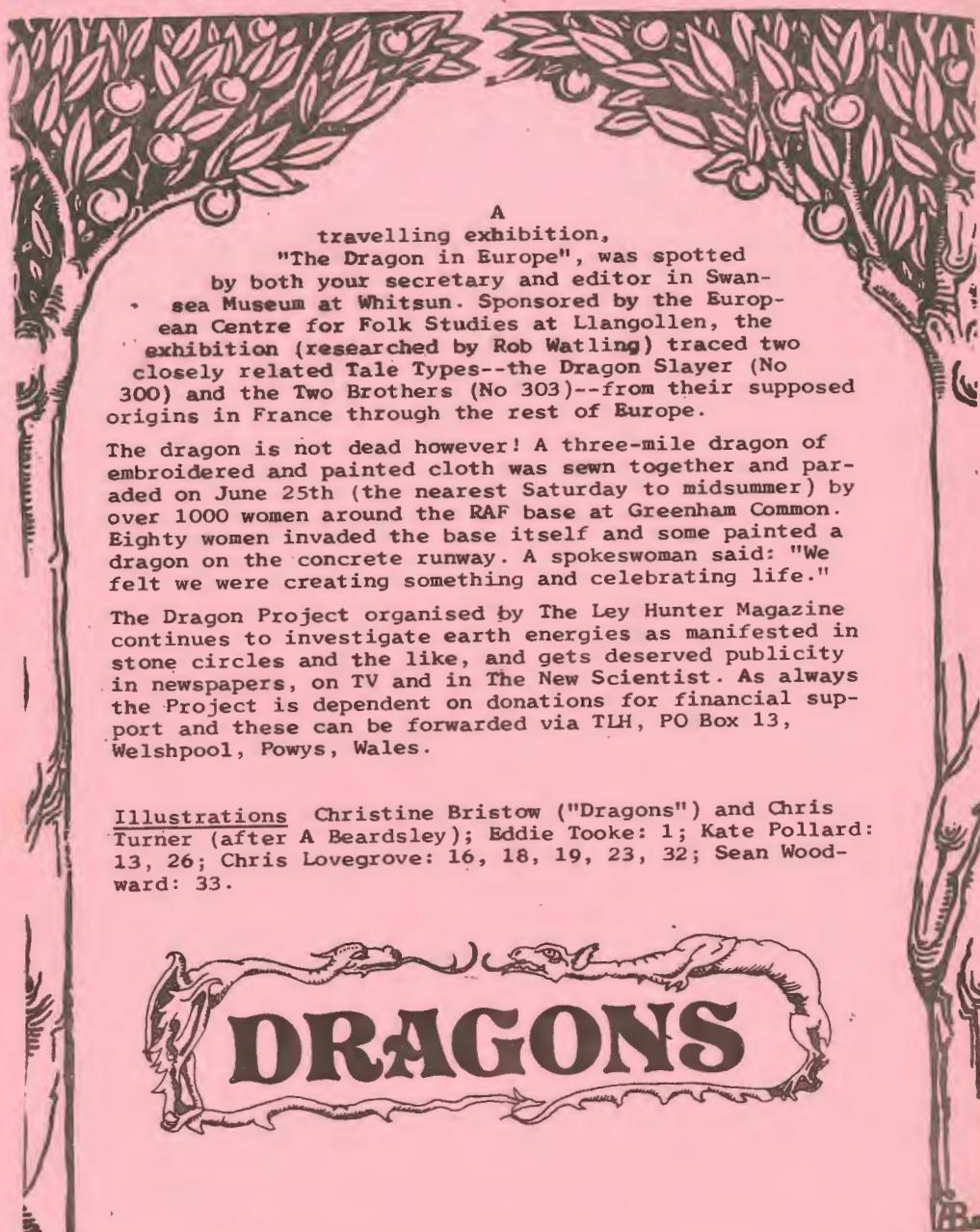


PENDRAGON®



PEN CEFNL
Riorthamus Badon.



A travelling exhibition, "The Dragon in Europe", was spotted by both your secretary and editor in Swansea Museum at Whitsun. Sponsored by the European Centre for Folk Studies at Llangollen, the exhibition (researched by Rob Watling) traced two closely related Tale Types--the Dragon Slayer (No 300) and the Two Brothers (No 303)--from their supposed origins in France through the rest of Europe.

The dragon is not dead however! A three-mile dragon of embroidered and painted cloth was sewn together and paraded on June 25th (the nearest Saturday to midsummer) by over 1000 women around the RAF base at Greenham Common. Eighty women invaded the base itself and some painted a dragon on the concrete runway. A spokeswoman said: "We felt we were creating something and celebrating life."

The Dragon Project organised by The Ley Hunter Magazine continues to investigate earth energies as manifested in stone circles and the like, and gets deserved publicity in newspapers, on TV and in The New Scientist. As always the Project is dependent on donations for financial support and these can be forwarded via TLH, PO Box 13, Welshpool, Powys, Wales.

Illustrations Christine Bristow ("Dragons") and Chris Turner (after A Beardsley); Eddie Tooke: 1; Kate Pollard: 13, 26; Chris Lovegrove: 16, 18, 19, 23, 32; Sean Woodward: 33.



PENDRAGON

JOURNAL OF THE PENDRAGON SOCIETY

ISSN 0143-8379 Vol XVI No 2, Spring 1983 PEN CEFFYL edition
JPS 62 7 83

Subscription £3.00 / \$9.00 for four issues (includes membership of the Society). A cross in the box indicates subscription is now due...

Editor Chris Lovegrove Production Roger Davie Webster, Kate Pollard, Adrian Vye Correspondence

The Secretary, 27 Roslyn Road, Redland, Bristol BS6 6NJ Pendragon investigates Arthurian history and archaeology and the mystery and mythology of the Matter of Britain. Opinions stated are those of the writers concerned.

© 1983 Pendragon Society / authors

CONTENTS

- 1 Editorial
- 2 Cosmopolity: a toast to Pendragon ... Edgar A Tooke
- 4 Noticeboard
- 8 Arthuriana: magazine reviews ... Chris Lovegrove
- 10 The Riorthamus Riot ... Paul Karlsson Johnstone
- 14 Letters: Music, Galahad, societies, Merovingians, Constantine, Badon...
- 22 Some Points on the Badon Hill ... R D Hoskins
- 25 The Folklore of Badbury Rings, Dorset ... Jeremy Harte
- 28 A History of the Fifth Century in Britain II ... Sam Brewster
- 32 Artorix ... Charles Evans-Günther
- 33 The Perilous Chapel ... Sean Woodward

The cover, designed by Kate Pollard, shows a close-up of the bronze mount found beneath the 12th century chancel on the Pendragon dig at Llanelen, Gower. This Dark Age dragonesque horse's head gives this issue its umbrella title of Penceffyl and helps confirm the tradition that this ecclesiastical site has early beginnings.

There is more discussion of Badon, its date and location, including an article by the late Desmond Hoskins, a founder member of the Society back in 1959. In fact nearly all the contributions touch on Badon to some degree, even Eddie Tooke's opening poem and essay: his illustration opposite is of a "delighted dig director"...

The next issue's theme is HELEN, even now in preparation, to be followed by GLASTONBURY.





toast to the propriety of most in our society--
A sober-minded crew on stable ground.
We lift the veil from Arthur's acts
by shifting shale for artefacts--
But never find a clue to Table Round!

No splendid Cup from holy days has ended up on lowly trays:
Judicious sense alone decides our stance:
A stance that's not too merciful to Lancelot and Percival--
Fictitious gents found only in romance!

We veer to etymology; we've theories of chronology
Which ruthlessly expose the fabled past.
No Merlin is revealed to us but sterling secrets yield to us,
So truth will be disclosed to us at last.

From Cadbury rode Arthur's chaps to Badbury--or Bath perhaps:
(Round 12 has been assigned to Badon's heights.)
To scatter Saxon foemen he used cataphracts or yeomanry:
We delve and seem to find few maiden knights!

We lay into Tom Malory for playing to the gallery;
Praise Gildas, though irascible and terse.
On Nennius--a benison! But any fuss of Tennyson
Subordinates veracity to verse.

Yet--emphasising history and sacrificing mystery
(So Century 14 gives way to 5th)
Makes perish a small part of us we cherish in the heart of us:
Long live King Arthur--Once and Future Myth!

Calling all DIY enchanters!
Is your magic tragic? Do you
lack the witch-spell which
spells success? Then get expert
help! Take Fate by the forelock;
create your own warlock! Buy
your Merlin Matrix NOW!

No; hold it ... hold it ...
Send no money! Sorry to spoil
the illusion: the MM is not a
mould for cloning synthetic
sorcerers--though I bet that

like me all you Pendragon mem-
bers thought it was!

No, the Merlin Matrix is the
brain-child of the Association
for the Scientific Study of
Anomalous Phenomena--ASSAP--
and shows that all psi-research-
ers aren't ASSes or SAPs. It is
the name of a long-term nation-
al plan for advancing the under-
standing of paranormal phenom-
ena.

Recognising the need for
specialisation but aware that
an inter-disciplinary injection
may be needed to stimulate
areas of mental paralysis,
ASSAP set up a bureau to col-
late diverse evidence in order
to detect patterns which may
lead to further enquiry and a
wider understanding of the
whole field. The parallel aim
is to formulate a viable, all-
embracing theory of the para-
normal--PK, dowsing, healing,
UFOs, ley lines, etc--modifying
it constantly in the light of
new evidence until the theory
becomes complete.

One inevitably thinks of Pen-
dragon with its diversity of
approach to matters Arthurian.
Lacking the versatility of a
Leonardo--the Last Superman (or
Supperman)--members tend to-
wards specialisation and "My!
What specialisation!" as the
old lady said when introduced
to a Naval Surgeon.

Some of us are mystics, some
archaeologists, some romantic-
ists and others just plain
nuts. And this is an excellent
thing. All avenues of research
lead towards knowledge and even
nuts may bear fruit--especially
in the case of Cadbury (though
bourn-villains should be
barred). Pooling our separate
horns of plenty may result in a
richer harvest for us all, so
let's not tread on the other
fellow's cornucopias.

As Eddington said: "I only want
to make vivid the wide inter-
relatedness of things." Insula-
rity inhibits progress. As an
example, in the 1940s physicist
Robert Dicke used his newly-
developed radiometer to check
the temperature of short-wave
cosmic radiation. Fellow phys-
icist George Gamow at about the
same time predicted that echoes
of the Big Bang with which the
Universe started (?) should

still be around. Gamow didn't
know about Dicke's radiometer:
Dicke didn't know about Gamow's
echoes. As a consequence it was
1964 before the radiometer was
used to detect the echoes.

And so it may be with echoes of
the Arthurian past. Different
disciplines may profitably in-
teract. The "thin clash of leg-
endary steel" (Lewis Spence)
might blend with the tinkling
of Jungian symbols to sound a
resonant note in the mundane
minds of the trowel and tweezer
fraternity. Fables are not
necessarily foibles. They may
assist efforts to locate the
real Arthur: remember Schlie-
mann and Troy. In fact KEEP ON
TROYING--even though your par-
ticular pigeon may not be a
Homer.

Reciprocally, Jung-at-heart
mystics and Idyll-minded romanti-
cs may see in a sedimented
scramasax a surrogate Excalibur
--especially if the delighted
dig director is spotted waving
it above his head while wearing
a white samite dress and stand-
ing in a puddle.

During the relatively short
time I have been in the Society
I have been much impressed with
our journal's open-minded pol-
icy. All views receive publici-
ty--however feeble everyone
else's are. Which is fine. And
though the mystical approach--
rather than the rational, rom-
antic or risible--is my personal
once-and-future-kink, I en-
joy the company of both earth-
raking and mirth-making savants.
May Pendragon, with its own
"Merlin Matrix", long retain
its present wizard mould!



NOTICEBOARD



PENDRAGON ARCHAEOLOGY

To pursue part of its aims ("to investigate the archaeological and historical background of the Arthurian period") the Pendragon Society is currently excavating a site on the Gower peninsula, S Wales, by kind permission of the landowner, Don Howells.

Llaneleu acts as a training dig for members, but experienced volunteers are always needed. Those interested should contact the Secretary.

The following brief details appeared in the Council for British Archaeology Newsletter and Calendar, VI/9 Jan/Feb 1983:

LLANELEN, WEST GLAMORGAN

"The dig is sponsored by the Pendragon Society with the objective of studying the continuity of religious communities between the Dark Ages and medieval times.

"A 12th century stone chapel with signs of previous buildings is being excavated. The exact structural sequence is still unclear but a very long occupation is indicated.

"Finds range from some glass fragments, possibly 6th century to a considerable amount of 13th century green glaze, with various crude undateable local pottery groups in between.

C Walls, A Schlesinger."

A summary of the 15th season appeared in the 17th Bulletin of the CBA Churches Committee (Winter 1982).

We would be glad to receive cuttings and other relevant items for inclusion in "Old News" and "Noticeboard".

NEW FICTION

A fantasy novel has suddenly appeared on the US bestseller lists. The Mists of Avalon, by Marion Zimmer Bradley, is published by Knopf at \$16.95 and is thick--876 pages. A review by Mei-Mei Chan in USA Today (11.3.83) calls it "a detailed, human look at the emotions, desires and mythic and moral decisions of the people--particularly the women--who are part of the legend."

Monitor: Paddy Slater

ANTIQUARIAN BOOKS ETC

Peter Parr specialises in mysticism, the occult, philosophy, religion etc. Write for a catalogue, enclosing a large stamped addressed envelope, to P J Parr, 2 Ardmore Cottage, Bishops Down Park Road, Tunbridge Wells, Kent TN4 8XX, or phone 0892-23767.

A new enterprising venture specialises in second-hand books on archaeology. Write to Studio Books, 6 Church St, Pattishall, Towcester, Northants NN12 8NB, or phone 0327-830425.

ARTHURIAN MUSICAL

News comes of an Arthurian musical by Mike English and Robert Purvis, Gawain and the Green Knight, performed in May 1982 by the Brighton Actors Workshop in Brighton's Chapel Royal. It is clearly in the kind of tradition followed by Tim Porter and the Green Branch, with audience participation, humour, multi-role parts and chamber-scale music (by Robert Purvis) rather than the Broadway-style "Camelot" type of production.

Monitor: Peter Ratazzi



YEAR OF THE MAZE

Britain has approximately 10% of the world's mazes. For this and other reasons Minotaur Designs have proposed that 1991 be termed the Year of the Maze to welcome visitors to Britain and to encourage Britons to explore their own country.

Adrian Fisher and Randoll Coate have drawn up suggestions for celebrating the Year including new mazes, maze events, products and books.

Why so far in advance? Well, new hedge mazes take up to seven years to reach maturity.

For further information contact Adrian Fisher, MINOTAUR DESIGNS 40 Whitecroft, St Albans, Herts AL1 1UU (Tel: St Albans 60552). Include a large sae.

While we're on the subject, how about an Arthurian Maze? Anybody interested? Let us know!

LYONESSE REVISITED

On BBC tv's Nationwide programme (11.4.83) a Dr Horace Dobbs declared himself interested in "Lyonesse". He and his colleagues of the International Dolphin Watch believe that, between Cornwall and the Scillies there exists a dolphin "city" or congregation similar to one

off Gibraltar. Are dolphins really the lost inhabitants of Lethowstow (the Cornish name for Lyonesse)?

ARTHUR IN BELGIUM

Nik Wright sent in a piece from a Flemish-language newspaper, Het Laatste Nieuws, with the comment "Isn't it amazing what you find wrapped round a cactus?"!

It contained a review by one N Verschoore of a programme on the Belgian tv station BRT-1: "In de Voetstappen van Koning Arthur" (In the footsteps of King Arthur) was broadcast on 23.12.82.

The review indicated that the director, Hubert Lampo, covered the usual ground--the post-Roman period in Britain and the development of the grail legends--and referred to recent Arthurian feature films and tv series.

EXCALIBUR LTD

Feeling rich? From £198.00 inclusive you can spend two days as the guest of English peers, staying with "aristocratic families in their historic houses and magnificent estates". Holidays for the snobbish are courtesy of a Bournemouth-based company with the exotic title of Excalibur Ltd, residing at 221 Old Christchurch Road.

INSTITUTE OF GEOMANTIC RESEARCH

The Institute of Geomantic Research has been run almost single-handedly since 1975 by Nigel Pennick, publishing and re-publishing much worthwhile material in its chosen field. Nigel writes "Unfortunately I'm having to give up the IGR owing to financial strictures and also the pressure of work ... This will enable me to get on with some solid research on geomancy, and I have projects in hand."

COMIX

Arthur returns! DC is the US company responsible for the Superman and Batman comics, and a recent offering is Camelot 3000. Mike W Barr wondered, after a college literature course, when Arthur would return. With British artist Brian Bolland he has come up with an over-populated, decaying earth of the future attacked by aliens. Tom Prentice discovers King Arthur's tomb on an archaeological dig, and resurrects him, Merlin, Tristan, Kay, Galahad, Lancelot, Percival and Gawain. Morgan le Fay and Guinevere follow after. This is a "maxi-series" of twelve issues, and is available from limited outlets.*

Arthur has already featured in comic-strips in the past, notably Prince Valiant (né 1937). DC's rival, Marvel Comics, used him in QUEST OF THE KING, in Summer 1981, a one-off issue "featuring Merlin and Excalibur". Merlin also appeared in a series of Marvel's Captain Britain, the Old World's answer to Captain America.

*See Comics Scene Vol 1 No 6, Nov 1982 (Comics World Corp NY) for a feature on CAMELOT 3000. Below: Merlin from a Superman/Batman adventure...



OLD News

MAGIC CROSS ETC

Derek Mahoney, dubbed by the media as "amateur archaeologist" and "Keeper of the cross", was released on March 21st 1983 (the spring equinox).

According to Lord Justice Tasker Watkins there was "no point" in his serving any more of his sentence as he was prepared to stay in prison "until doomsday" rather than give up the cross.

Lord Justice Watkins called Mr Mahoney "an eccentric" but also "a model prisoner". Imprisonment was for punishment and for coercion--the former had been served but the latter had failed. (Guardian 22.3.83 "Man who won't give up cross goes free".)

Then on Thurs 24th March the National Trust declared that it wanted to excavate Glastonbury Tor. This appeared to be a response to a suggestion by dowser Donald Reeves that the cross was buried there.

But on May 25th the DoE refused an application from the Trust to excavate, and news reports suggested that Donald Reeves had instead/also dowsed a "gold object" on the Tor.

As the bard said, a mystery till Doomsday: the grave of Arthur. (NT info from Earthquest News No 6, 21 and 40 by Andy Collins.)

PERIODICALS

On occasion we receive copies or notice of periodicals from elsewhere in the country or even overseas. For your interest some of these are mentioned below.

Prytani (Magick etc) Details: 126 Bevan St, Lowestoft, Suffolk. Pipes of Pan (ie Pagans Against Nukes) Details: 69 Cranbury Rd, Reading, Berks. Touchstone (Surrey Earth Mysteries Group) £1.00 for four issues from editor Jimmy Goddard, 25 Albert Rd, Addlestone, Surrey.

Nouvelle Ecole "A study review on politics and economics, history and philosophy, sociology and biology, physics and maths and law". Details: BP 129 75326 PARIS CEDEX 07, France.

Artus A Breton review published at 100F for four issues from 26 Rue Saint-Michel, BP 48, 44350 Guerande, France. Lesser Britain also claims Arthur as its own and this periodical features interviews, poetry, art, myth, literature and related news items. No 10 (Summer 1982) includes, for example, articles on Yggdrasill, Melusine, "Lancelot du Lac" (a spectacle involving 300 actors at the castle of Elven) and a mention of a certain "tres interessante revue" from England. Jean-Louis Pressense edits in a critical but informative way, and the production is very professional.

Stonehenge Viewpoint "Controversy--our speciality" is the battle-cry of this newsprint journal edited by Donald L Cyr, available at £5.00 from UK Agency, c/o 3rd Floor, 35 Great Russell Street, London WC1. Published in California, it covers orthodox and unorthodox aspects of archaeology, astronomy, geology, and related arts and sciences in its own inimitable way.

MAGAZINES, GROUPS ETC

ANCIENT SKILLS & WISDOM REVIEW/ THE SHAMAN £2.00 pa from Paul Sreeton, 5 Egton Drive, Seaton Carew, Hartlepool, Cleveland TS25 2AT

THE ATLANTICAN Bi-monthly magazine of The Atlanteans, ed Ann Neate, £3.60 pa from Runnings Park, Croft Bank, West Malvern, Worc WR14 4 BP

CAERDROIA Research and preservation of mazes, £3.00/four issues from Jeff Saward, 53 Thundersley Grove, Thundersley, Benfleet, Essex SS7 3EB

DRAGON Dark Age Society, £4.00/six issues from Charles W Evans-Gunther, 2 Feathers Lea, Flint, Delyn, Clwyd, N Wales CH6 5 BZ

EARTH GIANT Wessex mysteries & antiquities, £2.00/four issues from Jeremy M Harte, 35A West St, Abbotsbury, Weymouth, Dorset.

EARTHQUEST NEWS Essex mysteries £3.00/four issues from Andrew Collins, 19 St Davids Way, Wickford, Essex SS11 8EX

THE LEY HUNTER Alignments and earth mysteries, £3.75/three issues from Paul Devereux, PO Box 13, Welshpool, Powys, Wales

NEWSLETTER The paranormal etc Details: send stamp to NL, 40 Parrs Wood Ave, Disbury, Manchester M20 0ND

NORTHERN EARTH MYSTERIES £2.00/six issues from Philip Heselton 170 Victoria Ave, Hull HU5 3DY

RILKO NEWSLETTER Research into lost knowledge, sub £5.00 (London) £4.00 (UK) from 8 The Drive, New Southgate, London N11 2DY

TEMPLE LOCAL HISTORY GROUP Central Bristol history, details Julian Lea-Jones, 33 Springfield Grove, Henleaze, Bristol BS6 7XE

EIKON Byzantine/Greek/Russian/Celtic Saint icons etc 30p for catalogue from 221 Barclay Rd, Bearwood, Warley, West Midlands B67 5LA

Arthuriana

Pendragon does not of course have a monopoly on articles about the Matter of Britain. Recently some exchange magazines have featured contributions on Arthurian themes.

In NORTHERN EARTH MYSTERIES No 21 a correspondent notes a series of extraordinary coincidences arising out of a visit to South Cadbury Castle in August 1982 in an article entitled "Bees, Wasps and Silver Horseshoes". A painful encounter with wasps on Cadbury -Camelot had led to several symbolic encounters with crescent or horseshoe shapes, and the writer of the article was taken aback to discover that the hillfort had folkloric traditions of silver-shod Arthurian steeds. The writer is anonymous but we learn that his first name is--Arthur...

"A Forbidden History" in The Ley Hunter No 94 suggests that medieval Christianity "had written out of history the survival of paganism ... in sub-Roman Britain". Simon Dale has made a number of surprising claims for some ruins in the Clun Valley in the Herefordshire parish of Leintwardine, not least that it flourished as a centre for the cult of Bran in the Dark Ages. Founded as a city (Brannogenium?) by transported Armenians in the 4th century, it was known as Archad (ie Arcadia, later Arthur). Cynglas took over Archad as his court and from it took "Arthur" as his title. Now known as Caer Bran it remained a pagan centre until the 7th century when Powys' importance was eclipsed by its neighbours. In romance the ruins were known as Caer Caradog (mistakenly after Caratacus), supposedly built by giants, and in the Welsh Triads as Pengwern. There are strange re-interpretations of history to accommodate this "forbidden" history (eg Badon is dated as 445 AD) but the Clun valley site, despite some of Mr Dale's more fanciful theories, clearly deserves investigation: thermo-luminescent dating gives AD 600 + 200 on a brick from the ruins, and Michael Peele's Some Shropshire Stories (reviewed XV 4 18f) notes Arthurian associations in the Clun district.

EARTH GIANT, edited by Jeremy Harte, is a worthy successor to Vince Russett's PICWINNARD (which ran for ten issues from '77 to '79). No 3 (winter 1982) contains two pieces of Pendragon interest, "The Dragon of Wessex" and a review of The Real Camelot. Harte follows Tatlock in arguing that there is "no evidence before Geoffrey (of Monmouth), or independent of him, for dragons among the Welsh". He believes that Geoffrey based Utherpendragon's banner on the historical banner of the Anglo-Saxon kings of Wessex, a viewpoint set to put the cat among the pigeons. The Real Camelot is dismissed as a "load of old cobblers". While I agree that author John Darrah's theories on the pagan origin of the Arthurian legends sometimes stretch our credulity, I can't believe that Galahad is merely a creation of "didactic Cistercian monk" (despite the similarity of the name to Gilead in The Song of Songs) nor that Chrétien de Troyes created the genre of the knightly duel at the well ex nihilo.

STONEHENGE VIEWPOINT No 52 (March-April 1983) includes an article by P K Johnstone entitled "King Arthur and King Riothamus", an expanded version of which appears in these pages. He denies that Riothamus means "High King" (as Geoffrey Ashe and Léon Fleuriot

argue). What it meant is uncertain ("King of the Hill" or "Dark King"?") but Celtic *Rigotamos, a Cornovian personal name, has become Rhiadaf in Modern Welsh. The original Riothamus may have been sent to Gaul by Ambrosius Aurelian, a theory that Johnstone is to develop in future SVs.

We come next to ORE, a periodical devoted to poems and poetry reviews which takes as its motto "For Arthur's Britain". Edited by Eric Ratcliffe, a single copy of Ore is available for 65p post free from 7 The Towers, Stevenage, Herts SG1 1HE. Ore XXIX is perhaps typical: in trying to preserve through poetry the links with the past, and by the defence of the archetype which is "effective in protecting the psyche against values which are false routes for mankind" it has much in common with many of Pendragon's aims. A worthy and well-filled anthology which deserves support.

DRAGON has now established itself as an informed newcomer to Arthurian studies. It deals specifically with the early medieval or "Dark Age" period rather than the medieval development of the Matter of Britain (though it also examines TV and film treatment of that era). In some ways it has the same feel as the early Pendragon magazines, with short articles (in No 5) on for example Cadbury and costume, plus news, reviews and letters. In all this it is of course more attractive and better finished than our duplicated foolscap/quarto mags from the sixties, and Charles Evans-Günther brings a very knowledgeable editorial control to the whole proceedings.

In contrast is Andy Collins' EARTHQUEST NEWS which "explores the Earth's mysteries", particularly in Essex. EN5 and EN6 have both covered the Enfield-Glastonbury cross story with some new research; and EN6 in particular reviews The Green Stone by Graham Phillips and Martin Keatman which provides a different version of Collins' own The Sword and the Stone story (itself reviewed in XV 4), as well as including news of a paranoid schizophrenic swindler descended from God via Elizabeth I. "That is what happens when you read The Holy Blood and the Holy Grail too much!" the editor rightly comments.

Finally, a mystery in THE ATLANTEAN, the magazine of The Atlanteans (formerly the Atlantean Society). A regular column entitled "Merlin...answers your questions" continues in issue 195. But what has happened to "Gildas" who also graced its pages? Did his intolerant nature not square with his new role as dispenser of helpful advice and New Age information?

CHRIS LOVEGROVE



The RIOTHAMUS Riot

P K JOHNSTONE



Why have the directors of Debrett's Peerage commissioned an all-star posse comitatus, headed by Geoffrey Ashe (a very good choice) to look into the historical basis of the Arthurian legend?

And why have they chosen, as their main effort, to identify Arthur with the fifth-century British leader Riothamus, who, very late in life, became King of Kerneo (Cornovia) in Brittany?

Considering the well-known genealogical bent of Debrett, this suggests an attempt to construct a pedigree reaching from King Arthur forward to the present day. This is not, in itself, at all preposterous. While Arthur had three sons, all of whom died very young, without issue, he also had one daughter, named Arthfedd, "Bear Princess," who married a Powysian cattle-baron (not a member of the royal hoch-gestalt) and certainly had several children, none of whom are ever reported as migrating to Brittany.

The name of Arthfedd's husband, by the way, was Llawfroedd Farfog Coch, L Red Beard, Is he to be identified with Launcelot du Lake? I do not know.

But I do know that any attempt to link up any eleventh- or twelfth-century Breton baron with King Riothamus will encounter almost insuperable obstacles, for there was a period in the tenth century when "Norman" (Danish) invaders had killed or driven out all but the pauperes Brittones. Many of the displaced nobles found refuge in Wessex.

(Did King Aethelstan know that his own ancestor, Cerdic, was a Briton or half-Briton as his name proves? King Alfred, Aethelstan's grandfather, showed no knowledge of it in any of his surviving work. But Alfred was a great king and a skilled diplomat. Such men seldom tell quite all they know. And Alfred did select as his biographer a South Welsh bishop, Asser of St Davids.)

The Bretons who recovered Brittany c 950 did not represent all the earlier mactigern lines. Nor is this the worst obstacle. The French Revolutionists of 1789ff in burning

title-deeds did irreparable damage to Breton history.

But let us suppose that Debrett's, by some lucky discovery, aided by a generous dollop of that simple faith which Tennyson recommended as superior to Norman (or Breton) blood, succeed in constructing a pedigree complete across fifteen centuries, from today to the floruit of Riothamus, all their labour will be wasted. Why? BECAUSE RIOTHAMUS DEMONSTRABLY WAS NOT ARTHUR.

How can I be sure of this? A reasonable question deserving an answer, but it cannot be given in full here. I can only attempt a hurried summary.

ARTHUR

As I established in 1962¹ Arthur won his climactic victory in the spring of AD 503. Born about 460, he ruled the wreck of what had been Roman Britain until 524. These results were published in what was then the foremost archaeological periodical in the Western world. Their publication brought me a deluge of congratulatory mail, to which I was unable to reply, as I was near death. My recovery was extremely slow--BUT COMPLETE. Now my results are questioned--by myself, among others.

This is very good. No "authority" is good enough to stand against truth. For instance, I had dated the obit of Hengest AD 467 (ASC 488, with the normal twenty-one year correction. But the Saxon Chronicle does not say that Hengest died in 488. It says that Aesc, probably his son, reigned in Kent for 24 years. 24 subtracted from 488 leaves 464, which MAY be correct.) But the true date of Hengest's death is 457, and its place the hilltop in SE Cornwall called Hengestesdun, now

Hingston Down.

But otherwise, the chronology which I established in 1962 stands vindicated. Not everyone will believe that--nor should they. But I do have some rather well-known historians in complete agreement with me on this point. I will cite only two--Sir Ifor Williams (Dictionary of Welsh Biography) and Sir Winston Churchill (The Birth of Britain). You could look it up.

RIOTHAMUS

Now, how does this conclusively disprove the equation Riothamus = Arthur? For a detailed exposition I will refer anyone sufficiently interested to two multi-volume works of the Reverend Sabine Baring-Gould: Lives of the Saints and Lives of the British Saints (with John Fisher).² In these volumes Baring-Gould has collected all that the fires of c 900 and 1789 have left of genuinely early Breton material, other than Geoffrey of Monmouth's "British book", which occasionally finds the confirmation it always needs. (And incidentally, Vicomte Hersart de Ville-marqués Barsaz Breiz, long scornfully rejected as spurious--but not by me--is now winning acceptance as genuine. I will not dwell on that, as the Barsaz does not mention Riothamus.)

Riothamus was no minor figure. He fought the Visigoths in central Gaul from 464 to 470. His army is said to have been 12,000 strong--and it came from "the Ocean", that is from Britain. After he lost the battle of Déols to Euric he retreated to Burgundy (around Geneva) then back to Quimper--and Euric did not follow him. Riothamus was still dangerous. We do not know the year of his death, but, since he must have been born c

400, some sixty years before Arthur, there can be no question of their identity.

One of Riothamus' sons was St German of Man (a namesake of Germanus of Auxerre) who died in 474. And a grandson, Budic, died in 509, and Budic's son Riuold, exiled to Britain, returned to Armorica in 512.

Another great-grandson of Riothamus--who also appears as Rhedyw (for *Rhedyf) and Ian (John) Reith--is St Illtud of Llancarfan, who retired about 510. He was the son of Bicanys, son of Aldor, son of Riothamus.

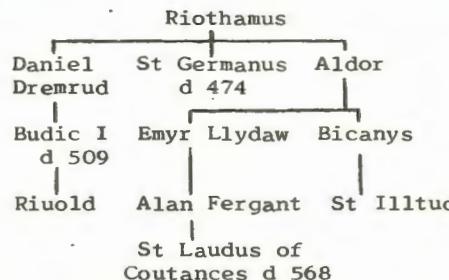
Still another descendant, St Laudus of Coutances, died in 568. He was the son of Alan Fergant (NOT the contemporary of William the Conqueror), son of Emry Llydaw, son of Aldor son of Riothamus.

Which serves to firmly establish the fact that Riothamus was born somewhere near AD 400.

AMBROSius

Here I would like to "put in" a very recent quotation from Kenneth Jackson of Edinburgh University, my mentor in Brittonic philology when he was at Harvard. Jackson writes:

"...Mistakenly treating a Celtic name as a title has recently caused some surprise--Léon Fleuriot's theory (Les Origines de la Bretagne: L'émigration, Paris 1980 pp 170-73) that the fifth-century Breton leader Riothimus or Riothamus (standing probably for late British *Rigotamos) was none other than his British contemporary, and that Fleuriot's Ambrosius Aurelianus rigotamos means 'Ambrosius the Supreme King' or 'the Super King'. The refutation of this is largely a matter of the reliability of the histor-



ical sources used, and may be left to historians, but the philological reason why it is impossible is that *Rigotamos does not mean 'Supreme King' but 'Most Kingly, Most Royal', a personal NAME."³

Is there a connection between Ambrosius and Riothamus? Almost certainly. They were not identical. Ambrosius, last of the Romans of Britain, whose ancestral estates were in Hants, Wilts and Dorset, at the end of a war lasting a decade, defeated, captured and executed Hengest Wihtgilsing of Kent in 457, then marched to London and held a great feast there. He could then rather easily have recovered Kent--but he did not. Why?

He really was a Roman at heart, and Romans--Aegidius and Syagrius--were still battling the Visigoths for the mastery of Gaul and the Western Empire. He SENT his most experienced Dux, Riothamus, with 12,000 of his best troops, overseas to Gaul. In 464 Riothamus met the Goths in a major battle and beat them, killing Frederic, brother of King Euric. It will have been Ambrosius' plan for Riothamus to then re-embark for Britain.

But the prospect of an independent kingdom had gone to the head of Riothamus. He stayed on --not unsuccessfully, for he left the kingdom of Kerneo to his children. But the greater

plan, for the re-establishment of the Western Empire, founded--and Kent remained Saxon, for the loss of 12,000 fighting men left Ambrosius crippled.

Riothamus was a Cornovian from Central Wales, therefore a distant, and very much older, cousin of Arthur. From 368 onward, the Irish of Munster had swarmed over the West Country. In the days of Owain Vinddu, of Vortigern and Ambrosius, adventurers from Cornovia were recovering Dumnonia. There was Custennin Gernyw, Constantine the Cornovian and his numerous sons--Gorlois, the historical father of Arthur was one of them. No, they did not give Cornwall its name, which is much older.

DATING

Enough of that. One other point needs clearing up--the PRECISE date of Arthur. In 1962 I fixed the date of his victory at Badon by its Roman, consular date. I stand by that but there are other ways of arriving at the same result. I will mention just one.

The 27th King of Pictland, Drust II Gurthiinmoch reigned from 465 to 495. He is the Gurthmwyl Wledig, unpen o Pryd yn (I do not have space or time for all the evidence now, but it exists) who in 495 marched south with Arthur, only to be killed in a wayside brawl. He was buried near Loughor, and Arthur, by a great effort of diplomacy, was able to win over the Picts to continue the campaign and so to win the battle of Caerleon-on-Usk, flinging Eossa Great Knife back across the Severn.

That was the prelude to Badon.⁴

NOTES

1. P K Johnstone "A Consular Chronology of Dark Age Britain" Antiquity March 1962, 102-9
2. 4 vols, Cymrodorion 1912-15 with an excellent index.
3. In Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies No 3, Summer 1982, p 38 note 43.
4. Pictish Chronicle in H M Chadwick Early Scotland Cambridge 1949, p 11. Black Book of Caermarthen, Englynion y Beddeu ("Stanzas of the Graves").



Paul Karlsson Johnstone is a Consulting Archaeologist and may be reached at: 5310 N Euclid, St Louis, MO 63115, USA



Letters

ROCK OF AGES

* From Mark Valentine,
Northampton:

Pendragon readers may be interested to know that there is an up-and-coming progressive rock band called Pendragon too! I recently saw them at London's Marquee Club, where they played fairly long and melodic "epic" songs, including one called "Excalibur".

I'm not sure whether they have any other titles with Arthurian themes, but they do have a self-produced tape available, at £1.50 plus postage from the band at 61 Middle Street, Stroud, Gloucs (Tel: Stroud 79545). They also sell two well-designed badges with the band's name on...

* One of the badges uses a raven design by Kate Pollard. This 1979 picture is re-used in the article by Jeremy Harte in this issue.

EARLY GALAHAD

* From Sam Brewster, Tadcaster N Yorks:

Mark Valentine asks (XV 4, 30): "What is the earliest known reference to Galahad?"

As far as I know, this is in the pre-Norman Welsh Arthurian tale (in the Mabinogion) called "Culhwch and Olwen", in which,

in a list of Arthur's warriors, there is one Gwalchafed son of Gwyar.

Gwalchafed means Hawk of Summer. He has a brother called Gwalchmei son of Gwyar. Gwalchmei means Hawk of May, and in all Welsh literature is the name given to "gawain". Gwalchmei is said to be the first nephew of Arthur.

How much this helps with Mark's thesis about the Cathars I do not know.

ARTHURIAN SOCIETIES

* From Steve Blackburn,
Newcastle-upon-Tyne:

"Cynric at Ratae" is a report of the activities of the Hinckley Arthurian Society and Newcastle University Arthurian Society over Easter (1982) when we staged a mock battle in Sheepy Wood near Hinckley, Leicestershire. The report is the most realistic news item I could manage which would be easily understood. It was beyond me to forge it into the rhyme which was probably used, as was neo-Welsh or Scots Gaelic.

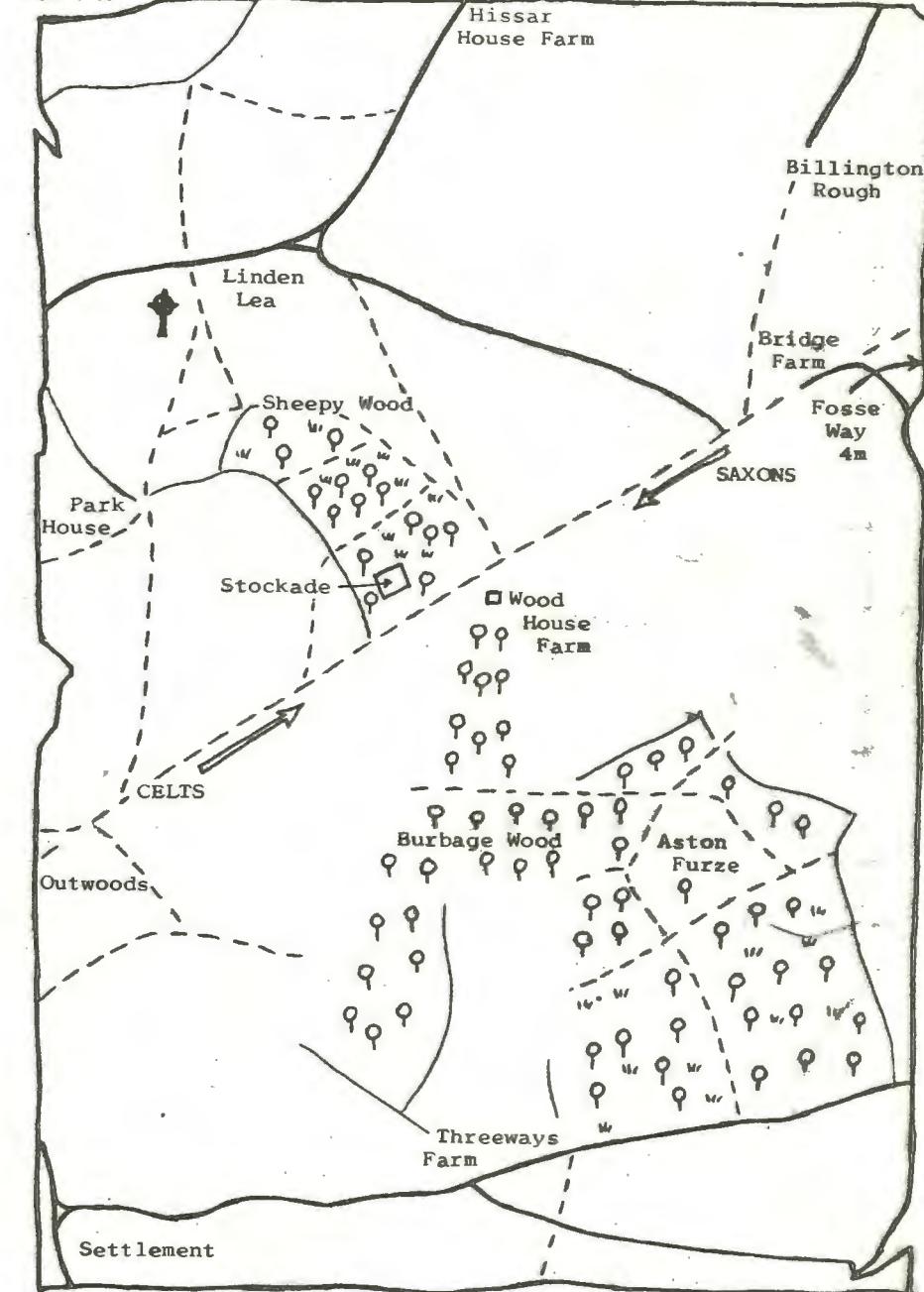
I am urging all members to get in touch with Pendragon, as all our work proceeds from knowledge of styles of dress and weaponry taken from literature and Pendragon provides much in the way of indications to sources and much information itself.

Anyone who is interested can get in touch through the following two addresses (anyone remote from these we can inform of other societies forming, or send on guidelines on dress, weaponry, fighting codes and organisation):

Hinckley Arthurian Society c/o Rob Taylor, 5 Manor Street, Hinckley, Leicestershire.

Newcastle University Arthurian

Society, Dept of Archaeology, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne,
NE1 7RU



CYNRIC AT RATAE

IN THE ALDER MONTH Cynric's war-band came out of the north through EBORACUM and LINDUM, there taking the Fosse Way to proceed unhindered until past RATAE.

They first encountered resistance at this point where they were met by Artos and his captains Gawaine, Bedwyr and Cei (Kei).

Unusually he was on foot but, quite usually, he employed some mercenary forces led by Hengist, and prominent among them the Jutes Ulf and Koenig.

WOODLAND

As soon as advance scouts of Cynric espied the opposing force they took to the woodland where they made a rendezvous with Cerdic the famous southern leader and hastily refortified an old timber enclosure.

Among Cynric's war-band were Sigurd, a Frankish mercenary, and two outcast Celts -- Cadfan var Vrydic and Feldol gadarn -- who had thrown in their lot with the Saxons.

Among them too were the axe-wielding Wulfric and the spear-handling Uscfraer.

ATTACK

After fortifying the clearing they thrice repulsed the Celtic



Artos attempting to enter stockade

onslaught, falling at last to a surprise attack.

The Saxon force then counter-attacked after re-grouping and took the fort, only to lose it soon after. Another Saxon counter-attack again wrested it from the Celtic hand.

So positions remained over the murky Easter night.

STRENGTHENING

Artos here intervened and by secretly offering Sigurd the Frank more money he wooed him from his former allies.

However this strengthening did not bring success and on the last Celtic assault the Saxons rallied out

of the fort and scattered the attacking force.

Finally, small groups were hunted through the woodlands but most found it easy to slip away to re-assemble further West.

DISCIPLINE

The fact must now be faced that the Saxons are now firmly in place West of RATAE and only a major and disciplined counter-attack will drive them Eastward.

Report by
ANEURIN
GWAUDRYDD
War Correspondent

HOLY BLOOD

* From Philip Jones, Preston, Lancs:

It is not my intention to have a tedious public argument with Mr R A Gilbert but I must make some observations following his review of The Holy Blood & the Holy Grail in the last issue of Pendragon (XV 2). In his review Mr Gilbert has displayed skill in neatly twisting what the authors say and mean and then condemns their "conclusions" (or supports his own position) by quoting the conclusions of other authors and not getting back to sources. To make the statement "the occasional fact has crept into the book" is both unworthy and defensive.

I have carefully studied most of the UK reviews of Holy Blood and it is clear that the real issues raised by this book were not fully appreciated by any of the reviewers. I suspect that most of the readers and contributors to Pendragon are also missing the mark at present. Too many are living next to Arthur's bones rather than his spirit.

In final response to Mr Gilbert's assertion that "history as it might have been is always more fun than history as it really was", I quote from Carlos Fuentes whose novel Terra Nostra hits the metaphysical nail on the head:

"Each of us had dreamed of rectifying a wrong decision in the past; but not even God may change what has already taken place."

"...This is our world even though it is not the best of all possible worlds."

* The Holy Blood debate continues (unabated, as it were):

* From Charles W Evans-Günther Flint, Delyn, N Wales:

The Holy Blood & the Holy Grail ... Yes! I think it would be fair to call it an interesting book but that is all. It started off to be intriguing but then went into the most uninteresting history of secret societies. I'm quite sure I must have missed something in the middle two or three hundred pages, it became so boring unless you are interested in secret societies. The Cathars and Templars are quite interesting but to go through a complete history! Much of what took pages and pages could have been summed up in a short space. This massive 445 page book should really have been about 200 pages, or less.

Eventually, after you've ploughed through the intrigues of the Templars, Cathars etc the writers get back to the main subject. However, it turns into an anti-climax. The idea of the faked crucifixion is contrary to everything the man Jesus taught. There is certainly no reason to quarrel with the possibility of Jesus being married but to fake his death.. Jesus showed himself to be an honest man, an enlightened man, not someone who would take part in some silly intrigue. This is nothing to do with religion-- Jesus, himself, had had a belly-full of the established religion of his day. This is to do with the man--if you can believe that he took any part in faking his own death then all he said must be thrown away.

Whether the Merovingian dynasty was descended from Christ is virtually insignificant. What difference would it make? I must agree with R A Gilbert's comments and add it would have made better fiction than so-called fact. Even if the Priory

of Sion did know something about the descendants of Jesus how would that give them influence over famous people, rulers and popes? In parts the book verges on "Von Dänikening" but manages to miss by a fraction. I find it one of the sad signs of the times that there is so much Von Dänikening going on and that the really important things get overshadowed by these very speculative and unprovable topics...

May I add that secret societies rarely have any real secrets and are usually based not on fact but their own inventions. Most of them claim descent over thousands of years and have great souls working for them or famous people as members... Leonardo da Vinci seems to be a member of most every secret society except the Triads. These societies always seem to have special secret knowledge which turns out to be commonsense or nonsense and bits and pieces borrowed from other philosophies--often Jewish, Egyptian or Oriental...

One thing that did hold my attention was references to Arthur but how sad that they were so sparse and lacked information.



Visigothic pillar set up by Saunière 1891 upside-down

CONSTANTINE III

* From Eric Ratcliffe, Herts:

Regarding Charles Nankivell's question whether Constantine III was made Emperor at Calleva (XV 1, p 7), I do not know. However CN should bear in mind that there was the Constantine III of partly known history, who came to power in Britain in 407, before the Arthurian 'complex', and took off to Gaul to drive off barbarians; and there was the Constantine of legend, son of Cadur said to have succeeded Arthur.

There was also another candidate, a monk's story of a King of Cornwall who was Constantine resigned and came to Scotland and died "about 588", who converted Kintyre and whose bones are said to be in Govan kirk-yard as those of St Constantine.

There are other Constantines, but it would seem that the Constantine made Emperor at Calleva was on the legendary side and possibly it is referred to in one of the romances. I ought to know, but perhaps someone else can find the reference. I can certainly find nothing in 'history' as opposed to tradition which tells us that Constantine III (The Blessed) was made Emperor at Calleva.

Incidentally, there is just no room in known history for Arthur's heir, Constantine, chronologically. Which should make us suspect that, after all Arthur himself did not exist in that century in which his heir also by history did not exist. As hinted in my The Great Arthurian Timeslip (1978), we should look much earlier for Arthur, and this applies also to Constantine son of Cadur, who are unreal in this period of time.

CN is a natural iconoclast and romantic balloon burster, and we need his temperament as much as we need those of extended imaginative theory, to solve and to keep us on the rails. But he should not be too hard on Mallory, G of M, Tennyson and others who 'rewrote' the old legends and bits of history. Without them even the original matter would be lost, and they were not deliberately distorting legend and tradition, they were primarily writing for cohesion in their own ways, to produce an ingenious whole by piecing together the ancient fragments and putting the whole into a time world which their contemporaries would appreciate.

No unimaginative analytical person could possibly do this artistic feat which holds ancient facts imprisoned like insects in an amber ornament, perhaps often in the wrong order or biological scheme.

But from re-analysis of these artistic syntheses we may examine these sequences of fragments, and one day, no doubt, we shall be nearer the truth from which such study than from centuries of analysis without the intuitive artistic faculty to help us.

THE FIRST BATTLE OF BADON

* Eric Ratcliffe also writes: As a very strong advocate of a first-century Arthur who was none other than Caratacus (see The Great Arthurian Timeslip published by ORE), reading Chris Lovegrove's article on Solsbury Hill, north of Bath has re-impelled me to give some circumstances as I see it appertaining to Badon, the twelfth battle.

All the correspondents in the unique 'War' issue (XV 3) are very much bogged down in interpreting Saxon issues versus Arthur, but before we take the word Saxon literally (also remembering that 'Saracen' and 'pagan' also stood for many people in different times), one can see that the whole story of Arthur's battles is one of movement in retreat and counter attack over a long-distance campaign; there is no evidence at all that the Saxons had very much of a cohesive fighting machine at that time; after all, they had not long filtered into Britain as discrete marauders.

On the other hand, the movements of the Arthur under battle pressure appear to be that of a man up against a directional and efficient enemy, ie none other than the Legions of Rome, in this case probably the Second Augustan under Vespasian, perhaps reinforced by men from Camulodunum who were replaced by retired veterans. We also know that Vespasian made irresistible progress towards the West Country against desperate stands of the British. We know also that Caratacus was their great leader, even among the Romans; by AD 50 he was in Wales, before then there are the missing pages of Tacitus which should have told us of his stand in the Bath area--



Arthur's twelfth battle.

Should Chris really worry that the 'Saxons' as he calls them were to the north of Bath when they were supposed to be advancing from the south or east of Bath? For if he will get rid of the 'Saxon itch' and put himself back four centuries he will envisage Ostorius advancing and Arthur retreating before him, possibly fighting a losing battle at Bath, then passing north of Bath and regrouping for a last stand almost before finally retreating to Wales. From a rendering of Layamon: "Yesterday was the Roman of all knights boldest, but now he standeth on the hill and beholdeth the Avon, how the steel fishes lie in the stream." These words he puts in the mouth of Arthur.

Chris also wonders what the 960 men referred to, who were killed in one day by Arthur alone (Nennius).

Difficult perhaps to account for this queer figure from a Saxon rabble, but surprisingly simple if we assume Arthur was against the Second Legion, who if they assumed the battle formation of the main cohort and two other cohorts in the 'front line' would have about 800 in the main cohort and 480 in each of the other cohorts. And, like we say "Wellington won the battle of Waterloo" as if he did it himself, Nennius is just saying the Arthur won the battle of Badon or (alone) put two cohorts to rout, totalling 960 men. Again where are all those Saxon heroes who fought against the famous Arthur? We hear of none, but we know of Vespasian and of Caratacus (the Arthur) as historical fact, and the circumstantial pieces fit far better than the much belaboured case of the Saxons chasing Arthur all over Britain.

There are many traditional sources which put the action in Roman times and pit Arthur against Rome. I suggest we pay more heed to these, and out of it all we may build up the picture lost in the pages of Tacitus. Strange indeed that the very pages are missing which might have told of the cowardice or slaughter of two cohorts at Badon by British tribesmen!

THE DATE OF BADON

* From Ivor Snook, Exmouth, Devon:

I was interested in Sid Birchby's note in the Summer issue (XV 3 p 8) regarding the date of Badon, as I remembered that Bede had given a date for it.

On checking I find that Bede gives the date for the arrival of the Saxons as AD 449 (Book 1:15) and in Book 1:16 refers to

"The battle of Badon Hill, where the Britons made a considerable slaughter of the invaders. This took place about forty-four years after their arrival in Britain." forty-four years added to 449 gives the date of Badon as 493 --the very year that Messrs Alcock and Chambers confirm nearly 1200 years later.

There are of course two possible variables here, the 449 date and Bede's estimate of forty-four years. How he arrived at 44 years cannot be established, but we know that he was very careful about his dates. He was the first British writer to consistently use the Anno Domini system of dating, and reconciled them with the previous datings by reigns of Emperors or Popes, etc.

About the Saxons he says: "In the year of Our Lord 449 Martian became Emperor with Valentinian, the forty-sixth in

succession from Augustus, ruling for seven years. In his time the Angles or Saxons came to Britain at the invitation of King Vortigern in three longships..."

It could be thought that the Saxons arrived during any of the seven years of Martian's reign; nevertheless it reads as though 449 refers to the Saxons arrival.

But elsewhere Bede does in fact give different dates, for in Book 5:23 he calculates back from the writing of his book and makes it 446, whilst in the following section he calculates back from the arrival of St Augustine and makes it 447.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records under the year 449 very similar information to that given by Bede, but the previous entry under the year 443 says: "In this year the Britons sent overseas to Rome and asked them for troops against the Picts, but they had none there because they were at war with Attila, King of the Huns. "And then they sent to the Angles and made the same request to the Princes of the Angles."

From the general pattern of the ASC entries the appeal to the Angles could have taken place at any time between 443 and 449 so although we cannot be sure of the exact year it appears that there was an appeal to the Angles before 449.

Nennius in the Historia Britonnum also gives 447 for the first arrival of the Saxons.

The Flores Historiarum relates that Vortigern had talks with the Saxons in 447. In the following year, 448, the Picts and the Scots again ravaged Britain and in 449 Vortigern made his pact with Hengist and Horsa.

ADVENTUS SAXONUM

Putting this all together the story may be something like this.

In 443 being unable to resist the Picts and Scots Vortigern appealed to Rome but received no help.

In 447 getting rather desperate he had talks with the Saxons but did not ask them to come to Britain at that time. (Perhaps he had his doubts about the Saxons and was not quite the fool he is usually made out to have been.)

However the following year the Picts and Scots invaded again, and realising that the Britons had practically no chance of success without help he turned to the Saxons in 449.

Thus there may be two "correct" dates for the arrival of the Saxons in Britain. 447 could be the year of the first contact, when discussions were held possibly with envoys or possibly with some small raiding party, and 449 the far more important one when agreement was reached with Hengist and Horsa and the first contingent of fighting men arrived.

Bede History of the English Church and People 731 (Penguin)
The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Dent 1978)

Nennius Historia Britonnum

Flores Historiarum (Ed Luard HMSO 1890)



SOME POINTS on BADON HILL. R D HOSKINS

Perhaps to recognise it, even if not to locate it.

1 : THE NAME OF BADON

The location of the Battle of Badon is very difficult to decide because so many small words are possibly connected with the name of Badon Hill.

Some of them are associated with baths, such as:

bad, bada, badon, bade etc and also an unknown hero or god called Bada or Badda etc.

It could only have been a British or Roman British word because the name would have been used long before the Saxons arrived.

The earliest writers, who had written about the battle, were two monks, Gildas and Nennius, in their histories in about AD 546 and AD 796. Both would have written in Latin, and therefore the name probably would have been Latinised by them. Gildas used the phrases

MONS BADONICUS and
RE BADONICI MONTIS,

an adjectival usage. Nennius used the phrase

IN MONTIS BADONIS

which would be more a noun usage. So those phrases would be likely to be "a Badonic hill" and "a hill of the Badoni".

2 : HILLFORT DWELLERS

At the time of the Roman invasion in AD 45, a Briton was asked in Verulamium (St Albans) what places were in different directions. He waved his hand towards the west and stated: BODUNI. I assumed that the word was misheard or miscopied by a scribe for the name of the DOBUNI or DOBUNNI tribe which I have seen so spelled on a coin. They were all across west Wessex from the south sea

up to the Marlborough Downs and Cirencester.

When, however, I was delving in the Cornish and Welsh language, I found that the word BODUNI was probably meant as BO-DUN-I, "dwelling-hillfort-people" or "the people who dwelt in hillforts". The word was therefore a type of tribe and not the name of a tribe.

Another change would have been that language when old has a harsh guttural sound with long vowels but at later dates will sound softer with short vowels. The word BODUNI in AD 45 would have been Old British, but in Mid Welsh AD 500 and 800 it could change and sound softer like BADONI.

The Dobuni certainly had settled on many hills in west Wessex. This would be the reason why the Saxons, when they reached this area c AD 600, gave their suffices to BADON hills. The homes covering these hills of the Dobuni became such names as

BADBURY BADBURY HILL
BADBURY RINGS BADBY
BADDESLEY BAYDON etc

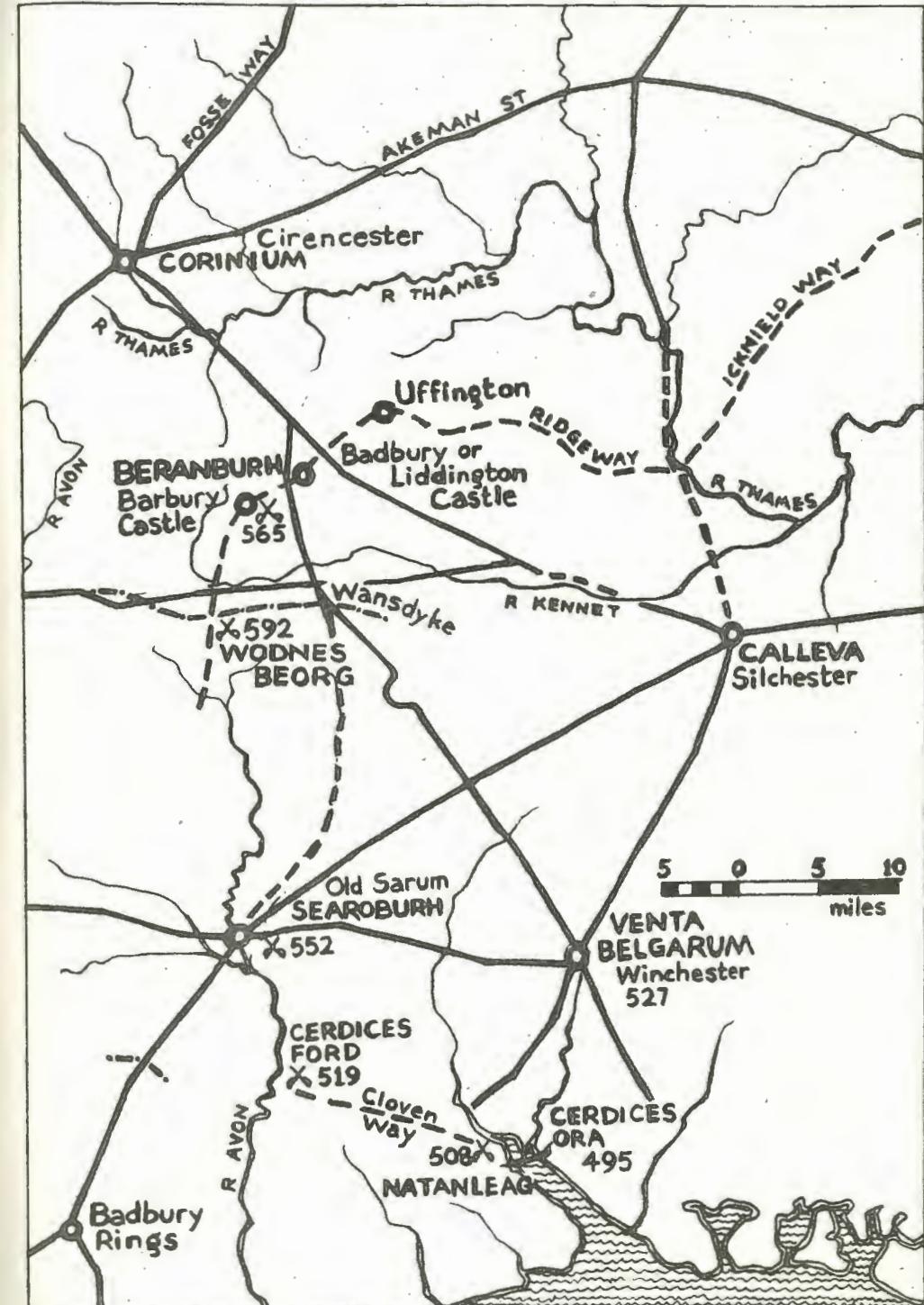
On the Ridgeway, obviously protecting it, Barbury Castle, Liddington Castle and Uffington Castle (of the white carved stylised horse) were also probably "Badon hills" before given their present names. Both Liddington and Uffington were personal Saxon names.

3 : THE SECOND BADON

I find a mystery note of mine which I copied out of the Welsh Annals in Nennius some years ago:

"Wulfhhere, King of Mercia 664-666, in whose time occurred 'Bellum Badonis Secundo' in 665."

That was the bald statement



made about some fighting with Wessex, so probably Wulfhere was killed. Nennius said that it was 150 years after the Hampshire landings in 515.

4 : POSSIBLE CANDIDATES

Professor Kenneth Jackson assessed that the date of Badon Hill was AD 500.

This should enable us to narrow down more the place of Badon by the incursion of Cerdic the Brito-Saxon at CERDICESORA (near Southampton). He landed in AD 495 and fought several battles according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. They were NATANLEAG in 508 (Netley Marsh) after which he followed the Cloven Way along to the R Avon which he tried to ford in 519; the battle of CERDICESFORD (Charford) has little more said about it and no euphoria about the numbers of British and noble leaders killed as in the previous battles; instead he turned to capture Winchester after the battle of CERDICESLEAG in 527.

Because of all this I am certain that Cerdic had a bloody nose at Charford and failed to pass the Avon; also because the Saxons did not capture Salisbury until 552 which was only 3 miles north of Charford. Nor did they capture Barbury Castle until 565. So Badbury Rings was never reached by the Saxons at the time of Badon.

The location must be placed in the north area of Wessex. Either Uffington Castle or Barbury Castle might have been the place, but I still think that Liddington Castle is the most likely. It not only covers the Ridgeway but also the two Roman roads which flow downhill past it to the important centre of Cirencester, the capital of the Dobuni (Corinium Dobunorum), through which passed another

Roman road, the Fosse Way.

The Saxons did not conquer the coastal plain until the battle of Dyrham in 577 when they separated Wessex from Wales at the River Severn by taking in the same year Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath.

They probably invaded the plain and the Severn area from the Thames Valley--perhaps 50 years after Arthur and Badon Hill!

5 : THE BADONIC LEGACY

Belisarius (500-565) was the famous general of Justinian, the Roman emperor of the East in Byzantium. He was trained in the Byzantium Guards in AD 520 and devised a new system of cavalry training. I copied from Robert Graves what his elite corps was:

"Arming heavy cavalry with bow as well as lance and making them proficient as skirmishers as well as shock troops. He armed them with lance and small shield (holding six darts), heavy broadsword on left thigh, a strong bow and quiver of arrows (next to the sword). Dressed in sleeveless mail-shirts to thigh and tall raw-hide boots, with woollen cloaks for cold and rainy weather. He introduced the novel device of steel stirrups and trained the men to manage their horses when necessary by pressure of knee and heel instead of a bridle."

The story of Arthur and his horsemen became known throughout west Europe and as far as the Mediterranean. Since Belisarius was a contemporary of Arthur, he might well have heard how Arthur operated with his cavalry, and so received some good ideas to use in devising his new cavalry force.



FOLKLORE OF BADBURY RINGS · J HARTE

Badbury Rings is a large multi-castellate hillfort in the parish of Shapwick near Wimborne Minster in Dorset. It lies on a slight slope, and the three ditches are broadly spaced for effective protection against the sling-stone artillery of the late Iron Age; the name VINDOGLADIA (White Ditches, referring to the appearance of freshly dug chalk) appears in the Antonine Itinerary, and suggests that at the time of the Roman Conquest it was a fairly recent construction. The fort must have been one of those taken by Vespasian in his original campaign, and became a Roman camp overlooking the road system of eastern Dorset.

Four roads align on the edges of the fort, including the important Old Sarum-Dorchester route; they are sighted towards it over the plain, but the alignments do not continue through the fort. The road systems do not fit in with the distribution of Bronze Age sites in the district, or with probable routes among the Bury-Spettisbury group of hillforts, and are a straightforward piece of Roman engineering.

Occupation of the site probably continued through the Romano-British period; it is the natural centre from which to organise the defence of the main route to the west. Two earthworks (Bokerley Dyke to the north-east and Coombs Ditch to the south-west, were either constructed or strengthened from 350 to 400 as part of a defensive scheme; they do not appear to have been sacked, but are disused after this period.

BADON

Badbury Rings was first identified as the Mons Badonicus of

Gildas by E Guest in 1883; the association was made on purely philological grounds (Badbury appears in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as Baddan byrig), but became a popular Arthurian localisation, at least among Dorset scholars. Although this identification has been supported by Kenneth Jackson in the Journal of Celtic Studies (2 p 152) its proofs have grown weaker with time. The comparison of the names is made less impressive by the numerous other cases of Badda- names for hillforts in Wessex, and the archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon conquest suggests that the English were nowhere near Dorset in 500. The basis of the West-Saxon kingdom seems to have been on the upper Thames, including Somerset in several campaigns after Dyrham, and only then (perhaps the 7th century) absorbing Dorset/Durtrigia in a single move; thus Badon should be looked for in the mid-West, and Michael Wood's suggestion of Liddington Castle at Badbury near Swindon is as good as any.

It has been suggested (chiefly by Ekwall in the Dictionary of English Placenames) that the Badda after whom this hill is named is a legendary hero associated with forts. There are three other instances of the name applied to camps, and the use of a repeated name for archaeological sites is familiar from other contexts-- eg Maiden Castle, Robin Hood's Butts. Apart from a proposed connection with OE beadu 'war' and the similarity to the equally shady Cada of the Cadbury forts, we know nothing of the supposed hero. The connection with the Irish war goddess Badb is romantic and untenable.



RAVEN

The Arthurian connection seems to have led to a new belief about the site. In 1909 the Dorset ornithologist R Bosworth Smith wrote a description of a boyhood expedition to the fort some twenty years before, in which he had found a raven's nest; and, expanding on the theme, referred to the Cornish belief that it was unlucky to shoot ravens, since King Arthur had returned as one of these birds--a superstition recorded in the 19th century and also found (attributed to the English) in Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. These two references had been brought together in *Notes and Queries*, and remain the only authorities for the Arthur-as-raven belief. Bosworth Smith, in poetic mood, suggested that Badbury would be an appropriate place to see the kingly bird.

Subsequently, in the popular folklore and guidebook literature, this fancy has been repeated as a genuine tradition --which of course it now is: "The victorious Arthur reappears on the anniversary of the battle every year since those stirring days, in the shape of a raven. He flies about croaking his satisfaction as he surveys the scene of his triumph, then off he flies to reappear

the following year" (Collman, *Hants & Dorset Folklore* p 22). The most recent account speaks of "a black raven ghost", and it seems that the Arthurian image is being assimilated to motifs like the annual visit and the return to old haunts, which are common in Dorset ghost tradition.

GHOSTS!

Badbury is also the home of two bona fide ghosts. An old warrior with a twisted leathery face, gashed with wounds, creeps up on people after dark; another source speaks of his appearing to courting couples. The last sighting was in the autumn of 1977. The *Dorset Evening Echo* of 19 January 1979 interviewed a woman who had been walking on the site in the afternoon with her husband; he looked back and saw, standing on top of one of the banks, a lady in a long black coat, buttoned up to the front, who was wearing a hat in Edwardian style. He turned round to say to his wife that they should help her down; but when they returned to the area they found no such lady.

Both these ghosts are interesting in view of the popularity of the Rings among Blandford and Wimborne people as a centre for day outings, picnics and so on. The haggard warrior ghost who frightens the modern visitor is perhaps a projection of historical musings on the fort, comparing its origins with its present tameness: the past is scary. The Black Lady, by contrast, is a realistic ghost, since little old ladies are quite common at the site on a warm afternoon. Of course this is not to discard a parapsychological approach to the hauntings--the possibility of a dressed-up joker on the one hand, and the parallel with at-

tacks on courting couples by ufos and bigfeet on the other.

COFFINS

The Dorset Field Club, on a visit to Badbury in 1889, were told of the tradition of a golden coffin buried between the Rings and Shapwick village: "What a prize for the Dorset Museum!" someone said. Frederick Treves in 1906 supposed that the coffin was buried in the fort itself, but this is probably a simplification of the original account.

One of the Roman roads runs through Shapwick, and it is possible that the legend refers to a Roman settlement beside this, like the villa excavated two miles to the north at Hemsworth: elsewhere, at Winterborne Kingston, there was a legend of a gold coffin buried in the parish which was confirmed by the discovery of a Roman sheet-lead coffin.

TREES

The popularity of Badbury for excursions has led to a rapid increase in beliefs about the avenues of trees planted on either side of the road from Wimborne. In fact these were planted by William John Banks of Kingston Lacy in 1835. When surveyed in 1973, there were 374 trees to the north and 364 to the south, with 18 gaps which have subsequently been replaced.

The essential tradition is that there is a tree for every day of the year, although in fact there are too many on the north, and probably the south, for this to work. A more perceptive variant says that there are 365 on one side, 366, for a leap year, on the other.

They are variously supposed to have been planted by prisoners of war; as a memorial to soldiers who fell at Waterloo; to

mark the death of a farmer's son in World War I; and to record the one year of happiness which Banks enjoyed with his wife before she died. One informant was certain that they concealed a cache of sovereigns: "Ther'm yeller boys unner 'en".

These beliefs are part of an interest in trees as landmarks, developed in response to the local tourism of the last few decades: the avenues around Dorchester are attributed to Napoleonic prisoners-of-war, and the beech clump on Chactonbury Ring in Sussex has a group of stories, including the remembering of a dead wife. I think most people's reaction to something odd in the landscape is to suppose that it commemorates someone.

SOURCES

Name of site:

EPNS Dorset (2 p 177)

The raven and the ghosts:

Edmund Waring's Ghosts and Folklore of Dorset p 53

Philip Shaw in Coaster 12 p 5

The gold coffin:

Dorset Proceedings 11 p 20

Grinsell's Folklore of Prehistoric Sites

Roman roads:

Dorset Proceedings 4 p 127 and 9 p 147

The trees:

Dorset Countryside 2 viii p 33, 1977

Dorset 100 p 32, 1982.

Other material is from the EARTH GIANT files, accessible via the editor.

Jeremy Harte,
35 West Street,
Abbotsbury,
Nr Weymouth,
Dorset.





We now turn to a development described by Gildas. He says that a man called Ambrosius Aurelianus, last of the Romans whose parents had worn the purple, rallied the Britons to his cause against the rebelling Anglo-Saxons.

The Welsh Annals describe a battle between Vitolinus and Ambrosius in 437 at Wallop. We can take it that Ambrosius's rise to power began c 430 (?435), probably as a rival to Vortigern (as is hinted at in many places) so that his rule overlapped with that of Vortigern which must have ended c 450 (though this may not be the date of Vortigern's death).

This makes Ambrosius far too early to have been the hero of the battle of Badon (c 500) and it is my contention that two rulers came to power after him: Uthr Pendragon and his son Arthur.

Of course it is possible that Ambrosius was the Comes Britanniarum and Viriconium had been his capital. However that may be, I believe that Roman society was by this time so broken down that Uthr and Arthur would have been less sub-Roman as completely "Celtic". Gildas, describing Ambrosius as the last of the Romans, failed to realize that all Britons would have been Romanized citizens at this early date.

However, Ambrosius's campaign was presumably not completely successful (Gildas describes a campaign in which first one then the other side won) and the reason why such completely "Celtic" characters as Uthr and Arthur appeared to take his place was not that they revived the late Roman practice of using cavalry (a practice which

did not save the Empire) but that they revived the pre-Roman Celtic practice of using horses and chariots in battle. Gildas, in one passage where he is attacking a contemporary British king, says of him: "You Bear, who guided the chariot of the Bear." Now, Bear is a possible nickname of Arthur (Nennius says that Arthur was known as the "Horrible Bear"), since Arth is Welsh for Bear; but what is striking about this passage is that Arthur is described as having a CHARIOT.

A further look at Gildas: he says that in the third consulship of Agitius the Britons sent an appeal to him for Roman help against the Picts. Now this is either Aegidius who was never a consul, or Aetius (as Bede understood it): if the third consulship of Aetius is meant (446), then, according to my dates, it must have been for protection against the Anglo-Saxons, not the Picts. That the appeal was made. This is quite consistent with his quotation of some of the words of the petition: "The barbarians drive us to the sea; the sea throws us back on the barbarians." The sea-level had risen considerably at this time and there would be widespread flooding in places such as Somerset which may be the very area from which the appeal came.

UTHR PENDRAGON

Ambrosius's campaign then came to an end in c 455 and Uthr Pendragon took his place, his name meaning the Terrible Chief of Leaders, i.e. he rallied the other Celtic chieftains to his aid.

Why do I believe in the historicity of Uthr? Firstly, there is a gap between Ambrosius

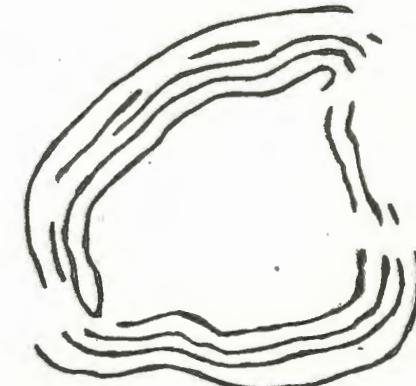
and Arthur that has to be filled (although it could be filled by Vortimer, the son of Vortigern according to Nennius);¹ secondly, in a pre-Norman Welsh poem a servant of Arthur is described as a servant of Uthr Pendragon. Uther Pendragon was not then an invention of Geoffrey of Monmouth (12th century). Moreover, Nennius says that Arthur was called Mab Uter, mistaking this to mean the Terrible Son. When Uthr's campaign ended, c 490, his son Arthur took over.

Where was Uthr's and Arthur's power-base? A good case has been made for Cadbury Castle at South Cadbury in Somerset--a place not yet conquered by the Anglo-Saxons and left alone long enough to break down socially as described above,² yet remaining attractive to the lowland-hungry Anglo-Saxons. Incidentally, this would be the famous "Camelot", which is evidently a form of the Celtic CAMULODUNUM. Two Camulodunums are known from Roman Britain, Colchester and the Brigantian fort at Almondbury--no doubt this was a third.

ARTHUR

In a short paragraph inserted into Nennius's History, twelve battles are ascribed to the leadership of Arthur. These could quite possibly be genuine since they probably derive from a panegyric song to Arthur, contemporary or nearly so with Arthur himself.

The places of the battles are: the mouth of the River Glein; four at another river Dubglas in Linnuis; a river called Bassas; the wood of Celidon; Guinnion; the City of the Legion; the shore of the river Tryfrywyd, meaning the "many-coloured strands" in which the enemy of Arthur's warriors is called Garwlwyd. Gwrgi Garwlwyd is mentioned elsewhere in Welsh literature as an oppressor of the Britons who killed a Briton every day and two on Saturday so as to avoid fighting on the Sabbath. He is thus an anti-British Christian and can only be a Scot in Dalriada (modern Argyll, being the kingdom in part of Scotland which Scots had conquered). It is a moot point whether the Dalriadans would have been Christian at this date.



CADBURY-CAMELOT (after Alcock)

As now totally unidentifiable, we can dismiss Glein, Dubglas (except that it may be in Lincolnshire), Bassas, Guinnion and Agned, not doubting that Battles took place there.

The wood of Celidon implies Scotland since that is where the Caledones lived (a Pictish tribe). The City of the Legion looks like Chester, though why Arthur should be fighting Anglo-Saxons at Chester is a bit of a mystery; alternatives are Caerllion-on-Ust and even York. Tryfrywyd is mentioned in an early Welsh poem as Traeth Tryfrywyd, meaning the "many-coloured strands" in which the enemy of Arthur's warriors is called Garwlwyd. Gwrgi Garwlwyd is mentioned elsewhere in Welsh literature as an oppressor of the Britons who killed a Briton every day and two on Saturday so as to avoid fighting on the Sabbath. He is thus an anti-British Christian and can only be a Scot in Dalriada (modern Argyll, being the kingdom in part of Scotland which Scots had conquered). It is a moot point whether the Dalriadans would have been Christian at this date.

However that may be, these battles are in the north, and if we accept Cadbury Castle as Arthur's base, he must have moved a lot about the country. There are two clues to his possible role: in that passage in Nennius, it says Arthur fought alongside the kings of the Britons but he was the leader of the battles, dux bellorum; in that poem mentioned above, it says that Arthur's warriors were "helping at Eidyn (Edinburgh) on the borders", ie Arthur's role, like that implied by Uthr's name, was as a soldier who "helped" and led all the kings of the Britons, possibly being a king himself. In that same poem, "the borders" must have been the border of Pictland; hence some of his enemies were Picts.

BADON

The last battle of Mount Badon is mentioned by Gildas and is therefore very reliable fact. Gildas regarded it as a decisive victory for the Britons (though not the last battle) after which there was almost complete peace for forty-three years.

No one knows where it was. There are various Badbrys in Britain, all in the south of England, and Badbury Rings in Dorset or Liddington Castle in Wiltshire (at the foot of which is the village of Badbury) are likely candidates.

At this battle Arthur no doubt rallied all the kings and warriors of Britain and was victorious. It has been argued that, in this particular battle, Arthur was "alone", ie the other kings were not with him. This cannot be read into the texts, which speak of Arthur slaying 960 "alone", this being obviously a miraculous account of

Arthur's military prowess. Gildas says that the battle was a siege and the Welsh Annals say it lasted three days.



THE CHURCH

At some time in the century, Coroticus king of Strathclyde invaded part of Ireland and made slaves of some of the Irish. Patrick, who since returning to Britain had become a missionary in Ireland, attacked Coroticus bitterly for making slaves of Christians and excommunicated him himself.

It is probably because he did this without consulting Rome that the Roman Church began to find fault with Patrick, although he refused to leave Ireland to answer the charges. This may reflect the coming conflict between the Celtic and Roman churches which, after Rome had sent Augustine to convert the Anglo-Saxons in 597, came to a head at the Synod of Whitby in 664.³



NOTES

1. Vortimer's campaign may have taken place during his father's lifetime, as Nennius says. An alternative to this model is to regard the apparent conquest of Kent at the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as in fact a distorted account of Vortimer's temporary expulsion of the Anglo-Saxons from Kent (see John Morris, p 81).

Vortimer's battles in Nennius may be paralleled with those in the ASC starting in 455 and there is no need to do any "backdating".

What is necessary is to cut out Hengist (because he could not have lived that long) though not necessarily Horsa from this episode, unless Hengist had really arrived as late as 449, and not in 428. Horsa is killed in one of these battles.

Furthermore, the historicity of Uthr Pendragon remains an open question--it may be one of Arthur's titles.

In this model, no date can be suggested for the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon rebellion, though it may be later than Germanus's second visit in 443; but an advantage of this model is that it means the Anglo-Saxons were on good terms with the Britons from somewhere between 428 and 455, and not for the five years in the other model.

2. A History of the Fifth Century in Britain, I (XVI 1)

3. Gildas said that the Picts and Scots (the latter from Ireland) had devastated the north of Britain as far as "the wall" (presumably Hadrian's). It may have been in this Scotic attack well-attested by archaeology, that Patrick, who lived in the north, probably in Bewcastle or Roman Banna north of the Wall, was carried off to become a slave in Ireland.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Apart from prehistoric times, the 5th century in Britain is the most obscure in all history. Our sources for the period are five: Gildas, Bede, Nennius, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Welsh Annals.

Gildas wrote in the middle of the 6th century, so most of his evidence is from hearsay, yet closer than most sources to the actual events. Bede (8th century) used what he could of Gildas and drew his own conclusions from him and from oral tradition. "Nennius" is simply the supposed author of "a whole pile of stuff" on the history of mainly the 5th century, written in about the 9th century. The ASC was begun in Alfred's reign (9th century) and is not contemporary with the events described, especially since the Anglo-Saxons of this period were illiterate, so all we have is a record of oral tradition. The Welsh Annals are our most reliable source. Added to these written sources there is of course the archaeological evidence.

Collingwood & Myers Roman Britain and the English Settlements (Oxford)

Jack Lindsay Arthur and his Times (Muller)

Map: Britain in the Dark Ages (Ordnance Survey)

Leslie Alcock Arthur's Britain (Pelican)

John Morris The Age of Arthur (Weidenfeld and Nicolson)

Geoffrey Ashe (ed) The Quest for Arthur's Britain (Paladin)

Henry Marsh Dark Age Britain (David and Charles)

R S Loomis (ed) Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages (Oxford)

Map: Roman Britain (OS)
Tacitus Germania (trans Mattingley, Penguin)

Bede History of the English

Church and People (trans Leo Shirley-Price, Penguin)
Gildas History and Epistle
Nennius History of the Britons
Map of Southern Britain in the Iron Age (OS)
Jennifer and Lloyd Anglo-Saxon England (Routledge and Kegan Paul)



ABOVE
Illustration from Spenser's *Faerie Queene*

RIGHT
Cameo of bear from South Shields Roman fort



CHARLES EVANS-GUNTHER

ARTORIX

Research done since the writing of the article *Arthur and Family* has shown that the name Arthur is derived from the early Celtic form of ARTORIX.

Prof Ellis Evans of Oxford University is possibly the country's top expert on the Brythonic language. His theory is of some interest: he believes that the name Arthur goes back to pre-Roman times and is the name ARTORIX--Bear King. The *rix* element is very common to the Celts:

Amberix, Cingetorix, Ogetorix and even Asterix (!) This could easily be Latinised into ARTORIUS which then is transformed into ARTHUR in the post-Roman period. Its evolution is similar to that of Tudor from Tuotorix. The *rix* doesn't necessarily mean a king.

Prof Evans also points out that the bear was of some importance to the Celtic people.

Prof J E Lloyd in *Y Cymrodr* (Vol 9 1888) produced a glossary of elements of Welsh names. This is the first entry:
ARTH--Arth-bodu; Arth-cumaun; Arth-ual; Arth-bleid. To these we may probably add Arth-ur. (= bear: as a name element possibly of totemistic origin.)

NOTICEBOARD

European Centre for Folk Studies

ARTHURIAN LEGEND
The need for a hero!
4-6 November, 1983

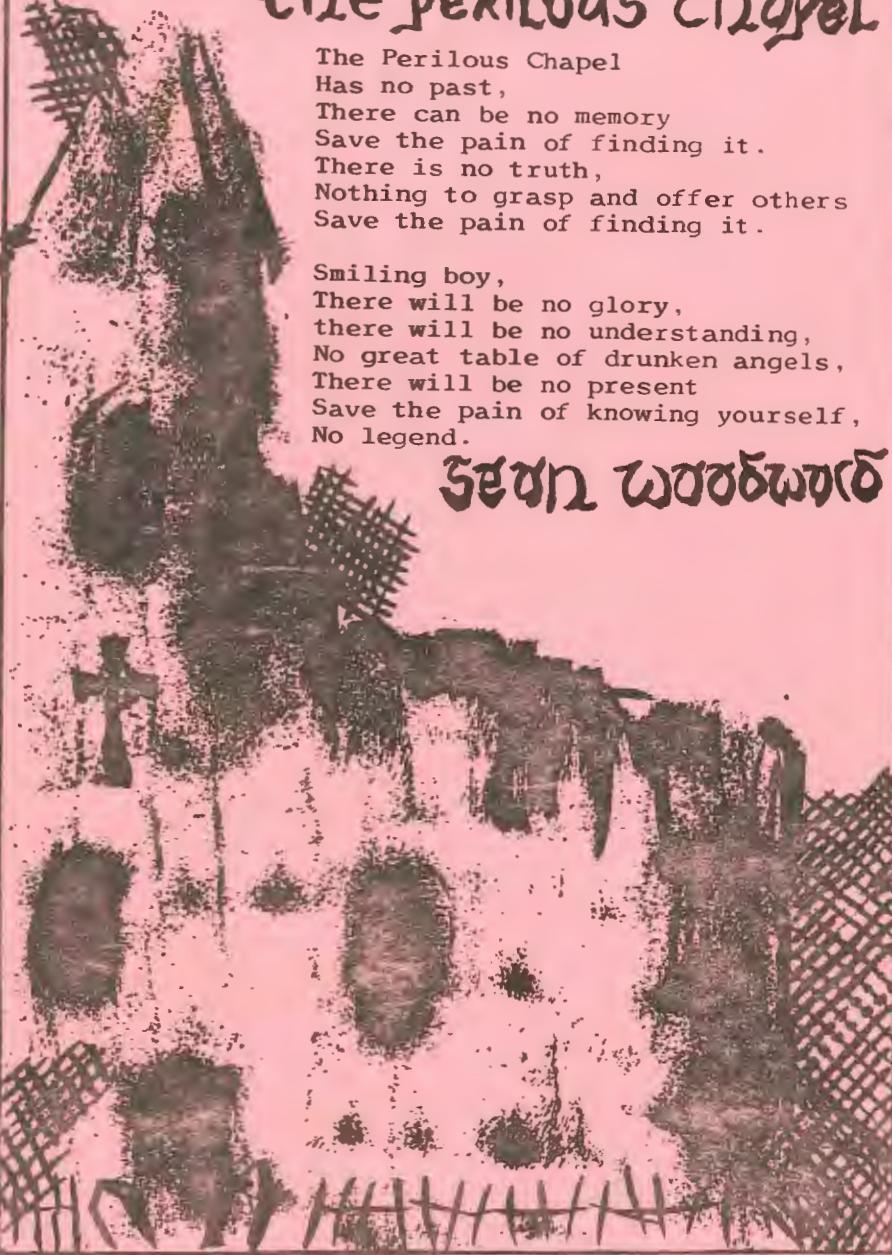


A short course on the impact of the legend on aspects of European literature, art and scholarship. Lectures on The Bardic Image, History and Archaeology, The Popular Image, Arthur as Illustrated and Arthur in Place names. Lecturers include Sir Idris Foster, Prof Bedwyr Lewis Jones and Donald Moore. The Centre houses the Arthurian Collection formerly at the Library HQ, Mold.

Study Weekend costs £55.00 and includes accommodation and VAT. Details and booking form from EFSC, East St, Llangollen, Clwyd, LL20 8RB. Tel Llangollen (0978) 861292.

We welcome items for inclusion in the NOTICEBOARD and OLD NEWS sections. Send them to Pendragon, 27 Roslyn Rd, Redland, Bristol BS6 6NJ.





the perilous chapel

The Perilous Chapel
Has no past,
There can be no memory
Save the pain of finding it.
There is no truth,
Nothing to grasp and offer others
Save the pain of finding it.

Smiling boy,
There will be no glory,
there will be no understanding,
No great table of drunken angels,
There will be no present
Save the pain of knowing yourself,
No legend.

sean woessner