

Topography & Conquest

Gerald the Welshman

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The works of Gerald are written in Latin, the universal language of mediæval literature. Gerald prided himself on his classic style, and although he uses many Low-Latin words, [1] his mind was so saturated by the classical models that his Latinity is of a higher type than that of most of his contemporaries, but his style is much involved ; the language had not yet been debased by the barbarous jargon of the school-men. “ Geography, history, ethics, divinity, canon law, biography, natural history, epistolary correspondence, and poetry employed his pen by turns, and in all these departments of literature he has left memorials of his ability.” [2]

Besides the books which are noticed in the following pages there are extant shorter writings, some of them of great interest. [3] In a long *Epistle to the Chapter of Hereford* [4] he gives a full account of his various works, and of the dates at which they were composed and published. The *Lesser Catalogue of his Books* gives much the same list, but Gerald has a way of referring to the same book under different titles. The *Retractationes* contain notes to the reader as to the contents of certain of his works. In this treatise he admits that many of his arguments in favour of the metropolitan rights of St. David’s were founded rather on common rumour than historical certainty. He also acknowledges that, in the heat of the fray, he had been led to make charges against archbishop Hubert for which there was no ground. He retracts them in his cooler moments like a gentleman, and sketches the character of that prelate in more pleasing and more truthful colours. The *Letter to Stephen Langton* dissuades the archbishop in Gerald’s best manner, and with some of his choicest quotations, from carrying out his intention of seeking, in the quiet of some monastic order, a respite from his long and harassing struggle with King John. There may also safely be attributed to Gerald a short tract on the life and works of that faithful servant of God and Saint David, “ Magister Giraldus, Archidiaconus Menevensis.”

The industry of the bibliographers, sometimes misled by Gerald’s often vague description of his own books, has attributed to him many writings not included in the numerous lists he has himself given, [5] but they may safely be reduced to those to which allusion is made in his own works. [6] Those he does mention, which are not extant, are *The Life of St. Caradoc* ; *The Chromography* and *Cosmography of the World*, a metrical work in hexameters and pentameters, written in early life, in which he followed the doctrines of the philosophers rather than those of the theologians (this is probably the same as the *De Flosculis Philosophicis*, and we have an extract in the *Symbolum Electorum*) ; the *Speculum Duorum*, written on the lines of the *Book of Invectives* ; the *De Fidei Fructu, Fideique Defectu*, an ethical work ; and, what is the greatest loss of all, a map of the whole of Wales, with the mountains, rivers, towns, castles, and monasteries carefully set out. [7] Gerald informs us of his intention to write books on the topography of England and Scotland, but no trace of either can be found.

Higden, who died in 1364, took his account *De Hibernica* for the Polychronicon [8] from Gerald’s Irish treatises, and that *De Cambria sive Wallia*, with a few additions, from the two Welsh ones. His account of Wales is in rhyming Latin, and has been attributed to Map ; it is published in Wright’s edition of Map’s poems, [9] under the title of *Cambriae Epitome*. Trevisa’s translation is given at p. 349 of the same work, and called *Of the Londe of Wales*. [10]

In 1585, Dr. David Powel, the eminent Welsh antiquary, edited in Latin, with notes and

preface, the *Itinerary* and *Description of Wales*, also the *Epistle to the Chapter of Hereford*. He dedicated the work to Sir Philip Sydney. As a good Protestant, he omitted the eulogy on St. Thomas a Becket in the last chapter of the *Itinerary*, and, as a good Welshman, but as a bad editor, the whole of the last book of the *Description*. He gives a short and inaccurate account of Gerald's life.

Two years later, John Hooker, Chamberlain of Exeter (uncle of the more famous Richard Hooker), translated, with short notes, and dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh, the *Conquest of Ireland*, which was published in Holinshed's *Chronicles*. Hooker states that he translated the book because so many writers had borrowed from it without acknowledgment. He also omits the twentieth chapter of the first book on the martyrdom of St. Thomas, declining to immortalise the fame of "that froward and obstinate traitor, Thomas à Becket." [11]

In 1603, William Camden, in his work published at Frankfort, entitled *Anglica Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica a Vetibus Scripta*, reprinted Powel's edition of the two Welsh works (the *Itinerary* and the *Description*), and also edited, in an equally unsatisfactory manner, the two Irish books. [12]

In 1691, Henry Wharton, the English church-historian, published in his *Anglia Sacra, sive collectio Historiarum de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ*, the second book of the *Description of Wales* (the *Illaudabilium*), and other works of Gerald bearing on matters ecclesiastical. [13] Wharton was a marvellous scholar, but died at the early age of thirty. His assistant-editors had not his zeal or his knowledge.

In 1806 Sir Richard Colt Hoare published the Welsh treatises, chiefly from the texts of Camden and Wharton, and also an English translation of them, which he used as a framework for an elaborate disquisition on the history and antiquities of Wales. Hoare's translations, and also translations (edited by Mr. Forester) of the Irish books, have been published in Bohn's Antiquarian Library. There is a detailed, but somewhat unsympathetic, life of Gerald in Freeman and Jones' *History of St. David's*. The authors took their facts from the *Anglia Sacra*; they had not the advantage of having the Rolls edition before them. [14]

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The Irish Topography

The *Topographia Hibernica* was the earliest of Gerald's works. As in all his writings, he digresses into matters which have no bearing on the subject in hand, and here he half apologises: "*excursus hujus modi sunt excusandi*." It was the one which he read to the University of Oxford, and the praise of which by archbishop Baldwin was so pleasing to the author.

He seems to have frequently revised it, and he often quotes from it in his later works; manuscripts of various editions are in existence in the libraries at Oxford and Cambridge and at the British Museum and Westminster Abbey. Gerald explains to us why he made this new departure, held to be unworthy of a man of letters, and descended to treat of the scenery and social condition of a wild and barbarous country. He remains the sole authority for the state of Ireland during the whole of the Middle Ages. The work is dedicated to the king (Henry II.), (there is also an introduction to the public recitation), and is divided into three books, or distinctions, as it was then the fashion to call them. The first deals with the physical features

of the island and with its natural history, [15] the second with its miracles, and the third with its inhabitants. [16]

In the first book, after attributing the prevalence of rain to the hills and the frequent westerly breezes, and speaking of the rivers and lakes in a manner which shows that his knowledge of some of them was not derived from personal acquaintance—but it must be borne in mind that during his three visits to the country he only saw a part of Ireland, and that his strong prejudices frequently disturbed his vision—he proceeds to dilate, at some length, on the various birds and beasts, deducing from the habits of each some moral for our edification. Thus from the statement that in the birds of prey the female is larger and stronger than the male, he shows the superior capability for mischief in female kind. He never misses an opportunity, in all his works, of proclaiming his opinion of the sex, and, as he feels that it may be objected that his views on the subject, as a celibate ecclesiastic, are merely those of a theorist, he generally fortifies them by citing the judgment of King Solomon, who may be said to have had a practical acquaintance with the subject. But it must be remembered, to his credit, that there was one woman of whom he spoke in praise, and that was his own mother. [17]

He describes the different kinds of hawks with the delight of an accomplished falconer, moralises over the hibernation of birds, and the clouds of larks singing praise to God. There are sea and river fish in abundance, and in the lakes some peculiar to the country. He states that no fallow deer, goats, hedgehogs or moles and no partridges, pheasants, jays, or nightingales were to be found in Ireland ; but red deer, wild boars, hares, and rabbits were in abundance. He philosophises on the hibernation of birds and of dormice. His accuracy of observation is shown by his distinguishing the species of the Irish hare, a fact unknown to scientific naturalists until some fifty years ago, and his credulity by his testifying from his own examination to the old fable of the generation of the bernicle goose. [18] His remark on the neglect of mankind of the marvellous beauty of the rising and setting of the sun, because of its frequent occurrence, deserves to be recorded. He accounts for the absence of noxious vermin by physical causes, and, with a restraint meritorious in him, declines to believe in their coercion by St. Patrick. [19] In his own time a frog was found near Waterford, probably brought over in some ship of the invaders of Ossory, and was brought to King Donnell of Ossory—a man of sense, for an Irishman—who tore his hair, saying, “ This creature is the bearer of dire news to Ireland.”

In the second book, after dealing in a scientific manner with the tides and the moon’s influence upon them, he discards all scientific method in a lengthy treatise on Irish miracles. It would seem as if the Irish, discovering their guest’s keen appetite for the miraculous, had fed him with true Irish hospitality. [20] There is St. Colman, who fed the teal (always thirteen in number, on the model of the prior and his twelve monks) during his life, and protects them still ; St. Kevin, who grew apples, to feed the sick, off a willow-tree ; St. Bridget, who takes her turn in watching the fire by night with her nineteen nuns ; St. Kevin, again, in whose hand, outstretched in prayer, a blackbird settled and laid her eggs, and the holy man held his hand steady until the brood was reared ; and St. Nannan, most beneficent of all, who cursed the fleas out of a village into a neighbouring meadow, where they covered the grass.

There are the sacred wells, scattered all over the country, relics of the well-worship the earlier settlers had brought with them from more arid climes. One of them overflowed the country because a woman forgot to shut down the lid. There are the two isles in a lake ; the greater is fatal to any woman or female who enters it, the cock-birds settle on the bushes, but the hens fly by and leave their mates. In the lesser, where the celibate *Coelicolæ* (the *Culdees*)

[21] devoutly worship God, no man can die until, wearied of the burden of life, he entreats to be ferried over to the main to breathe his last. There is the well in Connaught which ebbed and flowed with the tide which reminded Gerald of a similar one near Dinevor Castle (in Carmarthenshire). [22] And there is the island in the lake in Ulster haunted by good and evil spirits, the purgatory of St. Patrick, famous in mediæval legend. The widely spread mediæval superstition of the werewolf gives rise to the curious story of the priest who gave the viaticum to an old woman of Ossory who had been cursed into a wolf's clothing by St. Natalis, and there are (as in Wales) witches in the form of hares. He tells us of the lake, of which Tom Moore sung in later days, [23] where the fishermen can see the round ecclesiastical towers buried beneath its clear waters ; [24] of the Giant's Dance in Kildare, moved by Merlin to form Stonehenge ; and digresses to the Scotch whirlpool of Corrievrekin and to Iceland to tell us of its geysers and its inhabitants who speak the truth.

He finds the Irish saints (like the Welsh) usually of an irascible and vindictive temper, which he attributes to the way in which their souls were vexed while here on earth. He enforces his favourite argument of the finiteness of man's understanding, and the necessity for admiration, and not discussion, of divine miracles ; and he approves of the reply of St. Augustine to the scoffing inquiry, what the Deity was engaged in before the creation of the world —“ He was preparing a hell for those who ask silly questions.”

In the third book Gerald gives an account which, he says, he has compiled from more or less untrustworthy records, of the arrival of the various bands of settlers in Ireland, from Caesara, the grand-daughter of Noah, to the Norse and Danes, still a great power in the land in his time, who, he explains, were called in Ireland Ostmen, as to it they came from the East. [25] He observes how the various new-comers speedily became infected with the indigenous vices of the soil—a phenomenon which has been observed in more recent times.

The progress of mankind, he says, is from the forest to the field and from the field to the town ; the Irish were then in the forest stage. He attributes to the mildness of the climate and the natural fertility of the soil the invincible laziness of the people. They are too indolent to work the various metals beneath their feet, or to employ themselves in manufacture, or in any trade or mechanical art, and agriculture they despise. They dress in a barbarous fashion ; instead of cloaks they wear woollen rugs, generally black, the colour of the sheep of the country, and beneath, breeches and hose of one piece, and generally dyed bright. They have no saddles, and guide their horses with a crooked stick. They at all times carry a battle^ axe, which they have acquired from the Ostmen (and which, deprived of its head, is the modern shillalagh), and Gerald points out the danger of permitting such a people to have always in their hands a weapon ready for murder, for it is a treacherous race, inconstant and cunning. Nature has been bountiful to them, but for any work of their own hands they are absolutely worthless. There are no castles in Ireland except what have been built by the Norsemen ; the Irish relied for safety upon their woods and marshes. In the “ Conquest of Ireland “ the author tells us of the many castles built by the invaders.

In one thing he praises them : their love of music. And this leads him to a digression in praise of music. It cheers the sorrowful, smooths the troubled brow, stimulates the valour of the brave and the devotions of the pious ; it is a comfort to all, a medicine to many. To be ignorant of music is as disgraceful as not to have learned to read. The Irish excel in instrumental music all other nations with whom he was acquainted, although some held that Scotland was then the equal, and perhaps the superior, of Ireland, her teacher. The Irish (like the Spanish) wailing at funerals, although it may seem to add to the present grief, may tranquillise the mind, he thinks, when the outbreak has passed.

He finds much to praise in the Irish clergy, remarkable above all for their chastity. They are devoted to their religious duties, they fast, and are sparing in their diet ; but he grieves that so many of them, after a day of prayer and fasting, will strike a balance by drinking the whole night through. But the bishops are dumb heralds, they do not preach, nor do they enforce discipline ; but this is sufficiently accounted for in Gerald's eyes by the fact that they were chosen from the monasteries. The monk has the care of only one person—himself ; the clerk is the guardian of his flock. Gerald upbraided the archbishop of Cashel because Ireland had furnished no martyr for Holy Church. “ The Irish,” replied the archbishop, “ may be uncivilised and cruel, but they have never raised their hands against God's saints. But there is now come among us a people who know how to make martyrs ; henceforth Ireland will have her martyrs like other nations.”

The book closes with the characters of Henry II. and his sons, drawn by the Court chaplain ; they were afterwards drawn by the same hand in an entirely different manner.

By way of postscript Gerald adds a letter to William de Vere, Bishop of Hereford, in which he points out the chief beauties of the work to which the marginal notes will guide him.

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The Conquest of Ireland

The *Expugnatio Hibernica* is frequently called by its author the *Vaticinalis Historia*. The original intention was that it should consist of three books, and the third book, the *Liber Vaticiniorum*, was probably written but not published. Of the third book the preface only is extant, and from this it appears that Gerald, aided by men skilled in the Welsh tongue, had translated the prophecies of Merlin Sylvester, an ancient copy of which he had found during the Itinerary. [26] In the two books which remain he quotes some of these prophecies which relate to Ireland. The book was, like the *Topography*, revised by the author. The manuscripts are in the British Museum, at Lambeth, and at Oxford and Cambridge. There is an English translation of it, of early fifteenth-century date, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Gerald's unfavourable comments on Ireland called forth much indignant remonstrance from that country, the principal of which was contained in the elaborate work published by the eminent Irish scholar. Dr. John Lynch, in 1662, and called by him *Cambrensis Eversus*. [27] Dr. Lingard, [28] who may be held to be impartial in such a matter, states that he has attentively perused Dr. Lynch's book, and that on all important points the Irishman had “ completely failed” to overturn the Welshman. The principal contemporary authorities for the period are, among the English chroniclers, Hoveden, and among the Irish, *The Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, a work compiled in the seventeenth century from the Irish annals from the earliest times to the year 1616. There is, besides, a contemporary Anglo-Norman poem, a *chanson de geste*, composed by an unknown rhymer from accounts furnished to him by Maurice Regan, the secretary (*latinier* or *latimer*) of King Dermot. [29]

It must be borne in mind that one great object Gerald had always before him in writing this history was to extol the gallant deeds of his kinsmen. “ Who are they who penetrated into the fastnesses of the enemy ?—The Geraldines. Who are they who hold the country in submission ?—The Geraldines. Who are they whom the foemen dread ?—The Geraldines. Who are they whom envy would disparage ?—The Geraldines. Yet fight on, my gallant kinsmen,

Felices facti si quid mea carmina possint. [30]

The work is dedicated to Richard I., then Count of Poitou. [31] In the dedication of the later edition to King John, [32] Gerald ventures to suggest that it maybe translated into Norman-French, that he might reap some reward for his labours, and he proceeds to quote his facetious friend, Walter Map—“ on whose soul God have mercy” (his old friend was dead) : “ You have written a great deal, Master Gerald, and I have talked a great deal ; your writing is of much more value than my talk. But I talk in the vulgar tongue, which everybody can understand, while you write in Latin, for learned and liberal princes, and there are not many of them about in these days.”

The history begins with the landing of FitzStephen near Wexford, in 1169, and ends with the visit of Earl John in 1185. It is of especial interest to Welshmen, as the first conquerors of Ireland under the Norman kings came from Wales. Gerald speaks of them as the “ men of St. David’s.” [33] They included the kinsmen of Gerald, all descendants of Nesta—the FitzGerald, the De Barris, the FitzStephens, the FitzHenrys, and the De Cogans (who have been identified with the old Pembrokeshire family of the Wogans ?). We hear, too, of Maurice de Prendergast, from whose territory of Fernegal, by Wexford (granted to him by Strongbow), St. Ibbard had cursed the rats for gnawing his books ; that stout and brave soldier from Roose, David Welsh, who took his name from his family and his race ; and Robert le Poer, whose descendant (the Marquis of Waterford) bears among his titles that of Baron Tyrone of Haverford-west.

The original object of the expedition was to restore to his dominions Dermot MacMurchad, or Mac-Murrough, King of Leinster, who had fallen into trouble through what Gerald’s historical lore had told him had been the origin of evil since the world began—a woman. He had run away with another man’s wife. The Mac-Murroughs were one of the four ruling houses of Ireland, whose dominions corresponded roughly with the four provinces. Meath, sometimes considered a fifth kingdom, was the royal domain assigned to the *ard-righ*, or high king, an elective office (which may be compared with the Saxon Bretwalda), then held by Roderic O’Connor of Connaught. There were also several kinglets and chiefs, whose perpetual dissensions and wars were a source of great assistance to the invaders.

Dermot, a barbarian, whose brutality afterwards disgusted his allies, fled to England and obtained the favour of the king, and promise of help from the men of Bristol (then, after London and Norwich, the chief city in the kingdom), and from Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke and Striguil (by Chepstow). [34]

The expedition was also favoured by Rhys ap Gruffydd, Prince of South Wales, whose father and grandfather had been aided in their time by the Kings of Leinster. There are traces of frequent communication between the people of West Wales and their kin across the channel. The Goidelic division of the Celts, who had been driven before the advancing Kymry, had returned to Dyfed and North Wales in the fifth century, to bring Christianity and to leave their mark on the country. [35]

Dermot, who had been feasting his eyes with the sight of his native shores from St. David’s, crossed first, and was soon followed by Robert FitzStephen, who had been released from prison by Prince Rhys for this purpose. The combined forces take Wexford and defeat the men of Ossory, a district of Leinster comprising the present county of Kilkenny. Roderic, the high king, summons all Ireland to his aid, and the invaders come to terms. But the truce

was of short duration. Maurice FitzGerald, “ a man of maiden modesty, true in word and deed,” arrives with more Welshmen, and the invaders march on Dublin, which sues for terms. Dermot now aspires to be high king, and sends a message to rouse the lagging Strongbow : “ We have watched the storks and the swallows, the summer birds have come and gone, but no breeze has brought to us your long-expected aid.”

In 1170 comes the earl from Milford ; Waterford falls ; the marriage of Strongbow with Eva, the daughter of Dermot, is duly solemnised, in accordance with the previous arrangement ; and the army marches on Dublin. A desperate effort is made by Godred, the Norse king of Man, and the lords of the Southern Isles [36] to relieve the Ostmen of Dublin, aided by King Roderic and the archbishop Laurence ; but the Norse and Irish hosts are beaten off, and Dublin remained thenceforth under English rule. [37]

The principal resistance to the invaders had come from the Ostmen, the Norse and Danes, [38] who had been in Ireland as pirates, colonists, and traders since the eighth century, and who, although their power had been broken by the famous battle of Clontarf, fought on Good Friday, 1014, still held their detached strongholds, principally on the east coast. The Ostmen, after the invasion, became incorporated in the English pale. [38] Gerald describes the earthen forts in Ireland of the earlier Norse settlers, who have left so many traces in his native county in their raths, the Scandinavian names of places, and. in their descendants along the coast.

The author puts into the mouths of the leaders set orations, after the classical models, and the Irish chieftains are represented as animating their followers by citing examples from Roman history. We also have full-length portraits of the principal actors in the drama, and the colouring in some of them is laid on with no sparing hand.

Meanwhile the king grew jealous ; he feared that Strongbow might set up in Ireland an independent rule, to the danger of the English crown ; he forbade further supplies to be sent, and Strongbow submitted to hold all his conquests of the king. In 1171 Henry landed from Milford Haven at Waterford with an army and his title-deed.

This was the famous bull “ Laudabiliter,” granted in 1155 (at which time Henry meditated an invasion of Ireland), by Adrian IV., the only English Pope, [39] and confirmed by his successor, Alexander III., [40] the then reigning pontiff. Gerald gives us the document in full, which, he says, was deposited with the royal archives at Winchester. It sets forth that Adrian, the bishop, the servant of the servants of God, in recognition of the laudable desire of the king of the English to restore Ireland to the garden of the Lord, grants him that country, which, like all islands on which the sun of righteousness has shed its rays, is the dominion of the Holy Roman Church, [41] reserving to the blessed Peter the annual tribute of one penny for every house.

Henry spent six months in Ireland, the longest stay ever made there by an English monarch. His return was delayed by the tempestuous winter of that year ; his many enemies, and especially his sons, had taken advantage of his absence. He organised the civil government, and caused a synod of the Irish clergy to be held at Cashel, whose constitutions Gerald gives us at length ; they relate to baptism, marriage, funerals, the making of wills, the division of the effects between the widow and the children, the payment of tithes, the exact-ions of the petty kings (*reguli*) and chiefs on church property, and enact that all the sacred offices shall henceforth be performed in accordance with the usage of the Church of England (*ecclesia Anglicana*). Gerald had previously told of the synod of Armagh, held two years before, when

the Irish clergy ascribed the recent invasion to the sins of the people, especially to the slave trade, of which the headquarters were at Bristol. [42]

Henry kept the feast of the Nativity at Dublin in a palace constructed of wattled work, after the manner of the country, and received the submission of all the native chiefs, with the possible exception of those of Ulster. He granted to his men of Bristol the city of Dublin to dwell in (the charter is still preserved in the Dublin archives), and, as lord paramount, gave Meath, the domain of the *ard-righ*, to Hugh de Laci, the deputy, whom Gerald praises as a very Frenchman for temperance

After the departure of the king we hear of the famous storming of Limerick, and various incursions into Ulster, Munster, and Connaught. But these had no permanent result, and the power of the English king was for centuries confined to the Pale—a succession of counties palatine along the east coast.

In 1185, Earl John, the king's son, came over from Milford, but omitted, *omine sinistro*, to pay his respects at St. David's. His father had created him Lord of Ireland, a title borne by the English kings until Henry VIII. renounced the successor of Pope Adrian, and called himself King of Ireland—or, as the Irish Act phrased it, "King and Emperor of the realm of England and of the land of Ireland." In John's train came Gerald, this being his second visit.

Gerald seems to have been disgusted with the conduct of John and his court, and leaves to other historians to narrate this part of the history ; but he cannot refrain from declaring the causes of the failure of the prince, whom he afterwards denounced as the worst of a bad breed. He relates the arrival of John Comyn, a monk of Evesham, the future builder of St Patrick's Cathedral, appointed, through the influence of the king, to the archbishopric of Dublin, and quotes the four prophets of Ireland, who declare that Ireland shall be subdued by the English from the centre to the sea—some time before the Day of Judgment.

He digresses, after his manner, on the Crusades, the visit of Herachus, the death of Becket, the character of the king (still in the style of the Court chaplain), and various events in contemporary history which occur to him. He attributes to the check of the first invaders by the jealousy of the king, the disastrous fact in Irish history that the country never became thoroughly subjugated to the English crown, and that the people remained for centuries divided into the three classes of the king's friends, the king's enemies, and the king's rebels. [43]

He divides the invaders at the time of John's visit into Normans, English, and "our people," *i.e.*, the Welsh. He forgets his own Norman blood in denouncing the first named as a grasping, boasting set, who despised everybody else. He gives his receipt for the conquest of Ireland, and, with characteristic gallantry, addresses himself to the insoluble problem how Ireland should be governed. He finds the ideal ruler of Ireland in the strong man armed.

[1] *E. g.*, "werra," for *bellum*, whence the French "*guerre*" and the English "war."

[2] Brewer, preface to the *De Instructione Principum*.

[3] These are given at the end of the first volume of the Rolls edition. There is probably no specimen extant of his handwriting, for the reason that it was probably a bad one, see V. xvii.

[4] Written not earlier than 1219.

- [5] See the list of Geraldian manuscripts given by Sir R. C. Hoare in his preface to the *Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin*, also those mentioned by Wright in his *Biographia Britannica Literaria* (Anglo-Norman period).
- [6] Wright states that Gerald does not mention the *Speculum Ecclesiae*, but he apparently had not read the epistle to the chapter of Hereford.
- [7] Both Bishop Tanner and Wharton state that the “Totius Kambriæ Mappa” was in existence in the library at Westminster Abbey. Wharton says that forty-three towns or villages in Wales were marked on it.
- [8] Rolls edition, i. 328-382.
- [9] Camden Society, 1841, p. 131.
- [10] John Leland, appointed the first and last King’s antiquary in 1533, makes in his *Collectanea* large citations with notes from Gerald’s *Description* and *Itinerary of Wales* and from the *Rights of St. David’s*, he also quotes from the *Life of St. David*, the *Instruction of a Prince*, the *Mirror of the Church*, *Gerald his Acts and Deeds*, and the *Collection of Extracts*. Leland endeavoured to remedy the havoc made in the libraries of the monasteries at the Dissolution ; his *Itinerary*, which contains much information about Wales of the utmost value, is the record of six years’ travel over the kingdom.
- [11] *The Irish Historic Composed, and Written by Giraldus Camhrensus, Translated into English (with Scolies to the same) by John Hooker*. 1587.
- [12] Pp. 692-892. According to Sir R. C. Hoare, these four books had been edited in manuscript by John Stow, the famous sixteenth-century chronicler, it may be, for this publication.
- [13] These are : (1) *The Life of Geoffrey of York*. (2) *The Lives of the Bishops of Lincoln* ; and (3) *The Lives of the Three Pairs of Bishops* (mixed up in a curious fashion by Wharton, or, rather, his editors, from the *Lives of St. Remi and St. Hugh*). (4) *The Letter to Langton*. (5) *The Epistle to the Chapter of Hereford*. (6) *The Lesser Catalogue*. (7) *The Retractationes*. (8) *The De Rebus a se Gestis*. (9) *The De Jure et Statu* ; and (10) *The Life of St. David*.
- [14] There is much valuable local information about Gerald and his times in Mr. Laws’ history of Little England beyond Wales.
- [15] In describing the situation of Ireland Gerald shows his learning by quoting and correcting Solinus, Orosius, Isidore, and Bade.
- [16] Many extracts from this work are given with notes in the Appendix to Stanihurst, *De rebus in Hibernica gestis, libri quatuor*. Antwerp, 1584.
- [17] v. 295.
- [18] For a quaint Elizabethan statement of this fable, see *Owen’s Pembrokeshire*, i. 132.
- [19] But see ii. 161.
- “ At St. Patrick’s command vipers quitted the land,
But he’s wanted again in that island.”
- [20] Although the author, in his preface to the second book, states that he had the authentic testimony of trustworthy Irishmen for these marvels, he admits in the *Retractions* (i. 425) that he occasionally lent an ear to the rumours among the vulgar.
- [21] See *The Mirror of the Church* below.
- [22] In the *Itinerary* (vi. 137) he mentions one in Cilcen parish, Flintshire, but he says nothing of the famous one near his own St. David’s. See *Owen’s Pembrokeshire*, i. 244.
- [23] “ Let Erin Remember” (*Irish Melodies*).
- [24] For some of these legends, see the *Irish Nennius*, Edmund Hogan (1895).
- [25] The prehistoric settlers of tradition were the Fomorians, a people of Turanian origin ; the Firbolgs, a dark, pastoral people, who were afterwards fused with their successors, the fair and more civilised Danaans, to form the genuine Irish peasant of the West ; and the warlike Milesians, stated to have come from Spain, the ancestors of the “ O’s “ and “ Mc’s,” the chieftains and petty kings.

- [26] Geoffrey of Monmouth had published the prophecies of Merlin.
- [27] It was edited for the Celtic Society by the Rev. Matthew Kelly, in three volumes (1848, 1850, and 1851). The work contains much learning about Ireland, but is disfigured by the singular violence of its language. Gerald would have been delighted to reply to it.
- [28] *The History of England*, ii 87
- [29] *The Song of Dermot and the Earl*, edited by G. H. Orpen, Oxford, 1892.
- [30] Virgil, *Aeneid*, ix. 446 ; but the first two words are Geraldian.
- [31] There is also an introduction, as in the *Topography*, to the recitation, but it was not recited. In it he says that the work was written in a plain and easy style for illiterate princes and other lay folk.
- [32] This was probably written about the time of John's visit to Ireland in 1210 ; in it Gerald says that he was an old man and that Death was knocking at the door.
- [33] The war-cry of the invaders was " St. David." See *Dermot and the Earl*, pp. 57, 75, 143 and 251.
- [34] He was called Strongbow after his death, a name given to his father, Gilbert, the first earl, who had made extensive conquests in South Wales during the reign of Henry I. Richard succeeded in 1148 to his father. He died in Ireland in 1176. The *dictus Strongbow*, in his text, is an interpolation by Camden.
- [35] Of the two Celtic divisions, the Goidels or Gaels were the ancestors of the Irish, the Scotch Highlanders, and the Manxmen ; the Brythons or Kymry, of the Welsh, the Bretons, and the Cornishmen.
- [36] Sudreyjar, whence Sodor, which survives in the title of the Bishop of Sodor and Man.
- [37] It is a curious fact that the capital of Ireland was never held by the Irish. It was founded by the Ostmen, and remained in their hands until the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion.
- [38] Gerald calls them Norwagienses and Ostmanni ; strictly speaking the Norsemen or Northmen came from Norway, and the Ostmen or Eastmen from Denmark, but the terms were confused.. The invaders of Ireland and Wales were Norsemen with an admixture of Ostmen.
- [39] The Norse bishoprics of Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford were subject to Canterbury, not to Armagh.
- [39] Adrian IV., Nicholas Brakespear, was pope 1154-1159.
- [40] The bull of Alexander has been doubted by Dr. Lynch and others, but it is now allowed to be genuine.
- [41] This was founded on the alleged donation of Constantine (when he removed his seat of government to Constantinople) of the empire of the West to Pope Sylvester I. The claim, because of its inconvenient extent, was afterwards reduced to the islands.
- [42] Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, had attempted to suppress it in the reign of William I.
- [43] The loyal inhabitants of the Pale, the " mere Irish" of the West, and the Anglo-Irish—*ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores*.

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