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978-1-108-04296-3 - Giraldi Cambrensis Opera: Itinerarium Kambriae et Descriptio
Kambriae: Volume 6

Edited by J.S. Brewer, James F. Dimock and George F. Warner

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Giraldi Cambrensis Opera

Despite a frustrated ecclesiastical career – his ongoing failure to secure the See of St David's embittered him – Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald of Wales, Gerald de Barry, c.1146–1220/23) composed many remarkable literary works, initially while employed as a royal clerk for Henry II and, subsequently, in semi-retirement in Lincoln. Eight volumes of his works were compiled as part of the Rolls Series of British medieval material. Noted for his vigorous Latin and anecdotal style, Giraldus gives a vivid portrait of medieval Britain – he revived the ethnographic monograph, lapsed since antiquity – and of the intrigues of the Angevin court. Volume 6, edited by clergyman and historian James F. Dimock (1810–76) and first published in 1868, contains Giraldus' treatises on his native Wales, one of his earliest works. The Latin texts provide an outstanding contemporary source, while the English editorial preface illuminates nineteenth-century interest in the period.

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Frontmatter

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VOLUME 6:

ITINERARIUM KAMBRIAE
ET DESCRIPTIO KAMBRIAE

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Frontmatter

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Frontmatter

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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI
SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY UNDER
THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

ON the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

4

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

*Rolls House,
December 1857.*

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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OPERA.

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Kambriae: Volume 6

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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Kambriae: Volume 6

Edited by J.S. Brewer, James F. Dimock and George F. Warner

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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Kambriae: Volume 6

Edited by J.S. Brewer, James F. Dimock and George F. Warner

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CONTENTS.

	Page
PREFACE :	
PART I., MANUSCRIPTS - - - -	ix
PART II., HISTORY, VALUE, &C., OF THESE WELSH	
TREATISES - - - -	xxxiii
COLLATION OF THE PAGES OF CAMDEN AND WHARTON,	
WITH THOSE OF THE PRESENT EDITION - -	lxix
ITINERARIUM KAMBRIÆ :	
LIBER I. - - - -	3
LIBER II. - - - -	101
DESCRIPTIO KAMBRIÆ :	
LIBER I. - - - -	155
LIBER II. - - - -	205
GLOSSARY I., OF UNUSUAL WORDS - - - -	231
GLOSSARY II., OF NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES -	239
INDEX - - - -	261

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04296-3 - Giraldi Cambrensis Opera: Itinerarium Kambriae et Descriptio

Kambriae: Volume 6

Edited by J.S. Brewer, James F. Dimock and George F. Warner

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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Kambriae: Volume 6

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

.....
P R E F A C E .
.....

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Kambriae: Volume 6

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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Kambriae: Volume 6

Edited by J.S. Brewer, James F. Dimock and George F. Warner

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

P R E F A C E

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### P A R T I.

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### M A N U S C R I P T S.

—————

#### § (1). MANUSCRIPTS OF THE ITINERARY.

OF the Welsh treatises of Giraldus, printed in the present volume, there are several manuscripts; but not nearly so many as of the Irish treatises of vol. v. A large number of the manuscripts, moreover, are late, and some of these very worthless. In the case of the *Descriptio Kambriæ*, indeed, I have found only one manuscript, fortunately a very correct and valuable one, written anywhere near Giraldus's time. In describing the manuscripts which I have used, I shall follow the plan which I adopted in my Preface to vol. v., and shall place them, not according to their date or value, but according to the several editions of these Welsh treatises issued by our author.

Three editions of the existing manuscripts of the *Itinerarium* give us three very distinct editions. I am inclined to think that there may have been at least one more; but, if so, no copy of it has survived to us, so far as I have been able to ascertain. I shall always, for convenience sake, speak of the first, second, and third editions without hesitation, though, perhaps, one or more other editions of the treatise may

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Edited by J.S. Brewer, James F. Dimock and George F. Warner

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

have been issued by Giraldus, and moreover may still exist, though I have not succeeded in finding any manuscripts of them.

MSS. (R.), Manuscripts of The first edition of the Itinerary is  
(B.), (F.) first edition. given in the two excellent early manu-  
scripts, Bib. Reg. 13 B. viii. of the British Museum, and  
Rawlinson B. 188 of the Bodleian Library, (R.) and (B.)  
of my notation; and again in the later manuscript Ff. 1,  
27, of the University Library, Cambridge, (F.) of my  
notation, which is but a mere very accurate transcript  
of the far earlier manuscript (R.). These three manu-  
scripts, as containing copies of the Irish treatises of  
Giraldus as well, have been sufficiently described in my  
Preface to vol. v., and I need not here repeat what I  
there said. I may remark, however, that manuscript  
(B.), and (R.) without its marginal additions, which give  
us the third edition of the *Topographia Hibernica*, and  
Ibid. xxxii. the first of the *Expugnatio*, give us also the first edition  
of this *Itinerarium Kambriae*. The original, therefore,  
from which these manuscripts were derived,—for I do  
not suppose that either of these manuscripts, early though  
they be, both written in much likelihood during Giral-  
dus's lifetime, has any claim to be looked upon as Giral-  
dus's autograph,—was probably written at the time of  
the first appearance of the Itinerary of Wales, or soon  
after, and some time after the first appearance of the  
Irish Topography in 1188. But there is no necessity  
for supposing that any long time must have elapsed  
after 1188. Giraldus was very proud of his Irish Topo-  
graphy, and was given continually to revise and add to  
it, and this especially, we may well suppose, while the  
subject was still fresh and warm with him; and the  
third edition of it may well have appeared within two  
or three years after the first. The *Expugnatio Hiber-  
nica* of these manuscripts gives no hint as to the pro-  
bable date of their original, except that this cannot have  
Ibid. lviii. been written before the summer of 1189. This treatise

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

first appeared at that time, but no new edition was issued until about twenty years after.

As I shall have to say before long, it seems that the first edition of the Itinerary, as here given us, must have appeared in the spring or summer of 1191: and at this time, probably, or soon after, the original was written, from which the manuscript volumes (R.) and (B.) were copied. *Infra*, xxxiii, &c.

In the Irish treatises in (R.) there are large additions in the margin, in an early hand not much later than that of the text, if not in the hand of the text itself. But it has no such additions to the text of the Itinerary of Wales. Vol. v. Preface, xxii, xxxii.

I have seldom thought it necessary to record the readings of (F.). As with the Irish treatises, it is certainly here also a direct and faithful copy of the earlier manuscript (R.). I collated this treatise in it carefully, in large part, if not wholly, before I set to work on (R.) and (B.); but it has seemed to me perfectly unnecessary to be always repeating (F.) after (R.). Where (F.) is not recorded, as it generally is not, in the various readings at the feet of the pages, its reading is the same as that of (R.). Ibid. xxii, &c.

Of the second edition of the Itinerary, MS. (Hc.) which is dedicated to bishop Hugh of Lincoln, and was probably written, as we shall see, about 1197, I have found no early manuscript. But a copy of it is preserved to us in a sixteenth century folio volume amongst the Harleian manuscripts of the British Museum (Harleian, 359). This is a paper volume of 216 leaves, containing the Irish and Welsh treatises of Giraldus, with two or three other small additional articles.<sup>1</sup> These are in several *Infra*, xxxvii.

<sup>1</sup> Viz., on ff. 1-8, an imperfect and strangely dislocated copy of the *Descriptio Kambriæ*; ff. 9, 10, extracts from the same; ff. 10 b-14, De successione episcoporum, &c., viz., Bernardi et David secund (Ex libro quodam veteri in quo continentur aliqua scripta Gyraldi

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

different hands, but none earlier than the latter half of the sixteenth century. The copy of the Itinerary is carefully written, with far fewer blunders than usual in sixteenth century transcripts of the works of earlier writers. But its great value lies not so much in the verbal readings it may give us, as in its telling us what were the additions and alterations made in this second edition of the treatise, and what also, by their absence here, were the further additions and alterations in the third edition.

MS. (T.) The prefaces to this treatise, which are contained in the *Symbolum Electorum* (Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 7, 11), were taken from a copy of this second edition, as is proved by the addresses to bishop Hugh of Lincoln.<sup>1</sup>

The additions which Giraldus inserted in this second edition are many, and of considerable amount. The more noteworthy of them are as follows. The first preface,<sup>2</sup> *infra* 3, n. 1. A section about the canons of St. David's trying to persuade prince Rhys to forbid archbishop Baldwin's progress through South Wales, 15, n. 2. Five sections describing certain marvels in Elvael, Brecheiniog, &c., 18, n. 1. A section about William de Braose's piety, 22, n. 7. Two sections describing prodigies in Brecheiniog, 28, n. 4. A section describing marvels of Brecknock Mere, 35, n. 3. A section on the murderous excesses in Brecheiniog, 36, n. 6. A section about the healthy site of Llantoni abbey, 38, n. 2. More than half a chapter,

Cambrensis, et nunc in custodia magistri Price de Wallia); Retractiones, &c. (Ex quodam vetusto libro Jo. Price, post Descriptionem Cambriae); ff. 15-67, *Expugnatio Hibernica*; ff. 68-124, *Topographia Hibernica*; and on ff. 126-216, the *Itinerarium Kambriae*.

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, 3, n. 1; 7, n. 3; and 13, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A large portion, however, of this Preface is added at the end of MS. (B.) of the first edition, with a dedication to William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, which would probably date in the spring or summer of 1191. Of this I shall have to say more, in the history of this treatise. See *infra*, xxxv.

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Kambriae: Volume 6

Edited by J.S. Brewer, James F. Dimock and George F. Warner

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## MSS. OF THE ITINERARY.

xiii

mainly about a prophetic Welshman at Caerleon, and his familiar intercourse with evil spirits, 57, n. 1. Two sections, one a very long one, describing a marvellous visitation to Henry II. at Cardiff, 64, n. 2. Two sections on the nature of dogs, 71, n. 5. A section relating a witticism of one of archbishop Baldwin's attendant monks, 74, n. 4. Three sections giving instances of divination by the blade-bone of a shoulder of mutton, 88, n. 1. A long section about the son of an incubus demon, 96, n. 3. Two sections relating events about prince Rhys and his sons and Nevern castle, which took place in 1191-1194; 111, n. 3, 112, n. 3 and 4. Four sections about beavers, 116, n. 3. Half a chapter in which an event is related that occurred in 1194, 134, n. 1 and 9. Two sections about one-eyed mullets in Scotland and the fabulous eagle of Snowdon, 136, n. 1. A section about a handless clever sempstress at Chester, 141, n. 4. Greater part of a long section, about Henry II.'s expedition into Powys in 1165, 143, n. 7.

Of all these additions there is only one, the second, about the endeavour of the canons of St. David's to stop archbishop Baldwin's progress, that has any real bearing whatever upon the subject of this treatise. Many of them would not have been out of place in the *Descriptio Kambriae*; but all, with that one exception,—and the same is true of two or three other instances which I have not recounted above,—are unworthy additions to this Itinerary of archbishop Baldwin. I had to say of the Irish Topography, that almost all that was of any value whatever, as regarded Ireland, was comprised in the short first edition of that treatise; and I may say the same of this Welsh treatise. The first edition was pretty well confined to the Itinerary, so far as Giraldus could keep his pen from extraneous matter; but the additions of this second edition are nearly all foreign to his subject, have nothing whatever to do with archbishop Baldwin's progress through Wales.

VOL. VI.

b

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Omission in this  
second edition.

There is a considerable omission in this second edition, of matter about a very famous man of those days, William de Braose, that is well worth noting. In the first edition Giraldus had described the treacherous massacre—the “detestanda proditio” he calls it—of certain chieftains of Gwent, in the year 1175, in William de Braose’s castle of Abergavenni, after having been gathered thither by him for pretended purposes of peace, with all full solemn pledges of security.<sup>1</sup> He further describes the disgrace with Henry II., and other misfortunes, which fell upon William de Braose in consequence, asserting positively, however, all the while, that he took no part in either planning or executing this massacre, and that his only guilt lay in his most unwillingly and sorrowfully, under strong compulsion,<sup>2</sup> allowing it to be perpetrated in his castle.<sup>3</sup> In the second edition all this almost wholly disappears. Giraldus now just mentions the enormous excess and bloody slaughter at Abergavenni castle, of which Henry II. was the author, and Ralph Poer the contriver; but deems it better to pass it over in silence, lest wicked men should follow the example;<sup>4</sup> and afterwards has two or three lines about William de Braose’s guiltlessness in the matter, except in his not preventing the execution of it.<sup>5</sup>

Giraldus was wise in suppressing anything at all likely to give offence to William de Braose. With such a man as an enemy at Brecknock castle, for there William de Braose lorded it also, his residence at Llanduw would soon have been far too hot for him. But fear of giving offence, to however great a man, was not always a ruling motive of Giraldus’s pen; gratitude, probably, led much

<sup>1</sup> *Infra*, 49, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Giraldus’s words are: “Cum lacrimis tamen, dolore maximo, et anxietate, violenter ad hoc compulsus, in castro suo id fieri

“vix tandem et valde invitus admisit.” *Infra*, 51, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Infra*, 51, n. 3; and 53, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Infra*, 50, ll. 2-7.

<sup>5</sup> *Infra*, 53, n. 1.

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

to his endeavour to clear one, who, however treacherous a murderer he may have been, was to him a kind and powerful friend, from the guilt of so atrocious a massacre. He was befriended and supported, and belauded to his own vain heart's content, by William de Braose,<sup>1</sup> and by his excellent wife, Maud de St. Valery, the "mulier " mulierum perpaucarum," whom he so loudly extols.<sup>2</sup> And Giraldus was not the man not to belaud in return; and he was one who could easily persuade himself, at any rate could unscrupulously try his best to persuade others, that so great a friend of his could not possibly be guilty of so great a crime, whatever might be the universal belief, and certain proofs to the contrary.

In the third edition, however, of this treatise, published after the death of William de Braose, Giraldus very considerably modifies the former positive assertion of his guiltlessness in this Abergavenni massacre. Instead of the "non auctor, nec executor, sed executionis " non impeditor," of the first and second editions, we now have "non auctor, sed vel executor, vel executionis " non impeditor."<sup>3</sup> We may suppose, without much uncharitableness, that Giraldus was well assured, all the while, of William de Braose's active part in this massacre, though he chose to insist otherwise so long as William de Braose was alive.

Manuscripts of the third edition of the Itinerary. 1st, Domitian A. 1. Of the third edition of the Itinerary MS. (D.) we have a most valuable copy in the manuscript quarto volume, Domitian A. 1, of the British Museum. This volume contains the following treatises of Giraldus, viz., *Itinerarium Kambriae*, ff. 56–111; *Descriptio Kambriae*, ff. 111 b–135 b; *Retractationes*, ff. 135 b–136 b;

<sup>1</sup> At least so we may gather, from what Giraldus says elsewhere. See the *De Invectionibus*, vol. iii. 88–93.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra*, 23; and vol. iii. 91.

<sup>3</sup> *Infra*, 53, l. 5; and note 1.

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

and *Catalogus Librorum*,<sup>1</sup> ff. 136 b–137 b. These treatises are on vellum, in single columns of twenty-nine lines, and all in the same hand of about the second quarter of the thirteenth century. The writing is good and correct. There is but little ornamentation.

The first fifty-five leaves of this volume are occupied by treatises of Isidore and others, in a different but equally early, or rather still earlier hand or hands. At the foot of f. 2 is the following presentation note:—“Karissimo amico suo et domino A., Dei gratia abbati Sancti Aug. Cant.”<sup>2</sup> This note, which is in a hand of the early part of the thirteenth century, may very possibly only record the presentation from a friend of what had been for some time in his own hands, and therefore proves nothing as to at how early a date the volume presented may have been written; but it is very interesting, as proving conclusively that it cannot have been written later than the year 1220; for the “dominus A.” cannot possibly be any other than Alexander,<sup>3</sup> abbot of St. Augustine’s Canterbury, 1213–1220. It is very possible that the treatises of Giraldus in this volume may have been penned as early as this, though I should rather think them of a few years later date; and I should be glad to be able to believe that this note gives us the latest limit of the date of their writing. But there is a circumstance connected with it that seems to me wholly to forbid this idea. The note follows directly on a table of the contents<sup>4</sup> of these first fifty-five leaves

<sup>1</sup> The *Retractationes* and *Catalogus* are printed by Mr. Brewer from this Domitian manuscript, vol. i. pp. 425 and 421.

<sup>2</sup> And on the next page, f. 2 b, in a much later hand, is this: “Liber Sancti Aug. Cant., Dist. V.”

<sup>3</sup> An Alfricus became abbot of St. Augustine’s in A.D. 956. After whom, except this Alexander, no

other abbot occurs,—and we have a perfect list of them,—whose name began with A, up to after A.D. 1400. I have not thought it worth while to examine beyond these dates.

<sup>4</sup> Viz., “Isidorus de Naturis Rerum; Glosulæ quædam; Institutio Prisciani; Beda de Die Judicii.”



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978-1-108-04296-3 - Giraldi Cambrensis Opera: Itinerarium Kambriae et Descriptio  
Kambriae: Volume 6

Edited by J.S. Brewer, James F. Dimock and George F. Warner

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## MSS. OF THE ITINERARY.

xvii

of the volume, and belongs certainly, I fear we must conclude, to these only. They formed a separate volume when thus presented to abbot Alexander.

Moreover, the latter part of the volume, ff. 138–155, contains a copy of the *Annales Cambriæ*,<sup>1</sup> in a hand of the last years of the thirteenth, or first of the fourteenth century,—certainly not before 1288, where the annals end. It is clear that this Domitian volume was at some time compacted, in Sir Robert Cotton's library probably, for convenience sake, from what originally were three distinct volumes or parts of volumes.

The copy of the Itinerary in this volume is dedicated to archbishop Stephen Langton, and, as I shall have to show in the history of this treatise, was written after the summer of 1213. It gives us, we may feel quite *Infra,* sure, very nearly, if not exactly, the last corrections and <sup>xxxviii.</sup> additions of the author; and closely to his time as it must have been written, if not written before his death, and the work as it is of a very correct scribe, it is no doubt a very authentic copy of probably his last revision of this treatise. I have therefore taken it as the basis of my text, noting carefully, however, where it differs from the earlier editions, and preferring their verbal readings occasionally, where it seems that its scribe, as must be the case sometimes with the very best scribes, was in error.

It is D. of my notation.

MS. Bib. Reg. 13 B. xii.; in which late copies of the third edition of the Itinerary. Another copy, or two other copies MS. (Rd.) rather, of this third edition are in a manuscript of the Royal Library of the British Museum, Bib. Reg. 13 B. xii. This is a late sixteenth century paper manuscript. It contains two copies of the Itinerary, and of the Description of Wales; one on ff. 1–148, the other on ff. 150–205.

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<sup>1</sup> This is used in the *Annales Cambriae* of the present series; | manuscript (C.) of that work, Preface, xxvii.

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

The latter is closely and not always very legibly written, and is considerably worn; the former, fresh and clean comparatively, occupying good way towards three times as many pages, with wide margins, and large spaces between the chapters, is a fairer specimen of manuscripts of the time than we often meet with. This seems to be somewhat the later of the two, and, as they agree very exactly, was probably transcribed from the other. The version in these generally agrees closely with that of (D.); they give, however, two or three additions of new matter,<sup>1</sup> one of which is due certainly I think, and others

<sup>1</sup> There are some nine or ten unimportant additions of a word or two, and two additions of several lines, viz., at p. 44, (n. 1), a quotation from St. Ambrose; and at p. 44 (n. 4), mention of the Parian stone, or freestone, of the hills round Llantoni, which had been used in the construction of the abbey church there, now not long since at length completed ("Ex quibus ecclesia jam extat egregie constructa," 45, l. 7). The term "Parii lapides" of this latter passage, a term, I believe, peculiar to Giraldus, proves it almost conclusively, I think, to have been an addition of Giraldus's own pen. Moreover, the ruins of Llantoni church show that it was built in Giraldus's life-time, and can have been completed but few years, if any, before the time (circa 1215) when this passage would be added by him to the last edition of the Itinerary. I have never seen the church myself, but I can state, on the far better authority of my good friend, Edward A. Freeman, Esq., that it is a very good example of the local transition from Romanesque to Early Gothic, and must

have been built in the later years of the twelfth century, or at the very beginning of the thirteenth. The masonry is very good, fully deserving Giraldus's "egregie constructa." An excellent description of this church, from Mr. Freeman's pen, will be found in the 1855 volume of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, p. 82. This passage, therefore, about Llantoni and its Parian stones, I think we may safely conclude, was certainly added by Giraldus himself, though by some accident it escaped the scribe of the excellent early manuscript (D.), and only appears in the very late manuscript (Rd.); and as it is only separated from the other additional passage, the quotation from St. Ambrose, by a short intermediate section of a dozen lines, one and the same accident, perhaps, caused the non-insertion of both in the early copy of the third edition.

One of (Rd.)'s minor additions upon (D.), two words, on a very vulgar and nasty subject, is rather oddly in the second edition as given us in (Hc.); 88, n. 4. There was little nicety, on such a matter, in those days; but it may perhaps be

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Kambriae: Volume 6

Edited by J.S. Brewer, James F. Dimock and George F. Warner

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

probably, to Giraldus's pen; but, as occurring only in so late a manuscript, while placing them in my text, I have enclosed them within brackets. I have thought it right to collate this manuscript carefully, and to record its readings; because, late though it be,<sup>1</sup> it is evidently a good transcript for its time, derived evidently from a good early manuscript distinct from (D.), and is the only manuscript besides (D.) that I have been able to find of Giraldus's last revision of these Welsh treatises.

New additions in this third edition. There are very considerable additions in this third edition to the second edition as given us in manuscript (Hc). Many of them are of a mere explanatory word or two, but many also are additions of new matter. The more noteworthy of the latter are as follows:—A string of the reigning sovereigns in 1188,<sup>2</sup> when archbishop Baldwin itinerated

that the scribe of (D.) had too delicate a pen to repeat such an unclean and useless addition. Giraldus would have no scruple, because he had full authority from Horace, 1 S. viii. 47.

<sup>1</sup> It does not at all necessarily follow that a manuscript, because late, is therefore not valuable. It may be a faithful transcript from a good early manuscript that has perished; and if the only manuscript that has come down to us, it will be very valuable. For this reason I consider the copy of this treatise preserved in the late manuscript (Hc.), which I have already described (*supra*, xi.), to be very valuable. It is correctly written for its time; was no doubt taken from a good earlier manuscript; and is the only manuscript now in being, so far as I have been able to ascertain, that gives us Giraldus's very distinct second edition of this Itinerary of Wales.

<sup>2</sup> Giraldus is wrong in the first of his sovereigns. He makes Urban III., who died Oct. 19, 1187, to be pope in 1188. It is very probable that he added this string of sovereigns in imitation of the very similar string at the commencement of the first chapter of the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, a work that Giraldus was well acquainted with, as he extracts largely from it in his *De Principis Instructione*. And hence would be his mistake about the pope. He follows the original which he is imitating, without thinking that its right pope Urban of 1187 might not be the right pope of 1188. William of Newburgh has a very similar string of sovereigns, when commencing his account of the crusade with the year 1187 (i. 248, *Engl. Hist. Society*). Professor Stubbs, in his very valuable preface to the *Itin. R. Ricardi* (p. lxix), thinks it not improbable that this work may have been seen

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Kambriae: Volume 6

Edited by J.S. Brewer, James F. Dimock and George F. Warner

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xx

PREFACE.

round Wales; *infra*, 13, n. 3. An addition to the account of Giraldus's taking the cross at Radnor; 14, n. 5. A clause about archbishop Baldwin's reading the Topography of Ireland; 20, n. 6. A section containing two quotations from Holy Scripture, and deductions from them; 22, n. 6. Three sections, describing miracles at Bury St. Edmund's, Howden, and Winchcombe; 24, n. 3. The account, from the *Topographia Hibernica*, of St. Patrick's horn, and the Welsh priest who dared to blow it; 26, n. 7. A section about master Fulke, and Richard I., and the three daughters; 44, n. 3. A clause about the marvellous effect of Giraldus's preaching at Haverford; 83, n. 1. A section about a Cistercian abbot and a French knight; 96, n. 2. A long section about an archbishop of Denmark and a demon clerk; 98, n. 1. A clause about Geoffrey's succession to the bishopric of St. David's in 1203; 104, n. 4. A long account, from the *Topographia Hibernica*, of Henry II., &c., at St. David's, on his return from Ireland in 1172; 107, n. 4. Quotations from Cicero, Juvenal, and Bernard, about the Castor; 117, n. 2. Clause about crossing the rivers Dysynwy and Artro, Merionethshire; 124, n. 3. Quotation from Trogeus Pompeius; 137, n. 4. Clause about Robert de Belesme's importation of Spanish horses into Powys; 143, n. 4. Section about the more eminent Welsh princes of Giraldus's time; 145, n. 3. Clause about pope Urban's rebuke of archbishop Baldwin's re-

by Newburgh, and so followed. But may it not have been the other way, if there was any following at all? There is no proof that Newburgh used this history of the crusade; his work indeed was finished, certainly before this appeared in its full form, perhaps before any part of it appeared. Newburgh, in his string, gives only the sovereigns, Frederick of Germany, Philip of France, Henry of England, and

pope Urban; to these the author of the *Itin. R. Ricardi* adds, Isaac of Constantinople and William of Sicily; and to these again Giraldus adds, Bela of Hungary and Guy of Palestine. This seems to make it look likely that Newburgh was imitated and added to, in the string of sovereigns, by the author of the *Itin. R. Ricardi*; and this writer again, in like manner, by Giraldus.

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Kambriae: Volume 6

Edited by J.S. Brewer, James F. Dimock and George F. Warner

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

missness; 149, n. 1. And lastly, a long section about a death-bed dream of archbishop Richard of Canterbury, and about the good results of St. Thomas's struggles and martyrdom having been lost by the remissness of his two immediate successors; 150, n. 4.

A large part of these additions, in this third edition, have as little to do with the subject of the treatise as almost all the additions which Giraldus had before made, *Supra*, xiii in the second edition, to the work as first issued. But there are several of them that do bear directly on his subject, instead of the one only such instance amongst the insertions in the second edition. We may perhaps find a reason for this in the probable facts that the second edition was issued some time during Giraldus's stay at Lincoln, far away from Wales, and the third in the retirement of his later years in his Welsh home, where the circumstances of his peregrination through Wales with archbishop Baldwin would naturally be more in his memory. It still seems to me that, as in the case of the Irish Topography, Giraldus's literary character would have stood higher than it has any claim to do now, if the first edition only of this treatise also had come down to us. We may be thankful for his after additions, but we cannot applaud an author for loading his pages with such a mass of extraneous matter.

The above are all the manuscripts of the Itinerary that I have been able to examine. They are few in number; but the valuable copies of the first edition given us in manuscripts (R.) and (B.), and the equally good copy of the third edition in (D.), with the differences of the second edition supplied by (Hc.), leave perhaps little to be desired by an editor in forming his text. There is one other manuscript, however, described in Mr. Hardy's Catalogue as of the twelfth or thirteenth century, which I should have been very glad to see. It is No. 6914 of Sir Thos. Phillipps' collection, and I have not been able to gain access to it.

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Kambriae: Volume 6

Edited by J.S. Brewer, James F. Dimock and George F. Warner

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## § (2.) MANUSCRIPTS OF THE DESCRIPTION.

I now proceed to the manuscripts of the *Descriptio Kambriæ*, the second of the treatises of this volume.

Editions of the *Descriptio Kambriæ*. Giraldus issued certainly two editions, if no more, of this treatise: one dedicated to his after adversary in the matter of St. David's, archbishop Hubert of Canterbury; and another, some twenty years afterwards, or nearly, dedicated to archbishop Stephen Langton. As will be seen, there was very possibly an intermediate edition, dedicated to bishop Hugh of Lincoln; but this is doubtful: the evidence which seems to prove it may perhaps only tell us of the presentation to the Lincoln saint of a copy of the same first edition not long before dedicated to archbishop Hubert. For convenience sake I shall speak without hesitation of the edition addressed to archbishop Hubert as the first edition, and of that addressed to Stephen Langton as the second; though there may have been an intermediate one addressed to bishop Hugh.

*Infra*, xl.

Manuscripts of the first edition. I have found no early manuscript of the first edition, though I have searched and enquired anxiously. There are many late copies of it, but all, unhappily, derived from one common source, in which a considerable portion of the treatise had been lost. In 1691, when Wharton published his *Anglia Sacra*, there was what may have been an early copy of it—or of the possible second edition, for it was dedicated to bishop Hugh of Lincoln—in the library at Westminster Abbey. This is not now to be found; it probably perished in the fire, three years afterwards, which was fatal to so much of the contents of that library.

MS. (V.) Vitellius C. x., British Museum. Of the manuscripts of this first edition which I have used, I shall place first, because I imagine it to be the earliest, the copy in Vitellius C. x. of the Cotton manuscripts of the British Museum. This is a folio volume of 273 leaves. The