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General Editors
J. W. BINNS D. d'AVRAY M. S. KEMPSHALL R. C. LOVE

Gerald of Wales

De gestis Giraldi
On the Deeds of Gerald

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
JACOB CURRIE
with
THOMAS CHARLES-EDWARDS
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Ricardo acerrimo
auctori magistro amico

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In these difficult circumstances the History Faculty in Oxford, and in particular Julia Smith and John Watts, provided much-needed support to allow us to take the project forward. Needless to say, our gratitude to those who offered us help is far more than conventional. We have been ably supported by our advisers, Robert Bartlett, Marie Therese Flanagan, and Huw Pryce, who have read and commented on everything in this volume with admirable clarity and dispatch, and rescued us from numerous errors and confusions. We have also drawn on the specific expertise of others: Gruffudd Antur, Julia Barrow, Charlene Eska, Shaun McGuinness, Tessa Webber, and Carolinne White have helped us greatly by providing specific points of information or responding to particular queries. We have made much use of Catherine Rooney's work on the manuscripts of Gerald's works and have benefitted enormously from her willingness to answer queries. We have also benefitted from the kindness of Fiona Edmonds, whose expertise in map-making is evident on many pages. We should also gratefully acknowledge the enthusiastic hospitality provided by Wyn Evans, former Bishop of St Davids, on our visit there in the spring of 2022.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AC	*Annales Cambriae*
AC Brev.	*Annales Cambriae, The B Text*, transcribed by H. W. Gough-Cooper
AC Cott.	*Annales Cambriae, The C Text*, transcribed by H. W. Gough-Cooper
Acta, ed. Barrow	*St Davids Episcopal Acta*, ed. J. Barrow
Acts, ed. Pryce	*The Acts of Welsh Rulers, 1120–1283*, ed. H. Pryce
AFM	The Annals of the Four Masters: *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters from the Earliest Times to the Year 1616*, ed. J. O'Donovan (Dublin, 1851)
AMR	*Archif Melville Richards* (Archive of Welsh Place-names), www.e-gymraeg.co.uk/enwaulleoedd/amr/cronfa_en.aspx
Autobiography	*The Autobiography of Giraldus Cambrensis*, ed. and trans. H. E. Butler
BAV	Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana
BHL	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*
BL	British Library
Bodl. Lib.	Bodleian Library
Brut	*Brut y Tywysogyon*, with references to the corrected dates as shown in *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes, Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, trans. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1952). When the reference is to *Brut* without specifying the versions, there is no significant difference between the version in Peniarth MS 20 and the others.
Editions of the Welsh texts are:	
Brut P	*Brut y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20*, ed. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1941)
Brut R	*Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes, Red Book of Hergest Version*, ed. and trans. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1955)
BS	*Brenhinedd y Saeson or The Kings of the Saxons*, ed. and trans. T. Jones (Cardiff, 1971)
CBT	Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion

CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis (Turnhout)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, series Latina (Turnhout)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
Davies, *Conquest*	R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change: Wales, 1063–1415* (Oxford, 1987), reissued as *The Age of Conquest: Wales, 1063–1415* (Oxford, 2000)
DMLBS	*Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*
Episc. Acts, ed. Davies	*Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents relating to Welsh Dioceses, 1066–1272*, ed. J. Conway Davies

Gerald's works:

Catalogus brevior	*Catalogus brevior librorum suorum*
De iure	*De iure et statu Meneuensis ecclesiae*
De gestis	*De gestis Giraldi* (*De rebus a se gestis*)
De prin.	*De principis instructione*, ed. R. Bartlett
Descr. Kam.	*Descriptio Kambriae*
Exp. Hib.	*Expugnatio Hibernica*
Gemma eccl.	*Gemma ecclesiastica*
Inuect.	*Libellus inuectionum* (with references)
Itin. Kam.	*Itinerarium Kambriae*
Libellus	*Libellus inuectionum* (in discussion)
Spec. duorum	*Speculum duorum*
Spec. eccl.	*Speculum ecclesiae*
Symb. el.	*Symbolum electorum*
Top. Hib.	*Topographia Hibernica*
Vita Galf.	*Vita Galfridi*
Vita S. Ethel.	*Vita S. Ethelberti*
Vita S. Hug.	*Vita S. Hugonis*
Vita S. Rem.	*Vita S. Remigii*
Vita S. Dauid	*Vita S. Dauid*
Gratian, *Decretum*	Gratian, *Decretum*, ed. E. Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, i (Leipzig, 1879)
Howden, *Chronica*	Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs (4 vols., RS, 1868–71)
Howden, *Gesta Henrici II*	*Gesta regis Henrici secundi Benedicti abbatis*, ed. W. Stubbs (2 vols., RS 1867) (now attributed to Roger of Howden)

LL	*Liber Landavensis*
Lloyd, *HW*	J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales* (3rd edn., 2 vols., London, 1939)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
NGR	National Grid Reference
NLW	National Library of Wales
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (60 vols, Oxford 2004)
OMT	Oxford Medieval Texts
OP	*The Description of Penbrokeshire by George Owen of Henllys, Lord of Kemes*, ed. H. Owen (4 vols., London, 1892–1936)
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne (217 vols, Paris, 1844–55); index (4 vols, Paris 1864)
PR	Pipe Roll (with regnal year), thus PR 21 HII is The Pipe Roll of 21 Henry II (following Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, 697)
PRS	Pipe Roll Society
RS	Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores ('Rolls Series'); when referring to the works of Gerald of Wales, the volume number 21 is usually omitted (except in the full bibliographical references to each volume); thus RS i. 45 refers to volume one, page 45, of the works of Gerald
SC	Sources chrétiennes
Taxatio Eccles.	*Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicholai IV circa A.D. 1291*, Record Commission (London, 1802)
VCH	The Victoria County History
VSBG	*Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, ed. A. W. Wade-Evans, History and Law Series 9 (Cardiff, 1944)
WATU	M. Richards, *Welsh Administrative and Territorial Units* (Cardiff, 1969)

Map 1. Wales in the twelfth century

INTRODUCTION

Gerald of Wales was born at the castle of Manorbier on the southern coast of what is now Pembrokeshire, the most likely date being in June or July 1146.[1] Manorbier was in the *cantref* of Penfro ('End District'), the south-western end of the old kingdom of Dyfed. Dyfed was a land, as Gerald and others described it, of seven *cantrefi* (see Map 4) that, between them, embraced all of modern Pembrokeshire and also the westernmost part of Carmarthenshire.[2]

His father, William de Barri, was of a knightly family that, according to Gerald's own explanation of his family's name 'de Barri', held land in and close to Barry Island in Glamorgan.[3] His grandfather, Odo de Barri, however, had moved further west after Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury, and his younger son, Arnulf, had conquered Ceredigion and most of Dyfed in 1093. He was certainly established in Penfro before the date of the 1130 Pipe Roll.[4]

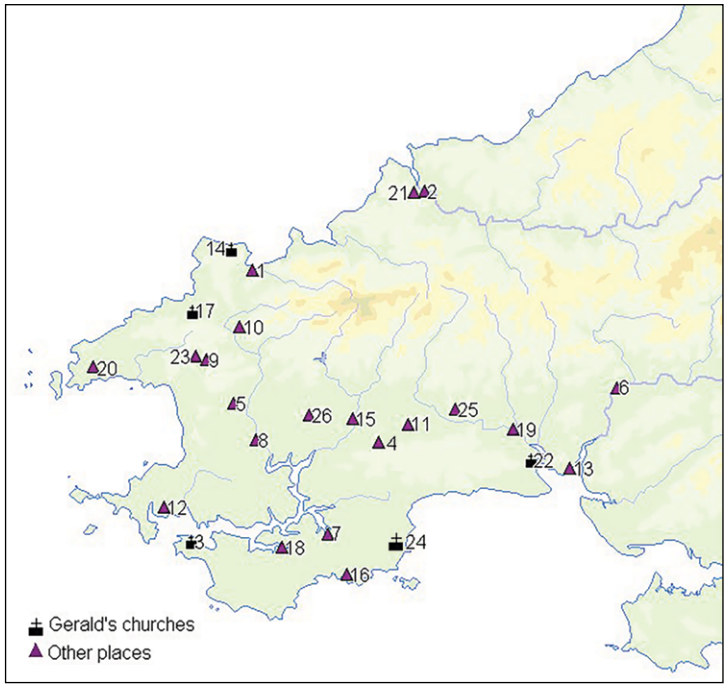
Gerald had two elder brothers: Philip, the eldest, inherited Manorbier; Robert, the second, was one of the early party led by Robert fitz

[1] At the birth of Philip Augustus, 21/22 August 1165, he was 'completing his twentieth year, more or less', 'quasi uicesimum etatis sue tunc annum adimplens', *De prin.*, iii. 25 (OMT 674–5). He was not yet thirty at the death of his uncle David in May 1176, *De gestis*, i. 9. This is probably the most reliable indication, since it mattered and was not favourable to Gerald's ambitions. A date in June or July 1146 seems likely, allowing him to be over nineteen in August 1165 but not yet thirty in May 1176.

[2] *De gestis*, ii. 9; *Itin. Kam.*, i. 12 (RS vi. 89–99); *Descr. Kam.*, i. 2 (RS vi. 166–7); *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, ed. Williams, pp. 1, 27, 49, 67. For a discussion of Welsh place-names and personal names, see Appendix 1 (pp. 229–31).

[3] The family name is explained by Gerald in *Itin. Kam.*, i. 6 (RS vi. 66): 'Ab huius etiam insulæ nomine uiri nobiles maritimarum australis Kambriæ partium, qui eidem insulæ cum terris finitimis dominari solent, sunt denominati: a Barri scilicet primo agnomen, postea cognomen de Barri suscipientes'. The evidence for the early knights' fees of the Lordship of Glamorgan is scanty and a comprehensive picture is not possible before 1262, in an inquisition post mortem, printed in *Cartae et Alia Munimenta*, ed. Clark, ii. 649–51: Smith, 'The Kingdom of Morgannwg', p. 17. Barry then lay between the major knights' fees of Penmark, about four miles to the west, Dinas Powys, much the same distance to the north-east, and the lesser fee of Sully, two and a half miles to the east. Odo de Barri may have been a vassal of one of the three, so that Manorbier would have constituted a considerable enhancement of his resources. Nevertheless, the name de Barri persisted among those of his descendants who settled in Ireland as well as those who remained in Wales. For further discussion of the forms of his name, see below, pp. 229–31.

[4] PR 31 HI (*The Great Roll of the Pipe*, ed. Green, 108); Lloyd, *HW* 423 n. 71.



Places in Dyfed: Key

1. *Abergwaun/Fishgard*
2. *Aberteifi/Cardigan Castle*
3. *Angle: one of Gerald's churches*
4. *Arberth/Narberth*
5. *Camros/Camrose*
6. *Caerfyrddin/Carmarthen*
7. *Caeriw/Carew (Castle of Odo f. William)*
8. *Haverford /Hwlffordd*
9. *Hayscastle (perhaps from Hait)*
10. *Letterston (from Letard 'Halfking')*
11. *Llanbedr Efelffre/Lampeter Velfrey*
12. *Llan Ismael/St Ishmael's*
13. *Llansteffan*
14. *Llanwnda: one of Gerald's churches*
15. *Llawhaden; episcopal castle*
16. *Manorbier/Maenor Bŷr/*
17. *Mathri/Mathry*
18. *Pembroke Castle*
19. *St Clears*
20. *St Davids/Mynyw*
21. *St Dogmaels/Llandudoch*
22. *Talacharn/Laugharne: one of Gerald's churches*
23. *Tancredston (probably from Tancred/Tancard)*
24. *Tenby/Dinbych-y-Pysgod: one of Gerald's churches*
25. *Whitland Abbey*
26. *Wizo's Castle*

Map 2. Dyfed: Places

Stephen to go to the aid of Diarmait Mac Murchada in Leinster.[5] He also had a half-brother, Walter, by a different mother.[6]

The castle that was built immediately after the 1093 invasion towards the west of Penfro, called Pembroke Castle after the name of the *cantref*, was entrusted to a leading follower of Arnulf, Gerald of Windsor, the maternal grandfather of Gerald of Wales.[7] Gerald of Windsor survived both the onslaught of the Welsh in 1094 and the rebellion and consequent fall of the Montgomery family in 1102. He thereby became a vassal of Henry I, who took the lordship of Pembroke into royal possession.

Gerald of Windsor married Nest, daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, the last Welsh king of the country, 'so that he might put down deeper roots for himself and his people in those parts'.[8] One of their daughters was Angharad, the wife of William de Barri and mother of Gerald of Wales.[9] Nest was also a mistress of Henry I, by whom she had a son, Henry fitz Henry, who acquired lands in Pebidiog and Narberth, and mistress also of Stephen, constable of Cardigan, by whom she had a son, Robert fitz Stephen.[10] She appears to have had a son by Hait, attested as sheriff of Pembroke in the Pipe Roll of 1130: William son of Hay, or as a version of *Brut y Tywysogion* has it, son of Haet, was a kinsman of Gerald.[11] Her descendants came to be known as 'The Children of Nest', prominent in Ireland as well as in south-west Wales (Table 1 overleaf).[12]

[5] *Exp. Hib.*, i. 3 (ed. Scott and Martin, pp. 32–5).

[6] *Exp. Hib.*, i. 42 (ed. Scott and Martin, pp. 116–19), makes it clear that, if William had been married to the mother of Walter, Angharad was William's second wife, so that Walter was the eldest son, but, as the same chapter shows, Walter was killed in Ireland when his father was still alive.

[7] *Itin. Kam.*, i. 12 (RS vi. 89–91).

[8] Ibid.

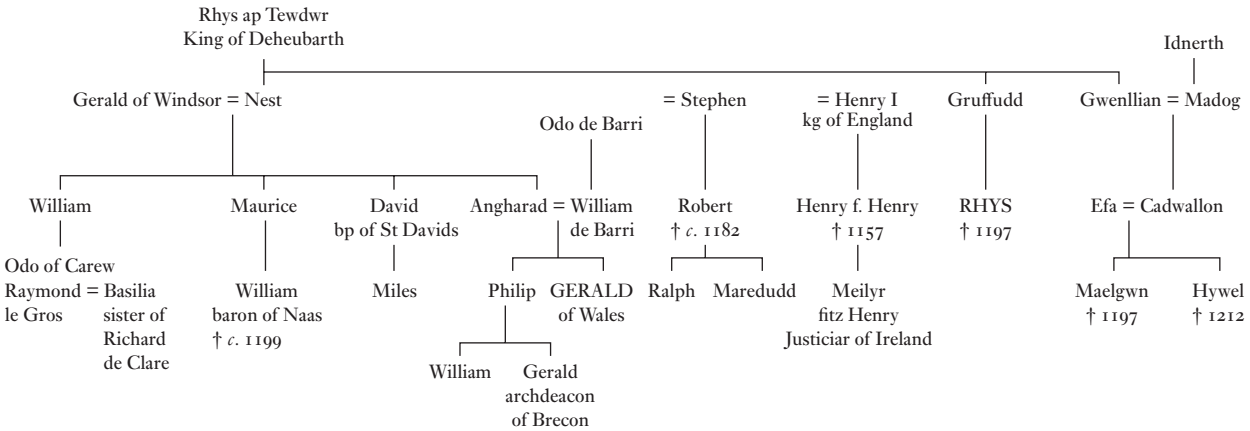
[9] She had died by 1160, when Gerald was in his teens, as shown by *Acta*, ed. Barrow, no. 28. That the 'Adeliz' mentioned there was Angharad is clear, since David, bishop of St Davids and a son of Gerald of Windsor by Nest, described her in that document as his sister.

[10] *De gestis*, ii. 9. The B text of the *Annales Cambriae*, however, named Henry as son of Gerald of Windsor: on this, see Pryce, 'Gerald and the Geraldines', pp. 58–9.

[11] *De gestis*, ii. 9; PR 31 HI (*The Great Roll of the Pipe*, ed. Green, p. 107); *Brut R*, *s.a.* 1146, 'meibon Geralt ystiwart a Gwilim ap Haet' ('Gwilyam vab Hay', *Brut P*), alongside, *s.a.* 1136, 'meibon Gerallt ystiwart a Gwilym ap Oitt' ('Gwilym vab Orc', Pen. 20); Lloyd, *HW* 502, n. 64.

[12] *De gestis*, ii. 9: 'septem cantaredos Demecie filii Neste in Wallia optinuerunt'. The term *Giraldini* is used in the same chapter. Strictly, it would include neither Robert fitz Stephen nor Meilyr fitz Henry, but, as in *Exp. Hib.*, ii. 15 (ed. Scott and Martin, pp. 168–71), the *Giraldide* plainly included Meilyr fitz Henry and Robert fitz Stephen, so also *Giraldini* here include the other Children of Nest: Pryce, 'Gerald and the Geraldines', pp. 54–5.

TABLE 1. The Children of Nest and their Welsh Kin



Nest is also likely to have been the mother of William son of Hait/Hay, sheriff of Pembroke in 1130 (Lloyd, *HW* 502 n. 64).
Efa, who married Cadwallon ap Madog of Maelienydd, was the daughter of Madog ap Maredudd † 1160, king of Powys.

Dyfed became a land of several peoples.[13] For Rhygyfarch, a scholar of the churches of Llanbadarn and of St Davids, writing shortly after 1093, it had been overrun by 'the French'.[14] In the next reign the *cantref* of Rhos, to the north of Penfro across Milford Haven, was deliberately settled by Henry I with Flemings, who soon dominated that *cantref* and occupied also the parish of Angle in the west of Penfro, parts of the *cantref* of Daugleddau to the east of Rhos, and part also of the commote of Talacharn to the east of Penfro.[15] They are described by Gerald as great sheep-farmers and especially hostile to the Welsh.[16] The *cantref* of Penfro in the south and the *cantrefi* of Rhos and Daugleddau in the middle included the best land of Dyfed. The mountainous and less fertile north remained largely Welsh. The Flemings of Rhos and Daugleddau thus acted as a buffer between Penfro in the south, including Manorbier, and the Welsh to the north.

The Flemings were a nation distinct from 'the French' in Penfro, a deliberate settlement authorized by Henry I *c.* 1110.[17] Sometimes the difference in nationality could issue in hostility, as we shall see below. More often they were allies, as in 1166, when Gerald was a young man and 'the French from Penfro and the Flemings came to the castle of Cilgerran and laid siege to it'.[18] The French and the Flemings intermarried: David, bishop of St Davids and Gerald's uncle, married his daughter to Walter son of Wizo, one of the Flemish leaders.[19] Both Gerald's eldest brother, Philip, and his cousin, Odo of Carew, married daughters of Richard fitz Tancred, castellan of Haverfordwest.[20] Philip, moreover, spoke Flemish, as is revealed by a story told by Gerald about a conversation between Philip and a Flemish knight called Ernaldus Rheting at Haverfordwest, the main town of Rhos.[21] The language they were both speaking was Flemish, not French or English, although the language of the family at Manorbier was very likely to have been French. Ernaldus was a knight, as were several Flemings who took part

[13] See Maps 2 and 4 (pp. xviii and 236).

[14] Lapidge, 'The Welsh-Latin poetry of Sulien's family', p. 90, *Francigenae*, translated 'Normans' by Lapidge, but cf. *Brut* (from about 1090 until the 1160s probably the work of members of the same family), *s.a.* 1093, 'the French overran Dyfed'.

[15] *Brut*, *s.a.* 1108; *De gestis*, i. 2, 4; *Itin. Kam.*, i. 11 (RS vi. 83–4). For further discussion of the districts of Wales and Dyfed in *De gestis*, see Appendix 2 (pp. 232–7).

[16] *Itin. Kam.*, i. 11 (83–4).

[17] *Brut*, *s.a.* 1108; John of Worcester, iii, ed. McGurk, *s.a.* 1111; *Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory*, ed. Darlington, pp. xxxi–iii, 134–5 (nos. 152–8); Lloyd, *HW* 424–5.

[18] *Brut*, *s.a.* 1166.

[19] *Vita Dauidis Secundi, Episcopi Meneuensis*, ed. Richter, 'A new edition', p. 248.

[20] *De gestis*, i. 3.

[21] *Spec. duorum*, ed. Richter, Lefèvre, et al., pp. 36–9, ll. 609–34.

in the Irish expedition. Someone who was of pure Welsh descent would be most unlikely to be regarded as a knight: Gerald never uses the term of a Welshman. Flemings and French were accepted as members of knightly society; the Welsh were not.

Gerald, however, seems not to have been fluent in Flemish, just as he was not fluent in Welsh. When he was helping Archbishop Baldwin to preach the crusade in 1188, Gerald preached in Latin and French, not Flemish or Welsh.[22] He reveals a significant knowledge of the Welsh language, though he makes mistakes, and may have had enough knowledge of the language for ordinary conversation, though not enough for preaching. It is possible that he had a similar knowledge of Flemish.

Gerald's earliest upbringing was in the southernmost *cantref* of Dyfed, Penfro. Yet he was also linked with St Davids, at the western end of Pebidiog, north of the Flemish-dominated *cantref* of Rhos and much more Welsh in population and language. There, his uncle David was bishop. In Dyfed the two poles of his early life were Manorbier and St Davids, the castle to the south and the cathedral to the north. The history and traditions of St Davids were thoroughly Welsh; its earlier links outside Wales were mainly with Ireland, even though Asser of St Davids had spent many years in the household of King Alfred. From St Davids Gerald could sail to south-eastern Ireland in a day, whereas it would take him ten days to travel to London and two months, at least, to reach Rome.[23]

The Children of Nest had found it easier to form an attachment to St David than to the Welsh. Gerald wrote one account of the conquest of Ireland; the other was an anonymous poem in Anglo-Norman French.[24] The poem tells how 'the Irish of Osraige had pursued the English' until the latter came to some open and firm ground where the English chose to fight. 'Then Maurice shouted and called on St David' and Robert fitz Stephen, Meilyr fitz Henry, and Miles fitz David (all of them Gerald's relations) and others 'turned on the Irish and called on St David'. This French poem about the deeds of 'la gent engleis', the English people in Ireland, whose battle-cry was 'St David', exhibits the overlapping identities of the Children of Nest.[25]

[22] *De gestis*, ii. 18, 19.

[23] *De gestis*, iii. 13. In *De iure*, prol. (RS iii. 113), Gerald has, apparently, been thinking of St Davids to Canterbury as *per xv. fere dietas*.

[24] *The Song of Dermot and the Earl*, ed. and trans. Orpen; *The Deeds of the Normans in Ireland*, ed. and trans. E. Mullally.

[25] e.g. *The Song of Dermot and the Earl*, ed. and trans. Orpen, pp. 250–1; *The Deeds of the Normans in Ireland*, ed. and trans. E. Mullally, p. 141.

Yet even the Welsh had some place in Gerald's identity. It was partly that the place of his birth was Manorbier, 'the loveliest part of Penfro', Penfro being 'the loveliest part of Dyfed', and Dyfed 'the loveliest of all the lands of the whole of Wales'—and Gerald was a firm believer in the influence of geography upon character.[26] In his account of the English in Ireland he has a chapter entitled 'Praise of the Kindred', namely the Children of Nest, in which he inserts a characteristic exclamation: 'What a kindred, what a race, by its dual nature deriving its courage from the Trojans and its skill in the use of arms from the Gauls'.[27] Here the Trojans are the Welsh, while the Gauls are the French. When Gerald described his own descent in the first chapter of *De gestis*, he was careful to establish his legitimate birth from the marriage between William de Barri and Angharad, but he pursued his further lineage only through his mother, and then through her mother, Nest, 'the noble daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, the prince of South Wales'.[28] Only one of his four grandparents might have been Welsh, and yet it was that one grandparent who gave Gerald the status of a descendant of kings.

Gerald was not distinguished for modesty. In the competitive world of the Paris schools and, later, of the court of Henry II, there were plenty of rivals seeking to belittle the qualities of a young and able man.[29] Gerald's praise of himself was part of that competition for reputation and favour. He had inherited advantages: according to himself, at least, he was exceptionally handsome as a young man and still, when in his fifties, could be picked out as 'tall and with shaggy eyebrows'.[30] He was also good with words, certainly in writing and very probably also when speaking. To be tall, good-looking, and eloquent, and to have the self-confidence natural to someone who was conscious of such advantages, was, no doubt, an advantage to him as a preacher, as a lecturer in Paris, and in arguing his case in the papal curia.

[26] *Itin. Kam.*, i. 12 (RS vi. 92–3); Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, pp. 201–10 (164–71). See also Map 2 (p. xviii).

[27] *Exp. Hib.*, ii. 10 (ed. Scott and Martin, pp. 156–7).

[28] His paternal grandfather was Odo de Barri, as shown by the PR 31 HI (*The Great Roll of the Pipe*, ed. Green, 137), which records that 'Willelmus filius Odonis de Barri' had paid £4 out of the £10 due 'pro terra patris sui'. Odo had probably died not long before.

[29] As, for example, William Wibert, *Symb. el.*, *ep.* 1 (RS i. 204–5); cf. Knowles, 'Some monastic enemies of Gerald of Wales', pp. 138–9.

[30] *Spec. eccl.*, ii. 33 (RS iv. 104), trans. *Autobiography*, ed. Butler, pp. 77–8 (Gerald in his youth); *De iure*, v (RS iii. 292–3) (Gerald in older age).

GERALD'S NAME

While he was archdeacon of Brecon, others referred to Gerald as *Magister Giraldus, archidiaconus Meneuensis*, and he himself used the same form but without the initial *Magister*.[31] After he had resigned his archdeaconry in 1203 in favour of his nephew Gerald, he and others reverted to the family name with or without the initial *magister*, *(Magister) Giraldus de Barri*. From that point, any reference to *Giraldus archidiaconus* would have been to the nephew. An example of its use by others is in the episcopal *Acta* of St Davids, where the editor is likely to be right in identifying G. de Barry (G. de Barri in the further Inspeximus) as Gerald of Wales rather than his nephew, since his name occurs first among the witnesses and before an archdeacon; one would expect the nephew to be identified as archdeacon.[32]

Modern scholars initially tended to follow their early-modern predecessors, who were generally writing in Latin, such as Sir John Prise in the sixteenth century and Henry Wharton in the seventeenth, in calling him *Giraldus Cambrensis*: for example, the Rolls Series, J. E. Lloyd, and H. E. Butler.[33] This was presumably ultimately based on the beginning of *De gestis*, i. 1, *Giraldus itaque de Kambria oriundus*. As an English form of the name, F. M. Powicke in 1928 preferred Gerald of Wales and was followed in 1982 by both Robert Bartlett in his *Gerald of Wales* and Brynley F. Roberts in his book of the same title.[34] This has been predominant since then, but John Gillingham

[31] For example, by others in *Inuect*., iii. 9, 10, 17, 22, 23, iv. 7 (Davies, pp. 152–3, 157–8, 161–2, 173), and by Gerald himself, *Symb. el.*, *ep*. 1 (RS i. 203). There were also other *archidiaconi Meneuenses*, four in total (*De gestis*, i. 8). Gerald's specific title was *archidiaconus de Brecheniauc* (iii. 4), just as Poncius was *archidiaconus de Penbroc* (ii. 7). In the singular, *archidiaconus Meneuensis* would be acceptable if the context allowed it to be taken as 'an archdeacon of St Davids', that is, as a description and not a title. In *Symbolum Electorum*, *ep*. xxxi (RS i. 319), Gerald criticizes Osbert for using *archidiaconus de sancto Dauid* (using our orthography) as a title: 'Ad maioris etiam arrogantie et iactantie signum archidiaconus de Kairmerdhin uocari dedignans, potius archidiaconum de Sto. Dauid se facit in Anglia ubique uocari… Caueat sibi nunc Pontius quoniam ad eius archidiaconatum, cuius sibi indebite nomen usurpat, aspirare uidetur'. If the title was *archidiaconus de Sancto Dauid* (as an alternative to *archidiaconus de Penbroc*), that might be enough to make *archidiaconus Meneuensis* unobjectionable, since it was more likely to be taken as a description rather than the formal title.

[32] *Acta*, ed. Barrow, nos. 78 and 148 respectively. Compare *Spec. duorum*, ed. Richter, Lefèvre, et al., p. 250 (Ep. vii, ll. 142–3), 'litteras et sigillum magistri Giraldi ibi videre, non autem archidiaconi Giraldi'. An example of Gerald using this form for himself is *Spec. duorum*, ed. Richter, Lefèvre, et al., p. 2 (BAV MS Reg. 470, fo. 50rb).

[33] *John Prise, Historiae Brittanicae Defensio*, ed. Davies, e.g. p. 37; *Anglia Sacra*, ed. Wharton, ii. 373–647; RS 21/i–viii; Lloyd, *HW* i. 554–64; *Autobiography*, ed. Butler.

[34] Powicke, 'Gerald of Wales'; Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*; Roberts, *Gerald of Wales*.

prefers Gerald de Barri and Julia Barrow in *Acta* has Gerald de Barri the elder/Gerald of Wales.[35] Earlier in the twentieth century he was also called 'Gerald the Welshman' or, in Welsh, 'Gerallt Gymro', as by Henry Owen and Thomas Jones.[36]

Bartlett, however, has rightly adduced the evidence of the first preface to *De principis instructione*, where Gerald makes the distinction, 'our education and daily contacts were, as we have said, amongst the English, but our birthplace and our family are to be found in Wales'.[37] As this shows, for Gerald, the part of the country with which a person was most closely connected formed his identity, and the land both of Gerald's birthplace and where his immediate family and his relations were brought up was Dyfed. If Gerald's attachment to Wales may have fluctuated, his love of Dyfed and pride in the Children of Nest seems never to have wavered. Yet, to introduce another name, 'Gerald the Dimetian', would not help. To judge by the same preface, for many of his contemporaries, especially if they wanted to disparage him, he was Gerald of Wales.

THE TITLE

Gerald's account of his own life has been known as *De rebus a se gestis libri tres* for more than three centuries. Henry Wharton first printed it under that title in 1691 and the name has stuck, usually in the shortened form *De rebus a se gestis*. The Rolls Series adopted the same title in 1861.[38] H. E. Butler translated it as 'The Autobiography of Giraldus Cambrensis'. The label has been universally adopted in historical

[35] Gillingham, 'The English invasion of Ireland', p. 155, criticizes both 'Gerald of Wales' and 'Gerald the Welshman' on the ground that 'it tends to identify him too emphatically with just one stage of a career which, roughly speaking, began as pro-English, went first pro-Welsh, then pro-French', but by 'French' here, Gillingham is thinking of the French of France and Gerald's support for the invasion of Prince Louis, not of the French of Dyfed; *Acta*, ed. Barrow, pp. 28–9.

[36] Owen, *Gerald the Welshman*; Thomas Jones in his translation of *Itin. Kam.* and *Descr. Kam.*, and his short bilingual book in commemoration of the eight-hundredth anniversary of Gerald's birth: Jones, *Gerallt Gymro: Hanes y Daith trwy Gymru, Disgrifiad o Gymru*; Jones, *Gerallt Gymro: Gerald the Welshman*. For a list of many versions of Gerald's name in different languages, see https://data.cerl.org/thesaurus/cnp00949397 (accessed on 4 August 2022).

[37] *De prin.*, first pref. (OMT 4–5); Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 17 (22–3).

[38] The Rolls Series editor, J. S. Brewer, refers to the work in his preface as *De Gestis* (e.g. RS i. xciv), but seems by this to mean only an abbreviation of *De Rebus a se gestis* (cf. RS i. lxxxviii). He cites a passage in which Gerald refers to it by its true title (RS i. xc). Within the text itself, Brewer adds invented headings to each book or part: to parts two and three he gives the titles 'Liber secundus de gestis Giraldi' and 'Liber tertius de gestis Giraldi'; to part one, 'Giraldi Cambrensis liber primus de rebus a se gestis' (RS i. 45, 89, and 21, respectively). Brewer may have been aware, that is, of Gerald's own title, but preferred to keep Wharton's.

writing on Gerald.[39] Gerald himself, however, knew the work by quite another name: in his frequent references to it in other works, he invariably referred to it as the 'liber de gestis Giraldi' (or, occasionally, in place of 'liber', 'libellus').[40] He saw it not as *libri tres* but as a single *liber*, divided into three *partes* or *distinctiones*.[41] A late-medieval cataloguer would have entered our text into his book-list as 'de gestis Giraldi liber'; or perhaps, if he knew the text's author, 'Giraldus de gestis suis'.[42] Its English equivalent is not 'autobiography' but 'On Gerald's Deeds' or, in a more modern manner, simply 'What Gerald Did'.

The sole manuscript of *De gestis Giraldi*, BL Cotton MS Tiberius B. xiii, was left unrubricated and in consequence untitled.[43] Seventeenth-century readers, unaware of the label left by Gerald in his other works, applied their own. Sir James Ware called it Gerald's 'liber de vita sua'.[44] In 1617, Brian Twyne added running titles throughout the text in Tiberius B. xiii: 'Vita Gyraldi'.[45] Wharton was likewise free to name the apparently unnamed. We restore Gerald's title.

THE MANUSCRIPT

The text of *De gestis Giraldi* is uniquely preserved in BL Cotton MS Tiberius B. xiii, fos. 154^{r}–185^{v}. It does not seem to have been widely circulated in the Middle Ages: in contrast to many of Gerald's other works, it is not listed in British medieval library catalogues. Indeed, there is no external evidence that any other manuscript of *De gestis* ever

[39] See, e.g., Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, pp. 15 (21), 33 (35), and 219 (178); Williams, 'A bibliography of Giraldus Cambrensis', pp. 111 and 132; Henley and McMullen, *Gerald of Wales*, *passim*.

[40] e.g. *Inuect.*, iv. 1 (Davies, p. 164), iv. 2 (Davies, p. 167), vi. 1 (Davies, p. 204; twice, once as *liber* and once *libellus*), vi. 13 (Davies, p. 215), vi. 24 (Davies, p. 226; 'in libro de gestis eiusdem'), vi. 25 (Davies, p. 228; 'ex libro qui de gestis Giraldi inscribitur'); *De iure*, iii (RS iii. 188), iii (RS iii. 196), iv (RS iii. 212), iv (RS iii. 218), iv (RS iii. 225), iv (RS iii. 241), iv (RS iii. 246), iv (RS iii. 247; 'de gestis Giraldi' without *liber*), vii (RS iii. 334; 'librum de gestis propriis'), iv (RS iii. 273), vii (RS iii. 373); *Epistola ad capitulum Herefordense* (RS i. 415); *Spec. eccl.*, iv. 33 (RS iv. 340); *Catalogus brevior* (RS i. 423); *Retractationes* (RS i. 426).

[41] Gerald refers to its sections as *partes* in the prologue to *De gestis* itself; as *distinctiones* in *Spec. eccl.*, iv. 33 (RS iv. 340).

[42] Sharpe, *Titulus*, pp. 82–98.

[43] The BL catalogue describes the Tiberius manuscript as containing 'one of two extant copies of Gerald's autobiography'. But in fact the other copy is Sir James Ware's notes from the Tiberius manuscript in BL Add. MS 4787; they are printed in Appendix 3 (pp. 247–52).

[44] See Appendix 3 (p. 248 (cf. p. 250)).

[45] 'Vita Gyraldi' together on fo. 154^{r}; 'Gyraldi' and 'Vita' on subsequent versos and rectos respectively (and thus perhaps then 'Gyraldi Vita' in intent). The hand is identified in Hunt, 'Preface to the "Speculum ecclesiae" ', p. 190.

existed, nor is the text cited by other medieval authors. But Tiberius B. xiii is plainly not an authorial copy: it has little evidence of Giraldian revision and many of its mistakes are readily explained as visual copying errors. There must thus once have been another, but it has perished and left no other children.

A manuscript of 237 parchment leaves, preceded by one and succeeded by two paper flyleaves (i.e. i + 237 + ii), Tiberius B. xiii consists of two parts and three texts:

I. i. fos. 1^{r}–153^{v}. Gerald of Wales, *Speculum ecclesie*, s. xiii^{1}
   ii. fos. 154^{r}–185^{v}. Gerald of Wales, *De gestis Giraldi*, s. xiii^{1}
II. fos. 186^{r}–237^{v}. Roger of Ford, *Speculum ecclesie*, s. xiii^{2}

Each of the three texts presents the sole surviving copy of the work it contains. It is not clear when the two parts were first bound together, but Ford's text may well have been joined to Gerald's due simply to its title.

The origin of the text of *De gestis* in Tiberius B. xiii is unknown, but the Augustinian priory of Llanthony Secunda, by Gloucester, is a likely candidate.[46] In 1617, the antiquary Brian Twyne (1581–1644) copied extracts from Tiberius B. xiii, labelling them 'Excerpta ex quibusdam Manuscriptis Lantoniensis coenobii prope Glocestr: que uidi apud Magistrum Henricum Parry. 1617'.[47] This Parry, a fellow of Corpus

[46] The history of Llanthony Priory preserved in BL Cotton MS Julius D. x, fos. 31^{r}–53^{v}, contains passages drawn from Gerald's *Speculum ecclesiae*. Hunt, 'Preface to the "Speculum ecclesiae" ', p. 193, considered this to be evidence of the presence of Tiberius B. xiii or another manuscript of the *Speculum ecclesiae* at Llanthony. Bartlett has recently argued, however, that the author of the history of Llanthony was in fact Gerald himself (Bartlett, 'Gerald of Wales and the *History of Llanthony Priory*'; *History of Llanthony Priory*, ed. Bartlett, pp. xxvi–xxxvi). If this is correct, no such presence is necessary to account for the reuse.

[47] Bodl. Lib. MS Twyne 22, fo. 99^{r}. Noted by Hunt, 'Preface to the "Speculum ecclesiae" ', p. 190. For the relevant passages, see Appendix 3, pp. 238–40. For Twyne, see *ODNB*, *s.n.*, 'Twyne, Brian, 1581–1644'. He was elected as a *discipulus* in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, on 13 December 1594, Probationary Fellow 1605; he was the son of Thomas Twyne, himself a *discipulus* of Corpus (elected 6 July 1560), Probationary Fellow 1564. Brian was the first Keeper of the University Archives, 1534–44; and died 4 July 1644. *Discipulus* is the term used in the Founder's Statutes of Corpus for a person elected onto the foundation and in receipt of maintenance, namely someone who would later be called a scholar. Probationary Fellows, *scholares*, held that status for only two years, after which they were normally elected full Fellows, *socii*. The details here and in the following notes are mainly derived from 'Hegge's Catalogue', a catalogue of Fellows and Scholars (*discipuli*) of the college, originally compiled by Robert Hegge, *discipulus* 1614, Probationary Fellow 1624, d. 1629; subsequently continued after his death, the catalogue was edited by Thomas Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi College*, pp. 378–450. The importance of the Corpus Christi College connection in the transmission of this manuscript is striking.

Christi College, Oxford, was the eldest son of Henry Parry (1560–1616), bishop first of Gloucester, then of Worcester, who left his manuscripts to his son on his death.[48] Parry *fils* gave his college many manuscripts, at least nine of which came from Llanthony, but it is unclear why Twyne thought Tiberius B. xiii did as well.[49] Perhaps Parry told him so. Where might Bishop Parry have obtained the manuscript? Other Llanthony books were given to Trinity College, Oxford, by Francis Baber (d. 1669), chancellor of Gloucester cathedral, leading Bennett to write that '[t]he Gloucester associations of these men suggest that the books they presented to their colleges had remained in the locality of Llanthony'.[50] Other pathways are possible: Llanthony Priory was dissolved in 1538 and in his 1545 will its last prior, Richard Hart, left 'all my bookes of Latyn' to one Thomas Morgan. Among Hart's executors was Thomas Theare, and it has been argued that it was through Theare or his grandson, the book collector John Theyer (d. 1673), that many Llanthony manuscripts passed to their present homes.[51] In this case, however, such a vector may be unnecessary: there were simpler ways for books to move the half mile from Llanthony Secunda to Gloucester Cathedral.

By 1621, Tiberius B. xiii had entered the collection of Sir Robert Bruce Cotton (1571–1631), for in that year Cotton lent the book to Henry Bourchier (*c*. 1587–1654), later the fifth earl of Bath.[52] The manuscript had already been stamped with Cotton's arms, and it was perhaps at that point that Gerald's texts were rebound and joined to Roger of Ford's *Speculum*.[53] It may also have been lent to John Selden in 1638, though in this case it is unclear to which Giraldian manuscript Cotton's loan list refers.[54] Cotton's collection, bequeathed by his grandson to trustees to be preserved for public use, formed part of the

[48] Henry Parry junior matriculated on 28 March 1607; *discipulus* at Corpus (elected 4 Jan. 1609; Probationary Fellow 1614). For his father, see *ODNB*, *s.n.* 'Parry, Henry (1561–1616), bishop of Worcester': born *c*. 20 December 1561; *discipulus* of Corpus (elected 13 November 1576); Probationary Fellow 1586; bishop of Gloucester, 1607; of Worcester, 1610, died 12 December 1616.

[49] Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, p. 62, and Ker and Watson, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: supplement*, p. 43. On Parry's gifts, see also Thomson, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Oxford*, xxiv and xxvi.

[50] Bennett, 'The book collections of Llanthony Priory', i. 217.

[51] Bennett, 'The book collections of Llanthony Priory', i. 216–17.

[52] Tite, *Early Records*, p. 108, citing BL Add. MS 6018.

[53] Cotton's loan list records 'Giraldi Cambrensis distinctiones et vita Armes', the last part indicating, as often in this list, that the MS was marked with Cotton's arms. See Tite, *Early Records*, p. 35.

[54] Tite, *Early Records*, p. 80.

collection of the British Museum at its foundation in 1753. Though the earlier elements of the story are uncertain, then, this manuscript of *De gestis* perhaps passed from Llanthony to Gloucester, to the Parrys, to Cotton, and thence to its present home by St Pancras.

The former size of the manuscript's leaves is impossible to determine due to trimming, fire, and framing. The total area of the leaves surviving after framing varies from 245mm × 168mm to 255mm × 175mm.[55] The written area averages 180mm × 105mm, in two columns. The columns are, on average, 60mm wide and are separated by an intercolumnar space of 8mm. More parchment appears to have been damaged and lost in the manuscript's upper margin than in its lower.

De gestis is written in two carefully ruled columns, with text beginning above the top line.[56] Each column is of forty-two written lines: forty-one within the frame of the ruling, that is, and one above it. The ruling is done with a grey or black crayon. Three pairs of horizontal lines extend the full width of each leaf: the first and second (above and below the leaf's second line of text); the twenty-first and twenty-second (halfway down the column); and the forty-first and forty-second (above and below the leaf's final line of text). The remaining horizontal ruling lines cover only the width of the two columns, though they sometimes slightly overrun the frame. Seven vertical ruling lines extend the full height of each leaf. Two define a left margin about as wide as the distance between horizontal ruling lines. Three vertical lines define an intercolumnar space about twice as wide as the distance between the horizontal ruling lines. The final two define a right margin identical to that on the left. There was formerly an eighth vertical ruling line in the far outer margin (see, e.g., fos. 161^{r} and 162^{r}), but these lines have mostly been lost to trimming or to fire damage. Pricking holes are regularly visible at the foot of the vertical ruling lines, below the text area. Those to mark the top of the vertical lines have been burnt or trimmed away, as have those which likely defined the position of the three pairs of horizontal lines extending the full width of each leaf. The text's final quire (*AA*, see below) follows the same ruling pattern, though its lines are far fainter.

The text of *De gestis* was written by two scribes, the first covering the three quires *X*, *Y*, and *Z* (fos. 154^{r}–177^{v}; see below) and the second the single quire *AA* (fos. 178^{r}–185^{v}), whom we call respectively scribe

[55] The outer edge of the leaves is longer than the inner edge, presumably due to the effects of the fire.

[56] Ker, 'From "above top line" to "below top line"', pp. 13–16.

A and scribe B. Though their hands are markedly different in aspect, both write a proto-gothic minuscule and date to the first half of the thirteenth century.[57] If *De gestis* and the *Speculum ecclesie* were completed in a single campaign (see below), the whole would have been written after the *Speculum*'s *terminus post quem* of 1219.[58] Neither scribe appears within the other's stint, and what few medieval additions or corrections appear in the text of *De gestis* are done by the text hand at that point.[59]

In her 2005 dissertation, C. M. Rooney argued that the whole of *De gestis* had been written by a single scribe, that this scribe was also responsible for much of the *Speculum ecclesie*, covering fos. 63^{vb}–153^{v}, and that his hand appeared as well in Lambeth Palace MS 236, containing Gerald's *Gemma ecclesiastica*.[60] Though we disagree with the first of her contentions, the second and third are possible, but difficult to judge. Our scribe A may well have written parts of the *Speculum*, but the hand (or hands) of the latter part of the *Speculum* is extremely inconsistent and we hesitate therefore to assert an identity. The hand of Lambeth 236 is very similar to that of our scribe A but we again hesitate to claim that they are the same. Our scribe B does not appear elsewhere in Tiberius B. xiii.

The copy of *De gestis* follows standard late twelfth-century practices in punctuation.[61] There are three weights of pause. The single low *punctus*, the *punctus elevatus*, and the single low *punctus* followed by a *littera notabilior* represent respectively minor, medial, and major pauses. Questions are marked by *punctus interrogativi*. The scribes' practice in dividing up clauses and phrases is erratic. *Cum* clauses, for example, are often, but not always, followed by *punctus elevati*; sentence division is often erroneous.[62] There is no reason to think that the text's inconsistent punctuation represents Gerald's own usage, and we have therefore re-punctuated on modern principles.[63]

The decoration of *De gestis* was never finished. Both scribes left spaces for coloured initials and for rubrics to mark chapter beginnings. Only a single coloured initial, a 'C' on fo. 172^{v}, was ever filled in. It is

[57] We are grateful to Professor M. T. J. Webber for her advice on these points.

[58] Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 220 (179) and Hunt, 'Preface to the "Speculum ecclesiae" ', pp. 196–7.

[59] Notably the substantial addition in the lower margin of fo. 158^{v}, written by scribe A.

[60] Rooney, 'The manuscripts of the works of Gerald of Wales', pp. 149–50.

[61] Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, pp. 41–3.

[62] See below, pp. xcvi–xcvii.

[63] See below, pp. xcv–xcvi.

unclear why: two other blanks for coloured initials on the same page were left unfilled. The scribes noted the letter to be added as an initial in the margin, as an indication to the decorator. In most cases these letters have been trimmed or lost (as perhaps they were intended to be) but they can occasionally be seen, for example on the far left of fo. 155^{r}. Rubricated *capitula*, by contrast, have been filled in, apparently by both scribes in their respective stints: by scribe A in the first three quires and by scribe B in the last. There are occasional slips: no space was left for a rubric on fo. 170^{r} and the words 'Visio Giraldi' have had to be squeezed into the edge of the text block; the space lefts for rubrics is at times too small, as on fos. 172^{v}, 178^{r}, 182^{v}, and 183^{v}; a rubric is omitted on fo. 166^{r}; and the rubric for chapter iii. 11 is mistakenly repeated before iii. 12 on fo. 182^{v}. There are no rubrics at all on the first five leaves of *De gestis*, fos. 154–8; the first appears on fo. 159^{v}. Curiously, the final quire of Gerald's *Speculum ecclesie*, fos. 144^{r}–153^{v}, is also wholly unrubricated: there is thus a section of fifteen leaves without rubrics, spanning the break between *Speculum* and *De gestis*—evidence that these texts were copied (or at least rubricated) in a single campaign. More curiously still, across the bottom of fo. 144^{r} (the beginning of this unrubricated section) is a large spotty smear of red ink. Perhaps the scribe dropped his pen by accident and never returned to finish the task.

Tiberius B. xiii has been damaged several times. At least one quire is missing from Gerald's *Speculum* following fo. 31^{v}, and has been since the late Middle Ages (see below). *De gestis* ends incomplete on fo. 185^{v}, at a quire boundary. This latter part of the text has certainly been missing since the seventeenth century, if not earlier: when Sir James Ware examined it, probably in the 1650s, he described it as *mutilatum*.[64] The notes made by Twyne and Richard James, in 1617 and 1620 × 1634 respectively, contain nothing from the now-lost portion of the manuscript.[65] It seems clear that the bulk of *De gestis* had been lost before the copy ever came into Cotton's hands. It is tempting to wonder whether Gerald ever finished the work, but the table of contents and frequent cross-references in his other works to its lost chapters show clearly that he did.

More damage was to come. Early in the morning of Saturday, 23 October 1731, a fire broke out in the aptly named Ashburnham

[64] Ware's notes in BL Add. MS 4787 are printed in Appendix 3 (pp. 247–50).
[65] Their notes are printed in Appendix 3 (pp. 238–44).

House in Westminster, where the Cotton collections were then housed.[66] Tiberius B. xiii was badly burnt at its beginning and end. The committee charged with examining the state of the manuscripts reported in the following year that '[t]he two first Chapters of this Book [i.e. Gerald's *Speculum*] are spoiled', and that thirteen leaves had been lost at the end of Roger of Ford's *Speculum*.[67] An epitaph and letter once on the manuscript's two final leaves were entirely lost. This overstates the extent of the destruction, as some of the leaves then described as lost were later flattened and partially preserved, but the damage was nonetheless substantial. Happily, *De gestis*, being in the middle of the manuscript, escaped almost entirely unscathed.

After initial efforts to dry, separate, and flatten the leaves of damaged Cotton manuscripts, only sporadic progress was made on their restoration for more than a century. On 18 July 1837, Sir Frederic Madden was appointed Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum and undertook to extend the work of restoration.[68] In response to a request from the Cotton Trustees (prompted by Sir Thomas Phillipps), in December 1838 Madden prepared a report on the state of the damaged Cotton manuscripts and their prospects for repair. Tiberius B. xiii he classed among

> Those MSS. which by the agency of heat have been compressed and corrugated, with the edges burnt, and in many cases, broken, torn, and dirtied. These are in number 35, all of which, if skilfully flattened, inlaid and repaired, might be protected from further injury, and rendered in a comparatively good condition for general use.[69]

Despite a fitful start and some notable wrong turnings (most disastrously a fire in the binding room on 10 July 1865), in the next three decades the great bulk of the damaged Cotton collection was repaired and, where necessary, mounted in paper frames to prevent further damage. Writing of Vitellius A. xv (the manuscript containing *Beowulf*), K. S. Kiernan describes the mounting process thus:

> The binder first made pencil tracings of the separate folio leaves on sheets of heavy construction paper. These tracings are usually quite visible in the MS. [. . .] After the tracings were made, the binder then cut out the center part of the paper, following the outline, but leaving from 1 to 2 mm. of paper within

[66] *A Report from the Committee*, p. 11; Prescott, '"Their present miserable state of cremation" '.

[67] *A Report from the Committee*, pp. 21–2.

[68] *ODNB*, *s.n.* 'Madden, Sir Frederic (1801–1873)'.

[69] Cited by Prescott, '"Their present miserable state of cremation" ', p. 411.

the traced line, so that the frame would be slightly smaller than the vellum leaf it was designed to hold. Paste was then applied to this marginal retaining space, and the folio was pressed into place. Finally, transparent paper slips were pasted on like Scotch tape along the edge of the vellum on the recto, thus to secure the mounted leaf from both sides.[70]

It was precisely this which was done to Tiberius B. xiii and, though some of the seventeenth-century marginalia are slightly obscured by the pasted strips, the text of *De gestis* has since survived without further accident. The manuscript's present binding dates from May 1957.[71]

In spite of the remounting of the manuscript's leaves, its former collation can largely be reconstructed. Post-medieval quire signatures survive on many leaves, probably added when the manuscript was disassembled for rebinding. Those on its first folios are lost or illegible due to fire damage: the first which can clearly be read is *E* on fo. 24^{r}. Their subsequent progression shows that the section containing Gerald's works is largely composed of quaternions: *F* on fo. 32^{r}, *G* on fo. 40^{r}, and so forth. Not every signature is visible: some have been trimmed or covered by the framing. That *E* appears on the twenty-fourth recto rather than the thirty-second suggests that eight full leaves have been lost at the opening of the manuscript—unsurprisingly, given how badly burnt are those which there survive.[72] At least one leaf of the preface to the *Speculum ecclesie* is missing; perhaps the remaining missing leaves of the putative *A* quire contained a table of contents. At least one further quire of the *Speculum* went missing before the addition of the quire signatures, likely long before: at the end of quire *E* on fo. 31^{v} are the catchwords *ut eis*, which do not correspond to the opening words of quire *F* on fo. 32^{r}. Beside the catchwords a late-medieval hand has written *hic deficit*, above which an early-modern (likely s. xvii) hand has added: *Desunt sex capita, ut constat ex Summá Cap. prefixa init. Dist.* Further traces of catchwords are visible on fo. 55^{v} and it is likely that every quire was formerly finished with catchwords.

[70] Kiernan, *Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript*, p. 69, cited by Prescott, '"Their present miserable state of cremation"', p. 424.

[71] BL Cotton MS Tiberius B. xiii, unnumbered rear paper flyleaf.

[72] It is clear from Hunt's analysis of the contents (Hunt, 'Preface to the "Speculum ecclesiae"', p. 203) that fo. 1^{r}, at least, is completely lost. Whatever preceded this, however, was unpaginated in the pre-fire pagination, probably by Richard James. Perhaps James did not include a table of contents in his pagination. Hunt's comparison of Tiberius B. xiii with James's pagination also makes clear that the lost leaves do not correspond neatly to a single quire—the present 4^{r}, for example, was once 5^{r}—but their original state cannot be exactly reconstructed.

The final quire signature visible in Gerald's *Speculum ecclesie* is *V* on fo. 144r. The text of the *Speculum* fills ten further leaves, with the table of contents to *De gestis* beginning on fo. 154r. No quire signature is visible on 154r; the first surviving quire signature within the text of *De gestis* is *Y* on fo. 162r. The most likely explanation is that *V* was a quinion or a quaternion with a supplementary bifolium appended and that *De gestis* began with a new quaternion, *X*, on fo. 154r. This cannot be proven, however, and the precise collation of fos. 144–61 is unknown. The surviving portion of *De gestis* is otherwise composed entirely of quaternions. If, as is likely, *X* began on fo. 154r, the text covers four quires in total, *X*, *Y*, *Z*, and *AA*, and breaks off incomplete at the foot of fo. 185v, at the end of *AA*.

The final part of the manuscript, containing Roger of Ford's *Speculum ecclesie*, does not appear to continue this series of quire signatures. It has instead two series: *C2*, *D2*, *E2*, *F2* in the centre of the bottom margin, and *A3*, *B2*, *C*, *D*, and *E* above and slightly to the right. These signatures appear on fos. 186r, 194r, 204r, 214r, and 224r, but the expected *G2* from the first series on fo. 224r has been lost. The lower margin of fo. 234r has been badly damaged and no signatures are there visible. This part of Tiberius B. xiii is thus composed of an initial quaternion and at least four quinions; the collation of the manuscript's last few leaves cannot be reconstructed. Neither series is in the same hand as the quire signatures of fos. 32r–178r. Though this text was manifestly bound together with Gerald's works in 1731, therefore, the differing early-modern signatures suggest that their joining was a relatively recent development.

There are three post-medieval series of folio or page numberings in the manuscript. What followed in this edition is the pencilled late-nineteenth-century foliation written on the frames into which the leaves have been mounted. On the leaves themselves is a second foliation in black ink. This postdates the fire of 1731—in the *Speculum ecclesie* the numbers have often clearly been placed so as to avoid fire-damaged areas—and is likely of the nineteenth century as well. It differs from the pencilled foliation by four throughout *De gestis* (i.e. our fo. 154r is fo. 150r in this older foliation) due to confusion in the earlier part of *Speculum ecclesie*. Both of these foliations extend continuously across all three texts in Tiberius B. xiii. The last series, a set of early-seventeenth-century paginations, covers Gerald's *Speculum* and *De gestis*, restarting at the break between them. It may well have extended to Roger of Ford's *Speculum* as well, but the narrow upper margins of that part of the manuscript have been heavily damaged and, if so, the

numbers cannot be seen. In this series, probably added in the seventeenth century, perhaps by Richard James, *De gestis* covers pages 1 to 64. In the seventeenth century, too, Brian Twyne added chapter numbers in the margin of *De gestis*, running continuously across all three parts from 1 to 55 and numbering the *proemium* as the first chapter.[73] Twyne also added running titles to the text: 'Vita Gyraldi' on fo. 154^{r}, 'Gyraldi' on all subsequent versos, and 'Vita' on all subsequent rectos, as well as running titles to Gerald's *Speculum ecclesie*.[74] The medieval foliation, if ever there was any, has been entirely lost.

DE GESTIS GIRALDI AMONG GERALD'S WORKS

The composition of *De gestis* is usually dated to 1208 × 1216, following the suggestion of Bartlett in his now-standard monograph on Gerald.[75] Bartlett himself, however, stressed that his datings were 'convenient summar[ies] of information rather than [...] the results of exhaustive original research', and were based on the work of others.[76] In the case of *De gestis*, Bartlett relied in part on the arguments of Richter on the date of *Libellus inuectionum*, itself partly derived from *De gestis*. When we explore those arguments in more detail, we see that Bartlett's caution was not misplaced.

Much of this proposed dating is an affair of *tunc*. The *terminus a quo* of 1208 derives from the description of Gerald's cousin Meilyr fitz Henry (d. 1220) as *Hibernie tunc iusticiarium* (table of contents, iii. 41) and *tunc regni iusticiarium* (iii. 13). Meilyr ceased to be justiciar in mid-1208: the last writ in which he is addressed as such is dated 19 June 1208.[77] On the assumption that Meilyr would only be described as *tunc iusticiarium* if he had since left office, the writing of these passages might be thought to postdate 1208.

The *terminus ad quem* of 1216 comes from the observation that part six of *Libellus inuectionum* reproduces the visions which form the close of *De gestis*. There they are explicitly described as those 'que quasi in calce libelli de gestis eiusdem [*sc.* Giraldi] conscripta reperiuntur'.[78] That the visions in the *Libellus* were indeed copied from *De gestis* is further supported by their common errors: the fourteenth and twentieth

[73] These numbers thus do not correspond to those in our edition.

[74] The identification of Twyne's hand is by Hunt, 'Preface to the "Speculum ecclesiae"', p. 190.

[75] Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 219 (178).

[76] Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 213 (176).

[77] *ODNB*, *s.n.* 'Meiler fitz Henry (*d.* 1220)'.

[78] *Inuect.*, vi. 1 (Davies, p. 204).

visions are omitted in both texts. But when was the *Libellus* written? Its composition extended over many years: Gerald began the work, he tells us, at the urging of Innocent III himself while in Rome in 1200;[79] Bartlett concluded, on the basis of Richter's introduction to the *Speculum duorum*, that the *Libellus* had been completed by 1216.[80] If that were the case, *De gestis* would likewise have to have been completed by 1216, for it must predate the *Libellus*.

But, in fact, Richter argued not that 1216 was the date by which the *Libellus* must have been completed, but that it was the earliest date at which it could have been completed: not *ad quem* but *a quo* once again. And again the argument is *tunc*-based. In part five of the *Libellus*, Gerald not only calls Meilyr *tunc Hibernie iusticiarius*, but he refers to 'Innocentio Tercio qui tunc prefuit'.[81] Richter argues that this 'strongly suggest[s] that the pope was already dead'.[82] Innocent III died at Perugia on 16 June 1216. If Innocent was indeed dead when Gerald wrote part five, and if part six (containing the visions copied from *De gestis*) was written after part five was finished, then we must conclude not that *De gestis* was complete by 1216, as Bartlett supposed, but only that it was available to be copied at some point after 1216—must conclude, that is, nothing at all.

Indeed, if we look further into the problem of papal *tunc*s, we find further difficulty. In *De gestis* itself, Gerald writes of how he came 'ad pedes pape (scilicet Innocentii Tercii, qui tunc presidebat, et papatus eius anno secundo)' (iii. 18). Unless we take the clause beginning with *scilicet* to be a later revision or addition, the same logic which would push the completion of the *Libellus* beyond 1216 would push that of *De gestis* as well.[83] But perhaps we should not take our *tunc*s so narrowly. Gerald, composing deathless prose for the eyes of posterity, might well have intended temporal cues such as 'at that time' to be understood from the position of his imagined future reader, not that of the writer. A state necessarily impermanent (a justiciarship, a papacy) might attract a *tunc* not because it had already ended when Gerald wrote, but because he sees it here from the heights of history. In *De gestis*, for

[79] *Catalogus brevior* (RS i. 422; cf. Davies, pp. 4–9); *Spec. duorum*, ed. Richter, Lefèvre, et al., pp. xx and 164.

[80] Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 219 (178).

[81] *Inuect.*, v. 12 (Davies, p. 192) and v. 14 (Davies, p. 194).

[82] *Spec. duorum*, ed. Richter, Lefèvre, et al., p. xxi.

[83] One might argue that there is a significant difference between the perfect *prefuit* of the *Libellus* and the imperfect *presidebat* of *De gestis*, but this seems tenuous in the presence of *tunc*.

example, he writes of 'Cantuariam, cui tunc temporis Meneuensis ecclesia sicut et Wallia tota de facto suberat, lege prouinciali' (i. 3), not because St Davids' subjection to Canterbury has ceased, but because Gerald sees that subjection as an innovation and an abuse to be corrected in future—'at that time'—because the state described had a beginning and will (he hopes) have an end.

If we set aside for the moment the implications of *tunc*, what other evidence exists for the date of *De gestis*? The final securely datable event in the text's narrative is Gerald's resignation of his archdeaconry and prebends in favour of his nephew in November 1203 (iii. 217).[84] This is the last narrative chapter of the chronologically arranged *De gestis*. No reference is made to Gerald's further trip to Rome in 1206, to the accession of Stephen Langton, to the papal interdict of 1208 to 1214, to the Fourth Lateran Council, or to the reign of Henry III—to anything, that is, outside the narrative frame of the work itself. What of the outer bound? The work must have been completed before Gerald's death in 1220 × 1223. It must have been finished before the completion of the *Libellus* and *De iure*, but the dating of those works is fluid as well. It must have been completed before the writing of BL Cotton MS Tiberius B. xiii, but the manuscript's date of 1220 × *c.* 1250 offers no help here.[85] Strictly speaking, *De gestis* could have been written at any point between November 1203 and Gerald's death, provided time is allowed for the completion of those of his works which must have followed *De gestis*.

At the end of *De iure*, Gerald listed the works he had hitherto composed and gave them rough dates: *De gestis*, together with the *Symbolum electorum*, *Libellus inuectionum*, and *Speculum duorum*, he assigned to 'anno quasi quinquagesimo'—that is, according to the scheme he there adopted, in his fifties.[86] This, placing *De gestis* in the period *c.* 1196 to 1206, can only be very approximate. The *Libellus* was indeed begun in this period but continued long after it; work on the *Speculum duorum*, too, was carried on into Gerald's final years.[87] It does suggest, however, that work on *De gestis* might have begun soon after the events it describes: as with the *Libellus*, he perhaps here assigned *De gestis* to the period of its conception. But Gerald was not consistent: elsewhere in

[84] *Spec. duorum*, ed. Richter, Lefèvre, et al., pp. xxvii–xxviii.
[85] For the date, see above, p. xxx.
[86] *De iure*, vii (RS iii. 372–3); on references to Gerald's age, see below, p. cxv.
[87] *Spec. duorum*, ed. Richter, Lefèvre, et al.

De iure, he included *De gestis* 'inter ultimos fere labores ipsomet auctore vel adjutore conscriptos'.[88]

There is no reason to assume that *De gestis* as we now have it was the product of a single period of effort. Gerald habitually revised his works over the course of many years, typically adding ever more examples, quotations, and proofs to each successive redaction. There are some suggestions (though only that) that the same may be true of *De gestis*. First, an additional story has been added at the end of i. 1, written in the bottom margin of fo. 158^{v} by scribe A and keyed to the main text by a symbol recalling those in other, extensively revised, Giraldian manuscripts.[89] This may be a scribal omission which was rectified immediately or a later addition. Secondly, at the end of *De gestis*, following the final narrative chapter (iii. 217), Gerald included a chapter entitled 'That the destinies of suits are uncertain, and that many things happen unexpectedly' (iii. 218), which might be imagined to have formed a conclusion to the work. Yet there immediately follow twenty-one chapters on visions and their interpretation. These have the air of an addition or appendix, though that cannot be proved. Finally, the very shape of *De gestis*, divided into three parts of respectively eleven, twenty-four, and two-hundred and thirty-nine chapters, the last consisting largely of letters and other documentation, brings to mind Gerald's revising habits, stuffing ever more evidence into the framework of his works.

Perhaps, then, Gerald began *De gestis*, or some part of it, in the years immediately following his final defeat in the St Davids cause. Perhaps he continued to extend and tweak it for a decade or more: on the weak evidence of *tunc*, the copy which has come down to us may reflect a version revised after the end of Meilyr's justiciarship in 1208 and after the death of Innocent III in 1216. Beyond such conjectures the evidence does not go.

De gestis was the first of three works in which Gerald told the story of the St Davids cause which was the central struggle of his life, and each of these works, written after its end, came to be about that struggle. *De gestis*, in form a biography, is dominated by this central story but is the only one to deal with the early part of his life. The *Libellus* is a disparate collection of letters, speeches, and stories, but most relate to the St Davids cause. At last in *De iure* Gerald told the story on its

[88] *De iure*, vii (RS iii. 334). It is not clear what the implication of *adiutor* 'helper' is.
[89] Cf., e.g., BAV MS Reg. lat. 470, fo. 2^{v}, for the same symbol.

own. That both of the latter works cross-refer to *De gestis* indicates that *De gestis* was conceived of as the first.[90]

There is in consequence much overlap among these three works. Extant passages of *De gestis* were rewritten and reused in the later works, such as Gerald's conversation with his brother Philip (iii. 16), which reappears, reworked, in *Inuect.*, i. 1. Most of the missing chapters of *De gestis*, too, can be matched with some certainty to parallel passages in the *Libellus* and *De iure*.[91] The chapter in the midst of which *De gestis* breaks off (iii. 19) is seamlessly continued in *Inuect.*, i. 1. That the broken end of *De gestis* corresponds so exactly with the beginning of the *Libellus* raises the question: was *De gestis* ever finished? Or did Gerald rather choose to continue the story he was telling in a different place? In fact, it seems clear that *De gestis* was indeed completed in the form outlined in its table of contents. Gerald makes frequent reference to *De gestis* in his other works; at no point is it described as incomplete. Cross-references in both the *Libellus* and *De iure* point to sections of *De gestis* now lost from the manuscript.[92] The most that can be said is that the parallel existence of other accounts of the same events perhaps influenced the survival of the latter part of *De gestis* or the interest of later scribes in copying it. Beyond that possibility, the correspondence appears a coincidence.

Not only was much of *De gestis* reused in Gerald's later works, but large parts of it were themselves recycled from what he had written before. The account of his sermon at the council of Dublin (ii. 14) was copied wholesale from the *Topographia*.[93] His vision of the Irish church (ii. 11–12) he took from the *Expugnatio*. The privilege *Laudabiliter* (ii. 11) he copied either from the *Expugnatio* or from *De principis instructione*: its text appears three times in Gerald's works. An anecdote of St Bernard (ii. 18) he took from the *Gemma ecclesiastica*. Stories about the families of Welshmen who took up the cross (ii. 19) he reused from the *Itinerarium*. The description of his visit to the monks of Canterbury and their excessive appetites (ii. 5), on the other hand, was likely written first for *De gestis* and later reused in the *Speculum ecclesie*. An artful passage from Gerald's first discourse in the Paris schools (ii. 2) was reused in the *Topographia*—or perhaps written for the *Topographia* and

[90] For examples, see the following discussion.

[91] The precise parallels are identified in the footnotes to the table of contents in the Edition below.

[92] e.g. *De iure*, iii (RS iii. 196) and *Inuect.*, vi. 1 (Davies, p. 204; the visions referred to above).

[93] For a detailed discussion of this passage, see pp. xcvii–xcviii below.

then inserted into a re-imagining of the speech.[94] A grouping of classical quotations in a letter to Archbishop Hubert (iii. 5) he used in the *Libellus*, *Speculum ecclesie*, and twice in *De prin.* as well.[95] Certain subjects reliably evoked the same thoughts and the same quotations: in *De gestis* (iii. 13), in the *Libellus*, and twice in *De iure*, when the poverty of the church of St Davids arose, Gerald recalled Augustine's words: 'hoc uelis quod Deus uult; alioquin curuus es'. There is far less reuse in part one of *De gestis*, treating of Gerald's early life, for he had not elsewhere written of those years, and would not do so again. But in the second and third parts of the work, Gerald showed himself a most efficient recycler.

GERALD ON GERALD

Gerald's autobiographical efforts have been variously assessed. Butler considered that *De gestis* 'has an individuality which makes it one of the most singular and remarkable of autobiographies' and called it 'a treasure unique for medieval England—a full autobiography'.[96] Brewer, in contrast, pointed out that its tone is 'somewhat inconsistent with our modern notions of autobiography'.[97] Batchelder wrote that 'the narrative mode Gerald adopted to tell his story distances the author from the text rather than granting the intimacy we might expect in an "autobiographical" work'.[98] What seems not to have been noticed is that *De gestis* is not an autobiography at all, and would not have been read as such by its contemporary audience.

Autobiography, by the end of the twelfth century, had a long history.[99] The form's most famous expression was Augustine's *Confessions*: in its first nine books, Augustine gave an inward-looking account of his conversion to a religious life, examining his experiences and motivations. The external facts of his life are important not in themselves, but for the part they play in his spiritual and philosophical journey from childhood, to Manichaeism, to Catholicism. Indeed, Chadwick wrote,

[94] On the possibility that Gerald's first discourse was an inception lecture, see p. lxxvi below, and the Edition below, n. 273.

[95] See below, pp. lxxix–lxxx.

[96] *Autobiography*, ed. Butler, pp. 24 and 22.

[97] RS i. lxxxix.

[98] Batchelder, 'The Courtier, the Anchorite, the Devil and his Angel', p. 24.

[99] The fullest discussion is Misch, *Geschichte der Autobiographie*, Bd. 3, *Das Mittelalter*, 2. Teil, *Das Hochmittelalter im Anfang*; Gerald is the subject of ch. 2 'Die autobiographische Schriftstellerei des Giraldus Cambrensis', pp. 1297–1479.

Augustine understood his own story as a microcosm of the entire story of the creation, the fall into the abyss of chaos and formlessness, the 'conversion' of the creaturely order to the love of God as it experiences griping pains of homesickness. [. . .] The autobiographical sections are related as an accidental exemplification of the wandering homelessness of man's soul in [. . .] the material realm.[100]

Wrapping narrative as it did in layers of cosmic complexity, it is perhaps unsurprising that Augustine's introspection, though widely influential, found few direct imitators.

But the model was there to be followed. In the 1110s, Guibert de Nogent, abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy, wrote three books *De uita sua*. His debt to Augustine is clear from the work's first words: 'Confiteor amplitudini tuæ, Deus, infinitorum errorum meorum decursus [. . .]'.[101] Like Augustine, Guibert dwells at length on his relationship to his mother (admiring), on his treatment by teachers (harsh), and on the sins of his youth (many and various). He reflects on temptation and his predilection for secular, indeed erotic, literature. He turns, at length, to writing on Genesis, and takes up a position of responsibility, as abbot. Most importantly, he shares Augustine's focus on a spiritual *cursus*.

Gerald's *De gestis* ignores such models entirely. He dispenses with his childhood summarily (i. 1–2); *De gestis*, like Peter Abelard's *Historia Calamitatum*, is 'career focused'. He names his parents, but says little of his relationship to them.[102] He has no period of youthful sin or misdirected wandering. To the minimal extent that he strays as a child from the episcopal path, he points to others as the cause: he was, he says, 'hindered by the company of his brothers' and slacked in his studies because 'character is formed by one's companions' (i. 2). There is no *conuersio* to a religious life because, save for Gerald's shameful incompetence in Latin declension (i. 2), there is nothing to be converted from. Gerald's story has no central hinge, no *tolle lege*, because from beginning to end it drives towards the same (frustrated) goal: his and St Davids' success. Bartlett rightly described *De gestis* as teleological, a work in which

[100] Chadwick, *Augustine*, pp. 71–2.

[101] Guibert de Nogent, *De uita sua*, i. 1 (ed. Bourgin, p. 1); Benton, *Self and Society in Medieval France*, p. 35.

[102] Gerald's mother died when he was relatively young. *Acta*, ed. Barrow, no. 28, is a confirmation by David, bishop of St Davids, of a grant made by William to the Hospitallers, of land in Devon, *pro salute anime sue et uxoris eius Adeliz sororis nostre que iam decessit*. As Barrow notes, it seems that Angharad/Adeliz died not long before 1160, probably, therefore, when Gerald was only just into his teens.

Gerald presented a picture of his career in which his election to St. David's in 1199 formed a natural culmination. According to this account it was his 'manifest destiny' to become the champion of St. David's, and his activities throughout his life were consistent with this role.[103]

De gestis lacks an autobiographical shape, that is, but it is not shapeless: no microcosm of creation or exemplification of man's wandering homelessness in the material realm, Gerald's account of his life is something else entirely.

In form it is an episcopal *uita*, a biographical genre closely allied to hagiography, and one to which Gerald made other noteworthy contributions.[104] This generic choice is visible from the work's opening words, when he writes that 'the Greeks of old would commit the deeds of famous men to memory', preserving tales and images of their ancestors to spur virtuous emulation (prologue). Gerald copies this beginning from his own life of Geoffrey, archbishop of York, another non-saintly bishop, written in the 1190s.[105] They were words he thought appropriate to the beginning of a bishop's biography. The structure of *De gestis*, too, is that of an episcopal *uita*. Gerald's life of Geoffrey is divided into two books: the first, *de promotionibus*; the second, *de persecutionibus*.[106] *De gestis*, much longer, is divided into three; the last, and by far the longest, is 'laboribus inmensis atque periculis et persecucionibus plena' (prologue). The first book of the life of Geoffrey ends with his consecration, a common structure in *uitae*, for the subject's episcopacy is precisely the τέλος towards which all tends.[107] The life of Robert de Bethune, prior of Llanthony and bishop of Hereford, written by William of Wycombe following Robert's death in 1148, follows the same pattern: two books, divided at the point at which Robert dons the mitre.[108] Gerald himself was never consecrated, but the stymied path of his episcopal career still structures *De gestis*. Its first part ends with the consecration of Peter de Leia as bishop of St Davids, after Gerald himself was nominated, recommended, and rejected (i. 9–11).

[103] Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 46 (45).

[104] Mesley, 'The construction of episcopal identity', pp. 178–315, discusses Gerald's lives of St Remigius and St Hugh—but these are saints as well as bishops, and so less to our purpose here; cf. also Plass, *A Scholar and His Saints*, pp. 161–268.

[105] *Vita Galf.*, introitus secundus (RS iv. 361). On its date, see Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, pp. 217 and 218 (177). In his *Catalogus brevior* (RS i. 422), Gerald describes it as 'apocriphus' as he seems not to have affixed his name to it.

[106] See, e.g., RS iv. 385.

[107] *Vita Galf.*, i. 13 (RS iv. 384–5).

[108] Parkinson 'The life of Robert of Bethune', pp. 149–52. On Robert, see also *The History of Llanthony Abbey*, i. 9 (OMT 44–49).