Arthurian scholars have considered Lucius Artorius Castus, a Roman *dux*, or leader, of the second century as a second candidate for the historical King Arthur. Sources

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<sup>17</sup> Other people certainly do exist that could qualify as candidates for the historical King Arthur; however, the source material most readily available provides the most evidence for these three candidates.

traditionally associated with a historical Arthur did not specifically write Lucius' name within their text; rather, Lucius Artorius Castus' name came only from three small inscriptions found off the coast of modern-day Dalmatia.<sup>18</sup> Around 185 or 186, Lucius Artorius Castus commanded the VI Legion Victrix, which had been assigned by the Roman emperor to defend the northern borders of the Roman Empire from Celtic and Pictish tribes that lived beyond Hadrian's Wall.<sup>19</sup> A soldier of the equestrian class with possible Celtic heritage, Lucius Artorius Castus lived as a firm but benevolent leader who led his legion and others against many rebellions and invasions in southern Britain.

The last candidate to be considered as the historical King Arthur lived in the fifth century, a British king named Riothamus, a name which itself means "High King".<sup>20</sup> The Roman bishop Sidonius Apollinaris wrote a letter, which still survives, to Riothamus asking for his help in stopping a rebellion of the Bretons living in Gaul. Riothamus also campaigned twice in Gaul against the invading Visigoths at the request of the Roman Emperor Anthemius, but was defeated in his battles and retreated to a town called Avallon in Burgundy.<sup>21</sup>

In addition to the names of possible candidates for King Arthur, the specific names of battles formed a large part in understanding the connection between the legendary and historical Arthur. Many of the historical sources in the Arthurian tradition associated the Battle of Mount Badon, or Badon Hill, with Arthur as one of his first victories as a leader. According to one of the earliest Arthurian historical sources by Gildas, Ambrosius Aurelianus defeated the Saxons at this battle and forced them from Britain. Other historical sources following Gildas, which will

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<sup>18</sup> C. Scott Littleton, & Linda A. Malcor, *From Scythia to Camelot: A Radical Reassessment of the Legends of King Arthur, the Knights of the Round Table, and the Holy Grail*, (New York, NY: Garland Publishing Inc., 2000), 62.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 64.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 66.

be discussed later in the paper, also connected Arthur to the Battle of Mount Badon. Although scholarly research has not connect the specific name of “Badon” to any battle within the works of Monmouth or Malory (because it is not specifically mentioned in either of these two works), the fact that many of the historical Arthurian sources connected this battle with their information on Arthur has made this battle a very important component of understanding the historical King Arthur.

The second of the most important events within Arthurian tradition is the Battle of Camlann. This battle, according to Welsh tradition, started from an argument between Arthur’s wife Gwenhwyfar and her sister, and from the treacherous acts of Mordred.<sup>22</sup> Arthur fought his enemy Mordred and was seriously wounded. Arthur took a spear from one of his surviving allies, Lucan, and attacked Mordred, impaling him. Mordred dealt one last blow to Arthur’s head, cracking Arthur’s skull before he fell to the ground. Arthur ordered Bedivere, his only other surviving ally, to throw his sword Excalibur into the lake. Shortly thereafter, Arthur was carried off to the Isle of Avalon, although the tradition did not confirm whether or not Arthur died. This battle signified the end of Arthur’s reign. According to popular legend, Arthur will return when Britain is most in need of his help. Arthur’s last words to Bedivere suggested his eventual return: “for I will into the vale of Avilion to heal me of my grievous wound”.<sup>23</sup>

### **Problems in Arthurian Source Material**

Researching the origins of the Arthurian legends has proved to be difficult. The earliest of the traditions were passed down orally, thus creating a problem regarding the historicity of

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<sup>22</sup> Also called Medrod in earlier translations of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia Regum Britanniae*.

<sup>23</sup> Sir Thomas Malory, *Le Morte d’Arthur*, Trans. J.M. Dent, (London: Everyman’s Library, 2 vols, 1906): Vol. II, 386-7.

their content. The written sources all contained their own problems, many of which have hindered understanding of the information they provided.

Trying to establish the validity of the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth started with the sources he used for his manuscript. Because his work provided the foundation for much of the modern-day understanding of King Arthur, it is important to attempt to determine the accuracy of his information. In addition to using early Arthurian sources such as Gildas' *De Excidio Britanniae*, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, and Nennius' *Historia Britonum*, which in themselves do not relay specific information about Arthur, Geoffrey of Monmouth also used a source he called "*librum istum Britannici sermonis quem Gualterus Oxenfordensis archidiaconus ex Britania aduexit*", or "the book in the British tongue which Walter Archdeacon of Oxford brought from Britannia."<sup>24</sup> He also claimed to have translated this source himself. Here, there are a number of problems in the source material used to find a historical King Arthur.

First and foremost, the location of his manuscript remains unknown, and scholars have questioned the existence of this book due to the inconsistencies between the information supposedly provided by this manuscript and other works, such as Gildas' *De Excidio Britanniae*, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, and Nennius' *Historia Britonum*.<sup>25</sup> If this early manuscript, most likely written in Welsh, did in fact serve as a source for Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, scholars have been unable to locate it.<sup>26</sup> Second, many scholars have claimed Geoffrey of Monmouth simply made up the entire book in order to use a supposedly ancient original source as a way to legitimize the information within his work.<sup>27</sup> Finally,

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<sup>24</sup> Blake & Lloyd, 36.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 37.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 37.

Geoffrey of Monmouth's work itself has questionable information and references, implying that he created a history in order to fill gaps that the original sources did not provide. Medieval scholars tended to be very liberal in the transmission of their text. Many changed the contents as they pleased, usually to glorify their allies or to omit undesirable and even humiliating information. Because of these reasons, scholars have questioned the accuracy of his work, and tracing his sources to original text on King Arthur has become all the more difficult.

Medieval sources, in general, created many problems in scholarly research. The early medieval period was not called the Dark Ages for nothing; scholars know little information about this period, and very little reliable written evidence has survived about the history of events in Britain during the early medieval period. Many other sources were almost certainly destroyed, whether destroyed by a conquering nation or by accident.<sup>28</sup> Scholars often have had a difficult time reading medieval sources, due to inconsistent spellings and poor writing skills, and many recovered documents often record things in ways contradictory to each other and older sources.<sup>29</sup> Also, no single account of the Dark Ages exists. Even when dealing with literature strictly on King Arthur, there are only fragments from many different sources.

Despite the problems in source material, the search for King Arthur remains possible. While Ambrosius Aurelianus, Lucius Artorius Castus, and Riothamus may not specifically be mentioned within all the historical sources traditionally attributed to the Arthurian legends, the events of their lives corresponded to the events described within the sources. The accomplishments and battles of these men have made a connection to the Arthur of Sir Thomas Malory and Geoffrey of Monmouth. Therefore, this paper will examine historical sources such as the Easter Annals, Gildas' *De Excidio Britanniae*, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis*

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<sup>28</sup> Norma Lorre Goodrich, *King Arthur*, (New York, NY: Franklin Watts, Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1986), 6.

<sup>29</sup> Blake & Lloyd, 146.



*Anglorum*, Nennius' *Historia Britonum*, and the *Annales Cambriae* in order to establish connections between the legend and the historical King Arthur.

## **Examining Historical Arthurian Source Material**

### **Easter Annals**

Since written historical documents of the Middle Ages rarely concerned themselves with the actual time of the event and/or person in question, determining the time period of the events in these poems and legends is difficult. The very reality of the poem or legend often has come into question as well. This type of problem often occurred within documents pertaining to Arthurian history. The problems with medieval chronology are evident in documents called the Easter Annals. These documents originated in the late fifth century.<sup>30</sup> While no known author is documented, they were generally attributed to a scribe named Victorius of Aquitaine. These documents have remained most important in the search for a historical King Arthur, because of their influence upon later historical sources.

Medieval scholars recorded yearly events in documents called the Easter Annals.<sup>31</sup> According to scholar Elizabeth Jenkins, the Easter Annals recorded the only real factual evidence of the existence of King Arthur.<sup>32</sup> The inconsistent methods used in recording the events of the annals, however, make accurate dating of events and people difficult. Basically, the beginning of a year started during the feast of Easter, hence the name of the records. The confusion of years and dates increased in medieval British records because of the increasing influence of Rome and the Catholic Church. This increasing influence caused a change in the old Roman and

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<sup>30</sup> Richard Barber, *The Figure of Arthur*, (London: Longman Group Limited, 1972), 40.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Elizabeth Jenkins, *The Mystery of King Arthur*, (New York, NY: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan Inc., 1975), 27.

early Christian recording methods and introduced a new way to keep track of the yearly cycle. The Roman Catholic Church's increasing power demonstrated itself in the Synod of Whitby in 664, where the Celtic Church was reconciled with the Roman Catholic Church. One of the results of the synod was the introduction of the Easter Annals to the British Isles. This system became the standard by which events were recorded and transmitted. By this time, the British Isles were using a chronology based on a system that dated the years from the birth of Jesus. This system, however, contained its own problems. Many locals continued to be confused by the new Roman Catholic system, due to the existing misunderstandings with the old Roman system, which was based on the founding of Rome in 753 B.C.E.

More complications arose from the calculation methods of certain feasts, around which the rest of the year was arranged. The tables calculated the feast of Easter, which moved every year. Medieval records often based the beginning of the year on the feast of Easter. Therefore, since this holiday moved, each year began at a different date from the previous year. The fact that this holiday moved created confusion for many people who remained unsure of the correct year after the Roman system fell into disuse.

Many medieval historians then took it upon themselves to determine their own methods of dating events. This caused a variation in starting points, or the year determined as "Year 1" in records. Many records started Year 1 as the year of the birth of Jesus. Some dated Year 1 as the year the annals started. Upon the determining the date of the Easter feast, the chronicler arranged the rest of the annals into columns. Important events were recorded in the far right column. However, due to the variances in "Year 1" dates and the moving Easter feast day, many annals recording the same events have differences of many years. To add to the disarray, the Roman Catholic Church often created new calculation tables from which to determine the date of

the Easter feast. Events that occurred contemporarily to the introduction of the new calculation tables were given their date based on the new system, and the older events were simply added to the new tables with their original dates. However, the new calculation tables may have changed the date of the older events. In other cases, the old events were added with newly calculated dates, often losing the original date in the process. This explained the reason for the differences in many years between the dates of many different sets of annals.

One of the problems in dealing with a time period for the life of the historical King Arthur has come from this indefinite chronology. An example is presented in the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Geoffrey of Monmouth dates the death of Arthur to the mid-sixth century; however, it is quite possible he would have meant to place Arthur's death in the year 470, because the dates in many of Geoffrey of Monmouth's sources suffered from the changes introduced by the newly calculated tables. Arriving at this particular date would probably mean that Geoffrey of Monmouth had used Victorius of Aquitaine as the source for the chronology. This particular scholar provides Year 1 as the first year following the Passion of Christ, rather than the birth of Jesus. It should be noted that other Arthurian references used a similar type of dating as well. For example, such works as *Legend of St. Goeznovius* and the *Historia Anglorum* by Henry of Huntingdon place the historical Arthur between the years of 527 and 530. The *Chronicon Montis Sancti Michaelis in Periculo Maris* dates Arthur to 421. What does this all mean? By factoring in the possibility of using the Victorius method of chronology, the time period for the historical King Arthur can be approximated as the late fifth and early sixth centuries. This period provided a number of candidates who could fill the role as the historical King Arthur.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Littleton & Malcor, 62. See the previous section starting on page 7 for information on candidates for the historical Arthur.

Yet another example of problems with Arthurian chronology has come from documents known as the Historical Miscellany, currently in the British Museum in London. These documents included a set of Easter Tables, which contain two entries pertaining to King Arthur. The date of the first entry is debatable, as the scribe who produced the annals chose as “Year 1” the year the annals began. This particular record referenced the Battle of Badon Hill, a popular battle examined throughout most of known Arthurian literature. This entry said that “[The] Battle of Badon, in which Arthur carried the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ on his shoulders for three days and three nights and the Britons were victors.”<sup>34</sup> Scholars have determined that the date of this entry falls in either 499 or 518. The reason for the two different dates is based on the point of reference; if the reference point chosen is based on the Year 1 of the annals, the date of the Battle of Badon Hill could have been 499. If the reference point chosen is the next battle, the Battle of Camlann, by determining the amount of years between the battles the date of Badon Hill could have been 518.<sup>35</sup>

The second entry provided the date 539, and references the Battle of Camlann. According to Arthurian romantic literature, this battle resulted in the death of Arthur. This entry said “The Battle of Camlann, in which Arthur and Mordred perished. And there was plague in Britain and Ireland.”<sup>36</sup> These two short statements provided a key point of evidence in determining a specific time period for King Arthur. Their stated years have corresponded closely to other early Arthurian sources that speak of the same battles. For example, the mid-tenth century document *Annales Cambriae* placed the Battle of Badon Hill in 516, and the Battle of

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<sup>34</sup> Jenkins, 28.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

Camlann in 537.<sup>37</sup> The dates between these two documents are almost the same. If the date chosen from the Easter Annals for the Battle of Badon Hill is 518, then the dates between the sources are consistently off by two years. This could mean that the authors who recorded these sources knew of the timeline, but their systems of calculating exact years may have differed slightly. The Battle of Badon Hill could have been a place along the route of the Saxon invasion in the late fifth and early sixth centuries. This very battle could also be the reason the Saxon advance from Kent to Essex stopped around the year 500.<sup>38</sup> Because these annals recorded the events of the Middle Ages and point to actual battles, these two entries could be the most important evidence of a historical King Arthur.

### **Gildas: *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae***

Another source to be considered of historical value in the search for a real King Arthur is *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae*, believed to have been written circa 530-540 by a northern British monk named Gildas.<sup>39</sup> While the work did not specifically mention the name “Arthur”, it provided valuable information about the state of Britain following the retreat of the Roman occupation and the following attacks of Saxon tribes. Gildas spent much of the work criticizing the affairs of Britain after the Romans, and in particular focused upon the tyranny of Britain’s kings.<sup>40</sup>

The entire work provided very little solid information regarding the legend of Arthur. However, two chapters referred, in brief, to two important ideas commonly associated with the search for a real King Arthur. Gildas introduced one of the first candidates for the historical King

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74.<sup>37</sup> Author unknown, *Annales Cambriae*, Trans. Richard Rowley, (Cribyn, Lampeter: Llanerch Press, 2004),

<sup>38</sup> Jenkins, 28.

<sup>39</sup> Blake & Lloyd, 175.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

Arthur, Ambrosius Aurelianus, in Chapter 25. Later, in Chapter 26, Gildas acknowledged, briefly, the victory of the Britons at the Battle of Mount Badon.<sup>41</sup> In this work, Gildas approached four main points that provide clues into the reality of a historical King Arthur.

The first point involved the time period in which the action of the narrative occurred. Gildas did not identify a specific year, but he did provide context for the time period about which he wrote. He stated in Chapter 25 that the Britons had been suffering from invasions of the Saxons. Historically, archaeological evidence suggested the Saxons invasions occurred around the time of the Roman withdrawal from the British Isles around the later fifth century.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, the time period of the events that are described in this source can be placed around the fifth century. Not only did the information about the Saxon invasions aid in pinpointing a possible time period, this information provided a connection between the work of Gildas and the later Arthurian literary works *Historia Regum Britanniae* by Geoffrey of Monmouth and Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur*. According to the Arthurian stories of Malory and Geoffrey of Monmouth, King Arthur led many battles against invading enemies (in Malory's work, the Romans, and in Monmouth's work, the Saxons) in order to protect his kingdom of Camelot. Since Gildas discussed events that occur in the literary works, his work can be used as a clue into the actions of the man who could have been the historical Arthur.

In Chapter 25, Gildas used the name Ambrosius Aurelianus, one of the first sources to use the name. He asserted this man was a leader and, "by chance alone of the Roman nation had survived in the shock of so great a calamity – his parents, undoubtedly of royal rank, having perished in the same disaster...."<sup>43</sup> These statements alone provide clues to a connection

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<sup>41</sup> Richard L. Brengle, *Arthur King of Britain: History, Chronicle, Romance, & Criticism with Texts in Modern English, from Gildas to Malory*, (New York, NY: Meredith Publishing Company, 1964), 3-4.

<sup>42</sup> Blake & Lloyd, 146.

<sup>43</sup> Brengle, 3.

between the legendary King Arthur and the historical Ambrosius Aurelianus. King Arthur, born of royal blood, came out of the union between King Uther Pendragon and Igraine, Queen of Cornwall.<sup>44</sup> Since this man Ambrosius Aurelianus, as spoken of in Gildas, also possibly came from a royal lineage, it would be logical to conclude that, in connection with the events described in Gildas and the given time period, Ambrosius Aurelianus could possibly be the historical Arthur.

The last important part of Gildas' work disclosed, in Chapter 26, the "sieging of Mount Badon".<sup>45</sup> In this statement, Gildas mentioned one of the most important battles in the Arthurian legend. In his work, Gildas called the battle *obsessio Badonici montis*, or the Battle of Mount Badon.<sup>46</sup> He focused on the name of the battle to demonstrate its importance in driving the Saxon forces out of Wales. This battle resulted in driving the Saxons from Britain, and began a time of peace for Britain. This scenario fit well into the Arthurian legends, both those of Malory and Geoffrey of Monmouth, in which Arthur fought for his kingdom. While Gildas did not specifically acknowledge the leader involved in the victory over the Saxons, the name he assigned this battle provides a clue to the historical Arthur. Two other important historical Arthurian sources, the *Annales Cambriae* and Nennius' *Historia Britonum*, also recorded this historical battle in association with a figure carrying the name of Arthur.

Despite the information provided in this source which reflects the nature of a figure fitting the historical King Arthur, many problems remain. Gildas wrote a very small amount about events relating to King Arthur. While the *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae* does provide some very valuable information in the names it mentioned, the source only alluded to the events and people, without going into enough detail. Gildas' purpose was to denounce the kings

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<sup>44</sup> Sir Thomas Malory, (New York, NY: The Modern Library, Random House Inc., 1999), 4.

<sup>45</sup> Brengle, 4.

<sup>46</sup> Jenkins, 28.

of his day.<sup>47</sup> Also, the problem of specific names arose throughout the work. Gildas did not utilize proper names, especially those of people. Like most of the sources of his time, he focused not on the names of the individuals, but upon the actual achievements of the individuals.<sup>48</sup> He discussed the suffering of the Britons in great detail at the hands of the five British kings, but failed to provide any details about the actual people, such as their names or occupations. Therefore, the lack of names provides little direct evidence in tying this source to a historical King Arthur. However, he did point out the name Ambrosius Aurelianus. While this is very important because this figure has often been named the historical Arthur, not much detail was provided about this life of this person to definitively state that he is, in fact, King Arthur.

In addition to the problems with names, Gildas did not provide any evidence to define a time period, despite recalling the invasions of the Saxons. The Saxons invaded Britain for a number of years following the retreat of Rome in 410, leaving a significant gap in which we can establish the historical King Arthur. However, at the end Gildas wrote

Since that period, at one time our countrymen, at another the enemy [the Saxons], were victorious...up to the year of the besieging of Mount Badon, when almost the last but not the least slaughter of these hangdogs took place, and which, as I know, begins the forty-fourth year (one month having passed already), which is also the year of my birth.<sup>49</sup>

While not definitely clear, this could suggest that the Battle of Mount Badon occurred in the same year as the birth of the author. The birth year of Gildas is not definite, having occurred in either 494 or 516. Therefore, Gildas may have placed the battle at either of these dates. Gildas may have used the year of his birth as a reference point, but with the problem of medieval chronology and the fact that many people did not know their definitive birth year, it creates a problem in accurately measuring the time frame.

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<sup>47</sup> Blake & Lloyd, 176.

<sup>48</sup> Barber, 39.

<sup>49</sup> Brengle, 4.



Despite the problems with Gildas' record of historical events, this source is important in many ways. To date, historians have no other native source that chronicled the state of Britain after the evacuation of the Romans from Britain.<sup>50</sup> In addition, Gildas became an important source for later Arthurian literature.

### **Bede: *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum***

The next source in the line of Arthurian historical tradition came from a Northumbrian monk named Bede. His work, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (The Ecclesiastical History of the English People), is dated to 731. Reading through the short piece of Bede's work that relates to the Arthurian legend brings a sense of déjà vu. Bede produced almost an exact copy of the work of Gildas, and provided almost exactly the same information as in Gildas' work. Because Bede likely used Gildas as a source, scholars have questioned the accuracy of his information. Nonetheless, this source provided some modifications on the work of Gildas, which established new ideas with used to find the historical King Arthur.

Like Gildas, Bede used the name of Ambrosius Aurelianus.<sup>51</sup> Bede revealed little about the nature of this person, and only repeated the same details as Gildas, with one exception. Bede provided a detail about the parentage of Ambrosius not previously found in the work by Gildas. Here, Bede described the parents of Ambrosius as "bearing the name and insignia of kings", suggesting a more royal lineage.<sup>52</sup> From this source, idea of Arthur as a king could have moved into the literary tradition. Unfortunately, Bede provided no source for this profound statement. Previous sources never call Arthur a king, and it is possible that from this source the first seeds of a great legendary king were planted.

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<sup>50</sup> Blake & Lloyd, 175.

<sup>51</sup> Brengle, 5.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 4.

Bede also mentioned the Battle of Mount Badon; however, Bede provided little detail on the location, cause, and result of the battle. Bede did say that the battle “gave these enemies no less slaughter”, suggesting the defeat of the Saxons at the hands of Ambrosius. Interestingly, Bede modified the use of the “forty-fourth year”, as first used by Gildas, and wrote “...And since that period, at one time our countrymen, at another the enemy, were victorious, up to the year of the besieging of Mount Badon, when they gave these enemies no less slaughter, about forty-four years after their arrival in Britain.”<sup>53</sup> Bede therefore wrote that the battle occurred forty-four years after the arrival of the Saxons in Britain. The Saxons began to invade the lands of the now vulnerable Britons once the Romans left their occupied territory in Britain around 410. This would place the Battle of Mount Badon in the year 454. While this does not agree with years established by other Arthurian sources, Bede simply could have been mistaken about the year in which the Saxons arrived. Modern historians know the Romans began their retreat in 410; however, since the Saxons began a series of invasions for many years after the departure of Rome, it is possible the “first” invasions seen by Bede could have actually been later in the timeline. Despite this inconsistency between the sources, Bede still placed his Arthurian candidate within an accepted time period for Arthur in the fifth century.

Too short to provide any substantial information with which to establish the basis for a solid historical King Arthur, Bede’s work presents many of the same problems as that of Gildas. Bede most likely copied much of the information gathered in Gildas, with the exception of the changes noted above in the time period and the royal lineage of Ambrosius Aurelianus. While the works of Gildas and Bede lack in detailed information, they did provide a time frame within which the historical Arthur could have lived.

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<sup>53</sup> Brengle, 5.

## Nennius: *Historia Britonum*

One of the first instances of the use of the name “Arthur” occurred in the source *Historia Britonum*, attributed to a ninth century Welsh monk named Nennius. Scholarly research has dated the writing of this source to the year 800.<sup>54</sup> In this work, Nennius portrayed, in glorious detail, the early history of Wales and the country’s struggle with tyrannical leaders following the absence of Roman rule.<sup>55</sup> After the rise of the deceptive King Vortigern, Nennius followed the story of a general, here named Arthur, who led the Britons to victory in a number of battles against the invading Saxons.<sup>56</sup> While Nennius, as with many other early sources, did not provide a large amount of information to aid in the investigation of a definitive historical King Arthur, his work provided important connections to the Arthurian literary tradition. The early date of his work and the unique ideas he presented within it make this source of incredible value when searching for truth about King Arthur.<sup>57</sup>

Like the previously discussed sources, Nennius also identified a person with the name of Ambrosius. According to Nennius, the king of Britain, named Vortigern, discovered a boy named Ambrosius and believed he possessed the power of prophecy. Ambrosius recalled to Vortigern a story of two fighting dragons, one white and one red. In the story, the white dragon defeated the red dragon, symbolizing the Saxon victory over the British. Believing the prophecy, Vortigern decided to prepare himself and control the outcome of this invasion, even if it meant his defeat. If Vortigern’s country was to be overrun with Saxons, then at least he could spare his

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Nennius, *Historia Britonum: The History of the Britons*, Trans. Richard Rowley, (Cribyn, Lampeter: Llanerch Press, 2004), Chapter 28, 29.

<sup>56</sup> Nennius, Chapter 56, 55.

<sup>57</sup> Blake & Lloyd, 148.

own life by switching sides. Upon hearing this supposed prophesy, Vortigern betrayed his own country and encouraged the Saxon advance.<sup>58</sup>

Following this short passage, Nennius never mentioned the name Ambrosius again. Therefore, no connection can be readily established between this person and a historical King Arthur. There remains no reason to assume this Ambrosius had anything to do with the legendary Arthur. The significance of this name within the work of Nennius lies in the connection created between Nennius and the name “Ambrosius Aurelianus” recounted in Gildas and Bede. While Nennius may have gathered information from these two sources and thus that could be the reason for the use of this particular name, the use of this name within this Arthurian source further has connected the name of Ambrosius to the Arthurian legend.

Chapter 56 has become the most important part of this work in connecting Nennius to the literary tradition. It is here that there is the first instance of the actual name of Arthur. Nennius wrote that after the treachery of Vortigern, several kings in other parts of Britain formed a confederation to halt the Saxon advance encouraged by Vortigern. They united themselves against the Saxons, and designated a man named Arthur as their commanding general. However, Nennius did not name Arthur as a king in this chapter; he was listed as a general who, with the united kings of Britain, fought off the advancing onslaught of Saxons. Nennius provided no definite statement saying Arthur was one of the kings of the uniting kingdoms. In a later section, Nennius even went so far as to name Arthur as a soldier. Nennius wrote of a dog and a son, called respectively “Cabal, dog of Arthur the soldier”, and “Anwr, son of Arthur the soldier”.<sup>59</sup> While the dog and the son have not been historically identified, the importance of these two short statements is that they label Arthur as a soldier.

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<sup>58</sup> Jenkins, 29.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 30.

In addition to using the name “Arthur”, Nennius wrote again about the invading force of the Saxons, which helps in the determination of a time period around the fifth to early sixth centuries. Nennius called Arthur the *dux bellorum*, meaning literally “leader of the wars” or the “war chief”.<sup>60</sup> Nennius would not have used this title to describe a king; had he been writing about a king, he would have used the term *rex*, meaning “king.” Therefore, one can conclude from Nennius the Arthur of history was in fact not a king, but rather a war leader, who often had more military power than the kings themselves.

Nennius continued to describe the battles in which Arthur fought, which have helped to pinpoint a location of the historical Arthur. While scholars do not agree on all of the proposed locations of the battles as mentioned in Nennius, their theorized locations allow a more narrow focus upon the location of the historical Arthur. Nennius presented the battles of Arthur in a list as follows:

Then Arthur, with the kings of Britain, fought against them, though he was the commander in battle. The first battle was fought at the mouth of the river which is called Gleni; the second, third, fourth, and fifth were by another river, which is called Dubglas, and is in the region of Linnuis. The sixth battle was fought in the wood of Celidon, that is, Cat Coit Celidon. The eighth battle was fought at the fortress of Guinnion, in which Arthur carried an image of the Holy Virgin Mary on his shoulder, and the pagans were put to flight on that day, and there was great slaughter of them, through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Virgin Mary his mother. The ninth battle was fought on the banks of the river which is called Tribuit. The eleventh was at the mount which is called Agned. The twelfth battle was fought at mount Badon, where in one day there fell nine hundred and sixty men to this assault of Arthur....<sup>61</sup>

Each battle listed has been associated with at least one place in modern times.<sup>62</sup> Scholars have placed the first battle, on the River Gleni, in modern-day Lincolnshire, England on the

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<sup>60</sup> Nennius, Chapter 56, 55.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> For information and a map of modern-day locations in England, see Dan Carlsson, *The Viking World*, from Gotland University website. Access via <http://viking.hgo.se/maps/england.gif>.

River Glen.<sup>63</sup> However, if Arthur was Welsh, this presents a problem. Therefore, another place in Wales has also been identified as the place for this first battle. A small village in Wales called Gleiniant, which contains a stream that flows near the location of the remains of a Roman road deemed perfect for the site of a medieval battle.<sup>64</sup>

The battles on the river Dubglas could be a number of locations. Some scholars place this battle in Lincolnshire as well, because of the addition of Linnius in the context. Some variant manuscripts of Nennius, including the one mentioned above, contained the phrase *in regio Linnius*, meaning “in the region of Linnius”, thus placing Dubglas in Linnius or Lincolnshire. However, studies in Welsh and Latin translation have discovered that *dubglas* is a Latinized form of the Welsh *dulas*, which is a common name for a river in Wales.<sup>65</sup> Therefore, some scholars place the location of this battle at any one of the locations of a river containing the word *dulas*, including Liverpool Bay, and the towns of Anglesey and Machynlleth.

The next few battles present problems in finding a modern day location. The river of Bassus has no modern equivalent, most likely meaning the name did not survive in any recognizable form to the present day.<sup>66</sup> The seventh battle of Celidon is thought to be identified with Scotland, the name “Celidon” being derived from the Latin name for Scotland, Caledonia.<sup>67</sup> Scholars find the eighth battle to be the hardest to locate. Although the name of Guinnion could be a Latin form of the Welsh word “Gwynion”, and therefore the battle could be placed in Wales, no definitive location has been identified.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Jenkins, 30.

<sup>64</sup> Blake & Lloyd, 150.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 151.

<sup>66</sup> Jenkins, 30.

<sup>67</sup> Blake & Lloyd, 152.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 154.

The next few battles provide interesting parallels between Nennius' source and their modern day location. The ninth battle at *Urbes Legiones*, or the City of Legions, comes from the city of Chester.<sup>69</sup> Most scholars agree on this location because of its role as a central city of battles in Welsh bardic tradition.<sup>70</sup> The tenth battle at the River Tribruit has appeared in older Welsh Arthurian sources, which will not be discussed in this paper due to the lack of availability of translated forms. However, the sources themselves contain the name "Tryfrwyd", which is the Welsh form of the Latin Tribruit.<sup>71</sup> This word means "many colored", and the connection between these sources places the possibility of this site in Wales. However, no exact location has been found. The eleventh battle, at a mountain called Agned, remains a mystery. The name of the mountain may be a Latinized form of the Welsh name "Brewyn", which is similar to the name of a mountain range called the Berwyn Mountains in North Wales.<sup>72</sup>

The most significant battle listed is the twelfth, which Nennius described as the battle fought at Mount Badon. Here again we see an instance of this battle, as it was mentioned in the previously examined sources. It was at this battle that Arthur supposedly killed 960 men by himself, and succeeded in driving out the Saxons from Britain. No specific place in England has been identified as the real Mount Badon, and an exploration of the locations speculated as the site would be a paper unto itself. One of the most interesting places scholars have identified with this location is a place called Caer Faddon, where the name "Faddon" is the Welsh name for "Badon".<sup>73</sup> The identification of Caer Faddon came from a Welsh story in the Mabinogion called "The Dream of Rhonabwy", which described some of the battles of Arthur.<sup>74</sup> From here,

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<sup>69</sup> Jenkins, 30.

<sup>70</sup> Blake & Lloyd, 155.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 156.

<sup>72</sup> T. Gwynn Jones, *Welsh Folklore and Folk Custom*, (London: Methuen Publishing Ltd., 1930), 52.

<sup>73</sup> *The Mabinogion*, Trans. Jones & Jones, 119.

<sup>74</sup> Blake & Lloyd, 157.

Arthur traveled to a place called Cefyn Digoll, associated with the modern day Long Mountain. Near Long Mountain there is a site called Breidden, which contained old fortifications dating to the later fifth century. This location in north-central Wales, due to its connection in older Welsh tales, is as a possible location for this important battle in Arthurian tradition.

From the Battle of Mount Badon many scholars have concluded that Ambrosius Aurelianus could have been Arthur, as Gildas and Bede both mentioned Ambrosius as the leader who drove out the Saxons at the battle of Mount Badon, and Nennius, in his work, said a great leader named Arthur drove out the Saxons at the Battle of Mount Badon. Nennius possibly wrote what was supposedly a history of Wales. Therefore, although the information given by Gildas and Bede was not enough to substantiate the claim that their Ambrosius is Arthur, Nennius provided a connection between the sources to possibly give the title of King Arthur to Ambrosius Aurelianus based on the parallels between the events in Nennius and the works of Gildas and Bede.

While Nennius supplied a list of battles considered invaluable to the search for a real King Arthur, some scholars believe the list contained so little background information that insufficient evidence can be drawn from it to make any certain conclusions about Arthur. Nennius never offered a source for his list of battles, which makes the accuracy of his account difficult to believe.<sup>75</sup>

Numerous other problems plague the work of Nennius, making it difficult to discover any clues about a historical King Arthur. Much of the history of Nennius came from a combination of many different sources, including British, Saxon, and Irish. Nennius wrote pieces from each

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 148.



of these sources in the form of a narrative, and often jumped around from one part of the story to another, creating a confused and often disorganized account.<sup>76</sup>

The same problem with medieval chronology exists within the work of Nennius. Nennius, like many medieval authors, considered the content of the story much more important than the dates. Also, the lack of a consistent system of dating inevitably created a timeline filled with inaccuracies.

Lastly, Nennius did not provide us with many details about his Arthur. Nennius spoke of Arthur as a general, and leader of the legions against the Saxons. Nennius did suggest that his Arthur had a son and a dog, but little else is known. No heritage was given, and therefore this Arthur may not fit into a character that would become the model for the King Arthur in Malory's work. Despite this, the work of Nennius was the first to call Arthur by name, and has connected this Arthur to some very important events that correspond to the Arthurian legends.

### ***Annales Cambriae***

The last of the earliest Arthurian historical sources to be discussed is a compilation of events in the history of Wales. Called the *Annales Cambriae*, or *The Annals of Wales*, this document included short entries for specific events in Welsh history, and also included pieces from Scottish, English, and even Irish history. Believed to have been written between 950 and 970, this document still has no known author and in many instances appears to have been added to the end of certain manuscripts of Nennius' *Historia Britonum*.<sup>77</sup>

The first instance of the name Arthur within the *Annales Cambriae* occurs in the entry labeled Year 516: "The Battle of Badon, in which Arthur carried the cross of our Lord Jesus

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<sup>76</sup> Nennius, 2.

<sup>77</sup> *Annales Cambriae*, Trans. Rowley, 74.

Christ for three days and three nights on his shoulders, and the Britons were victorious.”<sup>78</sup> In just this short entry, many connections are provided between the *Annales Cambriae*, the literary tradition, and the other historical sources. This document placed Arthur again at the Battle of Mount Badon, and provided a specific year of 516. This year corresponded closely to the year of the Battle of Badon in 518, as provided by the Easter Annals. Therefore, this battle could have occurred between the years of 516-518.

Secondly, this entry provided an interesting connection between this Arthur and the Arthur mentioned in the *Historia Britonum* by Nennius. In this document, Arthur carried the cross of Jesus Christ on his shoulders during the Battle of Badon, and in the *Historia Britonum*, Arthur carried the image of Mary upon his shoulders during the battle of Guinnion. While each document placed the Christian motif in a different battle, they nonetheless both identified a person named Arthur who carried a Christian image during a battle. Could this be the same Arthur? If so, this could be more information to indicate the historical Arthur as a Christian Welsh or British soldier, rather than the Roman soldier Ambrosius Aurelianus of Gildas or Bede.

The *Annales Cambriae* also provided an important connection to the romantic Arthurian legend by including a segment on the death of Arthur at the Battle of Camlann. In the entry labeled as the Year 537, the source wrote “The Battle of Camlann, in which Arthur and Medraut fell; and there was death in Britain and Ireland...”<sup>79</sup> In another translation, the same entry said: “The battle of Camblan, in which Arthur and Mordred fell. And there was a pestilence in Britain.”<sup>80</sup> In the romantic Arthurian tradition, Arthur was mortally wounded at this battle fighting his nephew and son Mordred (which is very similar to the name Medraut listed above) and subsequently went to Avalon. While the work of Malory did not explicitly provide the name

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Brengle, 7.

<sup>80</sup> *Annales Cambriae*, 74.

of the battle, it did say that Arthur fought Mordred at a major battle and suffered a fatal wound.<sup>81</sup>

A more specific tie-in has come from the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Under the section titled “The Battle of Camblam”, Geoffrey of Monmouth discussed the deaths of both Arthur and Mordred:

In the end, when they passed much of the day in this way, Arthur, with a single division in which he had posted six thousand, six hundred and sixty-six men, charged at the squadron where he knew Mordred was...it was at this point that the accursed traitor was killed and many thousands of his men with him. However, the others did not take to flight simply because Mordred was dead...Arthur himself, our renowned King, was mortally wounded and was carried off the Isle of Avalon, so that his wounds might be attended to. He handed the crown of Britain over to his cousin Constantine, the son of Cadur Duke of Cornwall: this in the year 542 after our Lord's Incarnation.<sup>82</sup>

In just this entry, important ties are made between this early Arthurian source and the romantic legends of Malory and Geoffrey of Monmouth. First, the most obvious connection comes from the declaration of the name Arthur. This Welsh source specifically named Arthur, placing him somewhere in the area of Wales. Also, this Arthur is placed at this battle in the year 537, giving us a clue to the period of his life. Secondly, the character of Mordred finds a parallel in the source with the person named Medraut. While the names are not exactly the same, mistranslation and the lack of spelling consistency in the Middle Ages could have accounted for the differences in the spelling. Such is the case with the other source, where the name is given as Mordred. While problems with translation have contributed to the inconsistency in the spelling of names, the fact that Mordred, Medraut, Camblam, and Camlann are all mentioned in the same context within Arthurian tradition suggests an undeniable tie between the sources. Lastly, Geoffrey of Monmouth provided the year 542, which is very near the year of 537 given in the *Annales Cambriae*. Explaining this discrepancy lies in the problem of chronology; many

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<sup>81</sup> Malory, 921.

<sup>82</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, 261.

medieval sources based their chronology on their own knowledge of the timeline, and therefore different people may have used different references on which they based their chronology.

As with the rest of Arthurian historical sources, this source contains its own share of problems. One such problem in this source is related to the problem of chronology found in many of the other older sources. The dates of the *Annales Cambriae* often conflict with dates found in the other sources.<sup>83</sup> The author of these annals may have chosen a different date to represent the “Year 1” of the annals, thus placing the sequences of events in years that are slightly off from other sources. While being one or two years off from other sources does not present a major problem, it does create a conflict when an accepted historical date is given another year in the *Annales Cambriae*.

The mystery of the *Annales Cambriae* remains in the truth of the entries contained in its pages. Scholarly research has asserted that this document points clearly to the existence of Arthur, because his name and events associated with him have occurred within a document that contains actual factual history. For example, the *Annales Cambriae* clearly stated the deaths of Gildas and Bede, both historical figures, to the dates of 570 and 735, respectively. It also contained short entries on actual Welsh, Saxon, and British kings, such as Cadwalladr, Aldfrith, Osbriht, Aethelbald, Offa, and Dungarth.<sup>84</sup> Therefore, since these entries occurred alongside entries containing the name of Arthur, and his battles at Badon Hill and Camlann, many scholars have concluded that Arthur actually lived within this time period and contributed to the history of Wales.

Despite the relative lack of specific information regarding Arthur in the *Annales Cambriae*, this source did provide two important connections between the literary Arthur and the

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<sup>83</sup> See the section above on the Easter Annals starting on page 12 for this difference in dating.

<sup>84</sup> *Annales Cambriae*, 74-5.

historical Arthur. First, the connections between this historical document and the stories from Geoffrey of Monmouth and Sir Thomas Malory are manifested in the names of battles and the people involved. The names of Arthur, Medraut, and Camblam directly correlate with the Arthur, Mordred, and Camlann of the literary tradition. Secondly, this historical document could provide a glimpse into the actual existence of Arthur through its incorporation of Arthur's name and battles amongst actual historical people and events. This source, which was a record of Welsh history, may contain one of the most specific entries on the historical Arthur.

Each of these sources has provided valuable evidence from which the context of this historical King Arthur can be determined. These sources and their information can now be used to examine the probability that Ambrosius Aurelianus, Lucius Artorius Castus, and Riothamus was the historical King Arthur.

### **The Search for the Truth: The Historical King Arthur**

Examining historical sources that dealt with names and events connected to the stories of King Arthur provides important clues and parallels that can be found to connect a specific historical person to our King Arthur. Each of the primary sources provides proper contexts in which the real King Arthur should have lived. From this evidence, a case can be made for each of the three most popular candidates for the historical King Arthur: 1) Ambrosius Aurelianus; 2) Lucius Artorius Castus; and 3) Riothamus. While these sources may not have exclusively named a certain person, the information they provided helps to determine the person most likely to fit the Arthurian context.

## Ambrosius Aurelianus as King Arthur

The case for Ambrosius Aurelianus as the historical King Arthur has become difficult considering the many inconsistencies in his name and actions within the sources. The works of Gildas and Bede mentioned an Ambrosius Aurelianus, seemingly of Roman descent, who was the leader of the Britons following the retreat of the Saxon forces. This is consistent with the works of Malory and Geoffrey of Monmouth as far as naming a leader who fought the Saxon forces in relatively the same time period. However, Gildas and Bede did not even list a person with the name Arthur. Nennius, in his work, briefly mentioned a person named Ambrosius who prophesied through a dream the defeat of the Britons at the hands of the Saxons. Nennius later named a British general called Arthur, but in no connection to the earlier mentioned Ambrosius. It is possible the name Arthur gradually replaced the name of Ambrosius, but the reason for this change is unknown. However, the real problem has come not from the connection of Ambrosius directly to Arthur, but from the connection of Ambrosius to Arthur's supposed father, Uther.

According to the Arthurian legends, Uther Pendragon was the father of Arthur. By this account, it would be difficult to make Ambrosius Aurelianus the real King Arthur because in Geoffrey's *Historia*, Ambrosius was the brother of Uther Pendragon and took the throne following a brutal attack from the Saxons.<sup>85</sup> Uther later became king following the poisoning of Ambrosius, and Ambrosius Aurelianus subsequently disappeared from the story. While the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth lacks precise accuracy, it does complicate the assertion of Ambrosius Aurelianus as the real King Arthur, when Geoffrey claimed Ambrosius as the uncle of King Arthur.

Simply stating that Ambrosius lived as the brother to Uther Pendragon is not enough to destroy any connection between Arthur and Ambrosius. Many scholars believe that Geoffrey of

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<sup>85</sup> Blake & Lloyd, 11.

Monmouth completely invented Ambrosius as the brother of Uther Pendragon.<sup>86</sup> Scholars have said that Geoffrey, while looking at an old medieval source called *The Black Book of Carmarthen*, found the words *arthur* and *uthir* together, and created the story that Uthir (or Uthyr to Uther) was the father of Arthur. He then made Ambrosius, who by accounts of the ancient sources of Bede, Gildas, and Nennius was a British king, the brother of Uthir, and thereby connected Arthur to the material in these sources.<sup>87</sup> Also, according to Gildas, Ambrosius was supposedly of a Roman bloodline. If Ambrosius was a British leader of Roman heritage, his connection to Arthur became stronger because Arthur, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, was a British king of Roman heritage, having traced his roots back to the Roman Brutus, the son of Aeneas. Therefore, Ambrosius could have been Arthur in this context.

Ambrosius Aurelianus remains a favorite of scholars as the historical King Arthur. The historical sources discussed in this paper spoke of Ambrosius directly, and stated his name in situations specifically associated with the historical King Arthur. Geoffrey of Monmouth also connected Ambrosius directly to Arthur, although Ambrosius became the uncle of Arthur rather than Arthur himself. Little else is known about Ambrosius other than his name, his possible Roman heritage, and that he may have led campaigns against the Saxons, much like Arthur did in the work of Monmouth. Although Gildas spoke of Ambrosius and the Battle of Mount Badon within the same source, he never specifically associated one with the other. Therefore, connecting this source material to the material found in Nennius (in which Nennius specifically named Arthur as the leader of Mount Badon) remains difficult as Ambrosius is never said to be the leader of the battle. Despite the frequency of his name and the ambiguous connections

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 109.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 108.

between the person and his actions, little other evidence exists which can concretely connect Ambrosius Aurelianus to King Arthur.

### **Lucius Artorius Castus as King Arthur**

Likewise, difficulty develops in trying to establish Lucius Artorius Castus as the historical King Arthur. The reasons for this difficulty have derived from a variety of sources, including the name, time period, and ethnicity of Lucius Artorius Castus. While ruling out Lucius as Arthur has remained probable, there still exist a few points from which scholars assert Lucius was the real King Arthur.

The historical Lucius Artorius Castus lived in the second century, long before the accepted period of the historical King Arthur in the late fifth – sixth centuries. Few events occurred in the second century that could be parallels for the events in the literary tradition. Lucius was almost certainly Roman, and much evidence from the early sources, as discussed earlier in the paper, suggested that Arthur was probably Welsh, or in the least, a Briton. Lucius may have been half-Roman, the product of a Roman-Briton union, but the evidence for this is scarce.<sup>88</sup>

Many people in the field of this research have pointed to Lucius' middle name as a connection to the historical King Arthur. They assert that *Artorius* is a Latinized version of the Welsh name *Arthyr*, given to Lucius to indicate his British heritage while keeping the name itself Roman. However, other scholars, such as C. Scott Littleton, have argued the opposite position. He believes that *Arthur* does not have Welsh origins, but in fact is a Welsh form of the original Latin name, *Artorius*.<sup>89</sup> Therefore, the Arthur of literary tradition could logically come from this

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<sup>88</sup> Littleton & Malcor, 62.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.



Roman general, as Geoffrey of Monmouth and Sir Thomas Malory would have changed the Roman name to a British or Welsh name with which the population would have been more familiar. However, simply using the name to connect Lucius to Arthur provides its own problems. The name *Artorius* was common throughout the Roman Empire, and if basing the conclusion upon a person with the name Artorius, any person who bore the name could then be a possible candidate for Arthur.<sup>90</sup>

Despite these problems, small parallels provide some evidence for the case of Lucius as Arthur. The Lucius Artorius Castus of the second century may not have been Arthur, but a descendant of the same name could have been. A common practice existed in the British royal line of passing down the name of ancestors through the lineage.<sup>91</sup> Indeed, such a practice is evident today in the names of Princes Charles and William of England, who both contain the name “Arthur” as their middle names. If this could be the case, an Artorius who was the descendant of the second century Artorius could have been the historical King Arthur. Unfortunately, no real evidence exists for this assertion.

Arthurian scholar C. Scott Littleton has provided many small parallels from which he concludes a possible connection between Lucius and Arthur. First, both Lucius and Arthur were given the title *dux bellorum*, the latter given this name in Nennius. Both men fought as soldiers, rather than kings. Also, Littleton says that in order for Castus to be a member of the Roman army, he would have given up his right to be a member of the equestrian class, a rank he achieved through his father. He only gained it back through his military accomplishments. Similarly, Arthur lost his royal heritage following the death of his father and his fostering by

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<sup>90</sup> Geoffrey Ashe, *The Quest for Arthur's Britain*, (London: Frederick A. Praeger, 1987. Reprint, Chicago, IL: Academy Chicago Publishers, 2000), 55.

<sup>91</sup> Mary E. Giffin, “Cadwalader, Arthur, and Brutus in the Wigmore Manuscript.” *Speculum* vol. 16, no. 1 (January 1941), 110.

Merlin and Sir Ector, and only regained it after pulling the sword from the stone and becoming a great king that defended his people from invasion.<sup>92</sup>

Two other parallels derive from locations associated with both Lucius and Arthur. Lucius defended two sites along Hadrian's Wall, called Camboglanna and Avalanna, from invasions of the Scots and Picts. These two sites, according to leading Arthurian scholar Geoffrey Ashe, could possibly be the real locations of the Battle of Camlann and the Isle of Avalon.<sup>93</sup> Also, just as Arthur defended his people from the invasions of the Saxons and from the rebellion of dissidents such as Mordred, so too did Lucius defend the British territories from invasions of the Picts and Scots, and maintained peace for the British subjects of Rome.<sup>94</sup>

While the evidence presented provides ample reasons to connect Lucius Artorius Castus with King Arthur, most of this evidence remains highly circumstantial at best. Little historical evidence of the life of Lucius Artorius Castus exists, and therefore we have little upon which to connect him to King Arthur. The thematic parallels which do exist provide a chance that Lucius Artorius Castus, whether from the second century or a descendant of centuries thereafter, could have been the inspiration for the literary King Arthur.

### **Riothamus as King Arthur**

The primary sources discussed in this paper mention little relating to the third Arthurian candidate, Riothamus. However, the life of this man contained many parallels in the works of Malory and Geoffrey of Monmouth. Therefore, the likelihood of his existence as King Arthur should not be disregarded.

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<sup>92</sup> Littleton & Malcor, 74-5.

<sup>93</sup> Ashe, *The Quest for Arthur's Britain*, 191.

<sup>94</sup> Littleton & Malcor, 75.

Riothamus lived in the early fifth century as a warlord, and possibly a king, fighting throughout Britain, Ireland, and the area of modern-day France. His ethnicity remains unknown, but scholars believe Riothamus lived as a king of Britain, Ireland, Brittany, or of a British colony called Armorica.<sup>95</sup> While although relatively little has been discovered about the life of this man, many important parallels between Riothamus and Arthur have been assessed that suggest Riothamus could have been the legendary King Arthur.

The first parallel occurs between the activities of Riothamus and King Arthur. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth, Arthur traveled to the region of Gaul twice, in order to assist a Roman emperor with a civil war caused by the emperor's own generals. According to C. Scott Littleton, Riothamus went to Gaul in 468, in order to subdue a civil war on behalf of the Roman Emperor Leo I.<sup>96</sup> Littleton also asserts that Riothamus continued his Gallic campaigns into an area, though not specifically named, that closely resembled the setting for the adventures of Sir Launcelot in Malory's work. An older source contains a letter to Riothamus from Sidonius Apollinaris written circa 470.<sup>97</sup> In this letter, Sidonius corresponded with Riothamus, named in the material of a contemporary historian named Jordanes as the "King of Brittones".<sup>98</sup> Sidonius spoke of the decline of the Gaulish territories, and appealed to Riothamus to end the terrible acts of the Bretons. This short letter speaks volumes in that it places Riothamus, the "King of the Brittones", in Gaul in 470. The Gallic campaigns of Arthur, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, occurred within the same time period. Therefore, both Riothamus and Monmouth's Arthur campaigned in Gaul at the same time period. The sixth century Gothic historian Jordanes

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<sup>95</sup> For information regarding a map of Britain in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, see Paul Halsall, *The Internet Medieval Sourcebook: Maps and Images*, adapted from *Muir's Historical Atlas*, 1911. Access via <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/maps/476eur.jpg>.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>97</sup> See Appendix II on page 45.

<sup>98</sup> Ashe, *The Discovery of King Arthur*, 53.

also suggested that Riothamus not only fought against the Visigoths, but invading Saxon legions as well.<sup>99</sup> Here we see that Riothamus fought the Saxons much as our Arthurian figure did in the works of Gildas, Bede, and Nennius. While Riothamus probably fought the Saxons on the continent rather than in Britain, the connection still remains. This small detail provides yet another connection between Riothamus and the traditional Arthurian legend by placing our Arthurian candidate in an area mentioned in the Arthurian literary tradition.

A slight problem ensues when trying to determine the meaning of the name “Brittones”. Depending on the method of translation, it could either refer to the Britons or the Bretons. If the translation meant the Bretons, who were natives of the land of Brittany, this produces a problem between the Arthur-Riothamus connection. This problem stems from the reason Riothamus was in Gaul in the first place. The Roman Emperor commissioned Riothamus to rid Gaul of the Visigoths. If Riothamus had been British, he would not have had any right to be in Gaul. Even if he had been a prefect, appointed by the emperor himself, this would conflict with the evidence that there was already present another prefect in Gaul named Arvandus.<sup>100</sup> However, if Riothamus was a Breton, his authority would have been justified. There are even some scholars who have gone an additional step and concluded that Riothamus was in fact British, but migrated to Brittany in the late 450’s.<sup>101</sup> He would have been British by blood, but would have become a Breton after the migration. These migrating Britons often had conflicts with Saxon peoples; Riothamus, as their leader, may have fought against them just as our King Arthur fought against the Saxons in the legends.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Littleton & Malcor, 64.

<sup>100</sup> See below for more details on Arvandus.

<sup>101</sup> John Morris, *The Age of Arthur*, (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's & Sons, 1973): 90.

<sup>102</sup> Ashe, *The Discovery of King Arthur*, 52.

Most scholars conclude that it meant the Britons, therefore placing the court of a British king in the region of Gaul. If this is the case, then Riothamus really *could* be the true King Arthur, since both men, who were British kings, campaigned and held a court in the region of Gaul in the same time period.

An even more interesting connection between Riothamus and Arthur has come from the betrayal of Arthur by Mordred. In the story according to Geoffrey of Monmouth and later touched upon by Sir Thomas Malory, the incestuous son of Arthur, Mordred, betrayed Arthur by turning against the king and taking over his kingdom whilst Arthur campaigned in Gaul. The connection comes from an alternative name given to Mordred. The name of Mordred has varied in each source, such as in the *Annales Cambriae* where he was named Medraut. In a twelfth century Gaulish source called the *Chronicles of Anjou*, Arthur's betrayer bore the name "Morvandus", rather than the traditional Mordred.<sup>103</sup> In connecting this strange name to Riothamus, the context of Riothamus' campaigns must be examined. Riothamus traveled to Gaul in the late fifth century to help Rome put down any rebellion of its Gaulish subjects and their allies, the Visigoths. One such subject was an imperial prefect named Arvandus, who asked the Visigothic king, Euric, for help against the British invasions. In this series of battles, Arvandus became the nemesis of Riothamus. The connection appears between the similarity of the names of the antagonists: Morvandus, the nemesis of Arthur, and Arvandus, the nemesis of Riothamus.

The last parallel between the Riothamus and Arthur concerns their death. According to the *Annales Cambriae*, Arthur, fatally wounded at the Battle of Camlann during a struggle with Mordred, was carried off to the Isle of Avalon to heal and one day return. The death of

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<sup>103</sup> Littleton & Malcor, p. 64. Unfortunately, the author was not able to locate a copy of this source to examine.

Riothamus occurred in a similar fashion. In late 470, Riothamus and his troops fought at the Battle of Burgundy, in what would be the last battle of Riothamus.<sup>104</sup> He received a fatal wound, but did not die in Burgundy. Rather he escaped, and moved towards friendly territory, near a town recorded as Avallon. The connection provided by this parallel is clear. Both men received their death blows in a battle, and escaped to a place called Avalon, or in Riothamus' case, Avallon. It is interesting to note that within many translations of the Arthurian legends of either Monmouth or Malory, an acceptable spelling of the original *Avalon* is, in fact, *Avallon*.

Do these parallels provide definitive evidence that Riothamus was Arthur? No sources have provided a specific connection between the name of Arthur and Riothamus, and scholars wonder where and why a name change could have occurred. The comparisons between Riothamus and Arthur provide the most evidence from which one could conclude that Riothamus served as the model for the legendary King Arthur. While they do not specifically produce this conclusion in and of themselves, the similarities do provide the proper context in which to connect Riothamus to the Arthur of literary tradition.

## Conclusions

The search for the historical King Arthur may never end. Many sources exist which provide us with clues that suggest different possibilities for the historical King Arthur, but none actually clearly identify any one person. They all provide information that suggests that Arthur was real, but lived a life very different from the one in the romantic stories of Sir Thomas Malory.

The works of Gildas, Bede, Nennius, the *Annales Cambriae*, and the Easter Annals all provided information that formed the foundation of the *Historia Regum Britanniae* by Geoffrey of

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid., p. 66.

Monmouth, who later inspired the Arthurian legends written by Sir Thomas Malory in the fifteenth century.<sup>105</sup> Based on the examination of the sources discussed in this paper, and with context from the work of Arthurian scholars, the likeliest candidate to fill the role as the historical King Arthur would be the fifth century leader, Riothamus. He fulfills many of the same duties as the Arthurian figure presented in the works of Gildas, Bede, and Nennius, by leading campaigns against the Saxons. The *Annales Cambriae* provided information for the Mordred-Morvandus connection, and also established the details of Arthur's death, which closely mirrors that of Riothamus. The Easter Annals dated Arthur anywhere between the early 400s to the 540s, making the time of Riothamus perfectly acceptable in this context. Many scholars also agreed with this proposed historical time period.<sup>106</sup> While the *Annales Cambriae* put Arthur more around the 540s, such dating is not wholly reliable due to the problems with medieval chronology. King Arthur lived in the literary tradition as British, or in some sources Welsh. Riothamus lived either as a Briton or a Breton, with little evidence suggesting any other heritage. Therefore, he would have contained the proper bloodline to be King Arthur. Lastly, both Riothamus and King Arthur campaigned in Gaul, until their final battles when serious injury halted their advance. The last actions of both, before they disappeared from the pages of their history, ended with a final journey to a mysterious place called Avallon. From there, the line between history and legend blur.

### **The Continuing Search for a Historical King Arthur**

The search for the historical King Arthur continues to this day. Before, Arthur lived in the imaginations of people as a valiant king who fought great battles with his Knights of the

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<sup>105</sup> Ashe, *The Discovery of King Arthur*, 15.

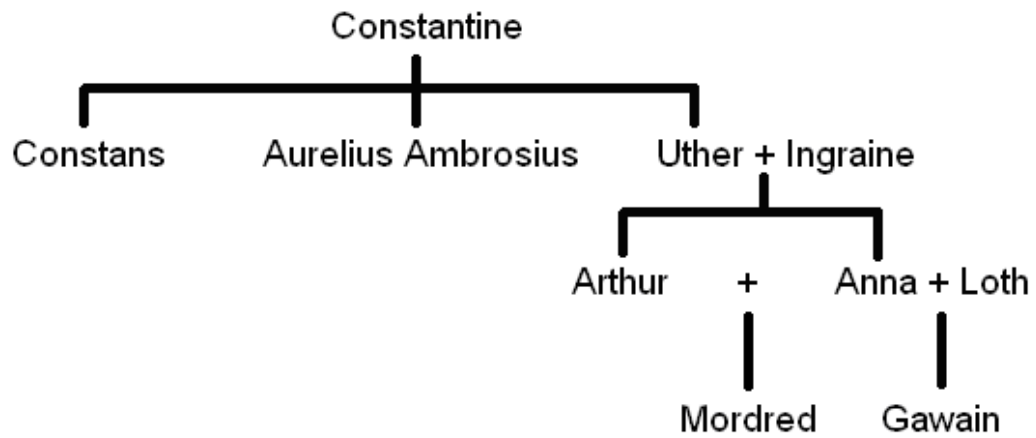
<sup>106</sup> Goodrich, 8.

Round Table, and fought even greater battles against his own family. As we move further into the twenty-first century, more information is being discovered about a real King Arthur. Is it possible that our romantic hero was actually a rough early medieval warlord or a military leader campaigning all over Europe? Arthur may have not have existed as one person; rather, the chivalrous Arthur, his knights and Camelot of literary legend may have evolved from the lives and places of many militant medieval European chieftains in an age of invasion and turmoil.



## APPENDIX I

The Family Tree of King Arthur according to Geoffrey of Monmouth



Family Tree produced by the author.

## APPENDIX II

Sidonius Apollinaris

*Letter to Riothamus, King of the Britons* [Brittones], c.470

I will write once more in my usual strain, mingling compliment with grievance. Not that I at all desire to follow up the first words of greeting with disagreeable subjects, but things seem to be always happening which a man of my order and in my position can neither mention without unpleasantness, nor pass over without neglect of duty. Yet I do my best to remember the burdensome and delicate sense of honour which makes you so ready to blush for others' faults. The bearer of this is an obscure and humble person, so harmless, insignificant, and helpless that he seems to invite his own discomfiture; his grievance is that the Bretons are secretly enticing his slaves away. Whether his indictment is a true one, I cannot say; but, if you can only confront the parties and decide the matter on its merits, I think the unfortunate man may be able to make good his charge, if indeed a stranger from the country unarmed, abject and impecunious to boot, has ever a chance of a fair or kindly hearing against adversaries with all the advantages he lacks, arms, astuteness, turbulences, and the aggressive spirit of men backed by numerous friends. Farewell.

From: Sidonius Apollinaris, *The Letters of Sidonius*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915), 76.

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