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Arthur, Authors, and Authorities: The Influence of Modern Historians on Arthurian Historical Fiction

HOWARD M. WISEMAN

Most authors of Arthurian historical (in a strict sense) fiction acknowledge modern historical authorities. Examining thirty-one such fictional works across 120 years reveals these authorities' influences on authors' treatments of the battle of Badon Hill, Arthurian expeditions to Gaul, and Arthur's *romanitas*, which impact his character and story. [HMW]

The revival of interest amongst late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century historians in Arthur as a genuine, or at least possibly genuine, battle leader of the late-fifth- or early-sixth-century Britons is undoubtedly what has given rise to a new genre of popular literature: Arthurian historical fiction.[1] But can more particular influences of modern historians, academic or popular, on this genre be deduced? This article gives a positive answer by analyzing a corpus of thirty-one works of Arthurian historical fiction, ranging in publication date from 1898 to 2017. It comprises all commercially published works in English that meet my definition for this genre, plus a selection of independently published works from the current century. As well as detailing the authorities that authors themselves acknowledge, it uncovers their influence in numerous specific aspects of the fiction, and discusses how these aspects are relevant to authors' plots and their characterization of Arthur. First, I explain the definition I have adopted for the genre 'Arthurian historical fiction,' and present the thirty-one works satisfying it that are studied here. Second is a detailing of the most important modern authorities whose influence authors acknowledge. Also in that section, I discuss some authorities who are not acknowledged, and point out minor influences or trends lacking statistical significance. Third is an examination of significant trends in the date and location of the Battle of Badon Hill, the influence on these trends of historians, and the relevance of these trends to the fictional narratives. Fourth is the same type of analysis for the presence and nature of Arthurian military expeditions to Gaul, and fifth the same for Arthur's *romanitas*. The article concludes with a summary of broader currents over the first 120 years of Arthurian historical fiction.

I. ARTHURIAN HISTORICAL FICTION—THE CORPUS

Authored Arthurian fiction—purposefully entertaining stories of Arthur and his court from an identified author whose creative input was recognized by the audience—has been produced since at least the mid-twelfth century.[2] But it has been only since the late nineteenth century that authors have attempted to write Arthurian historical fiction—that is, to use a realistic post-Roman or late antique setting, with a plausible story consistent with known history.[3] In this article I use the term 'Arthurian historical fiction' in a quite strict sense, for two reasons. First, the main theme of the current article is the influence of historians; authors with a more serious interest in the historical setting of their Arthurian story are more likely to be so influenced. Second, as noted by historian Christopher Snyder over ten years ago, it is not feasible to read—let alone analyze—the hundreds of works that might be classed as Arthurian historical fiction by, for example, the definition of Raymond Thompson.[4] Indeed, Snyder's 'cursory survey' of the use of history and archaeology in Arthurian historical fiction references only twelve works (books or series), of which only six meet my demanding definition for that genre.[5]

Four criteria to define major works of Arthurian historical fiction were proposed by me in 2017: '(i) contain a significant amount of original fiction (e.g. individual deeds, speech, or thoughts not found in prior works); (ii) cover a significant part of the career of Arthur as a military leader of the Britons (*floruit* 450x550 CE); (iii) have reasonable respects for geography and history, as understood at their time of writing; and (iv) date, at least to within a decade or so, either directly or by reference to well (or at least conventionally) dated events, at least one undoubtedly historical event in which, in the work in question, Arthur participates.'[6] With regard to point (iv), almost all such events in the corpus of works considered here are battles: at Badon Hill versus Saxons (in all but one of the works); at Angers on the Loire versus Saxons (in one work); and at Déols near Bourges versus Visigoths (in several).[7]

The only difference in the definition adopted in this article is that in (iv) I tighten the relatively lax 'a decade or so' to 'a few years.' The reason is again two-fold. First, the date of the battle of Badon Hill, so commonly appearing, is a notable aspect where the influence of historians can be seen, but a resolution finer than a few decades is needed for this purpose. Second, it serves more generally to bias the corpus even more towards those authors with an interest in historicizing and, one might expect, in authorities on history. Four novels included in my earlier 2017 study are, as a consequence, excluded from the present study—one by Masefield, two by Treece, and one by Rice.[8] Note that Mary Stewart's 1983 novel, included in both studies, is treated as independent from her famous *Merlin* trilogy, even though it is a sequel.[9] That is because only this volume meets criterion (iv), and because her Author's Note for this work admits that its story diverged from that presaged in the trilogy.

The thirty-one works (comprising fifty books) considered here, published from 1898 to 2017, include all I could find that satisfy the above criteria published up to 2000. Since then, commercial publication of Arthurian historical fiction has dwindled, and self-publication has exploded. Consequently, my selection of books from the present millennium has necessarily been more discriminating. The total corpus comprises mostly conventional historical fiction—realistic novels in an historical setting—but also includes several works of historical fantasy and, recently, other sub-genres. Multi-volume works are counted as single works throughout, and, when necessary for the purpose of analysis and in-text identification, the year of publication is taken to be that of the first-published volume.

The list below gives all thirty-one works (with author name, book or series title, and year(s) of publication), in chronological order; additional publication details are included in the endnotes This is followed by the work's principal modern historical authorities of influence. The authority is given in square brackets if acknowledged in a source other than the work itself (see endnotes), and in curly brackets if not acknowledged anywhere by the author, but able to be inferred from the work. Authorities are identified in the list by surname and year of publication; full details are given when these authorities are discussed individually in the next section. There are two exceptions to this rule: the very influential books by archaeologist Leslie Alcock (1971) and historian John Morris (1973), whose names appear below with these dates understood.[10] For the novelists Walter O'Meara, and Peter Vansittart, both of whom cite many authorities equally, I have included only those authorities also cited by other authors in my list.[11] (This list is repeated in the Appendix, without the authorities, but with other data, in abbreviated form, that is relevant to the discussions and analyses in this article.)

1. William Babcock, *Cian of the Chariots* (1898): Babcock (1890).[12]
2. Barnard Faraday, *Pendragon* (1930): Foord (1925).[13]
3. Edward Frankland, *The Bear of Britain* (1944): Chambers (1927).[14]
4. Alfred Duggan, *Conscience of the King* (1951): Oman (1910), Collingwood and Myres (1936).[15]
5. Rosemary Sutcliff, *Sword at Sunset* (1963): {Collingwood and Myres (1936)}, [Ashe (1957 or 1960)].[16]
6. Walter O'Meara, *The Duke of War* (1966): Oman (1910), Foord (1925), Chambers (1927), Collingwood and Myres (1936).
7. George Finkel, *Twilight Province* (1967): N/A.[17]
8. Godfrey Turton, *The Emperor Arthur* (1968): Ashe (1960).[18]
9. Jayne Viney, *The Bright-Helmed One* (1975): Alcock, Saklatvala (1967).[19]
10. Victor Canning, *The Crimson Chalice Trilogy* (1976–78): {Morris}.[20]

11. Douglas Carmichael, *Pendragon* (1977): N/A.[21]
12. John Gloag, *Artorius Rex* (1977): Morris, Alcock.[22]
13. Peter Vansittart, *Lancelot* (1978): Chambers (1927), Collingwood and Myres (1936), Saklatvala (1967), Ashe (1960), Morris.
14. Catherine Christian, *The Pendragon* (1978): N/A.[23]
15. Parke Godwin, *Firelord* (1980): Morris.[24]
16. Gillian Bradshaw, *Down the Long Wind* trilogy (1981–83): [Alcock, Morris].[25]
17. Joy Chant, *The High Kings* (1983): Morris.[26]
18. Mary Stewart, *The Wicked Day* (1983): N/A.[27]
19. Joan Wolf, *The Road to Avalon* (1988): {Ashe (1985)}.[28]
20. Helen Hollick, *Pendragon's Banner* trilogy (1994–97): Ashe (1985), {Morris}.[29]
21. Bernard Cornwell, *The Warlord Chronicles* (1995–97): [Morris].[30]
22. Frederick Lees, *The Arthuriad of Catumandus* (1996): {Morris, Ashe (1985)}.[31]
23. Patrick McCormack, *Albion* Series (1997–2008): Alcock, Morris, {Ashe (1968)}.[32]
24. Diana Paxson, *The Hallowed Isle* Series (1999–2000): Morris.[33]
25. Stephen Baxter, *Coalescent* (2003): {Ashe (1985)}.[34]
26. Mark Gamon, *Briton* (2004): {Morris, Alcock}.[35]
27. Edwin Pace, *Arthur and the Fall of Roman Britain* (2008): Tolstoy (1961), Ashe (1985).[36]
28. Ruth Nestvold, *Pendragon Chronicles* (2009–17): Ashe (1968), Alcock, Morris, Dark (1994), Snyder (1998), [Ashe (1985)].[37]
29. John James, *The Fourth Gwenevere* (2014): N/A.[38]
30. David Pilling, *Leader of Battles* series (2014–17): Ashe (1985), {Morris}.[39]
31. Howard Wiseman, *Then Arthur Fought* (2015): Morris, Alcock, Myres (1986), Wiseman (2000), Barbieri (2002), Wiseman (2011).[40]

II. THE HISTORIANS CITED AND SOME OF THEIR INFLUENCES

This section details the nineteen authorities appearing as influencers in the above list of thirty-one historical fiction works. Along the way, it points out some ways these authorities may have influenced those works, while acknowledging the numbers are not sufficient to be able to claim any statistical significance, unlike the trends analyzed in later sections.

Before beginning, it will be beneficial to briefly review the key medieval sources for the 'historical Arthur.'[41] The early-ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* (*HB*) introduces Arthur as *Dux Bellorum*, leader of battles. It lists twelve battles where Arthur led the Brittonic kings to victory over (in the most natural reading) the Saxons, culminating in the battle of Mount Badon. We know this last was a real battle from Gildas' *De Excidio Britanniae*, written

in the first half of the sixth century. Gildas gives it considerable significance: Badon Hill is the only battle site he names; he calls it 'almost the last and by no means the least' victory over the Saxons; and he tells us he was born in the year of this siege. Gildas does not mention the commander of the Brittonic forces, but it would have been surprising if he had—in his entire post-Roman history, he names only one individual in Britain: Ambrosius Aurelianus, a leader, probably of a generation before Badon, whom he singles out as the last of the Romans.[42] The mid-tenth-century *Annales Cambriae* (*AC*), like the *HB*, credit the victory at Badon to Arthur, and give it a year (c.518). The *AC* also records a second battle (c.539), at Camlann, where 'Arthur and Medraut fell.' These short, possibly historically based, records of Arthur were expanded and combined with Brittonic folklore to create the great pseudohistorical life of Arthur in the *De gestis Britonum* (*DGB*)—also known as the *Historia Regum Britanniae*—by Geoffrey of Monmouth (c.1136–38), which underpinned the high medieval Arthurian legends.

Returning now to modern historical fiction, what is generally considered the first Arthurian historical novel—by William H. Babcock (1898)—cites only one authority, and it is a self-citation. Unsurprisingly, Babcock (1890), the amateur historian, does not appear again in the list.[43] The next earliest history book appearing in the list, by the famous military historian Charles Oman (1910), must have helped make the 'historical Arthur' a respectable object of study, by his saying that he was 'inclined to accept . . . the existence of . . . Arthur.'[44] Surprisingly, he is cited as an authority only twice, and a long time after he wrote, by Alfred Duggan (1951) and Walter O'Meara (1966), both of whom wrote history as well as historical novels.[45]

E.K. Chambers was more a literary critic than an historian, but his 1927 book on Arthur is notable for its scholarly analysis of the location of the Battle of Badon Hill.[46] He concluded in favor of a site in the North Wessex Downs, now an official 'Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty' where almost all of Britain's chalk horses are to be found. More specifically, he suggested either Badbury (also known as Liddington Castle) near Swindon or Great Bedwyn near Marlborough. Chambers is acknowledged as an influence by two authors: Edward Frankland (1944), specifically for the location of Badon; and O'Meara (1966).[47] Both of them locate Badon in the North Wessex Downs. The trends in the location authors have assigned to Badon will be discussed at length in the next section.

Returning to more mainstream historians, it was R.G. Collingwood's section of his book with J.N.L. Myres (1936) which helped shape Arthur as the cavalry leader so familiar in historical fiction.[48] Duggan (1951) and O'Meara (1966) acknowledge this book as well as Oman's. Collingwood's suggestion that Arthur led heavy late-Roman cavalry, known as cataphracts, is adopted by Duggan, though he wrongly credits the idea to Oman. I suggest that

the great historical novelist Rosemary Sutcliff (1963) was also influenced by Collingwood. Since her time, Arthur has been almost inseparable from his horse, but it is notable that some earlier novels—that by Barnard Faraday (1930) which predates Collingwood and Myres and that by Frankland (1944) which does not cite it as an influence—have Arthur as a legionary commander. These days, this seems quite anachronistic, and indeed Faraday's sole cited authority, Edward Foord (1925), unrealistically portrayed parts of post-Roman Britain as preserving classical Roman civilization even into the late sixth century.[49]

A particular reason to think that Sutcliff was influenced by Collingwood is that she uses the form 'Artos' for Arthur's name, along with Artorius. Collingwood suggested that Gildas' possible reference to *Ursus* as a name or nickname 'may represent Arthur's, twisted through the Celtic *artos*, bear.'[50] 'Artos' is also used by historical novelist Peter Vansittart (1978), whose Author's Note lists Collingwood as an authority, and who very probably also borrowed from him Arthur's title of *Dux Belli*.[51] These are the only examples where the direct influence of an authority on a fictional Arthur's name can be deduced. Novelist Parke Godwin (1980) also uses *Artos*, but he does not mention Collingwood, and might have borrowed this form of Arthur's name from Sutcliff.

The one historian whose influence Sutcliff did, later, acknowledge was Geoffrey Ashe, a 'great source of inspiration.'[52] Given that *Sword at Sunset* was published in 1963, it must have been Ashe's *King Arthur's Avalon: The Story of Glastonbury* (1957) or Ashe's *From Caesar to Arthur* (1960) that influenced Sutcliff.[53] As is explicit in the title of the earlier book, a focus of Ashe's work at the time was his support for the identification (dating back at least to 1190) of Glastonbury in Somerset with Avalon, Arthur's final resting place. Sutcliff follows this identification, and in fact nine out of the fifteen authors since 1957 who specify an earthly place of final rest for Arthur or his body chose Glastonbury or a site near there. Moreover, only one author, Babcock, prior to 1957 did so. However, there is only one other author before 1957 who narrates Arthur's final resting place: Frankland, who chose Camelot, at South Cadbury, also in Somerset (of which more below). Thus, while it is quite probable that Ashe (1957) helped guide many historically fictional Arthurs to Glastonbury at the end of their lives, it is impossible to claim a trend.

Ashe (1960) and other 'works by . . . Ashe' are also acknowledged as an influence by novelist Godfrey Turton (1968).[54] Perhaps surprisingly, I suggest that these other works are not publications by Ashe, but rather interviews given in his public role as secretary of the Camelot Research Committee, which funded excavations at South Cadbury, from 1966 to 1970. Such interviews were conducted on BBC radio, for example, as early as 1966.[55] The identification of South Cadbury with Camelot dates back at least to 1542, but the revelation

that it was the site of an exceptionally large and well-protected fifth-century hill-fort surely increased its appeal to historical novelists as a suitable location for Arthur.[56] Up to 1967, only two out of seven works in the list (Babcock and Frankland) give Arthur a capital or stronghold at South Cadbury, while since then fully sixteen out of twenty-four do. This looks like a trend attributable to the South Cadbury excavations, but the data are not statistically significant.[57] That said, the great majority of the sixteen post-1967 works of fiction that describe South Cadbury make use of the archaeological evidence to do so.

The book that probably has done the most to disseminate this evidence from South Cadbury, and other sites, was Alcock's *Arthur's Britain* (1971). As noted earlier, this book, and Morris' *The Age of Arthur* (1973), have been enormously influential on subsequent Arthurian historical fiction. In the first novel published after this watershed, Jayne Viney (1975) cites Alcock as a present-day authority, and she follows him in the location, though not the date, of Badon.[58] Conversely, Vansittart (1978) follows Morris in the date, though not the location, of Badon. Coincidentally, both of these novelists also cite the popular historian Beram Saklatvala (1967); Viney credits him for the theory that Guinevere was originally the Germanic Winifrith, while Vansittart quotes him at length about the end of Roman Britain in an Appendix.[59] Vansittart quotes Morris at even greater length in that Appendix, and he also adapts Morris' text in the novel itself, having Lancelot reflect that 'but for Vortigern, Britain would have become Pictland'[60] to be compared with Morris' 'Vortigern's decision . . . saved Britain from becoming Pictland.'[61]

How Alcock and Morris affected authors' placement of Badon in time and in Britain will be discussed more in the following section, but their influence is much more wide-ranging than this. This is especially true of Morris, who gives what appears, to the nonexpert, to be overwhelming evidence for the historicity of Arthur and various people and events associated with him. The clearest example of a novelist who was influenced by Morris—without formally acknowledging it—is Frederick Lees (1996).[62] He follows Morris' chronology almost exactly, and also his suggestions for the locations of the battles of Llongborth, Badon, and Camlann, and the kingdom of Calchvynedd.

The next book that appears as an influencer of fiction authors is also hugely important: *The Discovery of King Arthur* by Ashe (1985).[63] Here Ashe returned to a topic he had raised in 1960,[64] but this time with a fervent conviction: that Arthur can be identified with Riothamus—an undoubtedly historical king of the Britons who campaigned in Gaul in c. 469—and that this lay behind the account of Arthur's conquest of Gaul in the 530s in the *DGB*. This is discussed in depth in the section dedicated to Arthurian campaigns in Gaul below.

While the influence of Ashe (1985) can be seen in several of the works studied, only three authors mention him in print: Helen Hollick (1997), Edwin Pace (2008), and David Pilling (2014).[65] Unlike the other two, Pace cites many authorities, but chooses 'to explicitly acknowledge his debt' to only two: 'the work of Geoffrey Ashe and Nikolai Tolstoy.' The former is Ashe (1985), as Pace makes clear later.[66] The latter, making its only appearance here because of Pace's speculative history, is an article on Arthur's battles in the *HB* by historian and novelist Nikolai Tolstoy (1961), used by Pace for the location of the battles leading up to Badon.[67]

One author who did not acknowledge Ashe (1985) in print but who admits being influenced by him is Ruth Nestvold.[68] The works she cites in Nestvold (2009) as 'most influential in my portrayal of Arthur and the era in which he might have lived' are Alcock and Morris, but also more recent scholarly overviews of the period by Ken Dark (1994) and Christopher Snyder (1998), which are considerably more sceptical of Arthur.[69] Indeed, Dark's book, which focuses on archaeology, does not even mention him. But Nestvold (2009) also cites there a much older volume, edited by Ashe (1968), which is similarly focussed on archaeology but which mentions Arthur often.[70] I surmise that there is at least one other author who was influenced by this book: Patrick McCormack (1997) who gives to South Cadbury the name Caer Cadwy, as floated in one of its chapters, by Alcock and Ashe.[71]

This catalogue of influencers comes to an end only with the last work of Arthurian historical fiction on the list, authored by myself (2015), and self-described as a quasi-history. Like Pace, I cite many authorities, but my Preface particularly acknowledges the background influence of Alcock and Morris and, uniquely, Myres (1986),[72] an updated and expanded reissue of his famously independent contribution to Collingwood and Myres. I also mention the direct influence of three more recent works. Two are self-citations, discussed in the appropriate sections below, while the third is by independent scholar Fabio Barbieri (2002).[73] This last I describe as a 'vast and difficult e-book' which was nevertheless critical in shaping my work: its argument that 'there was a core of truth behind' Arthur's Gallic conquests in the *DGB* 'convinced me . . . to incorporate a Gallic campaign by Arthur in the 530s into my story.'[74]

III. TRENDS AND INFLUENCES REGARDING THE BATTLE OF BADON

This section is the first of three analyzing major trends in Arthurian historical fiction, and the role of authorities in these. The topic of this section is the battle of Badon, and it is divided into three subsections. The first two deal with its location and date, respectively, while the third discusses the impact of authors' choices in these matters on their narratives.

LOCATION OF BADON

As Figure 1 shows, the vicinity of Bath is the most popular location for the battle of Badon in the fiction here, being chosen by thirteen authors. The North Wessex Downs is the second most popular, chosen by eleven. But these choices are not randomly distributed across time. Of the earlier half (fifteen) of the thirty-one works in the corpus (up to a publication date of 1980), nine of them locate Badon in the North Wessex Downs and only two near Bath. Of the latter half (sixteen), eleven locate Badon near Bath, and only two in these Downs. This is, self-evidently, a strong and statistically significant trend.
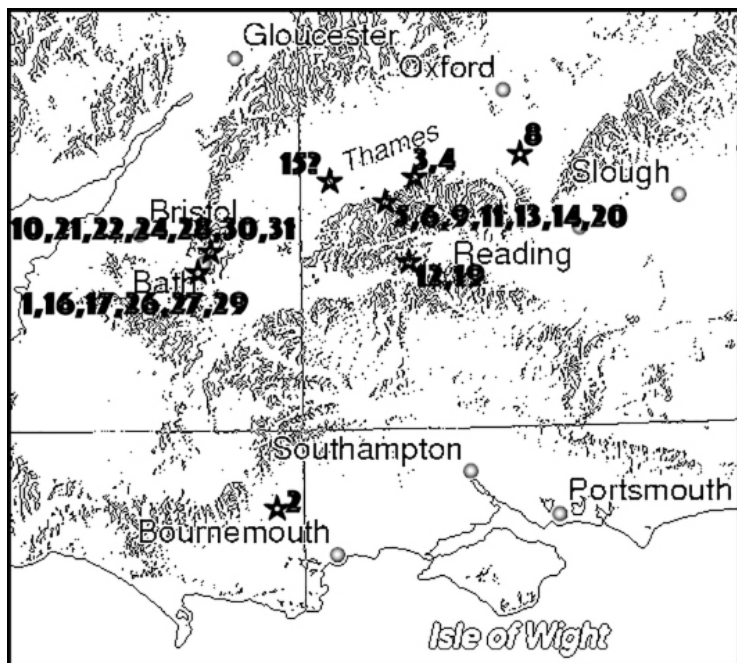

Figure 1.[104] Topographical map of south-central Britain showing the locations (stars) chosen by twenty-seven authors (numbers, referring to the earlier list) for the Battle of Badon. The North Wessex downs are the uplands west of the town of Reading containing three stars. One author (Fnkel) gives a location far to the north of the map, in County Durham; three (Stewart, McCormack, Baxter) do not specify a location.

In terms of explaining the influence of this trend by on modern authorities, it is necessary first to consider a medieval authority. The *DGB* is the earliest surviving text to locate Badon, and the site of Bath which Geoffrey gives may well have originated with him. This site was adopted by the first-listed historical fiction author, Babcock (1898).[76] In the meantime, the antiquarian Edwin Guest (1883) had rejected this in favour of Badbury Rings in Dorset.[77]

On this, Foord (1925) said 'I am content for the time to accept Guest's suggestion,' and thus it was adopted by the second-listed fiction author, Faraday (1930).[78] Meanwhile, Chambers (1927), as noted earlier, had concluded with a preference for a location in the North Wessex Downs, and nine of the next thirteen fiction authors, from 1944 to 1980, did so too.[79]

As stated above, a new consensus amongst authors of historical fiction about the location of Badon emerged after 1980. I suggest that this was, as per the examples in the preceding paragraph, a delayed response to the published opinions of historians. In this case the historians in question are already familiar. Alcock (1971) says the battle of Badon was 'most probably on a hill outside Bath' while Morris (1973) says, even more specifically, 'Solsbury hill by Batheaston . . . best fits.'[80] In the map in Figure 1, the latter is the site just northeast of Bath, and this was specifically chosen by seven authors, all of them subsequent to Morris. The other six 'Bath' authors, who do not specify Solsbury hill, have been grouped for ease of representation next to the star just southwest of Bath, which is where Pace (2008) locates the battle, following Tolstoy (1961).

DATE OF BADON

In contrast to the remarkable convergence of opinion amongst fiction authors on the site of the battle of Badon, the date of the battle has become more divergent over time. Figure 2 shows the dates given or implied by authors, versus publication date. It is hopefully evident, with help from the guiding lines, that the dates chosen can be divided into four major groups, plus two outlying groups. Below I discuss the four major groups in chronological order by the date that they first appeared in published Arthurian historical fiction (1898, 1930, 1976, and 1988) and then the outliers.

An obvious choice for the year of Badon is one deducible from the *AC*. Due to errors in year counts and an unspecified starting date, the dates in these annals are only approximate, but Badon would not be more than a year or two from 518. This date has been the most popular, chosen by nine authors, although, for three of them, inferring the date requires some work.[81] It has also been the most persistent throughout 120 years of historical fiction, as Figure 2 shows ('Annales Cambriae' group). As has been argued by numerous scholars from the early twentieth century on, this date is consistent with Gildas' *de Excidio* by the reading that Badon was forty-four years after Ambrosius' victory.[82] In 2000 I went further, presenting an argument that the *AC* date could have been derived from *de Excidio* together with Bede's *Chronica Majora* (which was widely read in the British Isles).[83] The reader will probably not be surprised to learn that, in my 2015 quasi-history, I chose the date of 518 for Badon.
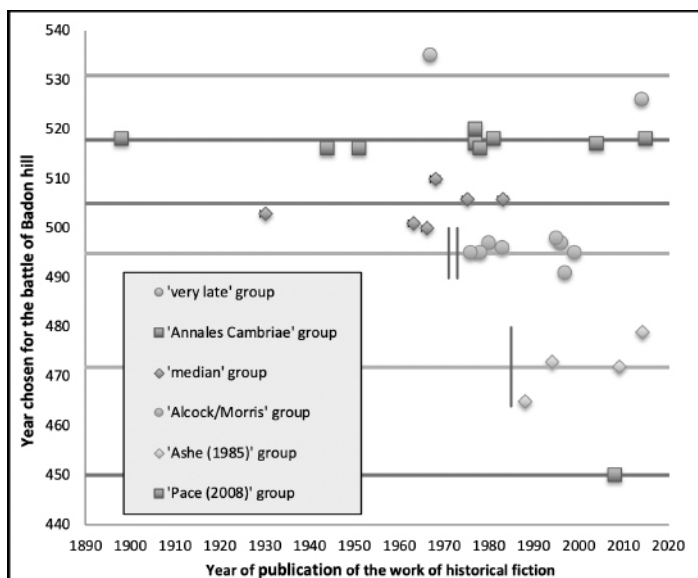
Figure 2. Year of the Battle of Badon, as chosen by the historical fiction authors, versus publication date. There are only thirty symbols because Baxter (2003) does not date this battle. The horizontal lines at 450, 472, 495, 505, 518, and 531 are to guide the eye to the six groups I have identified. The three short vertical line segments appear at the publication dates for some key works of history: Ashe (1985), Morris (1973), and Alcock (1971). The vertical placement and length of these line segments cover the range of Badon dates in the groups influenced most strongly by these publications.

Moving down Figure 2, the next group dates Badon in the range 500–10. This is the third most popular group and contains the corpus' median date of 502.[84] Despite its relative popularity, it is not clear what authorities the six authors in this group based their choice on, so I have simply called it the 'median' group.

For at least some authors in this group, the date may ultimately derive from the commentary of historian Theodore Mommsen (1898), in one of the first critical editions of Gildas.[85] Mommsen argued for a Badon date in 500–3, from the starting point that Gildas was born in the year of Badon and writing forty-four years later. This date range was reproduced as one option by Oman (1910), and Myres (1936).[86] O'Meara, who acknowledges both of these authorities, chooses a Badon date of 500. Sutcliff, for whom I have inferred the influence of Collingwood and Myres (1936), similarly gives a date of c. 501.[87] However, if she was influenced by Mommsen's date range, she was not

concerned to be consistent with his argument for it.[88] Foord (1925) gave a similar argument and a similar approximate date to Mommsen's. Faraday, with Foord as his sole cited authority, has a Badon date of 503 in his novel, but, like Sutcliff, undermines the reasoning behind it.[89]

Viney[90] seems to adopt a date of 506 for her 1975 novel, as does Stewart (1983), who says that 'one date given for Badon Hill is 506 AD.'[91] I cannot find any authority giving that specific date, but Celtic linguist Kenneth H. Jackson implied a date range of 501–506 in a well-known Arthurian reference book published in 1959.[92] Finally in this 'median' group, Turton gives no explanation for his novels' Badon date of 510, but, if his reference in the same paragraph to a footnote of Gibbon is anything to go by, he may have had his own interpretation of the texts which yields his chosen date and which is consistent with his Gildas' being a young man at the time of Badon.[93]

In recent decades the 'median' date group, around 505, has fallen from favor, largely replaced by a new group, with a slightly earlier Badon date of around 495. Figure 2 shows why it is worth distinguishing these groups. Most of the novels with a Badon date in 500–10 were published before 1971, and in that time not a single earlier Badon date appeared. By contrast, since 1973, there have been eight works with a date in the range 491–98, making it the second most popular. The reason seems clear: the near agreement, once again, of two great 'influencers.' Alcock (1971) says '490 is a more probable date than 518,' while Morris (1973) says, with questionable confidence, 'The date is not far from 495.'[94]

The 'Alcock/Morris' group itself waned after a few decades, while another new group of fiction authors, choosing an even earlier Badon date, in the range 465–79, has waxed. This group, with only four works in it thus far, is due to the influence of Ashe (1985). This claim might seem odd since Ashe (1985) does not date Badon, and indeed argues that the battle was fought well after Arthur's death, which he places c. 470. But only one of the authors in the list follows Ashe in taking the victory at Badon away from Arthur, so Ashe's influence results from his early placement of Arthur, which follows from his identification of Arthur with Riothamus, the leader of a Gallic expedition in c. 469, as discussed earlier.

Three of the four authors in the 'Ashe (1985)' group follow Ashe in having Arthur campaign in Gaul c. 469 (see next section). As we have seen, most authorities put Badon considerably later than this date. This creates a problem for authors because, in the medieval tradition, Badon is soon after Arthur's succession to the throne, and many years before any Gallic campaign. In the *DGB* for instance, Badon predates, by at least fourteen years, Arthur's decade or so of Gallic campaigning, which immediately precedes his demise at Camlann. Wolf resolves this by keeping the traditional ordering but compressing events so that Badon is in 465, Arthur's Gallic campaign in 469,

and Arthur's death in 470. Hollick and Pilling, who both cite Ashe (1985), instead put Arthur's Gallic campaign relatively early in his career and not so long before the battle of Badon, which they respectively date to 473 and 479.

The fourth author in the 'Ashe (1985)' group, Nestvold, was influenced by this work of Ashe, as noted earlier, in giving a prominent role to Riothamus' Gallic campaign of c. 469. But she identifies Riothamus with Ambrosius, and his disappearance in Gaul paves the way to Arthur's succession. She seems to have chosen her early Badon date of 472 in order to follow a traditional story arc, with Badon soon after Arthur's succession. Lees also has Ambrosius lead the Gallic campaign of c. 469 but has Arthur participate as a junior officer, allowing a more conventional date for Badon, in 497.

Like Lees, Pace was heavily influenced by Ashe (1985) but chose a date for Badon outside the 'Ashe (1985)' group. The innovative justification for his date of 450 appears as Appendix II of his book, hence my name for this group of one. This extremely early date, which requires Pace to make Badon a battle against raiding Picts and Scots rather than Saxons, allows him to reproduce the long arc of Arthur's reign as in the *DGB*, with the Gallic campaign of c. 469 near its end.

The final two authors remaining to be discussed, novelists George Finkel (1967) and John James (2014), have instead what I have called a 'very late' Badon date. As far as I can tell there is no authority behind Finkel's date of 535, nor behind his unorthodox Badon location, in County Durham. The same holds for the inferrable Badon date of 526 in James' posthumous work.[95]

RELEVANCE OF BADON DETAILS TO AUTHOR'S NARRATIVES

Continuing on with the discussion of the date of Badon, this could be relevant to authors' narratives in two ways: authors could be constrained in their narratives by the Badon date suggested by authorities, or they could choose a Badon date to fit a narrative tied to other events. In many works, neither of these phenomena are in evidence, and so it is not clear that the Badon date is of much relevance. Such irrelevance could be argued for most easily in the novels of Faraday, O'Meara, Turton, and Cornwell, which give few details of events prior to their beginning and which, in the case of the first two, cover a very brief period of time.

There are a few cases where authors do seem constrained by authorities for the date of Badon. Duggan's story is constructed wholly around the early medieval authorities he follows, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the *AC*. The narrative of science fiction author Stephen Baxter is constrained by his adherence to a much more recent authority, Ashe (1985). This novel was not discussed above because Baxter does not precisely date Badon, since for him it occurs, following Ashe, well after Arthur's disappearance in Gaul. Lees, while also influenced by Ashe in having Arthur in Gaul in 470, seems constrained

by Morris' authority to put Badon almost a generation later. However, if this is a constraint then Lees puts it to imaginative use, by having Arthur's son (the Catumandus of the title), conceived in Gaul, return to Britain as an Imperial envoy in time to witness the battle of Badon and the rest of Arthur's story.

There are many more cases where authors seem to have chosen a date for the battle of Badon to suit a timeline determined by other events. The clearest of these can be put in two groups.

First, there is the 'Ashe (1985)' group. The narrative choices of these authors, and the effect of these on the dates they assign to Badon, were discussed above. Within this group, Pilling's pragmatism in dating Badon is, presumably unintentionally, on display in that his chosen date of 479, in his novel *Artorius*, conflicts with the Author's Note of the preceding novel, *Ambrosius*, where he says 'the earliest feasible dating for Badon is c.482.' For Nestvold it is worth noting that she also needs an early Badon in order for Yseult's story to cover both Arthur's career and Patrick's mission in Ireland.

The second group has a timeline tied to events of Justinian's reign (527–65), when the Eastern (Byzantine) Empire was militarily active in the former Western Empire. Finkel's very late date of 535 for Badon seems to have been chosen solely to make Arthur's great victory depend on the voyage he and his companions make to Byzantium, where Justinian and Theodora, the Emperor- and Empress-in-waiting, grant them war-horses and training under Belisarius in 526. James' very late Badon date is similarly tied to Imperial affairs, via the disaster at Camlann.[96] He dates this to 538, as per the *AC*, where it is accompanied by a great 'mortality in Britain.' The Imperial link is that James identifies this 'mortality' with the plague that hit the Ostrogoths besieging Belisarius in Rome in 537, carried back to Britain with the Fourth Gwenevere of the book's title. James ignores the *AC* date for Badon, placing it just twelve years before Camlann to allow this young Gwenevere to be the daughter of the Saxon leader who died at Badon. Stewart, by contrast, keeps twenty-one years between Badon and Camlann as per the *AC*, but not the dates for either. Rather, as her Author's Note says, 'Perhaps the most exciting thing about the tale of the final years of Arthur's reign is the way in which actual historical events can be made to fit with the legend.' By 'actual historical events' she means the Franco-Burgundian war of c. 524, the accession of Justinian in 527, and the Battle of Cerdicesleag (in Wessex), recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under 527, which she has immediately preceding the Battle of Camlann.

Turning now back to the location of Badon Hill, it might seem unlikely that this would be relevant to the literary attributes of historical Arthurian novels. However, a case can be made that it is important to the cast of Arthur's greatest victory, as follows.

The North Wessex Downs—one of the two main contenders for the location of Badon Hill—is in the middle of the south of England, not so far from the early Saxon settlements. This choice of location fits a war where the Saxon advance has been long anticipated and Arthur takes a stand at a place of his choosing. For example, Sutcliff has Arthur narrate his solemn musings before the battle:

> Badon Hill was one of the main points on Ambrosius' system of defence in depth . . . If the White Horse Vale is the gateway into the heart of southern Britain, then Badon Hill is the key to the gate. It remained to be seen whether the Saxons could turn it.[97]

Bath—the other main contender—is much farther west, and fits a more desperate struggle where an unexpected Saxon thrust has already cut south-west Britain off from the rest of the country. The passage below from renowned historical novelist Bernard Cornwell, where Derfel, the narrator, is explaining to Guinevere that Arthur is far away and the Saxons are 'halfway to victory already,' contrasts piquantly with the above quote from Sutcliff:

> 'In other words,' she said with a smile, 'everything is confusion?' . . .
>
> 'I fear so, Lady.'
>
> 'Fear? Oh, don't fear, Derfel.' She laughed with an exhilarating happiness. 'You all forget how good Arthur is when nothing goes right. It will be a joy to watch him.'[98]

IV. TRENDS AND INFLUENCES REGARDING GALLIC EXPEDITIONS

Trends in Arthurian transmarine military expeditions in Arthurian historical fiction were the subject of my 2017 study referred to in the Introduction. However, the topic is worth revisiting here for two reasons. First, the present section focuses on Gallic expeditions (which play so prominent a role in the *DGB*), and on the influences of authorities. Second, the corpus of works is not the same: four works from my 2017 list have been dropped, as not meeting the stricter historicity conditions of the current paper, and six works, five of them from the present century, have been added. In addition, a novel by Sean Poage (2018), the first in a forecast trilogy, is included in the analysis for this section only.[99] It appears in this section because it contains Arthur's Gallic campaign, but other authorial choices remain to be revealed in the forthcoming books, so it would not have been appropriate to include it in the corpus of thirty-one works considered in the other sections of this essay.

Despite the considerable difference in the corpus, the main conclusion of Wiseman (2017) still holds: the prominence of transmarine military expeditions has increased over time. The data for the trend of increasing

prominence are shown by Figure 3, which tabulates only those works that include such an expedition, and only the most prominent expedition in each work. The 'prominence' score for these is calculated as in Wiseman (2017), based on its important to the story, the number of warriors involved, how far it reaches, and how bellicose it is. For the purpose of the statistical test, I consider only works of fiction that cover, at least in outline, the entirety of Arthur's military career. This is to remove the confounding factor that earlier historical Arthurian novels tend to focus on the first part of Arthur's military career. This means not counting the novels by Carmichael, Baxter, and James tabulated in Figure 3, but adding in three works with prominence scores of zero, by Canning, Vansittart, and Godwin, giving a total data set of twenty-four works. The same statistical test is used as in Wiseman (2017), based on the correlation between rank-order of publication year and rank-order of prominence score. This reveals a strong trend of increasing prominence with sufficient data to make it extremely statistically significant.[100]

Twenty-two of the twenty-four overseas Arthurian expeditions appearing in Figure 3 are to Gaul (which includes Armorica, Burgundia, and Septimania). The others, to Byzantium (Finkel) and to the Scottish Isles (McCormack), are, as far as I can tell, based on the authors' fancy and on Arthurian legend, rather than on the particular opinions or speculations of any modern historical authorities. Indeed, the same can be said for most of the expeditions to Gaul as well. The exceptions are discussed in the two subsequent subsections: first, those influenced by Ashe (1985); second, Paxson (1999) and Wiseman (2015).

As mentioned earlier, the central thesis of Ashe's 1985 book is that Arthur can be identified with an historical 'king of the Britons' with the name (or title, as Ashe argues) Riothamus, which literally means 'king-most.' This Riothamus, an obscure figure before Ashe's popularizing, was apparently a pro-Imperial Brittonic leader. The last Western Emperor to take substantial action to defend his realm, Anthemius (467–72), invited Riothamus to fight for the Empire in Gaul against the Visigoths. He came, reputedly with 12,000 men, to Bourges in central Gaul by way of the ocean and, perhaps, the Loire. Around this time, Romans and Franks fought the Saxons under a certain Adovacer on the Loire, defeating him at Angers. Riothamus corresponded on friendly terms with one Romano-Gallic noble (Sidonius), but another of them (Arvandus, the Prefect of Gaul) had been secretly allied with Euric, king of the Visigoths. Before his Roman allies could join him, Riothamus was routed by Euric at Déols near Bourges in c.469, and fled east to Burgundia,

Author	leader	destination	year	purpose	P
Frankland	Arthur	Armorica	530	r **B** soldiers	5
Sutcliff	Arthur	Septimania	c.479	b war horses	4
Finkel	Arthur	Byzantium	526	g **R** war horses	7
Turton	Arthur	Armorica	530	f Lancelot (**B**)	21
Viney	Cai for A	Gaul	c.492	b war horses	2
Carmichael	Arthur	Armorica	511	b war horses	✗
Gloag	Cai for A	Armorica	500	c **B** blacksmiths	10
Christian	Guinevere	Armorica	c.520	f Franks	14
Bradshaw	Arthur	Armorica	c.526	f Macsen (**B**)	22
Chant	Arthur	Gaul	c.513	f Franks	19
Stewart	Arthur	Burgundia	527	f Lucius (**R**)	29
Wolf	Arthur	Gaul	469	f Odovacer (**S**)	27
Hollick	Arthur	Gaul	469	f Euric (**V**)	25
Cornwell	Mordred	Armorica	c.500	f Franks	19
Lees	AA/Arthur	Gaul	470	f Euric (**V**)	25
McCormack	Arthur	Scot. Isles	c.494	f Hueil (**B**)	20
Paxson	Arthur	Gaul	504	f Chlodovec (**F**)	26
Baxter	Arthur	Gaul	470	f	✗
Pace	Arthur	Gaul	469	f Euric (**V**)	28
Nestvold	Arthur	Gaul	c.488	f Chlodovec (**F**)	23
James	Arthur	Gaul	c.515	c **F** war horses	✗
Pilling	Arthur	Gaul	472	f Euric (**V**)	20
Wiseman	Arthur	Burgundia	534	f Theudebert (**F**)	32
Poage	*Arthur*	*Gaul*	*470*	*f Euric (V)*	*33*

Figure 3. Table of works including one or more transmarine military expedition associated with Arthur, with brief details and prominence score (P) for the most prominent thereof. Those works which cover only a limited part of arthur's military career are not included in the statistical analysis, as indicated by the entry *x* in the P column. The relative timing of the 1985 book by ashe is indicated by the dashed horizontal line. Works whose most prominent expedition are influenced by this book are shaded, with the depth of shading indicating the depth of influence. Abbreviations used are: A=Arthur, AA=Ambrosius Aurelianus, R=Recruit, B=Buy, G=Get, F=Fight, C=Capture, B=Brittonic, V=Visigothic, R=Roman (i.e. Byzantine), S=Saxon, F=Frankish. The final work, in white italic type, is an addition to the corpus considered elsewhere in this article. The two underlined destinations are those not in Gaul.

never to be heard of again. Ashe has several arguments for his thesis, but the fundamental one, which he introduced in 1981, is that we should 'take seriously' the fact that in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *DGB*, Arthur 'is more a Gallic conqueror than anything else.'[101]

Figure 3 highlights the seven works that bear the influence of Ashe (1985) in having Arthur play a major role in a campaign to central Gaul in c.469, whether or not the authors explicitly acknowledge this influence. The fact that none of the eighteen works (in the complete list) published prior to 1985 take Arthur to Bourges, while half of the fourteen (including Poage) since then do, is very statistically significant evidence for Ashe's influence.[102]

Note also that the Ashe-influenced works have a high prominence score for the expedition. Thus, the reader might wonder whether the overall trend of increasing prominence over time discussed above is attributable to Ashe. The answer is no. Excluding the Ashe-influenced works from the statistical test discussed earlier still gives a strong trend of increasing prominence which is still very statistically significant.[103] As I concluded in 2017, the decisions by authors to include a prominent Arthurian transmarine expedition seem more likely to have been driven by societal or literary factors.

Despite the undeniable influence of Ashe's 'Riothamus theory' book on several authors, they vary considerably in how much, and which aspects, of his theory they use. It is convenient to discuss these works in decreasing order of influence by Ashe. The first four works (in the first paragraph below) follow Ashe in his identification of Arthur with Riothamus; the second three (in the paragraphs below that) do not even go that far. Note that Ashe (1985) influenced Gallic expeditions by another two authors, Nestvold (2009) and Wiseman (2015), but these are not expeditions involving Arthur or taking place when Arthur is in power (and so are not the ones featured in Figure 3 for these two authors). Nestvold, as mentioned above, identifies Riothamus with Ambrosius, while in my book he is identified with Vortimer, an even earlier leader of the Britons first appearing in the *HB*.

The most faithful novel to Ashe is the most recent. Poage (2018) says 'I found myself wishing that someone would . . . write a novel based on that Arthur, the one described in Geoffrey Ashe's book . . . Then it occurred to me that maybe I should do it.'[104] This is exactly what he has done. Poage follows Ashe in having Arthur/Riothamus dying at Avallon in Burgundia, with only Arthur's men returning to Britain to later fight (presumably) the battle of Badon. In equal second place, Hollick says she follows Ashe's theory for the sake of a 'good story' while acknowledging that it is 'hotly contested.'[105] She deviates from it in having Arthur recover in Avallon in Burgundia, and return to Britain to fight at Badon. Tied with Hollick is Baxter, not because he deviates as such from Ashe, but rather because so little is known of Arthur's fate to the novel's protagonists that details like his place of death in Gaul are missing. In third place is speculative historian Edwin Pace, who does deviate more than Hollick, by having Arthur retreat to Burgundia and then return directly to Britain in c.470 to fight not at Badon (which Pace places in 450, as discussed above) but at Camlann against the rebel Medraut.

Tied in fourth place for fidelity to Ashe's theory are Lees and Pilling. Lees has Ambrosius, using the title Riotamus, take his army to Déols in c.469, with Arthur brilliantly leading the defeated army home. Interestingly, Lees seems also to use, with modifications, an earlier idea by Ashe (1982), which did not make it into his 1985 book.[106] This is the observation that RIOTAMUS R(ex) is an anagram for ARTORIUS M(iles), with *miles* (soldier) being one

of the earliest descriptors used for Arthur, in the *HB*. Pilling, by contrast, has Rigotomos as a Breton leader, with an unwilling Arthur sent to help by the King of Britain who wants a potential rival gone. After the defeat at Déols, Arthur returns to Britain but, curiously, Pilling has one of Rigotomos' staff, a certain Valerian (see also the paragraph below), take his dying lord to Avallon in Burgundia.

Finally, with regard to fidelity to Ashe, the 1988 version by historical romance novelist Joan Wolf is the most divergent and perplexing. She has Arthur lead an army to Gaul to fight the Saxons, defeating Odovacar at the battle of Angers in c.469. But Agravaine returns with news—which is apparently false even though real history would suggest it to be true—of a defeat in Gaul by a combined army of Saxons and Visigoths. Then Arthur returns and is mortally wounded at Camlann while defending his innocent son Mordred, whom he sends (for Mordred's own safety) with Gawain to join the army at Bourges in Gaul, under a certain Valerius.[107] None of Wolf's characters are identified with Riothamus, and it remains a mystery as to whether any are intended to be.

<p style="text-align:center">PAXSON AND WISEMAN</p>

Riothamus appears in all four of Diana Paxson's Arthurian novels and plays an important role in her Arthurian campaign in Gaul. But he is not identified with Arthur, or indeed any leader in Britain. Rather, he is named in the first novel as Johannes Riothamus, the leader of the Britons' colony in Armorica (which would become Brittany) in the late 450s. This comes from Morris, who mines medieval Breton genealogies for names to conclude that the '[Breton] commander, "John Reith," also called "Regula" and "Riatham," is evidently identical with Riothamus.'[108] The main role of Paxson's Riothamus is to entice Arthur to come to Gaul to fight Chlodovec (Clovis), with the promise that he will name Arthur as his heir, thereby recreating the Empire in the West. This is in 502, when Riothamus is reportedly dying, but he lingers on until 514. At this point, having campaigned against the Franks for ten years, Arthur is indeed acclaimed as Emperor, only for Mordred to usurp the throne in Britain. The timing here comes from Morris, who dates Camlann to c.515.

Paxson also uses Morris for various details of Breton life and politics, but the only idea of his that connects Arthur to Gaul is his 'natural' speculation that, following the Visigoths' defeat by Clovis in 507, the admiral of their Aquitanian fleet found new employment in Britain under Arthur.[109] This is made more plausible in Paxson's version since Arthur is in Gaul at this time. Finally, inspired by a different authority—Ashe (1985) surely—Paxson takes her Arthur to the Burgundian Avallon, although only in passing: 'Last Summer, my journeys took me deep into Gallia and there I found a town called Aballo.'[110] Lest the reader think otherwise, there is no record of a

Brittonic army so deep in Gaul at this time (512). Nor, it is worth remarking, is there for the time (527) of Stewart's Arthurian campaign against Roman forces in Burgundia, which stretches historical credulity so far as to almost disqualify her 1983 book from consideration as historical fiction by the definition used here. By contrast, the reflection by Kustennin of Dumnonia in Nestvold (2013) that Arthur, in c.488–89, 'had pushed the upstart Chlodovech back almost halfway across Gaul'[111] has some resonance with the meagre historical records relating to that time and place, even if Nestvold makes no use of such records.[112]

It is a quite different set of authorities underlying the Arthurian campaigns in Gaul appearing in Wiseman (2015). As related earlier, I credit Barbieri (2002) for inspiring me to include such an expedition. Moreover, I explicitly mention Barbieri's argument that Tours ceased to be under Frankish control for a period of years, starting sometime in 521–26 and ending sometime in 529–44.[113] In my quasihistory, Tours is captured by the Bretons in 524, following the death of its Frankish king, Chlodomer, with the covert support of his brother, Childebert, and only ceded back to a third brother, Clothar, in 535. Arthur, who happens to be in Armorica at the time of its capture, plays a role in that. But he has a far larger role in the 530s, for which my main authority is a 2011 paper by myself.[114]

The focus of Wiseman (2011) is an early medieval Frankish *vita* which, remarkably, records an encounter by Saint Dalmas of Rodez with a *legio Bretonum* (Brittonic, or Breton, legion). The article critiques prior discussions of this record, and suggests the encounter most likely took place in northern Burgundia, in the year 534. It also summarizes the political situation around this time, as follows. The 'king of the Franks' (probably king of Austrasia, the largest Frankish kingdom, in the east) claimed, in an embassy to Justinian, to be gaining the island of Britain. The Bretons, meanwhile, had good relations with the Frankish king neighboring them, Childebert. In 533 or early 534, he and his brother Clothar began to besiege the king of the Burgundians in Autun, in northern Burgundia. When their half-brother, Theuderic, king of Austrasia, died suddenly in 534, Childebert and Clothar attempted to seize his kingdom rather than allow his son Theudebert to succeed. All of this is used in Wiseman (2015) to create the following fictional Gallic campaign. In 533, Theuderic sends to Arthur a demand for tribute and submission from Britain. Arthur responds by allying with Childebert and taking an army to Armorica. This army ends up fighting alongside the western Frankish kings against Theudebert, north of Autun, in 534. Conveniently, this is exactly where the *DGB* has Arthur and his allies (including those from Armorica and western Gaul) fight against Emperor Lucius Tiberius, in 541, following similar demands.

Gallic expeditions associated with Arthur play important literary roles in many works of historical fiction. Here I will concentrate on just two such roles: first, what they reveal of Arthur's character; second, how they advance the plot.

The principal aspect of Arthur's character that is revealed by his Gallic expeditions is pride and glory-seeking. This can be seen in several works, even when they generally portray Arthur positively. Fantasy author Joy Chant has Arthur's Gallic campaign being conceived when, as later ages remembered it, in the long peace after Badon,

> The High King began to weary of board-games and feasting, of hunting and remembering old deeds; and then word came to Britain that the rule of Rome had fallen to unworthy men. 'By my head,' said Arthur, 'shame to me if I do not deliver the greatest city of the world from these men!' And he resolved that he would rule there himself.[115]

In actuality, Chant's Arthur gets no further than battling Franks in Gaul. Paxson's telling, by contrast, is more naturalistic, but the ambition of her Artor is just as clear. Already dressed in Imperial regalia to receive an envoy from the court of Riothamus in Armorica in the year 502, Artor responds viscerally to his appeal:

> 'The last strength of the West lies here, lord, in Britannia. . . . Bring [your soldiers] to Gallia, *princeps*, and . . . we will make you Emperor!'

> The old dream reborn! Struggling to keep his face impassive, Artor sat back in his chair. . . . Aegidius and his son Syagrius had tried to restore the Western Empire in Gallia, but without the resources of Britannia they could not endure. . . . But with the power of Britannia . . . behind him, Artor might well succeed where no other man could. . . . He blinked, dazzled at the prospect. Oh what a noble dream![116]

Paxson's Artor does, briefly, attain this dream, as noted above. As a final example, Pace has Arthur contemplating the request for aid from Anthemius in Gaul:

> Arthur called for more wine, then drank deeply. Already he was planning his last, greatest campaign. Once again he would harness all Britain's resources. But this time it would not be for mere survival, but for empire.[117]

A very different aspect of Arthur's character is revealed by the Gallic expeditions in the trilogy by Cornwell. Arthur is oath-bound to help King Ban of Benoic (eastern Armorica) against the Franks, but is beset with enemies and duties in Britain. He shows that he is a man of honour, and sensitivity, by sending instead Derfel, the narrator and protagonist of the novels, in c.485, saying:

'Forgive me. And for all I know, Derfel, Benoic isn't in danger at all. Ban is an emotional man'—he used the description sourly—'and he panics easily, but if he loses Ynys Trebes then it'll break his heart and I'll have to live with that guilt too.'[118]

Note that this is not the expedition from Cornwell's trilogy tabulated in Figure 3, because it is less prominent than Mordred's Armorican campaign, both in scale—Derfel takes only sixty men—and in importance to the plot.

Turning, then, to importance to the plot, there are two main ways in which Gallic expeditions serve the narrative. The first is to introduce Lancelot, who in the Romance tradition is the son of King Ban of Benoic (see preceding paragraph), or the Lancelot-character. Sutcliff has Artos recruit Bedwyr (who here, starting a trend in Arthurian historical fiction, replaces Lancelot as Guinevere's lover), a Briton, at the horse markets in Narbonne. Finkel has Artyr recruit Olans, a Goth, in Thrace (which is, admittedly, well beyond Gaul). The 1977 works by novelist John Gloag and *homme de lettres* Douglas Carmichael have expeditions to Armorica in which Cai recruits Wlenca (a Breton of Saxon stock) and Artorius recruits Lanceolatus, respectively. Finally, Cornwell has Lancelot arriving in Britain as a refugee, a constant source of guilt for Arthur—as he foresaw—after Derfel's failure to prevent the fall of Ynys Trebes (Mont Saint Michel).

The second main narrative purpose of an overseas Arthurian expedition has older roots: in the *DGB*, Modred usurps the throne and beds Arthur's queen while he is in Gaul, leading to civil war and Arthur's demise. Many authors—Frankland, Stewart, Chant, Wolf, Lees, Paxson, Pace, Nestvold, Pilling, and Wiseman—more or less follow this script, though with a spectrum of interpretations.[119] At one extreme, Wolf's Mordred is an innocent misled by Agravaine; at the other, Pilling's Medraut is a malevolent traitor planning only death for Gwenhwyfar. Turton mixes in elements from the Romances by having the flight of the Empress and her lover, Lancelot, to Armorica be the spur for Arthur's campaign there. Novelist Gillian Bradshaw uses the same device (with Bedwyr as the lover), but she also has Gwynhwyfar sent home to Britain only to be abducted by Medraut. Cornwell deviates even further from medieval traditions: he has Mordred, the rightful (though evil) king of Dumnonia falsely rumoured dead while fighting in Armorica, and Arthur, formerly the regent, claim the throne for his son with Guinevere, leading to civil war. Finally, Baxter and Poage have a fatal end for Arthur in his campaign against Euric that is unrelated to Medraut's doings.

V. TRENDS REGARDING ARTHUR'S ROMANITAS

The final trend to be examined in this article can be dealt with more briefly than the others. In the Appendix, I include a numerical score for how 'Roman' Arthur appears to be in each of the thirty-one works. Two-thirds of this score

is calculated from the two data given immediately preceding the score in the Appendix: the form(s) of Arthur's name; and Arthur's highest title(s), or, failing that, position. Sometimes Arthur chooses to change the form of his name, and a change from a Brittonic to a Roman form counts more positively to his *romanitas* score than a change in the opposite direction. Similar considerations hold for his title.[120] The remaining one third is a combination of Arthur's ancestry, education, identity, and adherence to Roman law or custom. This last third is somewhat subjective because authors do not necessarily give such details. To avoid the impression of too much precision, I have scaled and rounded the resultant scores to obtain whole numbers from 1 to 7. I will now illustrate the spectrum of scores by several examples.

The highest *romanitas* score (7) is for Faraday (1930).[121] His Arthur says he is 'a Briton by ancient descent' but in all other aspects he is Roman. Born in 460, he is always called Artorius, and 'had been well educated as a Roman citizen.' He thinks of Britain as a collection of client kingdoms of 'the divine Emperor, our rightful lord, . . . in distant Constantinople.' Even his later title, Duke of the Britons, is of Roman style; the Pendragon of the novel's title is Gwendaello, whom he will marry. The next highest *romanitas* score (6) is attained by several authors, including Gloag (1977). His Artorius at first uses the title *Dux Britanniarum* (Duke of the British Provinces) but later changes *Dux* to *Rex* (King). Sutcliff (1963) comes in with a score of 5. Her narrator is both Artos and Artorius, reflecting his dual ancestries and identities. But he maintains Roman habits (as Sutcliff imagines them) such as shaving his facial hair, and he accepts the acclamation of his troops as Emperor, styling himself Artorius Augustus Caesar.[122]

In the middle of the spectrum, Stewart (1983) has a *romanitas* score of 4. Her Arthur, High King of Britain, has no fondness for Rome, saying 'Britain was taken by force, and thereafter forced to pay tribute to Rome. In return she enjoyed . . . a period of peace. Then Rome, self-seeking as always, lifted her shield.'[123] On the other hand, he claims descent from Magnus Maximus and the 'young Celts' think he is too Roman in his laws and centralized government. Another interesting example with the same score is Baxter (2003). His Arthur calls himself Artorius, but claims descent from pre-Roman kings and uses the Brittonic title Riothamus. At first (in 446) his stated ambition is 'To return the diocese of Britain, or as much of it as I command, to the Emperor.'[124] But after discovering, during his refortification of South Cadbury, the remains of a first-century Roman massacre of Britons, he reverses his attitude, deliberately adopts Celtic customs, and even ponders revenge on Rome: 'The Caesars . . . abandoned us to the Saxons' and, gazing east, 'Perhaps, in fact, now that we are strong we should be planning what to do about the Caesars and their betrayal of Britain.'[125]

Half of the authors publishing subsequent to Gloag (1977) come in with scores below 4, and the lowest *romanitas* score, of 1, is for Mark Gamon (2004). His Brittonic-named Arthwyr once held the title *Dux Bellorum*, but is now simply King of Trigg in northern Cornwall, and there is little trace of Rome in his identity. This, and the other examples above, suggest that the degree of *romanitas* is decreasing through time, but to say that there is a trend requires a statistical test across all works. Using the same technique as in the preceding section confirms a modest trend of decreasing *romanitas* which is nevertheless very statistically significant.[126]

Is this trend due to the influence of historical authorities? One thing that can be said is that many of the authorities cited by the earlier authors in my list present Arthur in a Roman context. Oman (1910) says that Arthur's title of *Dux Bellorum* 'seems to descend from that old Roman *Dux Britanniarum*' (as Gloag uses) and that 'the name [Artorius] is undoubtedly Roman.' Collingwood (1936) goes much further, speculating that 'in effect Arthur was . . . a new count of Britain . . . the *comes Brittaniarum,*' who led 'Roman cavalry,' bore a 'Roman family name' (Artorius) and was 'of a good romanized family.'[127] This title is used by Finkel (1967), Turton (1968), and Wolf (unusually late, in 1988), while the good Roman family is echoed in the term *honestioris* which Duggan (1951) uses. The thoroughly Roman portrayal of fifth- and sixth-century Britain by Foord (1925), as adopted by Faraday (1930), was discussed earlier.

Probably there was no single authority that burst this Roman (and, arguably, romantic) bubble. Rather, books such as Ashe (1968) and Alcock (1971) disseminated the revelations by mid-twentieth-century archaeologists of a post-Roman Brittonic society more closely resembling the pre-Roman iron age, albeit elites were literate and imported high-status goods from the Mediterranean. That said, Arthur's *romanitas* is an aspect of historical fiction for which contemporary social and political concerns may well be as important as modern historical authorities in setting trends.[128]

RELEVANCE OF ARTHUR'S ROMANITAS TO HIS RELATION WITH THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Arthur's *romanitas* could be expected to have numerous subtle effects on his judgments or actions, but here I will consider only the most obvious effect, on his relationship to the (or a) Roman Empire. Specifically, this relationship is manifest in five choices of action by Arthur which appear in various works of historical fiction: sailing to Byzantium for military training; serving in the Emperor's armies; ruling as the Emperor's representative in Britain; ruling as an independent Western Emperor; or fighting to restore Roman rule in Gaul. Data relevant to these appear in the list in the Appendix, together with a score where one point is given for each of these actions by Arthur, with a

few variations detailed below. From this, one finds that there is a statistically very significant, albeit modest, correlation between the scores for Arthur's *romanitas* and for his championing of Roman Imperial power.[129]

Examples of training or serving in the armies of Byzantium are restricted to the earlier works. Faraday has Artorius say that he 'had served since boyhood in the Emperor's armies from Dacia to beyond the walls of Antoninus.'[130] Duggan's Artorius went to Constantinople to train as a cataphract and 'came back to Britain with a holy mission to cleanse the lands of all barbarians.'[131] The training of Artyr in Thrace by Belisarius in Finkel was mentioned above. Most recently, Gloag (1977) has Artorius go to Byzantium at age ten to be educated and trained, then return to Britain at age eighteen, in 494, 'as a tribune in the Imperial army,' with a note from Emperor Anastasius authorizing Ambrosius Aurelianus to grant him 'promotion to any higher rank necessary for the better ordering of the military establishment of our province of Britannia.'[132]

The idea of Arthur as a new Western Roman Emperor appears in two novels from the 1960s. Sutcliff has Arthur, on being acclaimed Emperor after Badon, muse 'After forty years there is an Emperor in the West again . . . The island of Britain is all that still stands of Rome-in-the-West . . . [where] the light still burns.'[133] Turton has a similar acclamation by the army, and a similar narratorial comment:

'Hail Arthur. Hail Arthur our Emperor, Arthur Augustus.'

The citizens joined in, picked up the cry:

'Arthur, Arthur, Arthur, Caesar Augustus.'

Rome was no more, but a Roman Emperor reigned again in the West.[134]

It should be noted that the title 'Emperor' alone does not represent a claim to be a Roman Emperor. For most authors it merely represents a claim to authority over the kings of the Britons, as far back as Babcock (1898), who says that there is 'naught of Rome' in Camelot where his Emperor Arthur reigns.[135]

Arthur as an ally of Rome, or champion of *romanitas*, in Gaul, is a more recent phenomenon, but the influence of Geoffrey Ashe's theory is once again less than might be expected. Only two authors strongly influenced by Ashe—Hollick and Pace—get a point for Arthur's Gallic campaign in response to the call for aid from Emperor Anthemius. Wolf—less strongly influenced by Ashe—gets only half a point because her Arthur initially ignores Anthemius' request, and is motivated to campaign against Odovacer only because he believes that the Saxon leader may invade Britain if not stopped in Gaul. But three authors not influenced by Ashe in this way get a full point. Chant and Paxson were already quoted in the preceding section on Arthur's Gallic

expeditions, while Nestvold (2013) has Cador, a sub-king in Dumnonia, who would rather be at home there, reflect that

> Arthur would prefer to take back the entire territory of the Suessiones, the last Roman province of Gaul [that had been ruled by] Syagrius . . . [and thus Cador] was riding through what had so recently been Gaul, following Arthur, saving British and Romans alike, saving *romanitas*, or what was left of it.[136]

While Lees was also influenced by Ashe, his Arthur's half point is not for his fighting retreat in Gaul in 470. Rather, it is for his ambition in 515, stillborn because of Medraut's rebellion, to help reconquer Gaul for the Empire:

> 'Let [Medraut] be the soldier. I'll be the statesman. I'll go with Gwenhwyvar to see Anastasius, not to ask him for some morsel of help, but to remind him that far in the west there is still a part of Rome. . . . The Empire has many soldiers. Some could be spared to come here—by way of Spain. Theodric tells me the Visigoths would help. Then Gaul could be recovered.'[137]

Similarly, the Arthur of Wiseman (2015) has an ambition to combine with Belisarius in Italy to crush the Frankish king Theudebert, stillborn because of his rift with Modraut. But my Arthur also ends up fighting against a small detachment of Imperial troops in Modraut's army, leading to an overall score of zero.

Finally, there are two negative scores. The Arthur of novelist Catherine Christian (1978) earns a minus half point for this announcement, in c. 500:

> 'Well my friends, the last link's broken. Like it or leave it, Britain is independent. Yesterday I sent word to Byzantium, in answer to a demand, the tone of which I did not like, that since Rome sends us no help, we pay no more tribute.'[138]

Stewart is alone in having her Arthur unambiguously war against the Empire (see the section on Gallic expeditions for commentary on this), whence his score of minus one.

VI. DISCUSSION

To summarize, this article has considered a corpus of thirty-one works of Arthurian historical fiction and identified several trends that can be attributed—either by inspection or by statistical test—to the influence of modern historians. These were trends in: the two main candidate areas for the location of Badon Hill; the four main candidate approximate dates for that battle; and the involvement of Arthur at the battle of Déols (Riothamus versus Euric). Two other statistically significant trends were also identified: the increasing prominence of transmarine Arthurian military expeditions in general and the decreasing degree of Arthur's *romanitas*. The former is not obviously due to the influence of any writers on history or archaeology, but it is plausible that the latter is, at least in part. Arthur's *romanitas* was found

to have a statistically significant correlation with his actions in support of Roman Empire. Other examples of the relevance of the above trends to authors' narratives and their Arthur's character were also presented.

In terms of *which* authorities have been most influential, the past decade or so has not altered the validity of the discernment by Synder (2009) from his 'cursory survey of modern English-language novelists' of the trend that 'Studies on the historical Arthur by Geoffrey Ashe and John Morris, in particular, have been major influences on many novelists.'[139] In the corpus of thirty-one works considered in this article, Ashe is an identifiable influence in eleven, and Morris in no fewer than fifteen. Morris' influence comes from his massive 1973 tome, whereas Ashe's is more broadly based. But Ashe's 1985 book identifying Arthur with Riothamus has definitely been his most influential, appearing in my list seven times. Leslie Alcock's 1971 book appears the same number of times, and so I would add him to Synder's list, in a not-too-distant third place.

To finish, it is worth looking back at the 120 years of Arthurian historical fiction studied here. By chronologically dividing the thirty-one works into four eras, one finds characteristic, sometimes almost universal, features of each. Some of these reflect trends already discussed, but new patterns also emerge.

The Dawn. Babcock (1898) to Duggan (1951). Four works (four books) in fifty-four years, all straight historical novels. All but Frankland's narrate only part of Arthur's career and all but Babcock's feature the Battle of Badon prominently. The most common location for Badon is Uffington in the North Wessex Downs, and the median date is 516 (in the 'Annales Cambriae' group). We may find the Emperor Artorius holding court at South Cadbury, which is called Camelot. Authors in this era generally express a strong degree of belief in Arthur's historicity.

The Golden Age. Sutcliff (1963) to Godwin (1980). Eleven works (thirteen books) in eighteen years.[140] All are single-volume historical novels except for the historical fantasy trilogy of Canning (who was ahead of his time; see below). All but two (Carmichael and O'Meara) narrate Arthur's full career. The most common location for Badon is somewhere in the North Wessex Downs, and the median date is 506 ('median' group). Again, we often find the Emperor Artorius holding court at South Cadbury, but it is less commonly called Camelot. Authors are either strong or noncommittal in their belief in Arthur's historicity.

The Epic Age. Bradshaw (1981) to Paxson (2000). Nine works (twenty books) in twenty years, now with historical fantasy outnumbering historical fiction.[141] All narrate (or, in the case of McCormack, sample) Arthur's full career, and most take three or four volumes to do so. Badon is most commonly near Bath, and the median year is 496 ('Alcock/Morris' group). That battle is often less prominent in the story, while an overseas campaign is always

prominent. We still tend to find Arthur (rarely Artorius) at South Cadbury, but he is more likely to be High King than Emperor. Authors rarely express strong belief in Arthur's historicity.

The Independent Age. Baxter (2003) to Pilling (2017).[142] Seven works (thirteen books) in fifteen years, all but two (Baxter and James) self-published.[143] Historical fiction returns as the most common genre, but four new genres appear: historical science-fiction, speculative history with fictional interludes, historical comedy and quasi-history. Most authors narrate Arthur's full career, and most works are single-volume, but the exceptions are extreme.[144] Badon is near Bath, with a median year of 479 ('Ashe [1985]' group), but the range of Badon dates is greater than in any other era.[145] With one exception (Gamon), overseas expeditions are important. Arthur may be King but is never Emperor. His court may be at South Cadbury, at Killbury in Cornwall, at Caerleon in Wales or wherever he camps. Authors' expressed opinions on Arthur's historicity run the gamut from sure to weak. In short, the Independent Age is characterized by independent styles and ideas as well as by independent publishing.

APPENDIX: THE DATA

This Appendix reproduces the list of thirty-one works considered in the article, appending to each, in highly condensed form, information used in the body or which may be useful to the reader interested in Arthurian fiction with a strong historical orientation. The pieces of information are labelled by a letter, and are, in order displayed:

a) Sub-genre, with the abbreviations H Fi = historical fiction and H Fa = historical fantasy.

b) Historical event(s) involving Arthur [in square brackets if mentioned, but not actually narrated, in the work].

c) Probably historical personages who interact directly with Arthur.

d) Location of Badon; Date thereof.

e) Form(s) of Arthur's name.

f) Arthur's highest title(s) [or, failing that, position].

g) Arthur's *romanitas* score, from 1 to 7, explained in the appropriate section.

h) Nature of Arthur's relation to the Roman Empire or the idea of it (and a score from –1 to 2, explained in the appropriate section).

i) Location(s) of Arthur's principal residence(s); Name(s) thereof.

j) Location of Arthur's actual or intended final resting or healing place, if of this realm; Name thereof.

k) Author's stated degree of belief in Arthur's historicity.

Some words of explanation are necessary. N/A means 'not applicable'. For point (d), NWD abbreviates North Wessex Downs. For point (c), I allow 'interaction' to include leading opposing forces on the battlefield, which means that each work in the list features at least two historical (or, at least, more securely historical than Arthur) personages. Many contain more than two, but in those cases I have selected just two, and added 'et al.' There is quite a variety of historical personages in the list. First, Britons, who are all well attested.[146] Gildas and Illtud were Brittonic clerics, and Vortigern the probable name of an overlord of the Britons mentioned by Gildas. From Gildas we also know of: Ambrosius Aurelianus; Constantine, King of Dumnonia; Maglocunus/ Maelgwn, probably King of Gwynedd; and Vortipor, probably King of Dyfed. Cynmawr is recorded, as Cunomorus, on a Cornish gravestone and may be identical with the Breton count C(h)on(o)mor. Next, Saxons (in the broad sense), who are less certainly historical. Cerdic/Ceretic, Cynric, Aesc/Oesc, Aelle, and Octa/Octha are all named as kings or princes in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (the first four) or Bede (the last three), while Odovacer was the leader of the Loire Saxons in the 460s.[147] Euric was the king of the Visigoths (466–484), Clovis a king of the Franks (480–511) and Theodora the Byzantine Empress (527–548).

1. Babcock (1898): a) H Fi. b) [Badon]. c) Cerdic, Maelgwn et al. d) near Bath; c. 518. e) Arthur. f) Emperor of Britain. g) 3. h) none (o). i) Caerleon, South Cadbury; Caerleon, Camelot. j) Glastonbury; Avalon. k) Sure.

2. Faraday (1930): a) H Fi. b) Badon. c) Gildas, Maelgwn et al. d) Badbury rings, Dorset; 503. e) Artorius. f) Duke of the Britons. g) 7. h) Serving general, trained in Byzantium (2). i) N/A. j) N/A. k) Sure.

3. Frankland (1944): a) H Fi. b) Badon. c) Maelgwn, Constantine et al. d) Uffington, NWD; 516. e) Arthur, Artorius. f) *Amherawdyr*. g) 4. h) none (o). i) South Cadbury; Camelot. j) South Cadbury; Camelot. k) Moderate.

4. Duggan (1951): a) H Fi. b) Badon. c) Cerdic, Cynric. d) Uffington, NWD; 516. e) Artorius. f) [Roman general]. g) 6. h) Trained in Byzantium (1). i) N/A. j) N/A. k) Strong.

5. Sutcliff (1963): a) H Fi. b) Badon. c) Ambrosius, Aelle et al. d) Badbury, NWD; 501. e) Artos, Artorius. f) Augustus Caesar, Emperor. g) 5. h) self-

styled Emperor of Rome-in-the-west (1). i) Winchester; Venta. i) Glastonbury; Avalon. k) Strong.

6. O'Meara (1966): a) H Fi. b) Badon. c) Octha, Aelle. d) Badbury, NWD; 500. e) Arthur. f) *Dux Bellorum*. g) 6 h) none (0). i) Caerleon; Cair Llion. j) N/A. k) Sure.

7. Finkel (1967): a) H Fi. b) Badon. c) Theodora, Ambrosius et al. d) in Co. Durham; 535. e) Artyr. f) *Comes Britannorum*. g) 4. h) Briefly trained in Byzantium (1). i) in Co. Durham; Turis Alba. j) in Yorks; Tor Magna. k) N/A.

8. Turton (1968): a) H Fi. b) Badon. c) Ambrosius, Gildas et al. d) Sinodun hill, Oxon; 510. e) Arthur, Artorius. f) Count of Britain, then Emperor. g) 6. h) Self-styled Roman Emperor in the West. i) South Cadbury; Camelot. j) Glastonbury; Avalon. k) Sure.

9. Viney (1975): a) H Fi. b) Badon. c) Ambrosius, Cerdic et al. d) Badbury, NWD; 506? e) Artorius, then Arthur. f) King of Britain, Emperor. g) 4. h) none (0). i) South Cadbury; Arthur's Camp. j) Glastonbury; Ynys Witrin. k) N/A.

10. Canning (1976–78): a) H Fa. b) Badon. c) Ambrosius, Cerdic et al. d) Solsbury hill near Bath; c. 495. e) Arto, Arturo. f) War Duke, then Emperor. g) 4. h) none (0). i) South Cadbury; Cam Hill. j) N/A. k) N/A.

11. Carmichael (1977): a) H Fi. b) Badon. c) Ambrosius, Cerdic et al. d) Badbury, NWD; 517. e) Artorius, Arthyr. f) Pendragon, Count of Britain, then Emperor. g) 5. h) none (0). i) Caerleon, South Cadbury; Caerleon, Camulodonum. j) N/A. k) N/A.

12. Gloag (1977): a) H Fi. b) Badon. c) Cerdic, Constantine et al. d) Great Bedwyn, NWD; c.520. e) Artorius. f) *Dux Britanniarum*, then *Rex Britanniarum*. g) 6. h) Educated and commissioned in Byzantium (2). i) South Cadbury, Caerleon; N/A, Caerleon. j) N/A.

13. Vansittart (1978): a) H Fi. b) Badon. c) Ambrosius, Aesc et al. d) Badbury, NWD; 495. e) Artos, Artorius. f) *Dux Belli*. g) 3. h) none (0). i) none. j) in Somerset; N/A. k) N/A.

14. Christian (1978): a) H Fi. b) Badon. c) Ambrosius, Cerdic et al. d) Badbury, NWD; 516. e) Arturus, then Arthur. f) *Dux Bellorum*, Pendragon, then King of Britain. g) 3. h) rejects tribute demand from Byzantium (-0.5). i) South Cadbury; Camelot. j) in Devon; N/A. k) N/A.

15. Godwin (1980): a) H Fi. b) Badon. c) Ambrosius, Oesc et al. d) perhaps Ringsbury Camp, Wilts[148]; 497. e) Arthur, Artos, Artorius. f) *Imperator, Rix*

Cymri. g) 4. h) none (0). i) Nova Camulodonum, Camelot; lower Severn valley. j) unlocated; Avalon. k) Sure.

16. Bradshaw (1981–83): a) H Fa. b) [Badon]. c) Cerdic, Constantine et al. d) Bath; 518. e) Arthur. f) High King, Pendragon, Augustus, Emperor of Britain; g) 4. h) none (0). i) South Cadbury; Camlann. j) N/A. k) N/A.

17. Chant (1983): a) H Fa. b) Badon. c) Ambrosius, Oesc et al. d) Bath; 496. e) Arthur. f) Pendragon, High King of Britain, Emperor. g) 4. h) attempted *Restitutor Orbis* (1). i) Colchester; Camalod(unum). j) N/A. k) Sure.

18. Stewart (1983): a) H Fa. b) [Badon]. c) Cynric, Constantine et al. d) unlocated; 506. e) Arthur. f) High King of Britain. g) 4. h) Enemy of Byzantium (-1). i) South Cadbury; Camelot. j) near South Cadbury; Applegarth. k) Sure.

19. Wolf (1988): a) H Fa. b) Badon, [Angers]. c) Cerdic, Odovacer et al. d) Great Bedwyn; 465. e) Arthur. f) *Comes Britanniarum*, High King of Britain. g) 5. h) Ally of Syagrius (0.5). i) Winchester, South Cadbury; Venta, Cadbury. j) near Glastonbury; Avalon. k) N/A.

20. Hollick (1994–97): a) H Fi. b) Badon, Déols. c) Vortigern, Ambrosius et al. d) Badbury, NWD; 473. e) Arthur. f) King, Riothamus. g) 3. h) Ally of Rome (1). i) South Cadbury; Caer Cadan. j) Glastonbury; Ynys Witrin. k) Mild.

21. Cornwell (1995–97): a) H Fa. b) Badon. c) Aelle, Cerdic. d) Solsbury hill near Bath; c. 498. e) Arthur. f) Prince of Dumnonia. g) 2. h) none (0). i) South Cadbury; Caer Cadarn. j) N/A. k) Moderate.

22. Lees (1996): a) H Fi. b) Déols, Badon. c) Ambrosius, Ceretic et al. d) Solsbury hill near Bath; 497. e) Arthur, Artorius. f) *Dux Bellorum.* g) 5. h) would-be ally of Byzantium (0.5). i) South Cadbury; Camulos. j) Glastonbury; Avallach. k) N/A.

23. McCormack (1997–2008): a) H Fi. b) [Badon]. c) Ambrosius, Vortipor. d) unlocated; 491. e) Arthur. f) Emperor, *Amherawdyr*. g) 3. h) none (0). i) South Cadbury; Caer Cadwy; j) N/A. k) Weak.

24. Paxson (1999–2000): a) H Fa. b) Badon. c) Octha, Aelle et al. d) Solsbury hill near Bath; 495. e) Artorius, Artor. f) High King. g) 4. h) attempted Gallic Emperor (1). i) South Cadbury; Camalot. j) Glastonbury; Inis Witrin. k) N/A.

25. Baxter (2003): a) Historical science-fiction. b) Déols. c) Ambrosius, Euric. d) unlocated; c. 480? e) Artorius. f) Riothamus. g) 4. h) it's complicated (0). i) South Cadbury; Caml Dunon; j) N/A. k) N/A.

26. Gamon (2004): a) H Fa. b) [Badon]. c) Maelgwn, Cynmawr. d) near Bath; c.517. e) Arthwyr. f) King of Trigg, *Dux Bellorum*. g) 1. h) none (0). i) Killibury; Kelliwic. j) Bardsey Island?; N/A. k) Weak.

27. Pace (2008): a) Speculative history with fictional interludes. b) Badon. c) Ambrosius, Euric et al. d) just southwest of Bath; 450. e) Arth-ur (bear-man). f) *Dux Bellorum*, Riothamus. g) 2. h) Ally of Rome (1). i) N/A. j) Isle of Thanet; Afael. k) Sure.

28. Nestvold (2009–17): a) H Fa. b) Badon. c) Ambrosius, Clovis et al. d) Solsbury hill near Bath; 472. e) Arthur, Artorius. f) *Dux Bellorum, Rex*. g) 6. h) champion of *romanitas* in Gaul (1). i) Caerleon, Killibury; Caerleon, Celliwig. j) N/A. k) Moderate.[149]

29. James (2014): a) Historical comedy. b) [Badon]. c) Gildas, Constantine. d) near Bath; 526. e) Arthur. f) Great Duke. g) 2. h) none (0). i) movable; Camelot. j) near Glastonbury, Somerset; near Ynys Witrin, Apple Land. k) N/A.

30. Pilling (2014–17): a) H Fa. b) Déols, Badon. c) Ambrosius, Vortigern et al. d) Solsbury hill near Bath; 479. e) Artuir, then Artorius. f) *Dux Bellorum*, then High King. g) 4. h) none (0). i) Caerleon; Caerleon. j) N/A. k) Strong.

31. Wiseman (2015): a) Quasi-history. b) Badon, Tarascon, Clermont.[150] c) Ambrosius, Aelle et al. d) Solsbury hill near Bath; 518. e) Arthur. f) *Pendreic*, then *Dux Bellorum*, then Great King. g) 3. h) it's complicated (0). i) South Cadbury; Dun Cadarn. j) Glastonbury; Ynys Avallach. k) Moderate.

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18 Godfrey Turton, *The Emperor Arthur* (London: W.H. Allen, 1968).

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20 Victor Canning, *The Crimson Chalice Trilogy* (London: William Heinemann, 1980). Originally published individually, by the same publisher, as *The Crimson Chalice* (1976), *The Circle of the Gods* (1977), and *The Immortal Wound* (1978).

21 Douglas Carmichael, *Pendragon: An Historical Novel* (New York: Blackwater, 1977).

22 John Gloag, *Artorius Rex* (New York: St. Martin's, 1977).

23 Catherine Christian, *The Pendragon* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1979).

24 Parke Godwin, *Firelord* (New York: Avon, 1980).

25 Gillian Bradshaw, *Down the Long Wind* trilogy (London: Methuen, 1984). Originally published individually, by the same publisher, as *Hawk of May* (1981), *Kingdom of Summer* (1982) and *In Winter's Shadow* (1983); Raymond H. Thompson, 'Interview with Gillian Bradshaw,' *The Camelot Project*, University of Rochester, 1993, https://d.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/text/interview-with-gillian-bradshaw. Accessed October 8, 2021.

26 Joy Chant, *The High Kings* (Toronto: Bantam, 1983).

27 Stewart, *The Wicked Day*.

28 Joan Wolf, *The Road to Avalon* (New York: New American Library, 1988).

29 Helen Hollick, *Pendragon's Banner* trilogy (London: William Heinemann), comprising *The Kingmaking* (1994), *Pendragon's Banner* (1995) and *Shadow of the King* (1997).

30 Bernard Cornwell, *The Warlord Chronicles* (London, Michael Joseph), comprising *The Winter King* (1995), *Enemy of God* (1996), and *Excalibur* (1997); Cornwell maintains a website for reader questions, http://www.bernardcornwell.net/question_type/your-questions/. In answer to a question by Michael Cook submitted November 11, 2008 on the histories behind his Arthurian novels, Cornwell replies, 'The histories? Not entirely sure what you mean. The "big" history is *The Age of Arthur* by John Morris, a book best taken with a pinch of salt, but a good place to start.' Accessed January 21, 2017. The search function no longer readily returns this question and answer.

31 Frederick Lees, *The Arthuriad of Catumandus* (Hong Kong: Crane Books, 1996).

32 Patrick McCormack, *Albion* series, comprising *The Last Companion* (London: Robinson, 1997), *The White Phantom* (London: Robinson, 2000), and *The Lame Dancer*. The last novel was not commercially published but was made available online by me in 2008, currently (22 June 2021) at https://howardwiseman.me/LameDancer.pdf

33 Diana L. Paxson, *The Hallowed Isle* Series (New York, Avon), comprising *The Book of the Sword* (1999), *The Book of the Spear* (1999), *The Book of the Cauldron* (2000), *The Book of the Stone* (2000).

34 Stephen Baxter, *Coalescent* (London: Orion, 2003).

35 Mark Gamon, *Briton* (Wadebridge, Cornwall: Clunk and Rattle (independent publishing), 2004).

36 Edwin Pace, *Arthur and the Fall of Roman Britain* (Cheltenham: Invermark Books, 2008).

37 Ruth Nestvold, *Pendragon Chronicles* (Red Dragon Books (independent publishing)), comprising *Yseult* (2012) (first published, in German translation, as *Flamme und Harfe* [Munich: Penhaligon Verlag, 2009]), *Shadow of Stone* (2013), and *Ygerna* (2017); Personal email, March 1, 2020.

38 John James, *The Fourth Gwenevere* (London: Jo Fletcher Books, 2014). This is a posthumous work (James died in 1993), edited and completed by Caitlín and John Matthews.

39 David Pilling, *Leader of Battles* series (CreateSpace [independent publishing]), comprising *Ambrosius* (2014), *Artorius* (2014), *Gwenhwyfar* (2015), *Drystan* (2015), and *Medraut* (2017).

40 Howard M. Wiseman, *Then Arthur Fought: The Matter of Britain (378–634 A.D.)* (Raleigh, NC: Lulu (independent publishing), 2015).

41 Chris Gidlow, *The Reign of Arthur* (Gloucestershire: Sutton, 2004), is a recent comprehensive review which is sympathetic to the 'historical Arthur.'

42 Howard M. Wiseman, 'The Historicity and Historiography of Arthur: A critical review of *King Arthur: Myth-Making and History* by N. Higham, and *The Reign of Arthur: From History to Legend* by C. Gidlow,' *The Heroic Age* 10, The Forum (2007), http://www.heroicage.org/issues/10/forum.html. Accessed October 8, 2021.

43 William H. Babcock, *The Two Lost Centuries of Britain* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1890); (digitized by Google).

44 Charles Oman, *England Before the Norman Conquest* (London: Methuen, 1910), p. 211.

45 Alfred Duggan, *Conscience of the King* (Note on Authorities); O'Meara, *The Duke of War* (The Sources).

46 E.K. Chambers, *Arthur of Britain*, (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1927), pp. 197–201.

47 Frankland, *The Bear of Britain* (Afterword).

48 Collingwood and Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, The Oxford History of England vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), pp. 322–23.

49 Faraday, *Pendragon* (Author's Introduction); Edward Foord, *The Last Age of Roman Britain* (London: G.G. Harrap, 1925).

50 Collingwood and Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, p. 320.

51 Vansittart, *Lancelot*; Collingwood and Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, p. 321.

52 Withrington, 'Rosemary Sutcliff,' p. 54.

53 Geoffrey Ashe, *King Arthur's Avalon: The Story of Glastonbury* (London: Collins, 1957); Geoffrey Ashe, *From Caesar to Arthur* (London: Collins, 1960).

54 Turton, *The Emperor Arthur* (Preface).

55 R. Simpson, *Radio Camelot: Arthurian Legends on the BBC, 1922–2005*, (Cambridge: Brewer, 2008), p. 60.

56 Leslie Alcock and Geoffrey Ashe, 'Cadbury: Is it Camelot?' in *The Quest for Arthur's Britain*, ed. Geoffrey Ashe (London: Pall Mall Press, 1968), pp. 123–147.

57 A claim that an observed trend is statistically significant is, roughly, a claim that pure chance would have resulted in a trend at least that strong with only a small probability (called the p-value). In the case at hand this can be evaluated using a Fisher Exact Probability Test (see e.g. http://vassarstats.net). For the data presented, the probability that pure chance would have resulted in the observed, or greater, increased frequency of South Cadbury as one of Arthur's strongholds after 1967 is approximately 9%. While this might seem relatively small, it is the convention in statistical tests not to claim significance unless the p-value is below 5%.

58 Viney, *The Bright-Helmed One* (Author's Note).

59 Beram Saklatvala, *Arthur: Roman Britain's last champion* (Devon: David & Charles, 1967); Vansittart, *Lancelot* (The Historical Background).

60 Vansittart, *Lancelot*, p. 65;

61 Morris, *The Age of Arthur*, p. 62.

62 Lees, *The Arthuriad*, acknowledges no authorities, for the good reason that, uniquely among the authors in my list, he frames his book (in the Preface) as the translation of a genuine work of the sixth century. He even goes so far as to invent a story as to how he obtained the papyrus manuscript in Greek.

63 Geoffrey Ashe, *The Discovery of King Arthur* (London: Guild Publishing, 1985).

64 Ashe, *From Caesar to Arthur*, p. 224.

65 Hollick, *Shadow of the King* (Author's Note); Pace, *Arthur and the Fall of Roman Britain* (Acknowledgments); Pilling, *Artorius* (Author's Note).

66 Pace, *Arthur and the Fall of Roman Britain*, p. 332 (endnote 18 to Chapter 14).

67 Pace, *Arthur and the Fall of Roman Britain*, p. 324 (endnote 1 to Chapter 9); Nikolai Tolstoy, 'Nennius, chapter fifty-six,' *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 19 (1961): 118–62.

68 'I got the idea for making Ambrosius Riothamus from Ashe's book, *The Discovery of King Arthur*' (personal email, March 1, 2020).

69 Nestvold, *Yseult* (Author's Note); K.R. Dark, *Civitas to Kingdom: British Political Continuity 300–800* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1994); Christopher A. Snyder, *An Age of Tyrants: Britain and the Britons A.D. 400–600* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

70 *The Quest for Arthur's Britain*, ed. Geoffrey Ashe (London: Pall Mall Press, 1968).

71 Alcock and Ashe, 'Cadbury: Is it Camelot?' p. 123.

72 J.N.L. Myres, *The English Settlements.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). For his independence from Collingwood, see p. xvii (Preface).

73 Fabio P. Barbieri, *History of Britain, 407–597* (2002). http://www.facesofarthur. org.uk/fabio/contents.htm; accessed October 8, 2021.

74 Wiseman, *Then Arthur Fought* (Preface).

75 The base map is modified from this map: https://commons.wikimedia.org/ wiki/File:Uk_topo_en.jpg, under the Creative Commons license https:// creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/deed.en; accessed October 8, 2021.

76 Babcock mentions Badon only as a future event, 'the great victory and long prosperous peace of Mount Baden,' in the final paragraph of *Cian of the Chariots*.

However, in a footnote about the location of a battle (Mount Breguoin) that is narrated, he implies that, with a high degree of certainty, it was 'near Bath.'

77 Edwin Guest, *Origines Celticae*, *vol. II,* (London: Kenikat, 1971 [1883]), pp. 187–89.

78 Foord, *The Last Age of Roman Britain*, p. 247.

79 Chambers, *Arthur of Britain*, p. 201.

80 Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*, p. 359; Morris, *The Age of Arthur*, p. 113.

81 The three are as follows. First, the text of Babcock's *Cian of the Chariots* contains no dates, but his Preface leads into his story by quoting at length from his earlier work, *The Two Lost Centuries of Britain*, and there he follows the *AC* in dating Badon to 516–20. Moreover, the subtitle of the book, which covers the six battles of Arthur in the *HB* prior to Badon, is 'A Tale of Arthur's Court, London 510 A.D.' Second, while Bradshaw's *Down the Long Wind* trilogy also contains no dates, it has several clues which suggest Badon occurred around 520. Most specifically, she has Bedwyr recall, that when, some twenty years previously, Arthur won the purple (which was eleven years before Badon) the 'Frankish King died, and the new king was busy with the Goths' (*Hawk of May,* p. 221). This most obviously refers to Clovis' war with the Visigoths in 507. Clovis was not a new king then, but he did cause the death of two other Frankish kings that year so perhaps Bedwyr (or Bradshaw) misremembered that detail. This would put Badon in 518, agreeing with the *AC*, which was Bradshaw's intent (personal email, October 23, 2013). Third, Gamon's *Briton* all takes place two years since the cataclysmic 'darkening of the sky' (loc. 120), the well-established meteorological event of 536. See e.g. David Keys *Catastrophe: An Investigation into the Origins of the Modern World* (London: Century Books, 1999), a popular book published at the right time to have influenced Gamon. His Arthwyr, mustering his troops, says 'more than twenty years have passed since we last rode from here against the Saxons' (loc. 1122). Taking this to be twenty-one years gives 538 for Camlann and 517 for Badon, consistent with the *AC*.

82 Thomas O'Sullivan *The De Excidio of Gildas—Its Authenticity and Date* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), pp. 141–42.

83 Howard Wiseman, 'The derivation of the date of the Badon entry in the *Annales Cambriae* from Bede and Gildas,' *Parergon* 17 (2000): 1–10; Regarding Bede's readership, see Thomas Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons, 350–664* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 446.

84 The year 502 does not actually appear in the list. Because there is an even number (thirty) of items in the data set, the median is found by taking the mean (average) of the two middle-most numbers, 501 and 503.

85 Theodorus Mommsen, [Introduction to] *Gildae Sapientis*, MGH AA 13.8–9 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1898).

86 Oman, *England Before the Norman Conquest*, pp. 200–201; Collingwood and Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, pp. 460–61.

87 Sutcliff gives no dates in *Sword at Sunset.* However, Badon occurs approximately twenty-three years after the opening, which can be dated to c. 478 by the following statements by Arthur (the narrator). He says in Chapter 1 that it was 'close on

two [*sic.*] hundred years' since the battle of Adrianople (378) and, not long after, in Chapter 3, that 'seventy years ago, [the Goths] had sacked Rome' (410). Note that *Sword at Sunset* was preceded (in both chronological senses) by a young adult novel—Rosemary Sutcliff, *The Lantern Bearers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959)—with more precise date indications. However, this cannot be used to date events in *Sword at Sunset* because there are substantial temporal inconsistencies between the two; see e.g. Sutcliff Wiki, accessed June 22, 2021, https://sutcliff. fandom.com/wiki/Sword_at_Sunset#Inconsistency_with_The_Lantern_Bearers.

88 Mommsen argued for the date range 500–503 on the following grounds: (i) according to his (Mommsen's) emended text of *de Excidio,* Gildas says he was writing forty-four years after Badon; (ii) since, therein, Gildas accused Maglocunus of a multitude of crimes, including taking his nephew's wife, Maglocunus was not a young man at the time; (iii) Maglocunus can be identified with Maelgwn of Gwynedd who died of plague (not old age) in c.547. This last date is one Mommsen infers from the relevant entry in the *AC,* but the intended date could be 549, or even later, appearing, as it does, approximately thirty-one years after Badon. (Mommsen's reasoning of course requires rejecting the *AC* date for Badon while accepting that for Maelgwn's death.) In contradiction with this reasoning, Sutcliff (*Sword at Sunset*, Chap. 34.) has a middle-aged Maelgwn marry his nephew's wife just a few years after Badon.

89 Faraday has Gildas and Maelgwn as mature adults at the time of the battle.

90 Viney gives no dates in *The Bright-Helmed One.* However her timeline seems based upon the fifth-century *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (*ASC*) entries, with Aelle's landing about five years before the opening (477 in the *ASC*), the fall of Anderida about thirteen years after that (491 in the *ASC* but given in some books as 490), Cerdic's landing five years after that (495 in the *ASC*), and the battle of Badon eleven years after that. Like Faraday, she has Gildas and Maglocunus as adults at this time.

91 Stewart, *The Wicked Day* (Author's Note).

92 Kenneth H. Jackson, 'The Arthur of history,' in *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages.* ed. R.S. Loomis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 1–11, says '516 for Badon [as per the *AC*] is probably too late by as much as ten or 15 years' (p. 5).

93 Turton, *The Emperor Arthur* (Preface).

94 Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*, p. 55; Morris, *The Age of Arthur*, p. 39.

95 James gives no dates, and inferring one is made harder by his choice, presumably for comedic effect, of an often ignorant and inconsistent narrator, Morfran. In the opening year of the novel, Morfran says Badon was ten years earlier. In the second year, the Gwenevere of the title is abducted (or, perhaps, escapes) to the castle of an independent lord in Septimania, and is recovered by Morfran. This occurs at a time when Belisarius is besieged in Rome (March 537 to March 538) by Witiges' Ostrogoths. Moreover, immediately following the 'rescue' of Gwenevere, the site of the castle (Montgaillard-Lauragais) becomes the battle-ground for armies from three neighboring barbarian kingdoms, who could only be (whatever Morfran

may say) Visigoths, Franks, and Ostrogoths. A date of 537, when the Franks took Provence from the Ostrogoths, makes sense for this.

96 This disaster is, however, not a battle, and Arthur has been dead for two years already when it occurs.

97 Sutcliff, *Sword at Sunset*, Chapter 29.

98 Cornwell, *Excalibur*, p. 156.

99 Sean Poage, *The Retreat to Avalon* (MadeGlobal Publishing [independent publishing], 2018).

100 The Spearman rank correlation test was also performed at http://vassarstats.net. The strength of the trend is quantified by the Spearman rank-order correlation coefficient, r, the magnitude of which lies between 0 (no correlation) and 1 (perfect correlation). With a calculated value, r=0.73, lying between 0.65 and 0.75, this trend can be considered strong. But to say whether this is statistically significant one needs to calculate the p-value. In this case, because there is no a priori reason to think that Arthurian transmarine military expeditions should be increasing over time, the correct p-value is the 'two-sided' one: the probability that pure chance would have resulted in a trend, either increasing or decreasing, at least as strong as that observed. The calculated p-value (about 0.05%) is less than 0.1%, indicating a trend that is extremely statistically significant. This is a consequence of the relatively large number (24) of data; a trend equally as strong but with fewer data would not be as statistically significant.

101 Geoffrey Ashe, 'A Certain Very Ancient Book: Traces of an Arthurian Source in Geoffrey of Monmouth's History,' *Speculum* 56 (1981): 301–23, esp. 304; This thesis is in fact more than 800 years old; see Robert Huntington Fletcher, *The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1906), pp. 172 and 185;

102 The p-value, the probability that chance alone would have yielded the stated pattern, is found using a Fisher Exact Probability Test to be about 0.1%, which, being less than 1%, is considered very statistically significant.

103 As per the above, the Spearman rank correlation test yields r=0.67, and a p-value of about 0.2%. The larger p-value, and hence lower degree of statistical significance, is due to the smaller sample size (18).

104 Poage, *The Retreat to Avalon* (Author's Note).

105 Hollick, *Shadow of the King* (Author's Note).

106 Lees, *The Arthuriad*, p. 310 has Arthur note that Ambrosius' standard, RIOTAMUS B(ritanniae), is a loose anagram both of AMBROSIUS T(yrannus) and ARTORIUS M(agister) B(ritanniae); Geoffrey Ashe, *Kings and Queens of Early Britain* (London: Methuen, 1982), p. 132.

107 Wolf, *The Road to Avalon*, pp. 345–46, 356–57. Valerius is not a name associated with Arthur or Riothamus, or fifth-century Britons or Bretons, in legend or history. However, in Stewart's *The Wicked Day*, Valerius, one of Arthur's oldest companions, plays a significant role in Gaul. The character Valerian in Pilling's *Artorius* is, I suspect, inspired by Wolf or Stewart (or both) since he appears only as Arthur's ally in Gaul. There is a Valerin in Ulrich von Zatzikhoven's *Lanzelet*, but

he is Arthur's rival, not ally, in Britain. See Christopher W. Bruce, *The Arthurian Name Dictionary* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1999).

108 Morris, *The Age of Arthur*, p. 92.

109 Morris, *The Age of Arthur*, pp. 126–32.

110 Paxson, *The Book of the Stone*, p. 94.

111 Nestvold, *Shadow of Stone*, p. 436.

112 Howard M. Wiseman, 'A British legion stationed near Orléans c. 530? Evidence for Brittonic military activity in late antique Gaul in *Vita Sancti Dalmatii* and other sources,' *J. Australian Early Medieval Assoc.* 7 (2011): 9–31, esp. 14–19.

113 Wiseman, *Then Arthur Fought* (10th endnote); Barbieri, History of Britain, 407–597, 8.6.

114 Wiseman, 'A British legion stationed near Orléans c. 530?,' pp. 24–31.

115 Chant, *The High Kings*, p. 230.

116 Paxson, *The Book of the Stone*, p. 13–14.

117 Pace, *Arthur and the Fall of Roman Britain*, p. 217

118 Cornwell, *The Winter King*, p. 232.

119 It should be noted that for both Lees and Pilling the fatal expedition occurs long after that against Euric which is tabulated in Figure 3. For Lees, it is a small-scale expedition to Armorica by Arthur in 515, while for Pilling it is a large-scale but short-lived expedition to Ireland by Arthur in c. 498.

120 A title with a Roman pedigree (e.g. *Comes Britannorum*) counts higher than a sub-Roman title (e.g. *Dux Bellorum*) which counts higher than a non-Roman title (e.g. *Rex*). Moreover, the same title if given in Latin (e.g. *Imperator*) counts higher than if in English (Emperor), which counts higher than if in Welsh (*Amherawdyr*).

121 Faraday, *Pendragon*. Arthur's descent is mentioned on p. 26; his birth, p. 14; his education, p. 27; his understanding of Britain's political status, p. 25; his marriage to Gwendaello, p. 17 (in a preface by the fictional author, Arthur's grandson Beli).

122 Sutcliff, *Sword and Sunset*, p. 17 for Arthur's dual ancestries and identities and p. 2 for his shaving in the Roman manner. The latter was still being used in 2009 as a mark of 'Roman manners,' in Nestvold, *Yseult*, loc. 3371.

123 Stewart, *The Wicked Day*, p. 305. See p. 304 for the attitudes of the 'young Celts.'

124 Baxter, *Coalescent*, p. 216–17.

125 Baxter, *Coalescent*, p. 249. For his turn against Roman customs, see pp. 218–20.

126 Again using http://vassarstats.net, the calculated Spearman rank-order correlation coefficient was r=-0.46, with the minus sign indicating an anti-correlation (decreasing *rominatas* over time). Its magnitude, $|r|$=0.46, lying between 0.3 and 0.5, can be considered to indicate a modest trend. Once again, because there is no a priori reason to think that *romanitas* should be decreasing, the correct p-value is the 'two-sided' one. The calculated p-value (about 0.9%) is very statistically significant, which is unsurprising since it is based on the full data set.

127 Oman, *England Before the Norman Conquest*, pp. 205–10; Collingwood and Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, pp. 321–24.

128 Tom Shippey, 'Historical Fiction and the Post-Imperial Arthur,' in *A Companion to Arthurian Literature*, ed. Helen Fulton (Maldon, MA and Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp. 449–62.

129 The calculated Spearman rank-order correlation coefficient was $r=0.47$, indicating a modest positive correlation. This time, the prior expectation would be for the correlation to be positive, so the correct *p*-value is the 'one-sided' one. This evaluates to about 0.4%, which is very statistically significant, unsurprisingly.

130 Faraday, *Pendragon*, p. 27

131 Duggan, *Conscience of the King*, pp. 235–36.

132 Gloag, *Artorius Rex*, p. 14

133 Sutcliff, *Sword at Sunset*, p. 404; This proclamation might seem to contradict the inferred date of c.501 for Sutcliff's battle of Badon, since the last Roman Emperor in the West was deposed in 476. But Majorian (457–61) is often seen as the last Emperor in the West who was not a mere puppet of the Eastern Emperor or his own *Magister Militum*. Perhaps Sutcliff meant a misunderstood record of Arthur's proclamation to be the origin of the *AC* date of c.516..

134 Turton, *The Emperor Arthur*, p. 121

135 Babcock, *Cian of the Chariots*, p. 355

136 Nestvold, *Shadow of Stone*, pp. 381–83.

137 Lees, *The Arthuriad*, p. 377; Like Paxson, Lees adopts Morris' invention of Theodric, the Visigothic admiral.

138 Christian, *The Pendragon*, p. 180.

139 Snyder, 'Use of History and Archaeology in Contemporary Arthurian Fiction,' p. 119.

140 Here and below I mean the number of volumes as per the original manner of publication.

141 Here I am discounting the fact that the third book of McCormack's *Albion* trilogy, which was due to have been published in the early 2000s, languished undistributed until 2008.

142 I do not end with Wiseman (2015) because here I am counting individual volumes, and the last published in my corpus is *Medraut* by Pilling (2017) or *Ygerna* by Nestvold (2017), the prequel to her earlier published Arthurian books, *Yseult* and *Shadow of Stone*.

143 Not counting the German translation of Nestvold's *Yseult*, commercially published as *Flamme und Harfe*.

144 Pilling's series has the most books (five) of any in the list, while the length of time covered in the books of Gamon and James are the shortest since O'Meara (1966). By contrast, the length of time covered in Wiseman (2015), 256 years, is by far the longest.

145 This is the median if Baxter had in mind a date not later than 479. Otherwise, it is whatever date Baxter had in mind. Perhaps it would be better to say that there is no defined median, which is fitting considering the extraordinary spread of dates from 450 to 526.

146 Christopher A. Snyder, *The Britons* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), pp. 101–102, 121–25, 130–32, 166–67, 184.

147 *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and tr. Michael Swanton (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 12–16; Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, 2.5, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford: Clarendon, 1896), pp. 89–90; Gregory of Tours, *Libri historiarum X*, 2.19, MGH SRM 1.1.65.

148 In the list of sites preceding the beginning of *Firelord,* Godwin has 'Mount Badon' as 'No precise site,' but in the text (p. 254) it is 'forty miles from Winchester, two days march,' 'in the south midlands,' 'the biggest fort in the south [midlands],' and 'a day and a half [i.e. thirty miles] from the Severn,' and that (p. 297) it was 'not terribly high' and the 'earthworks were there before Caesar came.' Ringsbury Camp fits best.

149 Ruth Nestvold, Quora, October 11, 2018, https://www.quora.com/Did-King-Arthur-really-exist/answers/79357005, states 'I personally tend to believe [that] there was a war leader during that time in Britain [whose] name was Arthur or something similar.'

150 A skirmish near Tarascon in Provence involving Liberius, the Prefect of Gaul is recorded in *Vitae Caesarii Episcopi Arelatensis*, 2.10, MGH SRM 3.487; The revolt of Clermont in the Auvergne against the Frankish king Theuderic is recorded in Gregory of Tours, *Libri historiarum X*, 3.9–12, MGH SRM 1.1.106–108.