

Robert of Shrewsbury (1197-1212/1213), was 'a wandering exile . . . who runs to and fro, begging at every abbey in England'.²² Admittedly exile from north Wales might not be voluntary: following the collapse of Norman power in Gwynedd the Breton Hervé had been driven from the see of Bangor towards the end of the eleventh century and was translated to the new see of Ely in 1109;²³ Godfrey, bishop of St Asaph, was forced to flee to England after the failure of Henry II's last campaign against the Welsh in 1165 and was made the administrator of St Albans Abbey by the king;²⁴ while, in the thirteenth century, Bishop Richard of Bangor (1237-67) spent much of his episcopate at St Albans owing to conflicts with the native prince of Gwynedd.²⁵ Nevertheless, the fundamental reason why bishops in Wales sought monastic hospitality in England was that the Welsh bishoprics were poorly endowed and could only with difficulty support an episcopal household. Indeed Giraldus claimed that his own benefices in England in the early thirteenth century were worth 100 marks a year, whereas if he had been appointed bishop of St David's he would have had to make do with an income of only 20 marks a year.²⁶

It is also possible to find examples of other men of Welsh origin or background who carried out diplomatic functions in Wales on behalf of the English crown. Thus both the dean of Swansea and Bishop Reiner of St Asaph (1186-1224) were employed, in addition to Giraldus, to try and keep the peace early in the reign of Richard I.²⁷ Furthermore, some men living along the Anglo-Welsh border served English kings by undertaking military and diplomatic duties in Wales. The earliest clear evidence for the employment of such individuals appears in Domesday Book (1086), which states that in the time of Edward the Confessor (1042-66) it was the duty of the priests of the king's three churches in Archenfield, the Welsh-speaking region of western Herefordshire, to take royal messages into Wales. In addition, the men of the district served as the vanguard on royal expeditions into Wales and the rearguard on

²² W. S. Davies (ed.), *Giraldus Cambrensis: De Invectionibus*, in: *Y Cymmrodor* 30 (1920) pp. 95, 96; translation from H. E. Butler (ed. and trans.), *The Autobiography of Giraldus Cambrensis*, London 1937, p. 213. Bishop Robert held land in Kingsland, Shropshire c. 1210-12: Hubert Hall (ed.), *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, 3 vols. (Rolls Series), London 1896, 2 p. 511.

²³ A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs (eds.), *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols., Oxford 1869-78, 1 pp. 299, 303-5; N. E. S. A. Hamilton (ed.), *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Gesta Pontificum* (Rolls Series), London 1870, pp. 325-6.

²⁴ Lloyd (as n. 3) 2 pp. 520 n. 127, 558.

²⁵ Henry Richards Luard (ed.), *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora* (Rolls Series), 7 vols., London 1872-84, 5 pp. 602, 608-9; cf. David Stephenson, *The Governance of Gwynedd*, Cardiff 1984, pp. 169-73.

²⁶ Giraldus, *Opera* 3 p. 131.

²⁷ Doris M. Stenton (ed.), *The Great Rolls of the Pipe for the Third and Fourth Years of King Richard the First*, *Pipe Roll Society* 40, n. s. 2 (1926), p. xx; Doris M. Stenton (ed.), *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Fifth Year of King Richard the First*, *Pipe Roll Society* 41, n. s. 3 (1927), pp. xiii-xiv.