

A CROSS-BORDER CAREER: GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS BETWEEN
WALES AND ENGLAND

Norman conquest and settlement in Britain perpetuated and intensified Anglo-Welsh warfare, an aspect of Anglo-Welsh relations amply attested from the seventh century onwards. But Norman ambition resulted in more than the continuation of cross-border troop movements: it also led to the creation of new links between Wales and England. This was true in two respects in particular. The first concerned secular landholding. Norman lords held estates both in Wales and in England (as well as, in some cases, Normandy).¹ Thus, for example, it was on a journey from England, where he held the substantial honour of Clare in Suffolk, to his lands in Ceredigion in west Wales, granted him by King Henry I, that Richard fitz Gilbert was ambushed and killed by the Welsh in the vicinity of Abergavenny in April 1136.² Conversely, from the late eleventh century some members of native Welsh princely dynasties were granted estates by English lords or kings in the border counties of England, although such cross-border landholding was insignificant by comparison with that of members of the Scottish royal family and aristocracy.³ Second, the subordination of the Welsh bishops to the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury and the establishment of Benedictine priories and cells dependent on English monasteries forged closer ecclesiastical ties than had existed before 1066.⁴ These connections, together with others they brought in their wake—notably a quickening of trade—increased the opportuni-

¹ See e.g. R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change: Wales 1063-1415*, Oxford 1987, pp. 84-5; I. W. Rowlands, *The Making of the March: Aspects of the Norman Settlement in Dyfed*, in: R. Allen Brown (ed.), *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies*, III, 1980, Woodbridge 1981, pp. 144-5, 148-50. For land held by Giraldus's father in Devon, see below, p. 53.

² J. S. Brewer, James F. Dimock and George F. Warner (eds.), *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 8 vols. (Rolls Series), London 1861-91, 6 pp. 47-8. Henceforth Giraldus, *Opera*.

³ For Welsh examples, see J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, 3rd edn, 2 vols., London 1939, 2 pp. 398, 496, 553, 616-17; below, pp. 49-50. For Scotland, see K. J. Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon 1152-1219*, Edinburgh 1985, pp. 177-211. Cf. also Robin Frame, *Aristocracies and the Political Configuration of the British Isles*, in: R. R. Davies (ed.), *The British Isles 1100-1500*, Edinburgh 1988, pp. 144-6, 150-2; R. R. Davies, *Domination and Conquest: The Experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales 1100-1300*, Cambridge 1990, pp. 54-5.

⁴ Davies, *Conquest* (as n. 1) pp. 179-94.

ties for individuals to travel between England and Wales, be they secular lords, bishops, monks or merchants.⁵

At the same time the creation of Norman lordships in Wales accentuated the political fragmentation of the country, injecting new ethnic and cultural divisions into what has been aptly described as a country 'of plural frontiers'.⁶ Of no region was this truer than Dyfed in south-west Wales, the birth-place of the churchman, scholar and author who is the subject of this paper: Giraldus Cambrensis or Gerald de Barri.⁷ Giraldus's maternal grandmother, Nest, was the daughter of the Welsh king of Dyfed, Rhys ap Tewdwr, killed by the Normans in 1093; Dyfed swiftly fell to the Normans and was divided into a number of small lordships. Among the early Norman conquerors in the region was Giraldus's maternal grandfather, Gerald of Windsor, castellan of Pembroke, who married Nest 'with the object of giving himself and his troops a firmer foothold in the country.'⁸ Giraldus's father, William de Barri, was a minor Norman lord whose castle lay at Manorbier. By ancestry, then, Giraldus was three-quarters Norman and one quarter Welsh, the product of intermarriage which was a fairly common characteristic in the Welsh March.⁹ This mixed ancestry was to play an important part in his career, for he was related, not only to leading Norman families in south-west Wales, but also to the native ruling house represented by the successors of his great-grandfather, Rhys ap Tewdwr. When Giraldus was born, c. 1146, this house was beginning to revive its power, notably at the expense of the Clare lords of Ceredigion and the Cliffords of Llandovery. Just over twenty years later, in 1169, many of Giraldus's relatives, including two of his elder brothers, seized the opportunity to seek new fortunes in Ireland by participating in the Anglo-Norman intervention prompted by the request for military help from the exiled king of Leinster, Diarmait Mac Murchada.¹⁰ Giraldus thus came from a region of shifting borders and also, more importantly, from a family well used to negotiating the frontiers between natives and incomers in south-west Wales.

⁵ See e.g. Ralph A. Griffiths, *Medieval Severnside: The Welsh Connection*, in: R. R. Davies et al. (eds.), *Welsh Society and Nationhood*, Cardiff 1984, pp. 70-89; Huw Pryce, *In Search of a Medieval Society: Deheubarth in the Writings of Gerald of Wales*, in: *Welsh History Review* 13 (1986-7) pp. 274-5.

⁶ Davies, *Conquest* (as n. 1) pp. 3-15; R. R. Davies, *Frontier Arrangements in Fragmented Societies: Ireland and Wales*, in: Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (eds.), *Medieval Frontier Societies*, Oxford 1989, pp. 77-100 (quotation at p. 80).

⁷ On Dyfed, see Rowlands (as n. 1) and Pryce, *Deheubarth* (as n. 5). Of the extensive secondary literature on Gerald, see especially Michael Richter, *Giraldus Cambrensis*, 2nd edn, Aberystwyth 1976; Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales 1146-1223*, Oxford 1982.

⁸ Giraldus, *Opera* 6 p. 91.

⁹ A. J. Roderick, *Marriage and Politics in Wales, 1066-1282*, in: *Welsh History Review* 4 (1968-9) pp. 4-8, 11-12.

¹⁰ Marie Therese Flanagan, *Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship: Interactions in Ireland in the Late Twelfth Century*, Oxford 1989, pp. 140-53.

Giraldus's life can be summarized as follows.¹¹ As the fourth and youngest son he was destined for a clerical career from the beginning, receiving education initially from his uncle, David fitz Gerald, bishop of St David's (1148-76), before proceeding to St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, and then Paris, where he remained between c. 1165 and c. 1172.¹² After returning from the Parisian schools he obtained a legation from the archbishop of Canterbury in 1174 to collect tithes in the diocese of St David's; shortly afterwards (c. 1175) he was appointed archdeacon of Brecon, having secured the deposition of the previous archdeacon on the grounds of the latter's marriage, which contravened canon law. After a further period in Paris studying theology (1176-9) Giraldus administered the diocese of St David's for about three years on behalf of Bishop Peter de Leia (c. 1179-82).¹³ The next major step in the archdeacon's career was his employment as a royal clerk in the service of Henry II in 1184, a position he retained into the reign of Henry's successor, Richard I (1189-99). His service as a clerk took Giraldus to Ireland in 1185-6 and on a journey with Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury to preach the Third Crusade in Wales in 1188, as well as on missions in England and France. It was at this stage in his career that he wrote the first of his important prose works, two on Ireland (the *Topographia Hibernica* and the *Expugnatio Hibernica*) and two on Wales (the *Itinerarium Cambriae* and the *Descriptio Cambriae*), thereby launching a hugely prolific literary career. After leaving the court c. 1194 Giraldus spent further time in study, first at Hereford and then, from c. 1196, at Lincoln, before his election as bishop of St David's in 1199. The election was disputed, and the matter complicated by Giraldus's reviving the claim, first advanced by the Norman bishop of St David's, Bernard (1115-48), that that church should be recognized as a metropolitan see with authority over a Welsh ecclesiastical province independent of Canterbury. Despite three journeys to Rome to prosecute his case, by 1203 Giraldus had failed to secure either confirmation of his election or the elevation of St David's to the status of an archbishopric. He resigned his archdeaconry in favour of his nephew and spent most of the remaining years of his life at Lincoln, reliving his struggle for St David's in a series of autobiographical works and writing or completing a number of other books, including a *Fürstenspiegel*, *De Principis Instructione*, whose second and third books contained a damning account of his former employer, King Henry II.¹⁴ Giraldus was not unique, of course, as an example of a cleric from Wales who received an education in England (and in his case crucially also France) before returning to hold ecclesiastical office in Wales. Welsh churches were poor and could not provide a thorough grounding in the arts, let alone theology or law, available at

¹¹ The fullest reconstruction of his life remains J. Conway Davies, *Giraldus Cambrensis*, 1146-1946, in: *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 99 (1946-7) pp. 85-108, 256-80.

¹² Bartlett, Gerald (as n. 6) p. 29; Richter, Giraldus (as n. 6) p. 4 assigns Gerald's first period in Paris to c. 1162-74.

¹³ *Ibid.* pp. 6, 90.

¹⁴ On this last-named work, see Karl Schnith, *Betrachtungen zum Spätwerk des Giraldus Cambrensis 'De Principis Instructione'*, in: *Festiva Lanx*, Munich 1967, pp. 53-66; Bartlett, Gerald (as n. 6) pp. 69-99.

some English centres such as Oxford, Northampton or Lincoln and, above all, Paris: throughout the Middle Ages, Welsh students in search of advanced education had to go to England or the Continent.¹⁵ That they were numerous by 1169 is suggested by Henry II's punitive ordinance of that year expelling 'all the Welsh in the schools in England'.¹⁶ How many Welsh students subsequently returned to Wales in the twelfth century is unknown, but to judge by the growing number of references from the middle of the century to clerics in Wales bearing the title of *magister*, some certainly did.¹⁷ In addition, a number of Welsh clerics had ecclesiastical careers in England before returning to Wales. Thus Urban, bishop of Llandaff 1107-34, had spent time at the church of Worcester before his consecration, while Alexander, archdeacon of Bangor by 1188, had been a cleric in Thomas Becket's household, acting as the archbishop's cross-bearer.¹⁸ Such mobility across borders in the ecclesiastical world was of course common in medieval Europe: in the twelfth century, for example, John of Salisbury had ended his career as bishop of Chartres, while Peter of Blois had served as a curial clerk in Sicily earlier in his life before entering the service of Henry II in England, where Peter held the archdeaconry of Bath.¹⁹ Giraldus is an important source for another aspect of cross-border movement by churchmen. One of the principal complaints he made about two bishops of St David's, namely Peter de Leia (1176-98) and his successor Geoffrey of Henlow (1203-14), was their habit of abandoning their church in Wales and travelling around religious houses in England in search of hospitality.²⁰ He claimed that they did this for up to three or four months a year, allegedly provoking Walter Map to quip that the bishop of St David's had more suffragan bishops, abbots and priors than any church in England!²¹ Indeed it was Peter's preference for life in England which provided Giraldus with the opportunity to administer his diocese in the early 1180s. He likewise complained that Bishop Alan of Bangor in Gwynedd in north-west Wales (1195-6) 'fled to exile and banishment in England' and that his successor,

¹⁵ Gwilym Usher, *Welsh Students at Oxford in the Middle Ages*, in: *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 16 (1954-6) pp. 193-8; Rhys Williams Hays, *Welsh Students at Oxford and Cambridge Universities in the Middle Ages*, in: *Welsh History Review* 4 (1968-9) pp. 325-61.

¹⁶ D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke (eds.), *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church. I. A.D. 871-1204*, 2 vols., Oxford 1981, 2 p. 938 (c. 8).

¹⁷ Huw Pryce, *Native Law and the Church in Medieval Wales*, Oxford 1993, p. 76 and n. 21.

¹⁸ David Crouch, *Urban: First Bishop of Llandaff*, in: *Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History* 6 (1989) p. 3; Lloyd (as n. 3) 2 p. 562.

¹⁹ Cary J. Nederman (ed. and trans.), *John of Salisbury: Policraticus*, Cambridge 1990, pp. xvi-xvii; Egbert Türk, *Nugae Curialium: le règne d'Henri II Plantagenêt (1145-1189) et l'éthique politique*, Geneva 1977, Chapter 4.

²⁰ Giraldus, *Opera* 1 pp. 43-4, 54, 322; 3 pp. 161, 320-1, 351; Yves Lefèvre, R. B. C. Huygens and Michael Richter (eds.), *Giraldus Cambrensis: Speculum Duorum, or, A Mirror of Two Men*, trans. B. Dawson, Cardiff 1974, pp. 208-9, 212-15.

²¹ Giraldus, *Opera* 3 p. 15.

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.

their return.²⁸ Further north, along the Shropshire border, two families were prominent as agents of royal business in Wales from the reign of Henry II onwards. By 1160 Iorwerth Goch, younger brother of Madog ap Maredudd, the king of Powys who died in that year, held the fief of Sutton in Shropshire from Henry II 'by the service of being interpreter (*latimarius*) between the English and the Welsh', a serjeanty inherited by Iorwerth's sons and grandsons. After the manor was alienated to John Le Strange in the 1260s, however, the service changed to that of conducting the king in Wales in time of war.²⁹ Likewise the Welshman Roger of Powys held Overton Castle in Flintshire and Whittington Castle, Shropshire, from Henry II by the serjeanty of 'bearing the king's mandates throughout Wales', a tenure inherited by Roger's son, Meurig—who was also required to lead the men of Powys to the royal court—and then by Roger's grandson, Goronwy; that this service included acting as an interpreter is made explicit in a source of c. 1211.³⁰

Giraldus, it is true, was no interpreter — a role ruled out by his very limited knowledge of Welsh — nor did he owe diplomatic services to the English crown by virtue of serjeanty tenure.³¹ What makes him unique, however, is the extent to which his career depended on crossing borders between Wales and England as well as the degree to which that career is illuminated by his own voluminous writings. Admittedly, as we have seen, he also spent time in France, Ireland and Italy, but these visits all stemmed essentially from either family connections or career interests in Wales or England. It is true, too, that the fact that almost all we know about Giraldus stems from his own words poses serious problems of interpretation, compelling us to read him critically, bearing in mind the rhetorical objectives of his autobiographical writings in particular.³² Nevertheless, the prominence he gives to the tensions arising from his mixed ancestry and connections is revealing and his writings take us closer to the experience of negotiating the boundaries between Wales and England than any other medieval source. For even when allowance is made for a heavy dose of self-justification, there can be no doubt that in its ecclesiastical as well as its political

²⁸ [Abraham Farley (ed.)], *Domesday Book*, 2 vols., London 1783, 1 fo. 179b.

²⁹ R. W. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, 12 vols., London 1854-60, 2 pp. 108-20; Constance Bullock-Davies, *Professional Interpreters and the Matter of Britain*, Cardiff 1966, pp. 15-17; Hall, *Red Book* (as n. 22) 2 pp. 454, 511.

³⁰ Bullock-Davies (as n. 29) pp. 16-17; Eyton (as n. 29) 3 pp. 105-6; 11 pp. 31-5; Hall, *Red Book* (as n. 22) 2 pp. 453, 454, 511. See also Frederick C. Suppe, *Military Institutions on the Welsh Marches: Shropshire 1066-1300*, Woodbridge 1994, p. 96; Frederick C. Suppe, *Who was Rhys Sais?* Some Comments on Anglo-Welsh Relations before 1066, in: *Haskins Society Journal* 7 (1996) pp. 63-73.

³¹ Cf. n. 84 below. In the journey round Wales in 1188 Alexander, archdeacon of Bangor interpreted the sermons preaching the Third Crusade into Welsh: Giraldus, *Opera* 6, pp. 55, 126.

³² Cf. Bartlett, *Gerald* (as n. 6), p. 1; David Walker, *Gerald of Wales*, in: *Brycheiniog* 24 (1978-9) pp. 62-3. The fullest discussion of Gerald's autobiographical writings is Georg Misch, *Geschichte der Autobiographie*, 2: 2, Frankfurt a.M. 1962, pp. 1297-1479.

aspects Giraldus's career depended to a considerable degree on both his Welsh and his English connections.

Thus it was as the legate of the archbishop of Canterbury that Giraldus began his career in the diocese of St David's, collecting tithes, and it was the archbishop who ordered Bishop David of St David's to appoint Giraldus as archdeacon of Brecon after the deposition of his married predecessor, Jordan—although the bishop was doubtless happy to advance his nephew's career in this way.³³ Indeed, Giraldus's family connections made the diocese of St David's the obvious place to demonstrate his credentials as an ecclesiastical reformer trying to put into practice the ideals he had absorbed so enthusiastically in the Paris of Peter the Chanter.³⁴ Politically, it was those family connections which made Giraldus so potentially valuable to the Angevin court: it can be no accident that he was employed at precisely the time, in 1184, when Henry II was trying to repair the *détente* with the Lord Rhys established in 1171-2, a *détente* which had been threatened by a recent rebellion by Rhys's nephew, Morgan ap Caradog, lord of upland Glamorgan, with the active support of Rhys himself.³⁵ Yet those connections also made Giraldus vulnerable, as he discovered when, after Henry's death in July 1189, he failed in his missions to restore the peace in Wales in the face of much more serious attacks on royal and Marcher lands and castles by Rhys and his sons. A Cistercian abbot, William Wibert, who accompanied Giraldus on three of these missions, allegedly accused his companion of betraying the royal cause by siding with his Welsh kinsmen.³⁶ Later, however, Giraldus was blamed by the Welsh for having the Lord Rhys and his sons excommunicated by the bishop of St David's; and had one of his prebends plundered as a result.³⁷

One question which arises from an examination of Giraldus's career is how he saw himself in relation to England and Wales: did he identify with one country more than the other? This question can be approached from two directions. First, we can examine Giraldus's statements regarding his identity. These have attracted considerable scholarly attention. Very briefly, the tendency of much work over the last three decades has been to minimize the significance of Giraldus's Welsh ancestry and associations, in an understandable reaction against interpretations of him as an early Welsh nationalist, interpretations based excessively on the autobiographical writings

³³ Giraldus, Opera 1 pp. 24, 27. For Jordan, see most recently Julia Barrow (ed.), *St Davids Episcopal Acta 1085-1280* (South Wales Record Society), Cardiff 1998. I am very grateful to Dr Barrow for providing me with a copy of this work in advance of publication.

³⁴ Bartlett, Gerald (as n. 6) pp. 27-33.

³⁵ Cf. Lloyd (as n. 3) 2 p. 561; J. Beverley Smith, *The Kingdom of Morgannwg and the Norman Conquest of Glamorgan*, in: T. B. Pugh (ed.), *Glamorgan County History*, Vol. 3, *The Middle Ages*, Cardiff 1971, pp. 37-9; John Gillingham, *Henry II, Richard I and the Lord Rhys*, in: *Peritia* 10 (1996) pp. 229-31.

³⁶ Giraldus, Opera 1 pp. 203-13. Cf. Gillingham, *Henry II* (as n. 35) pp. 234-5 and n. 57. Giraldus also claimed later that he had been accused by Prince John of emptying Wales of its defenders on account of his success in recruiting troops for the Third Crusade in 1188, thereby handing it over to his Welsh kinsmen: Giraldus, Opera 1 p. 76.

³⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 321, 332.

in which Giraldus identified closely with the Welsh in order to try and explain the failure of his attempt to become bishop of St David's and to raise that see to metropolitan status. In the trenchant words of Michael Richter, 'Giraldus only became a fervent Welshman after his hopes for a more attractive career in England had been destroyed.'³⁸ Likewise John Gillingham has recently urged that 'the fact that for a while Gerald espoused a Welsh cause should not make us call him Giraldus Cambrensis, no matter whether we translate it "Gerald of Wales" or "Gerald the Welshman". Either way 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.'³⁹

Now, it is true that in the first preface to his *De Principis Instructione*, written c. 1195, Giraldus claimed that by upbringing and *mores* he was himself English, though his ancestry included some Welsh blood, while in one late work, *De Invectionibus* (c. 1216), he implied that during his time as a court clerk his chief ambition was promotion to a bishopric in England.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, as David Walker has warned, too much can be made of the latter statement, and there is plenty of other evidence to show that Giraldus, while emphatically not identifying with the native Welsh, regarded Wales as his home.⁴¹ Thus he claimed in the preface to the *Descriptio Kambriae* that the book was a 'description of our Wales' (*Kambriae nostrae descriptionem*); he referred in an account of his writings to a map he had made of Wales, now lost, 'to illustrate his native soil more fully' (*ad natale solum plenius illustrandum*); and in a letter defending his Irish and Welsh works he described these as dealing with the histories of 'our home grounds' (*finium nostrorum*).⁴² This did not mean, of course, that he saw himself as Welsh. Rather, as Robert Bartlett has convincingly argued, Giraldus's principal secular identity was as a member of the ethnically mixed Marcher families of south-west Wales, that is, with a group which was neither fully Norman or English nor fully Welsh, but combined the best of both worlds.⁴³ This brings us to the second—and in my view more fruitful—approach to the question of Giraldus's attitude towards England and Wales, namely a consideration of his family background and his career.

³⁸ Richter, Giraldus (as n. 6) p. 127; see also *ibid.* pp. 2, 10, 87, 94, 117-18; Bartlett, Gerald (as n. 6), pp. 9-25, 46-8, 50-7.

³⁹ John Gillingham, *The English Invasion of Ireland*, in: Brendan Bradshaw et al. (eds.), *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534-1660*, Cambridge 1993, p. 33.

⁴⁰ Giraldus, *Opera* 8 p. lviii; Davies, *De Invectionibus* (as n. 22) p. 213, cited by Richter, Giraldus (as n. 6) p. 87.

⁴¹ David Walker, *Cultural Survival in an Age of Conquest*, in: Davies et al. (eds.) (as n. 5) p. 48 n. 41. Cf. F. M. Powicke, *Gerald of Wales*, in: *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 12 (1928) p. 393: 'The main preoccupation of his life was found in Wales, and especially in the bishopric of St David's, where his home and connexions were.'

⁴² Giraldus, *Opera* 6 p. 155; 1 pp. 414-15; Lefèvre et al., *Speculum Duorum* (as n. 20) pp. 172-3.

⁴³ Bartlett, Gerald (as n. 6) pp. 20-5.

Even the most cursory examination of Giraldus's family shows that it was firmly based in south Wales, and Dyfed in particular, albeit with further footholds across the Irish Sea after 1169. True, probably shortly before 1160 Giraldus's father, William de Barri, made a grant to the Hospitallers of land in Rackenford, a manor in Devon belonging to the honour of Okehampton.⁴⁴ It may well be significant that the lords of Okehampton, William fitz Baldwin (d. 1096) and later his brother Richard (d. 1137), sought to establish themselves in eastern Dyfed at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries: although these attempts were ultimately unsuccessful, they may provide a context for the arrival in Dyfed of William de Barri's father, Odo.⁴⁵ Whether the family held any land in Devon after William's grant to the Hospitallers is unknown, however.⁴⁶ That it retained some links across the Bristol Channel is suggested by the foundation by Giraldus's eldest brother, Philip (d. c. 1199), of a guesthouse at Manorbier, which lay on the sea-route between Milford Haven in Pembrokeshire and a port in Devon (possibly Barnstaple).⁴⁷ Unfortunately, we can only guess how far this act of piety was prompted by the family's associations with Devon. Giraldus chose to say nothing about the English background of his father's family, emphasizing instead its power in south Wales and claiming that its name derived from Barry Island, thereby implying a connection with the de Barris

⁴⁴ F. W. Weaver (ed.), *A Cartulary of Buckland Priory in the County of Somerset*, Somerset Record Society 25 (1909), pp. 159-61 (nos. 386-9); Barrow, *St Davids Acta* (as n. 33) no. 28 and n. On the honour of Okehampton, see William Page (ed.), *The Victoria County History of the County of Devon*, Vol. 1, London 1906, pp. 554-5; I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent 1086-1327*, Oxford 1960, pp. 69-70.

⁴⁵ Cf. Lloyd (as n. 3) 2 pp. 401, 415, 427. The Devon background of a number of families prominent in the Norman settlement in Dyfed is pointed up in Rowlands (as n. 1) pp. 149-50. William de Barri owed a relief of £10 for his father's estate in the 1130 Pipe Roll: Joseph Hunter (ed.), *Magnum Rotulum Scaccarii, vel Magnum Rotulum Pipae, de Anno Tricesimo-Primo Henrici Primi*, London 1833, p. 137.

⁴⁶ None of the tenants of the honour of Okehampton in 1166 corresponds obviously to William de Barri or to any other member of his family: Hall, *Red Book* (as n. 22) 1 pp. 251-4. It is worth noting, though, that a Reiner de Barri was a tenant of Warin de la Haule, lord of Bampton in Devon: *ibid.* p. 257; cf. Sanders (as n. 44) p. 5. Giraldus's kinsman (possibly uncle), William fitz Hay, lord of St Clears in Dyfed, may also have held land in Devon, if he is the same as the man of that name listed as a tenant of William fitz Robert, lord of Great Torrington, in 1166: Hall, *Red Book* (as n. 22) 1 p. 256; Giraldus, *Opera* 1 pp. 28, 59; cf. Lloyd (as n. 3) 2 p. 502 and n. 64; Sanders (as n. 44) p. 48. The identification is arguably supported by the later connections between St Clears and Great Torrington revealed by the grants of lands in the former lordship by William fitz Robert's son, John, lord of Great Torrington 1185-1203, to the Cistercian abbey of Whitland: William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, revd. edn. by John Caley et al., 6 vols. in 8, London 1817-30, 5 p. 591; cf. Rowlands (as n. 1) pp. 149, 150. I would like to thank Professor Frank Barlow, Dr Julia Barrow and Dr Robert Bearman for their helpful answers to my queries regarding the de Barris' connections with Devon.

⁴⁷ Davies, *De Invectionibus* (as n. 22) p. 229.

who held land in Glamorgan,⁴⁸ and this disregard of the family's landholding across the Bristol Channel is probably an accurate of reflection of its position by Giraldus's lifetime. In common with their Marcher kinsmen, to whom they were related through Nest, the de Barris of Dyfed had planted deep roots in south-west Wales, where they represented prime examples of 'the local magnates, the men on the spot'.⁴⁹

Giraldus therefore had a strong interest in the continuation of Marcher power in Wales and did not sympathize with native Welsh political aspirations. He sharply distinguished his Cambro-Norman kinsmen—the 'Geraldines' or 'sons of Nest'—from his Welsh relatives in the dynasty of Deheubarth, and also wrote that Wales belonged to the kingdom of England.⁵⁰ This did not mean, though, that he needed to be ashamed of his Welsh blood: quite the contrary, this arguably gave him greater nobility than did his paternal descent, for whereas his mother was a descendant of a Welsh king his father belonged to a minor branch of the de Barris and possessed only a modest estate, possibly only two knights' fees, in Dyfed.⁵¹ Welsh nobility could be appropriated by the conquerors just as easily as the sanctity of Welsh saints, not least St David himself, whose name was invoked by Giraldus's kinsmen during the invasion of Ireland.⁵² Equally, Giraldus had a somewhat uneasy relationship with the English crown, which, especially after the Anglo-Norman intervention in Ireland, was highly suspicious of the Marchers and did not, in Giraldus's view, properly appreciate their role in subduing both the Welsh and the Irish.⁵³ His identification with Wales was thus essentially a colonialist one: it represented an assertion of control over a half-conquered country, a statement that a land which had once belonged to the Welsh now belonged in part—and in due course, Giraldus hoped, would belong in full—to families like his own.

Let us look next at where Giraldus's career took him and try to assess what this implies about his attitudes to England and Wales. To judge by his autobiographical writings, his life-long ambition was to become bishop of St David's and to elevate that church to an archbishopric. As has often been pointed out, however, the events of his life suggest otherwise.⁵⁴ Another interpretation of his life would be that Giraldus sought to exploit his Welsh connections in order to win favour and promotion from the Angevin regime in England. He made his debut as an ecclesiastical reformer in the diocese of St David's and clearly took his duties as archdeacon of Brecon seriously. However, as we have seen, this depended on cultivating the archbishop of Canterbury; furthermore, Giraldus seems to have deputed much of his work as

⁴⁸ Giraldus, *Opera* 6 p. 66; Davies, Giraldus (as n. 11) p. 86.

⁴⁹ Rowlands (as n. 1) p. 145. See also Flanagan (as n. 10) pp. 145-9.

⁵⁰ Giraldus, *Opera* 1 pp. 58-60; 3 p. 166.

⁵¹ Bartlett, Gerald (as n. 6) p. 20 and n. 43. Cf. T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship*, Oxford 1993, p. 174, which argues that, in Welsh society, royal status could be transmitted exclusively through females.

⁵² Rowlands (as n. 1) p. 156.

⁵³ Bartlett, Gerald (as n. 6) pp. 21-5.

⁵⁴ See e.g. Richter, Giraldus (as n. 6) p. 127; Bartlett, Gerald (as n. 6) pp. 46-8.

archdeacon to officials, and was himself absent from the archdeaconry for most of the three decades he held the office.⁵⁵ The preaching tour round Wales in 1188 resulted in the first book ever written about Wales, the *Itinerarium Kambriae*, an invaluable portrait of the country which complements the more analytical and ethnographical *Descriptio Kambriae* completed in 1194.⁵⁶ To judge by the number of surviving manuscript copies, these, together with his Irish works, were the most popular of Giraldus's writings in the Middle Ages and those on Wales are the best known today.⁵⁷ However, it is important to remember that in 1188 Giraldus was not only a royal clerk sent to accompany Archbishop Baldwin by the chief justiciar, Rannulf de Glanvill, but also thereby an implicit supporter of Canterbury's authority over the Welsh Church, an authority unequivocally asserted during the journey by Baldwin's celebrating mass at each of the four Welsh cathedrals.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the literary representation of the journey was probably in part intended as a memorial to Baldwin, who died on crusade in 1190, and its first edition was dedicated to William Longchamp, bishop of Ely and chief justiciar; the first edition of the *Descriptio Kambriae* was dedicated to Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury.⁵⁹ Just as the Irish works had been dedicated to Henry II and Richard,⁶⁰ so those on Wales were clearly intended by Giraldus to win the favour of the Angevin establishment. He wrote for an audience in England, not Wales. What is unclear, however, is in which of those two countries he sought his reward.⁶¹

If this evidence is ambiguous regarding Giraldus's ultimate ambition, it does underline how far he sought to forge and benefit from connections with the authorities of Angevin England. His writings suggest, in addition, that Giraldus felt at ease in certain ecclesiastical circles in England, much more so, indeed, than with what he considered to be the immoral and corrupt Church in Wales. It was in Oxford that he chose to deliver a public reading, over three days, of his *Topographia Hibernica* in 1187 or early 1188.⁶² He also knew Walter Map, archdeacon of Oxford—whom he

⁵⁵ Walker, Gerald (as n. 32) pp. 67-8.

⁵⁶ Both are printed in Giraldus, Opera vol. 6. For comment, see Thomas Jones, Gerald the Welshman's 'Itinerary through Wales' and 'Description of Wales': An Appreciation and Analysis, in: National Library of Wales Journal 6 (1949-50), pp. 117-48, 197-222; Bartlett, Gerald (as n. 6) pp. 178-210.

⁵⁷ The manuscripts containing Giraldus's writings are listed *ibid.* pp. 213-21.

⁵⁸ Giraldus, Opera 6 p. 105.

⁵⁹ Huw Pryce, Gerald's Journey through Wales, in: Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History 6 (1989) pp. 33-4; Giraldus, Opera 6 pp. xxxv, xxxix.

⁶⁰ J. J. O'Meara, Giraldus Cambrensis in Topographia Hibernica: Text of the First Recension, in: Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy 52 C (1948-50) p. 119; A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin (eds.), Expugnatio Hibernica, The Conquest of Ireland, by Giraldus Cambrensis, Dublin 1978, pp. 20-1.

⁶¹ Cf. Walker, Gerald (as n. 32) pp. 63-4; above, pp. 52.

⁶² Giraldus, Opera 1 pp. 72-3; cf. R. W. Southern, From Schools to University, in: J. I. Catto (ed.), The History of the University of Oxford, Vol. 1: The Early Oxford Schools, Oxford 1984, pp. 13-14.

was willing to consider as an alternative candidate for the see of St David's in 1199 because 'he has often visited Wales and dwells upon her borders'—as well as Peter de Leche, archdeacon of Worcester.⁶³

However, Giraldus's closest English connections were with two cathedral churches: Hereford and Lincoln. He appears to have spent about two years at Hereford following his retirement from the court in 1194 and praised it in a poem as a place of peace and learning.⁶⁴ he held a canonry there, benefiting from the patronage of Bishop William de Vere, who sought to attract scholars to his episcopal see and who probably commissioned Giraldus to write a revised Life of the church's patron saint, Ethelbert.⁶⁵ Giraldus donated copies of his two books on Ireland and a version of his *Speculum Ecclesie* to the cathedral library and was on friendly terms with a number of the canons, especially the scholar and poet Simon de Freine, who wrote two poems to him.⁶⁶ But it was to Lincoln that Giraldus went c. 1196 to continue his theological studies when he was unable to travel to Paris again on account of the renewal of hostilities between Philip Augustus and Richard I, and it was to Lincoln that he retired c. 1208.⁶⁷ With its extensive library—to which Giraldus donated several volumes—and the company of other scholars, notably William de Montibus, Lincoln provided a congenial environment for Giraldus and it was there that he wrote many of his later works, including a Life of the see's first Norman bishop, Remigius (1067-92), in support of an unsuccessful attempt to secure his canonization, as well as of Bishop Hugh (1186-1200), canonized in 1220.⁶⁸

⁶³ Giraldus, Opera 1 pp. 306-7; translations from Butler (as n. 22) pp. 145-6. Giraldus had other links with Worcester through Baldwin, who had been bishop of the see (1180-4) before his translation to Canterbury: cf. Lloyd (as n. 3) 2 p. 561 and n. 132. Note also that Giraldus's *Vita S. Remigii* included an account of Roger, bishop of Worcester: Giraldus, Opera 7 pp. 62-7.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 1 pp. 378-80.

⁶⁵ Dorothy Humphreys, *Some Types of Social Life as Shown in the Works of Gerald of Wales*, unpublished Oxford University B.Litt. thesis, Oxford 1936, pp. 139-96; Julia Barrow, *A Twelfth-Century Bishop and Literary Patron: William de Vere*, in: *Viator* 18 (1987) pp. 184-6. Another canon of St David's, Reginald Foliot, was also a member of Bishop William's household: *ibid.* p. 184.

⁶⁶ Giraldus, Opera 1 pp. 382-4, 409. See also *ibid.* pp. 249, 268-71, 334-5; Lefèvre et al., *Speculum Duorum* (as n. 20) pp. 157-67; and cf. R. W. Hunt, *English Learning in the Late Twelfth Century*, in: R. W. Southern (ed.), *Essays in Medieval History*, London 1968, pp. 121-2.

⁶⁷ Giraldus, Opera 1 p. 93; Richard M. Loomis (ed.), *Gerald of Wales (Giraldus Cambrensis): The Life of St. Hugh of Avalon, Bishop of Lincoln 1186-1200*, New York/London 1985, pp. xv-xviii.

⁶⁸ Humphreys (as n. 65) pp. 197-232; H. Mackinnon, *William de Montibus: A Medieval Teacher*, in: T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke (eds.), *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, Toronto 1969, pp. 32-45; Loomis, *Life of St. Hugh* (as n. 67); David M. Smith (ed.), *English Episcopal Acta I: Lincoln 1067-1185*, London 1980, p. xxxi. Giraldus also held the living of Chesterton in the diocese from c. 1190: Davies, *Giraldus* (as n. 11) p. 89 n. 12.

Giraldus was also drawn into political affairs in England. As a curial clerk this was arguably inevitable, but it can be argued that he was imprudent in the degree to which he advertised his political allegiances.⁶⁹ In his autobiography, *De Rebus a Se Gestis*, Giraldus is reticent about his reasons for leaving the court, maintaining that his departure was due to his realizing the incompatibility between the courtier's and the scholar's life.⁷⁰ As we have seen, he had fallen victim to malicious rumours of disloyalty spread by William Wibert, who asserted that Giraldus conspired with his Welsh kinsmen in Deheubarth against the crown. Giraldus attributed his difficulties at court to Wibert, but the crucial reason for his departure may well have been that he was caught on the wrong side of the constitutional crisis which blew up during Richard I's absence on crusade and subsequent imprisonment in Germany.⁷¹ During that absence Giraldus appears to have become associated with Richard's younger brother, Prince John, whom he had accompanied to Ireland in 1185; John apparently offered Giraldus the bishopric of Llandaff, which lay within the lordship of Glamorgan (held by John at that time), an offer which was refused.⁷² By October 1191 John had succeeded in engineering the expulsion of his brother's chief justiciar, William Longchamp, and had taken over as regent in his place.⁷³ In c. 1193 Giraldus wrote a life of Geoffrey, archbishop of York, an illegitimate son of Henry II, which was extremely hostile to Longchamp (to whom, two years earlier, Giraldus had dedicated his *Itinerarium Cambriae*) as well as to Hubert Walter, thereby revealing his allegiance to John's party.⁷⁴ The following year, however, Richard was released from his German captivity, Longchamp was restored, and John was compelled to submit to his brother's authority. Despite the further volte-face represented by the dedication of the *Descriptio Cambriae* to Hubert Walter, it is very likely that Richard's return ended Giraldus's curial career.⁷⁵ There then developed a growing disenchantment with the Angevin dynasty, which reached its apogee in 1216-17, when Giraldus wrote a poem welcoming Prince Louis of France on the latter's invasion of England at the request of a baronial faction hostile to John.⁷⁶ Giraldus's connections and preoccupation with Wales did not prevent him, then, from engaging with political events in England.

What attracted Giraldus to Hereford and Lincoln were their libraries and the presence of other scholars. For Giraldus the scholar, England possessed intellectual as well as

⁶⁹ Richter, Giraldus (as n. 6) p. 86.

⁷⁰ Giraldus, Opera 1 p. 89. This dichotomy had previously been emphasized by John of Salisbury in his *Policraticus* of 1159: Nederman, *Policraticus* (as n. 19) p. 4.

⁷¹ Richter, Giraldus (as n. 6) pp. 84-7; Michael Richter, Gerald of Wales, in: *Traditio* 29 (1973) pp. 383-4; Gillingham, Henry II (as n. 35) p. 235 n. 57.

⁷² Giraldus, Opera 1 pp. 61, 87.

⁷³ J. T. Appleby, *England without Richard 1189-1199*, London 1965, Chap. 3.

⁷⁴ Giraldus, Opera 4 pp. 355-431.

⁷⁵ Bartlett, Gerald (as n. 6) pp. 64-5. Dimock dated the completion of the *Descriptio*, and hence its dedication to Hubert, to the beginning of 1194: Giraldus, Opera 6 p. xxxiv.

⁷⁶ Bartlett, Gerald (as n. 6) pp. 91-9.

material resources which Wales lacked.⁷⁷ The situation had been different in the early Middle Ages: in the late ninth century the Welshman Asser was employed by King Alfred as part of the king's attempt to revive learning in Wessex, returning to his native church of St David's for six months of each year, and Welsh books were imported into Anglo-Saxon libraries in the following century.⁷⁸ However, by the twelfth century Wales was far more peripheral than England to the new intellectual culture centred on the schools of northern France.⁷⁹ Thus it was that the works in which Giraldus most self-consciously identified himself with Wales, the autobiographical *De Rebus a Se Gestis*, the *De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesie*, and the *De Invectionibus*, were written in the English cathedral town of Lincoln.

Yet during his years in Lincoln Giraldus's connections with Wales were not restricted to writing about the past. He remained in touch with the diocese of St David's, primarily as a result of the (somewhat irregular) arrangement made in 1203 with the approval of Pope Innocent III, whereby Giraldus had resigned his archdeaconry of Brecon to his nephew, Gerald, younger son of his brother Philip de Barri.⁸⁰ The nephew, aided and abetted by William de Capella, a tutor provided by Giraldus, was accused by his uncle of betrayal and in particular of depriving Giraldus of various revenues to which, according to the agreement, he was entitled.⁸¹ The result was that Giraldus not only wrote to condemn the nephew and his tutor, together with Bishop Geoffrey of St David's, but sent messengers and even agricultural labourers and gardeners to Brecon to try to protect his interests there.⁸² Giraldus remained concerned to improve standards in the Welsh Church, and urged Archbishop Stephen Langton to visit, or send deputies, to Wales every two or three years to eliminate its barbarous *mores*.⁸³ Even if most of his time was spent in England, Giraldus could not forget about Wales and, above all, sought in his writings to justify his actions as bishop-elect of St David's.

How, in conclusion, should we assess the significance of Giraldus as *Grenzgänger*? In important respects his career illustrates the kinds of cross-border connections which resulted from Norman settlement and domination in Wales. As a Marcher he was a subject of the English king and identified with English and French culture, even if his family appears to have held no substantial lands in England. In addition

⁷⁷ Cf. Richter, Giraldus (as n. 6) p. 94.

⁷⁸ W. H. Stevenson (ed.), Asser's Life of King Alfred, new impression, Oxford 1959, pp. 64-5 (c. 79); David N. Dumville, English Square Minuscule Script: The Background and Earliest Phases, in: Anglo-Saxon England 16 (1987) pp. 159-61.

⁷⁹ Cf. Denis Bethell, English Monks and Irish Reform in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, in: T. D. Williams (ed.), Historical Studies 8 (1971) pp. 111-35; Davies, Domination (as n. 3) pp. 18-20.

⁸⁰ Giraldus, Opera 3 p. 325; Lefèvre et al., Speculum Duorum (as n. 20) pp. 256-7.

⁸¹ Ibid. *passim*.

⁸² Ibid. pp. 2-5.

⁸³ Giraldus, Opera 3 pp. 113-14.

to Latin he spoke French and probably English, but little Welsh.⁸⁴ At one point in his career he was employed as a royal servant whose task it was to promote the policies of the English crown in Wales and in other dominions of the Angevin kings. As an ecclesiastic he benefited initially from the control established by Canterbury over the Welsh dioceses, acting as the archbishop's legate in the diocese of St David's, even if for a brief period later, from 1199 to 1203, he sought to gain papal recognition of the status of St David's as the metropolitan see of an independent Welsh province. As his failure in the St David's case showed, his ecclesiastical ambitions in Wales could only be fulfilled with the consent of the crown and of Canterbury, such was their authority over the Welsh bishoprics, especially in south Wales.

Yet if Giraldus offers an example of a cross-border career in a colonialist context, he also reveals, uniquely perhaps, the tensions which could arise as a result of trying to pursue such a career. As he himself complained shortly after his departure from the court, he was too Welsh for the English, too English for the Welsh: 'both peoples regard me as a stranger and one not of their own . . . one nation suspects me, the other hates me'.⁸⁵ Giraldus belonged to an ethnically hybrid group which in its marriages and social links had effectively broken down some of the barriers separating native and settler societies in south-west Wales, at least at the aristocratic level. However, his position was further complicated by his excellent education and his commitment both to scholarship and to ecclesiastical reform. It was these elements which drew him closer to England than was the case with his lay kinsmen, or even his uncle, David fitz Gerald, bishop of St David's, who lacked Giraldus's scholarly bent and, far from promoting ecclesiastical reform, alienated church lands as dowries for his daughters.⁸⁶ This suggests in turn that to talk in terms of a career that traversed a geographical border is an oversimplification: it would be more accurate to regard Giraldus as a man who crossed cultural frontiers which corresponded, in part, to those dividing England and Wales. Above all else, Giraldus was a scholar and writer, most at home in the company of highly educated clerics like himself.⁸⁷ Thus what he most liked about England were the opportunities it provided to rub shoulders with men whose intellectual formation, like his, was deeply indebted to the learning of France. One of the things that was unusual about him, however, was that he chose to capitalize upon his own distinctive background and experience in works which sought to make Wales (and Ireland) familiar to an English audience.

Nevertheless, while Giraldus's most original writings were his books on Ireland and Wales, he also wrote about bishops, saints and political events in England. His

⁸⁴ Bartlett, Gerald (as n. 6) pp. 14-15; Michael Richter, *Studies in Medieval Language and Culture*, Blackrock, Co. Dublin 1995, pp. 137-8.

⁸⁵ Cited by Bartlett, Gerald (as n. 6) p. 17 from Giraldus, *Opera* 8 p. lviii. Cf. the comment on this passage in Wilhelm Berges, *Die Fürstenspiegel des hohen und späten Mittelalters* (Schriften der MGH 2), Leipzig 1938, p. 144: 'Der Waliser Giralld, der als Engländer aufgewachsen ist, findet nirgends mehr eine heimatliche Aufnahme.'

⁸⁶ Michael Richter, *A New Edition of the So-called Vita Davidis Secundi*, in: *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 22 (1966-8) p. 248; cf. Pryce, *Deheubarth* (as n. 5) pp. 275-6.

⁸⁷ Thus, for example, Türk (as n. 19), p. 95; Walker, *Cultural Survival* (as n. 41) p. 48.

interests as an author were by no means exclusively Celtic. Indeed, even when composing the *Itinerarium Kambriae* he had already begun writing a major political work, the *De Principis Instructione*, focused primarily on the reign of King Henry II, as well as the *Speculum Ecclesiae*, a wide-ranging critique of the Church and especially the religious orders, both of which were finally completed only in retirement in Lincoln (in c. 1217 and c. 1220 respectively).⁸⁸ The diversity of his literary output reflects his ability to encompass the two worlds represented by Wales and England. Indeed, his adoption of the role of author and scholar can be seen, to a significant degree, as a creative response to the difficulties he encountered in crossing the boundaries between those worlds. Sensitive to the conflicts inherent in Anglo-Welsh relationships, Giraldus's own life is a remarkable testimony to one individual's attempt to transcend ethnic and cultural borders in medieval Europe.

⁸⁸ Giraldus, *Opera* 6 pp. 47, 53; Bartlett (as n. 6) pp. 219-20.