University of Cambridge

Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE WORKS OF GERALD OF WALES

Catherine Margaret Rooney

Queens' College

A dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy 2005

DECLARATIONS

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text.

This dissertation, including all notes and appendices but excluding the bibliography, does not exceed the word-limit of 80,000 words stipulated by the Degree Committee of the Faculty of English.

The Manuscripts of the Works of Gerald of Wales: Ph.D. Dissertation Summary

Catherine Margaret Rooney

My dissertation is a palaeographical study of the manuscripts of the works of Gerald of Wales (c. 1146–1223). Gerald was a churchman, a member of the court of King Henry II and a prolific author. His extensive works include historical and topographical descriptions of Ireland and Wales, theological and hagiographical studies, and several autobiographical works. Throughout his career he constantly revised these works.

A hundred manuscripts containing works of Gerald survive today, and the progress of his revision of his works may be observed from the manuscript-record. I therefore devote some space to the textual history of Gerald's works in the manuscripts; however, the emphasis is on the manuscripts and therefore on what the textual history can show about them, not on the texts themselves.

There is an unusually large number of manuscripts (about 20%) surviving from Gerald's lifetime, including some which are decorated and illustrated and at least one which has been described as a 'working copy'. I have studied these manuscripts closely, concentrating on finding similarities between them – particularly the appearance of the same hand in different manuscripts – which may point to a common place of production, possibly 'Gerald's scriptorium'. I have also considered the manuscript-evidence for Gerald's publishing processes and the possibility of finding Gerald's autograph.

I have then considered the manuscripts surviving from after Gerald's death and what they can show about the continuing tradition of his works, for example: who read them, and which were most popular; the geographical spread of the manuscript-evidence; whether different works were popular at different times, and why; the treatment of the works by later scholars, for example translation, abbreviation and excerpting. This includes evidence which I have discovered for the existence of now lost manuscripts.

Finally, I have compared the manuscript-tradition of Gerald's works with that of some other twelfth-century Insular writers whose works survive in various authorial editions and/or in autograph or quasi-autograph copies.

Contents

All plates are actual size.

Acknowledgments

My greatest thanks go to my supervisor, Professor David Dumville, not only for his invaluable help during this Ph.D. but for everything he has done for me since I came to Cambridge in 1995. He is an inexhaustible mine of information and an unfailing source of constructive criticism. Without his red ink I would not be the scholar I am today, and Cambridge will not be the same without him. I give him my best wishes for his new life in Aberdeen.

Many thanks must go to the staff of all the libraries which I have visited in the course of my researches, who were almost invariably polite, patient and helpful (even those who were forced to endure my attempts to speak their native language). I am especially grateful to Godfrey Waller of the Cambridge University Library Manuscripts Room for his kind help and friendliness during all the time which I have spent in there.

Thanks go also to my parents, Michael and Liz Jones, for many things, but especially for their financial and moral support. They have borne very bravely the disappointment of their first-born not becoming a chemist.

To my husband James I owe a huge debt of gratitude, not only for keeping me for the last year but for his constant encouragement, patience and faith in me.

This Ph.D. was supported in the first nine months by a Walker Research Studentship from Queens' College, and in the following two years and three months by a Postgraduate Award from the AHRB. I have also benefited from grants from Queens' College, the Jebb Fund and the Faculty of History Prince Consort and Thirlwall Fund.

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE WORKS OF GERALD OF WALES

1. Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 3024C [Mostyn 83] — s. xiii^{ex}.

Itinerarium Kambriae, *Descriptio Kambriae*

W 2. Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 3074D [Mostyn 264] — s. xiv

Topographia hibernica, *Expugnatio hibernica*

3. Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 383D [Hengwrt 363] — s. xvi/xvii

Itinerarium Kambriae, *Descriptio Kambriae*

4. Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 110B [Williams 315] — s. xviii

Topographia hibernica, *Descriptio Kambriae*, extracts in English translation

5. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 390 — s. xiii in.

Vita Galfridi archiepiscopus eboracensis

C 6. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 400

Part [B]: *Topographia hibernica* — s. xii/xiii

Part [C]: *Descriptio Kambriae*, *De inuectionibus* (extract), — s. xvi$^{ex.}$

Retractationes, *Catalogus breuior librorum suorum*

Part [D]: *De iure et statu meneuensis ecclesiae*, poems — s. xiii$^{in.}$

7. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 425 — s. xiii$^{in.}$

Vita Sancti Remigii, *Vita Sancti Hugonis*

8. Cambridge, Emmanuel College 1.1.3 — A.D. 1481

Topographia hibernica

Provenance: made for John Gunthorpe, Dean of Wells, †1498

9. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 290/682 — s. xiv$^{med./ex.}$

Topographia hibernica, *Expugnatio hibernica*, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, extracts

P 10. Cambridge, Peterhouse 177 (*olim* 181) — s. xv

Topographia hibernica

11. Cambridge, St Catharine's College 3 — s. xiii$^{med.}$

Topographia hibernica

12. Cambridge, Trinity College, B.11.16 [255] — s. xv

Vita Sancti Ethelberti

O 13. Cambridge, Trinity College, O.5.24 [1305] — s. xvi/xvii

Descriptio Kambriae, *Retractationes*, *Catalogus breuior librorum suorum*

14. Cambridge, Trinity College, O.10.16 [1468] — s. xvii

Symbolum electorum

T 15. Cambridge, Trinity College, R.7.11 [749] — s. xii$^{ex.}$

Symbolum electorum

Provenance: Hereford Franciscan convent, s. xv

Ca 16. Cambridge, University Library, Additional 3392 s. xiii/xiv

Expugnatio hibernica

Provenance: St Mary's Cistercian abbey, Dublin, s. xiii ex.

F 17. Cambridge, University Library, Ff.1.27 [1160], part 2 + Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 66A

Topographia hibernica, *Expugnatio hibernica*, *Itinerarium Kambriae* s. xiii/xiv

Descriptio Kambriae, *Retractationes* s. xvi$^{ex.}$

Provenance (medieval part): Bury St Edmunds Benedictine monastery, s. xiv

18. Cambridge, University Library, Mm.2.18 [2313] s. xiv

Topographia hibernica, extracts

Provenance: Wighton, Norfolk, s. xiv

M 19. Cambridge, University Library, Mm.5.30 [2435] s. xii$^{ex.}$

Topographia hibernica

Provenance: Ramsey, s. xv

Do 20. Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, 887 s. xii/xiii

Topographia hibernica, *Expugnatio hibernica*

Provenance: Merton, nuns of Fontevrault, s. xiv

I 21. Dublin, National Library of Ireland, 700 (I) s. xiii$^{in.}$

Topographia hibernica, *Expugnatio hibernica*

Provenance: Hereford Cathedral, Vicars Choral, A.D. 1438

22. Dublin, National Library of Ireland, 1416 — A.D. 1575

Expugnatio hibernica, abridged English translation

23. Dublin, Trinity College 515 [E.5.12] — s. xiii/xiv

De inuectionibus, extract

24. Dublin, Trinity College 574 [E.3.20] — s. xvi/xvii

Topographia hibernica, *Expugnatio hibernica*, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, *Descriptio Kambriae*, extracts

25. Dublin, Trinity College 592 [E.3.31] — s. xv

Expugnatio hibernica, abridged Middle English translation

26. Dublin, Trinity College 593 [F.4.4] — s. xvi/xvii

Expugnatio hibernica, abridged Middle English translation

27. Dublin, Trinity College 1298 [H.2.7] — s. xv

Expugnatio hibernica, extracts in Irish translation

28. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, B.P.L. 13 — s. xiv

Topographia hibernica

29. London, British Library, Additional 4785 — s. xvii

Descriptio Kambriae, Book II

30. London, British Library, Additional 4787 — s. xvii

De rebus a se gestis, extracts

31. London, British Library, Additional 4822 — s. xvii

Topographia hibernica, extracts from an abridged version

32. London, British Library, Additional 17920 — s. xiv

Topographia hibernica, abridged version in Provençal translation

Provenance: south-west France

33. London, British Library, Additional 19513 — s. xiv

Topographia hibernica, abridged version

Provenance: south-west France

34. London, British Library, Additional 33991 — s. xii/xiii

Topographia hibernica

Add 35. London, British Library, Additional 34762 — s. xiii$^{in.}$

Topographia hibernica, *Expugnatio hibernica*, *Itinerarium Kambriae*

36. London, British Library, Additional 40674 — s. xv

Expugnatio hibernica, abridged Middle English translation

Provenance: Platten, Co. Westmeath, Ireland

37. London, British Library, Additional 43706 — A.D. 1562

Descriptio Kambriae, *Itinerarium Kambriae*

38. London, British Library, Additional 44922 — s. xiii$^{in.}$

Topographia hibernica

39. London, British Library, Additional 48037 — s. xvi/xvii

De principis instructione, extract

A 40. London, British Library, Arundel 14 — s. xii$^{ex.}$

Topographia hibernica

E 41. London, British Library, Cotton Claudius E.viii — c. 1400

Topographia hibernica, *Expugnatio hibernica*, extracts

Provenance: made for Henry Spenser, bishop of Norwich 1370–1406

Cl 42. London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra D.v — s. xiv

Topographia hibernica, *Expugnatio hibernica*, *Symbolum electorum*

D 43. London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A.i — s. xiii$^{ex.}$

Itinerarium Kambriae, *Descriptio Kambriae*, *Retractationes*, *Catalogus breuior librorum suorum*

Provenance: St Davids cathedral, Pembrokeshire

44. London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A.v — s. xiii$^{in.}$

De iure et statu meneuensis ecclesiae

45. London, British Library, Cotton Faustina C.iv — s. xvi$^{ex.}$

Topographia hibernica

46. London, British Library, Cotton Julius B.xiii — s. xiv

De principis instructione

N 47. London, British Library, Cotton Nero D.viii — s. xiv/xv

Descriptio Kambriae — (*post* 1376)

48. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B.xiii — s. xiii$^{in.}$

Speculum Ecclesiae, *De rebus a se gestis*

Provenance: ?Llanthony Prima

49. London, British Library, Cotton Titus C.xii — s. xvi/xvii

De principis instructione, extract

V 50. London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C.x

Descriptio Kambriae — s. xiv/xv

De iure et statu meneuensis ecclesiae, extract in English translation — s. xvi$^{ex.}$

V 51. London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E.v — s. xvi$^{ex.}$

De iure et statu meneuensis ecclesiae, *Descriptio Kambriae*, *Retractationes*, *Catalogus breuior librorum suorum*, poems

Ha 52. London, British Library, Harley 177 — s. xiv

Expugnatio hibernica

Provenance: Ireland

53. London, British Library, Harley 310 — s. xvi/xvii

Expugnatio hibernica

Hc 54. London, British Library, Harley 359 — s. xvi[ex.]

Descriptio Kambriae, *Retractationes*, *Catalogus breuior librorum suorum*, *De iure et statu meneuensis ecclesiae* (extract), *De inuectionibus*, extract, *Expugnatio hibernica*, *Topographia hibernica*, *Itinerarium Kambriae*

55. London, British Library, Harley 544 — A.D. 1575

Retratationes, *Catalogus breuior librorum suorum*, *De iure et statu meneuensis ecclesiae* (extract), *De inuectionibus* (extract), all in English translation

Provenance: written by John Stow (1525–1605)

56. London, British Library, Harley 551 — A.D. 1575–6

Itinerarium Kambriae, *Topographia hibernica* (abridged), *Expugnatio hibernica*, *Descriptio Kambriae*, all in English translation

Provenance: written by John Stow (1525–1605)

57. London, British Library, Harley 912 — s. xiv

Itinerarium Kambriae, *Descriptio Kambriae*, extracts

58. London, British Library, Harley 1757 — s. xvi[ex.]

Descriptio Kambriae

H 59. London, British Library, Harley 3724 s. xiii/xiv

Topographia hibernica

Provenance: ?Ireland

Hb 60. London, British Library, Harley 4003 s. xiv$^{in.}$

Topographia hibernica, *Expugnatio hibernica*

61. London, British Library, Lansdowne 229 A.D. 1573

Itinerarium Kambriae, *Expugnatio hibernica*, extracts

62. London, British Library, Royal Appendix 85, fol. 53 s. xvi$^{ex.}$

Descriptio Kambriae, fragment

Rb 63. London, British Library, Royal 13.A.xiv (Rb) s. xiii$^{ex.}$

Topographia hibernica, *Expugnatio hibernica*

Provenance: Limerick (Dominicans), Ireland

R 64. London, British Library, Royal 13.B.viii s. xii/xiii

Topographia hibernica, *Expugnatio hibernica*, *Itinerarium Kambriae*

Provenance: St Augustine's, Canterbury, s. xv

Rd 65. London, British Library, Royal 13.B.xii s. xvi$^{ex.}$

Itinerarium Kambriae, *Descriptio Kambriae*

Re 66. London, British Library, Royal 13.B.xviii s. xiv

Topographia hibernica, fragment

67. London, British Library, Royal 13.C.i — s. xv

Vita Sancti Dauidis

68. London, British Library, Royal 13.C.iii — s. xv

Descriptio Kambriae

Rf 69. London, British Library, Royal 14.C.vi — s. xiv$^{in.}$

Topographia hibernica, *Expugnatio hibernica*, extracts

Provenance: Holme St Benet Benedictine monastery, Norfolk

Ra 70. London, British Library, Royal 14.C.xiii — 1327×1352

Expugnatio hibernica

Provenance: owned by Simon Bozoun, prior of Norwich cathedral 1344–52

71. London, British Library, Sloane 1710 — s. xvii

Descriptio Kambriae, Book II

V 72. London, College of Arms Vincent 418 — s. xv

Topographia hibernica

73. London, Lambeth Palace 236 — s. xiii$^{in.}$

Gemma ecclesiastica, letters, poems

74. London, Lambeth Palace 248 — s. xvi$^{ex.}$

Expugnatio hibernica in English translation

75. London, Lambeth Palace 263 — A.D. 1602

Itinerarium Kambriae, *Descriptio Kambriae*, Book I, both in English translation

Provenance: written by George Owen of Henllys, Pembrokeshire

L 76. London, Lambeth Palace 371 — s. xiii$^{in.}$

Expugnatio hibernica

Provenance: ?Reading

77. London, Lambeth Palace 580 — 1664×1695

Expugnatio hibernica, extracts

Provenance: written by Henry Wharton

78. London, Lambeth Palace 594 — 1664×1695

Gemma ecclesiastica, *Symbolum electorum*, *De principis instructione*, extracts

Provenance: written by Henry Wharton

79. London, Lambeth Palace 598 — s. xv

Expugnatio hibernica in Middle English translation

80. London, Lambeth Palace 622 — s. xv

Topographia hibernica, *Expugnatio hibernica*

81. London, Lambeth Palace 623 ('Book of Howth') — s. xvi

Expugnatio hibernica, abridged English translation — (*post* 1551)

W 82. London, Westminster Abbey 23 — s. xii$^{ex.}$

Topographia hibernica

83. Manchester, John Rylands University Library, 217 — s. xv

Topographia hibernica, *Expugnatio hibernica*, extracts

Provenance: St Mary's abbey, Dublin; written by Stephen Lawless

84. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium D.2.9 [2330] — s. xiii$^{med.}$

Symbolum electorum, extracts

Bc 85. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 511 [2179] — A.D. 1513

Topographia hibernica

86. Oxford, Bodleian Library, James 2 [3839] — 1592×1638

Speculum Ecclesiae, *De iure et statu meneuensis ecclesiae*, extracts

Provenance: written by Richard James

Ba 87. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 720 [1062] (Ba) — s. xiii^{2}

Topographia hibernica

Provenance: Durham, s. xvii

B 88. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B.188 [11549] — s. xii/xiii

Topographia hibernica, *Expugnatio hibernica*, *Itinerarium Kambriae*

Provenance: Christ Church, Canterbury, s. xv

89. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B.471 [15516] A.D. 1560

Itinerarium Kambriae, *Descriptio Kambriae*, extracts

Provenance: written by or for William Lambarde (1536–1601)

90. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B.475 [11822] s. xvii

Expugnatio hibernica in Irish translation

Bb 91. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B.483 [11830] s. xiii$^{in.}$

Topographia hibernica

Provenance: Ireland, s. xvi

92. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B.490 [11837] s. xv

Expugnatio hibernica, abridged Middle English translation (*post* 1419)

93. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson D.125 [12941] s. xiii$^{ex.}$

Expugnatio hibernica, fragment

T 94. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 2 [9822] s. xvi$^{in.}$

Topographia hibernica

95. Oxford, Corpus Christi College 217 s. xvii

Descriptio Kambriae

96. Oxford, Corpus Christi College 263 s. xvi/xvii

Topographia hibernica, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, extracts

97. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 4126 s. xiv

Topographia hibernica

Provenance:

98. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 4846 s. xii/xiii

Topographia hibernica

99. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 11111 (L) s. xiii$^{ex.}$

Topographia hibernica

100. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 470 s. xiii$^{in.}$

De inuectionibus, *Speculum duorum*

Abbreviations

BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome
BL	British Library, London
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
Bodleian	Bodleian Library, Oxford
CCCC	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
CCCO	Corpus Christi College, Oxford
CUL	Cambridge University Library
GCO	*Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*
JRUL	John Rylands University Library, Manchester
Lambeth	Lambeth Palace, London
NLI	National Library of Ireland, Dublin
NLW	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth
TCC	Trinity College, Cambridge
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin

Chapter I

Preliminary Investigations

Gerald of Wales was born c. 1146[1] in Manorbier Castle, Pembrokeshire, South Wales.[2] His father was William de Barri, a Norman marcher baron; his mother was Angharad, daughter of Gerald of Windsor and granddaughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, prince of South Wales.[3] He went to university in Paris[4] and then made his career in the Church, becoming Archdeacon of Brecon around 1176.[5] He spent ten years (c. 1184–94) in the service of Kings Henry II and Richard I.[6] He was elected to the bishopric of St Davids in 1198, against the wishes of the king and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert Walter,[7] and spent the next four years travelling to Rome and back attempting to persuade Pope Innocent III both to give him the bishopric and to elevate the see of St Davids to archiepiscopal status independent of Canterbury.[8] In 1203 he finally gave up the fight and spent the rest of his life in (relatively) quiet retirement at a living in the diocese of Lincoln;[9] he died in 1223.[10]

This account of the facts of Gerald's life gives no hint of the tumultuous and colourful life he actually led, or of the personality of which there is so much evidence in his works. We have a wealth of information about him, all supplied by himself. He has been described as a relentless self-publicist, recommending himself to posterity when his

---

[1] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, I, x, n. 1; Butler, *The Autobiography*, p. 35, n. 1.
[2] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 92–3; translated *ibid.*, I, ix, n. 1.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, 21; Butler, *The Autobiography*, p. 35.
[4] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, I, 23; Butler, *The Autobiography*, p. 37.
[5] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, I, 27; Butler, *The Autobiography*, p. 43; Roberts, *Gerald of Wales*, pp. 14–17.
[6] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, I, 57 and 89; Butler, *The Autobiography*, pp. 81 and 123; Roberts, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 24.
[7] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, I, 94–116; Butler, *The Autobiography*, pp. 129–62.
[8] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, I, 117–22 and III, 165–322; Butler, *The Autobiography*, pp. 162–347. See also *De inuectionibus* ('The Book of Invectives', ed. Davies).
[9] Roberts, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 45.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 64; *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles*, ed. Phillimore and Davis, II, 9–10.

contemporaries failed to appreciate him.[11] This dissertation, however, is concerned with an aspect of Gerald which has been but little studied thus far, although it constitutes the material evidence for everything we know about him: the manuscripts of his works.

There has been quite extensive discussion of the text-history of Gerald's works.[12] The earliest 'modern' editions of Gerald's works appear in the Rolls Series, edited by James Brewer (Vols. I–IV), James Dimock (Vols. V–VII) and George Warner (Vol. VIII).[13] This collection is incomplete, however, omitting two works entirely (*Vita Sancti Ethelberti*, edited by M. R. James in 1917,[14] and *Speculum duorum*, edited and translated by Michael Richter and others in 1974)[15] and containing only parts of a third (*De inuectionibus*, edited by W. S. Davies in 1920).[16] *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica* have both been re-edited and translated since the Rolls Series edition, the former in 1949 by John J. O'Meara (and translated by him in 1951)[17] and the latter in 1978 by A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin.[18] There have also been translations of *De rebus a se gestis*,[19] *Descriptio Kambriae* and *Itinerarium Kambriae*,[20] *Gemma ecclesiastica*[21] and *Vita Sancti Hugonis*.[22] All these editions and translations include some mention of the manuscripts used, ranging from straightforward

---

[11] There have been some interesting studies of Gerald in recent years: for example, see Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*; Roberts, *Gerald of Wales*; Wada, 'Gerald on Gerald'.
[12] See below, p. 7, for a complete list of Gerald's surviving works.
[13] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*. Vol. I was published in 1861.
[14] 'Two Lives', ed. James.
[15] *Speculum Duorum*, ed. and trans. Richter *et al.*
[16] 'The Book of Invectives', ed. Davies, p. 3.
[17] 'Topographia Hibernie', ed. O'Meara; *idem*, *The First Version/The History*. O'Meara's edition is of the first 'edition' or 'recension'; see below, pp. 31–40.
[18] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, pp. xxxiv–lxxv. For example, Scott has shown (p. xliii) that BL Royal 13.B.viii is a direct copy of Bodleian Rawlinson B.188, contrary to Dimock's assertion that this could not be the case (*GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, xxi). He has also (*Expugnatio Hibernica*, pp. xliii–xlvii) made a convincing argument that NLI 700 and BL Royal 13.B.viii were made under Gerald's supervision and kept by him for a long period.
[19] Butler, *The Autobiography*; this also includes some parts of other works, mainly *De iure et statu meneuensis ecclesiae*.
[20] Thorpe, *The Journey*.
[21] Hagen, *The Jewel*.
[22] Loomis, *The Life of St Hugh*.

descriptions[23] to detailed analysis of them and the place of their copies in the textual history.[24]

There has been very little other discussion of the textual history or palaeography of Giraldian manuscripts. Textual work was carried out by H. E. Butler,[25] Michael Richter[26] and R. W. Hunt.[27] Individual manuscripts have been studied from various points of view, not always related to the Giraldian work contained therein.[28] There are also some interesting accounts of now-lost manuscripts.[29]

Some manuscripts have attracted attention from an art-historical point of view. NLI 700, BL Royal 13.B.viii and Bodleian Laud Misc. 720, which all include marginal illustrations to *Topographia hibernica*, were included in Nigel Morgan's survey of early Gothic illuminated manuscripts.[30] Michelle Brown has recently discussed the marginal illustrations in NLI 700 and BL Royal 13.B.viii,[31] and Thomas O'Loughlin has considered the map of Europe in NLI 700, arguing that it is likely to have been produced in Gerald's circle.[32] However, palaeographical description, let alone discussion, has been very scarce, limited to passing comments in works with a different focus.[33]

---

[23] For example, Thorpe, *The Journey*, pp. 36–9 and 49–50.
[24] Notably *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, introduction.
[25] Butler, 'Some New Pages', a discussion and edition of previously unknown passages in *De iure et statu meneuensis ecclesiae*. See below, pp. 108–10.
[26] Richter, 'A New Edition'. See below, pp. 112–13.
[27] Hunt, 'The Preface', in which Hunt has reconstructed the preface to *Speculum Ecclesiae* (damaged in the only surviving complete copy) from early modern transcripts.
[28] See Harrison ('A Note'), who has deduced some facts about the history of *Annales Cambriae* and how it related to Gerald. Constable, 'An Unpublished Letter', is an edition of a letter from Hugh, abbot of Reading, to Pope Celestine II contained in a Giraldian manuscript (see below, pp. 48 and 120). Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish Interest', gave descriptions of the manuscripts of Gerald's Irish works in the British Library.
[29] See Breeze, 'Giraldus Cambrensis and Poland'; Berkhout, 'The Parkerian Legacy'; Davies, 'The Kambriae Mappa'.
[30] Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, I, 104–6 (no. 59) and II, 86–7 (no. 116).
[31] Brown, 'Marvels of the West'. See below, pp. 134–5.
[32] O'Loughlin, 'A Thirteenth-century Map'. See below, p. 122.
[33] For a description of the single manuscript of the text and some comments on the similarity of the hand to that in other Giraldian manuscripts see Loomis, *The Life of St Hugh*, pp. l–lii. Richter has made some palaeographical analysis of the manuscript of *Speculum duorum* but has not compared it with other manuscripts (*Speculum Duorum*, ed. and trans. Richter *et al.*, pp. xvii–xix and lvii–lxvi). Scott's otherwise invaluable introduction to his and Martin's edition of *Expugnatio hibernica* includes some discussion of the hands in NLI 700 (pp. xliv–xlvii and l–lv), but from a text-historical, not palaeographical, point of view.

A study of the manuscripts of Gerald of Wales as a group enables various questions about Gerald and his works to be addressed. I shall consider the production of Gerald's works in his lifetime, investigating similarities between the early manuscripts which may suggest a common place of origin. This may shed light on both Gerald's arrangements for the production of his works and the spread of those works soon after they were published. I shall also consider the manuscripts produced after Gerald's death and what they can reveal about the diffusion and reception of his works in the later Middle Ages and early modern period. For example: Gerald's works were read where, when and by whom? Which were most popular? Were different works popular at different times, and why? What treatment did the works undergo at the hands of later scholars (for example, translation, abbreviation and excerpting)?

Manuscript-evidence used in this way has obvious limitations. It is almost certain that what survives is only a proportion of what there once was, and it is impossible to know how high a proportion. In many cases information about the surviving manuscripts may be incomplete. Also, there is what Julia Crick has called 'the distorting effect of manuscript-survival',[34] whereby books in particular situations, for example those kept in the libraries of medieval religious houses, are more likely to have survived than others. This makes it impossible to achieve statistical or wide-ranging deductions from the surviving manuscripts, and also prevents conclusions being drawn from the absence of evidence. Also, the motivation behind some aspects of the production of manuscripts, for example the inclusion of associated contents, is necessarily unknown and may not be as significant as it appears.[35] Nevertheless, despite the restrictions on the breadth of knowledge to be gained from manuscript-evidence, much valuable positive information

---

[34] Crick, *The Historia*, IV, 196.
[35] See *ibid.*, p. 11: 'some works may have been associated in an exemplar, others newly added to the conglomeration as a result of practical as much as aesthetic considerations'.

may be found. While the absence of something does not prove that it never existed, its presence certainly proves that it did.

Existing studies, for example Tessa Webber's investigation of the manuscripts of Salisbury Cathedral library,[36] provide examples of what I hope to achieve with the early Giraldian manuscripts, although such studies have focused on the manuscripts of a particular place rather than those of an author's *oeuvre*. A closer parallel is Rodney Thomson's work on the 'scriptorium' of William of Malmesbury.[37] My main model for the work on the later manuscripts is Julia Crick's study of the manuscripts of Geoffrey of Monmouth, conducted under the same supervisor as my own, Professor David Dumville.[38] However, while Crick focused to a large degree on the manuscript-evidence for the textual history of Geoffrey's *Historia regum Britanniae*,[39] I am dealing with manuscripts containing several different works. I am therefore more concerned with the manuscripts themselves and with the answers which they can provide to questions of production (with the early manuscripts) and the reception and diffusion of Gerald's works after his death.

My study began with the compilation of a list of manuscripts containing works of Gerald.[40] I included manuscripts containing extracts (however small) and translations but excluded those containing works in which Gerald was merely quoted or paraphrased. The initial search included the introductions to all the modern editions of Gerald's works, Richard Sharpe's handlist of medieval British and Irish Latin authors,[41] the appendix to Robert Bartlett's study of Gerald[42] and T. D. Hardy's list of materials for the

---

[36] Webber, *Scribes and Scholars*.
[37] Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, pp. 76–96. See below, pp. 224–9, at p. 226.
[38] Crick, *The Historia*, IV.
[39] See *ibid.*, especially chapters III–VIII.
[40] See above, pp. vi–xix.
[41] Sharpe, *Handlist*, pp. 134–7.
[42] Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, pp. 213–21.

history of Britain and Ireland.[43] I also made a comprehensive search of all the manuscript-catalogues of the major libraries of Europe, America and Australia. Together these sources produced a list of 100 manuscripts containing works, or parts of works, of Gerald of Wales. Of these, forty-one were known to the editors of *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*.[44] Forty-eight were listed by Sharpe, and Bartlett listed seventy-one. Of the 100 which I have considered, twenty-five manuscripts have, as far as I know, never before been mentioned by anyone studying Gerald or his works.[45]

The following represents some initial investigations into the manuscripts to determine groups based on various criteria, on which the more detailed studies in the next chapters are based.

WORKS OF GERALD

The first of these criteria is the work of Gerald contained in the manuscript. Gerald was a prolific author, producing nineteen works which survive today (as well as various letters and poems, and at least two works which have not survived). They are, in roughly chronological order:

---

[43] Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, I, 122–3; II, 65–6, 457–68, 497–8, 508–10, 549–50 and 558–9; III, 7–8, 10–11, 36 and 64–5.

[44] Brewer was aware that BAV Reg. Lat. 470 had existed, but gave no indication whether he knew that it had survived (*GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, I, xcii–xciii). I have therefore not included it in the above-mentioned forty-one.

[45] NLW Peniarth 383D; NLW Williams 315; Cambridge, Emmanuel College, 1.1.3; Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 290/682; NLI 1416; TCD 515; TCD 574; Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, B.P.L. 13; BL Additional 4787; BL Additional 4822; BL Additional 43706; BL Additional 48037; BL Cotton Titus C.xii; BL Royal Appendix 85; BL Royal 13.B.xviii; London, College of Arms, Vincent 418; Lambeth 263; Lambeth 594; JRUL 217; Bodleian Auct. D.2.9; Bodleian Rawlinson B.475; CCCO 217; CCCO 263; BNF latin 11111.

1. *Topographia hibernica*;
2. *Expugnatio hibernica*;
3. *Itinerarium Kambriae*;
4. *Descriptio Kambriae*;
5. *Vita Sancti Dauidis*;
6. *Vita Galfridi archiepiscopus eboracensis*;
7. *Vita Sancti Ethelberti*;
8. *Vita Sancti Hugonis*;
9. *Vita Sancti Remigii*;
10. *Gemma ecclesiastica*;
11. *Symbolum electorum*;
12. *De rebus a se gestis*;
13. *De iure et statu meneuensis ecclesiae*;
14. *De inuectionibus*;
15. *De principis instructione*;
16. *Speculum duorum*;
17. *Catalogus breuior librorum suorum*;
18. *Retractationes*;
19. *Speculum Ecclesiae.*

The grouping of the manuscripts by text provides a good indication of the relative popularity of these works.

By far the best-represented work in the manuscript-record is *Topographia hibernica*, with forty-seven copies.[46] It is followed by *Expugnatio hibernica* (thirty-six copies), *Descriptio Kambriae* (twenty-four copies), and *Itinerarium Kambriae* (fifteen copies). In contrast, thirteen of the remaining works survive complete in only one copy.[47] This indicates that, while Gerald's topographical and historical works enjoyed a wide circulation, his more theological, autobiographical and polemical efforts do not appear to have been widely diffused.

There is some overlap in the figures above, as some of the manuscripts contain more than one of Gerald's works: forty-one (approximately 40%) contain two or more.[48] The following combinations may be found in more than one manuscript:

Topographia hibernica and *Expugnatio hibernica* (twelve manuscripts);[49]

---

[46] All figures include extracts, translations, incomplete copies and mutilated copies of the specified work (both medieval and early modern).
[47] The *uitae*, *Speculum duorum*, *De rebus a se gestis* and *Speculum Ecclesiae.*
[48] This refers only to the contents of the manuscript as originally written and does not include any later additions.
[49] NLW 2005; NLW 3074D; Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, 887; NLI 700; BL Additional 4822; BL Cotton Claudius E.viii; BL Harley 4003; BL Harley 551; BL Royal 13.A.xiv; BL Royal 14.C.vi; Lambeth 622; JRUL 217.

Topographia hibernica, *Expugnatio hibernica* and *Itinerarium Kambriae* (four manuscripts);[50]

Itinerarium Kambriae and *Descriptio Kambriae* (seven manuscripts).[51]

Again this demonstrates the popularity of Gerald's Welsh and Irish works. It is interesting that only one manuscript, BL Harley 359, contains all four of the Welsh and Irish works (which make a logical set), and this is an early modern sixteenth-century manuscript.[52]

There are thirty-two manuscripts which contain only works of Gerald.[53] A work of Gerald may be included in a composite codex, which if separated would include a manuscript containing only Giraldian works, but it is now impossible to say if other contents of the original Giraldian manuscript ever existed.

The groups of manuscripts formed by dividing by work can be further subdivided. Gerald was constantly revising his works, and therefore they survive in different forms which were called 'editions' by J. F. Dimock, editor of vols. V–VII of the Rolls Series edition of Gerald's *oeuvre*. Determining the 'edition' or recension of a work which a manuscript contains is useful for discovering both relationships between manuscripts and, more generally, their fate in the later Middle Ages and early modern times. I shall discuss the recensions of the texts in Giraldian manuscripts in detail in Chapter II.

The works also survive in four different 'states': whole, whole with lacunae, abridged and extracts. The Irish and Welsh works were often excerpted, usually the parts concerning historical matters, natural history, marvels and miracles. Nine manuscripts of

---

[50] CUL Ff.1.27; BL Additional 34762; BL Royal 13.B.viii; Bodleian Rawlinson B.188.
[51] NLW 3024C; NLW Peniarth 383D; BL Additional 43706; BL Cotton Domitian A.i; BL Harley 912; BL Royal 13.B.xii; Bodleian Rawlinson B.471.
[52] CUL Ff.1.27 contains all four of these works, but only three were in the manuscript as originally written; *Descriptio Kambriae* was a much later addition.
[53] NLW 3024C; NLW 3074D; CCCC 390; CCCC 400; CCCC 425; TCC R.7.11; CUL Additional 3392; CUL Mm.5.30; NLI 700; TCD 592; TCD 593; BL Additional 34762; BL Additional 40674; BL Additional 43706; BL Additional 44922; BL Cotton Domitian A.v; BL Cotton Faustina C.iv; BL Cotton Julius B.xiii; BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii; BL Harley 177; BL Harley 359; BL Royal 13.B.xii; Lambeth 236; Lambeth 371; Lambeth 263; Lambeth 622; London, Westminster Abbey 23; Bodleian Bodley 511; Bodleian Rawlinson B.188; Bodleian Rawlinson B.483; BNF latin 4846; BAV Reg. Lat. 470.

Topographia hibernica contain only extracts;[54] seven of *Expugnatio hibernica*;[55] five of *Descriptio Kambriae*;[56] four of *De inuectionibus*;[57] two of *Itinerarium Kambriae*;[58] two of *De iure*;[59] two of *De principis instructione*;[60] one of *Gemma ecclesiastica*;[61] and one of *Symbolum electorum*.[62]

Expugnatio hibernica is the work which has been most translated: ten manuscripts contain translations. Eight of these manuscripts are English,[63] and two are Irish.[64] There are also three translations of *Topographia hibernica*, one of *Descriptio Kambriae*, one of *Itinerarium Kambriae*, and two of *De iure*. All these translations are in English. This again reflects the popularity of the Irish works in particular.

ASSOCIATED CONTENTS[65]

The examination of the non-Giraldian contents of Giraldian manuscripts gives some indication of the context in which Gerald's works circulated. In the case of some combinations of contents, for example of several works or of two or more rare works, it may indicate a relationship between manuscripts, whether of exemplar and copy or of something more complicated. It may show how Gerald's work were perceived at the time of copying: for example, as history, geography or moralising tract.

The following is a list of authors whose works appear with more than one Giraldian manuscript, and of the manuscripts in which they appear. In every instance the

---

[54] NLW 110B; Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 290/682; CUL Mm.2.18; BL Additional 4822; BL Cotton Claudius E.viii; BL Royal 14.C.vi; JRUL 217; Bodleian Tanner 2; CCCO 263.
[55] TCD 1298; BL Cotton Claudius E.viii; BL Harley 310; BL Lansdowne 229; BL Royal 14.C.vi; Lambeth 580; JRUL 217.
[56] NLW 110B; BL Additional 4785; BL Sloane 1710; Bodleian Rawlinson B.471; CCCO 263.
[57] CCCC 400; TCC R.7.11, end-flyleaf; TCD 515; BL Harley 359 (these manuscripts contain the same extract, which is often entitled *De Giraldo archidiacono Meneuensi*).
[58] BL Lansdowne 229; Bodleian Rawlinson B.471.
[59] BL Cotton Domitian A.i; BL Harley 359.
[60] BL Additional 48037; Lambeth 594.
[61] Lambeth 594.
[62] Lambeth 594.
[63] NLI 1416; TCD 592; TCD 593; BL Additional 40674; BL Harley 551; Lambeth 248; Lambeth 623; Bodleian Rawlinson B.490.
[64] TCD 1298; Bodleian Rawlinson B.475.
[65] This section is based upon work undertaken by Julia Crick in her *The Historia*, IV, chapter 2.

associated contents formed part of the same manuscript as the Giraldian text from the outset; contents of composite codices were excluded.

Alexander the Great

Collatio Alexandri cum Dindimo per litteras facta[66]

Cambridge St Catharine's 3 (*Topographia hibernica*)[67]

BL Cotton Cleopatra D.v (*Topographia hibernica*, *Expugnatio hibernica* and *Symbolum electorum*)[68]

Epistola ad Aristotelem[69]

Cambridge St Catharine's 3 (*Topographia hibernica*)

BNF latin 4126 (*Topographia hibernica*)[70]

Epitome of Iulius Valerius's *Historia Alexandri*[71]

Cambridge St Catharine's 3 (*Topographia hibernica*)

BL Cotton Cleopatra D.v (*Topographia hibernica*, *Expugnatio hibernica* and *Symbolum electorum*)

Pseudo-Aristotle's *Secreta secretorum*[72]

TCD 515 (extract from *De invectionibus*): excerpt.

Bodleian Rawlinson B.490 (English translation of *Expugnatio hibernica*): Middle English translation attributed to James Yonge.[73]

---

[66] Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, pp. 13–14 and 91–5; Ross, *Alexander Historiatus*, pp. 31–2.
[67] Ross, 'A Check-list', p. 129.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 130.
[69] Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, pp. 14–16; Ross, *Alexander Historiatus*, pp. 27–9.
[70] Ross, 'A Check-list', p. 131. This manuscript also contains an account of Alexander's death.
[71] Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, pp. 24–7; Ross, *Alexander Historiatus*, p. 9, and 'A Check-list', p. 129.
[72] Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, pp. 21–2 and 105–6.
[73] *Three Prose Versions*, ed. Steele, pp. 121–248.

Bede, Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum *(eighth century)*[74]

Cambridge Emmanuel 1.1.3 (*Topographia hibernica*)

BL Harley 912 (*Itinerarium Kambriae*, *Descriptio Kambriae*, extracts): Book V

BL Royal 13.B.xviii (*Topographia hibernica*)

Bede's Prologue on the seven *Epistolae canonicae* appears in Lambeth 594, an early modern manuscript.

Pseudo-Gildas, Historia britonum *(early twelfth century)*[75]

CUL Ff.1.27 (*Topographia hibernica*, *Expugnatio hibernica*, *Itinerarium Kambriae*)

BL Additional 4787 (extracts from *De rebus a se gestis*)[76]

Darius (Dares) Phrygius, De excidio Troiae *(third century)*[77]

TCD 515 (extract from *De invectionibus*)

BNF latin 4126 (*Topographia hibernica*)

Eusebius-Jerome, Chronica *(early fourth century)*[78]

CUL Ff.1.27 (*Topographia hibernica*, *Expugnatio hibernica*, *Itinerarium Kambriae*)

BL Royal 13.B.viii (*Topographia hibernica*, *Expugnatio hibernica*, *Itinerarium Kambriae*)

Geoffrey of Monmouth, Historia regum Britanniae *(twelfth century)*[79]

TCD 515 (extract from *De inuectionibus*)

BL Harley 4003 (*Topographia hibernica*, *Expugnatio hibernica*)

---

[74] *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. Colgrave and Mynors.
[75] *Gildae Sapientis de Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae*, ed. Mommsen, 111–22.
[76] On the copy of *Historia Britonum* in this manuscript, see Huws, 'Gildas Prisei'.
[77] *Daretis Phrygii … Historia*, ed. Meister.
[78] *Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones*, ed. Fotheringham.
[79] *The Historia*, ed. Wright, II; Crick, *The Historia*, IV, 44. See below, pp. 229–32.

Bodleian Laud Misc. 720 (*Topographia hibernica*)

BNF latin 4126 (*Topographia hibernica*)

BL Additional 48037 (extract from *De principis instructione*)

Henry of Huntingdon, Historia Anglorum *(twelfth century)*[80]

Cambridge St Catharine's 3 (*Topographia hibernica*)

CUL Additional 3392 (*Expugnatio hibernica*)

College of Arms Vincent 418 (*Topographia hibernica*)

NLW Peniarth 383D (*Itinerarium Kambriae*, *Descriptio Kambriae*)

Several other Giraldian manuscripts also contain parts of Henry's work, or works relating to him. TCD 574 (extracts from the four Welsh and Irish works) contains the epitaph of King Cadwalladr as given by Henry of Huntingdon. BL Royal 14.C.vi and BL Cotton Claudius E.viii (both containing extracts from *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica*) contain a work entitled 'De uiris quo tempore scripserunt' with additions from Henry's *Historia* (Royal 14.C.vi also contains a prophecy of the Norman Conquest taken from Henry's work). CUL Additional 3392 contains, as a separate work, Henry's letter *De contemptu mundi*, which was included in some versions of *Historia Anglorum.*

Henry of Saltrey, Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii *(twelfth century)*[81]

CUL Ff.1.27 (*Topographia hibernica*, *Expugnatio hibernica*, *Itinerarium Kambriae*)

BL Harley 912 (*Itinerarium Kambriae*, *Descriptio Kambriae*, extracts)

BL Royal 13.B.viii (*Topographia hibernica*, *Expugnatio hibernica*, *Itinerarium Kambriae*)

---

[80] *Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon: Historia Anglorum*, ed. and trans. Greenway. See below, pp. 233–5.
[81] *St Patrick's Purgatory*, ed. Easting.

Jacques de Vitry (Iacobus de Vitriaco), Historia orientalis *(twelfth to thirteenth century)*[82]

BL Additional 19513 (abbreviation of *Topographia hibernica*)

BL Harley 912 (*Itinerarium Kambriae*, *Descriptio Kambriae*, extracts): extracts

BL Royal 14.C.xiii (*Expugnatio hibernica*)

CCCC 66A:[83] entitled *Historia Ierosolimitana abbreviata*

BL Harley 1757 (*Descriptio Kambriae*)

Jerome (fourth century)

Cambridge Caius 290/682 (extracts from *Topographia hibernica*): *Epistola ad Nepotianum de uita clericorum*; here entitled *Tractatus de uita clericorum.*[84]

BL Additional 48037 (extract from *De principis instructione*): extracts from *De uiris illustribus.*[85]

John of Salisbury, Metalogicon *(twelfth century)*[86]

CUL Mm.2.18 (extracts from *Topographia hibernica*)

Bodleian James 2 (*De iure*, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, extracts)

CUL Mm.2.18 also contains extracts from John's *Entheticus*, and Bodleian James 2 contains some of his letters and extracts from his *Policraticus.*

John of Tynemouth, Historia aurea *(fourteenth century)*[87]

TCD 574 (extracts from the four Welsh and Irish works)

Bodleian James 2 (*De iure*, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, extracts)

---

[82] *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. Bongars, I.2, 1047–1145 (Book I only); *The 'Historia Orientalis'*, ed. Hinnebusch.
[83] The manuscript of which CUL Ff.1.27 was originally a part, and therefore containing *Topographia hibernica*, *Expugnatio hibernica* and *Itinerarium Kambriae.*
[84] *The Letters of Saint Jerome*, ed. Duff, pp. 195–207.
[85] *Hieronymus und Gennadius*, ed. Bernoulli.
[86] *Ioannis Saresberiensis Metalogicon*, ed. Hall and Keats-Rohan; Keats-Rohan, 'The Textual Tradition'.
[87] *Noua Legenda Anglie*, ed. Horstman.

Marco Polo, De condicionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum *(translated into Latin about 1320)*[88]

BL Additional 19513 (abbreviation of *Topographia hibernica*)

BL Royal 14.C.xiii (*Expugnatio hibernica*)

'Matthew of Westminster', Flores historiarum *(thirteenth to fourteenth century)*[89]

Royal 14.C.vi (*Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica*, extracts)

BL Cotton Claudius E.viii (*Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica*, extracts)

Flores historiarum, a history from the creation of the world to 1327, is an abbreviation of Matthew Paris's *Chronica maiora.* Matthew Paris was a monk of St Albans in the thirteenth century. His own copy of the *Flores* found its way to Westminster after 1265, where it was continued to 1327.[90]

Merlin, Prophetiae *(twelfth century)*

Cambridge Peterhouse 177 (*Topographia hibernica*)

CUL Ff.1.27 (*Topographia hibernica*, *Expugnatio hibernica*, *Itinerarium Kambriae*)

TCD 515 (extract from *De invectionibus*)

BL Cotton Nero D.viii (*Descriptio Kambriae*)

BNF latin 4126 (*Topographia hibernica*): commentary on Merlin's prophecies.

Bodleian Rawlinson B.475 (Irish translation of *Expugnatio hibernica*)

In *Expugnatio hibernica* Gerald mentioned prophecies of Merlin which related to Ireland, and they also often occur as separate article in Giraldian manuscripts. The text called *Prophetia Merlini* is part of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, but circulated

---

[88] Ross, 'Marco Polo', p. 191.
[89] *Flores Historiarum*, ed. Luard.
[90] 'Matthew of Westminster' never existed; see Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 377–8, especially p. 378, n. 1.

as a separate text almost from the time it was composed. Cambridge Peterhouse 177 and CUL Ff.1.27 contain *Prophetia Merlini*,[91] and BNF latin 4126 contains a commentary on it.[92]

Peter Alphonse (Petrus Alfunsis/Alfonsis), Disciplina clericalis *(eleventh century)*[93]

BNF latin 4126 (*Topographia hibernica*)

BL Additional 33991 (*Topographia hibernica*): fragment.

Peter of Blois (Petrus Blesensis) (twelfth century)

Cambridge Caius 290/682 (extracts from *Topographia hibernica*): Commentary on Job.[94]

Bodleian James 2 (*De iure*, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, extracts): extracts from his letters.[95]

Peter Lombard (Petrus Lombardus) (twelfth century)

Cambridge Caius 290/682 (extracts from *Topographia hibernica*): *Sententiae*.[96]

Bodleian Auctarium D.2.9 (extracts from *Symbolum electorum*): Commentary on the Psalms.[97]

Ranulf Higden, Polychronicon *(fourteenth century)*[98]

Cambridge Peterhouse 177 (*Topographia hibernica*)

BL Cotton Nero D.viii (*Descriptio Kambriae*)

---

[91] Eckhardt, 'The *Prophetia Merlini*', pp. 172–3.
[92] Hammer, 'A Commentary on the *Prophetia Merlini*'.
[93] *Die Disciplina Clericalis*, ed. Hilka and Soderhjelm.
[94] *Petri Blesensis … Opera Omnia*, ed. Giles, III, 19–62.
[95] *The Later Letters*, ed. and trans. Revell.
[96] *Magistri Petri Lombardi … Sententiae*, ed. Brady.
[97] *P. Lombardi … Opera Omnia*, ed. Migne, I, cols. 31–1296.
[98] *Polychronicon*, ed. Babington and Lumby.

BL Royal 13.C.iii (*Descriptio Kambriae*)

BL Royal 14.C.xiii (*Expugnatio hibernica*)

JRUL 217 (*Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica*)

BL Royal 13.C.i (*Vita Sancti Dauidis*): extracts.

BNF latin 4126 (*Topographia hibernica*): extracts.

In *Polychronicon* Higden used (and acknowledged) Gerald's *Topographia hibernica*, *Expugnatio hibernica* and *De principis instructione* as sources, and also used without acknowledgement the two Welsh works.

Robert Grosseteste (thirteenth century)[99]

College of Arms Vincent 418 (*Topographia hibernica*): letter to Adam Rufus.

Bodleian James 2 (*De iure*, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, extracts): extracts from his letters.

Lambeth 594 (extracts from *Gemma ecclesiastica*, *Symbolum electorum* and *De principis instructione*): *Statuta familiae.*[100]

Roger of Howden, Chronica *(twelfth to thirteenth century)*[101]

BL Royal 14.C.vi (extracts from *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica*)

BL Cotton Claudius E.viii (extracts from *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica*)

BL Additional 48037 (extract from *De principis instructione*)

BL Harley 310 (*Expugnatio hibernica*)

BL Lansdowne 229 (extracts from *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Expugnatio hibernica*)

All the above manuscripts contain extracts.

---

[99] *Roberti Grosseteste … Epistolae*, ed. Luard.
[100] *Monumenta Franciscana*, ed. Brewer and Howlett, I, 582–6. According to Brewer and Howlett (p. 582), this work is actually a letter to Robert Grosseteste from Adam de Marisco.
[101] *Chronica*, ed. Stubbs.

C. Iulius Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium *(third century)*[102]

Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, B.P.L 13 (*Topographia hibernica*)

CUL Mm.2.18 (extracts from *Topographia hibernica*): entitled *Liber de mirabilibus mundi.*

Simeon of Durham (twelfth century)[103]

TCD 574 (extracts from the four Welsh and Irish works): *De archiepiscopatibus eboracensis.*

BL Additional 48037 (extract from *De principis instructione*): extracts from his *Historia regum.*

Thomas of Elmham (fifteenth century)

BL Royal 13.C.i (*Vita Sancti Dauidis*): Life of Henry V.[104]

BL Harley 1757 (*Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Descriptio Kambriae*): extract from his *Historia abbatiae Sancti Augustini Cantuariensis.*[105]

Walter Map, Dissuasio Valerii philosophi ad Rufinum de uxore ducenda *(twelfth century)*[106]

TCD 515 (extract from *De invectionibus*)

BL Arundel 14 (*Topographia hibernica*)

BL Harley 3724 (*Topographia hibernica*)

Dissuasio Valerii philosophi ad Rufinum de uxore ducenda, a warning against the dangers of taking a wife, was composed by Walter Map and is part of his *De nugis curialium*, but it also circulated as a separate work. Of these three manuscripts, only in TCD 515 is it attributed to Walter Map.

---

[102] *C. Iulii Solini Collectanea*, ed. Mommsen.
[103] *Symeonis ... Opera Omnia*, ed. Arnold.
[104] *Thomæ de Elmham Vita ... Henrici Quinti*, ed. Hearne.
[105] *Historia*, ed. Hardwick.
[106] *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. and trans. James, rev. Brooke and Mynors.

William of Malmesbury, Gesta regum Anglorum *(twelfth century)*[107]

TCD 515 (extract from *De inuectionibus*)

Lambeth 371 (*Expugnatio hibernica*)

BL Additional 48037 (extract from *De principis instructione*)

All these manuscripts contain extracts.

William also appears in several other manuscripts: BL Additional 4822 (anonymous preface to an abbreviation of *Topographia hibernica*) contains the preface of *Abbreuiatio Amalarii*;[108] BL Cotton Vitellius E.v (*De iure*, *Descriptio Kambriae*, *Retractationes*, *Catalogus librorum suorum* and poems) contains *Chronica Glastoniae*;[109] and in Bodleian Tanner 2 (*Topographia hibernica*) there are three works of William: an 'index' to his *Flores historiae* (probably *Polyhistor*),[110] and extracts from his *Historia ecclesiastica* (probably *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*)[111] and *Historia nouella.*[112] All of these are modern manuscripts. Two medieval manuscripts, BL Royal 14.C.vi and BL Cotton Claudius E.viii (both containing extracts from *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica*), contain a work entitled *De uiris quo tempore scripserunt* with additions from William.

William of Ockham, Dialogus inter militem et clericum super libertate ac potestate regia *(early fourteenth century)*[113]

BL Cotton Nero D.viii (*Descriptio Kambriae*)

BL Additional 48037 (extract from *De Principis Instructione*)

---

[107] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. Stubbs. See below, pp. 224–9.
[108] 'The "Abbreviatio Amalarii"', ed. Pfaff.
[109] *The Early History*, ed. and trans. Scott.
[110] *Polyhistor*, ed. Ouellette.
[111] *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, ed. Hamilton.
[112] *Historia nouella*, ed. and trans. King and Potter.
[113] *Monarchia S. Romani Imperii*, ed. Goldast, II, 392–957.

There are a number of historical works, particularly Insular histories, in the list above: for example, Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, *Flores historiarum*, Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*, John of Tynemouth's *Historia aurea* and William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum*. The histories of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Henry of Huntingdon, Ranulph Higden and Roger of Howden are each found four or more times with a work of Gerald. Histories are (perhaps unsurprisingly) found mostly with Gerald's works on Ireland and Wales, which are his most historical works and, it seems, have been perceived as such since the Middle Ages.

There are also some religious works or authors – for example, Jerome, Henry of Saltrey and Peter Lombard. These works are not associated with any particular work of Gerald; they are in manuscripts containing Gerald's Welsh and Irish works more than any of his other works. However, this seems more likely to be due to the survival in greater numbers of those works than to be a reflection on the perception of Gerald. There is no hagiography, but this is perhaps a reflection of the fact that Gerald's own hagiographical works survive in very small numbers.

A genre which occurs quite often is 'Marvels-of-the-East' literature. Alexander's letter to Aristotle, Jacques de Vitry's *Historia orientalis* and Marco Polo's *De condicionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum* all fall into this category and between them are found in seven Giraldian manuscripts, five of which contain *Topographia hibernica*. *Topographia hibernica* is similar to works on the Marvels of the East, as it recounts the miracles and marvels of the West (that is, Ireland). In fact, Gerald himself made an explicit comparison between his works and 'Marvels-of-the-East' literature: 'For just as the marvels of the East have through the work of certain authors come to the light of public notice, so the marvels of the West which, so far, have remained hidden away and almost unknown,

may eventually find in me one to make them known even in these later days.'[114] It seems from the evidence above that the perception of *Topographia hibernica* as belonging to this genre continued after Gerald's death.

The following authors are found only in medieval manuscripts: Alexander the Great, pseudo-Aristotle, Bede, Eusebius, Dares Phrygius, Henry of Saltrey, Jerome, Marco Polo, Matthew Paris ('Matthew of Westminster'), Peter Alphonse, Peter Lombard, Ranulph Higden, Solinus, Walter Map and William of Ockham. John of Tynemouth and Simeon of Durham are found only in early modern manuscripts. This means that more than half of the works or authors listed above appear in both medieval and early modern Giraldian manuscripts.

Groupings of manuscripts

There are only two cases in which there is sufficient similarity between the contents of two or more manuscripts to suggest an inherited connection.

CUL Ff.1.27 and BL Royal 13.B.viii

These manuscripts both contain the same three Giraldian works, *Topographia hibernica*, *Expugnatio hibernica* and *Itinerarium Kambriae*. They also both contain Henry of Saltrey's *Tractatus de purgatorio Sancti Patricii* and extracts from Eusebius's *Chronica*. This suggests that there is a close relationship between them, possibly that of exemplar and copy.[115]

---

[114] O'Meara, *The History*, p. 57; *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 74.
[115] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, xxiii–xxiv; *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, p. xxxv.

BL Cotton Claudius E.viii and Royal 14.C.vi

These manuscripts, both containing extracts from *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica*, also share the *Flores historiarum* of 'Matthew of Westminster' as a main text and several works in the prefatory matter, including the work entitled 'De uiris quo tempore scripserunt', which includes extracts from Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury, a description of the coronation of Richard I from Roger of Hoveden's *Chronica*, descriptions of Rome and England, and an article on the tax called 'St Peter's Penny'. Again these manuscripts may be exemplar and copy.[116]

THE MANUSCRIPTS

The physical evidence of the manuscripts will be discussed in more detail in the relevant chapters. Here I shall give an overview of the evidence, and note features which emerge from surveying the manuscripts as a whole.

Date

The manuscripts of Gerald's works cover a very broad dating range, from the end of the twelfth century (almost immediately after his first work, *Topographia hibernica*, was finished in 1188) to the nineteenth century. Only a few of the manuscripts are dated by colophons in the same hand as that of the text. They are:

Cambridge, Emmanuel College 1.1.3 (A.D. 1481);
Bodleian Bodley 511 (1513);
Bodleian Rawlinson B.471 (1560);
BL Additional 43706 (1562);
BL Lansdowne 229 (1573);
NLI 1416 (1575);
BL Harley 544 (1575);

[116] See below, p. 168.

BL Harley 551 (1575–6);

Lambeth 263 (1602);

BL Additional 4785 (1641).

All but two of these are early modern; Emmanuel 1.1.3 and Bodley 511 are medieval, but are not far short of the sixteenth century. Perhaps this shows that medieval scribes were not interested in dating their work. In a few cases, some information about dating may be deduced from other evidence; this will be discussed further in the relevant chapters.[117]

A very rough division by date (for Britain and Ireland) into medieval (twelfth- to fifteenth-century and 1500–40) and modern (1540 onwards) shows that of the total, more than half are medieval (approximately sixty-five). As most of the modern manuscripts were written in two centuries (the sixteenth and seventeenth), compared with over three (the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth, and the end of the twelfth) for the medieval manuscripts, this suggests a much higher rate of copying in the early modern period than in the Middle Ages (although it may simply reflect the fact that early modern manuscripts have a better chance of survival, thanks to a shorter timespan and different conditions in which to survive).

Script

Most of the manuscripts, however, which do not have a date or dating criteria, were dated palaeographically. Most Giraldian manuscripts were written in one of four script-types (which will be discussed in more detail in the relevant chapters).[118]

1. Protogothic minuscule;
2. Textualis;
3. Cursiva (Antiquior or Recentior);
4. Early modern Secretary and Italic.

---

[117] See below, pp. 181–3 and 205.
[118] See below, pp. 127, 135–56, 169–74, 201–2.

The first and fourth of these are useful for dating; Textualis and Cursiva were used over such a long period that it can be difficult to date a manuscript written in these scripts. However, English varieties of Cursiva are usually reasonably closely datable because of quite rapid changes in style and a quantity of datable documentary comparanda.[119] Albert Derolez's recent study has helped greatly with the dating of Textualis.[120]

For example, if a manuscript was written in Protogothic minuscule, it was probably written within Gerald's lifetime, as this script was replaced by Textualis in the early- to mid-thirteenth century (and Gerald died about 1223). There are twenty-two such manuscripts – a rather high proportion (approximately 20%) of the total which are, potentially, connected with the author himself.[121]

When dating evidence is combined with the groups made by dividing by work, some interesting patterns emerge. For example, most copies of *Topographia hibernica* (thirty-seven of the total forty-six) are medieval. *Descriptio Kambriae*, on the other hand, is poorly represented in the medieval manuscript-record, surviving instead in many early modern copies (five medieval manuscripts to twenty-four modern). In the case of works now represented by only one manuscript, it is always medieval (for example, *De principis instructione*, the *uitae*, *De rebus a se gestis*, *Speculum duorum* and *Speculum Ecclesiae*). No work survives only in an early modern manuscript. Despite the relatively high number of manuscripts datable (by script) within Gerald's lifetime, some works, namely *Descriptio Kambriae*, *De principis instructione*, *Vita Sancti Dauidis*, *Vita Sancti Ethelberti*, *Retractationes* and *Catalogus breuior librorum suorum*, survive only in manuscripts written after Gerald's death. In some cases, there is only one medieval witness to a text, but one or more early

---

[119] See Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands*, pp. xiii–xxv.
[120] Derolez, *The Palaeography*. See especially chapters 4–8.
[121] See below, chapter III. The term Protogothic is used here as a term of convenience to refer to any formal bookhand which does not exhibit all the features of fully-developed Textualis.

modern copies: for example, *Retractationes* survives from the Middle Ages in BL Cotton Domitian A.i only, but there are also copies in five early modern manuscripts.

In the groupings of works in various manuscripts, the combination of *Topographia hibernica*, *Expugnatio hibernica* and *Itinerarium Kambriae* is found only in medieval manuscripts, and the combination *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Descriptio Kambriae* is found almost exclusively in modern manuscripts (the only exceptions being NLW 3024C and BL Harley 912). *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica* are found together almost exclusively in medieval manuscripts. The first and third of these combinations occur in manuscripts written within Gerald's lifetime, raising the possibility that he himself had something to do with their arrangement. I think that the explanation for the combination of *Topographia hibernica*, *Expugnatio hibernica* and *Itinerarium Kambriae*, so obviously lacking the work (*Descriptio Kambriae*) which would complete the set, is that it originally issued from Gerald's scriptorium before *Descriptio Kambriae* was written. *Descriptio Kambriae*, the last of the four works to be written, was finished in 1193 or 1194,[122] so Gerald could have had a manuscript containing all four works made from that time onwards.

Of the manuscripts containing only works of Gerald, half are early (written in Protogothic minuscule and therefore datable within Gerald's lifetime), a quarter are modern and a quarter are medieval.

No correlation between a manuscript's date and the edition of the Giraldian work which it contains has been noted; generally, copies of different editions are found throughout the dating range. However, some editions only survive in modern manuscripts, for example the first edition of *Descriptio Kambriae*.

Both medieval and modern scribes excerpted Gerald's works. However, none of the early manuscripts contains extracts rather than a full text.

---

[122] *Topographia hibernica* was finished in 1188, *Expugnatio hibernica* in 1189 and *Itinerarium Kambriae* in 1191.

Translations of Gerald's works do not appear in the manuscript-record until the fifteenth century. Perhaps this reflects lower standards of latinity in the later Middle Ages, the increasing acceptability of English as a literary language, or the expansion of the circulation of Gerald's works into a non-latinate, secular society.

Size

The present size of a manuscript is not a reliable indication of its original size, as binders often trimmed the edges of leaves when rebinding (sometimes, unfortunately, to the detriment of marginal text or illustrations). I shall therefore compare the sizes of the written space, which is usually spared the incursions of knife or scissors.

The largest manuscript in height is BL Cotton Claudius E.viii (300mm); the largest in width are BL Additional 17920, BL Lansdowne 229 and Bodleian Auctarium D.2.9 (200mm). The smallest manuscript in both height is and width is BL Additional 34762 (90×65mm). There is, therefore, considerable variation in the size of Giraldian manuscripts. According to Bernhard Bischoff, the size of manuscripts varied considerably in the later Middle Ages, therefore Giraldian manuscripts are not unusual in this respect.[123]

Quiring

I have only collated manuscripts made of parchment. Most manuscripts are in quires of either 8 or 12; three are in quires of ten – Cambridge Emmanuel 1.1.3, BL Royal 13.B.viii, Bodleian Auctarium D.2.9 and Bodleian Bodley 511.

---

[123] Bischoff, *Latin Palarography*, p. 26: 'Typical … are, on the one hand, enormous choir books, and on the other, tiny prayer books'.

More than half of the manuscripts with quires of eight are early – quires of eight were typical up to the twelfth century[124] – but eights are found as late as the fifteenth century (in TCD 1298 and BL Additional 40674). Tens are uncommon, but, again, are found across quite a wide dating range. Twelves are mostly found in later manuscripts (late thirteenth-century or later), except in St Catharine's 3, which is mid-thirteenth century.

The appearance of quires of twelve only in later manuscripts is typical of medieval manuscript production,[125] but according to Derolez, quires of eight became more popular again in the fifteenth century, a phenomenon which is not reflected in the Giraldian manuscript-record.[126]

Layout

A two-column layout is generally more common than a single-column layout. Most of the manuscripts with a single-column layout are modern, and this may indicate less care taken over the layout of the page in this period; for example, ruling of the written space is rarely found in modern manuscripts, and it would be difficult to write in two columns without ruled lines as a guide. Bodleian Auctarium D.2.9 has a three-column layout in the section including Giraldian works.

According to Bischoff, 'Throughout the middle ages the layout of a page either in long lines or in two columns was predominant', so in this sense Giraldian manuscripts are typical. They also bear out Derolez's observation that a two-column layout was generally preferred throughout the Gothic period.[127]

---

[124] Ivy, 'The Bibliography', pp. 38–9.
[125] Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 21; Derolez, *The Palaeography*, pp. 32–3.
[126] Derolez, *ibid.*. See below, pp. 176–7.
[127] Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 28; Derolez, *The Palaeography*, p. 37.

Provenance[128]

Twelve Giraldian manuscripts have an Irish provenance (about 10% of the total).[129] Perhaps unsurprisingly, all these manuscripts contain one or both of Gerald's Irish works. Six of the twelve were probably written in Ireland,[130] but the others were not necessarily of Irish origin. Only one manuscript has a Welsh provenance: TCD 515.[131]

Other known places of origin or provenance are Bury St Edmunds,[132] Christ Church, Canterbury,[133] St Augustine's, Canterbury,[134] Durham,[135] Gloucester (monastery of Lanthony Secunda),[136] Hereford,[137] Holme St Benet or Hulme (Norfolk),[138] Llanthony Prima (possibly),[139] Merton (Warwickshire),[140] Norwich,[141] Ramsey (Cambridgeshire),[142] Reading (possibly),[143] Robertsbridge (Sussex),[144] St Davids,[145] Wells,[146] Wighton

---

[128] Provenance is discussed in more detail below, pp. 156–61 and 192–8.
[129] CUL Additional 3392; TCD 1298; BL Additional 33991; BL Additional 40674; BL Cotton Cleopatra D.v; BL Harley 177; BL Harley 3724; BL Royal 13.A.xiv; BL Royal 13.B.xviii; JRUL 217; Bodleian Rawlinson B.483; Bodleian Rawlinson B.490.
[130] CUL Additional 3392; TCD 1298; BL Additional 40674; Harley 177; BL Harley 3724; BL Royal 13.A.xiv.
[131] See below, pp. 196–7.
[132] CUL Ff.1.27, pp. 249–642 + CCCC 66A, fourteenth-century. *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, ed. Ker, p. 16 and supplement, p. 5; *Henry of Kirkestede*, ed. Rouse and Rouse, p. 234.
[133] Bodleian Rawlinson B.188, fifteenth-century; *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, ed. Ker, p. 39.
[134] BL Royal 13.B.viii, fourteenth- or fifteenth-century. *Ibid.*, p. 45; *The Libraries of King Henry VIII*, ed. Carley, p. 195.
[135] Bodleian Laud Misc. 720 ('Augustini Lindsell ex dono amicissimi Antonii Maxton'), seventeenth-century. Augustine Lindsell was a chaplain of Richard Neile, bishop of Durham, and was made a prebendary of the see in 1619. Anthony Maxton was also a prebendary of Durham. Hunt *et al.*, *A Summary Catalogue*, II.1, 45; *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, ed. Ker, p. 76.
[136] CCCC 390, fifteenth-century; *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, ed. Ker, supplement, p. 41.
[137] TCC R.7.11 and NLI 700, both fifteenth-century; *ibid.*, pp. 100 and 99 respectively.
[138] BL Royal 14.C.vi, fourteenth-century; *ibid.*, p. 102.
[139] BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii. *Ibid.*, p. 112; Hunt, 'The Preface', pp. 189–93.
[140] Douai, Bibliotheque Municipale 887, fourteenth-century; *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, ed. Ker, p. 140 and supplement, p. 52.
[141] BL Royal 14.C.xiii, fourteenth-century. *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, ed. Ker, p. 138; *English Benedictine Libraries*, ed. Sharpe *et al.*, pp. 304, 307 and 309.
[142] CUL Mm.5.30, fifteenth-century; *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, ed. Ker, p. 153.
[143] Lambeth 371; *ibid.*, p. 156. Also see below, pp. 159–60.
[144] Phillipps 26642, sold at Sotheby's in 1969 and now of unknown location. See *ibid.*, supplement, p. 58; Berkhout, 'The Parkerian Legacy', pp. 278–9; below, p. 160.
[145] BL Cotton Domitian A.i, fols. 56–160, late thirteenth-century; *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, ed. Ker, p. 169.
[146] Cambridge Emmanuel 1.1.3; James, *The Western Manuscripts in ... Emmanuel College*, p. 4.

(Norfolk),[147] Worcestershire,[148] York;[149] and less precisely, Italy[150] and Wales.[151] Some of these provenances are contemporary with the writing of the manuscript, but sadly only one of these (Reading) is attached to an early manuscript. Some are very much later than the time at which the manuscript was written. The whereabouts of Gerald's manuscripts in his lifetime cannot be discerned from the manuscripts themselves.

The presence of Gerald's works in medieval and early modern library-catalogues and book-lists provides further information on the whereabouts of Giraldian manuscripts. The mention of a work of Gerald cannot always be linked to an existing manuscript, but it shows that at some point a copy was at a particular place, thus providing more information about the circulation and readership of Giraldian manuscripts especially in the later Middle Ages. The evidence of catalogues and book-lists is discussed in more detail in Chapters III and IV.[152]

---

[147] CUL Mm.2.18, fourteenth-century. See below, pp. 194–5 and n. 150.
[148] College of Arms Vincent 418, which was bequeathed to the College of Arms in 1684 by 'Raphe Sheldon of Beo[ ]y in Worcistershire Esq.'.
[149] Paris, BNF latin 4126. Crick, *The Historia*, III, 261; Avril and Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés*, p. 164.
[150] BL Additional 19513; Bond, *Catalogue*, p. 248.
[151] TCD 515; Colker, *Trinity College Dublin*, II, 972.
[152] See below, pp. 160–1 and 193. My investigation of medieval and early modern catalogues and booklists was confined mostly to those available in the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues series; printed editions of medieval book-lists from Continental libraries proved difficult to locate. I have, however, also included (and discussed, where appropriate) those to which reference has been made in items of bibliography which I have consulted: for example, an early thirteenth-century book-list in Kraków noted by Andrew Breeze ('Giraldus Cambrensis and Poland'; see below, p. 161), a twelfth-century book-list from Lincoln Cathedral (Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln*, pl. 3; see below, p. 157, n. 80) and a fifteenth-century catalogue of the library of John Adorne (1444–1511), the grandson of Peter Adorne, founder of the Jerusalem Chapel in the diocese of Tournai (*Corpus Catalogorum Belgii*, ed. Derolez *et al.*, I, 23–4 (no. 15); see below, pp. 197–8).

CHAPTER II

THE TEXTUAL TRADITION

The textual tradition of Gerald's works is a particularly challenging matter for the Giraldian scholar, thanks to Gerald's inability to leave a work alone once he had finished it. Almost every work of his which survives today bears the signs of revision, even those which only survive in one copy.[1] The changes mostly involve the addition of text, but Gerald also changed words for stylistic reasons, added explanatory phrases and even occasionally cut out passages. The textual tradition of the most popular works is so complicated that it is no mean feat to edit them, as witnessed by the detailed introduction to Scott and Martin's edition of *Expugnatio hibernica*.[2] The editors of the Rolls Series edition of Gerald's works divided the texts into different 'editions',[3] but it is obvious from the critical apparatus that changes to the text were made more gradually, and in a more complex way, than this classification suggests.[4]

My main concern for the manuscripts themselves, rather than their texts, together with the huge amount of work which would be involved in re-editing Gerald's works, means that I have, in most cases, confined myself to placing the texts of previously unedited manuscripts within the tradition as represented by the published editions, whether that be Dimock's 'editions' or Scott and Martin's more complex textual history. The only cases in which I have made investigations of my own are that of the first edition of *Topographia hibernica*, an extract from *De inuectionibus*, *Retractationes* and *Catalogus breuior librorum suorum*.[5] In these cases, for consistency, the reading of the printed edition

[1] For example *Vita sancti Remigii*; see Dimock, *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VII, x–xiv.
[2] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, pp. xl–lxxv.
[3] See especially *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V and VI.
[4] See for example the progression of the text of *Expugnatio hibernica* as described by Scott and Martin (for example, p. xl).
[5] See below, pp. 31–40, 101–5.

always appears last in a list of variant readings. If the reading of the printed edition does not appear in the list, it is reported in the relevant footnote.

TOPOGRAPHIA HIBERNICA

Topographia hibernica is the best-represented work in the manuscript-record. Dimock mentioned fifteen copies of it, which he divided into five different 'editions'. Some of the changes between editions are verbal variants, but mostly the changes involve the addition of text, each edition therefore containing more than the last. Dimock described CUL Mm.5.30, BL Harley 3724 and Cambridge Peterhouse 177 as of the first edition; CCCC 400, Bodleian Rawlinson B.483 and Westminster Abbey 23 as of the second edition; BL Arundel 14, Bodleian Bodley 511, Bodleian Rawlinson B.188 and BL Royal 13.B.viii (the original text) as of the third edition; Royal 13.B.viii (including its marginal additions) and CUL Ff.1.27, part 2, as of the fourth edition; and Bodleian Laud Misc. 720, BL Cotton Cleopatra D.v, BL Harley 4003 and BL Royal 13.A.xiv (all datable after Gerald's death) as of a fifth edition, possibly spurious, since he thought that their additions may not have been made by Gerald.

Richard Sharpe has listed ten manuscripts, divided into four 'states' and a fifth category, 'other copies', which were not mentioned by Dimock:[6] Cambridge St Catharine's 3 and BNF latin 4126 of the first state; BL Additional 34762 and BL Additional 44922 of the second state; BL Additional 33991 of the third state; NLI 700 and BNF latin 4846 of the fourth state; and NLW 3074D, Douai 887 and Lambeth 622 as other copies. As he has not mentioned the basis on which he made these divisions, I decided to investigate the texts of these manuscripts myself.

[6] Sharpe, *Handlist*, pp. 136–7.

I have discovered a further twenty manuscripts of *Topographia hibernica* which were not reported by Dimock or Sharpe: NLW 110B; Cambridge, Emmanuel College 1.1.3; Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 290/682; CUL Mm.2.18; TCD 574; Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, B.P.L. 13; BL Additional 4822; BL Additional 17920; BL Additional 19513; BL Cotton Claudius E.viii; BL Cotton Faustina C.iv; BL Harley 359;[7] BL Harley 551; BL Royal 13.B.xviii; BL Royal 14.C.vi; London, College of Arms Vincent 418; JRUL latin 217; Bodleian Tanner 2; CCCO 263; and BNF latin 11111. The sample-passages of *Topographia hibernica* which I collated were Dimock's I.14 (*De grue eiusque natura*), II.10 (*De pisce tres dentes aureos habente*) and III.26 (*De multis in insula nunquam baptizatis et ad quos nondum fidei doctrina peruenit*).[8]

First edition

From the first edition to the last, *Topographia hibernica* more than doubled in length, and most of the additions had nothing to do with Ireland or the Irish, being mostly theological and Classical quotations, stories of other countries, allegories and moralising. Dimock remarked that 'they have about as much to do with Ireland or its people as with the moon and the man in it'.[9] The most recent editor of *Topographia hibernica* was John O'Meara who agreed with Dimock's assessment and therefore based his text (and a translation) on the manuscripts of the first edition known to Dimock.[10] In addition to the three manuscripts known to Dimock and O'Meara, Richard Sharpe has included Cambridge St Catharine's 3 and BNF latin 4126 in his list of first-edition manuscripts of *Topographia hibernica*.[11]

---

[7] Dimock knew this manuscript and used it in his edition of *Itinerarium Kambriae*, but he appears not to have used its copy of *Topographia hibernica*. It was known to Scott and Martin, the most recent editors of *Expugnatio hibernica* (p. xxxix).
[8] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 46–7, 93 and 170–2 respectively.
[9] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, xiv.
[10] 'Topographia Hibernie', ed. O'Meara, and *idem*, *The History*.
[11] Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 136.

Cambridge, St Catharine's College 3

St Catharine's 3, written in Northern Textualis in the middle of the thirteenth century, is indeed a manuscript of the first edition, but it also bears evidence of a connection with CUL Mm.5.30. The chapter-list of Mm.5.30 breaks off in the middle of the chapters of Book III, in the middle of a line in the middle of a column, for no apparent reason. The rest of the column is blank. The chapter-list in St Catharine's 3 breaks off at exactly the same place, but the writing continues with no break. Both Mm.5.30 and St Catharine's 3 contain in the text the chapters missing from the chapter-list; the truncation of the chapter-list must therefore be accidental.

The first conclusion which I drew was that St Catharine's 3, the later manuscript, was copied from CUL Mm.5.30. However, a collation of the sample-text from both manuscripts did not prove this; indeed, one variant, in which St Catharine's 3 reads *Galline uero siluestres* where Mm.5.30 has *Galline uero campestres*, may disprove it. However, the word *siluestres* does appear shortly before, so this might be a case of eye-skip. Also, the fact that the chapter-list in Mm.5.30 breaks off in the middle of a column, with empty space below, shows that the lack is not due to any loss of leaves in that manuscript. This strongly suggests that the absence of the last nineteen *capitula* is due to loss in the manuscript from which Mm.5.30 was copied; and perhaps St Catharine's 3 was also copied from this now lost damaged exemplar, rather than directly from Mm.5.30.

London, British Library, Royal 13.B.xviii

BL Royal 13.B.xviii (Re) is a manuscript of the fourteenth century, written in Northern Textualis and containing as its main text a copy of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, along with a few other small historical works. On its last two leaves is the beginning of *Topographia hibernica*, now fragmentary as the last leaf (fol. 102) is mutilated:

only parts of the inner columns of the text on that leaf survive. The text begins on 101vb6 with the preface addressed to Henry II and continues almost to the end of the first chapter, *De situ Hibernie uariaque eiusdem natura*, on 102r.[12] The text on 102v is from I.6, *De uentositate et pluuiositate earumque causis* (part of the previous chapter, *De glebe fertilitate*, in the first edition),[13] and continuing into I.7, *De fluminibus nouem principalibus et aliis pluribus nuper emersis.*[14]

Despite the fragmentary nature of the remaining text, a collation revealed that Royal 13.B.xviii was (when complete) a copy of the first edition.

1. *Andegauie comes* 101vb8–9 and first edition; *comes Andegauie* other editions.[15]
2. *ubi cum multo* …101vb12; *ubi cum multa uiderem* first edition; *ubi non tamquam transfuge sed exploratoris officio fungens cum in primis multa notarem* other editions.[16]
3. *recondidit* 101vb23 and first and second editions; *reposuit* other editions.[17]
4. *ualeat etas destruere* 102ra18; *Dignas … accendens* after this in other editions.[18]
5. *Hyberniam detulisse* 102vb18; *Ceterum … carere* after this in other editions.[19]

It is not clear, however, whether it is a descendant of any of the existing copies of the first edition. The fragmentary nature of the text makes it very difficult to observe variants. It could not have been copied directly from Peterhouse 177 (P) or College of Arms Vincent 418, as it is of earlier date than those manuscripts. It appears to be quite closely related to P, but one reading, *eruere* where P has *existere*,[20] suggests that they were not copied from the same exemplar. Nor could it have been copied from BL Harley 3724 (H), as it contains some words missing from H, for example *etiam sibi* where H has only *sibi*,[21] and *precellunt ostentis* where H has only *precellunt.*[22]

---

[12] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 20–2.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 28–30.
[15] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 20, lines 5–6 and n. 3.
[16] *Ibid.*, lines 7–9 and n. 4.
[17] *Ibid.*, line 15 and n. 5.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 21, lines 16–29 and n. 2.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 29, lines 2–9 and n. 1.
[20] 101vb15 and 2ra16 respectively; *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 20, line 11 (*eruere*).
[21] 101vb30–1 and 5r15 respectively; *ibid.*, p. 20, line 20 (*et sibi*).
[22] 101vb31 and 5r16 respectively; *ibid.*, p. 21, line 1 (*præcellunt ostentis*).

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 11111

BNF latin 11111 is written in a very small Northern Textualis and is datable to the end of the thirteenth century. Examination of the sample-text revealed that it contained a copy of the first edition, though unfortunately a very incorrect one. However, when compared with other copies of the first edition, this text shows a number of similarities with BL Harley 3724.

1. *pullumque* 3r17, H; *plerumque* other witnesses.[23]
2. *iustitie solem* 3r20, HP; *solem iusticie* other witnesses.[24]
3. *dissuescere* 3v3, H; *desuescere* other witnesses.[25]
4. *expergefacta* 3v4, H; *experrecta* other witnesses.[26]
5. *aureos dentes* 10r5, H; *dentes aureos* other witnesses.[27]
6. *enim* 23r12, H; *uero* other witnesses.[28]
7. *prandium* 23r15, H; *prandendum* other witnesses.[29]

The unusual script of Harley 3724 makes it difficult to date, but it is possible that it is contemporary with BNF latin 11111. There would accordingly be no detectable chronological problem with either of them being copied from the other. Given the number of mistakes in BNF latin 11111, it is unlikely that Harley 3724 was copied from it, unless the scribe of Harley 3724 corrected numerous mistakes as he went along. It seems more probable that BNF latin 11111 was copied from Harley 3724. However, there are also numerous differences between the two copies. Some of these are errors unique to BNF latin 11111.

1. *habitio* 1r10; *habitatio* other witnesses.[30]
2. *congregare* 1r16; *congerere* other witnesses.[31]

---

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 39, n. 1, lines 10–11. (See above, p. 29, line 21–p. 30, line 2.) In this and the following case, the text follows a uniquely first-edition path which Dimock presented only in a footnote.
[24] *Ibid.*, line 18.
[25] *Ibid.*, lines 17–18.
[26] *Ibid.*, lines 18–19.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 93, line 5.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 171, line 5.
[29] *Ibid.*, line 11.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 20, line 17.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 21, line 8.

3. *nauigotione* 1r23; *nauigatione* other witnesses.[32]
4. *taxato* 2r1; *taxos* other witnesses.[33]
5. *inpumato* 3r30–1; *inplumato* other witnesses.[34]
6. *faciam* 3v1; *sacram* other witnesses.[35]
7. *unctam* 23r5; *uimineam* other witnesses.[36]
8. *cingebantur* 23r7; *stringebantur* other witnesses.[37]
9. *ciuisse* 23r19; *sciuisse* other witnesses.[38]

However, the differences are not always due to a unique reading in BNF latin 11111 (L); sometimes the unique reading is H's, and sometimes the text of L has words lacking from H. This suggests that L could not have been copied from H.

1. *autem* H 5r18; *hic* L 1r14.[39]
2. *contractionis* (altered from *contradictionis*) L 1r22; *contraccioris* H 5v7–8.[40]
3. *habet distincta* H 5v11; *hinc distincius* L 1r25.[41]
4. *illius* H 7r4; *istius* L 2r8.[42]
5. *priorum nuper nata* H 7r10; *priorum nuper nata per Hybernia manantia flumina predictis tamen non minora* L 2r12–14.[43]
6. *estuantur* H 8v28; *exurantur* L 3r18.[44]
7. *nec* H 9r23; *nichil* L 3v2.[45]
8. *quinquaginta nunciarum pondus* H 19v9; *pondus quinquaginta unciarum* L 10r8.[46]
9. *eiusdem terre angulis* L 22v29; *eiusdem angulis* H 37v3.[47]
10. *a nautis quererentur* H 38r6–7; *ab ipsis quereretur* L 23r18.[48]

---

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 22, line 6.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 28, line 23.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 46, line 8.
[35] *Ibid.*, line 14 and n. 2.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 170, line 19.
[37] *Ibid.*, line 23.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 171, line 18.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 21, line 4 and n. 1. Dimock's reading is *in.*
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 22, line 6.
[41] *Ibid.*, line 10.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 30, line 5.
[43] *Ibid.*, lines 13–14.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 39, n. 1, line 12.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 46, line 16.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 93, line 10. Dimock's reading is *quinquaginta unciarum pondus.*
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 170, line 6.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 171, line 16.

It therefore seems that the relationship of BNF latin 11111 and Harley 3724, though close, is no closer than derivation from a shared exemplar.

BNF latin 11111 has an inscription in French on its flyleaf, datable from internal evidence after 1815, which states that the manuscript was written in 1290.[49] While there is no apparent evidence for this, the date is consistent with the script and decoration. The inscription also implies that the manuscript was brought from Ireland by the ancestor of 'l'abbé Le Prince Savant Modeste' of Dijon, who fought in the war of 1690.[50] An Irish origin has also been suggested for Harley 3724;[51] so perhaps the exemplar of the two manuscripts was also at one time in, if not indeed written in, Ireland.

London, College of Arms Vincent 418

Vincent 418 (V) is a manuscript of the mid- to late fifteenth century, written in formal Cursiva Antiquior (Anglicana), and is unfinished, spaces left for initials and for rubrics being unfilled. It contains a complete copy of *Topographia hibernica* which was described in the catalogue of the collection as being the same as that in Peterhouse 177,[52] but it was not, as far as I have seen, known to Dimock, O'Meara or Sharpe. Examination of the sample-text revealed that this is indeed another copy of the first edition. Furthermore, it shows several similarities with the texts of H and L.

1. *nec* 5ra13, HL; *uel* other witnesses.[53]
2. *utrumque* 5ra41, HL; *utrinque* other witnesses.[54]
3. *ferarumque Hibernia* 5va3, HL; *ferarumque tergora Hibernia* other witnesses.[55]
4. *pullumque* 6ra37, HL; *plerumque* other witnesses.[56]

[49] 'Ce précieux Manuscrit [e]crit en 1290', Ar1.
[50] 'M[r] l'abbé Le Prince tenait beaucoup a ce curieux Manuscrit parceque é était inhéritage de Père en fili dans sa famille, et [qu'un] de ses Ancetre l'avais supporté de l'Irlande où il avait fais le Guerre en 1690', Ar5–9.
[51] In a modern (typewritten, therefore s. xx) note attached to a flyleaf.
[52] Campbell *et al.*, *A Catalogue*, I, 443, n. 2: 'The text as in Peterhouse College, Cambridge, MS. 177'.
[53] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 20, line 16.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 22, line 9.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 28, line 19.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 39, n. 1, lines 10–11.

5. *omnem a nobis* 6rb19, HL; *omnem nobis* P; *nobis* other witnesses.[57]
6. *expergefacta* 6rb22, HL; *experrecta* other witnesses.[58]
7. *ut* 9va27, HL; *aure aut* C; *aurea ut* other witnesses.[59]
8. *enim* 15ra48, HL; *uero* other witnesses.[60]
9. *utrique* 15ra49, HL; *utrumque* other witnesses.[61]
10. *prandium* 15ra53, HL; *prandendum* other witnesses.[62]

Further investigation showed that, in the sample-text collated, V shares a number of variants with L against H.

1. *Acquietanie* LV; *et Acquietanie* H other witnesses.[63]
2. *omne* LV; *omnem* H other witnesses.[64]
3. *et* H other witnesses; *in* LV.[65]
4. *ancipites* LV; *accipitres* H other witnesses.[66]
5. *Galweidhias uallias* LV; *Galweidhias* H other witnesses.[67]
6. *pro euentusque* LV; *prouentusque* H other witnesses.[68]
7. *ut* LV; *cum* H other witnesses.[69]
8. *fideliter* LV; *feliciter* H other witnesses.[70]
9. *uenturus sit fur* LV; *fur uenturus sit* H other witnesses.[71]
10. *karlingfordiam* LV; *karlenefordiam* H other witnesses.[72]

Where V agrees with H against L, it is usually where L has a unique error.

1. *habitio* L; *habitatio* HV other witnesses.[73]
2. *dixi* L; *duxi* HV other witnesses.[74]
3. *congregare* L; *congerere* HV other witnesses.[75]

---

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 46, line 15 and n. 3.
[58] *Ibid.*, lines 18–19.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 93, lines 11–13. This is a uniquely first-edition reading: see *ibid.*, n. 8.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 171, line 5.
[61] *Ibid.*, line 6.
[62] *Ibid.*, line 11.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 20, line 5.
[64] *Ibid.*, line 17.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 21, line 4.
[66] *Ibid.*, line 11.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. 22, line 8.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 28, line 15.
[69] *Ibid.*, p. 39, n. 1, line 14.
[70] *Ibid.*, line 42.
[71] *Ibid.*, p. 46, line 13.
[72] *Ibid.*, p. 93, line 7.
[73] *Ibid.*, p. 20, line 17.
[74] *Ibid.*, p. 21, line 7.
[75] *Ibid.*, line 8.

4. *quibus paruipendenda* L 1r17; *quibus habundat insula uestre sublimitati destinasse. Sed quia magnanimo principi paruipendenda* HV other witnesses.[76]
5. *que nulla etas destruere* L 1r19; *que nulla ualeat etas destruere* HV other witnesses.[77]

V therefore agrees more closely with L than with H. However, the fact that it does not always agree with L (sometimes containing text omitted from L as in examples 4 and 5 above) shows that it was not copied from L.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 2

Bodleian Tanner 2 (T) is datable by its miscellaneous historical contents to the early sixteenth century; it may be classified as medieval, as it is made of parchment and written in Cursiva Recentior (medieval Secretary hand). I was able to consult only a microfilm of this manuscript. One of its items is described (in the catalogue) as 'Epitome siue excerpta ex Siluestri Cambrensis *Topographia Hiberniae*'[78] but is in fact a complete copy of the first edition of *Topographia hibernica.*

Closer examination of the text showed a very close relationship with College of Arms Vincent 418 (V). They share thirty-six variants not found in any other witnesses, for example:

1. *uidi* TV; *ludit* other witnesses.[79]
2. *amittis* TV; *amitti* other witnesses.[80]
3. *Scocias Galweidhias uallias* TV; *Scoticas Galweidhias uallias* L; *Scoticas Galwedihias* other witnesses.[81]
4. *taxatum* TV; *taxato* L; *taxos* other witnesses.[82]
5. *plurimis* TV; *pluribus* other witnesses.[83]

---

[76] *Ibid.*, lines 11–12.
[77] *Ibid.*, line 16.
[78] Hackman, *Codices ... Thomæ Tanneri*, p. 3. In the manuscript it is entitled 'Syluester Cambrensis de miris et moribus hibernie' (1r7, in a contents-list).
[79] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 21, line 5.
[80] *Ibid.*, line 15.
[81] *Ibid.*, p. 22, line 8.
[82] *Ibid.*, p. 28, line 23.
[83] *Ibid.*, p. 30, line 2.

6. *celi* TV; *celum* other witnesses.[84]
7. *ingruunt* TV; *grues ingruunt* other witnesses.[85]
8. *superne* TV; *fraterne* other witnesses.[86]
9. *cleri* TV; *aeri* other witnesses.[87]
10. *uescere* TV; *uesci* other witnesses.[88]

There are hardly any places where V has a variant which is not reproduced, or nearly reproduced, in T. Where they do disagree, it is usually because T has a unique variant, of which a number are variants in V which have been inaccurately reproduced in T.

1. *paruidenda* T; *paruipenda* V; *parui pendenda* other witnesses.[89]
2. *eam* T; *eum* V; *tam* other witnesses.[90]
3. *antiquis* T; *aliquis* V; *aliquam* other witnesses.[91]
4. *ei* T; *enim* HLV; *uero* other witnesses.[92]
5. *ut que* T; *utrique* HLV; *utrumque* other witnesses.[93]
6. *ebdomoda* PT; *ebdommoda* V; *ebdomada* other witnesses.[94]

It is possible that T is a copy of V. There are, however, a few examples in which T agrees with other witnesses against V.

1. *omne orizontem* V; *omne orizoneem* L; *omnem orizontem* other witnesses.[95]
2. *acie* V; *aciem* other witnesses.[96]
3. *expergefacta* (altered from *exporrecta*) V; *experfecta* C; *exporrecta* HLT; *experrecta* other witnesses.[97]
4. *conturnices* LPV; *coturnices* other witnesses.[98]
5. *batule* V; *Ratule* other witnesses.[99]

---

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 39, n. 1, line 31.
[85] *Ibid.*, p. 46, line 3.
[86] *Ibid.*, p. 47, line 3.
[87] *Ibid.*, p. 170, line 15.
[88] *Ibid.*, p. 171, line 7.
[89] *Ibid.*, p. 21, line 13.
[90] *Ibid.*, p. 28, line 14.
[91] *Ibid.*, p. 46, line 14 and n. 2.
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 171, line 5.
[93] *Ibid.*, line 6.
[94] *Ibid.*, line 14. Dimock's reading is *hebdomada.*
[95] *Ibid.*, p. 20, line 17. Dimock's reading is *omnem horizontem.*
[96] *Ibid.*, p. 39, n. 1, line 9.
[97] *Ibid.*, p. 46, lines 18–19.
[98] *Ibid.*, p. 47, line 11.
[99] *Ibid.*

3 may be explained by the scribe copying the original rather than the altered reading; the alteration is in the margin and (s)he may not have noticed it. The cases involving an added or omitted **m** or **n** could be explained by the scribe having misread or missed an abbreviation. However, I cannot explain how, if T was copied from V, the unique variant *batule* in V is not reproduced in T. The **b** of *batule* in V is a slightly odd shape, but I do not know whether the scribe of T could have misread it (coincidentally) as the correct reading. Indeed, I am doubtful whether any of these explanations sufficiently explain the discrepancies. Nevertheless, the similarities between the two copies are such that, if T was not copied from V, they were both certainly copied from the same exemplar.

Dublin, Trinity College 574

TCD 574 is an early modern manuscript of miscellaneous Irish-themed contents; it was owned and written by James Ussher (1581–1656), the Irish manuscript-collector. It contains extracts from all four Welsh and Irish works. Those from *Topographia hibernica* are taken from a copy of the first edition.

1. *ad diuitum* p. 610, line 15 and first edition; *ad periculosas diuitum* other editions.[100]
2. *perticæ* p. 610, line 17 and first edition; *perchii* other editions.[101]
3. *similes* p. 610, line 26 and first edition; *Primos … uocant* after this in other editions.[102]
4. *grues ingruunt* p. 611, line 4, MW; *se grues ingerunt* other witnesses.[103]
5. *solet* p. 611, line 21, ABbM; *assolet* other witnesses.[104]
6. *Sed* p. 613, line 30 and first edition; *Vel potius rana* other editions.[105]

[100] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 32, lines 18–19 and n. 3.
[101] *Ibid.*, line 21 and n. 5.
[102] *Ibid.*, p. 33, lines 21–2 and n. 8.
[103] *Ibid.*, p. 46, line 3 and n. 1.
[104] *Ibid.*, p. 48, line 4 and n. 3.
[105] *Ibid.*, p. 66, lines 10, 15 and n. 1.

Second edition

Dimock classified three manuscripts as containing the second edition of *Topographia hibernica*. I have observed from the sample-chapters which I collated that the earliest of these three in the evolution of the text is Westminster Abbey 23 (W), which shares a number of readings with the first edition, although it also contains additions to the first-edition text.[106] The next appears to be CCCC 400[B][107] (C), which contains many marginal additions, and the latest is Bodleian Rawlinson B.483 (Bb), in which most of the additions written in the margins of C are found incorporated into the main text.[108]

London, British Library, Additional 34762

BL Additional 34762 is written in a small Protogothic minuscule and is therefore datable within Gerald's lifetime. It contains *Topographia hibernica*, *Expugnatio hibernica* and *Itinerarium Kambriae*. Scott and Martin knew of it and used it in their edition of *Expugnatio hibernica*, in which they classified it as a copy of the earliest stage of the text,[109] but it was not known to Dimock. Sharpe classified it as 'intermediate between 1st and 2nd recensions'.[110] Robin Flower elaborated by saying that the text followed the first edition to I.13 (*De aquila eiusque natura*), then followed a copy of the second edition.[111]

The sample-chapters were all copied from a second-edition copy.

1. *se grues ingerunt* 9r12; *grues ingruunt* first edition.[112]
2. *periculum … exaltant* 9v3–5; not in first edition.[113]

---

[106] For example *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 46, n. 1, and 93, n. 5.
[107] CCCC 400 is a composite codex with five sections, all separately paginated or foliated; for ease of reference, I have called these [A], [B], [C], [D] and [E].
[108] For these two manuscripts see for example *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 46, n. 5, 47, n. 2 and 93, n. 7; but see also 46, n. 1, 47, n. 2 and 171, n. 3, which place Bb textually earlier than C and therefore suggest a more complex textual relationship.
[109] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, pp. xxxiv, xl–xliii.
[110] Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 136.
[111] Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish Interest', pp. 313–14.
[112] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 46, line 3 and n. 1.
[113] *Ibid.*, lines 20–3 and n. 4.

3. *aurea forte* ... *presagientes* 26v16–17; *Nostris* ... *habens* after this in fourth and fifth editions.[114]
4. *Audiui* 56v10; *Audiui enim* third edition.[115]
5. *mulieres stando urinas emittunt* 57r26–7; *Ad hec* ...*natio* after this in third edition; *Ad hec* ...*solent* after *Ad hec* ...*natio* in fourth and fifth editions.[116]

It appears to be a rather advanced copy of the second edition, verging on the third edition, as it contains in the main text readings which are found in the margins of C, and in some places it is also more advanced than Bb.[117] However, further collation showed that Flower was correct; as far as *uel intelligentie uel inquisitionis* in I.13[118] the text is of the first edition.

1. *Ubi cum multa uiderem* 2r6; *Ubi non tanquam transfuge sed exploratoris officio fungens cum in primis multa notarem* other editions.[119]
2. *et tam ardua uolatu plerumque petit ut ei penne estuantibus solis ignis ignibus exurantur* 6r13–14; *tenerosque fetus ut fertur ad idem erudiunt uel inuitos* other editions.[120]

The text of Additional 34762 shows a further interesting feature. The title of the preface to Henry II has *Giraldus Kambrensis*, the fifth-edition reading, against *suus Giraldus* in all other editions. Also, the title of I.11 includes the phrase *et tam naturis quam allegoriis*, again a fifth-edition reading. It is not clear why a first/second-edition text should have some fifth-edition chapter-headings;[121] none of the other copies of the first edition has them. It suggests contamination from a fifth-edition copy, but I did not find any trace of this in the text which I collated. Further investigation of the text would be necessary to determine the presence of any other fifth-edition readings.

---

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 93, lines 14–17 and n. 9.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 170, line 8 and n. 2.
[116] *Ibid.*, p. 172, lines 1–6 and n. 1.
[117] *diuinis* 9v4; *que et Kardioli dicuntur* 9v13 (also in margin of Bb); *aurique* ... *fuco* 26v15–16; *Verumtamen* ... *emittunt* 57r17–27 (not in Bb).
[118] 6v1–2.
[119] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 20, lines 7–9 and n. 4.
[120] *Ibid.*, p. 39, lines 6–7 and n. 1, lines 10–12.
[121] These headings are above each chapter; the manuscript does not contain a chapter-list.

Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, B.P.L. 13

Leiden BPL 13 is a fourteenth-century manuscript written in a large, squarish Northern Textualis and containing, besides *Topographia hibernica*, a copy of Solinus's *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*. The text has revealed itself to be of the second edition.

1. *Acete … maior* 72vb7–11; not in first edition.[122]
2. *mulieres stando urinas emittunt* 105va8–9; *Ad hec … natio* after this in third edition; *Ad hec … solent* after this in fourth and fifth editions.[123]

In some places the text agrees with the readings of W.

1. *grues ingruunt* 72rb29–30 and first edition, W; *se grues ingerunt* other witnesses.[124]
2. *quinqaginta …continentes* 85rb4–5 and first edition, W; not in other witnesses.[125]

However, in other places it contains text which is not in W and indeed contains in the main text readings which had been added in the margin of C.

1. *que et Kardioli dicuntur* 72vb7; not in first edition, W.[126]
2. *Non multo … insulam tempore* 85ra31–2; *Biennio elapso … insulam* first edition; *Non multum … insulam* W.[127]
3. *Quos aureos … futo* 85rb7–10; not in first edition, W; in margin of C.[128]

Leiden BPL 13 seems to fall somewhere between W and C in the evolution of the text, as it contains text which had been added to C (suggesting that it was copied from a manuscript at the same stage of textual development as C and perhaps later in date than C), but it also retains some readings which W shares with the first edition. No other manuscripts have yet shown the same combination of early and later features. Alternatively, it may have reached this state by conflation in the exemplar of the text of one edition with another (horizontal transmission).

---

[122] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 47, lines 8–10 and n. 1.
[123] *Ibid.*, p. 172, lines 1–6 and n. 1.
[124] *Ibid.*, p. 46, line 3 and n. 1.
[125] *Ibid.*, p. 93, lines 10–11 and n. 5.
[126] *Ibid.*, p. 47, line 8 and n. 2.
[127] *Ibid.*, p. 93, lines 6–7 and n. 2.
[128] *Ibid.*, lines 11–13 and n. 6.

Cambridge, University Library, Mm.2.18

CUL Mm.2.18 is a manuscript of the fourteenth century, closely written in a small, cramped Northern Textualis and containing miscellaneous scientific, philosophical and miraculous works. In this last category are some extracts from *Topographia hibernica*, recounting some of the wondrous and miraculous birds, beasts, places and events which Gerald (allegedly) encountered in Ireland.[129]

The text appears to derive from a copy of the second edition.

1. *sed hi … arbitrarer* 145vb30–4; not in first edition.[130]
2. *fuisset* 147ra9; *esset* first edition.[131]
3. *omnia fidei fundamenta* 146ra26; *omnem fidei reuelate gratiam* fifth edition.[132]
4. *proximiore* 146vb1; *propinquiore* fifth edition.[133]
5. *fluxus* 146vb34; *fluctus* third and fourth editions.[134]
6. *frueremur* 147vb33; *fungeremur* third, fourth and fifth editions.[135]

In one place the text agrees with BL Arundel 14 (a copy of the third edition) against other witnesses, but this seems to be an isolated case.[136]

London, British Library, Additional 44922

BL Additional 44922 is written in Protogothic minuscule and is therefore datable within Gerald's lifetime. It contains an incomplete copy of *Topographia hibernica*, which ends in III.49 (*De titulis Henrici tertii*, called *De titulis filiorum et primo de Anglorum rege Henrico tertio* in this witness). The text ends at the bottom of a recto and the verso of the leaf is

[129] They are to be found in I.14–15, 20–2 and 28–9; II.4–10, 12–17, 19, 28–30, 34, 36, 44, 46, 48 and 50; and III.12 of Dimock's edition.
[130] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 48, lines 12–15 and n. 5.
[131] *Ibid.*, p. 101, line 26 and n. 3.
[132] *Ibid.*, p. 62, lines 17–18 and n. 2.
[133] *Ibid.*, p. 95, line 4 and n. 1.
[134] *Ibid.*, p. 97, line 3 and n. 3.
[135] *Ibid.*, p. 158, line 4 and n. 1.
[136] *exalauerit* 145vb49 and A; *euaporauerit* second and fifth editions; *exala euaporauerit* BFR (*GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 54, line 7 and n. 1). Possibly this was an independent alteration by the scribe.

blank, which together indicate that the lack of text is not due to physical loss but deliberate abandonment.

Collation of the sample-chapters has shown that Additional 44922 is a copy of the second edition.

1. *se grues ingerunt* 82rb12; not in first edition.[137]
2. *aureos habens* 89rb21; *quinquaginta … continentes* after this in first edition and W.[138]
3. *rauce et clamose infinite* 82va3; *Diemque … innumere* after this in fourth edition; *Diemque … infinite* after this in fifth edition.[139]
4. *aurea forte … presagientes* 89rb24–6; *Nostris … habens* after this in fourth and fifth editions.[140]
5. *immo multiplicium* 100vb11; not in third edition.[141]
6. *quibus cibariis alienigene uescerentur* 101ra5; *Uerumtamen … emittunt* after this in third, fourth and fifth editions.[142]

In some cases it seems to be quite an advanced copy of the second edition, as it contains in the main text variants which stand in the margin of C.[143] However, the paragraph *Verumtamen … emittunt*, which is in the margin of C, is missing from this manuscript. As this paragraph is also missing from Bb, it seems that BL Additional 44922 is textually closer to Bb than C. As Bb does not contain the second of my sample-chapters, further collation would be necessary fully to determine the relationship between these two witnesses.

London, British Library, Cotton Faustina C.iv

BL Cotton Faustina C.iv is an early modern (late sixteenth-century) paper manuscript containing only *Topographia hibernica.* It is written in a flowing but not very

[137] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 46, line 3 and n. 1.
[138] *Ibid.*, p. 93, lines 10–11 and n. 5.
[139] *Ibid.*, p. 47, lines 11–13 and nn. 3–4.
[140] *Ibid.*, p. 93, lines 13–17 and n. 9.
[141] *Ibid.*, p. 170, line 13 and n. 3.
[142] *Ibid.*, p. 171, line 20–p. 172, line 2; p. 171, n. 3. The fifth edition has *Notandum autem quod* instead of *Verumtamen* (*ibid.*, p. 171, line 22 and n. 3).
[143] For example *diuinis* 82rb31; *que et Kardioli dicuntur* 82rb45; *aurique … fuco* 89rb23–4.

neat Italic hand which is very similar to that of BL Vitellius E.v; according to Colin Tite, the two manuscripts were originally one.[144] The most distinctive feature of the manuscript is a strong burnt smell, which it retains despite the fact that it shows no sign of damage from the Cotton-library fire of 1731.

Collation of the sample-chapters has shown that Faustina C.iv is a copy of the second edition.

1. *Acete* ... *maior* 13r20–3; not in first edition.[145]
2. *quos aureos* ... *fuco* 26r15–17; not in first edition.[146]
3. *rauce et clamose infinite* 13r24; *Diemque* ... *innumere* after this in fourth edition; *Diemque* ... *infinite* after this in fifth edition.[147]
4. *aurea forte* ... *presagiens* 26r18–19; *Nostris* ... *habens* after this in fourth and fifth editions.[148]
5. *Audiui* 46v11; *Audiui enim* third edition.[149]
6. *quibus cibariis alienigene uescerentur* 47r10; *Verumtamen* ... *emittunt* after this in third, fourth and fifth editions.[150]

As in BL Additional 44922, the paragraph *Verumtamen* ... *emittunt* is missing from Faustina C.iv, although Faustina C.iv contains other text which is in the margin of C.[151] There are sufficient verbal variations, however, to show that Faustina C.iv was not copied from Additional 44922.[152] Again, further collation may show fully the nature of its relationship with Bb.

---

[144] Tite, *The Early Records*, p. 222. See below, pp. 206–7.
[145] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 47, lines 8–10 and n. 1.
[146] *Ibid.*, p. 93, lines 11–13 and n. 6.
[147] *Ibid.*, p. 47, lines 11–13 and nn. 3–4.
[148] *Ibid.*, p. 93, lines 13–17 and n. 9.
[149] *Ibid.*, p. 170, line 8 and n. 2.
[150] *Ibid.*, p. 171, line 20–p. 172, line 2; p. 171, n. 3. The fifth edition has *Notandum autem quod* instead of *Verumtamen* (*ibid.*, p. 171, line 22 and n. 3).
[151] For example *diuinis* 13r11; *qui et Kardioli vocantur* 13r20–1; *aurique* ... *fuco* 26r16–17.
[152] For example *omni* Additional 44922 82rb15 against *communi* Faustina C.iv 12v31 and other witnesses; *superne* Additional 44922 82rb39 against *terrenæ* Faustina C.iv 13r16; *archorarum* Additional 44922 100vb10 against *anchorarum* Faustina C.iv 46v15 and other witnesses. See also the unique variants listed in the following paragraph and nn. 153–4 below.

Faustina C.iv has a few verbal variations from the text in Dimock's edition. While some of these may be due to mistakes by the scribe, for example the use of *et* instead of *etiam*,[153] some are not explicable by visual error and seem to be deliberate use of a word which the scribe thought more appropriate. For example, *typum* was replaced with *statum*, *exaltant* with *exercent*, *eadem* with *illa*, *dicuntur* with *uocantur*, *et* with *i.e.* and *prandendum* with *prandium*.[154] The only one of these variants which I have seen in other manuscripts is the last, which occurs in some manuscripts of the first edition.[155]

Third edition

All four witnesses which, according to Dimock, contain the third edition of *Topographia hibernica* are closely related, Bodleian Rawlinson B.188 (B) and BL Royal 13.B.viii (R) particularly so. They and the copy of R, CUL Ff.1.27 part 2 (F),[156] form a family with many distinctive readings. R contains extensive marginal additions which according to Dimock constitute a fourth edition, but B has only minor additions, most of which are clearly corrections. Dimock did not think that either B or R was copied from the other,[157] but Scott has asserted that the original text of R was copied from B: 'I can find nowhere in the text where B has a mistake or even a variant that is not echoed in … the original text of R … Dimock does not appear to have noticed many of these, which are made over erasures.'[158]

BL Arundel 14 (A) shares some, but not all, of these readings.[159] Bodleian Bodley 511 (Bc), an early sixteenth-century medieval manuscript, Dimock declared to be very

---

[153] 13r8; 47r4; 47r5.
[154] 13r3, 13r12 (*exercent* and *illa*), 13r21, 46v6 and 47r2 respectively.
[155] BL Harley 3724 (38r2), College of Arms Vincent 418 (15ra51) and BNF latin 11111 (23r15).
[156] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, xxiv. As F also has the marginal additions of R (incorporated into its main text), it is a copy of the fourth, not the third, edition.
[157] *Ibid.*, xxi: 'The verbal differences … are amply sufficient to show that one was not copied from the other'.
[158] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, p. xliii.
[159] For example *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 170, nn. 1–6.

closely related to A, but not a copy: 'It agrees so closely with the Arundel manuscript that it may possibly have been copied from it; but there are sufficient verbal variations, I think, to prove that it was derived only from the same earlier source'.[160]

Some third-edition copies of *Topographia hibernica* contain a letter from Gerald to William de Vere, bishop of Hereford 1186–99, recommending to him for special attention some chapters of *Topographia hibernica*.[161] It is in CCCC 400[B] (which, with its marginal additions, constitutes a third-edition text), Cambridge Emmanuel 1.1.3, BL Additional 33991, BL Arundel 14, BL Harley 359, Bodleian Bodley 511 and BNF latin 4846. (The only copy of *Topographia hibernica* to contain the letter which is not of the third edition is in Bodleian Laud Misc. 720 (containing a fifth-edition text).) This suggests that Gerald had finished the third edition of *Topographia hibernica* by 1199.

Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, 887[162]

Douai 887, the only Giraldian manuscript still in its original binding,[163] is written in Protogothic minuscule and is datable to the end of the twelfth century – within Gerald's lifetime. It contains, along with a few other small articles,[164] *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica*; *Expugnatio hibernica* is unfinished, ending at the bottom of a recto.[165]

The text of *Topographia hibernica* is a copy of the third edition.

1. *Ratule uero rauce et clamose infinite* 61ra12–13; *Diemque … innumere* after this in fourth and fifth editions (the fifth having *infinite* instead of *innumere*).[166]

---

[160] *Ibid.*, pp. xix–xx.
[161] *Ibid.*, pp. 203–4.
[162] This manuscript was known to Sharpe (*Handlist*, p. 137), and to Scott and Martin who used it in their edition of *Expugnatio hibernica*, but not to Dimock.
[163] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, p. xxxiv: 'Original binding of white vellum over boards'. Cambridge St Catharine's 3 still has its original boards, but they are now uncovered.
[164] A fragment of some Church Council decrees, a letter and a sermon of Alan of Tewkesbury and a letter of Hugh, abbot of Reading 1186–99, to Pope Celestine III (on the last, see Constable, 'An Unpublished Letter').
[165] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, pp. xxxiv, 126. Compare BL Additional 44922, above, pp. 44–5.
[166] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 47, lines 11–13 and nn. 3–4.

2. *aurique … fuco* 73va16–18; not in first edition; in margin of C; in text of third, fourth and fifth editions.[167]
3. *Ad hec … natio* 96rb24–6; not in first and second editions; *Tam mulieres … solent* added after this in fourth and fifth editions.[168]

However, on closer examination the text proved to follow the readings which characterise BFR.

1. *in insula* 95va30, BFR; *in insula ista* A; *in terra ista* other witnesses.[169]
2. *Audiui enim* 95vb5–6, ABFR; *Audiui* other witnesses.[170]
3. *triplicium tenacitate* 95vb13–14, ABFR; *triplicium immo multiplicium tenacitate* other witnesses.[171]
4. *cimbulam* 95vb21, BFR; *cimbulam modicam* other witnesses.[172]

Further collation would be required to reveal fully the relationship of this witness to the other three. According to Scott, the text of *Expugnatio hibernica* in this manuscript is an early version, earlier even than B;[173] therefore it cannot be a copy of B or R. This suggests that the exemplar of Douai 887[174] was made after the BFR-version of *Topographia hibernica*, but when Gerald had not yet altered *Expugnatio hibernica* into the version found in BFR.[175]

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 4846

BNF latin 4846 is another early manuscript, written in Protogothic minuscule which dates it within Gerald's lifetime. O'Meara made a note of it in his edition of

---

[167] *Ibid.*, p. 93, lines 12–13 and n. 7.
[168] *Ibid.*, p. 172, lines 3–6 and n. 1.
[169] *Ibid.*, p. 170, lines 4–5 and n. 1.
[170] *Ibid.*, line 8 and n. 2.
[171] *Ibid.*, line 13 and n. 3.
[172] *Ibid.*, line 18 and n. 5.
[173] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, pp. xl–xliii.
[174] *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica* in Douai 887 must have been written around the same time, as one of the hands appears in both texts (see 48r–87va [*Topographia*] and 108r–127rb8 [*Expugnatio*]).
[175] Dimock classified B and the original text of R as the first edition of *Expugnatio hibernica*, but R with its marginal additions and F as the second edition (*GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, xxxii, xxxiv–xxxv); according to Scott and Martin (*Expugnatio Hibernica*, pp. xliii–xliv), BFR is an early, but not the earliest, version of the α-recension.

Topographia hibernica, but he did not use it because it contains what he called a 'late recension' of the text.[176] It contains a number of marginal additions, a map of Britain and Ireland and the letter to William de Vere, bishop of Hereford. Dimock knew this letter from only four manuscripts (CCCC 400; BL Arundel 14; Bodleian Bodley 511 and Laud Misc. 720).[177]

It contains a text of the third edition, but with some interesting features, namely those which characterise BFR and are also found in Douai 887.[178] What is particularly interesting is that in the first two of these cases the text was altered to that of BFR – for example, *insula* at 53ra11 is an interlinear addition,[179] and at 53ra15 *enim* was added to make the BFR-reading *Audiui enim*.[180] The sentence *Ad hec … natio* is in the lower margin of 53v, bringing the text into line with the third edition, but not including the second sentence (*Tam mulieres … solent*) found in fourth- and fifth-edition witnesses.[181]

BNF latin 4846 therefore appears to be closely related to BFR, but it was originally from an earlier stage in the evolution of the text and was later altered to make it agree with BFR.[182]

London, British Library, Additional 33991

BL Additional 33991 is another early manuscript and, like BNF latin 4846, contains a map of Britain and Ireland and the letter to William de Vere. Unfortunately, the text is incomplete at the beginning, and the first sample-chapter, *De grue eiusque natura*, is

---

[176] 'Topographia Hibernie', ed. O'Meara, pp. 115 and 178: 'From a collation of test-readings it can certainly be placed not earlier than the fourth recension posited by Dimock' (p. 178). He erroneously dated it to the fourteenth century.
[177] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 203, n. 1.
[178] *in insula* 53ra11; *Audiui enim* 53ra15; *triplicium tenacitate* 53ra24; *cimbulam* 53rb3. See above, p. 49, nn. 169–72.
[179] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 170, lines 4–5 and n. 1.
[180] *Ibid.*, line 8 and n. 2.
[181] *Ibid.*, p. 172, lines 3–6 and n. 1.
[182] The additions and alterations are in the same hand as the original text; therefore they could not have been made very long after the manuscript was first written.

missing. Collation of the two surviving sample-chapters demonstrated that the text is a copy of the third edition, and furthermore that it follows the readings of BFR, as mentioned above for Douai 887.[183]

Cambridge, Emmanuel College 1.1.3

Emmanuel 1.1.3 is a manuscript of the late fifteenth century, in fact dated precisely by a rubric to 1481.[184] It contains *Topographia hibernica*, following a copy of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. It is beautifully decorated with partial borders (at the beginning of major sections) filled with roses, columbines, small round-petalled flowers, triangular flowers and strawberries and coloured in blue, pink, red, orange, yellow, green, brown and gold leaf. The border on 87r (the beginning of *Topographia hibernica*) contains a coat of arms and two circles with the letters 'JG' inside; according to M. R. James, these refer to John Gunthorpe, Dean of Wells (†1498).[185]

The text of Emmanuel 1.1.3 proved to be a copy of the third edition.

1. *Acete* ... *maior* 93ra40–4; not in first edition.[186]
2. *tempora presagientes* 101ra31–2; *Nostris* ... *habens* after this in fourth and fifth editions.[187]
3. *Ad hec* ... *nacio* 115va13–15; not in first or second editions; *Tam* ... *solent* afterwards in fourth and fifth editions.[188]

Further collation revealed that it shares many variants with BL Arundel 14 (A).

1. *Unde* ... *describit* 88va32–4, ABc; not in other witnesses.[189]
2. *solicitam remotissimarum* 89vb39, AB; *solicitam et in plerisque certissimam remotissimarum* other witnesses.[190]

---

[183] *in insula* 20vb16; *Audiui enim* 20vb20; *triplicium tenacitate* 20vb25–6; *cimbulam* 20vb30. See above, p. 49, nn. 169–72.
[184] The rubric occurs at the end of the previous work, but the occurrence of the same hand and the same style of decoration in both works shows that the date may be applied to the Giraldian section also.
[185] James, *The Western Manuscripts in ... Emmanuel College*, p. 4.
[186] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 47, lines 8–10 and n. 1.
[187] *Ibid.*, p. 93, lines 14–17 and n. 9.
[188] *Ibid.*, p. 172, lines 3–6 and n. 1.
[189] *Ibid.*, p. 22, n. 4.
[190] *Ibid.*, p. 29, lines 15–16 and n. 4.

3. *Kenelcunill* 90ra16, ABbM; *Kenelcunilliam* other witnesses.[191]
4. *solet* 93rb24, ABbM; *assolet* other witnesses.[192]
5. *ex parte … spacio* 101va28–31, ABc; *ex parte boreali* other witnesses.[193]
6. *uident* 115rb8, AH; *uidet* M; *uiderunt* other witnesses.[194]

Examples 1 and 5 particularly show that Emmanuel 1.1.3 is closely related to ABc. However, there are sufficient variants to show that it was not copied from A, nor from Bc (which is dated 1513 and is therefore later than Emmanuel 1.1.3).

1. *terra* 115ra34; *insula* A.[195]
2. *immo multiplicium* 115rb1; not in ABFR.[196]
3. *ignote* 115rb7; *incognite* A.[197]
4. *interiit* 117rb32; *occubuit* ABFR.[198]
5. *immoratur* 88vb19; *minoratur* Bc.[199]
6. *et modo saliendi* 120vb20; not in Bc.[200]

Emmanuel 1.1.3 has more variants in common with Bc than with A; it is possible that it was copied from the same exemplar as Bc.

London, British Library, Harley 359

BL Harley 359 is a early modern sixteenth-century manuscript containing several works of Gerald. It was known to Dimock; he used it in his edition of *Itinerarium Kambriae*, as he knew only this copy of the second edition of that text. He did not, however, mention it in his edition of *Topographia hibernica.*

The copy of *Topographia hibernica* in BL Harley 359 is textually complicated. It is written in four different hands, each separated by at least one blank page.[201] Some text

---

[191] *Ibid.*, p. 30, line 9 and n. 3.
[192] *Ibid.*, p. 48, line 4 and n. 3.
[193] *Ibid.*, p. 96, line 18 and n. 4.
[194] *Ibid.*, p. 170, line 18 and n. 6.
[195] *Ibid.*, p. 170, lines 4–5 and n. 1.
[196] *Ibid.*, line 13 and n. 3.
[197] *Ibid.*, line 17 and n. 4.
[198] *Ibid.*, p. 183, line 6 and n. 2.
[199] *Ibid.*, p. 23, line 16 and n. 2.
[200] *Ibid.*, p. 203, line 17 and n. 3.
[201] 68r–70v, 71r–78v, 79r–103r and 104r–125v. The blank leaves are unnumbered.

has been added, either in the margin or on added sheets, in yet another hand, and in places the text has been compared with another exemplar and the differences noted. The text seems to have been copied from a third-edition exemplar very like BL Arundel 14 (A).

1. *recondidit* 68v8, AHPW; *reposuit* other witnesses.[202]
2. *hoc* 68v13, ABCW; *autem* H; *in* other witnesses.[203]
3. *unde … describit* 68v30; only in ABc.[204]
4. *exalauerit* 74r31, A; *exala euaporauerit* BFR; *euaporauerit* other witnesses.[205]
5. *enim* 112r23, ABFR; not in other witnesses.[206]
6. *uident* 112v6, HA; *uidet* first edition; *uiderent* other editions.[207]

However, there are some places where the text does not agree with A.

1. *terra* 112r19; *insula* A.[208]
2. *numero multiplicium* 112r27–v1; not in ABFR; *immo multiplicium* other witnesses.[209]
3. *ignote* 112v5; *incognite* A.[210]

The fact that this text includes words which are not in A shows that it could not have been copied from A (or a descendant), but the relationship is certainly close.

Up to a point the text was compared with an exemplar of the first edition, as can be seen by the highlighting of some passages accompanied by a remark such as 'Hic deest in exemplari'. The highlighted passages correspond exactly with text which is not in the first edition.[211] However, this stops on 71v, in the middle of I.13 – which is where the text of BL Additional 34762 changes from the first edition to the second. It seems unlikely that the annotator of Harley 359 was comparing his text with Additional 34762

---

[202] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 20, line 15 and n. 5.
[203] *Ibid.*, p. 21, line 4 and n. 1.
[204] *Ibid.*, p. 22, n. 4.
[205] *Ibid.*, p. 54, line 7 and n. 1.
[206] *Ibid.*, p. 170, line 8 and n. 2.
[207] *Ibid.*, line 18 and n. 6.
[208] *Ibid.*, lines 4–5 and n. 1.
[209] *Ibid.*, line 13 and n. 3.
[210] *Ibid.*, line 17 and n. 4.
[211] For example *Dignas … accendens*, 68v19–25; *uel potius … corrumperet*, 69r47–8; *Ceterum … caruere*, 69r50–4 (*GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 21, lines 17–29 and n. 2; p. 28, lines 23–5 and n. 4; p. 29, lines 3–9 and n. 1).

itself, as he could then have continued to the end of the text, which is all present in Additional 34762 in second-edition form. Perhaps, however, he had the first-edition exemplar of Additional 34762 and was therefore forced to stop because his text broke off.[212]

There are also additions written in an Italic hand which also appears in other works in the manuscript. These change the text to the fifth edition. For example *Communiter* ... *reuertuntur* is added to the end of I.23, and *proximiore* is altered to *propinquiore*.[213] They do not continue throughout the text, however, but appear only from 71r (almost the same place at which the comparisons with a first-edition exemplar end) to 83r. A few further marginal comments, for example 'Desunt hec in 4^{or} [*sic*] exemplar' on 75*r and 76*r suggest that the text was being compared with several exemplars.

Fifth edition[214]

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 4126

BNF latin 4126 is written in a round Northern Textualis and is datable to the fourteenth century. It contains many texts: the largest is Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britannie*; the manuscript also includes some works on Alexander. *Topographia hibernica* is its only Giraldian work. It was noted by O'Meara, who described it as 'Certainly later than the fourth recension',[215] and by Sharpe, who, however, classified it as a copy of the first 'state'.[216] It is in fact a copy of Dimock's fifth edition.

1. *Diemque laudantes alaude infinite* 59va13–14; not in first, second or third editions; *Diemque laudantes alaude innumere* fourth edition.[217]

---

[212] Also, the copy of *Itinerarium Kambriae* in Harley 359 is closely related to that in Additional 34762; see below, pp. 77–8.
[213] 75*r4–17, 83r27: *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 56, line 19–p. 57, line 5 and p. 56, n. 3; p. 95, line 4 and n. 1.
[214] See above, p. 30.
[215] 'Topographia Hibernie', ed. O'Meara, pp. 115, 178.
[216] Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 136.
[217] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 47, lines 12–13 and nn. 3–4.

2. *Notandum autem quod* 89va20; not in first or second editions; *Verumtamen* third and fourth editions.[218]

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 3074D

NLW 3074D contains *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica* only. It is datable from its large Northern Textualis and elaborately flourished initials to the fourteenth century. It was not known to Dimock but was mentioned by Scott as containing a late edition of *Expugnatio hibernica*,[219] and by Sharpe, who listed it under 'other copies' of *Topographia hibernica*.[220] It has proved to be a copy of the fifth edition.

1. *Diemque laudantes alaude infinite* p. 24a31–2; not in first, second or third editions; *Diemque laudantes alaude innumere* fourth edition.[221]
2. *Notandum autem quod* p. 101a12; not in first or second editions; *Verumtamen* third and fourth editions.[222]

London, Lambeth Palace 622

Lambeth 622 is a parchment manuscript of the fifteenth century, written in Cursiva Recentior (Secretary) hand with some Cursiva Antiquior (Anglicana) features. It contains *Topographia hibernica* and a copy of *Expugnatio hibernica* known to Scott and Martin.[223] Sharpe listed it under 'other copies' of *Topographia hibernica*.[224] The text has proved to be a copy of the fifth edition.

1. *Diem laudantes uero alaude infinite* 14v14–15; not in first, second or third editions; *Diemque laudantes alaude innumere* fourth edition; *Diemque laudantes alaude infinite* fifth edition.[225]

---

[218] *Ibid.*, p. 171, line 22 and n. 3.
[219] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, pp. xxxviii–ix, l–lii.
[220] Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 137.
[221] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 47, lines 12–13 and nn. 3–4.
[222] *Ibid.*, p. 171, line 22 and n. 3.
[223] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, p. xxxix.
[224] Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 137.
[225] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 47, lines 12–13 and nn. 3–4.

2. *Notandum autem quod* 59v19–20; not in first or second editions; *Verumtamen* third and fourth editions.[226]

Dublin, National Library of Ireland, 700

NLI 700 is an early manuscript written in Protogothic minuscule and containing *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica.* It was not known to Dimock, but was used by Scott and Martin in their edition of *Topographia hibernica.* It is a unique manuscript as it contains a series of marginal illustrations; those illustrating *Topographia hibernica* are thought by Scott to have been copied from BL Royal 13.B.viii,[227] but those in *Expugnatio hibernica*, a series of portraits of the main characters of the narrative, are not found anywhere else. It is also the only manuscript of Giraldian works to contain a map of Europe.[228] Scott classified its copy of *Expugnatio hibernica* as a late version of the α-recension if only the original text is considered; including its marginal additions, however, contains a copy of the β-recension.[229]

The text of *Topographia hibernica* revealed itself to be a copy of the fifth edition.

1. *Diemque laudantes alaude infinite* 11rb8–9; not in first, second or third editions; *Diemque laudantes alaude innumere* fourth edition.[230]
2. *Notandum autem quod* 40rb10; not in first or second editions; *Verumtamen* third and fourth editions.[231]

This is significant, as Dimock hesitated to ascribe the fifth edition to Gerald because it survived, as far as he knew, only in manuscripts datable after Gerald's death; therefore its additions could have been made by someone else. The presence of fifth-edition variants in this manuscript proves that the fifth edition existed in Gerald's lifetime and that therefore he was probably responsible for it, a probability increased by the fact that NLI

[226] *Ibid.*, p. 171, line 22 and n. 3.
[227] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, pp. xlvi–xlvii.
[228] See O'Loughlin, 'A Thirteenth-century Map'.
[229] See below, pp. 65–7.
[230] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 47, lines 12–13 and nn. 3–4.
[231] *Ibid.*, p. 171, line 22 and n. 3.

700 is thought to have originated close to Gerald and spent some time with him.[232] A full collation is required to ascertain whether all the fifth-edition readings are present in this manuscript, but even this partial collation demonstrates that Dimock's doubts about the authenticity of the fifth edition are unnecessary.

The two fifth-edition variants noted above are found in the main text of NLI 700. Others, however, comprising larger amounts of text, are found as marginal additions.[233] Notably, in III.26 *Ad hec autem pre omni alio populo zelotipie uicio laborat hec natio*, which is found in the text from the third edition onwards, is a marginal addition. This may be simply because it had been omitted from the main text by scribal error: it would be strange for a manuscript containing some fifth-edition variants to be missing a third-edition reading.

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 290/682

Caius 290/682 contains, as its main text, Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*.[234] This text is takes up quite a small space,[235] and the large surrounding area is filled with miscellaneous texts in various hands. Two pages (pp. 684–5) contain extracts from Gerald's *Topographia hibernica*, *Expugnatio hibernica* and *Speculum ecclesiae*, in a cursive Anglicana script datable to the fourteenth or possibly fifteenth century.

The extracts from *Topographia hibernica* are mostly concerned with miracles and the sad state of Irish Christianity.[236] A few readings indicate that they were derived from a copy of the fifth edition.

---

[232] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, p. xlvi; O'Loughlin, 'A Thirteenth-century Map', pp. 32–3.
[233] For example *Communiter … reuertuntur* (13r; *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 56, line 19–p. 57, line 5 and p. 56, n. 3); *Nostris … carentem* (24v; *ibid.*, p. 107, lines 19–25 and n. 2); *Hoc enim … libidinem* (40r; *ibid.*, p. 173, lines 7–11 and n. 1).
[234] James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts … of Gonville and Caius College*, I, 336.
[235] 185×100mm on a 350×240mm page.
[236] They are from I.1–2, I.6, I.12, II.7–9, II.15, II.19, II.28, II.46, II.55, III.12, III.19, III.26–8 and III.35.

1. *propinquiore* p. 684a30; *proximiore* first, second, third and fourth editions.[237]
2. *in hunc modum* p. 684a58; not in first, second, third and fourth editions.[238]
3. *statim* p. 684a61; not in first, second, third and fourth editions.[239]

The text has been somewhat adapted, and there are two passages (in the extracts from II.12 (*De insula primo instabili, tandem per ignem stabili facto*) and II.15 (*De Manna insula*)) which I was not able to find in Dimock's edition. These passages are possibly from another Giraldian work, or possibly from another source entirely.

Oxford, Corpus Christi College 263

CCCO 263 is a paper manuscript written in a rather cursive early modern Italic hand. It contains extracts from *Topographia hibernica* and *Itinerarium Kambriae* on the miracles of Ireland and Wales respectively. The text has been very heavily abbreviated and bears no verbal resemblance to the text written by Gerald. Two readings show something about the exemplar: a fountain in 'Sueuia' is mentioned, an account of which only appears in the fourth and fifth editions of *Topographia hibernica*,[240] and a quotation from Orosius, which is only found in the fifth edition, is included.[241] This suggests, albeit on slender evidence, that CCCO 263 was copied from a fifth-edition text.

Abbreviated versions

London, British Library, Additional 17920 and 19513

BL Additional 19513, which in 1868 was declared Italian,[242] contains an abbreviated version of *Topographia hibernica* which, as it states in the preface, was made by

[237] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 95, line 4 and n. 1.
[238] *Ibid.*, p. 97, line 15 and n. 6.
[239] *Ibid.*, p. 84, line 9 and n. 2.
[240] 'In Sueuia, qui non nisi sole lucente scaturigines emittit: cum autem non lucet, [aut] nocte, desistit a scaturigine', 107v22–4; *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 87, lines 13–23 and n. 3.
[241] 'Anguis nullus auis rara, apes nulla', 107r1; *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 56, lines 21–3 and n. 3.
[242] Bond, *Catalogue*, p. 248. See below, pp. 173, 190–1.

Philip, a Dominican of Cork, and is dedicated to Pope John XXII (1316–64).[243] BL Additional 17920 is written in Northern Textualis with some Southern Textualis features. Its language was described as Provençal (viz., Occitan).[244] It contains three works, entitled *Dels miracles de Sainhta Maria Vergena* (The Miracles of the Holy Virgin Mary), *Ystoria de S. Turpi arciuesque de Rems* (History of St Turpin, archbishop of Reims) and *Las mereuilhas de la terra de Ybernia* (The Marvels of the Land of Ireland).[245]

This last work[246] begins with a rubric which says that it was written for Pope John XXII by Philip of the Dominican friars of Cork,[247] thus suggesting very strongly that it is a translation of the Latin abbreviation of *Topographia hibernica* in Additional 19513. A comparison of the chapter-headings of Additional 17920 and 19513 shows a high degree of similarity between them as to contents; in fact they contain exactly the same chapters except for one (*De lacu magno mirum originem habente*) and a further eight in the Latin text[248] which are not in the Occitan text. Also, both manuscripts contain, as well as *Topographia hibernica*, the history of pseudo-Turpin, suggesting that these two works travelled together.

A collation of the two sample-chapters available in Additional 19513 revealed some interesting textual features. First, the text follows very closely that of *Topographia hibernica* as seen in the published editions, demonstrating that the abbreviation had not involved an extensive reworking of the text. Secondly, II.10 shows all the characteristics of a copy of the first edition.

---

[243] 'Patri patrum sanctissimo et Domino reuerentissimo Domino Iohanni diuina prouidencia sacrosancte Romane ac vniuersalis ecclesie summo pontifici suus deuotus filius et humilis cappelanus frater Philippus ordinis predicatorum ecclesie Corkagenensis in Hibernia minister', 165ra1–7.
[244] Bond, *Catalogue*, p. 63.
[245] 2r–6v, 6v–19v and 19v–29v respectively.
[246] Edited by Jacques Ulrich, *Les Merveilles*; see also review by Meyer.
[247] 'libre al. Sanh e benaurat papa Johan xxij. per fraire Phelip del ordre de predicadors. de la glieia de Corcagensis en ybernia pausada', 19vb27–9.
[248] Compare Additional 19513, 183r–187v; according to Wüstefeld ('Le manuscrit', p. 102), this lacuna is due to loss of a bifolium.

1. *biennio* 174ra28–b1; *Biennio elapso* first edition; *Non multo* other editions.[249]
2. *tam qualitatis quam quantitatis inusitate* 174rb2–3; *tam quantitatis immense quam qualitatis inusitate* other editions.[250]
3. *quinquaginta unciarum pondus continentes* 174ra4–5; not in other editions.[251]

In fact, this chapter exactly follows the text of the first edition. I.14 also shows some features of the first edition.

1. *Grues hic ingruunt* 167rb9; *grues ingruunt* first edition; *se grues ingerunt* other editions.[252]
2. *Auis huius exemplo uigilandum nobis est et excubandum* 167rb17–18; *Auis igitur istius exemplo uigilandum nobis est et excubandum* first edition; *Aues iste prelatorum ecclesie typum gerunt. Quibus supra gregem uigilandum esse dignoscitur et excubandum* other editions.[253]
3. *curam aliquam sacram animo tanquam lapidem suspendamus* 167rb20 and first edition; *cura aliqua sacra animo tanquam lapis est suspendenda* other editions.[254]
4. 174ra25 *Periculum … exaltant* after *experrecta resumat* in other editions; missing hence.[255]

However, there are a few changes, for example the substitution of *huius* for *igitur istius* in no. 2 above. More significantly, there are three examples in which the text agrees with other editions of *Topographia hibernica* against the first edition.

1. *ignoratur* 167rb19; *ignoramus* first edition.[256]
2. *omnem prorsus* 167rb21; *nobis*, *omnem nobis* or *omnem a nobis* first edition.[257]
3. *Diem uero laudantes a laude infinite* 167va8-9; not in first, second or third editions; *Diemque laudantes alaude innumere* fourth edition; *Diemque laudantes alaude infinite* fifth edition.[258]

This seems to point to a rather complicated textual history in which the text partly follows that of the first edition (not just in the omission of text not found in the first

---

[249] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 93, line 6 and n. 2.
[250] *Ibid.*, lines 8–9 and n. 3.
[251] *Ibid.*, lines 10–11 and n. 5. This is a rare example of text which appears in the first edition, but which Gerald excised in later editions.
[252] *Ibid.*, p. 46, line 3 and n. 1.
[253] *Ibid.*, lines 11–13 and n. 2.
[254] *Ibid.*, lines 14–15 and n. 2.
[255] *Ibid.*, lines 18–23 and n. 4.
[256] *Ibid.*, line 14 and n. 2.
[257] *Ibid.*, line 15 and n. 3.
[258] *Ibid.*, p. 47, lines 12–13 and nn. 3–4.

edition, which could be a coincidence, but in verbal variations) but also incorporates features of much later editions. This may be because Philip used two copies of *Topographia hibernica*, one of the first and one of the fifth edition, to make his abbreviation, or that he used an exemplar in which the two editions had become conflated.

London, British Library, Additional 4822

BL Additional 4822 belonged to Sir James Ware (1594–1666)[259] and contains miscellaneous extracts of various date, some on paper and some on parchment. The second item is entitled *Alterius anonymi Præfatio in abbreuiationem Giraldi Cambrensis de topographia et debellatione Hiberniæ*, followed by a chapter entitled *Ibid. [Slanius] primo quinque portiunculas Media redintegrauit, et in unum coniungens.* The text of the 'anonymous preface' is not in *Topographia hibernica*, and a comparison with BL Additional 19513 shows that it is not from Philip of Slane's abbreviation (which is of course not anonymous). It must therefore be copied from another, independent abbreviation of the text. The chapter corresponds with III.5, *De primo Hibernie monarcha scilicet Slanio*,[260] but the text in this manuscript includes a substantial digression on the cantreds and villages of Ireland, which is not in Dimock's edition. There are no variants in the text which would show from which edition it is derived.

Other copies

London, British Library, Cotton Claudius E.viii and Royal 14.C.vi

BL Cotton Claudius E.viii (E) is one of the largest[261] and most luxurious Giraldian manuscripts. It was made for Henry Spenser, bishop of Norwich 1370–1406.[262] It is

[259] O'Sullivan, 'A Finding List', p. 80; British Library, *The British Library Catalogue*, pp. 228–9.
[260] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 145.
[261] 400×275mm, with a written space of 300×180mm.
[262] See below, pp. 178–9 and 194.

written in Northern Textualis and is elaborately decorated. Its main text is *Flores historiarum*, once attributed to a non-existent 'Matthew of Westminster' but in fact an abbreviation and continuation, made at Westminster, of Matthew Paris's *Chronica maiora*.[263] This is prefaced with several small articles, including prophecies, letters from emperors and popes, accounts of miracles, descriptions of Rome and England, and an account of the first invasions of Ireland taken from Gerald's *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica*.

Royal 14.C.vi (Rf) is a less elaborate manuscript; it is written in a smaller Northern Textualis, and it is decorated more simply with blue flourished initials. Its main text is *Flores historiarum* and it also shares some of the prefatory matter of Cotton Claudius E.viii, including the extracts from *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica*. The two manuscripts clearly have a close relationship – words are even abbreviated in the same way in some places. Below, for example, are the opening words of the Giraldian extracts in both manuscripts, with expanded abbreviations marked by underlining.[264]

> Iuxta antiquissimas igitur Yberniencium historias Cesara neptis Noe.
> audiens diluuium in proximo futurum ad remotissimas occidentis insulas
> quas nec dum quisquam hominum habitauerat cum suis complicibus

> Iuxta antiquissimas igitur Yberniencium hystorias. Cesara neptis. Noe
> audiens diluuium in proximo futurum ad remotissimas occidentis insulas
> quas nec dum quisquam hominum habitauerat cum suis complicibus

The extracts from *Topographia hibernica* are from III.1–8. The text is not of the first edition.

1. *terminum mortem* E 16vb43/Rf 7rb33–4; *terminum* first edition.[265]
2. *tantum media* E 17rb7/Rf 7vb16; *tamen media* first edition.[266]

---

[263] See above, p. 14.
[264] BL Royal 14.C.vi, 7ra26–30; BL Cotton Claudius E.viii, 16va45–7.
[265] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 142, lines 21–2 and n. 3.
[266] *Ibid.*, p. 145, line 20 and n. 3.

3. *starium* E 17ra14/Rf 7va1; *staruum* first edition and A.[267]

One reading suggests that it is of at least the third edition.

aboleuit E 16vb32/Rf 7rb20–1; *abolebat* first and second editions.[268]

However, the variants in the available text do not allow it to be placed any more accurately than this. Possibly it is of the fourth or fifth edition, as some readings show that it does not follow the third-edition witnesses ABFR.

1. *malorum* E 17ra22/Rf 7va24; *multorum* BFR.[269]
2. *peruertens* E 17ra45/Rf 7vb6; *peruertente* BFR.[270]
3. *Quoniam igitur* E 17rb45/Rf 8ra18; *Unde et quoniam* BFR.[271]
4. *incommodis et infortuniis* E 17ra20/Rf 7va22; *morbis et pestilentiis* first edition and A.[272]
5. *donec* E 17ra2/Rf 7rb40–1; not in A.[273]
6. *languinius* E 16vb19/*languinus* Rf 7rb7–8; *Langninus* first edition and A.[274]

Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Latin 217

JRUL Latin 217 is a fifteenth-century copy of Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon* made by Stephen Lawless, subprior of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin.[275] This dates it before 1431, when Lawless became prior of the abbey. It has three flyleaves at the beginning (fols. 1–3), of which 2v and 3r contain an account of the invasions of Ireland. This is written in an Cursiva Antiquior/Recentior (Anglicana/Secretary) hybrid script which suggests a fifteenth-century date for this also, but the flyleaves are separate from the rest of the manuscript and there is no indication when they may have become associated with the main text.

---

[267] *Ibid.*, p. 143, line 9 and n. 3.
[268] *Ibid.*, p. 142, line 8 and n. 2
[269] *Ibid.*, p. 144, line 4 and n. 2.
[270] *Ibid.*, p. 145, line 8 and n. 2.
[271] *Ibid.*, p. 147, line 19 and n. 1.
[272] *Ibid.*, p. 144, lines 2–3 and n. 1.
[273] *Ibid.*, p. 143, line 6 and n. 2.
[274] *Ibid.*, p. 140, line 25 and n. 6.
[275] 'Policronicon compilatus per Ranulphum monachum Cestrensis et scriptus per fratrem Stephanum Lawles suppriorem huius monasterii', 4r, top margin.

The account corresponds with III.1–4, 6, 8 and 43 of *Topographia hibernica.* However, only the first is a direct copy from Gerald's text; the rest are merely summaries. There is nothing in the first chapter to show from which edition of the text it was copied.

Translations

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 110B

NLW 110B is a paper manuscript of only eight leaves, datable after 1603 and containing extracts from *Topographia hibernica* and *Descriptio Kambriae* translated into English. There are four chapters from *Topographia hibernica*: three concerned with Irish music, and one (apparently unfinished) about St Patrick's conversion of the Irish to Christianity. I could not determine the edition from which the translation derives. A rubric at the beginning of the text reads 'Sylvester Giraldus's Topography of Ireland [F]ol. Printed at Frankfort 1603 Page 739', demonstrating that the text was taken from Camden's *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica* which was published at Frankfurt in 1602/3. Camden's text was taken from what Dimock called a 'bad late manuscript', which contained a copy of the fifth edition.[276]

London, British Library, Harley 551

BL Harley 551 is an early modern paper manuscript written by John Stow (1525–1605), who described himself variously as 'the Chronicler' and 'marchaunt taylor'.[277] It contains English translations of all four Welsh and Irish works, dated to either 1575 or 1576. The translation of *Topographia hibernica* is dated December 1575. It is a somewhat abbreviated translation; only the headings of many chapters are noted, unfortunately including the first two of my three sample-chapters. However, there are some readings in

[276] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, lxxx.
[277] 1*r, 3r.

the third sample-chapter which show that the text was taken from a copy of the fifth edition. The passage 'and aswell women as men do ryde a stride' corresponds to 'Tam mulieres quoque quam mares diuaricatis cruribus tibiisque utrinque protensis equitare solent', which is only found in the fourth and fifth editions,[278] and 'It is to be noted that' corresponds to *Notandum autem quod* which is a fifth-edition reading (against *Verumtamen* in all other editions).[279]

EXPUGNATIO HIBERNICA

Dimock used nine manuscripts of *Expugnatio hibernica*: TCC R.7.11 (T); CUL Ff.1.27, part 2 (F); BL Cotton Cleopatra D.v (Cl); BL Harley 177 (Ha); BL Royal 13.A.xiv (Rb); BL Royal 13.B.viii (R); BL Royal 14.C.xiii (Ra); Lambeth 371 (L); and Bodleian Rawlinson B.188 (B).[280] However, the text has been re-edited since Dimock's time, by A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin in an edition and translation published in 1978. In the introduction Scott has listed the manuscripts which he and Martin consulted and has provided an excellent, detailed account of the evolution of the text.[281] He consulted several more manuscripts than Dimock knew when he made the Rolls Series edition, namely NLW 3074D (W); CUL Additional 3392 (Ca); Douai 887 (Do); NLI 700 (I); BL Additional 34762 (Add) and Harley 4003 (Hb); Lambeth 622 and 580; and Bodleian Rawlinson D.125; consequently, I have found fewer previously unknown manuscripts of *Expugnatio hibernica*. They are TCD 574; BL Cotton Claudius E.viii, Lansdowne 229 and Royal 14.C.vi; and Manchester JRUL latin 217; they all contain only extracts. There are also eleven manuscripts containing translations: NLI 1416, TCD 592 and 593, BL Additional

[278] 57v2; *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 172, lines 4–6 and n. 1.
[279] 57r27; *ibid.*, p. 171, line 22 and n. 3.
[280] Dimock knew (*GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, xi–xii) that BL Harley 359 contained *Expugnatio hibernica*, but, as with *Topographia hibernica*, he apparently did not use it in his edition.
[281] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, pp. xxxiv–lxxv.

40674 and Harley 551, Lambeth 248, 598 and 623 and Bodleian Rawlinson B.490 are English; TCD 1298 and Bodleian Rawlinson B.475 are Irish.[282]

Scott has observed that 'the history of this text is one of gradual change', although 'the additions in the *Expugnatio* are nothing like so substantial as those with which [Gerald] has lumbered the *Topographia*'.[283] He has divided the work into two recensions (α and β) and described the changes within and between the two:[284]

> The manuscripts L Do Add give the text in its earliest form, and … B, R, the marginal additions to R (= R^1) Ca Ha T and the original text of I represent a slight and gradual evolution of the text. These MSS. I refer to collectively as the α MSS. … Then there is the much more extensive reworking of the text, seen in the alterations and marginal additions to I, and in the fourteenth-century manuscripts Cl Ra Rb Hb W. This I call the β text.

The β recension is the latest version of the text. Unusually for Gerald, some text has been removed from the α-recension text in the β-recension (Gerald was not usually one to remove text from a work of his once it had been added), leading Dimock to suspect that the β-recension may not have been Gerald's work at all. Scott has addressed this question in his introduction and has convincingly argued that the β-recension does, in fact, originate with Gerald.[285]

Of the witnesses to the β-text, Scott said that W and probably Rb[286]

> go back to a manuscript or manuscripts, which had been copied from I after all the layers of alterations had appeared in that manuscript … I cannot find any [other variants except two] to prove conclusively that Cl Ra Hb … and I … go back to a common parent. Yet these three MSS. … must derive from a manuscript very like I, and I find it hard to believe that

[282] I have been unable to collate these two manuscripts, as I have no knowledge of medieval Irish. The text in TCD 1298 was edited by Whitley Stokes, 'The Irish Abridgment'.
[283] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, p. xl.
[284] *Ibid.*
[285] *Ibid.*, pp. lii–lxx. Dimock's doubts were partly based on the lack (as he thought) of any surviving β-recension manuscripts from Gerald's lifetime; the discovery of NLI 700 (I) removed this problem.
[286] *Ibid.*, pp. l–li.

> they do not in fact have a common parent … both Cl and Ra have retained … some α readings which have been replaced by β readings in the text of I W Rb. One imagines that they were copied from the common parent at an earlier stage than I, when not all the alterations and additions had been made in it.

Of the other manuscripts mentioned but not fully collated by Scott, he has said that Bodleian Rawlinson D.125 is a witness to the β-recension, and that BL Harley 310 'is copied from Rb, to judge from the idiosyncratic variants of that MS. reproduced'. BL Harley 359 'is copied from Do, and breaks off with that MS at I.46.38. A different contemporary hand has completed the text from a β MS., and has also carefully gone over the first part and collated it with the β text, supplying the additional β variants'.[287]

Lambeth 622 contains a β-text, 'and trial readings show that it agrees closely with I Rb W'.[288] Lambeth 580, a collection of notes made on Lambeth Palace manuscripts by Henry Wharton (1664–95), 'contains notes on an unnamed manuscript of the *Expugnatio*, probably L, which [Wharton] has found to be "defective" on comparison with a MS. of … the β text'.[289]

London, British Library, Cotton Claudius E.viii and Royal 14.C.vi

As I have stated above,[290] these manuscripts include extracts on the invasions of Ireland from *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica*. The extracts from *Expugnatio hibernica* are descriptions of some of the leading participants in the English conquest of Ireland, including King Henry II, and the privilege of Pope Adrian IV (1154–9)[291] to Henry giving his blessing to the invasion.

---

[287] *Ibid.*, p. xxxix.
[288] *Ibid.*
[289] *Ibid.*, p. xl.
[290] pp. 61–3.
[291] Called Pope Urban in Claudius E.viii.

The text has proved not to be a witness to one of the earliest stages of the α-recension.[292]

1. *pectori proporcionalem* E 17va37/Rf 8rb17–18, other witnesses; *pectori proporcionabilem* L.[293]
2. *exercere paratus* E 17va46/Rf 8rb27, ITβ; *licere putans* BHaLR.[294]
3. *uir affabilis …secundus* E 17vb36–8/Rf 8va25–8, R[1]CaTI[1]β; not in other witnesses.[295]

It is as least as late in the evolution of the text as the later stages of the α-recension, but it cannot be placed any more accurately than that.

Claudius E.viii also contains, in its text of *Flores historiarum*, an extract from *Expugnatio hibernica* (II.25) concerning the sending of John, archbishop of Dublin, to Ireland ahead of the new governor, Henry II's son prince John. It is the only copy of *Flores historiarum* to contain it.[296] There is nothing in the extract to show from which version of the text it was taken.

London, British Library, Lansdowne 229

BL Lansdowne 229 is a paper manuscript dated by a rubric to 1573 which contains a large number (over 100) of miscellaneous texts. It contains extracts from *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Expugnatio hibernica*, which, according to Robin Flower, are in the hand of William Camden (1551–1623).[297] The extracts from *Expugnatio hibernica* are from I.1–4, I.6, I.11, I.13, I.16, I.20, I.38, II.3–4, II.10, II.15, II.19–20, II.22–3, II.25 and II.35.

Collation of the text has shown that it is not a witness to the earliest stages of the α-recensions.

---

[292] It is impossible to refer to 'editions' of *Expugnatio hibernica*, as Scott and Martin's discussion and *apparatus* make it clear that the evolution of the text was a gradual process which cannot be divided into clearly defined steps.
[293] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, p. 158, 11.8.
[294] *Ibid.*, 11.15.
[295] *Ibid.*, p. 128, 46.54–5.
[296] *Ibid.*, pp. 198–9; *Flores historiarum*, ed. Luard, I, xxv, II, 96.
[297] Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish Interest', p. 317.

1. *ab ipso* 36ra45; *ab eo* L.[298]
2. *Giraldi* 36rb41; *Girardi* BR.[299]
3. *miliaribus* 36va40, CaHaIβ; *stadiis* other witnesses.[300]

It is not, however, a copy of the latest version of the α-recension or of the β-recension.

1. *sui generi* 36va37; *generi sui* β.[301]
2. *fere* 36va40; *quasi* I (over erasure) β.[302]
3. *cui filiam eandem* 36vb1, BCaDoHaR; *cui filiam eandem se quondam* I (with *se* in margin); *cui se filiam eandem* other witnesses.[303]
4. *circa* 37ra13, BCaHaR; *circiter* other witnesses.[304]
5. *Reuocatis in Angliam Aldelini filio* 37rb35; *Aldelini filio revocato interim in Angliam* Iβ.[305]

It seems to be a copy from the intermediate stages of the α-recension, as represented by CaHa, for in the available text it agrees with them most often. However, it is not a direct copy of Ha, which contains a much-abbreviated text lacking most of the non-historical material; nor is it a direct copy of Ca.

1. *Incipit* … *secunda* 36ra3–5; no heading in Ca. Ha has *ab Anglicis* instead of *secunda*.[306]
2. *Fortunam* … *optinere* 36ra36–b10; not in Ha.[307]
3. *præter urbem ipsam cum suo cantaredo* 37rb47, R (by alteration) Iβ; *cum urbe ipsa* other witnesses.[308]

In this last example the text agrees with the β-recension, but this is the only place in which it does so against an α-recension variant. Perhaps this is an example of contamination from a β-recension witness.

---

[298] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, p. 26, 1.50.
[299] *Ibid.*, p. 30, 2.40.
[300] *Ibid.*, p. 52, 11.13.
[301] *Ibid.*, 11.24.
[302] *Ibid.*, 11.13.
[303] *Ibid.*, p. 54, 12.15.
[304] *Ibid.*, p. 74, 20.58.
[305] *Ibid.*, p. 182, 20.3.
[306] *Ibid.*, p. 24, 1.1–2.
[307] *Ibid.*, p. 26, 1.43–59.
[308] *Ibid.*, p. 184, 20.13.

1. *ab ipso* 36ra45; *ab eo* L.[298]
2. *Giraldi* 36rb41; *Girardi* BR.[299]
3. *miliaribus* 36va40, CaHaIβ; *stadiis* other witnesses.[300]

It is not, however, a copy of the latest version of the α-recension or of the β-recension.

1. *sui generi* 36va37; *generi sui* β.[301]
2. *fere* 36va40; *quasi* I (over erasure) β.[302]
3. *cui filiam eandem* 36vb1, BCaDoHaR; *cui filiam eandem se quondam* I (with *se* in margin); *cui se filiam eandem* other witnesses.[303]
4. *circa* 37ra13, BCaHaR; *circiter* other witnesses.[304]
5. *Reuocatis in Angliam Aldelini filio* 37rb35; *Aldelini filio revocato interim in Angliam* Iβ.[305]

It seems to be a copy from the intermediate stages of the α-recension, as represented by CaHa, for in the available text it agrees with them most often. However, it is not a direct copy of Ha, which contains a much-abbreviated text lacking most of the non-historical material; nor is it a direct copy of Ca.

1. *Incipit* … *secunda* 36ra3–5; no heading in Ca. Ha has *ab Anglicis* instead of *secunda.*[306]
2. *Fortunam* … *optinere* 36ra36–b10; not in Ha.[307]
3. *præter urbem ipsam cum suo cantaredo* 37rb47, R (by alteration) Iβ; *cum urbe ipsa* other witnesses.[308]

In this last example the text agrees with the β-recension, but this is the only place in which it does so against an α-recension variant. Perhaps this is an example of contamination from a β-recension witness.

---

[298] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, p. 26, 1.50.
[299] *Ibid.*, p. 30, 2.40.
[300] *Ibid.*, p. 52, 11.13.
[301] *Ibid.*, 11.24.
[302] *Ibid.*, 11.13.
[303] *Ibid.*, p. 54, 12.15.
[304] *Ibid.*, p. 74, 20.58.
[305] *Ibid.*, p. 182, 20.3.
[306] *Ibid.*, p. 24, 1.1–2.
[307] *Ibid.*, p. 26, 1.43–59.
[308] *Ibid.*, p. 184, 20.13.

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 290/682

Caius 290/682 proved, unexpectedly (it was not mentioned in the catalogue),[309] to contain a chapter from *Expugnatio hibernica*, namely I.40 (*De uisione immo uerius uisitatione regi Henrico apud Kerdif diuinitus facta et reuelatione monstrata*).[310] This chapter only appears in NLI 700 (on an inserted leaf) and in β-recension witnesses. It also occurs in *Itinerarium Kambriae* (I.6) and *De principis instructione* (II.12), but verbal variants show that the chapter in Caius 290/682 is not taken from either of them – it also rather obviously begins *Idem in historia uaticinalis libro 1 capitulo 40*. It must therefore be taken from a copy of the β recension of *Expugnatio hibernica*.

Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Latin 217

JRUL Latin 217 contains a short account of the invasions of Ireland on two flyleaves at the beginning of a copy of Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*. The text from *Expugnatio hibernica* is that of the two papal privileges, of Hadrian IV and Alexander III, giving papal blessing to King Henry II's invasion of Ireland (II.5). The second of these privileges does not appear in the β recension of the text; therefore that part at least must have been taken from an α-recension witness. There are only two other significant readings.

1. *Laudabiliter* 2vb34; *Laudabiliter satis* L.[311]
2. *taliter* 3ra36; *per te taliter* β.[312]

The text was therefore taken from an α-recension witness, but not one of the earliest stage of the text.

---

[309] James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts … of Gonville and Caius College*, I, 336–8.
[310] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, pp. 108–13.
[311] *Ibid.*, p. 144, 5.27.
[312] *Ibid.*, p. 146, 5.62.

Dublin, Trinity College 574

TCD 574 contains abbreviated extracts from all four Welsh and Irish works. The extracts from *Expugnatio hibernica* are from I.1–12; much text is omitted, but what there is follows the full text quite closely.

The text is definitely not taken from the earliest stages of the α recension (AddDoL).

1. *A multis* p. 651, line 13; not in Do.[313]
2. *De exilio … restitutione* p. 651, lines 21–22; not in AddDo.[314]
3. *se uiribus* p. 652, line 2; *uiribus se* Add.[315]
4. *ipso* p. 652, line 13; eo L.[316]
5. *iura* p. 659, line 4; *iura iam* L.[317]

It is not part of the BFR family either.

1. *Giraldi* p. 653, line 17; *Girardi* BR.[318]
2. *in* p. 654, line 4; not in BR.[319]
3. *milliaria* p. 654, line 15; *milia passuum* BR; *stadiis* AddDoL.[320]

One reading suggests that it was taken from a copy of the β recension.

De exilio Dermicii … restitutione p. 651, lines 21–22; *Incipit … secunda* α.[321]

However, in most places where a comparison was possible the text disagreed with the β-recension reading.

1. *uaticiniam* p. 65, line 40; *uaticiniam uulgo diuulgatum* Iβ.[322]
2. *aduenit* p. 654, line 3; *In crastino uero … nauibus* after this CaIβ.[323]
3. *densissimis* p. 656, line 13; *densissimis et* IR^{1}Tβ; *densissimis in* Ra.[324]

---

[313] *Ibid.*, p. 20, *intro.* 297.
[314] *Ibid.*, p. 24, 1.1–2.
[315] *Ibid.*, p. 26, 1.27.
[316] *Ibid.*, 1.50.
[317] *Ibid.*, p. 52, 12.3.
[318] *Ibid.*, p. 30, 2.40.
[319] *Ibid.*, p. 32, 3.13.
[320] *Ibid.*, 3.24.
[321] *Ibid.*, p. 24, 1.1–2.
[322] *Ibid.*, p. 30, 3.7.
[323] *Ibid.*, p. 32, 3.12.
[324] *Ibid.*, p. 40, 5.16.

4. *iam amico concipiens* p. 656, line 38, CaHa; *iamiam amico concipiens* $R^1T\beta$; *iam concipiens* other witnesses.[325]
5. *fere* p. 658, line 29; *quasi* Iβ.[326]

Admittedly most of these are cases of omission in the text of TCD 574, and as the text is only extracts it is difficult to be certain that the absence of text is not a deliberate omission by the scribe/editor. However, the last example above is not an omission but the use of a different word; also, at least in the case of large omissions, they tend to be indicated by *et cetera*. In no. 2 above, for example, there is no *et cetera* to indicate a deliberate omission, suggesting that the text was also missing in the exemplar.

The text is not of the β recension, but *miliaria* is used instead of *stadia* or *milia passuum*, and *satellites equestribus* instead of *arcarii*: it therefore seems to be closest to CaHa. However, the inclusion of text which is missing from Ca and Ha shows that the extracts were not taken directly from either of these manuscripts.

1. *Quoniam* … *comprehendit* p. 651, lines 1–11; not in CaHaHb.[327]
2. *De exilio Dermicii* … *restitutione* p. 651 lines 21–22; not in Ca; *Incipit liber Vaticinalis Historie a Giraldo Kambrensi digestus super Hibernica expugnatione ab Anglicis* Ha.[328]
3. *inimicus* … *profetitur* p. 656 lines 43–5; not in Ha.[329]

The fact that the text is only extracts and that the scribe/editor frequently made minor changes to words means that it is difficult to tell which readings were inherited from the exemplar and which originated with the scribe/editor of this text. It is most likely that the text was taken from a copy of the later stages of the α recension, but I cannot place it any more accurately than that.

[325] *Ibid.*, p. 42, 7.3
[326] *Ibid.*, p. 52, 11.13.
[327] *Ibid.*, p. 2, *intro.*1–13.
[328] *Ibid.*, p. 24, 1.1–2.
[329] *Ibid.*, p. 42, 7.11–14.

London, British Library, Harley 551

BL Harley 551 contains English translations of the Welsh and Irish works by John Stow. The translation of *Expugnatio hibernica* is described as 'Translated out of latyn into Englyshe by W. Camden and here writened by John stow marchaunt taylor in the monithe of June anno 1576'.[330] Some passages are missing from the first sample-chapter which are found in the α recension but not in the β recension, namely prophecies of Merlin and Moling and two mentions of Raymond le Gros at the siege of Waterford.[331] The phrase which occurs later, 'The comynge of dermicius with maurice, fitzstephen and Reymund', corresponds with 'interuentu Dermitii, qui cum Mauricio et Stephanide necnon et Reimundo iam tunc aduenerat' which is a β-recension reading; *necnon et Reimundo* is omitted in the α recension.[332] BL Harley 551 was therefore translated from a β-recension witness.

London, Lambeth Palace 248

Lambeth 248 is a paper manuscript, the first article of which is dated 1571. It contains various items on Ireland, including a history of Ireland which 'encludeth the first parte of Cambrensis diuided by him into thre distinctions'[333] and an English translation of *Expugnatio hibernica.* In the first sample-chapter the prophecies of Merlin and Moling and the presence of Raymond le Gros at the siege of Waterford are included,[334] which shows that it is a translation from the α recension. I cannot say from my sample-collation what stage of the α recension the exemplar represented.

---

[330] 119v.
[331] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, p. 64, 16.9–15; p. 66, 16.18–20 and 16.28.
[332] *Ibid.*, p. 66, 16.28.
[333] 4r, in the margin; presumably this refers to *Topographia hibernica.*
[334] 130r8–16, 19–21.

Dublin, National Library of Ireland, 1416; Dublin, Trinity College 592; Dublin, Trinity College 593; London, British Library, Additional 40674; London, Lambeth Palace Library, 598; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B.490

These six manuscripts contain a Middle English translation of *Expugnatio hibernica.* Dimock printed a passage from TCD 592 in his edition and asserted that TCD 593 was a copy of it.[335] The full texts of TCD 592 and Bodleian Rawlinson B.490 were published in 1896, and that of Lambeth 598 was published in 1871.[336] The text in all six is so similar that I have concluded that they are all copies of the same text.[337] NLI 1416 and Lambeth 598 also share an *explicit*: 'Et sic finis est istius libri. Nonus [None Lambeth 598] homo laudetur sed domino gloria detur.'[338] Bodleian Rawlinson B.490 also has the first part of this, but has 'Laus deo clementissimo' instead of the second sentence.[339]

The text contains all the prophecies which are in the α recension but not in the β recension and therefore was translated from an α-recension witness.[340] It was not a copy of the earliest stage of the α recension, as it contains the chapter on the council of Armagh (I.18) which is not found in AddDoL.[341] It also contains a passage corresponding with a Latin sentence which, according to Scott and Martin, only appears in the intermediate-α-recension witnesses CaHa: 'A man stode þer besyde & herd, & wold, hys thankes, saue þe prophetes sawe, Answard the kynge & seyd, "Thou art not that kynge that shal Irland conquer; ne Merlyn ne spekyth nat of the"'.[342] Frederick

[335] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, xciii–xcviii.
[336] *The English Conquest*, ed. Furnivall; *Calendar*, ed. Brewer and Bullen.
[337] Cf. for example the first sentence of the text: *The English Conquest*, ed. Furnivall, p. 2, lines 6–9/p. 3, lines 5–9; *Calendar*, ed. Brewer and Bullen, p. 261, lines 5–9; NLI 1416 A1r2–6; TCD 593 p. 1, lines 1–4; Additional 40674 68r1–4.
[338] *Calendar*, ed. Brewer and Bullen, p. 317.
[339] *The English Conquest*, ed. Furnivall, p. 151. According to McIntosh *et al.* (*A Linguistic Atlas*, I, 118 and 151), the texts of Lambeth 598 and Bodleian Rawlinson B.490 are very close.
[340] For example the prophecies of Merlin and Moling about Earl Richard, *The English Conquest*, ed. Furnivall, p. 34, lines 23–30/p. 35, lines 24–31; cf. *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, p. 64, 16.9–13.
[341] *The English Conquest*, ed. Furnivall, pp. 38–40/39–41; *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, pp. 68–71.
[342] *The English Conquest*, ed. Furnivall, p. 72, lines 4–7/p. 73, lines 5–8; compare *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, p. 106: 'Lecator autem ibi cum aliis astans et rei eventum observans, ut vatis

Furnivall noted the similarity of the text in TCD 592 to that of Ha, but said that 'here and there it has bits not in Harl. 177 [Ha]'; therefore its text cannot have been taken from Ha.[343] Nor can it have been translated from Ca, as Ca's text finishes incomplete at II.34 whereas TCD 592 contains text translated from II.35–7.[344] It was perhaps taken from the common parent of CaHa.

London, Lambeth Palace 623

Lambeth 623 is a composite codex, written on parchment but in an early modern hand, the second part of which contains a text called 'The Book of Howth' after its owner, Christopher Howth.[345] The text is entitled 'The descripcion of Ierland' and includes (6r–59v) an abbreviated version of the Middle English translation of *Expugnatio hibernica* discussed above. It was published by Brewer and Bullen in the same volume as the text in Lambeth 598, with the spelling modernised.[346] This version also includes some extensive passages not in the original English text, mostly to do with John de Courcy, whom the author evidently admired greatly.[347]

ITINERARIUM KAMBRIAE

Itinerarium Kambriae is the earlier of Gerald's two Welsh works, and Dimock used six manuscripts of it: CUL Ff.1.27, part 2 (F); BL Cotton Domitian A.i (D); BL Harley 359 (Hc); BL Royal 13.B.viii (R); BL Royal 13.B.xii (Rd); and Bodleian Rawlinson B.188 (B). Of these, he classified BFR as representing a first edition, Hc a second edition, and DRd a third edition. Sharpe has listed in addition BL Additional 34762 as a manuscript of the

iniuriam vindicaret, sic alta voce subiecit "Tu es vero rex (Ha *adds* ille) qui Hiberniam conquirere debet, nec de te Merlinus mencionem fecit"'.

[343] *The English Conquest*, ed. Furnivall, p. ix.

[344] *Ibid.*, pp. 140–50; *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, pp. xxxv–xxxvi.

[345] His name appears several times on 178r: for example, 'Crystofer Howthe hys bouke'.

[346] *Calendar*, ed. Brewer and Bullen, pp. 1–260; the section based on *Expugnatio hibernica* is at pp. 36–117.

[347] *Ibid.*, pp. 81–9, 91–4 and 104–17.

'second state', and NLW 3024C as of the 'third state'.[348] I have discovered a further seven manuscripts of *Itinerarium Kambriae*: NLW Peniarth 383D; TCD 574; BL Additional 43706, Harley 912 and Lansdowne 229; Lambeth 263; Bodleian Rawlinson B.471; and CCCO 263. Of these only Harley 912 is medieval. Lambeth 263 is a translation; TCD 574, Harley 912 and Lansdowne 229 contain only extracts.

The sample-chapters of *Itinerarium Kambriae* which I have collated are Dimock's I.1 (*De transitu per Herefordiam et Radenouram cum notabilibus suis*) and II.12 (*De transitu per Album Monasterium et Oswaldestreo, Powisiam quoque et Slopesburiam cum notabilibus suis*).[349]

Second edition

BL Harley 359 (Hc) is the only manuscript of the second edition of *Itinerarium Kambriae* (dedicated to Hugh, bishop of Lincoln 1186–1200) which Dimock knew. He described it as[350]

> a sixteenth century folio ... paper volume of 216 leaves, containing the Irish and Welsh treatise of Giraldus, with two or three other small additional articles ... 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 ... 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.

At the end of I.1 in this manuscript there is a passage described as 'corrupt' by Dimock.[351] Examination has shown that there are simply gaps left in the text where words which were presumably illegible in the exemplar were omitted.

---

[348] Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 135.
[349] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 13–19 and 142–5 respectively.
[350] *Ibid.*, pp. xi–xii.
[351] *Ibid.*, p. 19, n. 5.

London, British Library, Additional 34762

Collation of the sample-chapters in BL Additional 34762 has revealed that it is indeed a representative of the second edition.

1. *Anno igitur ab incarnatione Domini M°. c°. lxxxviii°* 100v21–2; *apostolatus … Gwidone* after this in third edition.[352]
2. *uiro Rannulfo* 101r4–5; *Ranulfo quoque* first edition; *uiro* Hc; *uiro magnifico Ranulfo* third edition.[353]
3. *obuios* 101r8; *obuiam* first edition.[354]
4. *precipueque* 101v24; not in first edition; *precipue* third edition.[355]
5. *milibus* 102r11; *stadiis* first edition; *passuum milibus* third edition.[356]

There is also one passage which suggests that Hc might indeed have been copied from this manuscript. It reads[357]

> Tanto namque tamque letali certamine congressi sunt; ut in toto {uiuario uix unus mane} uita superstes inueniretur miro et inaudito pronostico multorum {morte mortem unius presagientes}. Quanti uero et quam enormes excessus super fratrum et consobrinorum ex oculationibus ob miseras {terrarum} ambitiones in hiis inter Vagam et Sabrinam.

The text enclosed in curly brackets was added, in a much later hand, in gaps left by the original scribe. This passage was described as 'corrupt in Hc' by Dimock.[358] As it is also corrupt in Additional 34762, this suggests that Hc was in fact copied from Additional 34762. However, it is possible, given that the scribe of Additional 34762 left gaps for the missing words in the text, that it was the exemplar of Additional 34762 which was 'corrupt' and the scribe was indicating with gaps the position of words which he could not read. In this case it would be possible that Hc was copied from this exemplar and not

[352] *Ibid.*, p. 13, lines 8–14 and n. 3.
[353] *Ibid.*, p. 14, line 1 and n. 1.
[354] *Ibid.*, line 5 and n. 2
[355] *Ibid.*, p. 15, line 26 and n. 3.
[356] *Ibid.*, p. 16, line 7 and n. 1.
[357] 104r22–v8; *ibid.*, p. 19, lines 21–8.
[358] *Ibid.*, n. 5.

Additional 34762 itself. In either case, nevertheless, the two witnesses are obviously closely related.

London, British Library, Additional 43706

BL Additional 43706 is a paper manuscript bound in stiff parchment which forms Vol. IV of the transcripts of the sixteenth-century scholar Laurence Nowell. It is written in an Early Modern Italic hand, and is dated by a rubric to 1562. It contains *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Descriptio Kambriae*; unusually for manuscripts containing these two works, *Descriptio Kambriae* comes first.[359] This may suggest that the works were not copied from the same manuscript.

Collation of the first sample-chapter showed that this manuscript contains a copy of the second edition.

1. *Anno igitur ab incarnatione Domini 1188* 20r20; *apostolatus … Gwidone* after this in third edition.[360]
2. *uiro Ranulfo* 20r28; *Ranulfo quoque* first edition; *uiro magnifico Ranulfo* third edition.[361]
3. *Accesserunt … non ualebant* 20v27–21r6; not in first edition.[362]
4. *præcipueque* 20v32; not in first edition; *praecipue* third edition.[363]
5. *millibus* 21r9; *stadiis* first edition; *passuum millibus* third edition.[364]

Significantly, at the end of the chapter (22r28–31) there are exactly the same gaps in the text which occur in BL Additional 34762 and Harley 359. This shows that Additional 43706 derives from Additional 34762, or that the two witnesses are at least very closely related.

There are a good many variations from Dimock's edition. While some appear to be errors of copying, some cannot be explained in this way. For example, *tendens* becomes

[359] *Itinerarium Kambriae* comes first in NLW 3024C, NLW Peniarth 383D, BL Cotton Domitian A.i, BL Harley 912 and BL Royal 13.B.xii. In all of these manuscripts both works were copied by the same scribe.
[360] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 13, lines 8–14 and n. 3.
[361] *Ibid.*, p. 14, line 1 and n. 1.
[362] *Ibid.*, p. 15, line 21–p. 16, line 3 and p. 15, n. 2.
[363] *Ibid.*, line 26 and n. 3.
[364] *Ibid.*, p. 16, line 7 and n. 1.

missus, fuerat becomes *erat, posterum* becomes *præterea, die in uia comederem* becomes *die commedere* and *dicitur intrasset et minus caute in eadem* becomes *dicta est uenaretur et in eadem minus caute.*[365] This suggests that some editing of the text was undertaken by the scribe or another person.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B.471

Bodleian Rawlinson B.471 is a paper manuscript which, according to a note on a flyleaf, was written by William Lambarde (1536–1601).[366] Although this cannot be entirely true, as there are at least three hands in the manuscript, Lambarde's name or initials do appear at the end of the first two items, along with a date (1560 at the end of the extracts from Gerald).[367]

The first item is extracts or 'Collectanea' from *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Descriptio Kambriae.* Both works are heavily abbreviated and some chapters have been omitted.[368] However, I have been able to establish that the exemplar of *Itinerarium Kambriae* was a copy of the second edition.

1. *millibus* 2v38; *stadiis* first edition; *passuum millibus* third edition.[369]
2. *Iuxta Warthreniaun castellum est de Raidguot a Reso constructum prouincia de Eleuein ab Hay flumine uagensi disterminatur* 3r6–8: from sections of the text not in first edition.[370]
3. *diutius in manu tenere consueue[uerant]* 8r9–10; another section after this in third edition.[371]

---

[365] 21r21–2.
[366] 'These Papers are of the hand writing of Mr. Wm Lambard', dated 23 September 1729 (on an unnumbered flyleaf).
[367] 'W. Lambarde 1560', 8r; 'W. L. 1560', 13r. At the end of the second item, a treatise (in French with an interlinear English translation) of Sir Walter de Henley on agriculture, notes signed by Lambarde are dated 1577.
[368] I.14 and II.8 from *Itinerarium Kambriae*; I.9–18 and II.2, 4–6 from *Descriptio Kambriae.*
[369] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 16, line 7 and n. 1.
[370] *Ibid.*, p. 18, lines 19–30; p. 19, lines 4–13; p. 18, n. 1.
[371] *Ibid.*, p. 145, lines 8–24 and n. 3.

While the third example is not conclusive, given the abbreviated nature of this text, together with the other two examples it points to a second-edition exemplar.

Dublin, Trinity College 574

TCD 574 contains extracts from *Itinerarium Kambriae.* They are much abbreviated from the original text and many passages are omitted altogether. The extracts are taken from a copy of the second edition.

1. *millibus* p. 635, line 13; *stadiis* first edition; *passuum millibus* third edition.[372]
2. *Warthreniaun Castellum est de Raidguot a Reso constructum Provincia de Eleueni ab Hay flumine Vagensi disterminatur* p. 635, lines 20–1; not in first edition.[373]
3. *Singulis … concluderent* p. 635, lines 26–7; not in first edition.[374]
4. *Henrici secundi* p. 638, line 14; *Henrici secundi desperatione custodum* third edition.[375]
5. *uoluerat* p. 639, line 28; *uolebat* third edition.[376]

Third edition

Dimock considered BL Cotton Domitian A.i (D) to be a correct and valuable copy of the third edition of *Itinerarium Kambriae.* He dated the part of the manuscript containing Gerald's works to the second quarter of the thirteenth century, but the similarity of the hand to that of *Annales Kambriae*, which follows it in the manuscript and ends possibly contemporaneously at A.D. 1288, suggests a much later date. Royal 13.B.xii (Rd) Dimock called 'a good transcript for its time, derived evidently from a good early manuscript distinct from (D.), and … the only manuscript besides (D.) that I have been able to find of Giraldus's last revision of these Welsh treatises'. [377]

[372] *Ibid.*, p. 16, line 7 and n. 1.
[373] *Ibid.*, p. 18, lines 19–30; p. 19, lines 4–13; p. 18, n. 1.
[374] *Ibid.*, p. 23, lines 4–5 and p. 22, n. 7.
[375] *Ibid.*, p. 80, lines 12–13 and n. 1.
[376] *Ibid.*, p. 101, line 19 and n. 4.
[377] *Ibid.*, p. xix.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 3024C

NLW 3024C is written in a round Northern Textualis and decorated with flourished dark-blue initials at the beginning of chapters; it is datable to the end of the thirteenth century. According to a colophon it once belonged to William Cecil, Lord Burghley (c. 1520–98, Secretary of State and later Lord Treasurer to Queen Elizabeth I).[378] It contains *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Descriptio Kambriae* only, and it is one of just four medieval copies of *Itinerarium Kambriae* datable after Gerald's death.[379]

Collation of the sample-chapters demonstrated that the text is derived from a copy of the third edition.

1. *apostolatus* … *Gwidone* 4ra8–17; not in first or second edition.[380]
2. *uiro magnifico Ranulpho* 4rb3–4; *Ranulfo quoque* first edition; *uiro* second edition.[381]
3. *se primus* … *persuasionem* 4rb22–30; not in first or second edition.[382]
4. *loquendum* 62rb7–8; *loquendo* first and second editions.[383]
5. *Notandum* … *seruauerunt* 63rb23–63va23; not in first or second edition.[384]

Furthermore, the text frequently agrees with Rd against D.

1. *Incipit Itinerarium Giraldi Kambrensis et laboriosa Cantuariensis archiepiscopi Baldewini per Walliam legatio. De transitu per Herefordiam et Radenouram cum notabilibus suis* 3vb30–4ra4; *Incipit* … *legatio* comes before the second preface in D.[385]
2. *archipresul* 4ra29; *archiepiscopus* D.[386]
3. *uno* 5ra27; *una* D.[387]
4. *namque* 62ra1; *enim* D.[388]
5. *significans* 62rb2; *signans* D.[389]

---

[378] 'Gulielmi Secilii ex dono Rich. Daviss', 1r. Richard Davis was bishop of St Davids 1561–81 (*Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. Fryde *et al.*, p. 298).
[379] The others are CUL Ff.1.27, a copy of BL Royal 13.B.viii, BL Cotton Domitian A.i and BL Harley 912, which only contains extracts.
[380] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 13, lines 9–14 and n. 3.
[381] *Ibid.*, p. 14, line 1 and n. 1.
[382] *Ibid.*, lines 11–15 and n. 5.
[383] *Ibid.*, p. 143, line 2 and n. 2.
[384] *Ibid.*, p. 145, lines 10–24 and n. 3.
[385] *Ibid.*, p. 12, lines 1–4 and n. 2.
[386] *Ibid.*, p. 13, line 19 and n. 4.
[387] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[388] *Ibid.*, p. 142.
[389] *Ibid.*

6. *plurimum* 62rb17; *multum* D.[390]
7. *commendabiles* 62va8; *commemorabiles* D.[391]
8. *singulatim* 63rb10; *singillatim* D.[392]

NLW 3024C is therefore of the same textual family as Rd. In only one place does the text agree with D against Rd.

uice quadam 5rb23; *in campanam* Rd.[393]

The reading in Rd is unique, suggesting an error by the scribe of Rd; and the words in NLW 3024C are difficult to read. Along with the great similarity between the texts of these two witnesses this raises the possibility that Rd was copied from NLW 3024C.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 383D

NLW Peniarth 383D is a paper manuscript of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, which once belonged to Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt (1592–1667). It contains various articles on British and Welsh history including *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Descriptio Kambriae*. The text of the first sample-chapter of *Itinerarium Kambriae* in Peniarth 383D shows a considerable degree of abbreviation: the first paragraph, listing the reigning kings in 1188, is reduced to a mere 'Anno Domini 1188 regnante in Anglia rege Henrico secundo'.[394] Several sections recounting miracles are condensed to a list introduced by 'Hic Autor miracula narrat'.[395] The second sample-chapter is not so reduced, but most of its paragraphs are heavily abbreviated, for example 'Sunt in Powisia equi emissarij optimi ex genere Hispanientium, quos olim Robertus de Belesmo

[390] *Ibid.*, p. 143, lines 6–7 and n. 3.
[391] *Ibid.*, line 16 and n. 6.
[392] *Ibid.*, p. 145, line 3 and n. 1.
[393] *Ibid.*, p. 17, line 6 and n. 1.
[394] p. 9, line 1.
[395] p. 9, line 21.

Slopesburiæ Comes illuc adduci curauerat'[396] in Peniarth 383D reads in Dimock's edition:[397]

> In hac tertia Gualliæ portione, quæ Powisia dicitur, sunt equitia peroptima; et equi emissarii laudatissimi, de Hispaniensium equorum generositate, quos olim comes Slopesburiæ Robertus de Beleme in fines istos adduci curauerunt, originaliter propagati. Unde et qui hinc exeunt equi, cum nobili formæ pictura, ipsa protrahente natura, tam membrosa sui maiestate, quam incomparabili uelocitate, ualde commendabiles reperiuntur.

Obviously such heavy abbreviation involved a considerable reworking of the text, and this accounts for many verbal deviations from Dimock's text which cannot be explained by the misreading of letters or abbreviations in the exemplar. The scribe (or editor) was deliberately abbreviating and/or altering the text.

The significant verbal variants of the text are mostly agreements with the third edition.

1. *uiro magnifico Ranulpho* p. 9 line 4; *Ranulfo quoque* second edition; *uiro* first edition.[398]
2. *id est Oswaldi arborem* p. 30; not in first or second edition.[399]
3. *Notandum … seruaruere* p. 31 line 34–p. 32 line 5; not in first or second edition.[400]

There are a few readings which agree with other editions, for example:

1. *obuiam* p. 9 line 7; *obuios* second and third editions.[401]
2. *millibus* p. 9 line 18; *stadiis* first edition; *passuum millibus* third edition.[402]

However, the text has been so altered that it is hard to say whether these are genuine variants or simply part of the abbreviator's alterations. As they are not conclusive, and given that Peniarth 383D does contain text which is only found in the third edition, as in

---

[396] p. 30, lines 3–5.
[397] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 143, lines 9–17.
[398] *Ibid.*, p. 14, line 1 and n. 1.
[399] *Ibid.*, p. 142, line 17 and n. 5.
[400] *Ibid.*, p. 145, lines 10–24 and n. 3.
[401] *Ibid.*, p. 14, line 5 and n. 2.
[402] *Ibid.*, p. 16, line 7 and n. 1.

examples 2 and 3 above, I have classified it as a copy of the third edition. There is not enough evidence to say whether it follows more closely D or Rd.

London, British Library, Lansdowne 229

BL Lansdowne 229 contains extracts from *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Expugnatio hibernica*. The extracts from *Itinerarium Kambriae* have in places been greatly abbreviated: for example the first sample-chapter has been reduced almost to a list of the important people mentioned in the chapter. However there is enough text to show that it was taken from a copy of the third edition.

1. *Apostolatus* … *Gwidone* 32va7–12; not in first or second edition.[403]
2. *id est Oswaldi arborem* 33vb41; not in first or second edition.[404]
3. *Notandum* … *seruauerunt* 34ra4–18; not in first or second edition.[405]

London, British Library, Harley 912

BL Harley 912 is a parchment manuscript, now bound in two volumes under the title 'Theological Collections'; it is probably of the early fourteenth century. It contains, among many other things, extracts from *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Descriptio Kambriae*. The extracts from *Itinerarium Kambriae* are concerned with miracles: for example, the horn of St Patrick and the half-stag horse of St Illtud. The text has been somewhat altered and some chapters are merely summarised, but there is enough to show that it was taken from a copy of the third edition.

1. *Vidimus* … *plena* 209r2–18; not in first or second edition.[406]
2. *sicut forma preferebat* 210v13; not in first or second edition.[407]
3. *capella* 212r1; not in first edition; *ecclesia* second edition.[408]

[403] *Ibid.*, p. 13, lines 9–14 and n. 3.
[404] *Ibid.*, p. 142, line 17 and n. 5.
[405] *Ibid.*, p. 145, lines 10–24 and n. 3.
[406] *Ibid.*, p. 26, line 20–p. 27, line 15 and p. 26, n. 7.
[407] *Ibid.*, p. 57, line 17 and n. 2.
[408] *Ibid.*, p. 64, line 12 and n. 3.

The text agrees more often with Rd than with D, suggesting that it was copied from an exemplar similar to Rd. (Possibly Harley 912 and Rd share an exemplar; Harley 912 cannot have been copied directly from Rd as it is a much earlier manuscript.)

1. *ut* 210v3; *quod* D.[409]
2. *parasset* 211v5; *parassent* D.[410]

Other copies

Oxford, Corpus Christi College 263

CCCO 263 contains heavily abbreviated extracts from I.1, I.2, II.1, II.7, II.9 and II.11 of *Itinerarium Kambriae* on the miracles of Wales. There are no readings indicative of the edition from which the extracts were taken. There is, nonetheless, one interesting reading: *Hugo comes Cestrensis*, which is the reading of Camden's edition against *Hugo comes Slopesburiensis* in all the manuscripts.[411] This may show that the extracts were taken from Camden's edition, published in 1602/3.[412]

Translations

London, Lambeth Palace 263

Lambeth 263 is a paper manuscript, dated 6 February 1602, which was written by 'George Owen gentleman' of Henllys (c. 1552–1613), vice-admiral of Pembroke and Cardigan, and Deputy Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace for Pembroke.[413] It contains *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Descriptio Kambriae* (the second of which is not mentioned in the catalogue),[414] 'Englished' by Owen and dedicated to someone to whom he referred as 'The Right Worshipfull'. According to Owen this man charged him with the task of

[409] *Ibid.*, p. 52, line 19 and n. 5.
[410] *Ibid.*, p. 62, line 28 and n. 2.
[411] 110v4; *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 128, line 7 and n. 2.
[412] *Anglica, Normannica*, ed. Camden, p. 867, line 20.
[413] 2r, 116r. See *The Dictionary*, ed. Jenkins, pp. 702–3.
[414] Todd, *A Catalogue*, p. 37.

translating the two works. I suspect that he might be David Powel, who first printed *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Descriptio Kambriae* in 1585. After each chapter of text, Owen added notes by David Powel. Also, in the preface Owen said, 'this translacion … I haue presumed to direct to your selfe, as the Author (though not the Actor) thereof'. It is not clear whether Owen was referring to himself or to the man whom he was addressing, but if it was the latter the editor of the printed text would be a logical choice for 'the Author (though not the Actor)' of the works.[415]

It is clear from the rubrics that the text of *Itinerarium Kambriae* is the edition dedicated to Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, namely the third edition. This is confirmed by the text. For example, 'The best stallions of the kinde of *Spanishe* [Ienettes], brought thither in times past by *Robert de Belesmo* Earle of *Shrowesburye*', corresponds with *De Hispaniensium … propagati* in the Latin text.[416] Also the passage 'I thought good heere to note … good accompte with both' [417] corresponds with *Notandum … seruauerunt* in the Latin text. Both these passages are found only in the third-edition witnesses DRd.

London, British Library, Harley 551

BL Harley 551 contains English translations of the Welsh and Irish works by John Stow. The translation of *Itinerarium Kambriae* is dated 1575. Several passages missing from the text are found only in the second and third editions, for example the list of kings reigning in 1188,[418] an account of the attempts of the canons of St Davids to stop

[415] Jenkins (*The Dictionary*, p. 703) noted that Owen was a student of Powel's, which makes it even more likely that Owen would dedicate a work to him.
[416] 109v11–13; *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 143, lines 11–13 and n. 4.
[417] 110v3–16; *ibid.*, p. 145, lines 10–24 and n. 3.
[418] *Ibid.*, p. 13, lines 9–14 and n. 3.

Archbishop Baldwin's tour of Wales,[419] and the last five paragraphs from I.1.[420] Moreover, the forms of names follow that of the first-edition BR.

1. *Clut* 3r40, BR; *Claudii* D.[421]
2. *Guenniana* 3v7; *Guenliana* BR; *Gwendoloena* D.[422]
3. *Kadwatlane* 3v27; *Kadwatlani* BR; *Cadwallani* D.[423]
4. *Buelt* 3v33, BR; *Bueld* D.[424]
5. *Angharet* 35v14, BR; *Angharat* D.[425]

This shows that BL Harley 551 contains a translation of the first edition.

DESCRIPTIO KAMBRIAE

Descriptio Kambriae survives in twenty-two manuscripts, of which only five are medieval; the rest are early modern. Unlike the other Welsh and Irish works, there are no surviving copies of it dating from Gerald's lifetime. The two earliest manuscripts are BL Cotton Domitian A.i (D) and NLW 3024C, datable to the end of the thirteenth century and the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century respectively. Neither of these is a copy of the first edition.

Dimock identified two editions of *Descriptio Kambriae*. The first is found in the remaining three medieval BL manuscripts: Cotton Nero D.viii (N), Cotton Vitellius C.x (V) and Royal 13.C.iii, which last Dimock asserted to be probably a copy of V.[426] The second is represented by Domitian A.i and the late sixteenth-century BL Royal 13.B.xii (Rd). Dimock also knew many modern manuscripts of *Descriptio Kambriae*, of which he mentioned CCCC 400, TCC O.5.24, CUL Ff.1.27, part 2, BL Cotton Vitellius E.v, BL Harley 359, BL Harley 1757, BL Sloane 1710 and BL Additional 4785 (which last two he

[419] *Ibid.*, p. 15, line 21–p. 16, line 3 and p. 15, n. 2.
[420] *Ibid.*, p. 18, line 19–p. 19, line 31 and p. 18, n. 1.
[421] *Ibid.*, p. 14, line 19 and n. 6.
[422] *Ibid.*, p. 15, line 8 and n. 1.
[423] *Ibid.*, p. 16, line 13 and n. 3.
[424] *Ibid.*, line 20 and n. 5.
[425] *Ibid.*, p. 142, line 14 and n. 4.
[426] *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

erroneously called Sloane 1691 and Sloane 4785). All these modern manuscripts he designated copies of the first edition except TCC O.5.24, Additional 4785 and Sloane 1710. Richard Sharpe has also mentioned NLW 3024C and classified it as a copy of the 'second state'.[427]

I have discovered eight manuscripts unknown to Dimock or Sharpe: NLW 110B and Peniarth 383D; TCD 574; BL Additional 43706; BL Harley 551; BL Royal Appendix 85; Bodleian Rawlinson B.471; and CCCO 217. In order to find which edition of the text they contain, I have collated a sample-chapter from each Book: Dimock's I.4 (*Quot cantaredos Wallia contineat, quot curias principales, et quot sedes cathedrales*)[428] and II.2 (*Quod rapto uiuunt, et pacis amicitieque federa non custodiunt*).[429]

First edition

Dimock noted that some copies of the first edition of *Descriptio Kambriae* have two major defects, namely a large lacuna from the middle of I.8 to the middle of I.17[430] and a small portion of text from the second preface displaced to the middle of II.7.[431] He described it thus:[432]

> [BL Cotton Vitellius C.x, Cotton Nero D.viii and Royal 13.C.iii] are the only copies I have met with of this first edition of the Description of Wales … of an earlier date than the sixteenth century … In each case – of omission in right place, of after mis-insertion, and of entire loss – these manuscripts run coolly and continuously on, in the middle of pages, making utter nonsense at the points of omission and mis-insertion, without the slightest hint that their scribes had the slightest notion of anything being wrong.

---

[427] Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 134.
[428] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 169–70.
[429] *Ibid.*, pp. 207–9.
[430] *Ibid.*, p. 163, line 4 and n.1–p. 215, line 28 and n. 4.
[431] *Ibid.*, p. 180, line 27 and n. 5–p. 201, line 5 and n. 2.
[432] *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

Dimock said that the modern copies CCCC 400, CUL Ff.1.27, part 2, BL Cotton Vitellius E.v, BL Harley 359 and BL Harley 1757 also had these defects; in fact, he did not know any manuscripts of the first edition which did not suffer from them.

In the light of the defects noted by Dimock in some copies of the work, I also collated II.7 (*De peccatis eorum et tam Britanniae quam Troiae meritis urgentibus amissione*)[433] (the chapter into which the missing portion of the second preface had been erroneously inserted) and the chapter-headings of Book I to see whether any other manuscripts also had the defects. The results of this collation are discussed below.

London, British Library, Additional 43706

BL Additional 43706, one of the transcripts written by Laurence Nowell in 1562, contains *Descriptio Kambriae* as well as *Itinerarium Kambriae*. Verbal variants suggest that it is a representative of the first edition.

1. *quæ nunc* 4v7–8; *quæ* second/third edition.[434]
2. *Idem* 11v22; *Quod* second/third edition.[435]
3. *legationes* 12r8; *legiones* second/third edition.[436]
4. *locis* 14v4; *locis plerisque* second/third edition.[437]

This is also suggested by the large lacuna in Book I, common to all copies of the first edition which Dimock knew. However, it does not contain in II.7 the displaced portion of the second preface. (It is lacking both prefaces, so the state of the second preface could not be examined.) The text at the point where the displaced text usually occurs reads 'His temporibus aucti multitudine et viribus bellorum';[438] in Dimock's text it reads 'Proinde, quasi penitentia iam fere peracta, et quoniam numero præter solitum et

[433] *Ibid.*, pp. 215–18.
[434] *Ibid.*, p. 169, line 7 and n. 2.
[435] *Ibid.*, p. 207, line 17 and n. 3.
[436] *Ibid.*, p. 208, line 5 and n. 2.
[437] *Ibid.*, p. 217, line 26 and n. 5.
[438] 13v6–7.

multitudine, viribus et armis, bellorum quoque' (the inserted text coming between *armis* and *bellorum*).[439] This suggests either that the text from the second preface was not displaced in Nowell's exemplar, or that he noticed the mistake and corrected it. The text throughout shows signs of reworking,[440] and so it is not surprising that this part of it should be different from that in Dimock's edition. It seems likely that Nowell's exemplar was a defective copy of the first edition – the eight missing chapters in Book I point to this – but that he noticed the displaced text in II.7 and removed it.

Oxford, Corpus Christi College 217

CCCO 217 is a collection of miscellaneous papers mostly consisting of letters to, from or concerning King Charles II, but its first item is a copy of *Descriptio Kambriae.* It is written in a neat, upright early modern Italic hand, and the soiled state of the first and last pages of the text shows that it was once an independent manuscript. It contains the same verbal variants as are listed above for BL Additional 43706,[441] showing that it is a representative of the first edition. It also has the large lacuna in Book I and the displaced portion of text in II.7 common to all Dimock's copies of the first edition.[442] Generally it is a close copy of the text (unlike BL Additional 43706), with only small, possibly accidental, verbal variants from Dimock's text.[443]

---

[439] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 215, lines 26–8 and n. 4.
[440] For example, 'Alia quoque, de quibus iactant, operosis regum Normannorum curis, quibus Francorum superbiæ in transmarinis tantopere indulgent, longe verius quam vel eorum viribus magnis vel potentiis sunt assignanda' (*GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 217, lines 6–9) becomes 'De aliis iactant quæ operosis regis Normanni in Francia curis potius assignanda sunt' (14r16–18).
[441] *quæ nunc* 3r19; *Idem* 7r21; *legationes* 7r29; *locis* 9v9. See above, p. 89, nn. 434–7.
[442] 5v and 8v–9r respectively.
[443] For example, *statutum* (3r21) for *situm* (*GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 169, line 9); *rerum cursus* (9r3) for *cursus rerum* (*ibid.*, p. 163, line 11); *populis quia* (7r28) for *populisque* (*ibid.*, p. 208, line 3).

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B.471

Bodleian Rawlinson B.471 contains extracts from *Descriptio Kambriae* and *Itinerarium Kambriae*, much abbreviated from the full text. This can make it difficult to determine the edition of its exemplar, but in some places the scribe followed the text quite closely and sufficient verbal variants are present to show that it is a representative of the first edition.

1. *olim pars Powisiæ* 9v20 and first edition, Rd; *olim Powisiæ* D.[444]
2. *mihi longe aliter* 12r26; *mihi quidem longe aliter* second/third edition.[445]
3. *gulæ* 12r27; *egisse* second/third edition.[446]
4. *locis* 12v1; *locis plerisque* second/third edition.[447]
5. *insculptas* 12v2 and first edition, Rd; *sculptas* D.[448]

II.7 does not include the displaced text from the second preface. The extracts from Book I do not contain any of the chapters normally missing from first-edition copies, but several chapters are also missing from Book II so this may not be significant. There is not enough text to say whether its exemplar may have been an intact copy of the first edition.

The text includes some interesting verbal variants. Two place-names are written in a very similar way to that in CCCO 217: *Dumerrur*, which is *Dynevur* in Dimock's edition, and *Ergengeleuensis*, *Ergengel etenim* in Dimock's edition.[449] These are written as *Dvmerrur* and *Ergengeletensis* in OCCC 217.[450] Also, Bodleian Rawlinson B.471 has *turma* which is the unique reading of Wharton's *Anglia Sacra* (all the manuscripts have *turba*).[451] The manuscript could not have been copied from Wharton, as it was written in 1560 and *Anglia Sacra* was published in 1691. However, it is possible that Wharton had a link to

[444] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 169, line 7 and n. 3.
[445] *Ibid.*, p. 216, line 9 and n. 2.
[446] *Ibid.*, line 19 and n. 5.
[447] *Ibid.*, p. 217, line 26 and n. 5.
[448] *Ibid.*, line 27 and n. 6.
[449] 9v21 and 9v28; *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 169, lines 12 and 25.
[450] 3r22 and 3r29–30.
[451] 12r33; *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 217, line 20 and n. 4; *Anglia Sacra*, ed. Wharton, II, 451, line 44.

this manuscript or its exemplar, perhaps even that it was the origin of the reading in *Anglia Sacra.*

Dublin, Trinity College 574

TCD 574 contains extracts from *Descriptio Kambriae*, mostly from Book I; some of the chapters from Book II are represented by only a single sentence. The extracts are taken from a copy of the first edition.

1. *Maximiano* p. 645, line 14; *Maximo* D; *Maximo rege* Rd.[452]
2. *Castellum de Rothlant* p. 647, line 14; *castellum de Rothelant* first edition; *castellum Rudhelan* second/third edition.[453]
3. *improbissimi sunt* p. 648, line 43; *improbissimi* second/third edition.[454]
4. *saturitatem* p. 648, line 46; *refectionem* second/third edition.[455]
5. *numero* p. 649, line 3; *pretio* second/third edition.[456]

It also reads 'loricis minoribus sagitarii uesci solent' in the chapter *De gentis natura*,[457] which is how the text appears in the mutilated copies of the first edition. These extracts must therefore have been taken from one such mutilated copy.

Second/third edition

Dimock classified D and Rd as copies of his second edition. In his translation of the Welsh works Lewis Thorpe designated Rd a copy of a third edition, on the basis of four additions to the text of the second edition, but Dimock decided not to call it a third-edition witness, as the additions occurred only in a late manuscript.[458] Dimock noted that TCC O.5.24, a copy of only the second Book, contains a colophon stating that it was

[452] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 166, line 3 and n. 1.
[453] *Ibid.*, p. 176, line 10 and n. 3.
[454] *Ibid.*, p. 212, line 18 and n. 3.
[455] *Ibid.*, line 28 and n. 5.
[456] *Ibid.*, p. 214, line 1 and n. 1.
[457] p. 648, line 8.
[458] Thorpe, *The Journey*, p. 50; *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, xvii–xix; but see NLW 3024C, pp. 93–4 below.

copied from D. He described BL Additional 4785[459] and Sloane 1710, both of which (like TCC O.5.24) contain only the second Book, as copies of Rd.[460]

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 3024C

Of the manuscripts of *Descriptio Kambriae* which I have discovered and which were not known to Dimock, NLW 3024C is the only medieval one and, indeed, is earlier than all other copies except D. Its text of *Itinerarium Kambriae* is closely related to Rd. It was therefore of some interest to discover which edition of *Descriptio Kambriae* it contains, as if it too is of the same textual family as Rd, this family would have a medieval witness. There are many variants which testify that it does not contain the first edition.

1. *que* 71vb19; *que nunc* first edition.[461]
2. *id est cantref a cant quod centum et tref uilla* 72ra5–7; not in first edition.[462]
3. *legiones* 80vb17; *legationes* first edition.[463]
4. *impellit* 80vb20; *nos impellit* first edition.[464]
5. *unquam* 90ra4; *usquam* first edition.[465]

It is therefore a copy of the second/third edition, as represented by D and Rd. On closer examination, the text shows striking similarities to the text of Rd as opposed to D. In the sample-chapters, the variants which are also to be found in Rd, but which are not in D, are as follows.

1. *olim Powisie* 71vb20–1; *olim pars Powisie* D.[466]
2. *Habuerat* 72ra28–9; *Habebat* D.[467]

---

[459] Additional 4785 belonged to James Ware; see O'Sullivan, 'A Finding List', p. 79.
[460] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, xxxi–xxxii. Dimock explained (*ibid.*, pp. xxxi–ii) that the existence of manuscripts containing only the second Book of *Descriptio Kambriae* was due to the fact that the first printed edition of *Descriptio Kambriae* (published in 1585 by David Powel) contained only the first Book; the second Book was not printed until 1691 (in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*).
[461] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 169, line 7 and n. 2.
[462] *Ibid.*, lines 16–17 and n. 5.
[463] *Ibid.*, p. 208, line 5 and n. 2.
[464] *Ibid.*, lines 6–7 and n. 4.
[465] *Ibid.*, line 14 and n. 8.
[466] *Ibid.*, p. 169, line 7 and n. 3.
[467] *Ibid.*, line 28 and n. 6.

3. *dicentes barbari* 89vb16–17; *dicentes sicut ex Gilda colligimus barbari* D.[468]
4. *locatis* 89vb26; *conductis* D.[469]
5. *Britonum princeps ille tam re Maximus quam nominee* 90ra13–15; *Maximus ille Britonum princeps* D.[470]
6. *uiris insula* 90ra29; *uiris et uiribus insula* D.[471]

There are no instances in the sample-text where NLW 3024C agrees with D against Rd. Therefore, I conclude that, as with *Itinerarium Kambriae*, NLW 3024C is of the same textual family as Rd and may indeed be the very manuscript from which Rd was copied.

London, British Library, Royal Appendix 85

Royal Appendix 85 is a miscellaneous collection of fragments from the Royal and Cotton collections. Fol. 53 is a mutilated paper leaf (the top and much of the side of the page are missing) containing a part of *Descriptio Kambriae*, from *Nacionis* in II.ix (*Qualiter expugnata sit gubernanda*) to the very end of the text. The script is a Secretary hand of the second half of the sixteenth century, notable features being the flat-topped **a** and **g** and the arbitrary form of mid-word **e**, resembling a rounded **v**-shape.[472] Thirty-four lines of text survive on the recto and twenty-nine on the verso, most of which are incomplete; because the top of the leaf is missing, I have counted line-numbers from the first surviving line and have enclosed them in square brackets.

I collated as much of the text as possible in order to determine its family-affiliations. It revealed itself to be part of a copy of the second/third edition.

1. *non longum [tem]pus* r[15–16]; *triennium uel quadriennium* first edition.[473]
2. *Qualiter eadem resistere* r[27]; *Qualiter resistere* first edition.[474]
3. *eorum* v[2]; *illorum* first edition.[475]

---

[468] *Ibid.*, p. 208, lines 5–6 and n. 3.
[469] *Ibid.*, line 10 and n. 5.
[470] *Ibid.*, lines 19–20 and n. 10.
[471] *Ibid.*, line 23 and n. 11.
[472] See below, pp. 202–3.
[473] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 225, line 9 and n. 3.
[474] *Ibid.*, p. 226, line 2 and n. 1.
[475] *Ibid.*, line 23 and n. 7.

4. *nostris diebus in hanc ge[ntem] expedicionem* v[14]; *nostris diebus expedicionem* first edition.[476]
5. *populi eiusdem* v[15–16]; *de gente Cambrorum* first edition.[477]

More specifically, like NLW 3024C, it shares variants with Rd.

1. *aliorum* r[24]; *aliarum* D.[478]
2. *mon[tanis] paludibus* v[5]; *siluis montanis paludibus* D.[479]
3. *Explicit libellus de Kambrie descripcione* v[27–8]; *Explicit* D.[480]

It is therefore part of the textual family represented by Rd, which was called the third edition by Lewis Thorpe.[481]

London, British Library, Harley 912

BL Harley 912 contains extracts from *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Descriptio Kambriae.* The extracts from *Descriptio Kambriae* were taken from a copy of the second/third edition.

1. *eorum* 219r13; *istorum* first edition.[482]
2. *inermes* 219r19; *inermi* first edition.[483]
3. *Quod* 220v5; *Idem* first edition.[484]

As with *Itinerarium Kambriae*, the extracts appear to be close to Rd.

1. *tamque* 218v15; *tam* D.[485]
2. *Anglie* 219r1; *Anglorum* D.[486]
3. *pedites* 219r19; *pedestres* D.[487]
4. *uestium* 219r25; *uescium* D.[488]
5. *accensa* 219v15; *accenso* D.[489]

---

[476] *Ibid.*, p. 227, line 12 and n. 3.
[477] *Ibid.*, line 13 and n. 4.
[478] *Ibid.*, p. 225, line 20 and n. 5.
[479] *Ibid.*, p. 226, line 27–p. 227, line 1 and p. 226, n. 9.
[480] *Ibid.*, p. 227, line 27 and n. 6.
[481] Thorpe, *The Journey*, p. 50.
[482] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 179, line 3 and n. 1.
[483] *Ibid.*, p. 180, line 16 and n. 3.
[484] *Ibid.*, p. 207, line 17 and n. 3.
[485] *Ibid.*, p. 168, line 6 and n. 2.
[486] *Ibid.*, p. 177, line 23 and n. 5.
[487] *Ibid.*, p. 180, line 16 and n. 4.
[488] *Ibid.*, p. 182, line 11 and n. 3.
[489] *Ibid.*, p. 184, line 20 and n. 4.

6. *reacentes alternis* 219v18; *reuertentes alternis* Rd; *reuertentes seque … uertentes alternis* D.[490]

However, there are a few occasions on which the text does not agree with Rd.

1. *quod* 218v25; *quia* DRd.[491]
2. *protinus* 219v3; not in Rd.[492]
3. *et* 220r1; not in Rd.[493]
4. *sunt* 221r11; not in DRd.[494]

This may be explained by the fact that the text cannot be copied from Rd itself, as Rd is a sixteenth-century manuscript and this text was copied in the fourteenth century. These differences from Rd may reflect unique variants in the copying of Rd. The similiarities with Rd are great enough that this text must have been copied from a close relative of Rd, possibly Rd's exemplar.

Other copies

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth 383D

The copy of *Descriptio Kambriae* in NLW Peniarth 383D, like that of *Itinerarium Kambriae*, does not follow very closely that printed by Dimock, but in the sample-chapters there is no summarising as in *Itinerarium Kambriae*. There are, however, numerous variant readings, most of which cannot be explained by the misreading of an abbreviation in the exemplar, for example[495]

> De Mailgone quoque Britonum rege, aliisque plurimis, in historia Britonum legitur, eodem uitio laborantibus

becomes

> Sed Malgonem quoque Britannorum Regem aliosque plures in historia Britonum legimus eodem uitio laberasse.

[490] *Ibid.*, lines 25–8 and n. 6.
[491] *Ibid.*, p. 177, line 12 and n. 2.
[492] *Ibid.*, p. 183, line 3 and n. 2.
[493] *Ibid.*, p. 194, line 20 and n. 11.
[494] *Ibid.*, p. 212, line 18 and n. 3.
[495] *Ibid.*, p. 215, lines 21–3.

This demonstrates that the text has undergone a similar reworking to that suffered by *Itinerarium Kambriae.*

The text lacks those chapters from the first book which Dimock noted to be missing from the defective copies of the first edition, and a collation of II.7 has revealed that it contains the displaced portion of the second preface. However, it seems that here the scribe had some notion that something was wrong: at the place where the portion of the second preface begins, he removed a few words and a whole sentence, thus allowing the displaced portion to begin with the beginning of a sentence. In the defective copies of the first edition the text reads as follows.[496]

> ut eius etiam memoria iam apud eos uix habeatur. Proinde quasi penitentia iam fere peracta, et quoniam numero preter solitum et multitudine, uiribus et armis | fateor et facile ueris acquiesco. Sequuntur enim principes improbi, curiam cupidi codices et pixides ambitiosi. Sed quoniam 'Trahit sua quemque uoluptas'…

(The vertical line marks the beginning of the displaced portion of the second preface.) In Peniarth 383D, however, the text reads as follows.[497]

> ut eius quoque memoria iam apud eos uix habeatur.
> Sed quoniam trahit sua quemque uoluptas…

This neatening does not, however, take place at the end of the displaced portion, where the text read 'Hiis itaque | bellorum quoque' as in other defective copies (the vertical line here marks the end of the displaced portion). Although the scribe seems to have noticed something amiss, he was not confident or knowledgable enough to remove the displaced portion and put it in its proper place.

The text of Peniarth 383D, showing the defects of several other copies of the first edition, would therefore be expected to follow the first edition in its verbal variants.

---

[496] *Ibid.*, p. 215, lines 25–8 and p. 163, lines 4–7.
[497] p. 48.

However, in fact it appears to follow the first edition in some places and the second edition in others. The first-edition readings are as follows.

1. *Cantredos a composito uocabulo* p. 36; *Cantredus autem composito uocabulo* first edition; *Cantredus autem id est Cantref, a Cant quod est centum et Tref uilla composito uocabulo* second/third edition.[498]
2. *Idem* p. 45; *quod* second/third edition.[499]
3. *nos impellit* p. 45; *impellit* second/third edition.[500]
4. *gulæ necdum* p. 50; *egisse nedum* second/third edition.[501]

In contrast, the second/third-edition readings are:

1. *uexet* p. 49; *uexat* first edition.[502]
2. *quæ* p. 36; *quæ nunc* first edition.[503]
3. *amicitiaque* p. 45; *et amicitie* or *amicitie* first edition.[504]
4. *legiones* p. 45; *legationes* first edition.[505]

The text does not even consistently follow either D or Rd but shows readings from both.

1. *tam certa* p. 48; *certa* Rd.[506]
2. *Habuerat* p. 36; *Habebat* D.[507]
3. *olim* p. 36; *olim pars* D.[508]
4. *locatis* p. 45; *conductis* D.[509]

However, owing to the alteration of the text in the fashion mentioned above,[510] it is very difficult to judge the significance of these readings – they could be either genuine variants inherited from the exemplar, or simply a result of reworking by the scribe of Peniarth 383D. Certainly some of the text must have been copied from a first-edition witness,

---

[498] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 169, lines 16–17 and n. 5.
[499] *Ibid.*, p. 207, line 17 and n. 3.
[500] *Ibid.*, p. 208, lines 6–7 and n. 4.
[501] *Ibid.*, p. 216, line 19 and n. 5.
[502] *Ibid.*, p. 163, line 23 and n. 8.
[503] *Ibid.*, p. 169, line 7 and n. 2.
[504] *Ibid.*, p. 207, line 10 and n. 2.
[505] *Ibid.*, p. 208, line 5 and n. 2.
[506] *Ibid.*, p. 163, line 15 and n. 4.
[507] *Ibid.*, p. 169, line 28 and n. 6.
[508] *Ibid.*, line 7 and n. 3.
[509] *Ibid.*, p. 208, line 10 and n. 5.
[510] pp. 82–3.

because it has the defects of first-edition copies, but there may have been some collation with a second/third-edition copy. It is interesting that the text of *Itinerarium Kambriae* seems to be a copy of the third edition of that text, whereas *Descriptio Kambriae* is at least partly of the first edition.

Translations

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 110B

As I have stated above in relation to *Topographia hibernica*,[511] NLW 110B also contains extracts from *Descriptio Kambriae*: two chapters, on the hospitality of the Welsh and on their musical concerts. Although there is no rubric saying so (as there is with the extracts from *Topographia hibernica*), it is likely that the translator also took his text of this work from Camden's printed text. Camden took his text of *Descriptio Kambriae* from David Powel's edition of 1585.[512] Powel did not name or discuss the manuscripts which he used for his text, but a sample-collation has shown that they were of the second/third edition: 'They must have been very bad ones, if he at all decently executed the duties of an editor'.[513]

London, Lambeth Palace 263

Lambeth 263 contains English translations of *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Descriptio Kambriae* with notes by David Powel after each chapter. The version of *Descriptio Kambriae* contains only the first book, dealing with the good points of the Welsh, as does the first printed edition of the work by David Powel, published in 1585.[514]

---

[511] See p. 64.
[512] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, lviii.
[513] *Ibid.*, pp. lv–lvi.
[514] See above, p. 93, n. 460.

As the second book is lacking, I was only able to collate the first sample-chapter. This showed that the translation is from a copy of the second/third edition. 'A Cantred, that is *Cantref* is derived of *Cant* a hundred, and *Tref* a villadge or hamlett' corresponds with 'Cantaredus autem, id est Cantref, a Cant quod est *centum* et Tref *uilla* composito', which is not found in the first edition.[515] 'For the land called *Shrowesburye*, in times past was part of *Powys*' corresponds with 'Terra namque quae Slopesburia dicitur, olim pars Powisiae fuerat'.[516] Instead of *quae* the first edition has *quae nunc* (which, in the sentence above, would read 'now called Shrewsbury'). Further, of the two manuscripts of the second/third edition known to Dimock, D and Rd, Rd has *olim Powisiae fuerat*, which would translate as 'in times past was of Powys'. It therefore seems that the text in Lambeth 263 follows D, although further collation would be required to establish this.

London, British Library, Harley 551

Descriptio Kambriae is the final work in John Stow's collection of English translations of Gerald's Welsh and Irish works. It is entitled 'Giraldus Cambrensis discription of Wales to Hubert archibyshope of Canterbury. writen by John Stowe marchaunt taylor in Anno 1575 menci december'.[517] This immediately suggests that it is a translation of the first edition, as the first edition is dedicated to Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury 1193–1205. The chapters lost from the mutilated first-edition copies are also not present. Unfortunately the verbal variants which distinguish the first edition in my sample-chapters have not been reproduced in the translation, the text having been slightly abridged. The definition of *Cantred* in I.4, for example, was omitted entirely.[518] However, in II.4 the final sections about Maximus and Gildas, which are not in the first edition, are

[515] 124r12–13; *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 169, lines 16–17 and n. 5.
[516] 124r7–8; *ibid.*, lines 6–8 and nn. 2–3.
[517] 120r.
[518] 122r; *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 169, lines 16–17 and n. 5.

not present.[519] Moreover, in II.7 the displaced portion of text from the second preface has been dutifully translated in the place where it occurs in the mutilated copies of the first edition. The beginning and end of the displaced text read 'they studye chivalrye, and every man followethe his pleaswre, and the love of learnynge hathe altogether enwrappyd me' and 'for historie is … the magstres of lyfe and the messenger of auncestrie. So they beinge increased with theyr successes in warre, do assuredly trust that shortly, accordynge to theyr Merlynes prophecye, that they shall returne agayne into theyr contrye.'[520] The translation must therefore have been made from a first-edition witness. It seems incredible that Stow, who was clearly knowledgable enough in Latin to translate the works, would not notice this error, but he did not.

DE INVECTIONIBUS

Only one complete copy of *De inuectionibus* survives, in BAV Reg. Lat. 470. However, Sharpe has pointed out that a short work entitled *De Giraldo archidiacono Meneuensi*, published as a separate work by Brewer in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, is in fact an extract from *De inuectionibus* (IV.9).[521] Brewer took the text of *De Giraldo* from TCC R.7.11, mentioning that it is also in BL Harley 359 (Hc); I have found copies also in CCCC 400[C] (C) and TCD 515. The 'Commendation of Giraldus Cambrensis' in BL Harley 544 is a translation of it. The text as printed by Brewer from TCC R.7.11[522] has a few differences from the chapter in *De inuectionibus* (taken from Reg. Lat. 470),[523] mostly verbal variants, but each version also contain words and passages not found in the other. The version in Reg. Lat. 470 is slightly longer.

---

[519] 126r; *ibid.*, p. 208, line 18–p. 209, line 16 and p. 208, n. 9.
[520] 127r13–15 and 19–24.
[521] Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 134.
[522] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, I, 397–9.
[523] *Ibid.*, III, 88–91.

The text in TCD 515 is slightly different to that in TCC R.7.11, and where it differs, it follows the text in Reg. Lat. 470 or is a combination of the texts in R.7.11 and Reg. Lat. 470, thus placing it somewhere between the two versions.

1. *defecisset* 11va16; *uel corrupta uel decepta deficeret* Reg. Lat. 470.[524]
2. *mouerent* 11vb21; *moueretur* R.7.11.[525]
3. *eidem negate* 11vb1–2; *ei negate* Reg. Lat. 470; *eidem negata* R.7.11.[526]

TCD 515 is a manuscript of miscellaneous content in various hands; the original manuscript contained Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* and Pseudo-Darius Phrygius's *De excidio Troiae*, to which several small items have been added.[527] The extract from *De inuectionibus* is in fact earlier than that in TCC R.7.11, being datable to the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. This shows that the text in TCD 515 is an early version of the text as a separate work, as it is closer than TCC R.7.11 to the text in *De inuectionibus* from which it was taken.

CHc are almost identical to the text in TCD 515. C has only a few verbal variants from it,[528] and all these may be explained by misreading of abbreviations in TCD 515; C was perhaps therefore copied from TCD 515. Hc has all the variants of C, and several others. The only places where it and C disagree (and where the reading is not a unique variant of Hc) are where C has been altered or is difficult to read.

---

[524] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, I, 397, line 16 and III, 89, lines 6–7. (See above, p. 29, line 21–p. 30, line 2.)
[525] *Ibid.*, III, 90, line 27 and I, 399, line 2.
[526] *Ibid.*, III, 90, line 6 and I, 398, line 18.
[527] See Crick, *The Historia*, III, 110–12 (no. 68), at p. 111: these works were separately foliated.
[528] The variants are:
1. *sustinuit* (s^{9}tinuit) TCD 515 11va10; *continuauit* C [33r7] (altered from *continuit*). *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, I, 397, line 11 and III, 88, line 28 (both *sustinuit*).
2. *nullatenus* (n'llaten^{9}) TCD 515 11va35; *ullatenus* C [33r26]. *Ibid.*, I, 398, line 9 and III, 89, line 33 (both *nullatenus*).
3. *in qualiter* TCD 515 11va40; *in quo qualiter* C [33r30] (*quo* added). *Ibid.*, I, 398, line 14 (*in qualibet*) and III, 90, lines 1–2 (*ubi qualiter*).
4. *quilibet* (quil$_{3}$) TCD 515 11vb13; *quibus* C [33v8]. *Ibid.*, I, 398, line 29 and III, 90, line 17 (both *quilibet*).
5. *primo* (p^{o}) TCD 515 11vb25; *post* C [33v18]. *Ibid.*, I, 399, line 6 and III, 90, line 37 (both *primo*).
6. *quoniam* (qm) TCD 515 11vb32; *quando* C [33v24]. *Ibid.*, I, 399, line 15 (*quum*) and III, 91, line 6 (*quoniam*).

1. *continuit* altered to *continuauit* C; *continuit* Hc.[529]
2. *sicut* altered to *ut* C; *sic* Hc.[530]
3. *a[nnun]ueretur* C; *annumeretur* Hc.[531]

This shows that Hc was copied from C.

The translation in BL Harley 544 was taken from the text as in TCD 515, C and Hc, not from that in R.7.11 or Reg. Lat. 470.

1. *made by dyvers iudges* 2r26; *diuersis iudicibus factas* TCD 515, R.7.11; *diuersis iudicibus factas super statu* Reg. Lat. 470.[532]
2. *Alba Domus* 3r5; *Alba Domo* TCD 515, Reg. Lat. 470; *Alba Landa dominus* R.7.11.[533]
3. *Therefore ... unprofitable* 3r12–13; *Cessent ... laborem* TCD 515, R.7.11; not in Reg. Lat. 470.[534]

RETRACTATIONES AND *CATALOGUS BREVIOR LIBRORUM SUORUM*

These works, which are usually found together, are preserved in only one medieval manuscript, BL Cotton Domitian A.i (D). There are several early modern copies: in CCCC 400[C] (C), TCC O.5.24 (O), CUL Ff.1.27 part 2 (F; *Retractationes* only), BL Cotton Vitellius E.v (V) and BL Harley 359 (Hc); translations appear in BL Harley 544. These copies all follow D more or less closely and contain nothing which is not in it; it seems likely therefore that they were all derived (directly or indirectly) from it. I have found no evidence that another copy of these two works ever existed; but the negative is an improbable deduction, given that D is datable long after Gerald's death.

TCC O.5.24 also contains Book II of *Descriptio Kambriae*, immediately preceding *Retractationes*; at the beginning of *Descriptio Kambriae* (11r, top left-hand corner) there is a rubric 'Cod. Cott. Domit. A. 1', showing that *Descriptio Kambriae* was copied from

[529] *Ibid.*, I, 397, line 11 and III, 88, line 28 (both *sustinuit*).
[530] *Ibid.*, I, 397, line 25 and III, 89, line 23 (both *sic ut*).
[531] *Ibid.*, I, 399, lines 8–9 (*annunciaretur*); omitted Reg. Lat. 470 (*ibid.*, III, 91, line 1).
[532] *Ibid.*, I, 397, lines 7–8 and III, 88, line 25.
[533] *Ibid.*, I, 399, lines 13–14 and III, 91, line 5.
[534] *Ibid.*, I, 399, lines 25–7 and III, 91, lines 15–16.

Domitian A.i. As that manuscript also contains *Retractationes* and *Catalogus breuior*, the two texts were probably also copied directly from D. The text contains many unique variants but occasionally has the same reading as D where CFHcV disagree with D, so it is neither a copy nor an exemplar of CFHcV.

1. *magis quam negotia instructionem* 16v6; *magisque necessaria instructione* other witnesses.[535]
2. *quum* 15v8; *quoniam* other witnesses.[536]
3. *ecclesiae* other witnesses; *eodem* 15v31, D.[537]

CFHcV are all closely related. All except F also contain a paragraph about Pope Calixtus 'In historia Anglorum libro quinto'.[538] CHc also contain the extract from *De inuectionibus* discussed above, which in Hc was copied from C. CF are connected by the fact that they were both owned by Matthew Parker; they may therefore have been copied from the same source.

Textually too CFHcV are close, with several places in which all four agree against D, or where CFHc agree and the text in V is lost or damaged, or where CHcV agree (in *Catalogus breuior*, which is absent from F).

1. *quedam postmodum* CHcOV; *postmodum quedam* D.[539]
2. *est* CHcV; *cum* DO.[540]
3. *et* CHcV; *ac* DO.[541]
4. *plurimum* CHcV; *plerumque* DO.[542]
5. *ceterisque* CFHcV; *ceteris* O; *ceteris autem* D.[543]
6. *Ecclesie* CFHcV; *eodem* DO.[544]
7. *tantas* CFHcV; *trans* DO.[545]

---

[535] *Ibid.*, p. 422, line 17. (See above, p. 29, line 21–p. 30, line 2.)
[536] *Ibid.*, I, 425, line 9.
[537] *Ibid.*, p. 426, line 20.
[538] I do not know from which work this paragraph was excerpted; it is not in Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* (*Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon: Historia Anglorum*, ed. and trans. Greenway).
[539] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, p. 422, line 10.
[540] *Ibid.*, line 13.
[541] *Ibid.*, p. 423, line 16.
[542] *Ibid.*, line 17.
[543] *Ibid.*, p. 425, line 24.
[544] *Ibid.*, p. 426, line 20.
[545] *Ibid.*, p. 427, line 3.

8. *sicut etiam uanitatis* CFHcV; *sicut et uanitatis* DO.[546]
9. *etiam* CFHc; *autem* DO.[547]
10. *uir ille uir* DO; *uir ille* CFHc.[548]
11. *adquirendo* DO; *acquirendo* CFHc.[549]

FHcV each have omissions not repeated in the other three, showing thus that they could not be the exemplar of the others.

1. *imprimis* V 24v[26]; *in primis tempore* CFHc.[550]
2. *parte* Hc 11v6; *parte perfectum* CFV.[551]
3. *ecclesiastice* F p. 493a37; *ecclesiastice historie Britannie* CHcV.[552]

This is not the case with C, however. There is only one word in D which is missing from C, and this word is also missing from FHc (the text is lost from BL Cotton Vitellius E.v due to fire-damage).[553] C is by far the closest text to D, with only a few variants, and all of these except one are reproduced in the others. (In this one case, the scribe of C wrote *com* of *commonitorium* at the bottom of a page and then started the word again at the beginning of the next page – an obvious error which would have been easy to correct.)[554] I therefore conclude that C was copied from D and that FHcV are independent copies of C.

SYMBOLUM ELECTORUM

Symbolum electorum was known to Brewer from three manuscripts: TCC R.7.11 (T) and O.10.16, and BL Cotton Cleopatra D.v (Cl). He said of T and Cl that 'The differences of the two editions are very considerable in the number and variations of the letters contained in them. The Cambridge MS. omits some found in the Cottonian, and *vice*

[546] *Ibid.*, lines 6–7.
[547] *Ibid.*, p. 426, line 36.
[548] *Ibid.*, line 37.
[549] *Ibid.*, p. 427, line 4.
[550] *Ibid.*, p. 421, line 5.
[551] *Ibid.*, p. 425, lines 10–11.
[552] *Ibid.*, p. 426, lines 8–9.
[553] *ille* CFHc; *ille uir* D. *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, I, 426, line 37.
[554] [C]41r31–41v1; *ibid.*, p. 422, line 12.

versa.' He preferred the readings of Cl 'as containing the latest corrections of the author'. He dismissed TCC O.10.16 as 'of no independent worth beyond the MSS. already mentioned'.[555]

I have discovered two manuscripts containing parts of *Symbolum electorum*: Lambeth 594 and Bodleian Auctarium D.2.9. Lambeth 594, a paper manuscript written by Henry Wharton, contains a list of the letters in *Symbolum electorum* with extracts from some. Wharton stated the source of the text: 'Giraldi Cambrensis Opera varia MSS. in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ, *Cleopatra* D.5' (p. 53, line 1).

Auctarium D.2.9, containing as its main text Peter Lombard's commentary on the Psalms, contains a number of small items at the end including a sermon addressed to a synod at St Davids (188v–189r)[556] and a letter to Walter Map on the superiority of theology to all other studies (192r),[557] both by Gerald. They are written in three columns in a small cursive hand of the middle of the thirteenth century. Both are taken from *Symbolum electorum*, but one does not appear in T; obviously the latter cannot have been copied from T, and therefore that was probably not the source of the former. Nor can they have been copied from Cl, as they seem to be earlier than its early fourteenth-century date,[558] but they might have been copied from the exemplar of Cl.

DE PRINCIPIS INSTRUCTIONE

De principis instructione survives complete in only one manuscript, BL Cotton Julius B.xiii. It is written in Northern Textualis and is datable to the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. According to George Warner, in his introduction to the Rolls Series edition, 'The scribe must have been at once a bad Latin scholar and a

---

[555] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, I, xciii–xciv.
[556] *Ibid.*, pp. 253–9.
[557] *Ibid.*, pp. 271–89.
[558] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, p. xxxviii.

shockingly careless copyist ... blunders of every kind abound, and care was not even taken to ensure that the rubrics agreed with the table of chapters prefixed to each book'.[559]

I have discovered no other complete copies of this work but have found three, all early modern, containing extracts: BL Additional 48037, BL Cotton Titus C.xii and Lambeth 594. Titus C.xii proved to contain only the barest summary of the work (160r–161r), consisting mostly of lists of names. It is likely that the summary was made from Cotton Julius B.xiii, as the item which follows the summary in Titus C.xii is entitled *Ex epitome historiæ Rogeri Walden* (161r–168r), and the item with which *De principis instructione* is bound in Julius B.xiii bears the title, 'in a hand of about A. D. 1600, "Epitomæ historiæ Rogeri Waldon"'.[560] The fact that epitomes of both works in Julius B.xiii are found in Titus C.xii suggests that they were copied together from the same codex.

Additional 48037 contains a single paragraph from *De principis instructione* (I.18). The text is somewhat different from that in Warner's edition. The first sentence in Additional 48037, 'Ecclesia Romana quanto plus cepit ditari plus inde secularis adepta solicitudinis et subiectionis quam spiritualis deuotionis/ plus exterioris assecuta pompositatis quam interioris ut creditur felicitatis', in Warner's edition reads[561]

> Sic itaque primum ecclesia regalibus munificentiis dotari cœpit et ditari, plus inde sæcularis adepta sollicitudinis et subjectionis quam spiritualis beatitudinis vel tranquillæ devotionis; plus, inquam, exterioris assecuta per hoc pompositas quam interioris, ut creditur, felicitatis.

This suggests that the text of Additional 48037 has been edited in a similar way to the texts in other early modern manuscripts (for example, NLW Peniarth 383D). It is therefore impossible to say whether it is descended from Julius B.xiii.

---

[559] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VIII, ix.
[560] *Ibid.*, p. viii.
[561] 73r15–23; *ibid.*, p. 87, lines 28–34.

Lambeth 594, a collection of extracts written by Henry Wharton, contains only a page of extracts from *De principis instructione*, mostly a summary of the contents. As with the extract from *Symbolum electorum* on the preceding pages, Wharton stated whence he copied the extracts: 'Giraldi Cambrensis liber de Principis instructione Julius B. 13' (p. 55, lines 1–2). I have therefore been unable from the surviving manuscripts to deduce the existence of any other medieval manuscripts of this text.

SPECULUM ECCLESIAE

The only surviving complete copy of *Speculum Ecclesiae*, in BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii, was damaged in the Cotton-library fire of 1731, and a considerable amount of text at the outer edges of the pages was lost. Two chapters copied in the later Middle Ages from an undamaged part of the text, IV.27 and IV.32, are in Caius 290/682, again going unnoticed in M. R. James's catalogue.[562] They are too abbreviated to show whether they were copied from Tiberius B.xiii.

There are extracts from *Speculum Ecclesiae* in Bodleian James 2, a paper manuscript written by Richard James (1592–1638). The extracts are entitled 'Giraldus Cottoni', and the the text is very close to that of Tiberius B.xiii; these two facts suggest that James 2 was copied from the Cotton manuscript.[563]

DE IURE ET STATU MENEVENSIS ECCLESIAE

This text was known to Brewer from only two manuscripts, BL Cotton Domitian A.v (which he erroneously called Domitian A.i) and BL Cotton Vitellius E.v. He quoted the opinion of Henry Wharton that Vitellius E.v represented a second and shorter edition of

[562] James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts … of Gonville and Caius College*, I, 336–8.
[563] Richard James was Cotton's librarian, and would therefore have had easy access to Cotton's manuscripts. See Tite, *The Manuscript Library*, pp. 57–63.

the work than Domitian A.v, without adding his own opinion.[564] In 1935 H. E. Butler announced his discovery of CCCC 400[D], which, he asserted, preserved intact a copy of the second edition which had hitherto only been known from the damaged and 'unreliable' Vitellius E.v.[565] This second edition lacks Books III–VI and a few passages have been added, the most substantial being a series of exhortations to Iorwerth, appointed bishop of St Davids in 1215, on how to run his see.[566]

Bodleian James 2 is the only manuscript to contain a previously unknown copy of *De iure et statu*, and this, like the copy of *Speculum Ecclesiae*, comprises only extracts. They are entitled 'Anonymi Dialogus inter Quærent et Solvent. MS Mag Colleg.', but I know of no manuscript at Magdalen College, Oxford[567] or Magdalene College, Cambridge[568] containing works of Gerald. The similarity of the text to that of BL Cotton Domitian A.v suggests that James copied from that manuscript.

1. *præscripsionem* p. 146 lines 22–3; *descriptionem* second edition.[569]
2. *uellent* p. 147 line 23; *uoluerunt* second edition.[570]
3. *quoniam* p. 148 line 31; *cum* second edition.[571]

BL Harley 359 contains an extract from Book VII of *De iure* under the title *Giraldus in finem libri septimi dialogorum sic dicit.*[572] The extract is a list of Gerald's works and the approximate age at which he wrote them. There is nothing in the text to show whether it was taken from a first- or second-edition text.

BL Harley 544, written by John Stow, contains a translation of part of *De iure* (4r–12v), but only as far as Book II. It is difficult to tell the editions apart in a translation, as

---

564 *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, III, xxxviii and 186, n. 1; *Anglia Sacra*, ed. Wharton, II, xxii, 549, note a.
565 Butler, 'Some New Pages', p. 143.
566 *Ibid.*, pp. 143–4.
567 See Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum*, II.
568 See James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts … of Magdalene College Cambridge*; also *Catalogue of the Pepys Library*, V.i (ed. McKitterick and Beadle) and V.ii (ed. Knighton).
569 *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, III, 104, line 24 and n. 15.
570 *Ibid.*, p. 111, line 20 and n. 3.
571 *Ibid.*, p. 113, line 8 and n. 3.
572 *Ibid.*, p. 372, line 25–p. 373, line 21.

there are only small verbal differences in the Latin versions of the text. However, two variants may show that it was taken from a copy of the first edition.

1. *yowr* 4r7 = *uestri*; *nostri* second edition.[573]
2. *prescription* 4v25 = *prescriptionem*; *descriptionem* second edition.[574]

There is also a translation of *De iure* in BL Cotton Vitellius C.x, on paper in an early modern Secretary hand. This is verbatim the same as the translation by Stow in Harley 544; therefore one must have been copied from the other. It is perhaps more likely that Stow's copy is the original, as Stow translated many of Gerald's works into English, but the rubric to the work in Harley 544 says only 'Transcribed by John Stowe the Chronicler with his owne hand', not 'translated'; it is possible therefore that he copied it from Vitellius C.x. The spelling in Vitellius C.x is sometimes closer to modern spelling, for example *greeting* for *gretyng*, *bishoppes sees* for *bysshops seas* and *because* for *bicause*,[575] but this is not consistent and I do not know if it is sufficient to show a later date for the text of Vitellius C.x.[576]

GEMMA ECCLESIASTICA

Only one complete copy of *Gemma ecclesiastica* survives: Lambeth 236, a parchment manuscript written in Protogothic minuscule and therefore datable within Gerald's lifetime. Lambeth 594, a collection of extracts written by Henry Wharton, contains a mere half-page of extracts from *Gemma ecclesiastica*, taken from II.6; however, they are entitled 'Giraldi Cambrensis Gemma Ecclesiastica. (Distinct. 2. cap. 6) MS. in Bibliothecâ Lamethanâ', which strongly suggests that they were copied from Lambeth 236.

---

[573] *Ibid.*, p. 101, line 10 and n. 2.
[574] *Ibid.*, p. 104, line 24 and n. 15.
[575] Vitellius C.x 10r6, 14, 15; Harley 544 4r6, 13, 15.
[576] Colin Tite has not mentioned these pages in his account of the previous owners of Vitellius C.x (*The Early Records*, p. 164), but it is possible that they were also written by Stow.

DE REBUS A SE GESTIS

This work, Gerald's autobiography (although some of his other works also contain much autobiographical material), does not survive complete. The only known copy, of early thirteenth-century date (and therefore written in Gerald's lifetime), is in BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii, which ends at III.18 (the chapter-list contains 236 chapter-headings for Book III). Brewer suggested that the loss of the rest of the text was due to physical loss rather than because the text was never finished.[577]

A small amount of the text is reproduced in BL Additional 4787, an early modern manuscript written by Sir James Ware (1594–1666). This is partly extracts and partly summaries of some of the chapters (I.9, III.3–4, 8, 12–13, 18) dealing with the attempted election of Gerald to the see of St Davids after the death of his uncle David FitzGerald. A title declares the text to be *Sub Tiberio B.xiii*, and one verbal variant, *festum* where Brewer printed *factum*, suggests that the text was indeed copied from Tiberius B.xiii.[578] References to page-numbers in places in the text, for example 'in 1° itinerarij sui libro menuit, cap. i° (pag 820) et lib. 2° cap item i° (pag 856)',[579] show that the text was written after the publication of Camden's *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica* in 1602/3, as the references match those pages in Camden's work.

VITA SANCTI DAVIDIS

Vita Sancti Dauidis survives in only one manuscript: BL Royal 13.C.i, a fifteenth-century paper manuscript. It was known to Dimock only from the text in Henry Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, as the manuscript which Wharton used, BL Cotton Vitellius E.vii, was

---

[577] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, I, lxxxviii–xc. In the manuscript the text of *De rebus* ends at the bottom of a verso. Wharton in 1691 (*Anglia Sacra*, II, xxii) described the manuscript as *mutilatus*.
[578] 245r7; *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, I, 41, line 30 and n. 2.
[579] 245r19–21.

destroyed in the Cotton-library fire; Dimock's edition is simply a reprint of Wharton's.[580] George Warner and Julius Gilson described the text thus.[581]

> [The text was] printed … by J. S. Brewer, where he states (p. xlii) that no other copy than the burnt Cottonian MS. is known to exist. The present text, however, is longer, containing in addition (ff. 177–180) several miracles, coming down in date to 1388. It may be the copy which Brewer (*l. c.*) states to have been used by Archbishop Ussher, since its readings agree with his quotations, except in two instances, which may be misprints in the latter.

My sample-collation of Royal 13.C.i showed that its text was quite close to the text of Vitellius E.vii as printed by Wharton and Dimock. Further collation would be required to determine the text's relationship to Vitellius E.vii and Ussher's copy, and the extent of the later additions.

DE SUCCESSIONE EPISCOPORUM

A work entitled *De successione episcoporum et gestis eorum uidelicet Bernardi et Dauid secundi* appears in BL Cotton Domitian A.i, CCCC 400[A], BL Harley 359 and BL Harley 544. It was edited by Brewer (under the title *Vita Dauidis II*) and in 1968 by Michael Richter.[582] Neither of them apparently knew of the copy in Harley 544. It seems that all four copies derive from Domitian A.i,[583] as they have the rubric 'Ex libro quodam ueteri in quo continentur aliqua scripta Giraldi Cambrensis, et nunc in custodia magistri Price de Wallia'.[584]

---

[580] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, III, xlii–xliii.
[581] Warner and Gilson, *British Museum Catalogue*, II, 101–2.
[582] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, III, 431–4; 'A New Edition', ed. Richter, pp. 247–9. A new edition and translation by Michael Franklin are forthcoming.
[583] The work is written in a different and later hand from the Giraldian works in this manuscript and is datable to the fifteenth century.
[584] 'From an old book containing some writings of Gerald of Wales, and now in the possession of Mr Price of Wales' (my translation). CCCC 400[A], [2r]; BL Harley 359, 11r; BL Harley 544, 14r. Domitian A.i was given to John Prise (c. 1502–55) by the Treasurer of St Davids; see Prise, *Historiae Brytannicae Defensio*, pp. 26 and 128.

Richter has asserted that 'Almost all scholars agree that the work is not one of Giraldus'. He has advanced several reasons for this. The work appears to have been written not long after the events which it describes – shortly after 1176, when Gerald was a young man writing more philosophical than theological works (as he himself said in his *Catalogus breuior*);[585] the work is extremely hostile to Bishop David, Gerald's uncle whom he portrayed favourably in his *De iure*; it ends with the death of Bishop David, and it would be very unlike Gerald not to have included his own struggles for the see of St Davids; and Gerald does not mention it anywhere in his writings.[586] These arguments are persuasive, and it therefore seems unlikely that it was written by Gerald, despite its association with his works.

[585] No works of Gerald from such an early date survive; *Topographia hibernica*, his earliest known work, was written in 1188.
[586] 'A New Edition', ed. Richter, pp. 246–7.

CHAPTER III

THE EARLY MANUSCRIPTS

One aspect of the manuscript-record of Gerald's works is particularly interesting: a considerable number of manuscripts survive which are datable within his lifetime. Moreover, several of these manuscripts, it has been suggested, were produced and kept close to Gerald himself.[1] This raises the possibility that the author may have had a part in the production of these manuscripts, and may even have written in them himself. If not, there is still an opportunity to find out about the production of the manuscripts and the dissemination of the works at this early stage of their tradition.

The following twenty-two manuscripts are datable within Gerald's lifetime.

CCCC 390	BL Arundel 14
CCCC 400[B][2]	BL Cotton Domitian A.v
CCCC 400[D]	BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii
CCCC 425	BL Royal 13.B.viii
TCC R.7.11	Lambeth 236
CUL Mm.5.30	Lambeth 371
Douai 887	Westminster Abbey 23
NLI 700	Bodleian Rawlinson B.188
BL Additional 33991	Bodleian Rawlinson B.483
BL Additional 34762	BNF latin 4846
BL Additional 44922	BAV Reg. Lat. 470

I shall suggest that twelve of these manuscripts were produced close to Gerald, perhaps by a group of scribes whom he employed or to whom he had access. They are:

---

[1] See, for example, *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, II, x (J. S. Brewer); *ibid.*, VII, ix–x (J. F. Dimock); *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, p. xlvi.
[2] See above, p. 41, n. 107.

CCCC 390	NLI 700
CCCC 400[B]	BL Royal 13.B.viii
CCCC 400[D]	Bodleian Rawlinson B.188
CCCC 425	Bodleian Rawlinson B.483
TCC R.7.11	BNF latin 4846
CUL Mm.5.30	BAV Reg. Lat. 470

I have based these suggestions first on the identification of fifteen (possibly sixteen)[3] 'typical' early manuscripts based on common features. These are the presence of apparatus for negotiating the text, namely, chapter-lists, chapter-headings and running titles, and uniformity of size, quiring and layout. I have then attempted to identify manuscripts made in a common place of origin by looking at more distinctive physical features: the presence of marginal additions and additions on inserted leaves, initials of a similar style, distinctive illustrations and hands common to more than one manuscript. Having identified these common features in some fifteen or sixteen manuscripts, I have considered the possibility of their being linked to Gerald.

First, however, I shall consider the early manuscripts more generally in terms of their Giraldian texts and other contents.

THE TEXTUAL TRADITION

Among the early manuscripts (that is, manuscripts datable within Gerald's lifetime) are thirteen copies of *Topographia hibernica*, six of *Expugnatio hibernica*, three of *Itinerarium Kambriae*, two of *De iure et statu Meneuensis ecclesiae*, and one each of *De inuectionibus*, *De rebus a se gestis*, *Gemma ecclesiastica*, *Speculum duorum*, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, *Symbolum electorum*, *Vita Galfridi archiepiscopi eboracensis*, *Vita Sancti Hugonis* and *Vita Sancti Remigii*. This means that *Catalogus breuior librorum suorum*, *De principis instructione*, *Descriptio Kambriae*, *Retractationes*,

[3] See list and comment below, p. 129. The four manuscripts from these sixteen (BL Cotton Domitian A.v, BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii, Lambeth 236 and Westminster Abbey 23) which I have not identified as being produced close to Gerald may also have been, but I have found little evidence to show this.

Vita Sancti Dauidis and *Vita Sancti Ethelberti* are not represented in the early manuscript-record. It also means that 30% of all copies of *Topographia hibernica*, 20% of copies of *Itinerarium Kambriae* and 17% of copies of *Expugnatio hibernica* are early.

The relative popularity of Gerald's works over the whole manuscript-record[4] is thus reflected in the manuscripts from his lifetime.

Five of the early manuscripts contain works only surviving in one copy: CCCC 390 (*Vita Galfridi archiepiscopi eboracensis*), CCCC 425 (*Vita Sancti Remigii* and *Vita Sancti Hugonis*), BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii (*Speculum Ecclesiae* and *De rebus a se gestis*), Lambeth 236 (*Gemma ecclesiastica*) and BAV Reg. lat. 470 (*De inuectionibus* and *Speculum duorum*). It is therefore impossible to comment on the textual tradition of these texts. However, we have more than one copy of four works among the early manuscripts: *Topographia hibernica*, *Expugnatio hibernica*, *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *De iure et statu Meneuensis ecclesiae*, which may be compared.

Topographia hibernica

The thirteen early manuscripts of *Topographia hibernica* may be divided by editions.

- First: CUL Mm.5.30.
- BL Additional 34762 is partly a copy of the first edition and partly one of the second edition.
- Second: the original texts of CCCC 400[B] and BNF latin 4846, BL Additional 44922, Westminster Abbey 23 and Bodleian Rawlinson B.483.
- Third: CCCC 400[B] and BNF latin 4846 including their marginal additions, Douai 887, BL Additional 33991, BL Arundel 14, Bodleian Rawlinson B.188 and the original text of BL Royal 13.B.viii.
- Fourth: BL Royal 13.B.viii including its marginal additions.
- The original text of NLI 700 appears to fall somewhere between the fourth and fifth editions, but with its additions it is a copy of the fifth edition.[5]

[4] See above, pp. 6–8.
[5] See above, pp. 56–7.

Expugnatio hibernica

All of the six early copies of *Expugnatio hibernica* – Douai 887, NLI 700, BL Additional 34762, BL Royal 13.B.viii, Lambeth 371 and Bodleian Rawlinson B.188 – were known to Scott and Martin (only the last three were known to Dimock). Scott classified Douai 887, BL Additional 34762 and Lambeth 371 as containing the earliest recension of the work. Bodleian Rawlinson B.188 and the original text of BL Royal 13.B.viii are of a slightly later version than the earliest of the α-recension. BL Royal 13.B.viii including its marginal additions (called R^1 by Scott) and the original text of NLI 700 are intermediate between the α- and β-recensions, and NLI 700 including its marginal additions is of the β-recension.[6]

Itinerarium Kambriae

Dimock knew two of the three early copies of *Itinerarium Kambriae*, BL Royal 13.B.viii and Bodleian Rawlinson B.188, which he classified as copies of the first edition. The third early copy, BL Additional 34762, was classified as a copy of the 'second state' by Sharpe.[7]

De iure et statu meneuensis ecclesiae

Brewer knew only one of the two early manuscripts of this work, BL Cotton Domitian A.v (which he erroneously called Domitian A.i).[8] The discovery of the other, CCCC 400[D], was announced by H. E. Butler in 1935.[9] Domitian A.v contains the first edition of the text and CCCC 400[D] the second.

---

[6] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. & trans. Scott and Martin, pp. xl–lii; see above, pp. 65–7.
[7] Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 135.
[8] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, III, xxxviii.
[9] Butler, 'Some New Pages'.

The early manuscripts, where more than one copy of a work survives, therefore show the full range of the textual history, from the earliest to the latest editions, except in the case of *Itinerarium Kambriae* for which there is no early copy of the third edition.

COMBINATIONS OF WORKS

Seven manuscripts, as originally written, contain more than one Giraldian work.

1. *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica*: Douai 887, Dublin NLI 700.
2. *Topographia hibernica*, *Expugnatio hibernica* and *Itinerarium Kambriae*: BL Additional 34762, BL Royal 13.B.viii, Bodleian Rawlinson B.188.
3. *Vita Sancti Hugonis* and *Vita Sancti Remigii*: CCCC 425.
4. *Speculum Ecclesiae* and *De rebus a se gestis*: BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii.
5. *De inuectionibus* and *Speculum duorum*: BAV Reg. Lat. 470.

It is useful to compare the editions of works which occur together in these manuscripts. (This can be done with combinations 1 and 2 listed above, but not with 3, 4 or 5, as those works survive only in one manuscript.) Where *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica* occur together, the editions coincide in the following ways.

1. BL Additional 34762: first/second edition of *Topographia hibernica* with early α-recension of *Expugnatio hibernica.*
2. Douai 887: third edition of *Topographia hibernica* with early α-recension of *Expugnatio hibernica.*
3. Bodleian Rawlinson B.188: third edition of *Topographia hibernica* with early (but not earliest) α-recension of *Expugnatio hibernica.*
4. BL Royal 13.B.viii: third/fourth edition of *Topographia hibernica* with early (but not earliest) α-recension of *Expugnatio hibernica.*
5. NLI 700: fourth/fifth edition of *Topographia hibernica* with late α-recension/β-recension of *Expugnatio hibernica.*

The edition of *Topographia hibernica* is always later than that of *Expugnatio hibernica*, showing – if both works were copied at the same time – that *Expugnatio hibernica* was at an earlier stage of its development when the manuscript was written and is probably

therefore the later of the two works. The only manuscript containing a copy of *Topographia hibernica* in an edition earlier than the third and also containing *Expugnatio hibernica* is BL Additional 34762. The comparison shows that the only two manuscripts to contain the same edition of both works (that is, they both contain the third edition of *Topographia hibernica* and an early stage of the α-recension of *Expugnatio hibernica*) are BL Royal 13.B.viii and Bodleian Rawlinson B.188, and Scott has asserted that the former is a copy of the latter.[10] None of the others can have been copied straightforwardly from each other as they do not contain the same editions of the works.

In the three manuscripts also containing *Itinerarium Kambriae* (no. 2 on p. 111), BL Royal 13.B.viii and Bodleian Rawlinson B.188 (the former being a copy of the latter, in respect of the Irish works) contain the first edition and BL Additional 34762 contains the second edition; this confirms that the first two are closely related and that the latter is not closely related to them.

Topographia hibernica, *Expugnatio hibernica* and *Itinerarium Kambriae* is a slightly odd combination – the logical arrangement would be also to include *Descriptio Kambriae*. A simple reason for its omission would be that *Descriptio Kambriae* had not been published when these manuscripts (or their exemplars at least) were written. It may be that the survival of manuscripts containing *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Descriptio Kambriae* – for example, BL Cotton Domitian A.i and NLW 3024C – suggests that, once *Descriptio Kambriae* had been published, it travelled with *Itinerarium Kambriae*, and the tripartite combination of *Topographia hibernica*, *Expugnatio hibernica* and *Itinerarium Kambriae* was abandoned. Or were there manuscripts containing all four works? (None survives now which, as originally written, contained all four works.)

[10] See above, p. 47.

Most of the early manuscripts contain only works of Gerald. However, there are six which contain other works, written in contemporary script. It is possible that these manuscripts do not originate in Gerald's circle. It seems unlikely that Gerald would allow his prized works to share a binding with those of another, especially in manuscripts which he was presenting to important people. It is also possible, however, that these works were not part of the manuscript as originally written; most are on quires separate from the Giraldian works, and some are written in different hands.[11]

- Douai 887 contains extracts from papal councils, decretals and constitutions; a sermon and some letters of Alan of Tewkesbury; and a letter from Hugh, abbot of Reading, to Pope Celestine III.
- BL Additional 33991 contains a fragment of Peter Alphonse's *Disciplina clericalis* and extracts from a work of Hugh of Saint-Victor.
- BL Arundel 14 contains Walter Map's *Dissuasio Valerii philosophi ad Rufinum de uxore ducenda*; an invective against William de Longchamp, bishop of Ely and Chancellor of England; a work by Anselm of Worcester on the lay brothers of his monastery; a list *de regnis, prouinciis, et episcopatibus Saxonum*; and various poems.
- BL Royal 13.B.viii contains Henry of Saltrey's *Tractatum de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*, miscellaneous anecdotes entitled *Exceptiones de chronicis Eusebius* and the *Anticlaudianus* of Alan de Insulis.
- Lambeth 371 is part of a miscellany including a compendium of William of Malmesbury's *De gestis Anglorum*, an *Imago mundi*, chronicles, proverbs and a poem *de contemptu mundi* by Stephen Langton.

[11] In Douai 887 the non-Giraldian works are on separate quires; however, in BL Additional 33991 and Arundel 14 the other works are in the same hand as the Giraldian work. In BL Royal 13.B.viii Henry of Saltrey's *Tractatum* follows straight on from the end of *Itinerarium Kambriae*, in the middle of a column and in the same hand, but the other non-Giraldian works are on separate quires in a different hand (see below, p. 152). Lambeth 371contains many hands and quires of inconsistent size; it is difficult to tell if it was all written at the same place and time, or if it is a composite codex.

Gerald seems to have been fond of maps. In two of his minor works, *Catalogus breuior librorum suorum*[12] and *Epistola ad capitulum Herefordense*,[13] he described a map of Wales which was attached to a copy of *Descriptio Kambriae*.[14]

> Item ad natale solum plenius illustrandum, ingeniumque uariis exercendum studiis et exacuendum, otiumque per omnia desidiosum fugiendum attentius atque cauendum, expressam *Kambriæ totius Mappam*, cum montanis arduis et siluis horridis, aquis et fluuiis et castellis erectis, cathedralibus etiam ecclesiis et monasteriis multis, maximeque Cisterciensis Ordinis, copiosa pariter et artificiosa sumptuositate constructis, arcto folio, strictoque ualde locello et spatio breuissimo, distincte tamen et aperte declaraui.

J. Conway Davies mentioned that Henry Wharton saw a manuscript of *Descriptio Kambriae* at Westminster Abbey with a map as frontispiece; unfortunately, this manuscript is was destroyed in a fire at Westminster Abbey in 1694.[15]

Some of the early copies of *Topographia hibernica* contain maps: they may be seen in CCCC 400[B], BL Additional 33991, BL Arundel 14 and BNF latin 4846. All these maps follow exactly the same form. East is at the top and Britain, Ireland and the Orkneys are shown in green with a red or brown border. Britain is carrot-shaped, Ireland is kidney-shaped and the Orkneys are round or oval. The words BRITANNIA, HYBERNIA and ORCADES are in red or blue capitals; AUSTER is to the bottom-right of Britain, and between Britain and Ireland and to the top-left of the Orkneys is AQUILO. The similarity between the four copies of this map is so great that there can be little doubt that they were copied either from the same original or from each other.

---

[12] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al*, I, 421–3.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 409–19, from which (pp. 414–15) the quote below is taken.
[14] Paraphrased by Davies, 'The Kambriae Mappa of Giraldus Cambrensis', p. 46: 'His map contained the steep mountains and the deep woods, the rivers and streams, the castles which had been built, the cathedrals, and the many churches and monasteries, especially of the Cistercian order. It was constructed with a wealth of detail and craftsmanship. It was confined to a single folio, and although the details were very minutely planned and in the most narrow space, yet they were distinct and clear.'
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 46 and 50; *Anglia Sacra*, ed. Wharton, II, xxii–xxiii.

Conway Davies complained that this simple map 'supplies no guidance as to the value of Giraldus' lost *Mappa Kambriae*'. He was therefore probably not aware of the existence of NLI 700, which contains, alongside *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica*, a unique map of Europe.[16] This map has south-east at the top, with Britain, Ireland, the Orkneys and Iceland (the first three having the same shapes as in the map described above) surrounded on three sides by the lands of Europe with cities, rivers and mountains drawn in. Land is represented by blank parchment; the sea is green, rivers are blue and mountains are orange, brown and red. Place-names are in red. Thomas O'Loughlin has argued that this map was produced in Gerald's circle and that it is likely that he was involved in its production.[17] Although it does not show the woods, cathedrals, churches and monasteries which Gerald said were on the map of Wales, it gives a better impression than the crude maps accompanying *Topographia hibernica* of what the map of Wales might have looked like.

LETTER TO THE BISHOP OF HEREFORD

Some copies of *Topographia hibernica* contain a letter from Gerald to William de Vere, bishop of Hereford 1186–99, recommending to him for special attention some chapters of *Topographia hibernica*.[18] Dimock knew it from only four manuscripts: CCCC 400[B], BL Arundel 14, Bodleian Bodley 511 and Laud Misc. 720, of which only the first two are early. However, it is also in Cambridge Emmanuel 1.1.3, BL Additional 33991, BL Harley 359 and BNF latin 4846 – and, of these, the two early manuscripts (BL Additional 33991 and BNF latin 4846) also contain the map of Britain and Ireland. Indeed in BL Additional 33991, the letter is written on the same page as the map, just below it. Also, all the four early manuscripts containing the letter contain copies of the third edition of

[16] 48r; see O'Loughlin, 'An Early Thirteenth-century Map', fig. 1 and pl. 2.
[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 32–3.
[18] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 203–4.

Topographia hibernica. This strongly suggests that text, letter and map formed a group and were transmitted as such.

This group seems not to have lasted long beyond Gerald's death, however. Of the four later manuscripts containing the letter – Cambridge Emmanuel 1.1.3, BL Harley 359, Bodleian Bodley 511 and Bodleian Laud Misc. 720 – none contains the map; and, while Emmanuel 1.1.3, Harley 359 and Bodley 511 contain copies of the third edition, Laud Misc. 720 contains a copy of the fifth edition. The letter may have appeared with this text as a result of collation or cross-contamination.

* * *

However, in any attempt to establish a common home for some of these manuscripts, textual considerations must come second to the physical aspects of the manuscripts themselves. While the presence, for example, of a map or letter in several manuscripts is striking, it may be easily explained by copying, which does not automatically imply a shared origin for exemplar and copy. Michelle Brown has commented in a discussion of two early manuscripts (NLI 700 and BL Royal 13.B.viii) that '[An] indication of Gerald's personal involvement in establishing the layout of the text may be found in the remarkable adherence to consistent chapter divisions and headings'.[19] It is true that many early manuscripts contain a list of chapter-headings and that these headings are consistently used throughout the text; they are also provided in a separate list at the beginning of each work. This was quite a new practice in Gerald's time. The use of chapter-divisions and chapter-headings, according to the Rouses, 'became the norm' in

[19] Brown, 'Marvels of the West', p. 42.

new works in the mid-twelfth century,[20] but Malcolm Parkes suggested that the use of a chapter-list was not widespread until the thirteenth century.[21]

The use of chapter-headings and chapter-lists in itself is therefore not particularly distinctive. One would need to find further evidence of other features in the manner of presentation of the texts which, taken together, might indicate a common origin and perhaps authorial direction. I thought, therefore, that other uniformities of layout may indicate copies made under Gerald's supervision, and so I shall proceed to investigate various aspects of the manuscripts to see whether some patterns reveal themselves.

CHAPTER-LISTS (*CAPITULA*) AND CHAPTER-HEADINGS

Brown has observed that NLI 700 and Royal 13.B.viii have consistent chapter-headings. Both also have a list of chapters at the beginning of each work. Of the other early manuscripts, BL Additional 33991 and Cotton Tiberius B.xiii lack their first few leaves due to physical loss, and so it is impossible to say if they had chapter-lists. CCCC 400[D] and BL Cotton Domitian A.v do not, but the text which they contain, *De iure et statu meneuensis ecclesiae*, is not divided into individual chapters, only *distinctiones*, so a chapter-list would be unnecessary. All the other early manuscripts have chapter-lists except BL Additional 34762, BL Additional 44922 and BL Arundel 14. The texts in all manuscripts follow the chapter-divisions, but in one manuscript the chapter-headings were abandoned: in Douai 887 the space for chapter-headings is unfilled after 94v, and after 105r (except for an interlude 108r–120v) there is not even any space left for them.

[20] Rouse and Rouse, '*Statim invenire*', p. 206.

[21] See Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers*, pp. 35–70, at p. 54: 'The placing of chapter-headings before each book of the text was an ancient practice; but in the thirteenth century they were brought together in one place and arranged in tabular form.'

RUNNING TITLES

Some of the early manuscripts also have a further guide to navigating the text: a running indication of chapter, book or *distinctio* at the top of the page. CCCC 425, for example, has on the left of each opening the number of the book in roman numerals (sometimes with the *-us* abbreviation), and on the right an **L** with a bar through the middle (for *Liber*), in red and/or blue. CCCC 390, CCCC 400[B], CCCC [D], TCC R.7.11, NLI 700, BL Cotton Domitian A.v, BL Royal 13.B.viii, Lambeth 236, BNF latin 4846 and BAV Reg. Lat. 470 also have this feature. NLI 700 and Lambeth 236 have numbers written beside each entry in the chapter-list and repeated in the margin beside the appropriate chapter in the text.

SIZE

The height of the written space in the early manuscripts ranges from 90mm to 210mm, and the width ranges from 65mm to 145mm. The smallest manuscript is BL Additional 34762 (90×65mm), and the largest is BL Arundel 14 (210×145mm); Additional 34762 is considerably smaller than the next smallest manuscript,[22] but Arundel 14 is not strikingly large – and two other manuscripts are of similar size.[23] BL Additional 33991 (140×110mm), BL Cotton Domitian A.v and Lambeth 371 (165–80×135mm) have relatively short and wide written spaces; that of BL Additional 44922 (200×115mm) and that of Westminster Abbey 23 (180–5×100mm) are relatively long and thin.

The most common height of the written space is 170mm: the manuscripts with this measurement are CCCC 400[B], Lambeth 236, Bodleian Rawlinson B.188 and BAV Reg. Lat. 470. Lambeth 371 also has an average written-space height of 172.5mm. The

[22] BL Cotton Domitian A.v (135×105mm).
[23] BL Royal 13.B.viii (200×135mm) and Bodleian Rawlinson B.188 (195–200×145mm).

most common width of the written space is 105mm: CCCC 400[B], NLI 700, BL Cotton Domitian A.v, BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii and Lambeth 236 have this measurement.

Bodleian Rawlinson B.188 is notable as, while it does not have an especially large written space, it is one of the largest manuscripts overall, for it has unusually wide margins.[24]

QUIRING

Almost all the early manuscripts consist of quires of (mostly) eight. This was usual in the Protogothic period.[25] The exception is BL Royal 13.B.viii, which is mostly in tens. The quiring is inconsistent in BL Additional 34762, Lambeth 371 and BAV Reg. Lat. 470. BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii was so damaged in the Cotton-Library fire that its pages are now separately mounted and therefore its quiring is very uncertain. I could not establish the quiring of Bodleian Rawlinson B.483, but it seemed to be mostly in eights.

LAYOUT

Two-column is by far the most common layout among the early manuscripts. BL Additional 34762 and Lambeth 371 are the only exceptions with a single-column layout. The number of lines per page ranges from twenty-three to forty-six, and there is no particular number which occurs strikingly more often than any other.

Most of the early manuscripts were written 'above top line', meaning that the first line of writing stands on the top ruled line and is therefore outside the ruled space. Neil Ker noted the appearance of writing 'below top line' in datable manuscripts from around

[24] Written space 195–200×145mm; overall size 285×200mm.
[25] Ker, *English Manuscripts*, p. 40.

1230 onwards.[26] The only early manuscript with writing 'below top line' is CCCC 425, and even here it only occurs on twenty-one pages out of 194.

SCRIPT

Almost all the early manuscripts are written in Protogothic minuscule;[27] indeed this script is the main criterion for designating a manuscript 'early'. Usually the script is a bookhand: round, legible, with some but not a great deal of abbreviation, and without long ascenders and descenders. Some characteristics of the script are useful for dating: straight-backed **d** is an earlier feature, as is the use of the ampersand (**&**). The form of *et*-nota also follows a typological sequence: a descending form is early, whereas a shorter symbol with a horizontal cross-stroke is later.

BL Additional 34762 and Lambeth 371 are written in a more 'cursive' form of Protogothic minuscule with longer ascenders and descenders; this contrasts with the more formal script of most of the early manuscripts. The script of BL Additional 33991, while it may be called bookhand, is taller and narrower than the usual and the script of the top line of each column has long, elaborate ascenders.

* * *

A typical early Giraldian manuscript may therefore be said to have some definable features. It is of no particular size but is usually arranged in quires of eight. It has a two-column layout of varying numbers of lines. It has a chapter-list as well as chapter-

[26] See Ker, 'From "Above Top Line" to "Below Top Line"'. Ker observed (p. 14) that 'Doubtless there would be examples from at least the 1220's if datable books were less rare than they are', but also that '"above top line" continued to be used by non-professionals until a much later date'. This evidence is noted here as a point of interest and is not meant to imply that the rarity of 'below top line' in early manuscripts shows that they were written in Gerald's lifetime.

[27] See Derolez, *The Palaeography*, chapter 3.

headings throughout, and running titles at the top of the page for added ease of reference. It is written in Protogothic minuscule of quite formal aspect.

Some manuscripts obviously do not match these criteria. BL Additional 34762 is the smallest early manuscript, and the next smallest is considerably bigger.[28] It has a single-column layout and its script is rather more 'cursive' than the usual Protogothic minuscule. Its initials are unusually plain, with no flourishing. Although it contains the same three works as BL Royal 13.B.viii and Bodleian Rawlinson B.188, textual differences show that it can be neither exemplar nor copy of either of those manuscripts: it contains earlier editions than they do of *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica*, but a later edition of *Itinerarium Kambriae*.

Lambeth 371 has an unusually wide single-column written space and is written in an more 'cursive' style than usual of Protogothic minuscule. It may have been written at Reading Abbey,[29] a place with which Gerald is known to have had any connection.

Other manuscripts are more 'typical' than those just mentioned, but do not fulfil all the criteria. BL Additional 33991 does not have running titles and is written in a tall narrow form of Protogothic minuscule. Its initials are red with black flourishing, which is not seen in any other early manuscript, and towards the end of the text the space left for them is not filled in. BL Additional 44922 lacks a chapter-list and running titles, and the text is incomplete at the end, not through physical loss but because it was abandoned, as is shown by the fact that the text ends on 104r and 104v is blank; the space for the initial at the beginning of the third *distinctio* (**D**, 95v) is unfilled. Douai 887 has chapter-lists but no running titles, and its text of *Expugnatio hibernica* is unfinished in the same way as Additional 44922; it is also missing many of its chapter-headings. BL Arundel 14 has no chapter-list or running titles, and its script is unusually plain by comparison with other

[28] See above, pp. 125–6.
[29] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, xxix–xxxi. See below, pp. 159–60.

early manuscripts. Westminster Abbey 23 meets most of the criteria but does not have any running titles.

BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii seems to be unfinished. It does not have initials at the beginning of chapters and in some places there are not even any spaces for them. The chapter-headings have been entered in most instances, except for a few folios. *De rebus a se gestis* has a chapter-list but that of *Speculum Ecclesiae*, if it had one, was destroyed by the Cotton-library fire. There are no running titles, but it is possible that this is due to the manuscript's unfinished state.

It is interesting that most of the manuscripts which also contain works not by Gerald – Douai 887, BL Additional 33991, BL Arundel 14 and Lambeth 371 – are mentioned above as untypical. The only 'typical' manuscript which also contains other works is BL Royal 13.B.viii. While none of the criteria which I employed to determine a common type of early manuscript is particularly striking, it is noticeable that some of the manuscripts which do not fulfil one criterion also fail to meet other criteria. I hope that this outcome validates my reasoning in choosing to determine the possible products of a common 'scriptorium' by such undistinguished criteria.

The following manuscripts therefore bear most physical resemblance to each other.

1. CCCC 390
2. CCCC 400[B]
3. CCCC 400[D]
4. CCCC 425
5. TCC R.7.11
6. CUL Mm.5.30
7. NLI 700
8. BL Cotton Domitian A.v
9. BL Royal 13.B.viii
10. Westminster Abbey 23
11. Lambeth 236
12. Bodleian Rawlinson B.188
13. Bodleian Rawlinson B.483
14. BNF latin 4846
15. BAV Reg. Lat. 470.

BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii should perhaps also be included, as its failure to meet some of the criteria may be due partly to its unfinished state and partly to its mutilation by fire.

I shall now consider whether there are in these manuscripts any features which may suggest a common place of origin.

ADDITIONS

Many of the early manuscripts contain textual additions in the margins. In some cases, for example Bodleian Rawlinson B.188, these are merely corrections of scribal errors; however, in most cases they comprise significant additions to the text. Sometimes the additions are so large that they are on separate sheets or slips of parchment inserted into the manuscript rather than in the margins. In all cases these additions were made by the same scribe as wrote the main text, or a contemporary. The following manuscripts contain these additions.

1. CCCC 390
2. CCCC 400[B]
3. CCCC 400[D]
4. CCCC 425
5. TCC R.7.11
6. NLI 700
7. BL Cotton Domitian A.v
8. BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii
9. BL Royal 13.B.viii
10. Lambeth 236
11. Bodleian Rawlinson B.188
12. Bodleian Rawlinson B.483
13. BNF latin 4846
14. BAV Reg. Lat. 470

This list is almost exactly the same as the list of physically similar manuscripts on the previous page (CUL Mm.5.30 and Westminster Abbey 23 are the only ones which does not have any marginal additions). Indeed, the additions in these manuscripts also share some similar physical features: a red line, sometimes straight, sometimes wavy, along two or more sides of the block of text,[30] and the use of a similar repertoire of *signes de renvoi.* These similarities reinforce the impression of a common origin.

Caution must be exercised in considering these additions. It is easy to think that they (and therefore the manuscripts containing them) were made under Gerald's

[30] See below, Plates II–III, VI and XIII

supervision, as they usually advance the text from one 'edition' to another, something which must have been instigated by Gerald. However, they might equally be the result of horizontal transmission – the comparison and collation of two copies of a work and the addition of the changes in the more advanced text to the less advanced text; this need not have happened under Gerald's supervision. Similarly, it is easy to suppose that a manuscript with no marginal additions cannot go back to Gerald, but this is just as illogical as the first assumption. Nevertheless, it is striking that almost all the manuscripts which show a uniformity of structure and layout also contain marginal additions – and that those which are untypical do not.

INITIALS

Most of the major sections in the early manuscripts (prefaces, chapter-lists, *distinctiones* and books) begin with initials decorated with pen-flourishes. These can be either red and blue or red and green, with the initial in one colour and the flourishes in the other. The fact that all through the Gothic period (after Protogothic minuscule was abandoned) only red and blue were used for flourished initials suggests that the use of green is an earlier feature than using only red and blue. However, a few manuscripts are decorated in a different style.

A small group of manuscripts contains initials of a different and more elaborate style: they are set in square frames, coloured mainly in blue, pink and gold leaf with white touches and either historiated or decorated with scrolls and zoomorphic ornament. CCCC 400[B] and Bodleian Rawlinson B.483, both containing the second edition of *Topographia hibernica*, contain these square-framed gilt initials. Unfortunately a large part of the text is missing from Rawlinson B.483, and with it all but two of the major initials. The only ones remaining are **C** at the beginning of the *Introitus in recitationem* (1*r) and **D**

at the beginning of *Distinctio III* (17v). However, these two bear a strong resemblance to the corresponding initials in CCCC 400[B] (1r and 31v respectively). In both manuscripts **C** contains a scroll-pattern, zoomorphic in the case of Rawlinson B.483; **D** in both manuscripts contains a picture of some people in a boat, with the person at the front of the boat stepping out of it and pointing and the person at the back wearing a hood.[31] These people were presumably meant to represent the inhabitants of Ireland whose history and customs are discussed in *Distinctio III*.

BNF latin 4846 also contains initials of this type, although none of them is historiated. **P** at the beginning of the second preface (6v) and **N** at the beginning of *Distinctio II* (23v) contain zoomorphic scrolls; **D** at the beginning of *Distinctio III* (43v) contains an elaborate double scroll ornamented with leaf-like fan-shapes. The zoomorphic scrolls bear some resemblance to **C** in Rawlinson B.483, but the corresponding **C** in BNF latin 4846 (1r) is smaller, containing a simpler scroll drawn in white. The initials introducing sections of the chapter-list (on 3r, 4r and 5r) are also of this smaller, simpler variety.

Two other manuscripts have initials of this more elaborate type: CCCC 390 and CCCC 425. CCCC 390, containing *Vita Galfridi archiepiscopi eboracensis*, contains several initials with scroll-pattern and one with a portrait of Archbishop Geoffrey, wearing a mitre and pall and holding up a cross, inside a **G** (p. 7; see Plate Ia). The **P** on p. 30 contains a double scroll similar to that in the **P** in BNF latin 4846 (6v), and the descender of the **P** is the same shape as that of the **P** in BNF latin 4846.[32] CCCC 425, containing *Vita Sancti Remigii* and *Vita Sancti Hugonis*, includes eleven initials decorated with scroll-pattern and five containing portraits of various men of the story, all shown in the same way: as a figure wearing a mitre, holding a crook in the left hand and holding up the right

[31] See Plates VI and VII.
[32] I do not know enough art-history, however, to say whether this was a common way of drawing the descender of **P**, or whether the similarity between the two letters is significant.

hand with the first two fingers extended in blessing. These figures do not, however, bear a great resemblance to the portrait of Archbishop Geoffrey in the initial in CCCC 390.

I am not an art-historian and do not know whether these initials are similar enough to be attributed to one and the same person or even to the same workshop, but they do form a distinct group among the red, green and blue flourished initials of the other early manuscripts. The similarity of the initials in CCCC 400[B] and Bodleian Rawlinson B.483 is particularly striking. It is interesting that the three manuscripts of *Topographia hibernica* which contain these initials are either of the second edition (Bodleian Rawlinson B.483), or the second altered to the third by marginal additions (CCCC 400[B] and BNF latin 4846).

Some manuscripts contain initials noticeably different from the flourished initials found in most medieval manuscripts, or the square-framed gilt initials described above.[33] The major initials of BL Royal 13.B.viii are large, elaborated with leafy scrolls and zoomorphic designs and coloured mainly with yellow, green, light brown and blue. None of the other early manuscripts contains anything like these initials. It is possible that they are a product of the artist who drew the illustrations in the margins of this manuscript (discussed immediately below). CUL Mm.5.30 has initials in red, blue and green, but their decoration is composed of simpler designs than flourishes, drawn in the same paint as the initials rather than in ink. This form of decoration is more similar to the earlier twelfth-century 'arabesque' initial, ornamented with flat two-dimensional scroll-work, than to the flourished initial.[34] NLI 700 has red and blue major initials filled with a pattern of corrugated fan-shapes touched with green,[35] and in some cases a vertical stroke of the initial is extended downwards to the lower margin, where it fans out into a

---

[33] pp. 131–3.
[34] On the arabesque initial see Alexander, 'Scribes as Artists'; see especially p. 91 and n. 19 on the distinction between the arabesque and flourished (*fleuronné*) initial.
[35] See below, p. 148.

feathery pattern of fans and lines in red and blue.[36] Rawlinson B.188 has large blue and/or red major initials with rather crude patterns of curves, wavy lines and three-lobed flowers inside the letters in blue and red (and sometimes also green and yellow). Its minor initials look quite similar to those in BL Royal 13.B.viii.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Two manuscripts, NLI 700 and BL Royal 13.B.viii, contain a series of marginal illustrations to *Topographia hibernica.* (NLI 700 also contains some portraits of the main characters of *Expugnatio hibernica*, but these are unique to that manuscript.) These illustrations have been discussed by Nigel Morgan, by A. B. Scott in his introduction to *Expugnatio hibernica* and more recently by Michelle Brown. The illustrations in both manuscripts are very similar and are thought to have derived from the same original series. Morgan has wondered whether the illustrations in NLI 700 were 'possibly from the same workshop [as Royal 13.B.viii] but a slightly later product';[37] Scott has gone further and asserted that the illustrations in Royal 13.B.viii were the originals and that those in NLI 700 are 'crude copies' of them: 'In general the execution of the pictures in R is vastly superior to what we see in I, particularly as regards their firmness of line'.[38]

Brown, however, has observed that, while NLI 700 is later than Royal 13.B.viii, its illustrations are from an earlier stage in the development of the programme of illustration.[39] Her argument is based on a picture of a deer with gold teeth in Royal 13.B.viii, which accompanies a marginal addition; she has taken this to show that 'the cycle of illustration in this copy was being ... embroidered and developed' along with the

---

[36] See **P** (5r), **N** (17r), **Q** (49r) and **Q** (95v); **C** (1r), **P** (2v), **S** (3r), **T** (4r), **D** (32r), **P** (50r), **A** (52r), **D** (53r), and **H** (73v) are of the same design but do not have the flourished extension described. A minor initial **P** on 92v does have an extension. Nigel Morgan has described the decoration of these initials as 'tinted foliate ornament' (*Early Gothic Manuscripts*, I, 105 (no. 59b)).

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 106 (no. 59).

[38] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, pp. xlvi–xlvii and xliv.

[39] Brown, 'Marvels of the West', pp. 44–5 and 48.

text.[40] This picture, along with a few others, is missing from NLI 700. Her argument does not entirely convince, partly because there is no reason why the lack of some pictures in NLI 700 should make it earlier in the development of the cycle of illustration, and partly because she has added in support of her argument that NLI 700 is textually earlier than Royal 13.B.viii.[41] In fact the copies of *Topographia hibernica* in the two have the same complicated relationship as that described by Scott for their copies of *Expugnatio hibernica*, with sometimes one and sometimes the other having the more advanced text. Overall, including all additions (as with *Expugnatio hibernica*) the text in NLI 700 is more advanced. This does not necessarily disprove Brown's argument, but in the end I doubt whether it is possible to say which set of illustrations represents an earlier stage in the development of the cycle.

HANDS

The discovery of more than one occurrence of the same hand is particularly important, because it shows that more than one manuscript was written by the same person and probably in the same place. The early manuscripts have a remarkable number of hands in common. Many of the features which I have used to identify each hand are common in handwriting of this period, but I have drawn attention to them in order to identify and distinguish between very similar hands found within this group of manuscripts.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 45.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

Hand 1: CCCC 390, CCCC 400[B],[42] *TCC R.7.11,*[43] *BNF latin 4846 (Plates I–III)*

CCCC 390 and BNF latin 4846 are holograph and in the same hand. This hand is also one of three hands in TCC R.7.11, found both in the main text and in marginal additions. In CCCC 400[B] it is found only in the marginal additions, on an inserted sheet and in the letter to William de Vere at the end of the text.

This is a round, rather uncertain-looking hand: its distinguishing feature is the addition of small forks at the tops of ascenders – not a widening and splitting of the ascender, as commonly occurs, but two separate strokes added at the top.

The following are the principal features which distinguish this hand.

1. Two forms of Caroline **a**: one with a very small headstroke, one with a tall bent-over headstroke. The first is more common in TCC R.7.11 (for example, Plate Ib, b3, *pectora*; see also Plate Ia, b6, *patris*) and the second is more common in BNF latin 4846 (for example, Plate II, b17, *ab aliis*; also see Plate Ia, b11, *tristia*; Plate III, lower margin, line 1, *animal*).
2. 'Broken-backed' **c** and **e** sometimes with a small 'horn' on the top: for example, Plate Ia, b15, *primeui*; Plate Ib, a10, *cure*; Plate II, b3, *terre*; Plate III, lower margin, line 3, *adiunget*, and line 4, *homicida*.
3. The fake **c+t** ligature with a tall stroke, curved to the left at the top, descending to the top of **t**: for example, Plate Ia, a10, *Pictauensi*; Plate Ib, b21, *auctoritas*; Plate II, a16, *recte peractis*.
4. Both straight-backed and round **d**; the ascender of round **d** is straight and quite upright (for example, Plate II, b3, *sinodum*; Plate III, lower margin, line 4, *nunquid*).
5. **f** with a flattish headstroke: for example, Plate II, a8, *forma*.
6. 8-shaped **g** with a curved tail closed with a fine straight separate stroke: for example, Plate Ib, a15, *egregiis*; Plate II, a12, *magis*; Plate III, lower margin, line 2, *longe*.
7. Initial **I** which leans to the left and has a short descender turning to the left: for example, BNF latin 4846, 33va11, 13 *In*.

---

[42] Main text 45v. Marginal additions on 2v, 5v, 6r (below col. b), 7v (below col. b), 8v–9v, 10r (right margin), 10v (lower margin), 12v, 13r (lower margin), 14v, 18r, 21v, 22r–22v, 23v, 25r–25v, 26v, 27v, 31v (lower margin, last line), 38r (below col. a), 38v, 39v (right margin) and 42r. Inserted sheet 24r–24v.

[43] Main text 25vb11–36r and 72r–90r (except fol. 89). Marginal additions on 63v, 68v, 77r, 87v (below col. a), 88r, 88v (left margin), 94v and 95r.

8. The descender of **p** has an upwards tick to the right.
9. On the last line of a page, the descenders of **p** and **q** are extended and curve to the left: for example, Plate Ia, *quos* and *tanquam*; Plate II, lower margin, line 7, *quoque*.
10. 2-shaped **r** with a short limb: for example, Plate Ia, b20, *fortuna*; Plate Ib, a19, *honores*.
11. Straight **s** with a narrow, pointed top: for example, Plate Ia, b5, *siue*; Plate Ib, b1, *se*; Plate III, lower margin, line 2, *quadrupes*.
12. Round **s** seems not to be used.
13. **x** with the top-right and bottom-left limbs added separately. The bottom-left limb joins the rest of the letter quite low down, descends at quite a shallow angle and extends under the preceding letter. The top-left and bottom-right limbs are formed of one stroke which is almost vertical. The top-right limb curls out to the right. See Plate Ia, b5, *uix*; Plate Ib, b2, *vexant*; Plate II, b6, *ex*.
14. Uncrossed *et*-nota; the headstroke is sometimes raised slightly on the left (for example, Plate Ia, b11; Plate Ib, b30; Plate II, a22, *etiam*).
15. The Insular abbreviation-sign for *est*, formed of a wavy cross-stroke with a dot above and a comma below: for example, Plate Ia, b8; Plate Ib, b19; Plate II, lower margin, line 5.

The general aspect of the script varies somewhat. In CCCC 390 it is longer and thinner and written in a more assured manner. In CCCC 400[B] it is rather rough. I do not hold this to be evidence for a different hand; rather, I take it, the scribe wrote the manuscripts at different stages of his career, and/or with varying degrees of care. CCCC 390 is probably later as its script has a slightly more Gothic aspect. A scribe who wrote two complete manuscripts, part of another and entered marginal additions into a fourth must have had a fairly long association with Gerald's works.

Hand 2: CUL Mm.5.30, BL Royal 13.B.viii (Plates IV and V)

CUL Mm.5.30 and BL Royal 13.B.viii are holograph and in the same hand. This is a large, round hand with the following distinctive features.

1. Caroline **a** with an angular headstroke which is a hairline on the left side: for example, Plate IV, a3, *ad*; Plate V, b4, *alii*.

2. Open suprascript **a**: for example, Plate IV, b4, *tanquam*; Plate V, a5, *intra.*
3. Some initials are elaborated with a small curved stroke: for example, Plate IV, a21, *Quam*, and a17, *Ut*; Mm.5.30, 25rb17, *Cum.*
4. Straight-backed **d** with a short ascender: for example, Mm.5.30, 4ra19, *desunt*; Plate IV, a4, *ad.*
5. Narrow **e** with a fine, diagonal tongue and sometimes a pointed top: for example, Plate IV, a3, *exibuit*; Plate V, a4, *eleuatos.*
6. Narrow **f** and tall **s** which sit on the line. The tongue of **f** stands just short of minim-height: for example, Plate V, a9, *fluuialibus.* It has a rightwards-pointing foot (larger than the ticks on the feet of minims). Tall **s** has a 'spur' on the left of the shaft: for example, Plate IV, a13, *satis*; Plate V, b13, *suum.*
7. The tail of **g** is usually, but not always, closed by a fine diagonal stroke: for example, Plate IV, b11, *indigestum*; Plate V, a7, *nauigio.*
8. **p** with the bottom of the descender ticked, or sometimes with a large foot: for example, Plate IV, b21, *palustrium*; Plate V, a1, *piscosos.*
9. **t** sometimes with an attack-stroke at the left end of the head-stroke: for example, Plate V, a3, *prefert.*
10. **v**-shaped **u** with an tall left limb which curves to the right: for example, Mm.5.30, 13va24, *vnde.*
11. Large **w** formed of doubled **v**-shaped **u** with their limbs curving inwards. All the limbs are taller than minim-height except the right-hand one: for example, Mm.5.30, 17va10, *keiwini*; Royal 13.B.viii, 31ra37 *norwagiensis.*
12. **x** with an extended bottom-left limb which curves up at the end: for example, Plate IV, b9, *exaltant*; Plate V, a24, *ex.*
13. **y** dotted and often deeply split, so that the two limbs join only at the bottom of the tail. The tail curves to the left: for example, Plate IV, a7, *abyssus*; Plate V, b10, *hyeme.*
14. Uncrossed *et*-nota with a dished top and sometimes a fine stroke extending downwards from the left end of the head: for example, Plate IV, a7; Mm.5.30, 17va8. The ampersand also occurs: for example, Plate IV, b1; Plate V, a1. Mm.5.30 also has crossed *et*-nota: for example, Plate V, b1.
15. The abbreviation-mark for *er/re* is a horizontal line with a fine, straight diagonal line at each end. Sometimes the one on the right is longer than that on the left, with the result that the mark resembles a 7: for example, Plate IV, a12, *faceret*; Plate V, a8, *terrarum.*

16. An abbreviation-mark for suspended **m** which has a small upwards curl at the right end: for example, Plate IV, a18, *concludam*; Plate V, b5, *tam.*

These manuscripts both contain *Topographia hibernica*, but in Mm.5.30 it is a copy of the first edition – a rather incorrect one, according to Dimock[44] – and in Royal 13.B.viii it is a copy of the third edition, altered to the fourth. (Strangely, in decoration as well as script, Royal 13.B.viii looks contemporary with Mm.5.30 – the minor initials look similar too.) Either this scribe also had a long association with Gerald's works, or he copied two very different versions of the same text at the same time, which seems unlikely. However, there may not have been very much time between the editions of *Topographia hibernica.*[45]

Hand 3: CCCC 400[B], BL Additional 44922, Bodleian Rawlinson B.483 (Plates III, VI–VIII)

The hands of the main text and some of the marginal additions of CCCC 400[B], and of Bodleian Rawlinson B.483, are quite small and horizontally compressed and have the following similarities.

1. Caroline **a** is sometimes tall, especially at the beginning and end of a word: for example, Plate, VI, a18, *annonam*; Plate VII, a19, *annescis.* Its headstroke is often slightly wider than the bowl and fine at the left side. Sometimes in CCCC 400[B] the headstroke is smaller: for example, Plate VI, b12, *moram.*
2. Ascenders are either triangular at the top or forked, with the left part much thicker than the right and extended a little to the left: for example, Plate III, b15, *synodum*; Plate VII, a31, *uindictam.* On the top line, ascenders are often elongated with the headstrokes of **f** and tall **s** looped and forks exaggerated: for example, Plate III, a1, *cuius*; Rawlinson B.483, 14rb1, *Brigida locum illustrauerat.*
3. **c** has a pointed top and the right part of the top is dished: for example, Plate VI, b14, *luculentius*; Plate VII, b7, *sic.*
4. **d** occurs in both straight-backed and round forms. Round **d** is particularly distinctive, as at line-beginning the ascender is horizontal and extends into the margin – this is the most distinctive feature of this hand. See Plate III, a23,

[44] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, xii.
[45] See *ibid.*, VI, x (J. F. Dimock).

destinatum, a25, *dubietatem*, b20–1, *audiens* and 23–4, *tractando*; Plate VII, a5–6, *uindicare* and 10–11, *iudicis*.

5. Initial **E** takes the form of an elongated small **e**: for example, Plate III, b16, *Episcopos*; Rawlinson B.483, 5vb4, *Et*.
6. **f** and tall **s** are narrow with slightly larger feet than occur on minims. Tall **s** has a wedge or 'spur' on the left of its stem: for example, Plate VI, a15, *stabulo*; Plate VII, b7, *sic*.
7. In CCCC 400[B] **g** has a round, closed tail which is slightly wider than the bowl: for example, Plate VI, a19, *religione*. Rawlinson B.483 also has this form (for example, 6rb10, *argumenta*) but usually its **g** has a tail which is round except at the left where it is a fine straight diagonal stroke (not a separate stroke): for example, Plate VII, b5, *indulgentia* (but also see Plate VI, b31, *magnis*). A variant form in CCCC 400[B], which has an open tail extending horizontally to the left (for example, Plate III, b19, *agendum*), does not occur in Rawlinson B.483.
8. **p** has a ticked-up foot at the bottom of its descender. On the bottom line descenders are extended and curve to the left: for example, Plate VI, b37; Plate VII, a36, *predonibus*, and b36, *eiusque*.
9. There are two forms of initial **Q**. One has a small bowl high above the line (its lowest point is approximately at minim-height): for example, Plate III, a30, *Quo*; Rawlinson B.483, 9vb11, *Quo*. The other is a more usual shape with a larger bowl sitting on the line: for example, Plate III, a6, *Quod*; Plate VII, b25, *Quo*.
10. Initial **S** is sometimes written in a 'double' form which resembles §: for example, CCCC 400[B], 13va7, *Solis* and 22 *Sub*; Plate VII, a20, *Sed*.
11. Initial **T** has a curved body and a dished top: for example, Plate III, a32, *Terrore*; Rawlinson B.483, 14rb36, *Tamque*.
12. **v**-shaped **u** has two forms. In the first the left limb curves to the right at the top (for example, Plate III, b17, *vt*; Rawlinson B.483, 16rb14, *video* and 14ra6 *vnde*); in the second the left limb curves to the left (for example, Plate III, b23, *vt*; Plate VII, b7, *vt*).
13. The bottom-left limb of **x** is fine and straight, usually with a small upwards curl at the end: for example, Plate III, a28, *expressa*; Plate VII, a10, *expirassent*.
14. **y** is dotted and curves slightly to the left: for example, Plate III, b32, *synodo*; Plate VII, a35, *hybernica*.

15. The *et*-nota is slightly different in the two manuscripts. In CCCC 400[B] it is small and uncrossed: for example, Plate VI, b14. The top has an upwards curl at the left side, sometimes with a trailing stroke from the end: for example, Plate VI, b31. It sometimes looks short and squashed at the right; sometimes it is larger. In Rawlinson B.483 it is small and neat with a wavy top, and the 'body' is vertical rather than diagonal. Sometimes it is crossed (for example, Plate VII, b35), sometimes uncrossed.

Despite some small differences these two manuscripts were written – I think – by the same scribe. They also contain the same initials (to judge from those remaining in Rawlinson B.483), have the same number of lines per page (thirty-six) and their written spaces are within 5mm of each other (CCCC 400[B], 170×105mm; Rawlinson B.483, 170×100mm). I think that they were probably made as a pair by the same person, though not necessarily at the same time, given that there are slight differences in their texts and script.

The distinctive **d**, with the ascender starting in the margin at line-beginning, occurs also in another, rather different manuscript: BL Additional 44922. This is not one of the most 'typical' early manuscripts and therefore I was dubious that it could have been written in the same hand as CCCC 400[B] and Rawlinson B.483. However there are striking similarities between the hand of Additional 44922 and Hand 3.

1. General aspect.
2. Suprascript **a** with a long flat headstroke (for example, Plate VIII, b1, *Quamuis*) – but in CCCC 400[B] the stroke is straighter and the open form of suprascript **a** also occurs.
3. **d** with horizontal 'ascender' at line-beginning: for example, Plate VIII, a24, *duas*, b13, *desperatione* and 17–18, *nesciendo.*
4. **g** with a round tail closed by a fine diagonal stroke on the left: for example, Plate VIII, a9, *egregium.*
5. **g** with its tail extended to the left: for example, Plate VIII, a43–4, *Daganum et Augustum Virgilium.*
6. Initial **H** with an extra stroke inside the limb: Plate VIII, a15, *Hec*; Plate III, a35, *Hiis.*
7. Initial **Q** with high bowl: for example, 78ra43, *Qui.*

8. The shape of round **r** – the limb stands on the line, and is usually short, sometimes longer: for example, Plate VIII, b15, *formidat*; Plate III, a28–9, *forma*.
9. **v**-shaped **u** with left limb curving to the left: for example, Plate VIII, b37, *vt*.
10. **x** with a fine, straight bottom-left limb, curled upwards at the end: for example, Plate VIII, b19, *experiuntur*.
11. A small, neat *et*-nota with a wavy top and a vertical 'body': for example, Plate VIII, a3.

There are also differences, however.

1. No elaborated ascenders on the top line.
2. Descenders on the last line are broken by a short horizontal line: for example, Plate VIII, b46, *petra*.
3. Tall **a** is not found so frequently, although it is still present: for example, Plate VIII, a15, *altera*.
4. Initial **T** has a straight shaft and a wavy headstroke (for example, 82va42, *Tercia*), unlike the curved form with dished top found in CCCC 400[B] and Rawlinson B.483.
5. It does not seem to have **v**-shaped **u** with its left limb curving to the right.
6. The bottom-left limb of **x** sometimes joins the rest of the letter near the baseline: for example, 99ra39, *ex*.
7. **y** is somewhat straighter: for example, Plate VIII, a21, *ydre*.
8. The general mark of abbreviation is either short and straight with hairlines at each end (for example, Plate VIII, a30, *homines*), or short and slightly dished, narrowing to a hairline at the right end (for example, Plate VIII, b2, *principum*). In CCCC 400[B] and Rawlinson B.483 it is slightly longer, straight and plain: for example, Plate VI, a14, *insaniam*; Plate VII, b30–1, *animantium*.
9. A 3-shaped mark, rather than a semi-colon, marks the *-bus* abbreviation: for example, Plate VIII, a14, *auctoribus*; compare Plate VI, b11, *quibus*, and Plate VII, a36, *predonibus*.

Although there are a good many differences from Hand 3, this seems to me to be work by the same scribe. This has interesting implications, as Additional 44922 is not one of the 'typical' early manuscripts and was left unfinished. It is not as similar to CCCC 400[B] and Rawlinson B.483 as they are to each other, either in layout or in decoration. Perhaps it was intended for a different purpose from the other two, for example a personal copy

rather than a presentation-copy. At the time of writing it was apparently not considered important enough to finish.

Hand 4: CCCC 425, CCCC 400[D] pp. 1–16, BAV Reg. Lat. 470[46] *(Plates IX and X)*

CCCC 425 was written by a single scribe. The hand of the same scribe also occurs on the first sixteen pages of CCCC 400[D], and is one of more than ten hands in BAV Reg. Lat. 470. It has the following distinctive features.

1. **a** has a small headstroke which bends over at the right side of the letter, not in the middle. Sometimes it is so short as to be barely there: for example, Plate IXa, a13, *salubrius*; Plate IXb, a3–4, *binarium*; Plate Xa, line 7, *gladium*. A tall variant (for example, CCCC 425, p. 21a26, *anglorum*; Plate Xa, line 12, *amicum*) is not found in CCCC 400[D].
2. Suprascript **a** has a long, flat headstroke which extends to the right: for example, Plate IXa, b9, *quam*; Plate XIb, b5–6, *transuolauerit*; Plate Xa, line 1, *tanquam*.
3. **d** is round. In CCCC 400[D] and 425 it has quite a short ascender (for example, Plate IXa, a7, *dilectionis*; Plate IXb, b5, *ad*), but in Reg. Lat. 470 the ascender is longer (for example, Plate Xa, line 3, *dictis*).
4. Angular **e**, with the appearance of leaning backwards: for example, Plate IXa, a9–10, *exuberantia*; Plate IXb, a1, *laude*; Plate Xb, a3, *aggrediendum*.
5. **g** is somewhat variable but the usual shape is with a tail which is round on the right side and pointed on the left: for example, Plate IXa, a3, *prologi*; Plate IXb, left margin, line 3, *magnus*; Plate Xb, lower margin, line 4, *ignorare*.
6. Broad **q** with 'horns' on top – small strokes ascending from the top left of the bowl and the top of the stem: for example, Plate IXa, b5, *quia*; Plate IXb, b24, *quippe*; Plate Xb, left margin, line 1, *quicquid*.
7. Word-final **t** with the body curling up to meet the right end of the cross-stroke: for example, Plate IXa, a4–5, *exsuperet*; Plate IXb, b5–6, *transuolauerit*; Plate Xa, line 4, *nouerat*.
8. v-shaped **u** with an tall left limb which turns to the right at the top: for example, Plate IXa, a23–4, *Avdiat*; Plate IXb, a18, *vnde*; Plate Xa, line 5, *vnde*.

[46] Main text 6vb44–7ra8, 75ra and 75rb14–va20. Marginal additions 25v (large addition), 28r–v (lower margins), 28v, 29v, 31v–32r (below col. a), 37r, 43v (below col. b), 55v (top margin), 58v (upper addition in lower margin), 59v (lower margin, lines 1–4), 65r (lower addition below col. a) and 75r (beside col. a and part of lower margin). Inserted sheets 69r1–13 and 71(1)r, (2)v.

9. Short *et*-nota with a wide headstroke and a large foot on the stem: for example, Plate IXa, b13; Plate IXb, a9; Plate Xa, line 1; Plate Xb, a1.
10. The Insular abbreviation-sign for *est* with a small dished stroke instead of a dot above the line, and a comma below: for example, Plate IXa, b3; Plate IXb, b2; Plate Xa, line 13.

The most distinctive features of this hand are the *est* abbreviation, **q** and *et*-nota.

Hand 5: TCC R.7.11,[47] *NLI 700, BAV Reg. Lat. 470*[48] *(Plates XI–XV)*

Scott has argued that NLI 700 contains three hands: one in which the main text (I) and some marginal additions (I^1) were written; one (I^2) in which most of the marginal additions were written; and a third (I^3) in which the two inserted sheets (fols. 69 and 87) and the *Proemium secunde editionis* were written.[49] Scott's 'spiky, backwards sloping'[50] I^3 has some strong similarities to a hand in BAV Reg. Lat. 470, namely the following features.

1. The headstroke of **a** is usually quite small and sometimes close to the top of the bowl: for example, Plate XII, b2, *quatinus*; Plate XVI, b1, *ad.*
2. Suprascript **a** has a long, flat headstroke which extends to the right: for example, Plate XII, b11, *unquam*; Plate XVI, b23, *tanquam.*
3. Ascenders and the tops of minims are usually split, sometimes in a strange manner in which the two parts of the split are dished to form an upwards curve: for example, NLI 700, 97rb14, *gloriamque*; Plate XVI, a14, *uolumus.*
4. All letters with a point at the top (**c**, **e**, **r**, tall **s**) often have a very small hairline extending up to the right from the point, and the headstroke is dished to the right of the point: for example, Plate XII, b12–13, *compleatur* (**c**); Plate XVI, b18, *cotidie.*
5. A fake **c+t** ligature with a tall straight stroke above the body of **t** which turns to the left at the top: for example, Plate XII, a13, *pernoctasset*; Plate XVI, b6, *adnectens.*
6. Round **d** with a short, straight ascender: for example, Plate XII, b8, *deuote*; Plate XVI, a3, *domino.*

---

[47] Main text 2r–21va21, 38r–59v, 61r–71v and 90v–95r. Marginal addition 30r.
[48] Main text 78r–92va8, 95ra13–97v and 103r–v. Marginal addition 52r. Inserted sheet 57ra1–10.
[49] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, p. l.
[50] *Ibid.*

7. The tail of **g** is quite small and round, but closed with a separate straight hairline which is extended beyond the end of the tail: for example, Plate XII, a9, *contigit*; Plate XVI, b5, *recognoscit*.
8. The limb of **h** curls underneath itself below the line: for example, Plate XII, b5, *inhiberi*; Plate XVI, a22, *hybernia*. It is sometimes more exaggerated in Reg. Lat. 470: for example, 85va9, *rethoricam*.
9. **p** has a small bowl and a foot on the bottom of the descender: for example, Plate XII, b1, *petrus*; Plate XVI, b9, *compromittit*.
10. **q** has a broad bowl with a flat or dished top and a point at top left from which a small hairline extends: for example, Plate XII, a11, *namque*; Plate XVI, b16, *nequam*.
11. The curve of round **r** descends to the line and the limb is angled slightly upwards to the right: for example, Plate XII, a6, *ulteriora*; Plate XVI, a3, *honor*.
12. The body of **t** joins the headstroke towards the left. Sometimes the body begins a very small way above the headstroke: for example, Plate XII, b11–12, *inchoabitis*; Plate XVI, a12, *talionem*. Sometimes at word-end, the body curls up and touches the right end of the headstroke: for example, Plate XII, a20, *exiret*; Plate XVI, a5, *fuissent*.
13. The only difference between the two manuscripts is that in NLI 700 the bottom-left limb of **x** curls to the left at the end (this limb also joins the rest of the letter almost on the base-line): for example, Plate XII, b36, *rex* (but compare a36, *Christus*). In Reg. Lat. 470 it curls to the right: for example, 81va2, *uix*.
14. It has a large, descending *et*-nota with a short cross-stroke with a curled-up foot at the bottom. The headstroke is wavy with a trailing hairline at the left end: for example, Plate XII, b5; Plate XVI, a19.
15. The general mark of abbreviation often tapers a little at the right end: for example, NLI 700, 97ra14, *seriatim*; Plate XVI, a17, *quodam*.
16. The mark of abbreviation for *er*/*re* is narrow and zigzagged: for example, Plate XII, b5, *firmiter*; Plate XVI, b9, *firmiter*.
17. In the Insular abbreviation-sign for *est* there is a large comma below the cross-stroke – in fact, a short horizontal stroke with a straight diagonal hairline descending to the left from its right end: for example, Plate XII, a35; Plate XVI, a27.

Scott's I^2 is very similar to this hand. Almost all of its letter-forms are the same. See, for example, Plate XIIIa for **h** (line 3, *habuerant*) and final **t** (line 5, *uidebant*); Plate XIIIb for **a** and **t** (line 1, *uulgatum*) and split-top ascenders (line 2, *nil*, and line 3, *hibernie*); Plate XIIIc

for suprascript **a** (line 1, *prauis*) and **q** (line 6, *sacramentique*), **d** and the fake **c+t** ligature (line 1, *defectus*) and **x** (line 4, *ex*). There are some small differences: the tail of **g** does not have the extended closing stroke, as in I^3, but closes itself and is sometimes elongated to bottom left (Plate XIIIa, line 2, *niger*); the limb of round **r** is not angled upwards (Plate XIIIc, line 2, *minores*); the *et*-nota sometimes has the same shape (for example, Plate XIIIc, line 2) but is often slightly shorter with the headstroke higher at the left end (for example, Plate XIIIc, line 6). In the addition in the lower margin of 62r (Plate XIIIa) it occurs both crossed (line 5) and uncrossed (line 4).

The hand of the main text of NLI 700 also bears some similarity to I^3 and the hand in Reg. Lat. 470. In aspect it is very different, being small, neat and compact with short ascenders and descenders. Its **q** is rounder with a very short descender (for example, Plate XIV, a12, *qui*); its **x** is a different shape, with the bottom-left limb joining the top-left in the middle so that they could be one stroke (for example, Plate XIV, a9, *exiguo*); it has a small, neat, crossed *et*-nota which sits on the line and has a rather short headstroke (for example, Plate XIV, b10); and its Insular *est* abbreviation consists of the usual horizontal stroke with dot above and below (for example, Plate XIV, a17). However, a good many features are similar: suprascript **a** (for example, Plate XIV, a4 *tanquam*), the fake **c+t** ligature (for example, Plate XIV, b29, *electa*), the shape of **d** (for example, Plate XIV, a14, *dolo*), **g** (for example, Plate XIV, b9, *Augusti*), **h** (for example, Plate XIV, b18, *honorifice*) and round **r** (though with a shorter limb: for example, Plate XIV, b5, *fortuna*). Its **t** is narrower, with a hairline on the right end of the headstroke (for example, Plate XIV, b10, *accessit*), but in some cases the end of the body extends upwards to touch the right end of the cross-stroke in a similar manner to I^3 (for example, Plate XIV, b1, *conferret*).

I am almost sure that Scott's I^2 and I^3 are one and the same hand (the similarities are even clearer in the additions to *Topographia hibernica*, which Scott did not discuss – see for example 13r, 20r and 40v – but perhaps Scott would have attributed them to I^3). I am not as sure that the main text is also the same hand, but there are enough similarities to suggest a common 'scriptorium'-style, if nothing else.

One of the hands in TCC R.7.11 also bears sufficient similarities to that of the main text of NLI 700 as to be called the same hand.

1. The shape of the fake **c+t** ligature (for example, Plate XI, b4, *contracta*), **g** (for example, Plate XI, a2, *emergeł*), **h** (for example, Plate XI, b10, *hoc*), **q** (for example, Plate XI, a12, *quam*), round **r** (for example, Plate XI, b3, *exorta*), **t** (for example, Plate XI, a18, *Sicut*), **x** (for example, Plate XI, b6, *expeditionis*), *con*-abbreviation (for example, Plate XI, b4, *contracta*; Plate XIV, b1, *conferret*) and *et*-nota (for example, Plate XI, b4).
2. Occasional straight-backed **d** (for example, 17rb10, *prediscit*; NLI 700, 40ra10, *crudis*).
3. Round **d** at line-beginning with the 'ascender' horizontal and beginning in the margin (for example, Plate XI, a10, *dum*); the same **d** is sometimes found when it is the second letter on a line, with the 'ascender' crossing the preceding letter (for example, 61rb11, *Ad*; Plate XIIII, b1, *Adiacentibus*).
4. A **d+e** ligature in which the eye of **e** is joined to the top of the ascender of **d**: for example, 8rb23, *de*; NLI 700, 49vb36, *de*.
5. Initial **P** with a tall, pointed top: for example, Plate XI, b23, *Populus*; NLI 700, 49vb24, *Portentum*.
6. 2-shaped initial **Q**: for example, 10rb15, *Qui*; NLI 700, 62ra24, *Quod*.
7. 'Double' initial **S**: for example, 9ra18, *solis*; NLI 700, 14va23, *Sed*.
8. Word/line-initial **v**-shaped **u** has a horizontal extension to the left from the top of the left limb with a diagonal upwards flick at the end: for example, Plate XI, b24, *vnde*; Plate XIV, a19, *videns*.

The script in TCC R.7.11 is rougher-looking and has some differences: for example, the more frequent use of a variant form of **q** with a longer descender which turns to the left at the bottom (for example, 94va1, *qui*, 15 *tanquam*, 28 *quasi*; this is found only rarely in NLI 700 – see Plate XIV, a8–9, *longinquo*) and occasional uncrossed *et*-nota (for example,

94rb4 and 95ra22). The uncrossed *et*-nota may indicate that TCC R.7.11 was written before NLI 700.

All three of these manuscripts also show some similarity in their initials. There is a particular likeness between those of NLI 700 and Reg. Lat. 470. Both frequently display to the left of the initial the flourishing component named by Sonia Scott-Fleming the 'Extended Fan':[51] the examples of **I** in NLI 700, 13r, and Reg. Lat. 470, 39v, are almost identical. The examples of **I** in NLI 700, 40v, and Reg. Lat. 470, 87v, show also the 'Pointing Finger Fan' component.[52] All three manuscripts often have the 'Caterpillar and Bud' infilling of initials:[53] for example, **R** (TCC R.7.11, 2r), **Q** (NLI 700, 47r) and **D** (Reg. Lat. 470, 2r). The unusual infilling of the major initials in NLI 700, composed of many 'Caterpillar and Bud' components, is almost exactly the same as that in **C** in TCC R.7.11, 72r (Plate Ib), although in the latter it is rather more crudely drawn. This also suggests a common origin of these manuscripts.

There are various striking similarities between Hands 4 and 5 above: for example, suprascript **a** with a long headstroke extended to the right, **d** with a short, straight ascender, **q** with 'horns' on top of the bowl, **t** with the end of the body meeting the right end of the headstroke and **v**-shaped **u** with an tall left limb which turns to the right at the top. The main differences are in the shape of **g** (in Hand 5 the tail is closed with a separate extended stroke); the *et*-nota (large and crossed in Hand 5, smaller and uncrossed in Hand 4); and the Insular *est* abbreviation (with a small dished stroke above the cross-stroke in Hand 4, but with a dot in Hand 5). The fact that the uncrossed *et*-nota is stylistically earlier than the crossed form may indicate that the two hands were written by the same scribe at different times; but this is unlikely, given that they both appear in

[51] Scott-Fleming, *The Analysis*, pp. 44–5 and 73. For example, see Plate XIV.
[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 60 and 72.
[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 65–6.

Reg. Lat. 470 in original text, marginal additions and inserted sheets. It seems more likely that these hands are the product of a single 'scriptorium'.

Hand 6: BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii 63v–185v, Lambeth 236 (Plates XVI and XVII)

The hand of BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii, 63v–185v, is very similar to that of Lambeth 236. The most distinctive similarity is an *et*-nota in which the headstroke is long and has a downwards curl at the end, which is used as a variant form at the beginning of lines. The following are also distinctive features.

1. The ascenders and descenders are short. The tops of ascenders are quite wide, usually flat-topped or slightly dished.
2. Sometimes ascenders on the top line are elongated with looped headstrokes: for example, Lambeth 236, 121ra1, *fastidium Drogenes*; Tiberius B.xiii, 67vb1, *abbates bonos*, and 176va1, *Iohannes*.
3. **a** has a squat, flat-topped bowl and small top, not as wide as the bowl: for example, Plate XVI, b1, *terra*; Plate XVII, b2, *aqua*.
4. In the fake **c+t** ligature the stem of **t** is tall and curves to the left, but does not touch the **c**: for example, Plate XVI, b14–15, *adiectam*; Plate XVII, a4, *ductus*.
5. **d** is round with a short ascender. Straight-backed **d** also occurs: for example, Plate XVI, a6, *pedites*; Plate XVII, a6–7, *multitudo*. 'Falling' **d** (with a long ascender turning down at the end) occurs: for example, Tiberius B.xiii, 72ra22, *detestanda*; Lambeth 236, 18va27, *declarauit*.
6. **g** is small, round and 8-shaped; the tail is often smaller than the bowl and usually not closed but has a fine stroke extending down and to the left: for example, Plate XVI, b13, *egenis*; Plate XVII, b16, *Ignibus*. However, in Tiberius B.xiii there are various forms of **g**, including a form with a round tail but no fine stroke (for example, 76rb4, *gerebat*); a form with an open, flat-bottomed tail (for example, 94rb20, *magis*); and a form with an elaborated, looped tail (for example, 75vb36, *gradus*).
7. Word-final **i** or the second of two **i**s is often 'broken' with a descender: for example, Plate XVI, a5, *spoliati*; Plate XVII, b11–12, *supliciis*.
8. Initial **I** curves to the left at the bottom and its top is split and leans to the left: for example, Tiberius B.xiii, 74ra35, *Item*; Lambeth 236, 36rb11, *In*. Occasionally the

descender and the left side of the fork are joined in a loop: for example, Plate XVII, b22, *Ieronimus*.

9. Occasionally there is a short stroke extending up and right from the top of the shoulder of **r**: for example, Plate XVI, a21, *fructuosas*; Plate XVII, a20, *briam*.
10. Occasionally small majuscule **R** is used: for example, Plate XVI, b20–1, *conclubuntur*; Plate XVII, b22, *Ieronimus*.
11. The left limb of word-initial **v**-shaped **u** is tall and curves to the left at the top: for example, Tiberius B.xiii, 179va5–6, *uine*; Plate XIVI, b22, *venter*.
12. The bottom-left limb of **x** is flat or even angled up slightly at the end: for example, Plate XVI, a26, *uix*; Plate XVII, a32, *dixit*. There is a variant form in which the bottom-left limb curls up at the end: for example, Plate XVI, b18, *uix*; Plate XVII, b2, *excessum*.
13. The *et*-nota is crossed and quite small, with a dished or slightly wavy top: for example, Plate XVI, b10; Plate XVII, a10. For the distinctive variant form mentioned above, see, for example, Plate XVI, a11 and a15; Plate XVII, b5. In Tiberius B.xiii there is also a form with a thick, extended headstroke with a serif on the end (for example, Plate XVI, a27).
14. The abbreviation-sign for *con* is 9-shaped and its tail curls up, making it look rounder than usual: for example, Plate XVI, b18, *conualescunt*; Plate XVII, a1, *consideratis*. Tiberius B.xiii has a variety of shapes: 1) 9-shaped with a long tail (for example, Plate XVI, b9, *consensum*); 2) 9-shaped with a short tail (for example, 67rb30, *contradicentes* and 67rb31, *conductis*); and 3) 2-shaped (for example, 72rb17, *contra*).

Despite some differences, some due to the inconsistency of the script of BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii both in aspect and in the letter-forms used, these two manuscripts seem to me to be written in one and the same hand.

GERALD'S 'SCRIPTORIUM'

This evidence creates a complicated web of relationships between several of the early manuscripts.

- CCCC 390, CCCC 400[B], TCC R.7.11 and BNF latin 4846 contain the same hand (Hand 1).

- Bodleian Rawlinson B.483 and CCCC 400[B] contain the same hand (Hand 3), initials and layout.
- CCCC 400[D], CCCC 425 and Reg. Lat. 470 contain the same hand (Hand 4).
- TCC R.7.11, NLI 700 and Reg. Lat. 470 contain the same hand (Hand 5), which is very similar to Hand 4 and was probably written in the same 'scriptorium'. This group is also linked by NLI 700 to the group immediately below, and by TCC R.7.11 to the first group above.
- CUL Mm.5.30 and BL Royal 13.B.viii contain the same hand (Hand 2) and are linked to Bodleian Rawlinson B.188, which was the exemplar of Royal 13.B.viii, and to NLI 700, which contains the same illustrations as Royal 13.B.viii.[54]
- BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii and Lambeth 236 contain the same hand (Hand 6).

CCCC 390, CCCC 400[B], TCC R.7.11, Rawlinson B.483 and BNF latin 4846 were therefore made presumably in the same place, as were CCCC 400[D], CCCC 425, TCC R.7.11, NLI 700 and Reg. Lat. 470; the presence of TCC R.7.11 in both groups suggests that this was in fact one and the same 'scriptorium'. (The precise arrangements within which these scribes were working, and whether they were 'professionals' or religious (and hence perhaps working within their own religious institution), is impossible to determine in the present state of our knowledge.)[55] At least some of this group of scribes were working on the manuscripts over an extended period, if not continuously: all six hands discussed above appear both in the main texts and marginal or inserted additions.[56] CUL Mm.5.30, Royal 13.B.viii and Rawlinson B.188 may also be linked to this second group, on the uncertain premise that the presence of the same series of pictures in NLI 700 and

---

[54] See *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, p. xlvi.

[55] See Gullick, 'Professional Scribes'. Gullick has observed (p. 1) that 'Evidence for the involvement of professional scribes in the production of manuscripts books at or for ecclesiastical centres in England during the late Anglo-Saxon and Romanesque periods is scarce'.

[56] Hand 1 appears in both the main text and additions of CCCC 390, TCC R.7.11 and BNF latin 4846, but only in additions to the text of CCCC 400[B]. Hand 2 is the only hand in which both main text and additions were written in CUL Mm.5.30 and BL Royal 13.B.viii. Hand 3 appears in the main text and additions of CCCC 400[B] and Bodleian Rawlinson B.483 (BL Additional 44922 has no additions). Hand 4 appears in the main text and additions of CCCC 425 and BAV Reg. Lat. 470, but only in the main text of CCCC 400[D]. Hand 5 appears in the main text of TCC R.7.11, NLI 700 and BAV Reg. Lat. 470; it also appears in additions to NLI 700 and BAV Reg. Lat. 470, but only in one addition in TCC R.7.11. Hand 6 appears in the main text of BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii and in both the main text and additions in Lambeth 236.

BL Royal 13.B.viii can be taken as evidence of a common origin. Can any of these groups be connected to Gerald himself?

First, I have suggested above that nine early manuscripts originated in the same 'scriptorium'; it seems likely that any place producing so many Giraldian manuscripts in Gerald's lifetime would be doing so under Gerald's instructions. It is possible that someone particularly enthusiastic about Gerald's works would copy or commission copies of large portions of his *corpus*, but it is not very probable.

Other scholars have suggested that some of the early manuscripts may have originated with Gerald himself. Scott was 'quite sure that R[oyal 13.B.viii] is a manuscript which comes direct from Giraldus and his secretaries'.[57] His reasons for thinking this seem to have been the presence of marginal additions similar to those found in other early manuscripts, the complicated textual relationship between Royal 13.B.viii and NLI 700, and the fact that 'The illustrations are most definitely the work of someone who knew … the dress and appearance of the Irish'.[58] Royal 13.B.viii is an anomalous manuscript in some ways. It is the only early manuscript to be constructed of quires of ten, and its rather ornate initials are of a type not seen in any other early manuscripts.[59] It is also the only early manuscript also to contain a non-Giraldian work, 'The Purgatory of St Patrick' by Henry of Saltrey.[60] Perhaps this is not significant, however; NLI 700 and Bodleian Rawlinson B.188 also have a style of initial unique among the early manuscripts. Gerald did briefly mention the Purgatory of St Patrick in *Topographia hibernica*, so it is not inconceivable that he would include a more detailed account in one of his own manuscripts.

---

[57] *Ibid.*, p. xliv.
[58] *Ibid.*, pp. xliv, xlvi.
[59] See above, p. 133.
[60] The other works in this manuscript are on separate quires, written in a different hand and have different initials; 'The Purgatory', however, is in the same hand as the Giraldian works and immediately follows *Itinerarium Kambriae* in the middle of a page.

'If R[oyal 13.B.viii], which was a copy of B[odleian Rawlinson B.188], does in fact come from [Gerald's] *scriptorium*, logic demands that [Rawlinson B.188] should do so too.'[61] There is no evidence – apart from that admittedly unarguable piece – that Rawlinson B.188 might be connected with Gerald. Its lack of marginal additions (other than scribal corrections) and the fact that some of the spaces for its chapter-headings were not filled in make it unlike other 'typical' early manuscripts, but these anomalies may be explained by suggesting that work was halted on Rawlinson B.188 in favour of Royal 13.B.viii. Rawlinson B.188 has quite wide margins (almost exactly the same size as in Royal 13.B.viii), which is perhaps because illustrations were intended to be added to it too. Perhaps Rawlinson B.188 did not remain in Gerald's circle long after it was made.

Scott was convinced that NLI 700 too 'was copied by Giraldus' scribes, and remained with him for a considerable period during which further additions were made to the text'.[62] He has suggested that this process was going on in parallel to the same process in Royal 13.B.viii, resulting in their texts' complicated relationship. He has also suggested that the illustrations in NLI 700 were copied from Royal 13.B.viii.[63] Thomas O'Loughlin has also argued that the map of Europe in NLI 700 was produced in Gerald's circle.[64]

If Royal 13.B.viii came directly from Gerald's circle, then logically Mm.5.30, which was written by the same person, did so too. However, it seems odd that a manuscript containing 'evident blunders, and sometimes rather gross ones',[65] could be associated

---

[61] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, p. xliv.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. lii.
[63] See above, p. 134.
[64] See above, p. 122.
[65] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, xii; see also 'Topographia Hibernie', ed. O'Meara, pp. 114–15. Errors in Mm.5.30 (M) which I have found in my sample-collation of first-edition texts of *Topographia hibernica* include the following.

1. *siluelscit* M; *siluescit* other witnesses (*GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 28, line 22).
2. *redeuntis* M; *redeuntes* other witnesses (*ibid.*, p. 39, n. 1, lines 29–30).
3. *accendunt* M; *accedunt* CHLP; *attendunt* TV (*ibid.*, line 42)
4. *natura alternis noctibus dictante* M; *alternis noctibus natura dictante* other witnesses (*ibid.*, p. 46, lines 6–7).
5. *quodam* M; *quadam* other witnesses (*ibid.*, p. 170, line 11).

with Gerald. Most of the other manuscripts under discussion here were said by Dimock to contain correct texts, including Royal 13.B.viii; but we know that Royal 13.B.viii was copied from Rawlinson B.188, a perfectly legible manuscript. Perhaps Mm.5.30 was copied from an illegible exemplar – a copy of the first edition might have been drawn from an exemplar written by Gerald himself, who has been suspected of having an illegible hand.[66]

Yves Lefèvre suggested that Reg. Lat. 470 was a 'working copy' (*brouillon*) used by the author.[67] If this is so, then CCCC 425, TCC R.7.11 and NLI 700, written in the same 'scriptorium', must have been made under Gerald's supervision (at some level) too. Michael Richter has also suggested that it is 'likely' that Gerald himself wrote at least some of the short interlinear and marginal notes in Reg. Lat. 470.[68] However, Scott has discounted Reg. Lat. 470 as an autograph manuscript and has questioned the description of it as a 'working copy', as 'the text is carefully executed with the usual initials and ruling'.[69] He has pointed out that NLI 700 is 'even more carefully turned out than the Vatican MS., witness the fine initials at the beginning of each *Distinctio*'. In fact all of the manuscripts which I have shown to share similar features suggesting Gerald's direction are more formally presented (according to Scott's criteria) than one would expect of a working copy, and thus present a contrast to manuscripts produced by an author for his personal use.[70]

There have been no suggestions that CCCC 390, CCCC 400[B], TCC R.7.11, Rawlinson B. 483 or BNF latin 4846 may have come from Gerald. However, CCCC 400[B], Rawlinson B.483 and BNF latin 4846 all contain copies of *Topographia hibernica*

---

6. *Hec* M; *Nec* other witnesses (*ibid.*, p. 171, line 9).

[66] *Ibid.*, pp. xvi–xvii.

[67] See *Speculum Duorum*, ed. and trans. Richter *et al.*, p. lvii.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. lxiii.

[69] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, pp. lii–liii.

[70] Compare, for example, the manuscripts written by William of Malmesbury and other members of his 'scriptorium'. See Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, pp. 82–3 and pll. 1–2, 6–18, and below, p. 226.

with square-framed gilt initials, and two of them contain a map of Britain and Ireland; Rawlinson B.483 may also have originally contained a map. This comparatively rich decoration may show that these manuscripts were intended as presentation-copies. The initial **P** in CCCC 400[B] (5r) with a picture of a man (presumably Gerald) presenting a book to a king particularly suggests this. The source of presentation-copies is in principle likely to have been the author himself. The other manuscripts containing this style of initial, CCCC 390 and 425, contain the Lives of Geoffrey, archbishop of York, and Remigius and Hugh, first and fifth bishops of Lincoln. It is known that Gerald presented a copy of *Vita Sancti Remigii* to Lincoln,[71] and he probably gave another to Stephen Langton to whom it was dedicated. It is probable that Gerald would have presented a copy of *Vita Galfridi* to its subject. It is, therefore, possible that these surviving manuscripts were also presentation-copies.

Gerald's autograph

There has been much speculation concerning the possibility of the survival of Gerald's own hand, probably because of the high number of manuscripts surviving from his lifetime, and the number of marginal additions in these manuscripts which could have been added by a revising author. It does not seem likely that Gerald would have copied out entire manuscripts himself; in his works he made references to his scribes.[72] It is perhaps more likely that one would find his hand in the margins of a manuscript, making the additions of which he was so fond. Some have speculated further and suggested that Gerald did not have a very legible hand. Dimock said that 'he was just the man ... with his vehemence and ready wit and rapid pen, who could not possibly, we might fancy, write a legible hand'.[73] Brewer made a similar comment: 'the MSS. of the works of

[71] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VII, x–xiv.
[72] See for example Butler, *The Autobiography*, pp. 142, 312 and 327.
[73] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, xvi–xvii.

Giraldus are sometimes very carelessly written, as if by scribes who found a difficulty in deciphering the author's hand'.[74]

With six hands identified in the early manuscripts and several of those manuscripts probably made close to Gerald, it is very difficult to say which of these could be Gerald's hand. None of the hands which I have identified appears in more than four manuscripts, and none appears only in marginal additions, as one might expect a revising author's to do. Even in Reg. Lat. 470, which Richter thought likely to contain Gerald's hand,[75] there is no one hand which is more likely than any other to be his autograph.

THE LOCATION OF GERALD'S 'SCRIPTORIUM'

There has been some speculation about the location of the 'scriptorium' or 'scriptoria' which produced Gerald's works, the most popular choices being Lincoln and Hereford.[76] The case for Hereford is based on a letter which Gerald wrote to the chapter of Hereford around 1218, which begins with a request for a copy of *Speculum Ecclesiae* to be returned 'ad corrigendum adhuc plenius et utilia quaedam locis competentibus',[77] and a volume containing *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica* to be returned in exchange for one which 'melioratum susceperitis … et emendatum'.[78] However, while this shows that Gerald had dealings concerning his books with Hereford, it does not prove that Hereford was involved in the copying of them; indeed, it rather proves otherwise, if the canons of Hereford had to send their copies back to Gerald for emendation. Two manuscripts have a fifteenth-century Hereford provenance: TCC R.7.11 belonged to the Franciscans of Hereford,[79] and NLI 700 was given by one Walter

---

[74] *Ibid.*, III, xxxix.
[75] *Speculum Duorum*, ed. and trans. Richter *et al.*, p. lxiii.
[76] For Hereford see Wada, 'Gerald on Gerald', p. 244.
[77] 'for yet fuller correction and some useful things in certain proper places' (my translation). *Epistola ad Capitulum Herfordense*, in *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, I, 409.
[78] 'you will have received improved … and emended' (my translation). *Ibid.*
[79] 1v; James, 'The Library of the Grey Friars', p. 119.

Mybbe to the vicars choral of Hereford in 1483.[80] However, these provenances prove nothing about the origin of these manuscripts.

The possibility of Lincoln being the location of a Giraldian 'scriptorium' is largely based on the fact that Gerald lived in the diocese of Lincoln in the later years of his life and is known to have given books to Lincoln Cathedral.[81] Nigel Morgan has also suggested that the illustrations in BL Royal 13.B.viii bear some similarity to those in a Bestiary from Lincoln, but has also acknowledged that the personal style of the drawings makes localisation difficult.[82] None of the early manuscripts has a provenance at Lincoln. There are no hands in the plates of the catalogues of Lincoln and Hereford Cathedrals which show a close similarity to anything which I have seen in early Giraldian manuscripts. Some of them have initials of a similar design: for example, the initials of Hereford Cathedral Library O.IV.7 and O.V.5[83] and Lincoln Cathedral Library 145[84] have similar scroll-ornament to (for example) CCCC 390 and BNF latin 4846, but this appears to be a quite common style in this period and not confined to any particular area.[85]

Another place worthy of consideration is not often mentioned in this context: St Davids, the place to which Gerald devoted so much time and energy and for which he made many sacrifices in his life. There is evidence that, even after he failed to become bishop (or archbishop) of St Davids and moved to Lincoln, Gerald remained in contact

---

[80] 'Orate pro anima Walter Mybbe qui dedit istum librum uicario ecclesie cathedralis Herfordi anno domini m° cccc° xxxliii°' (99r).

[81] *Speculum Duorum*, ed. and trans. Richter *et al.*, pp. 168–9, 172–2: 'libros nostros Hibernicos, *Topographiam* scilicet et *Vaticinalem Expugnationem Historiam*, olim ecclesie Lincolniensi in uno volumine datos a nobis', 'our books on Ireland (namely *The Topography* and *The Prophetic History of the Conquest*) … books which we gave in one volume to the church of Lincoln'; '*Gemmam* nostram *Ecclesiasticam* … ecclesie Lincolniensi cum *Vita* quoque *sancti Remigii* … transcursis iam annis plurimis datam', 'our *Gemma Ecclesiastica* … which we gave some years ago to Lincoln cathedral together with the *Life of St. Remigius*'. See also Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln*, pl. 3 (twelfth- and thirteenth-century book-list from MS. 1: 'De dono domini Geroldi archidiaconi Wallie topographia hybernica et uitam sancti remigij et Gemmam sacerdotalem', 2ra49–51).

[82] Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, I, 105 (no. 59a).

[83] Mynors and Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford*, pll. 80b and 82b.

[84] Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln*, pl. 47a, c and d.

[85] See, for example (in a more elaborate form), Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, I, ills. 21, 38, 86 and 247–8.

with its community: when he resigned his archdeaconry of Brecon to his nephew Gerald FitzPhilip it was on the condition that he, the uncle, continued to administer to it, and in the last years of his life he included advice to Iorwerth, bishop of St Davids (appointed in 1215), in a second edition of his *De iure et statu meneuensis ecclesiae.*

One later medieval manuscript does have links to St Davids: BL Cotton Domitian A.i, fols. 56–160. It is datable to the late thirteenth century and contains *Itinerarium Kambriae*, *Descriptio Kambriae*, *Retractationes* and *Catalogus breuior librorum suorum* (the only medieval copies of the last two). It also contains, in a similar hand, *Annales Cambriae* to 1288. It was taken from the treasury of St Davids in the sixteenth century by John Prise (1502–55).[86] It is very likely that Gerald gave copies of his works to St Davids, the place with which he was connected nearly all his life, so there is a good chance that Domitian A.i was copied from an earlier manuscript already at St Davids. No other evidence points to the presence of Giraldian books at St Davids, unfortunately; in fact, according to Ker and Watson there are no other surviving books known to be from St Davids, nor even any surviving booklists or catalogues.[87]

THE 'PUBLICATION' AND CIRCULATION OF GERALD'S WORKS WITHIN HIS LIFETIME

I have suggested above[88] that nine of the early manuscripts were written at one and the same 'scriptorium' and that that 'scriptorium' was producing these manuscripts under Gerald's direction. This scenario suggests that those who have thought the numerous marginal additions in the early manuscripts to have originated with Gerald are indeed correct.[89] This means either that several of the surviving early manuscripts remained with Gerald for a long time and were periodically updated, or that the manuscripts were

[86] Prise, *Historiae Brytanniae Defensio*, pp. 26 and 128.
[87] *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, ed. Ker, p. 169 and supplement, p. 60.
[88] pp. 150–1.
[89] For example *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, p. xliv; Wada, 'Gerald on Gerald', p. 244.

despatched to various recipients and then recalled when Gerald considered additions to be necessary. The evidence of the letter to Hereford shows that the latter was the case at least in Gerald's later years.

Gerald habitually dedicated and/or presented his works to the great men of his time, including the kings Henry II,[90] Richard I (when he was still count of Poitou)[91] and John;[92] archbishops of Canterbury Baldwin (1184–90),[93] Hubert Walter (1193–1205)[94] and Stephen Langton (1207–28);[95] William de Longchamp, bishops of Ely 1189–98;[96] William de Vere, bishop of Hereford 1186–99;[97] and Hugh of Avalon, bishop of Lincoln 1186–1200.[98] Gerald, that unrelenting self-publicist, no doubt sent copies of his works to these men, which shows that there were (for however short a time) Giraldian works at Ely, Canterbury, Lincoln and the royal court. He also gave copies of some of his works to the cathedral communities of Hereford and Lincoln. If Gerald recalled all these copies of his works when he made changes to the text, he created a great deal of work for himself (or his scribes). It suggests a possessive, almost paternal attitude to his works which is indeed quite consistent with what we otherwise know of his character.

However, the survival of manuscripts which do not resemble those produced under his direction shows that his works did escape his clutches.[99] Lambeth 371, one such manuscript, is the only one of the early manuscripts to have a provenance close to the time of writing. It possibly originated at Reading as it contains documents relating to

---

[90] *Topographia hibernica.*
[91] *Expugnatio hibernica.*
[92] The β-text of *Expugnatio hibernica* contains a letter from Gerald to John: *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, pp. 261–5.
[93] Baldwin was presented with a copy of *Topographia hibernica* on the tour of Wales which Gerald recounted in *Itinerarium Kambriae*; *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, 20.
[94] The first edition of *Descriptio Kambriae.*
[95] The second edition of *Descriptio Kambriae* and the third edition of *Itinerarium Kambriae.*
[96] Bodleian Rawlinson B.188 contains a note which suggests that the first edition of *Itinerarium Kambriae* was dedicated to this William; Thorpe, *The Journey*, p. 63, n. 1.
[97] A letter to William de Vere, particularly recommending some parts of the work, is attached to some copies of *Topographia hibernica*; see above, pp. 122–3.
[98] The second edition of *Itinerarium Kambriae.*
[99] See above, pp. 127–9.

Reading Abbey (but it is impossible to know if these were together with its copy of *Expugnatio hibernica* at the time of writing).[100] Another manuscript, Phillipps 26642 (the whereabouts of which is now unfortunately unknown), was once part of a manuscript written at the Cistercian abbey of Robertsbridge in Sussex; it (Phillipps 26233 + 26641 + 26642) also contained Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*[101] and William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum*.[102] CUL Mm.5.30 has a colophon in fifteenth-century script referring to events at Ramsey Abbey in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, which may give it an early Ramsey provenance.[103] Slight though this evidence is, it does suggest that Gerald's works had spread beyond his own circle; he is not known to have had links with Ramsey, Reading or Robertsbridge.

A comment in *Speculum Ecclesiae* shows that Giraldian works were known in Wales too.[104] Gerald told how, to finance one of his trips to Rome in his attempt to gain the bishopric of St Davids, he pledged his books to the monks of Strata Florida. The cunning and devious monks took his books but then asserted that the rules of their order forbade them to deal in usury and they could only purchase them. Gerald was powerless to act against this and was forced to abandon his precious library at Strata Florida. It is impossible to know the contents of this library, but it must have contained some of Gerald's own works. Therefore there were Giraldian works at Strata Florida in Gerald's lifetime. There must also have been some at St Davids.[105]

The evidence of medieval library-catalogues is patchy at best. However, there are references to Giraldian works to be found. A twelfth-century booklist of Lincoln Cathedral mentions *Topographia hibernica*, *Gemma ecclesiastica* and *Vita sancti Remigii*,

---

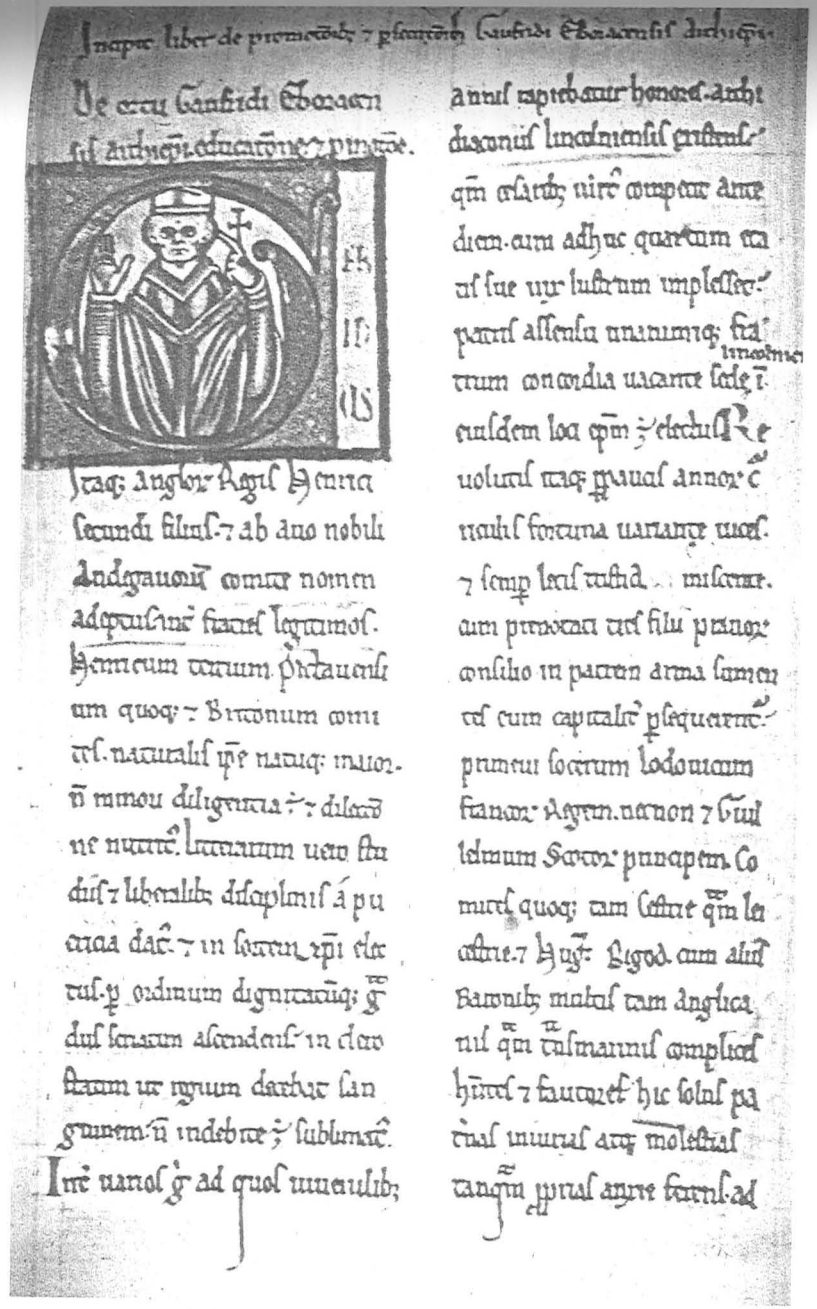
[100] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, xxix–xxxi.
[101] Now NLW 13210; see Crick, *The Historia*, III, 6–7 (no. 4).
[102] Now Princeton University, Scheide Library, 159; see *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, ed. Ker, supplement, p. 58; Berkhout, 'The Parkerian Legacy', especially pp. 278–9.
[103] 31v; see Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts ... in Cambridge Libraries*, p. 39 (no. 79).
[104] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, IV, 154–5; Butler, *The Autobiography*, pp. 250–1.
[105] See above, pp. 157–8.

confirming what Gerald himself said about his gifts to Lincoln.[106] Another late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century booklist, possibly from Bridlington, mentions a work called *De mirabilibis Ybernie*, which could be *Topographia hibernica*.[107]

The most interesting evidence of the spread of Gerald's works has been discussed by Andrew Breeze. He has noted that an early thirteenth-century booklist in Kraków, Cathedral Chapter Library, 66 mentions *Gemma ecclesiastica* and a *Liber Gerboldi de uirtute regis* which has been identified as *De principis instructione*.[108] He has suggested that the books were the property of either Wincenty Kadłubek, bishop of Kraków 1208–18, or Iwo Odrowąz, his successor, both of whom studied at Paris and Bologna and possibly met Gerald in person.[109] Kraków is by a long way the farthest-flung place to which any Giraldian manuscript travelled in the Middle Ages, let alone within Gerald's lifetime. It also raises fascinating questions about where else his books may have travelled.

---

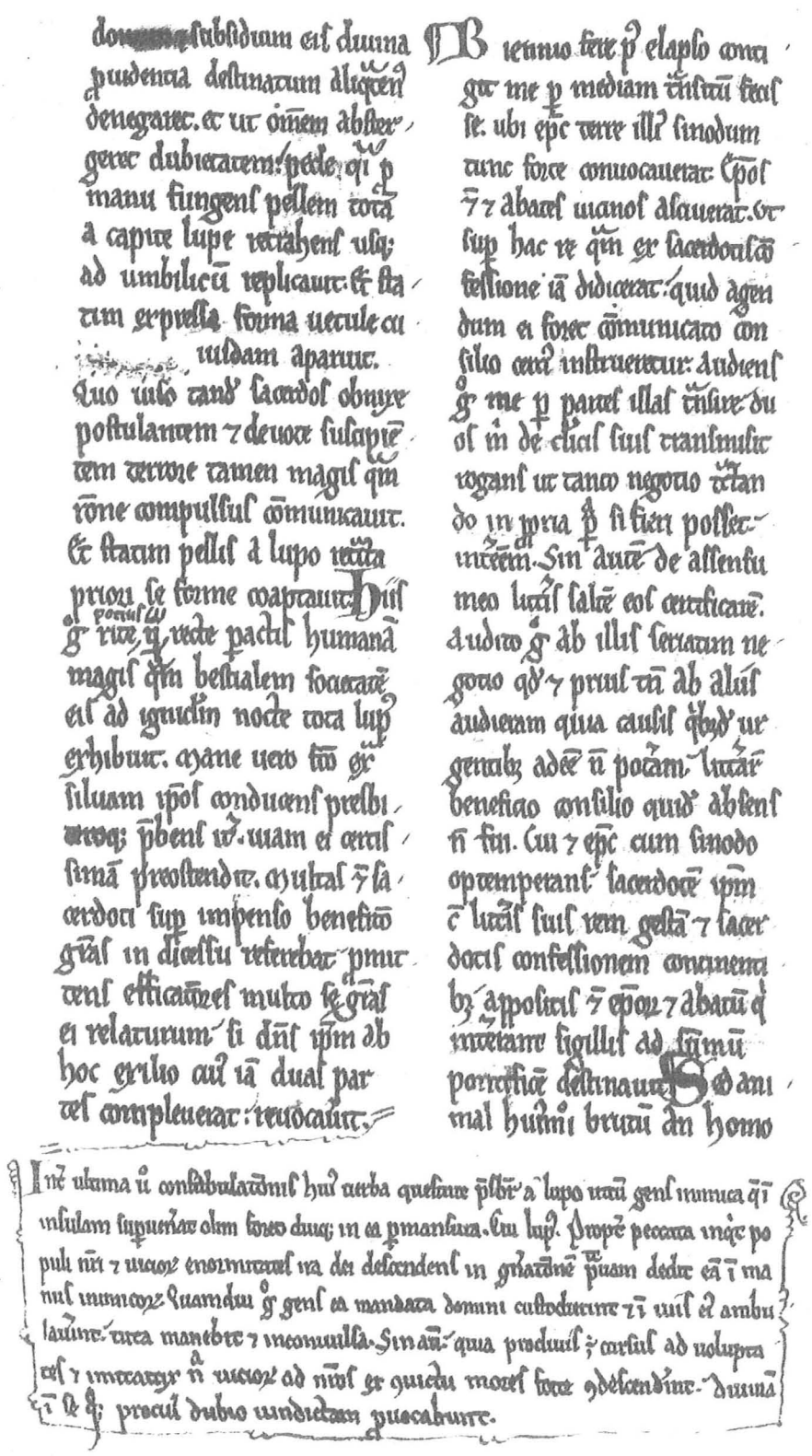
[106] Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln*, pl. 3.
[107] *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, ed. Webber and Watson, p. 17.
[108] Breeze, 'Giraldus Cambrensis and Poland', p. 111.
[109] *Ibid.*



a. CCCC 390, p. 7 (Hand 1) (actual size)

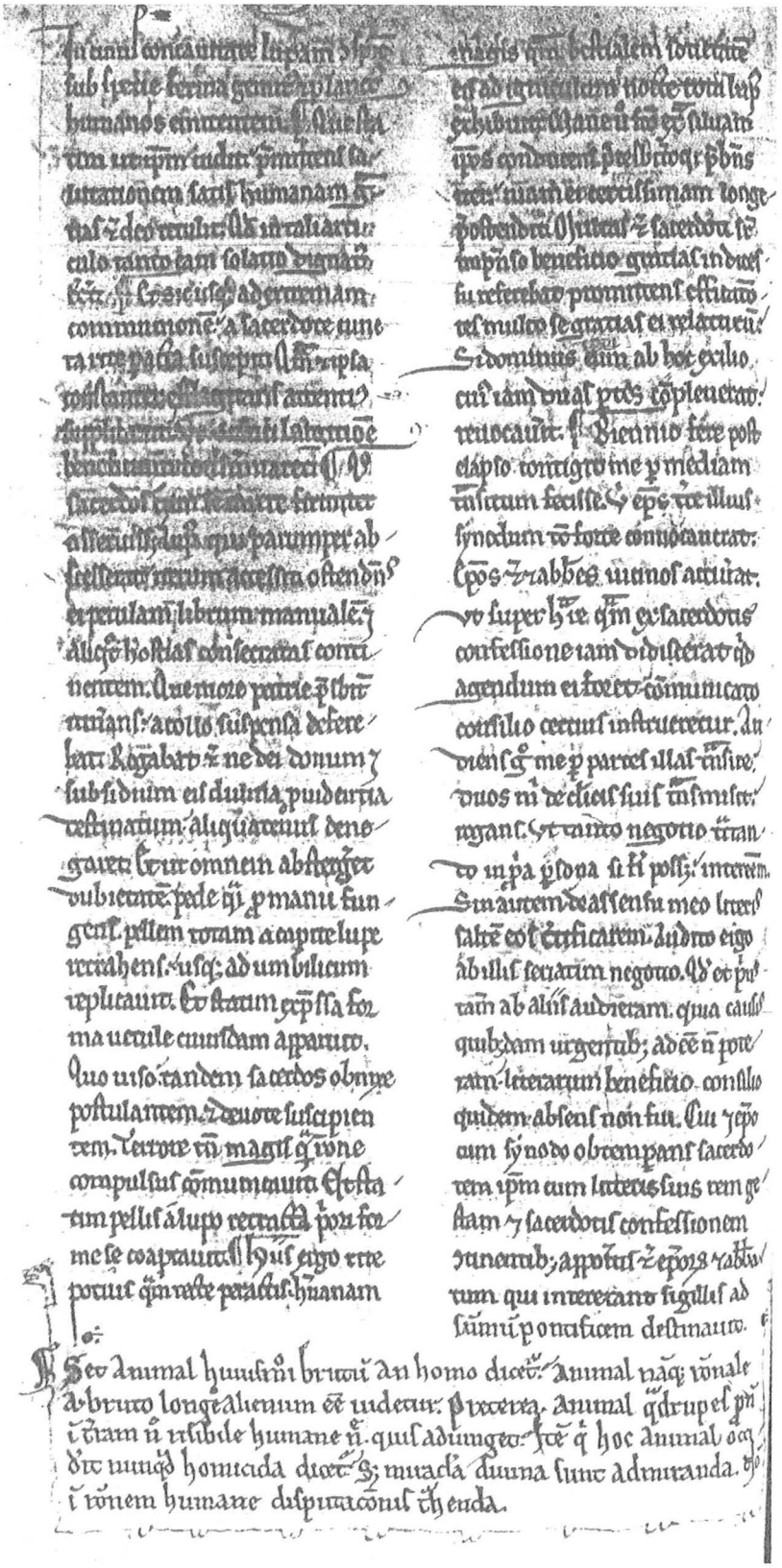
b. TCC R.7.11, 72r (Hand 1) (actual size)

PLATE I



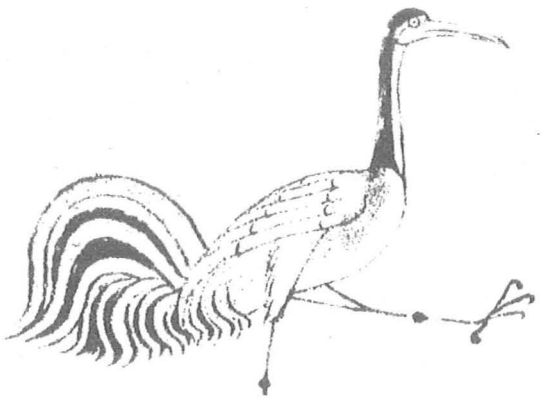
BNF latin 4846, 32r (Hand 1) (actual size)

PLATE II



CCCC 400[B], 23v (Hand 1, lower margin; Hand 3, main text) (actual size)

PLATE III



BL Royal 13.B.viii, 8v (Hand 2) (actual size)

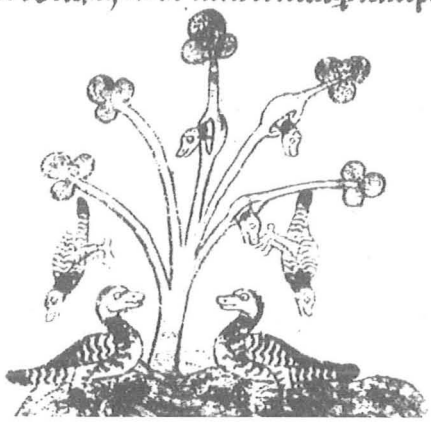
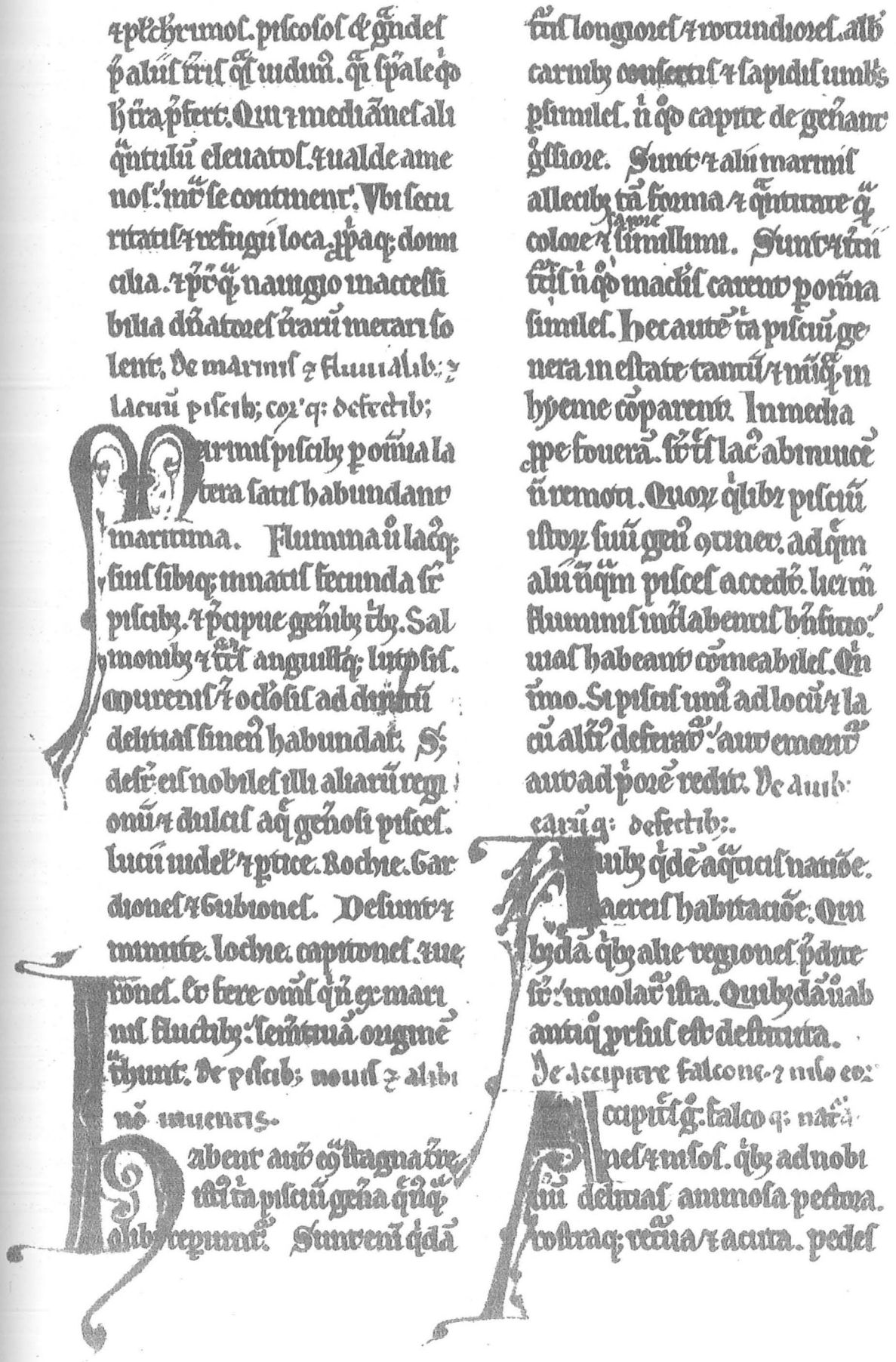
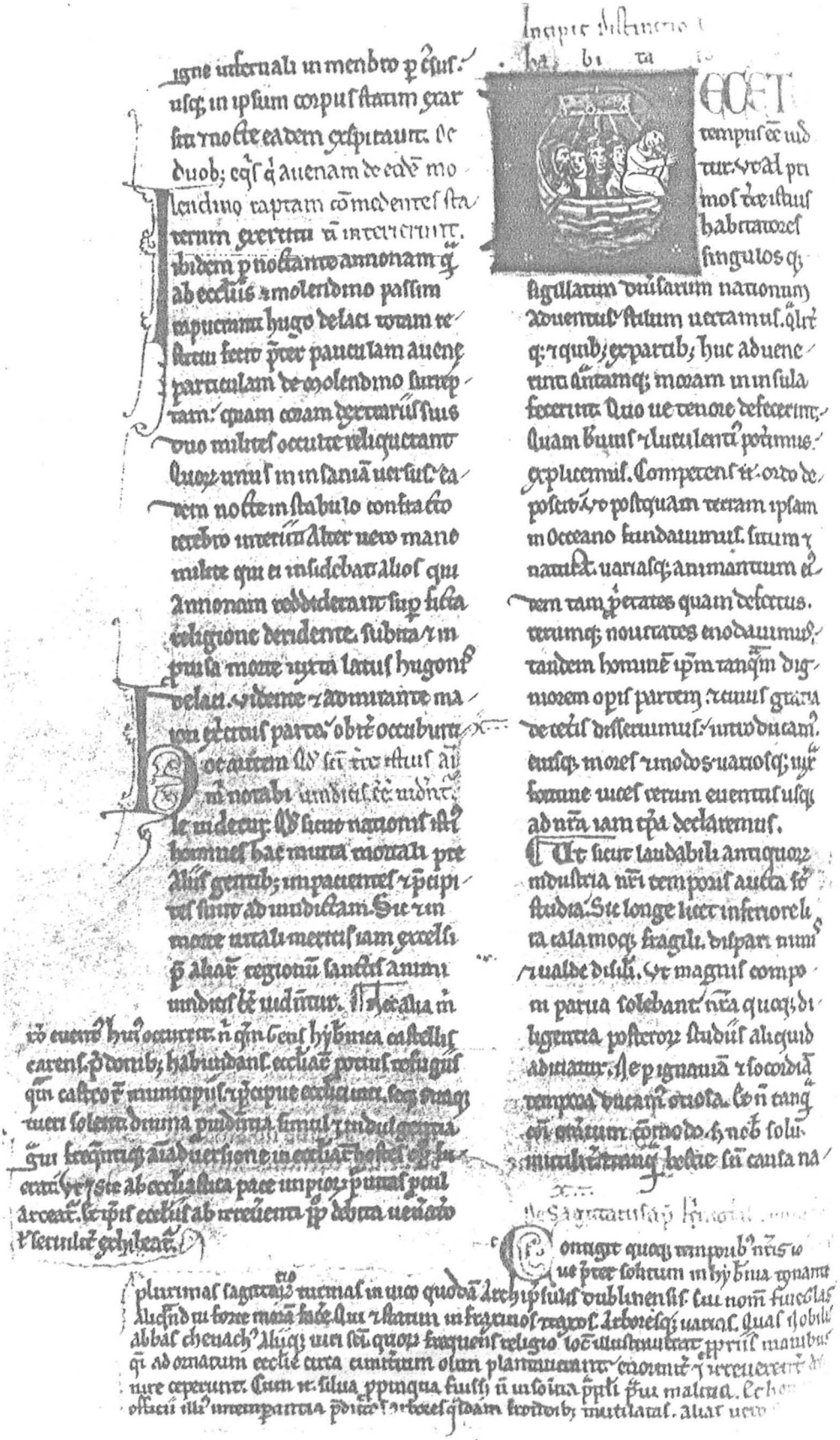


PLATE IV

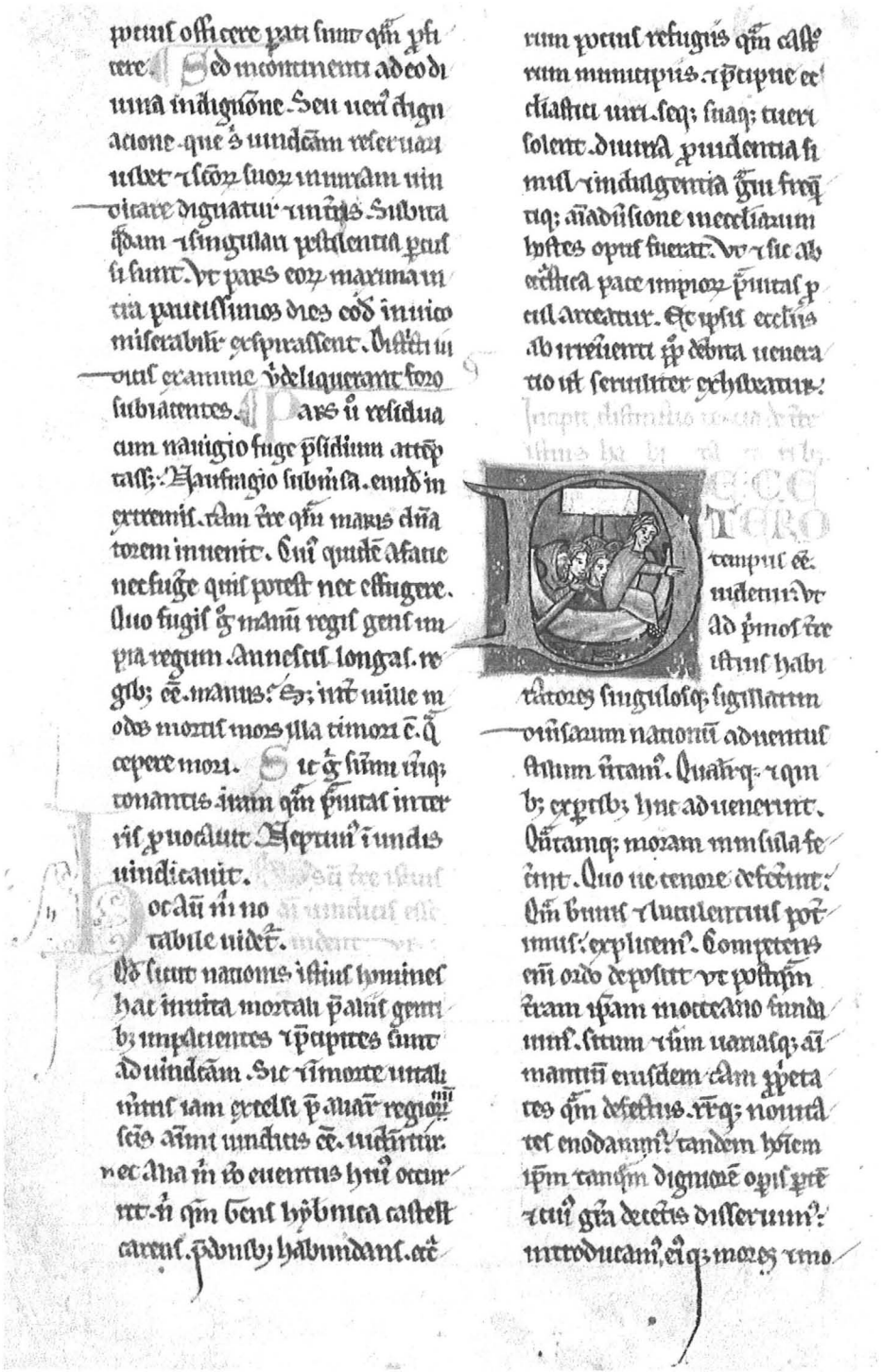


CUL Mm.5.30, 4r (Hand 2) (actual size)

PLATE V



CCCC 400[B], 31v (Hand 3) (actual size)

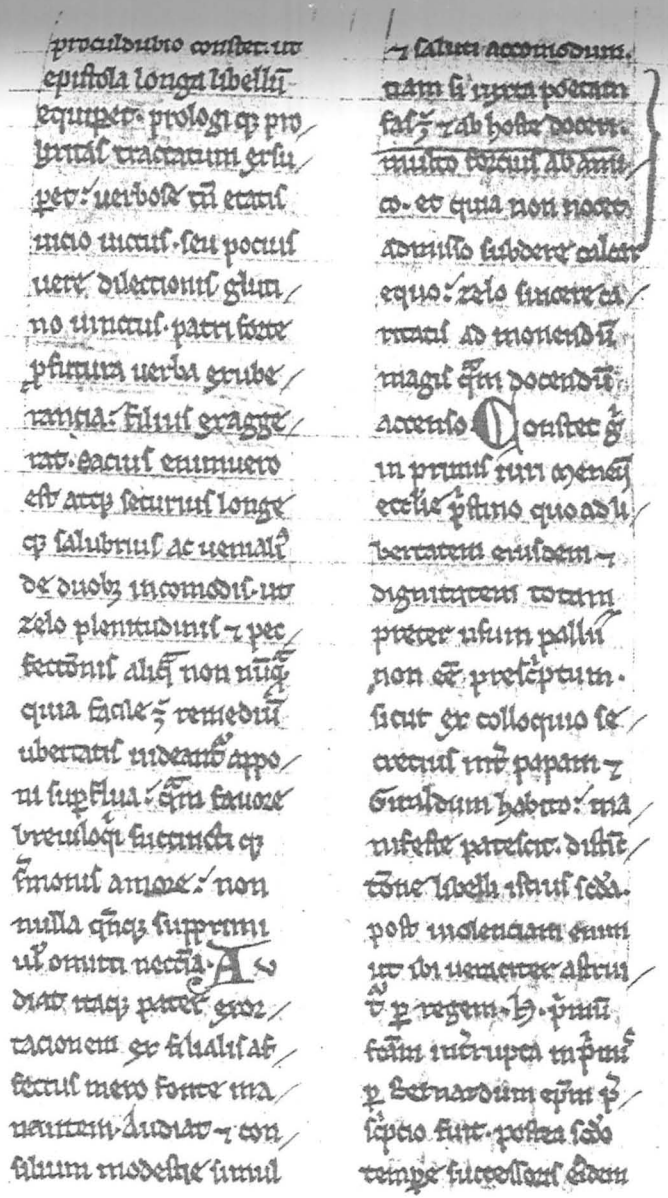


Bodleian Rawlinson B.483, 17v (Hand 3) (actual size)

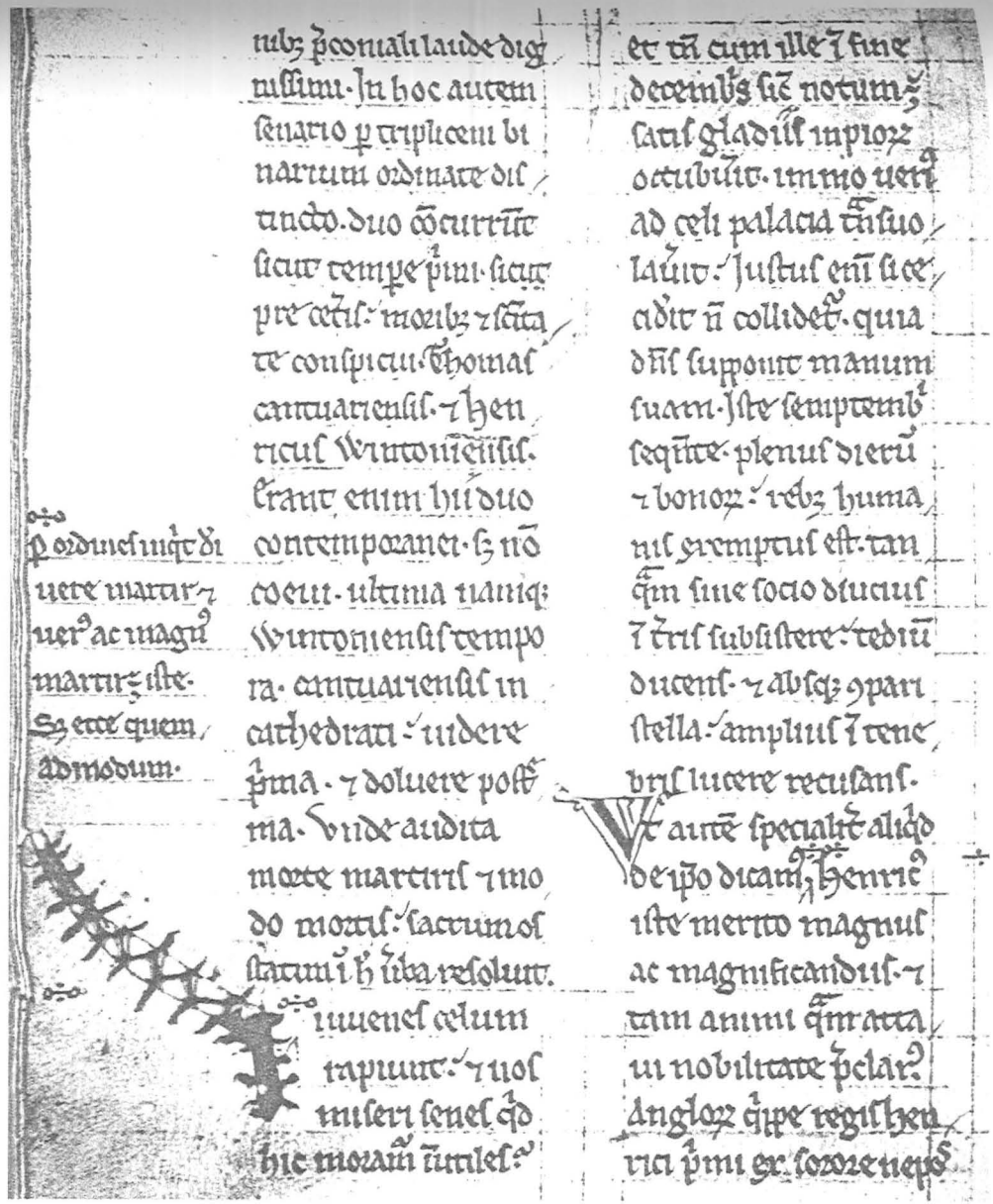
PLATE VII

BL Additional 44922, 77r (Hand 3) (actual size)

PLATE VIII

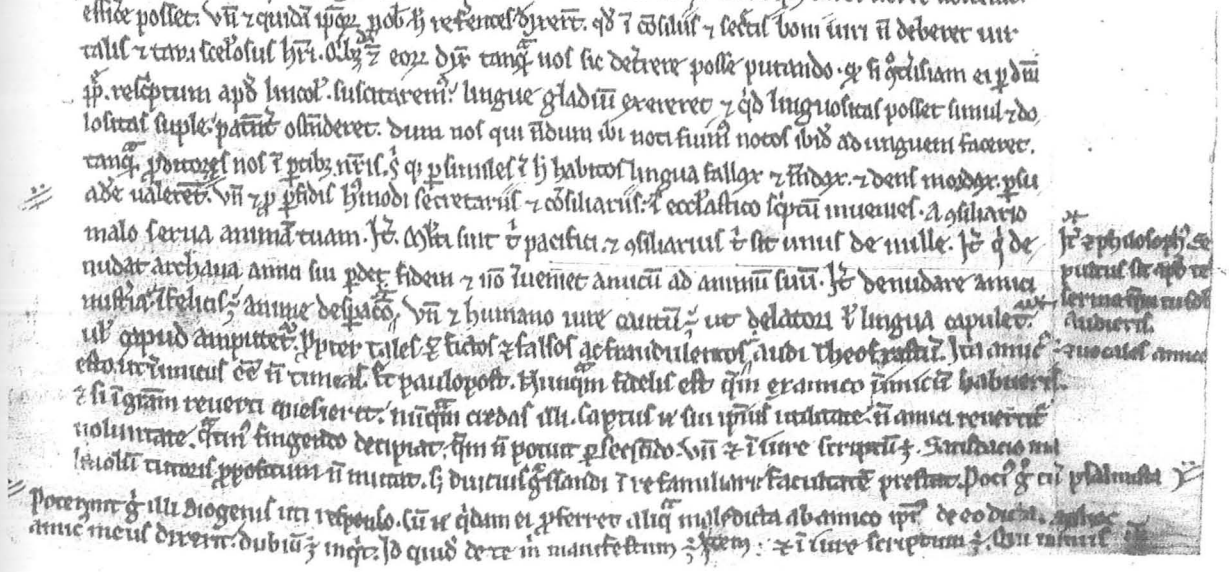


a. CCCC 400[D], p. 9 (Hand 4) (actual size)

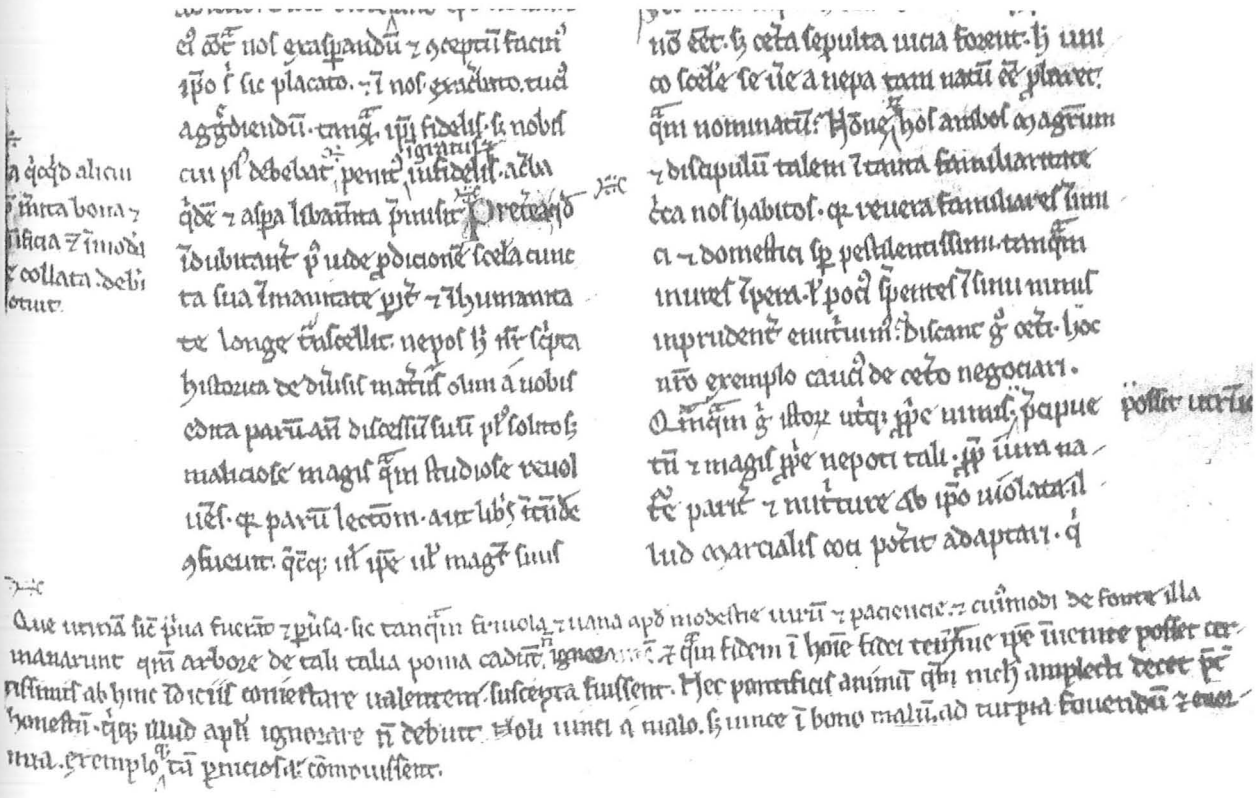


b. CCCC 425, p. 46 (Hand 4) (actual size)

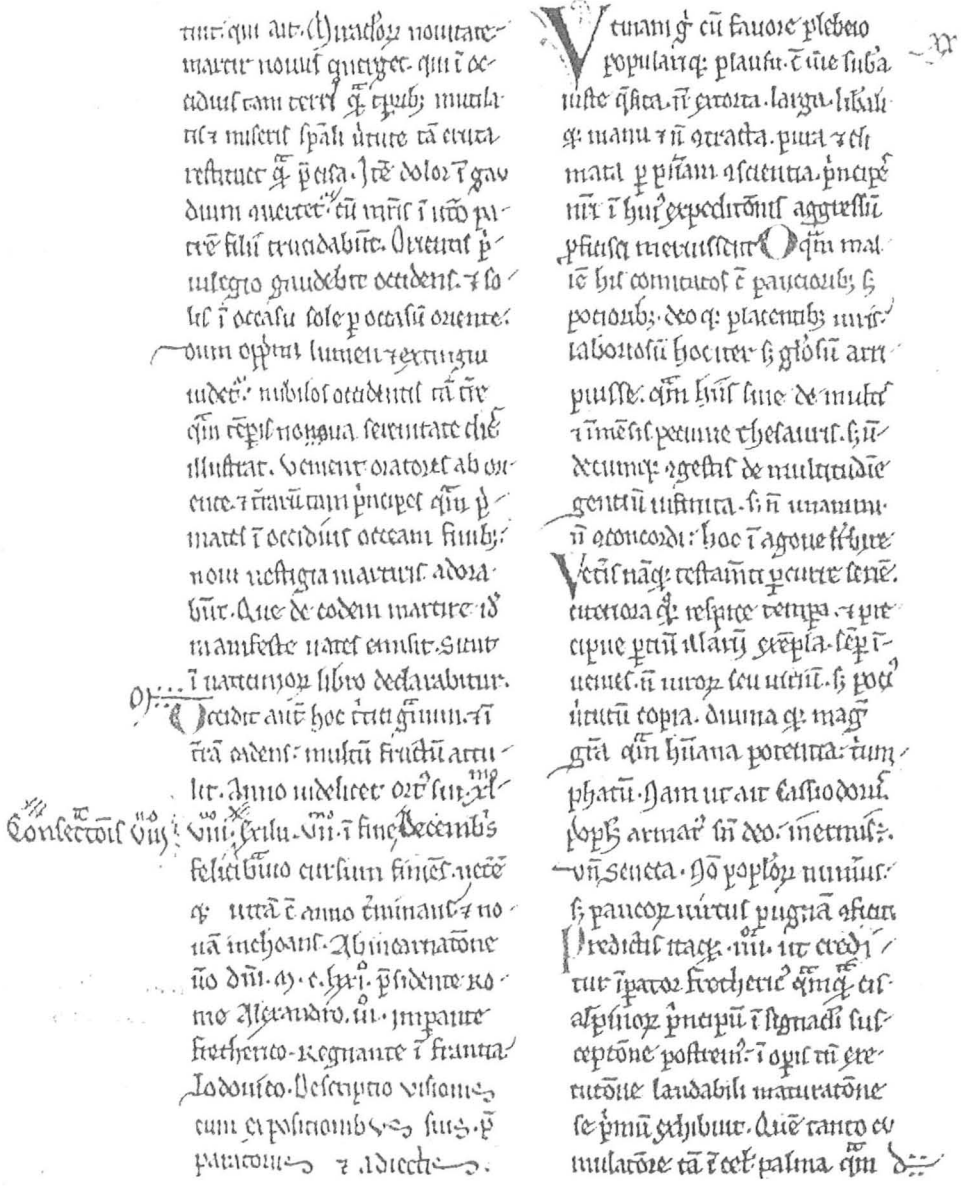
PLATE IX



a. BAV Reg. Lat. 470, 69r (Hand 4, lines 1-13) (actual size)

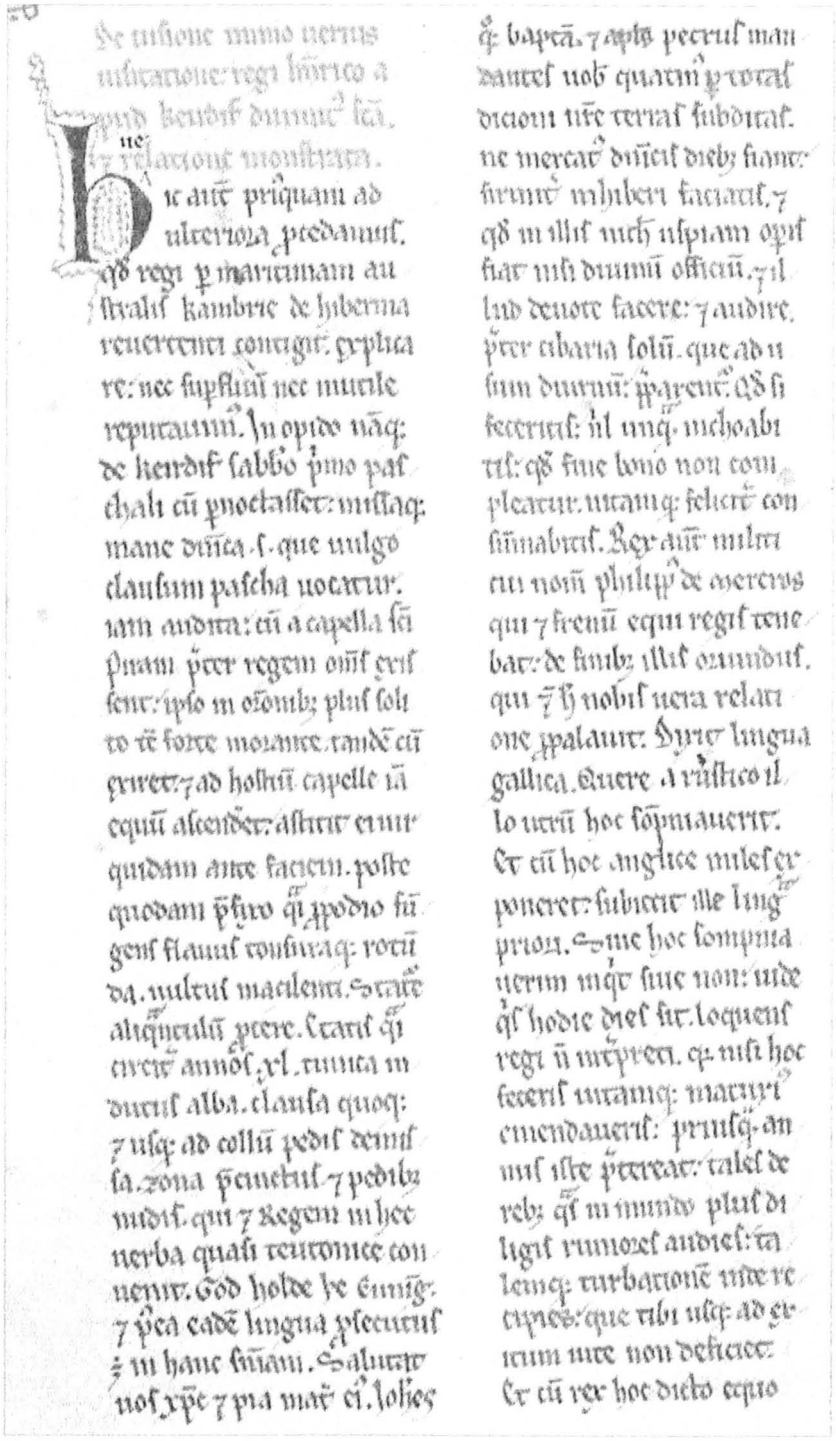


b. BAV Reg. Lat. 470, 75r (Hand 4) (actual size)

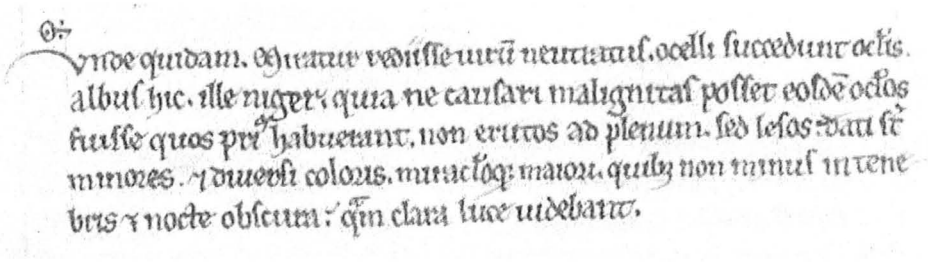


TCC R.7.11, 59v (Hand 5) (actual size)

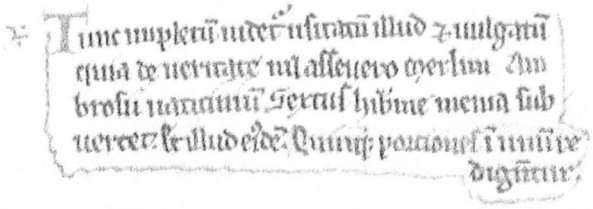
PLATE XI



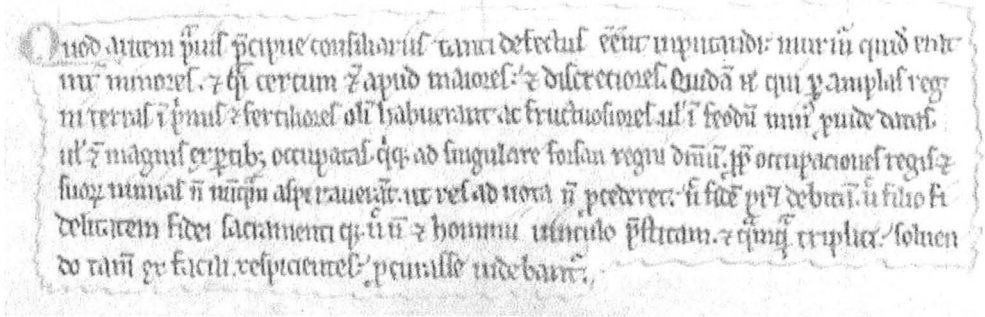
NLI 700, 69r (Hand 5) (actual size)



a. NLI 700, 62r, lower margin (Hand 5) (actual size)



b. NLI 700, 66r, lower margin (Hand 5) (actual size)



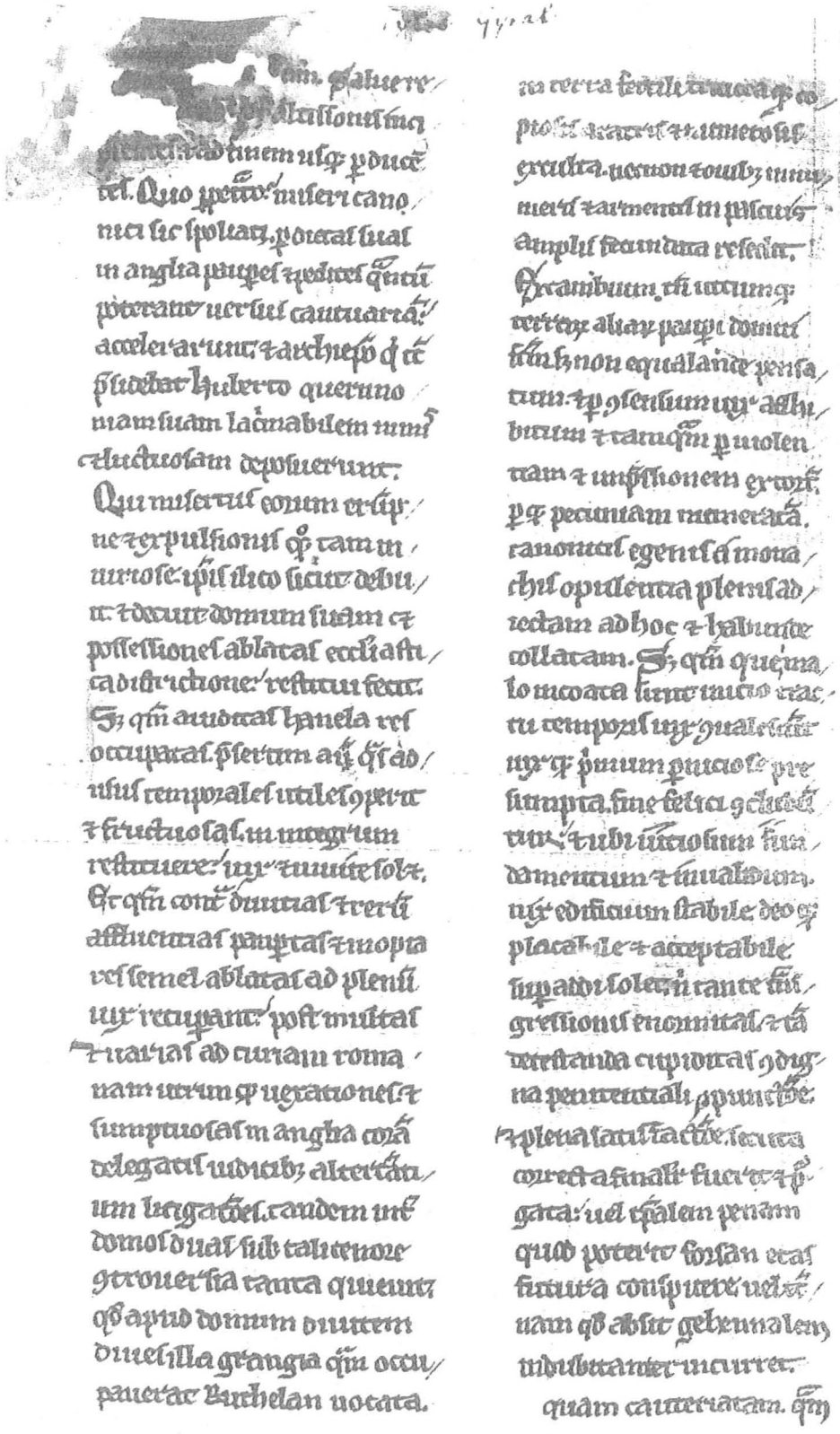
c. NLI 700, 94r, lower margin (Hand 5) (actual size)

Plate XIII

NLI 700, 54r (Hand 5) (actual size)

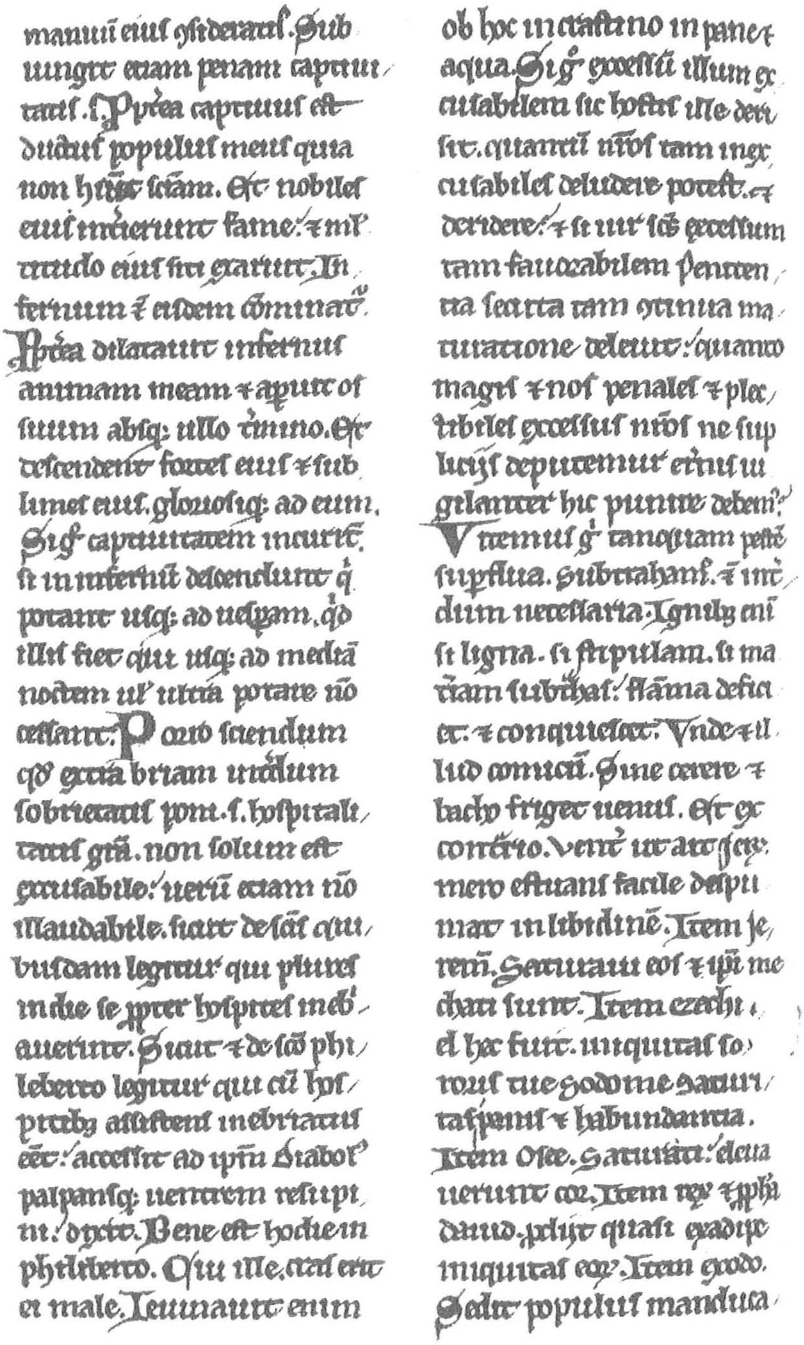
PLATE XIV

BAV Reg. Lat. 470, 84r (Hand 5) (actual size)



BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii, 68v (Hand 6) (actual size)

Plate XVI



manuum eius considerans. Sub
iungit etiam penam captiui
tatis. s. Propterea captiuus est
ductus populus meus quia
non habuit scientiam. Et nobiles
eius interierunt fame. et mul
titudo eius siti exaruit. In
fernum et eadem comminatur.
Propterea dilatauit infernus
animam meam et aperuit os
suum absque ullo termino. Et
descendent fortes eius et sub
limes eius. gloriosique ad eum.
Sic ergo captiuitatem incurrit.
si in infernum descenderunt qui
potant usque ad uesperam. quod
illis fiet qui usque ad mediam
noctem uel ultra potare non
cessant. Porro sciendum
quod gratia briam inuitum
sobrietatis potius. s. hospitali
tatis gratia. non solum est
excusabile: uerum etiam non
illaudabile. sicut de sanctis qui
busdam legitur qui plures
in die se propter hospites inebri
auerint. Sicut et de sancto phi
liberto legitur qui cum hos
pitibus assidens inebriatus
esset: accessit ad ipsum diabolus
palpansque uentrem resupi
ni: dixit. Bene est hodie in
philiberto. Cui ille. ita erit
et male. Ieiunauit enim

ob hoc in castrano in pane et
aqua. Si ergo excessum illum ex
cusabilem sic hostis ille deci
pit. quanto magis nos tam inex
cusabiles deludere potest. et
deridere. et si nos sanctus excessum
tam fauorabilem peniten
tia secuta tam continua ma
ceratione deleuit: quanto
magis et nos penales et plec
tibiles excessus nostros ne sup
plicijs deputemur eternis in
gemiscere hic punire debemus.
Vitemus ergo tanquam pestem
superflua. subtrahamus etiam
dum necessaria. Ignibus enim
si ligna. si stipulam. si ma
teriam subtrahas: flamma defici
et. et conquiescet. Unde et il
lud comicum. Sine cerere et
bacho friget uenus. Et ex
contrario. Venter uino ferue
mero estuans facile despu
mat in libidinem. Item Je
remias. Saturaui eos et ipsi me
chati sunt. Item ezechi
el. hec fuit iniquitas so
roris tue sodome saturi
tas panis et habundantia.
Item Osee. Saturati: eleua
uerunt cor. Item rex et propheta
dauid. prodijt quasi ex adipe
iniquitas eorum. Item exodo.
Sedit populus manduca

Lambeth 236, 114v (Hand 6) (actual size)

PLATE XVII

CHAPTER IV

THE LATER MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS

There are forty-five manuscripts containing works of Gerald which may be classed as 'later medieval', that is datable between the mid-thirteenth century and c. 1540. In the present context I have defined later medieval as after Gerald's lifetime, that is mid-thirteenth century to 1540. In this chapter I shall examine the various aspects of these manuscripts which may act as a starting-point for understanding the reception of Gerald's works in the centuries after his death.

TEXTS

Topographia hibernica

Twenty-four (just over half) of the medieval manuscripts contain *Topographia hibernica.* As with the early manuscripts, this shows it to be the most popular of Gerald's works in this period too. Five of these – Cambridge Caius 290/682, CUL Mm.2.18, BL Cotton Claudius E.viii, BL Royal 14.C.vi and JRUL 217 – contain only extracts.

Of the remaining twenty, three – BL Additional 19513, BL Additional 17920 and BL Harley 4003 – contain an abbreviated text. In Harley 4003 text not concerned with the main subject of Ireland has been omitted, but in Additional 19513 the text has been more extensively reworked, for example by abandoning the three-*Distinctio* structure and merging some chapters. BL Additional 17920 is a Provençal translation of the text in Additional 19513.[1]

Only a fragment of the text remains in BL Royal 13.B.xviii.

The full texts of *Topographia hibernica* are of the following editions:

[1] These two manuscripts are discussed further below, pp. 171, 173 and 190–1.

- First: Cambridge Peterhouse 177, Cambridge St Catharine's 3, BL Harley 3724, BL Royal 13.B.xviii, College of Arms Vincent 418, Bodleian Tanner 2, BNF latin 11111.
- Second: Leiden BPL 13.
- Third: Cambridge Emmanuel 1.1.3, Bodleian Bodley 511.
- Fourth: CUL Ff.1.27, part 2.
- Fifth: NLW 3074D, BL Harley 4003, BL Cotton Cleopatra D.v, BL Royal 13.A.xiv, Lambeth 622, Bodleian Laud Misc. 720, BNF latin 4126.

Extracts were taken from the following editions:

- Second: CUL Mm.2.18.
- Fifth: Cambridge Caius 290/682.
- Unknown: BL Cotton Claudius E.viii and Royal 14.C.vi (but at least the third edition), JRUL 217.

The abbreviation in BL Additional 19513 and the translation which was derived from it in BL Additional 17920 have readings of both the first and the fifth editions.

The fifth and first editions are therefore the best-represented editions in the medieval manuscript-record, with eight witnesses each. The survival of several copies of the first edition is interesting, given both that Gerald produced another four editions after it and considering that he seems to have recalled copies of previous editions of his works when he had produced another one.[2] The survival of the first edition, therefore, would depend on either how much it had been copied by scribes not working for Gerald before the second edition was issued, or whether Gerald did not, for whatever reason, recall some copies.

The text of Bodleian Laud Misc. 720 is anomalous in that it contains, with a text of the fifth edition, the letter from Gerald to William de Vere, bishop of Ely 1186–99, recommending certain parts of *Topographia hibernica* for particular attention. All the other manuscripts which carry this letter contain copies of the third edition.[3] Also, in all the

---

[2] See *Epistola ad Capitulum Herfordense*, in *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, I, 409, in which Gerald asked the canons of Hereford Cathedral to return a volume containing *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica* in exchange for an emended copy (discussed above, pp. 156–7).

[3] CCCC 400[B], Cambridge Emmanuel 1.1.3, BL Additional 33991, BL Arundel 14, BL Harley 359, Bodleian Bodley 511 and BNF latin 4846.

other manuscripts the letter appears after the end of the text, but in Laud Misc. 720 it appears right at the beginning. It does not seem to have been added separately; it is written in the same hand as the rest of the text and ends on the same page on which the *Introitus in recitationem* begins (134v).[4] It is possible that the copyist or editor of the text in Laud Misc. 720 found the letter in a book different from his exemplar and decided to include it, or that this had already happened in the exemplar. No other fifth-edition copy contains the letter.

Expugnatio hibernica

Nineteen of the medieval manuscripts contain *Expugnatio hibernica.* Of these, five – Cambridge Caius 290/682, TCD 1298, BL Cotton Claudius E.viii, Royal 14.C.vi and JRUL 217 – contain only extracts. In TCD 1298 the extracts are in Irish translation. BL Harley 177 contains an abbreviated text, with the non-historical content mostly omitted. Four manuscripts – TCD 592, BL Additional 40674, Lambeth 598 and Bodleian Rawlinson B.490 – contain an abbreviated Middle-English translation which will be discussed further below.[5] The text of CUL Additional 3392 is incomplete at the end, and Bodleian Rawlinson D.125 has only one bifolium, containing text from the middle of II.7 to the middle of II.13.[6]

Of the ten full (or what were once full) Latin copies of *Expugnatio hibernica* CUL Ff.1.27 part 2 contains a text of the early (but not earliest) α-recension; CUL Additional 3392 and BL Harley 177, which are closely related to each other, carry an intermediate stage of the α-recension. The other seven copies are of the β-recension. Extracts were taken from a text not earlier than the later stages of the α-recension for BL Cotton Claudius E.viii and Royal 14.C.vi and from one of the β-recension for Cambridge Caius

[4] Dimock, *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 203, n. 1.
[5] See below, pp. 187–90.
[6] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, pp. xxxix, 150–62.

290/682. Those in JRUL 217 come from an α-recension exemplar, but not of the earliest stage of that recension. The extracts in TCD 1298 are in Irish: since I have no knowledge of Irish, I could not determine their textual history. The Middle English translation derives from a text of an intermediate stage of the α-recension.

As with *Topographia hibernica*, the latest version of the text is the best represented, with eight witnesses.

Itinerarium Kambriae

There are only four manuscripts containing *Itinerarium Kambriae*, and one of those, BL Harley 912, contains only extracts. One copy of *Itinerarium Kambriae*, CUL Ff.1.27 part 2, is of the first edition. The copies in NLW 3024C and BL Cotton Domitian A.i and the extracts in BL Harley 912 are of the third edition.

Descriptio Kambriae

No copy of *Descriptio Kambriae* written in Gerald's lifetime survives; it is better represented in this period, with six surviving copies of which one (Harley 912 again) is extracts. Three of the six copies (BL Cotton Nero D.viii, Cotton Vitellius C.x and Royal 13.C.iii) contain copies of the first edition, which means that they also have the missing and misplaced text noted by Dimock. The other three copies, in NLW 3024C, BL Cotton Domitian A.i and BL Harley 912, are of the second/third edition.

Other works of Gerald are not well-represented in manuscripts of the later Middle Ages, although the only surviving copies of *Vita Sancti Ethelberti* (in TCC B.11.16), *De principis instructione* (in BL Cotton Julius B.xiii) and *Vita Sancti Dauidis* (in BL Royal 13.C.i) are from this period. TCD 592 contains that short work which is in fact an extract from *De*

inuectionibus but was edited by Brewer as a separate work entitled *De Giraldo archidiacono Meneuensi*.[7] BL Cotton Cleopatra D.v contains *Symbolum electorum*.

COMBINATIONS OF WORKS

There are six manuscripts – NLW 3074D, CUL Ff.1.27, part 2, BL Cotton Cleopatra D.v, BL Harley 4003, BL Royal 13.A.xiv and Lambeth 622 – which contain both *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica*; Ff.1.27 also contains *Itinerarium Kambriae* and Cleopatra D.v also contains *Symbolum electorum*. All except Ff.1.27 contain the fifth edition of *Topographia hibernica* and the β-recension of *Expugnatio hibernica*, that is the ultimate version of both texts.[8] Scott has suggested that NLW 3074D, BL Royal 13.A.xiv and Lambeth 622 are descended from NLI 700, the only early manuscript to contain the β recension of *Expugnatio hibernica*, and (tentatively) that Cleopatra D.v, Harley 4003 and Royal 14.C.xiii may also have a common parent with NLI 700.[9] NLI 700 is certainly the only early manuscript to contain these late editions of the texts about Ireland, and its extensive alterations may show that it was the first manuscript in which these additions were effected. There may, however, have been others which have not survived, including the parent of NLI 700 mentioned by Scott.

There are only three manuscripts containing both *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Descriptio Kambriae*: NLW 3024C, BL Cotton Domitian A.i and BL Harley 912. All of these, including the extracts in Harley 912, are of the latest editions of both texts.

---

[7] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, I, 397–9 and III, 88–91.
[8] Ff.1.27 contains the fourth edition of *Topographia hibernica* and an early stage of the α-recension of *Expugnatio hibernica*; it has been shown to be a copy of BL Royal 13.B.viii.
[9] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, pp. xxxix, l–li.

Most of the medieval manuscripts contain works of other authors as well as those of Gerald. This can range from only one other work to a large collection of which Gerald's text(s) form(s) only a small part.

Some manuscripts contain only one other work (sometimes with a few small articles added). Cambridge Emmanuel 1.1.3 and Royal 13.B.xviii contain copies of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (accompanied in Royal 13.B.xviii by a couple of short historical summaries and a letter).[10] Leiden BPL 13 contains a copy of Solinus's *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*. BL Cotton Domitian A.i contains a copy of *Annales Cambriae*. BL Harley 4003 and Bodleian Laud Misc. 720 contain copies of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, in the former case accompanied by a chronological list of events and a history from the time of King Ine.[11]

In many manuscripts, however, the Giraldian work is only one of many works. The accompanying works are usually of a historical or religious nature. Histories of England feature often – for example, works by Henry of Huntingdon,[12] Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*,[13] summaries and chronicles. Works describing the lands of the East occur surprisingly frequently;[14] this suggests that Gerald's works on the lands of the West were seen as of the same genre as travel-literature on the East. Works on Alexander the Great also occur a few times.[15] BL Harley 912, a large collection of extracts, has a definite

---

[10] 'Summula metrica excerpta de libro qui intitulatur de gestis anglorum', 1r–3v; a similar summary from Alfred to Henry III, 4r; a letter of Otto, Cardinal-deacon, announcing his appointment as legate to England, Ireland, and Wales, February 1237, 101r–v.

[11] A chronological list of events, 78r–80v; 'Fragmentum historiae breuioris ab Ina rege incipiens', 142r–153v.

[12] Cambridge St Catharine's 3, CUL Additional 3392, BL Cotton Claudius E.viii and Royal 14.C.vi and College of Arms Vincent 418.

[13] Cambridge Peterhouse 177, BL Cotton Nero D.viii, BL Royal 13.C.iii, BL Royal 14.C.xiii, JRUL 217 and BNF latin 4126 (extracts).

[14] For example, Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis* (CCCC 66A, BL Additional 19513, BL Harley 912 and BL Royal 14.C.xiii); *Liber tartarorum* (CCCC 66A, BL Royal 13.A.xiv); Marco Polo's *De condicionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum* (BL Additional 19513, BL Royal 14.V.xiii). BL Additional 19513 also contains Jordan Catala's *Mirabilia* and Marino Sanudo's *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*.

[15] In Cambridge St Catharine's 3, BL Cotton Cleopatra D.v and BNF latin 4126.

religious theme, as do many of the works in BL Harley 3724 and Royal 13.A.xiv. The extracts from *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Descriptio Kambriae* focus on miracles. CUL Mm.2.18 is unusual in that it mostly contains scientific and mathematical works; the place of extracts from *Topographia hibernica* in this collection is not quite clear.

Sometimes the Giraldian work (almost always in the form of extracts) appears only on a flyleaf, apparently as an afterthought. In JRUL 217, for example, an account of the invasions of Ireland (taken from *Topographia hibernica*) with the papal privileges for the twelfth-century English invasion of Ireland (from *Expugnatio hibernica*) appear on two flyleaves preceding Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*. In Cambridge Caius 290/682 extracts from *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica* are found, along with many other small works, in the margins of a copy of Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*. In TCD 515 *De Giraldo archidiacono Meneuensi* takes up only one page in a manuscript of miscellaneous content.

BL Cotton Claudius E.viii and Royal 14.C.vi constitute a special case. In both manuscripts, the Giraldian work (extracts from *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica*) forms part of the prefatory matter to *Flores historiarum*, a continuation of Matthew Paris's *Chronica maiora*, attributed to 'Matthew of Westminster'. Claudius E.viii is datable to about 1400; Royal 14.C.vi is the earlier of the two, being datable to the early fourteenth century.[16] The prefatory matter they contain is slightly different, with more in Claudius E.viii. According to Henry Luard, the text of *Flores historiarum* in Royal 14.C.vi contains many additions relating to the monastery of St Benet Holme in Norfolk and the diocese of Norwich, many of which are also in Claudius E.viii; but both manuscripts contain additions to the text peculiar to them.[17] One of the additions in Claudius E.viii is an extract from *Expugnatio hibernica*.[18]

---

[16] See below, p. 181.
[17] *Flores historiarum*, ed. Luard, I, xxii–xxvi.
[18] See above, pp. 67–8.

The time-span covered by the word 'medieval' is considerably larger than that covered by what I termed 'early' in Chapter III. That was at most a mere forty years, namely the time from the publication of Gerald's first work (about 1188) to his death (about 1223). 'Late medieval' extends from the mid-thirteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth century – almost three hundred years. A great deal of variety in the appearance of Giraldian manuscripts may be observed over this time.

Script

Later medieval manuscripts are all written in some form of Gothic script, which has been divided by Albert Derolez into two basic types, Textualis and Cursiva,[19] and three levels of execution: Formata, Libraria and Currens.[20] Textualis is distinguished by the use of two-compartment **a**; ascenders of **b**, **h**, **k** and **l** without loops; and **f** and straight **s** sitting on the line without descenders.[21] Cursiva is distinguished by the use of single-compartment **a**; ascenders with loops to the right; and descending **f** and straight **s**.[22] Derolez has subdivided Cursiva into two types which he has called Antiquior and Recentior. Cursiva Antiquior[23] is characterised by the use of two-compartment **a** and was particularly widespread as a book-script in England – Malcolm Parkes called it Anglicana.[24] It was also found to a lesser extent in Germany, Austria, Central Europe and Scandinavia, but mostly not as a book-script.[25]

There are twenty-two Giraldian manuscripts written in Textualis. Two stand out as the most formal examples: NLW 3074D and BL Cotton Claudius E.viii. NLW 3074D

[19] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, especially chapters 4, 6–8.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 21. Derolez has defined Formata as 'a careful, highly formal, calligraphic level of execution', Libraria as 'a medium level' and Currens as 'a rapid, inferior level of writing'.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 73.
[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 125–33, 142.
[23] *Ibid.*, chapter 7.
[24] Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands*, especially pp. xiv–xxv.
[25] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, p. 134.

(rather surprisingly, as this manuscript is not particularly formal in its decoration) contains the most formal script: Textus Quadratus, a type of Textualis Formata distinguished by small diamond-shaped serifs or quadrangles at the top and bottom of minim-strokes. Other notable features are an *et*-nota crossed by two strokes and **x** with a cross-stroke, both typically English features. The use of both two-compartment ('double-bow') **a** and 'box'-**a**, with double-bow **a** occurring more often, suggests that the script is either Variant I or Variant IV of Wolfgang Oeser's system of classification.[26]

BL Cotton Claudius E.viii, in its size and decoration one of the most *de luxe* Giraldian manuscripts, is written in a narrow Textus Rotundus, a type of Textualis Formata with small curled- or ticked-up feet on minim-strokes. This script has double-bow **a** at the beginning of words, but box-**a** in all other positions, making it Variant V of Oeser's classification.[27] It also has crossed **x** and is elaborated with many small hairlines, which, for example, hang vertically from the right-hand end of the cross-stroke of **c** and **t**, on the abbreviation-mark for *er/re* and hang from the right-hand end of the headstroke of the *et*-nota (this stroke ends in a little curl).

In most of the manuscripts written in Textualis, it is of the Formata level of execution, but there are a few examples of less formal hands which may be classified as Libraria in Derolez's system – in BL Harley 4003, Royal 13.A.xiv and Royal 13.B.xviii. The hand in Harley 4003 is rapidly written with quite a narrow pen; the letters have small bodies and long descenders (ascenders are not as long). The ascenders are split at the top, almost forked, especially on **h**, suggesting influence from early Anglicana (English Cursiva Antiquior). The hand of Royal 13.A.xiv, in contrast, is wide and heavily shaded, with very little elaboration of the tops of ascenders, and has a two-compartment **a** with the upper lobe open (the Protogothic form of **a** rather than the typical Gothic box- or

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 85–6; Oeser, 'Das "a"', pp. 30–1 and 37–9.
[27] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, pp. 85–6; Oeser, 'Das "a"', pp. 39–40.

double-bow **a**). The hand of Royal 13.B.xviii is also written with a rather thick pen and the minim-strokes are unadorned at the top. The scribe often used 'trailing' **s** instead of round **s** at the end of words.

The script of BL Additional 17920 has most of the typical features of Northern Textualis: a narrow, angular aspect, round **d** with a diagonal ascender, 8-shaped **g**, **h** with a descending limb and small curled-up feet on minim-strokes. However, there are a few features which are more typical of Southern Textualis (Rotunda): 1) ascenders which are not bifurcated but have a fine, straight horizontal hairline extending to the left from just below the top (or, in the case of **l**, a horizontal serif across the top); 2) two-compartment **a** with a small lower lobe and a tall, open upper lobe; 3) a long thin cross-stroke on **p** in the abbreviation of *per* and 4) a scarcity of additional decorative hairlines (found only occasionally on round **r** and the cross-stroke of **t**). It also has both straight and round **s** at the end of words, which is not unknown in Northern Textualis but is more common in Southern Textualis. This suggests a place of origin where there was influence from Southern Textualis. André de Mandach and Wilhelmina Wüstefeld, in their studies of this manuscript, have described it as a hand of the Midi-area of France.[28] This fits with the fact that the text with which I am concerned is a Provençal translation of an abbreviated version of *Topographia hibernica.*

BL Harley 3724 is written in a very unusual script, which was described by Dimock as 'a curious un-English-looking hand, the date of which I do not feel at all able to pretend to decide'.[29] It has two-lobed **a**, the ascenders of **b**, **h**, **k** and **l** without loops and straight **s** sitting on the line, which are all criteria for Textualis; but **f** descends slightly, which is a criterion for Cursiva. There are other cursive features in the script: looped **d** and **w**, **r** with a descender (according to Derolez one of the most distinctive features of

[28] De Mandach, 'Le problème', p. 643; Wüstefeld, 'Le manuscrit', p. 102.
[29] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, xii.

English Cursiva Antiquior)[30] and **ff** for **F** at the beginning of words.[31] There are also features which, while not strictly cursive, do suggest a slightly low level of execution: the tops of ascenders (and the stem of **p**) are sometimes unadorned and sometimes have a little curve to the left, and the eye of word-final **e** is sometimes drawn only as an arbitrary stroke rather than as the proper loop (for example, 19v7, *inusitate*). Its two-lobed **a** has the upper lobe open, which Derolez has described as 'extremely rare' in Northern Textualis after about 1300.[32]

There are twenty-one medieval Giraldian manuscripts written in Cursiva. Eight are written in Cursiva Antiquior,[33] six in Cursiva Recentior[34] and four in a hybrid of the two.[35] The examples of Cursiva Antiquior are mostly of a quite high level of execution (Derolez's Libraria or Formata). The use of this script in itself (and the appearance of some features of it in hybrid examples) probably indicates an English origin, and some other features show that it is English rather than Continental Cursiva Antiquior.[36] It is notable that most of the examples datable earlier than the fifteenth century are in manuscripts containing only extracts of Gerald's works – TCD 515,[37] Caius 290/682[38] and BL Harley 912.[39] The only exception is BL Royal 14.C.xiii, which is datable before 1352 but is written in Anglicana. Dimock mistakenly believed that the hand of this

---

[30] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, p. 138.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 88: 'found mostly in documentary script'.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 84.
[33] Cambridge Caius 290/682, TCD 515, BL Cotton Nero D.viii, BL Cotton Vitellius C.x, BL Harley 912, BL Royal 13.C.iii, BL Royal 14.C.xiii and College of Arms Vincent 418.
[34] Cambridge Peterhouse 177, TCD 592, BL Additional 19513, BL Additional 40674, BL Royal 13.C.i and Lambeth 598.
[35] Cambridge Emmanuel 1.1.3, Lambeth 622, JRUL 217 and Bodleian Rawlinson B.490. The remaining three (Bodleian Auctarium D.2.9, Bodley 511 and Tanner 2) will be discussed below, pp. 173–4.
[36] For example the use of descending **r**, round **s** in word-initial position and a descending hairline from the base of round **r**: Derolez, *The Palaeography*, pp. 138–9, 150.
[37] The script of TCD 515 has several features which suggest a thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century date: a slight slope to the left, forking at the top of some of its ascenders (e.g., 11va2 *laborem* (**b**), *multis* (**l**), 11va32 *aliis*) and a very heavy diagonal stroke in the ascender of **d** (e.g. 11va5 *dauid*); *ibid.*, pp. 135–6.
[38] The script of Caius 290/682 appears to be of the middle or end of the fourteenth century: its two-lobed **a** is tall, but it has loopless **d** and shoulderless **r** as variant forms; Derolez, *The Palaeography*, pp. 137–8.
[39] BL Harley 912 has a combination of early and later features which suggests a perhaps mid-fourteenth-century date: **r** with a shoulder, a forked ascender only on initial **I**, and the Insular *est*-symbol are all early, but the use of Textualis **a** and of **v**-shaped **u** with the left limb curving to the right suggests the later fourteenth century; Derolez, *The Palaeography*, pp. 97, 136–9.

manuscript was 'far more like a hand of near upon 1400, than of about 1340';[40] the hand is, however, typical of second-quarter to mid-fourteenth-century Anglicana formata.[41] Nevertheless, the use of Anglicana for a Giraldian manuscript of this date is in itself unusual.

Most of the examples of Cursiva show some features typical of Anglicana which point to their English origin, for example two-lobed **a**, 8-shaped **g** or descending **r**. The script of the Giraldian section of BL Additional 19513, however, is the only example of a manuscript bearing Giraldian text to have been written in a foreign Cursiva. It has single-compartment **a** and a short, Textualis **r**. Several features suggest an Italian or at least Mediterranean origin: the descenders of **f**, **p** and straight **s** are pointed and very upright; the looped ascender of **d** consists of a hairline on the right so that it appears to have been made in a clockwise direction; the limb of **h** descends in a hairline; and the top of **q** is round and quite broad.[42] The large size of the hooks on ascenders and the two-stroke form of **x** suggest a date in the fourteenth century.[43] Wüstefeld has described this hand as 'an Italian cursive chancery hand ... Decoration and handwriting indicate an origin ca. 1330 and show a strong resemblance to manuscripts that were executed in Avignon in the same period'.[44] The other hands in this manuscript are examples of Southern Textualis and Semitextualis, as shown respectively by the use of two-compartment **a** with the upper lobe open and single-compartment **a**.[45]

Bodleian Bodley 511 is written in a type of Cursiva without loops on ascenders. Derolez has named this script Hybrida and has said that it is rare in England.[46] Here it has an unusual form of **g** like that of Caroline script, with an open tail joined to the

---

[40] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, xl. See *The New Palaeographical Society*, ed. Thompson *et al.*, I.2, pl. 143.
[41] Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands*, pl. 4ii.
[42] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, pp. 146, 149, 144, 147.
[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 152–3.
[44] Wüstefeld, 'Two Versions', pp. 291–2. De Mandach, 'Le problème', p. 641.
[45] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, pp. 105, 118.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

bottom of the upper lobe by a short diagonal stroke. The rest of the letter-forms are typical of Cursiva Recentior. Bodleian Tanner 2 is written in a similar script, called Semihybrida by Derolez because some of its ascenders are looped and some are not.[47] Its letter-bodies are small with long ascenders and descenders. Most of its letter-forms are typical of Cursiva Recentior, but it shows some features characteristic of English Cursiva Antiquior – for example, descending **r** (as a variant) and double **f** used as **F** (at the beginning of words).

The script of the Giraldian part of Bodleian Auctarium D.2.9 is rather unusual. It is cursive in its general aspect (that is, small and written with a thin pen), but some of its letter-forms do not conform to Derolez's criteria for Cursiva: the ascenders of **b**, **h**, **k** and **l** are not looped, and **f** sits on the line. Straight **s** sometimes sits on the line and sometimes descends slightly. **a** is either small and single-compartment or tall and two-compartment, but unlike the typical Anglicana **a** the two-compartment **a** has an open upper lobe as in Caroline minuscule. **r** sits on the line, unlike the typical Anglicana **r**.

The rough division of the script of the medieval manuscripts into Textualis in the fourteenth century and Cursiva in the fifteenth bears out Malcolm Parkes's comment that Textualis became more artificial and difficult to write in the fourteenth century and was replaced, except for *de luxe* books and display-purposes, by cursive book-scripts.[48]

TCD 1298 is written in Gaelic National Hand, a late development of the Insular script used in Britain and Ireland in the earlier Middle Ages. The script of TCD 1298 has the characteristic flat-topped Insular **g**, angularity especially in **a** and **r** and round **d** with a short, horizontal stem.

---

[47] *Ibid.*
[48] Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands*, pp. xvii–xviii.

Layout

Twenty-five manuscripts have a two-column layout,[49] and nineteen manuscripts have a single-column layout.[50] This almost half-and-half (58% to 42%) division shows considerably more variety in layout than was demonstrated in the early manuscripts, in which the layout was almost invariably two-column. The number of columns seems to depend to some extent on size – the eleven smallest manuscripts (with a written space less than 180mm tall) all have a single-column layout. On the other hand, the largest single-column manuscript, BL Royal 14.C.xii, is one of the largest manuscripts, with a written space of 280×150mm. There is no chronological distinction in this regard, with both single- and two-column layouts appearing throughout the later Middle Ages.

A distinction may be made in terms of layout between manuscripts written in Textualis and Cursiva. In manuscripts written in Textualis, it is almost entirely the smaller manuscripts which have a single-column layout. In manuscripts written in Cursiva, however, while the smallest manuscripts have a single-column layout, several of the larger ones do too. Derolez has pointed out that the compression of script first seen in Protogothic minuscule and developed in Gothic script necessitated a two-column layout, 'as the reading of a horizontally and vertically compressed script disposed in long lines would have been particularly arduous'.[51] Cursive script did not bring this problem, giving its scribes more freedom in their choice of layout.

---

[49] NLW 3024C, NLW 3074D, Cambridge Emmanuel 1.1.3, Caius 290/682, Cambridge Peterhouse 177, CUL Additional 3392, CUL Ff.1.27 part 2, CUL Mm.2.18, TCD 515, TCD 1298, Leiden BPL 13, BL Additional 17920, BL Additional 19513, BL Cotton Claudius E.viii, BL Cotton Cleopatra D.v, BL Cotton Julius B.xiii, BL Cotton Nero D.viii, BL Cotton Vitellius C.x, BL Royal 13.xviii, BL Royal 13.C.iii, BL Royal 14.C.vi, College of Arms Vincent 418, JRUL 217, Bodleian Rawlinson D.125 and BNF latin 4126.
[50] Cambridge St Catharine's 3, TCC B.11.16, TCD 592, BL Additional 40674, BL Cotton Domitian A.i, BL Harley 177, BL Harley 912, BL Harley 3724, BL Harley 4003, BL Royal 13.A.xiv, BL Royal 13.C.i, BL Royal 14.C.xiii, Lambeth 598, Lambeth 622, Bodleian Bodley 511, Bodleian Laud Misc. 720, Bodleian Rawlinson B.490, Bodleian Tanner 2 and BNF latin 11111.
[51] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, p. 58.

The number of lines per page varies from around twenty in the smallest manuscripts to around seventy in the largest (Cambridge Caius 290/682). There are no particular relationships between the size of the written space and the number of lines; the number of lines seems to depend more on the size of the script than that of the written space. Hence (for example) BNF latin 11111, although it has a smaller written space than Bodleian Laud Misc. 720, has more lines per page,[52] and BL Cotton Claudius E.viii, which has the largest written space, has the same number of lines per page as the much smaller Bodleian Rawlinson D.125.[53]

Quiring

There is more variety in quiring as well as in layout, with eighteen manuscripts constructed of quires of eight,[54] three of tens,[55] sixteen of twelves,[56] one of sixteens,[57] and two with irregular quiring.[58] According to Derolez, 'During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in particular an impressive proportion of manuscripts were produced with sexternios (six bifolia, 12 leaves) … By the fifteenth century, this preference for longer quires had disappeared and … quaternios (four bifolia, eight leaves) became once more the usual form of quire in Northern Europe'.[59] This distribution, however, is not

---

[52] BNF latin 11111 has a written space of 125×90mm and 31–2 lines per page; Laud Misc. 720 has a written space of 135–50 85–90mm and 21–6 lines per page.
[53] The written space of Claudius E.viii is 30 ×180mm and that of Rawlinson D.125 is 210×125mm; both have 47 lines per page.
[54] NLW 3024C, TCC B.11.16, TCD 515, TCD 1298, Leiden BPL 13, BL Additional 17920, BL Additional 19513, BL Additional 40674, BL BL Cotton Claudius E.viii, BL Cotton Cleopatra D.v, BL Cotton Domitian A.i, BL Cotton Vitellius C.x, BL Harley 3724, BL Royal 14.C.vi, Lambeth 598, Lambeth 622, Bodleian Laud Misc. 720 and Bodleian Rawlinson B.490.
[55] Cambridge Emmanuel 1.1.3, Bodleian Auctarium D.2.9 and Bodleian Bodley 511.
[56] NLW 3074D, Cambridge Caius 290/682, Cambridge St Catharine's 3, CUL Additional 3392, CUL Ff.1.27 part 2, CUL Mm.2.18, BL Cotton Julius B.xiii, BL Cotton Nero D.viii, BL Harley 177, BL Harley 912, BL Harley 4003, BL Royal 13.A.xiv, BL Royal 13.B.xviii, BL Royal 13.C.iii, BL Royal 14.C.xiii, College of Arms Vincent 418.
[57] BNF latin 11111.
[58] Peterhouse 177 and BNF latin 4126. TCD 592 and Royal 13.C.i are made of paper, and I have not collated them; Bodleian Rawlinson D.125 comprises only one bifolium, and the part of JRUL 217 with Giraldian works is also a mere bifolium. I saw only a microfilm of Bodleian Tanner 2, and so was unable to collate the manuscript.
[59] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, pp. 32–3.

apparent in Giraldian manuscripts, with quires of both eight and twelve appearing in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Size

Later medieval manuscripts come in a wide range of sizes. The smallest, BL Harley 912, has a written space of only 105×65–70mm, whereas the largest, BL Cotton Claudius E.viii, has a written space of 300×180mm. There are no particular trends distinguishable in terms of size. There is almost the same range of sizes in manuscripts datable throughout the later Middle Ages, in manuscripts in Textualis and in Cursiva, and in full texts and extracts. The only notable feature is that the smallest manuscripts tend to be earlier: BL Harley 912 (105×65–70mm), BL Harley 177 (120×90mm), BL Harley 3724 (140×95mm), Bodleian Laud Misc. 720 (135–50×85–90mm) and BNF latin 11111 (125×90mm) are all fourteenth-century or earlier, whereas the smallest fifteenth-century manuscript, Lambeth 622, is 150×100mm. One of the latest manuscripts, however, Bodleian Bodley 511 (dated 1513) is only 135×90mm.

Decoration

Most late medieval Giraldian manuscripts follow a consistent pattern of decoration: major sections begin with a large red and blue initial with flourishes in red and/or blue, chapters begin with smaller initials usually only in one colour (red or blue) with flourishing in the other colour and chapter-headings are in red. The initials are not usually elaborately decorated (although there are some exceptions).[60] I have observed some small changes in the nature of the flourishing of the initials over time. Earlier manuscripts tend to have simpler flourishing – for example, NLW 3024C and BNF latin

[60] See below, pp. 178–80.

11111. Later, in manuscripts datable to the fourteenth century, the flourishing becomes finer and more intricate often including parallel straight lines – for example, NLW 3074D, p. 24; Leiden BPL 13, 61r; Bodleian Laud Misc. 720, 170v; and BNF latin 4126, 55v. In manuscripts datable to the fifteenth century, leaf-like patterns appear in the flourishing both in and around the initial – for example, BL Cotton Vitellius C.x, 7v; BL Royal 13.C.iii, 8r; Lambeth 622, 24v; and Bodleian Rawlinson B.490, 1r. This may parallel the use of acanthus-leaf motifs in more elaborate decoration, for example in borders.[61] These are only general trends, of course, and could not be used as definitive dating evidence; for example, in BL Cotton Julius B.xiii the initial **D** on 48r has a leaf-pattern inside, but the rest of its flourishing is un-leaf-like, and its script was thought by George Warner, the editor of its text (*De principis instructione*) in the Rolls Series edition, to be of the middle of the fourteenth century.[62]

In BL Royal 14.C.xiii the major initials have quite extensive leaf-decoration (see 169r, for example) and this is consistent with the script in suggesting a fifteenth-century date, even though the manuscript is known to have been made between 1327 and 1352.[63] Both scribe and decorator seem to have been ahead of their time. Only two manuscripts, BL Royal 13.A.xiv and Bodleian Auctarium D.2.9, have plain initials. TCD 515, TCD 1298 and Bodleian Tanner 2 have no initials. College of Arms Vincent 418 has space left for initials, but they have not been filled in. Bodleian Bodley 511 has unusually short and wide initials framed with rectangular pen-lines and only sparsely flourished.

The most elaborately decorated late medieval Giraldian manuscript is BL Cotton Claudius E.viii – which is strictly speaking a manuscript of *Flores historiarum*, a continuation of Matthew Paris's *Chronica maiora*, with extracts from Gerald's Irish works in its prefatory matter. There are borders on 27v, 71v and 137v, mostly in gold leaf, blue

[61] Scott, *Dated and Datable English Manuscript Borders*, pp. 12, 121.
[62] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VIII, ix.
[63] See below, p. 181, and above, pp. 172–3.

and pink but also with touches of orange, red and green. The frames are filled with vine-scroll, with diamonds of interlace at centre top and bottom, lions' heads or coats of arms in the corners, and are decorated with gold balls, curled acanthus, heart-shaped, kidney-shaped, pointed and trefoil leaves, and thistle-like flowers. The coat of arms is that of Henry Spenser, bishop of Norwich 1370–1406.[64] The partial border on 137v is inhabited by various birds including an owl and a bird with an unusually large beak. Roundels in the lower corners contain hooded heads, and a diamond at centre-bottom contains a crouched figure. Initials are in blue and pink with gold leaf and white, and they extend into frames with decoration of leaves and flowers in pink, blue, red and green.

The next most elaborately decorated manuscript is Cambridge Emmanuel 1.1.3, which contain Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* and Gerald's *Topographia hibernica.* The beginning of sections (87r, 88r, 97v and 109v in *Topographia hibernica*) are decorated with a border of flowers: columbines, roses, small round-petalled flowers, pink triangular flowers, strawberries etc., variously in pale and dark blue, green, pink, red, orange, yellow, brown and gold leaf. The borders are not constructed of flower-stems and vines but are straight-edged spaces filled with separate pictures of flowers. The background-space inside the border is usually also coloured in. According to Kathleen Scott, this type of border is typical of the late fifteenth century.[65] Chapters begin with initials in gold with a pink and blue background, decorated with fern-like patterns ending in gold buds heavily outlined in black. On 88v the initials are more elaborately decorated with coloured flowers (in red and orange, blue and white and pink and white).

The border on 87r contains two circles with the initials 'JG' inside, and a coat of arms. Several of the borders contain circles with a beast (perhaps a dog) in profile sticking its tongue out, touched with silver. This beast also appears on the coat of arms.

---

[64] *The Palaeographical Society*, ed. Bond *et al.*, II, pl. 200.
[65] Scott, *Dated and Datable English Manuscript Borders*, p. 9; Emmanuel 1.1.3 is dated 1481.

These devices, according to M. R. James, belonged to John Gunthorpe, the Dean of Wells.[66]

BL Harley 3724 has very unusual decoration, in red, green and blue with occasional touches of yellow. Most pages have a whole or partial border in dark red and green stylized-leaf pattern. Its initials are mostly plain but large and filled with chequer-pattern, alternating red and blue with the pattern in other colour. An initial **P** on 5r has a long descender and a face in the bowl. There are also many marginal illustrations: a face in profile and a pointing hand occur many times, there is an axe on 36r and a rabbit sitting in a bush on 41r. This decoration has been thought to indicate an Irish origin for Harley 3724,[67] but the main reason for this seems to be that it is very odd decoration. If it is strange, it must be Irish!

Two manuscripts contain marginal illustrations: CUL Ff.1.27, part 2, and Bodleian Laud Misc. 720. These are the same pictures as are found in the two early manuscripts NLI 700 and BL Royal 13.B.viii. Ff.1.27 is a copy of BL Royal 13.B.viii, so its pictures were very probably also copied from there; but the origin of those in Laud Misc. 720 is not clear.[68] The text of Laud Misc. 720 is of the fifth edition, and it is therefore possible that its text and illustrations were copied from NLI 700; but Laud Misc.720 also contains the letter to William de Vere, bishop of Ely, which does not appear in NLI 700 and in fact only occurs elsewhere with copies of the third edition. However, from the appearance of the pictures I think that Scott was mistaken to say that these are 'quite different' illustrations from those in NLI 700 and Royal 13.B.viii;[69] they seem to be based

---

[66] James, *The Western Manuscripts in … Emmanuel College*, p. 4.
[67] There is a modern note (undated, but typewritten, therefore s. xx) attached to the flyleaf which reads 'The book is remarkable for its curious writing and decoration which suggest an Irish rather than an English provenance'.
[68] Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, II, 86–7, ills. 95–8, no. 116; Pächt *et al.*, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, III, 43, no. 462.
[69] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, p. xlvi, n. 11.

on the same original model. Sadly, many of the illustrations are missing, having been cut out.

BL Harley 177 contains some marginal illustrations, mostly faces in profile, some attached to letters on the last line of a page, and one of a dog chasing a rabbit (11v). Here Scott is correct to say that they are different from any other Giraldian illustrations.[70]

DATE

Only two medieval manuscripts are dated: Cambridge Emmanuel 1.1.3 (A.D. 1481)[71] and Bodleian Bodley 511 (A.D. 1513).[72] The practice of explicitly dating manuscripts was not widespread in medieval England or, indeed, in much of the Continent.[73] A few manuscripts are datable from other evidence, as follows:

CUL Ff.1.27, part 2 + CCCC 66A (after 1283);[74]

BL Cotton Domitian A.i (possibly after 1287);[75]

BL Cotton Claudius E.viii (1370×1406);[76]

BL Royal 14.C.vi (c. 1304);[77]

BL Cotton Nero D.viii (after 1376);[78]

BL Royal 14.C.xiii (1327×1352);[79]

---

[70] *Ibid.*

[71] 'Explicit liber Bede de gestis Anglorum. Scriptus anno Domini millesimo. CCCC°. lxxxj°', 86v. Although this note is appended the article preceding *Topographia hibernica*, script and decoration show that they are both part of the same manuscript.

[72] '1513 aprilis 12', written beside the *explicit* of *Topographia hibernica* (89r), but in a different hand from that of the text.

[73] See, for example, Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts ... in Cambridge Libraries*, I, 5–12.

[74] 'Hic explicit tractatus spere scriptus anno Domini m° cc° lxxx°. tercio' (CCCC 66A, 138v), in the same hand as the text.

[75] The last date mentioned in *Annales Cambriae*, with which its Giraldian works are bound, is 1287 – but whether this applies also to the part of the manuscript containing works of Gerald depends on whether the two parts were written at the same time and place, and this is not clear.

[76] It was made for Henry Spenser, bishop of Norwich 1370–1406 (see above, pp. 178–9 and n. 64).

[77] Most of the manuscript was written in 1304, when the copy of *Flores historiarum* which it contains originally ended, and the text up to 1323 was added later; see *Flores historiarum*, ed. Luard, I, xxii and Warner and Gilson, *British Museum Catalogue of ... the Old Royal and King's Collections*, II, 134.

[78] The copy of Higden's *Polychronicon* accompanying *Descriptio Kambriae* (and in the same hand) includes a continuation to 1376 (*GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, xxiii–xxiv).

[79] The owner of this manuscript, Simon Bozoun, was prior of Norwich 1344–52 (see below, p. 194 and n. 143). The *terminus post quem* is fixed by its copy of Higden's *Polychronicon*, which ends at 1327.

BL Cotton Cleopatra D.v (before 1464).[80]

Some manuscripts are datable by features of their script. For example, two-compartment **a** in which the upper lobe is open is extremely rare after about 1300: this appears in Bodleian Laud Misc. 720 and NLW 3024C. Straight-backed **d**, which also disappears after the thirteenth century, may be found in Bodleian Laud Misc. 720 and BL Cotton Domitian A.i. Uncial **d** with the ascender extended and turning down at the end, called 'falling' **d** by Derolez,[81] which is found only in manuscripts of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, appears in CUL Ff.1.27, part 2, BL Cotton Domitian A.i and BNF latin 11111. The latter two also show the Insular abbreviations for *enim* and *est*, which are very rare after the thirteenth century.[82] These last five manuscripts are therefore datable with a high degree of probability to the thirteenth century. It is interesting that there are so few surviving manuscripts from the thirteenth century, after the apparently high production-rate in Gerald's lifetime (approximately 20% of the surviving manuscripts).

Bodleian Auctarium D.2.9 also seems to be datable early in the 'later Middle Ages'. At first I thought that the script of the Giraldian parts[83] might be an informal type of Protogothic minuscule, and therefore should be classified as 'early'. However, the script of the main texts of the manuscript (Peter Lombard's Commentary on the Psalms and some canticles and notes) is Northern Textualis with some thirteenth-century features, namely two-compartment **a** with the upper lobe open, the Insular *enim* and *est* symbols and straight **s** at the end of words. The texts written in the small cursive script (including the Giraldian works) follow the texts written in Textualis in the same quire; the Giraldian texts must therefore have been written later than the main text. I have therefore tentatively assigned a mid thirteenth-century date to this manuscript, given that its main

[80] 'Herford Epicopus darens' (top right of 2r): an ownership-inscription of Geoffrey Hereford, bishop of Kildare 1449–64.
[81] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, p. 87.
[82] *Ibid.*, p. 97.
[83] See above, p. 174.

text is Northern Textualis but its additions are written in a script which seems to predate Cursiva Antiquior (Anglicana).

On the basis of script alone, the part of Cambridge St Catharine's 3 containing *Topographia hibernica* (fols. 96–204) is datable to the late thirteenth century or even the early fourteenth (it has none of the thirteenth-century features which I have mentioned above). However, the other part (fols. 1–95) is in a script which is more Protogothic in aspect (that is, less angular and compressed) and has two-compartment **a** with an open upper lobe. The two parts are both in quires of twelve, have the same size written space (although the ruling-pattern is different) and contain the same style of initials. The relationship of the two parts is not clear. Because the script of the Giraldian part is definitely Textualis I have classified this as a later medieval manuscript, but the earlier character of the script in the other part suggests an early date in this period (s. xiii$^{med/2}$).

TCC B.11.16, written in Northern Textualis Formata with many decorative hairlines, has a **t** which is almost as tall as the ascenders and also displays short spiky strokes on the edge of, for example, **c** and **o**.[84] These are both features which suggest a date in the fifteenth century and make this manuscript unusual, for most of the Giraldian manuscripts from the fifteenth century are written in Cursiva.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GERALD'S WORKS

All the early manuscripts contain full texts of Gerald's works, albeit sometimes incomplete through accident or design. The later Middle Ages saw the first non-authorial developments of his texts. I shall now look at some of these sometimes unexpected developments.

[84] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, pp. 81 and 93.

As I mentioned above,[85] Gerald constantly revised his works, but what he added to them was not necessarily directly connected with the purported subject of the work. This is particularly true of *Topographia hibernica* which finished its life more than twice the size at which it started, with scarcely one of the additions having anything to do with Ireland.

Some copyists of Gerald's works decided that this was unacceptable; they pruned the text according to their own interests. BL Harley 4003, for example, contains a copy of *Topographia hibernica* which has had almost all of the content not relevant to Ireland removed. (However, the same was not done for the copy of *Expugnatio hibernica* in this manuscript, which is a complete text.) BL Harley 177 contains *Expugnatio hibernica* in a version with the non-historical matter removed, namely, most of the speeches and descriptions of the main characters.[86] BL Additional 19513 is a greatly abbreviated version of *Topographia hibernica* (which will be discussed further below).[87]

Interestingly, all these manuscripts are Irish. Perhaps this suggests that Irish readers were more prepared to take liberties with texts than were their English counterparts – although full versions of the Irish works, even the latest and most verbose editions, were made in Ireland, for example BL Royal 13.A.xiv. Perhaps it merely shows a greater interest in the Irish works in Ireland than there was in England, or at least in those parts of the works to do with Ireland and not in the rest.

---

[85] p. 29.
[86] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, xxxv-xxxvi; *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, p. xxxvi.
[87] See below, pp. 190–1.

This text has undergone an unintentional abbreviation. As I mentioned in Chapter II,[88] all the copies of the first edition of *Descriptio Kambriae* known to Dimock have a large lacuna in the first Book and a portion of misplaced text from the second preface in II.7. The origin of this mistake seems quite obvious, and Dimock mentioned it when discussing the problem: 'These copies must have been derived from an earlier manuscript, in which one leaf had got misplaced from the beginning of the first book to the middle of the second, and which had also lost altogether some dozen leaves, or thereabouts, from the middle of the first book'.[89]

Given that the earliest copy of the text with the lacuna and displacement, BL Cotton Vitellius C.x, is of the late fourteenth century, the original damaged manuscript must have been fourteenth-century or earlier. It might also have been rather small. If the portion of misplaced text from the second preface was contained on one leaf, half of it was the contents of one page (if the leaf was fully written on both sides, which it probably was given that its text is from the middle of the second preface). A comparison of half the misplaced text with text from single pages of other Giraldian manuscripts has shown that the closest match was Cambridge St Catharine's 3, a thirteenth-century manuscript which with a written space of 150×95mm is one of the smallest Giraldian manuscripts.

The fact that the three earliest copies with the lost and misplaced text are all medieval demonstrates beyond doubt that not noticing these errors was originally a medieval mistake, and says something for either the faithfulness or the poor latinity of the scribes in question.

---

[88] See above, pp. 88–9.
[89] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, xxv.

Extracts

Nine medieval manuscripts contain extracts from Gerald's works. Cambridge Caius 290/682 contains extracts from *Topographia hibernica*, *Expugnatio hibernica* and *Speculum Ecclesiae*; BL Cotton Claudius E.viii, BL Royal 14.C.vi and JRUL 217 from *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica*; CUL Mm.2.18 from *Topographia hibernica* only; TCD 1298 from *Expugnatio hibernica* only; TCD 515 from *De inuectionibus*; and BL Harley 912 from *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Descriptio Kambriae*. The extracts in Claudius E.viii, Royal 14.C.vi and JRUL 217 recount the various invasions of Ireland; Claudius E.viii and Royal 14.C.vi also include descriptions from *Expugnatio hibernica* of the main characters in the English invasion, and JRUL 217 also includes the two papal privileges justifying King Henry II's invasion. The extracts in Mm.2.18 and Harley 912 are mostly concerned with marvels and miracles. The extract in TCD 515 concerns Gerald and his achievements. The extracts from *Topographia hibernica* in Caius 290/682 are rather miscellaneous and include some description of the land of Ireland, marvels and miracles, the lack of faith of the Irish and their skill in music. The chapter from *Expugnatio hibernica* recounts a vision which Henry II had at Cardiff, and the chapters from *Speculum ecclesiae* are about, respectively, the bad practice of some priests regarding the body of Christ and the dangers of allowing ecclesiastics too much power. They all very much have the character of a personal collection which reflects the interest of the scribe or his employer.

Translations

Six medieval manuscripts contain translations of parts of Gerald's works: TCD 592, TCD 1298, BL Additional 17920, BL Additional 40674, Lambeth 598 and Lambeth 623. All these except TCD 1298 and BL Additional 17920 are copies of the same text, a Middle-English translation of *Expugnatio hibernica*, which will be discussed immediately

below. BL Additional 17920 is a Provençal translation of an abbreviated version of *Topographia hibernica*, also discussed below.[90] TCD 1298 contains 'that part of *Expugnatio Hibernica* which treats of the Geraldines',[91] translated into Early Modern Irish.

The appearance of translations suggests the beginning of interest in Gerald's from those who did not know Latin – perhaps members of the laity.

'The English Conquest of Ireland'

Six manuscripts – NLI 1416, TCD 592, TCD 593, BL Additional 40674, Lambeth 598 and Bodleian Rawlinson B.490, all but two of which are of the fifteenth century (NLI 1416 and TCD 593 are early modern, that is post-1540) – contain an account of Henry II's conquest of Ireland in the later twelfth century, which generally goes under the title 'The English Conquest of Ireland'.[92]

The earliest copy seems to be TCD 592, which has the oldest language. It was dated 'about 1425' by Frederick Furnivall;[93] M. Esposito, however, stated that it was from the end of the fifteenth century.[94] Furnivall described the language of TCD 592 as 'archaic' and wrote that 'the copier of the englisht ['englished'] text has often slipt into his own Irish [that is, Hiberno-English] dialect',[95] showing that the text, if not this copy of it, was copied at one time by an Irishman.[96] Bodleian Rawlinson B.490 is datable after 1419, as the second work which it contains, a translation of pseudo-Aristotle's *Secreta secretorum*, was made by James Yonge at the request of James Butler, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1419–22.[97] Its language is less 'archaic' than that of TCD 592, and 'seems to preserve

---

[90] pp. 190–1.
[91] Abbott, *Catalogue*, pp. 318–20, at p. 320; Stokes, 'The Irish Abridgment'.
[92] See above, pp. 74–5.
[93] *The English Conquest*, ed. Furnivall., p. 1. Furnivall commented (*ibid.*, p. viii, n. 2) 'I suppose the first englishing now represented by the Dublin MS. was made in the 14th century'; but he gave no reasons.
[94] Esposito, '"The English Conquest"', p. 495.
[95] *The English Conquest*, ed. Furnivall, pp. viii and vii.
[96] St John Seymour described the manuscript as 'written by an Irish scribe' (*Anglo-Irish Literature*, p. 140).
[97] 'To yow nobyll and gracious lorde Jamys de Botiller Erle of Ormonde lieutenaunt of our lege lorde kynge henry the fyfte in Irland humbly recommendyth hym your pou[r] seruant James yonge to your hey

older and later forms of Waterford usage'.[98] The presence in TCD 592 also of a fragment of a translation of pseudo-Aristotle's *Secreta secretorum*[99] suggests that it and Rawlinson B.490 may have been copied from the same exemplar, containing both texts. The script of Additional 40674 suggests a date in the fifteenth century.[100] Lambeth 598 contains no dating information, but its script, a Cursiva Recentior (medieval Secretary) hand, suggests a fifteenth-century date. A Waterford provenance was suggested for it by Goddard Orpen.[101] The scribe of NLI 1416 dated that copy 15 February '1575'.[102] TCD 593 (copied from TCD 592) has been dated variously to 'about 1600'[103] and to the end of the sixteenth century.[104]

An abbreviated version of the text appears in Lambeth 623, 'The Book of Howth', with lengthy additions in praise of John de Courcy. The author of this abbreviation was not very complimentary to Gerald, perhaps because Gerald did not say as much about his hero as he would have liked, and he felt forced to add more himself.[105] At the end of the text it is stated that 'this miche that is in this bocke more then Camerans did writ of, was translatyd by the premet Dovdall in the yere of ouer lorde 1551 out of a latten bocke in to Englishe which was found with Onell in Armaghe' (59v22–6).[106] This dates the text, and therefore the manuscript, in or after 1551. This manuscript and Lambeth 598 were both owned by George Carew (1555–1629).

---

lordshipp', 28v2–5; 'And for als moche as euer y haue bounde for your gracious kyndly gentilnesse onto your comaundement to obey now y her translate … the boke of arystotle Prynce of Phylosofors … callid in latyn *Secreta secretorum*', 28v28–32. See *Facsimiles*, ed. Gilbert, III, xiv and pl. XXXVI.

[98] McIntosh *et al.*, *A Linguistic Atlas*, I, 151.

[99] Esposito, '"The English Conquest"', p. 495.

[100] Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands*, p. xx.

[101] *The Song*, ed. and trans. Orpen, pp. xxv–xxix; McIntosh *et al.*, *A Linguistic Atlas*, I, 118.

[102] 'Ricardus Robinsone, Scriptor huius libri, Anno. Domini. 1575. February xv'. This was probably in fact 1576, as the new year was considered to start on Lady Day (25 March) at that time.

[103] Abbott, *Catalogue*, p. 99.

[104] Dimock, *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, xciii; Esposito, '"The English Conquest"', p. 495.

[105] See *Calendar*, ed. Brewer and Bullen, pp. 84, 91 and 117.

[106] This is part of the main text and written by the original scribe, not an added note.

This text has been thought to be a translation of *Expugnatio hibernica.*[107] There seems, however, to have been some debate about whether this is indeed the case. Brewer said that the texts in Lambeth 598 and TCD 592 are translations not of *Expugnatio hibernica* but of a Latin text belonging to O'Neale or O'Nell (viz., O'Neill). The text in Lambeth 598 he thought to have been translated by one Thomas Bray. This opinion was based on notes in Lambeth 598 ('The Conquest of Irland written by Thomas Bray' on a flyleaf) and the statement in Lambeth 623 (59v22–6, quoted in the last paragraph above). Brewer gave his reasons for thinking this was not a translation of *Expugnatio hibernica*:[108]

> What Mr. Dimock and others have supposed to be an early English [that is, Middle English] translation of Giraldus is nothing more than a translation of the Latin chronicle once in O'Nell's possession … Bray, like all other Irish writers of this period of Irish history, follows closely the footsteps of Giraldus; and though his work contains very little else than what is found in Giraldus, he evidently regarded himself in the light of an original compiler. This will be seen not only in the liberties he takes with the text of Giraldus, but also in his various references to Giraldus in the third person …

I am not convinced by this argument. The statement in Lambeth 623 says that 'this miche that is in this bocke *more then Camerans did writ of*' (my italics) is what was taken from O'Neill's book, thus acknowledging that some of the text was in fact taken from a work of Gerald. Brewer offered no reason why the English version could not have been translated from *Expugnatio hibernica*; indeed he admitted that there is hardly anything in it which is not also in *Expugnatio hibernica.* Given that no further evidence of Bray's existence beyond Carew's note had been adduced, I do not see how Brewer could know anything about how Bray viewed himself, whether original compiler or not. The liberties taken with the text are no greater than those taken with some Latin copies, for example

---

[107] For example Abbott, *Catalogue*, p. 99. Seymour described it as 'not a literal translation, but rather a free rendering, of the *Expugnatio Hibernica*' (*Anglo-Irish Literature*, p. 140).
[108] *Calendar*, ed. Brewer and Bullen, pp. xxii–xxiii.

in BL Harley 177 and BL Harley 4003, in which large portions of the text not immediately and obviously relevant to the main subject have been omitted. Finally, Gerald frequently referred to himself in the third person in his works; so the fact that in the English text he is mentioned in the third person has no significance. Brewer seems to have reached his conclusion on the evidence of Carew's unsubstantiated assertions in Lambeth 598; I remain confident that 'The English Conquest of Ireland' is in fact a translation of *Expugnatio hibernica.*

Philip of Slane's Libellus de descriptione Hibernie

The one example of Gerald's works travelling beyond Britain and Ireland may be found in BL Additional 17920 and 19513.[109] Additional 19513 contains an abbreviated version of *Topographia hibernica*, and Additional 17920 contains a Provençal translation of this abbreviated text.[110] The Latin abbreviation appears to have started life in Ireland, as it was made by Philip of Slane, bishop of Cork 1321–7.[111] Philip was a sworn member of King Edward II's council, and in 1324 Edward sent Philip to Pope John XXII in Avignon[112] to put forward proposals for the reform of the Irish Church. The Pope received the proposals favourably but asked that Philip return to Ireland to collect more information. Having done this, Philip returned to Avignon to present his findings, and the Pope agreed to the reforms. There is a dedicatory letter addressed to Pope John at the beginning of the text; it therefore seems likely that Philip presented his abbreviation to the Pope when he went to Avignon in 1324, and possible that he made it for that very purpose.

---

[109] See above, pp. 58–61, 171 and 173.
[110] The closeness of the Latin text to *Topographia hibernica*, with many passages repeated verbatim, precludes the possibility that the Provençal text is the original.
[111] 'frater Philippus ordinis predicatorum ecclesie Corkagenensis in Hibernia minister', 165ra6–7.
[112] The papal court was at Avignon for most of the fourteenth century, partly because of wars in Italy and partly because of the political situation in France.

The copy of *Libellus de descriptione Hibernie* in Additional 19513 is not the copy of the work presented to the Pope by Philip. It is written in an Italian cursive chancery-hand of around 1330[113] with only lightly flourished initials[114] and accompanied by six other texts. According to de Mandach, these texts reflect the wide-ranging interests of John XXII and his concern for the Church in all corners of Christendom.[115] The text was, therefore, probably copied in the papal court from Philip's presentation-copy. Later, it was translated into Provençal in Additional 17920. Wüstefeld has proposed that the Provençal copy was made for the edification of a young nobleman,[116] showing that the text had travelled beyond the papal environment. At any rate, it is clear that the abbreviation of *Topographia hibernica* had a life in southern France after the purpose for which it was made was fulfilled.

Bestiaries

Bestiaries are collections of stories about animals, real and fantastic, with moralising allegories and accompanying pictures. They were usually prepared as *de luxe* manuscripts and became very popular in England in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Two Bestiaries of the thirteenth century, BL Harley 4571 and Bodleian Bodley 764, contain some passages on Irish birds, for example the barnacle-goose, which have been taken from *Topographia hibernica.*[117] Given that Gerald took some of the stories in *Topographia hibernica* from works very like Bestiaries in the first place, it is interesting to see his own contribution to the genre being perpetuated in this way.

---

[113] Wüstefeld, 'Two Versions', pp. 291–2. All the other texts in this manuscript, except Pseudo-Turpin's history of Charlemagne, are in a more formal Southern Textualis (see Derolez, *The Palaeography*, chapter 5).
[114] Derolez, *The Palaeography*, p. 41: 'Italian (and Spanish) flourished initials are often distinguished by penwork consisting of parallel rows of vertical lines'.
[115] De Mandach, 'Le problème', p. 637.
[116] Wüstefeld, 'Le manuscrit', pp. 107–10.
[117] *The Bestiary*, ed. James, p. 15, and see pl. 12 for an illustration of Gerald's account of the barnacle goose (*GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, 47–9); Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, I, 124–5, ills. 263–6 (no. 76) and II, 53–5, ills. 13–17 (no. 98).

There are no signs of ownership or provenance of Giraldian manuscripts in Gerald's lifetime (hence, partly, the difficulty in locating Gerald's scriptorium or scriptoria). This slowly began to change in the later Middle Ages. Not only do late medieval manuscripts show some evidence of provenance, but manuscripts from Gerald's lifetime also show evidence of their travels in this period.

The following institutions can be seen to have owned medieval Giraldian manuscripts. Dates refer to the time at which the manuscript was noted as being at the institution, not the date of the manuscript itself.

Bury St Edmunds (Benedictine), s. xiv (CUL Ff.1.27, part 2 + CCCC 66A);[118]

St Augustine's, Canterbury (Benedictine), s. xiv (BL Royal 13.B.viii);[119]

St Mary's abbey, Dublin (Cistercian), s. xiv (CUL Additional 3392 and JRUL 217);[120]

Lanthony Secunda (Gloucester) (Augustinian canons), s. xv (CCCC 390);[121]

Vicars Choral of Hereford cathedral, s. xv (1483) (NLI 700);[122]

Hereford (Franciscan), s. xv (TCC R.7.11);[123]

Holme St Benet (Benedictine), Norfolk, s. xiv (BL Royal 14.C.vi);[124]

Limerick (Dominican), s. xiv (BL Royal 13.A.xiv);[125]

St Mary's priory (nuns of Fontevrault), Merton, Warwickshire, s. xiv (Douai 887);[126]

---

[118] A table of contents on a flyleaf is headed 'Liber de communitate monachorum sancti Edmundi in quo subscripta continentur'.

[119] 'Liber sancti Augustini extra muros Cantuariensis', 147r.

[120] 'Iste monstrat liber quod albis monachis de Dublinia constat' and 'Liber monachorum domus sancte Marie uirginis iuxta Dublinium', on the first page of CUL Additional 3392; 'liber monasterij beate Marie uirgine iuxta Dubliniam et qui eum alienauerit anathema fiat' and 'Iste liber pertinuit ad monasterium Beatæ Mariæ Virginis et scriptus fuit per Patrem Steph. Lawley Suppriorem ejusdem Monasterij', JRUL 217.

[121] 'In hoc volumine continetur vita Gaufridi eboracensis archiepiscopi', on a flyleaf, in the hand of a man who wrote in other books belonging to Lanthony Secunda. See *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, ed. Ker, supplement, p. 41 and n. 2.

[122] 'Orate pro anima Walter Mybbe qui dedit ist librum vicario ecclesie cathedralis Herfordi anno domini m° cccc° xxxliii°', 99r.

[123] The mark of the Franciscan library of Hereford appears on 1v along with a list of the first thirty-five bishops of Hereford. See James, 'The Library of the Grey Friars', p. 119.

[124] The text contains many additions relating to Holme St Benet, the diocese of Norwich and Norfolk generally; see above, pp. 168 and 181, n. 77.

[125] 'Iste liber constat conuentui fratrum predicatorum Lymericii et si quis alienauerit anathema sit', 10v.

[126] 'Liber ecclesie beate Marie de Merton' on the inside of the front cover. *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, ed. Ker, p. 140.

Ramsey, Cambridgeshire, s. xv (CUL Mm.5.30);[127]

St Davids Cathedral, south Wales, s. xiii ex. (BL Cotton Domitian A.i).[128]

There is also evidence from medieval and early modern library-catalogues of ownership of Giraldian manuscripts at the following institutions.[129]

Battle, Sussex (Benedictine), s. xvi$^{in.}$ (*Topographia hibernica*, *Descriptio Kambriae*);[130]

Faversham, Kent (Benedictine), s. xvi$^{in.}$ (?*Topographia hibernica*);[131]

Glastonbury (Benedictine) (*Speculum ecclesiae*, s. xvi$^{in.}$; *Topographia hibernica*. s. xiii med., xvi in.);[132]

Hyde, Hampshire (Benedictine), s. xvi$^{in.}$ (*Topographia hibernica*);[133]

Lanthony (Augustinian), s. xiv$^{med.}$ (*Gemma ecclesiastica*);[134]

Leicester (Augustinian) (*De principis instructione*, s. xv$^{ex.}$; '*Speculum Giraldi*', s. xvi in.);[135]

London (Carmelite), s. xvi (c. 1545) (*Descriptio Kambriae*);[136]

London (Dominican), s. xvi (c. 1545) (*De principis instructione*);[137]

Norwich (Benedictine), s. xvi (*Topographia hibernica*);[138]

Reading (Franciscan), s. xvi (extract from *Topographia hibernica*);[139]

York (Austin), s. xiv (1372) (*Topographia hibernica*);[140]

York (Benedictine), s. xvi$^{in.}$ (*Topographia hibernica*).[141]

There is evidence of ownership of Giraldian manuscripts by the following individuals in the late Middle Ages.

---

[127] There is a colophon on 31v in fifteenth-century script referring to events at Ramsey Abbey in the second quarter of the thirteenth century; see Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts … in Cambridge Libraries*, p. 39 (no. 79).

[128] The copy of *Annales Cambriae* which it also contains is thought to have been written at St Davids. See Harrison, 'A Note', p. 254: 'the C-text (London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A.i, fos 138*r*–155*r*) … was written at St. Davids, probably in 1288'. According to John Prise (*Historiae Brytanniae Defensio*, pp. 26 and 128), this manuscript was taken out of the treasury of St Davids by the treasurer, John Lewis, and sent to him.

[129] See above, p. 28, n. 152.

[130] *English Benedictine Libraries*, ed. Sharpe *et al.*, p. 21.

[131] *Ibid.*, p. 156.

[132] *Ibid.*, pp. 184–5, 233, 235 and 239.

[133] *Ibid.*, p. 259.

[134] *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, ed. Webber and Watson, p. 54.

[135] *Ibid.*, pp. 237–8, 268.

[136] *The Friars' Libraries*, ed. Humphreys, p. 185.

[137] *Ibid.*, p. 202.

[138] *English Benedictine Libraries*, ed. Sharpe *et al.*, p. 309.

[139] *The Friars' Libraries*, ed. Humphreys, p. 232.

[140] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

[141] *English Benedictine Libraries*, ed. Sharpe *et al.*, p. 788.

'W Bonyngton' of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1483 (Bodleian Rawlinson B.188);[142]

Simon Bozoun, prior of Norwich 1344–52 (BL Royal 14.C.xiii);[143]

The D'Arcy family of Platten, Co. Westmeath, s. xv (BL Additional 40674);[144]

John Gunthorpe, Dean of Wells (†1498) (Cambridge Emmanuel 1.1.3);[145]

Geoffrey Hereford, bishop of Kildare 1449–64 (BL Cotton Cleopatra D.v);[146]

Robert Populton of York, s. xiv (BNF latin 4126);[147]

'Robyn Rede', s. xv (BL Harley 177);[148]

Henry Spenser, bishop of Norwich 1370–1406 (BL Cotton Claudius E.viii);[149]

Geoffrey of Wighton, s. xiv (CUL Mm.2.18).[150]

In three cases – John Gunthorpe, Henry Spencer and Geoffrey of Wighton – there is evidence that the manuscript was made specially for a certain individual. Unfortunately for Gerald and the interest this seems to show in his works, only one of these manuscripts (Cambridge Emmanuel 1.1.3) contains his work as Gerald wrote it: BL Cotton Claudius E.viii and CUL Mm.2.18 contain only extracts.

Although a few of these owners are lay people, the majority are churchmen, and the institutions are all religious. This may be an accident of survival, or a reflection of the fact that books were more likely to survive in the libraries of religious houses.[151] However, it does at least show that Gerald's anti-monastic stance (as demonstrated, for example, in *Speculum Ecclesiae*) did not discourage monks from reading his less controversial works.

---

[142] 'Liber fratris W Bonyngton et per eum reparatus anno domini 1483 monachi ecclesie Christi Cantuariensis', 1r.

[143] 'Liber fratris Symonis Bozoun prioris Norwicensis', top margin of 14r.

[144] It contains an obituary-notice of John D'Arcy Junior, who died in 1482.

[145] His initials and coat of arms appear in some of the elaborately decorated borders in the manuscript; see above, pp. 179–80, and James, *The Western Manuscripts in … Emmanuel College*, p. 4.

[146] 'Herford epicopus Darens', 2r.

[147] Populton's name appears at the end of several texts, for example 'Parce domine anime fratrus Roberti de populteun qui me compilauit', 134ra17–19; 'Ora pro fratre Roberto de Populton', 252ra33. Julia Crick has suggested that Populton made additions to an existing earlier collection; *Topographia hibernica* is part of this earlier collection, and so was not written by Populton (Crick, *The Historia*, III, 261).

[148] His name appears in a note on 84v.

[149] His coat of arms appears several time in the manuscript's decoration. See above, p. 179 and n. 64; *The Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. Fryde *et al.*, p. 261.

[150] 'Iste liber est fratris Galfridi de Wyghtone quem fecit scribi de elemosinis amicorum suorum' (verso of flyleaf).

[151] See Crick, *The Historia*, IV, 196.

The information about the location of Giraldian manuscripts in the Middle Ages derived from the notes of ownership above shows widespread use of Gerald's works. Manuscripts were located as far north as York and as far south as Glastonbury. There are four manuscripts from Norfolk (Norwich, Holme St Benet and Wighton), and another from neighbouring Bury St Edmunds. The relative paucity of manuscripts from places with which Gerald was associated in his lifetime is notable: only two from Hereford (and one of those a gift in 1483) and one from St Davids. This may, however, be due only to accidents of survival.

Outside of Britain, there are a number of Giraldian manuscripts which were either produced in Ireland or have a later Irish provenance. As I mentioned above,[152] CUL Additional 3392 was made at St Mary's Cistercian abbey, Dublin, and BL Royal 13.A.xiv was produced in a Dominican friary at Limerick. Robin Flower said that BL Harley 4003 was Irish, on the basis of some marginal notes in Irish.[153] An Irish origin has also been suggested for BL Harley 177 and 3724.[154] TCD 1298 contains an Irish translation of a genealogy of the Geraldines taken from *Expugnatio hibernica*, written in Gaelic National Hand. Bodleian Rawlinson B.490 contains a text which was written for James Butler, Earl of Ormond and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1419–22.[155] JRUL 217 was written by Stephen Lawless of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin (it is not clear, however, if he also wrote the extracts from *Topographia hibernica* and *Expugnatio hibernica* on the manuscript's flyleaves).

This Irish interest in Gerald's works might seem surprising given Gerald's frequently expressed hostility to the native Irish and approval of the Angevin invasion, especially in *Expugnatio hibernica*. However, a closer look at the manuscripts associated with Ireland shows that a number of them were owned not by native Irish but by Anglo-

---

[152] See above, p. 192.
[153] Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish Interest', pp. 314–15.
[154] There is a marginal note in Harley 177 (57r) in Gaelic National Hand and including an Gaelic name; see also *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, xxxv–xxxvi. For Harley 3724, see above, p. 180.
[155] See above, p. 187 and n. 97.

Irish settlers. BL Additional 40674 was owned by the D'Arcy family of Platten, Co. Westmeath – this family cannot have been native Irish, as D'Arcy is not an Irish name. BL Harley 177 'attempts occasionally, instead of Giraldus's Latin of all the other manuscripts, to give an English rendering of the Irish names. Thus, instead of *Murchardi filius* or *Dermitius*, or *Murchardides*, it has "Macmorthit" or "Macmorhith;" instead of *Ororicius* "Oroch.'"[156] BL Cotton Cleopatra D.v was owned by Geoffrey Hereford, bishop of Kildare 1449–64. The early modern owners of some Giraldian manuscripts were also Anglo-Irish: Bodleian Rawlinson B.483 and B.490 were owned by William Gerald, who called himself Chancellor of Ireland;[157] BL Additional 33991 was owned by James Ware the younger and later by the Earl of Moira;[158] BL Royal 13.B.xviii was owned by George Forlonge of Wexford.[159] These people would have been much more interested in hearing about the English (possibly their ancestors') conquest of Ireland than would the native (conquered) Irish.[160] Only TCD 1298 and Bodleian Rawlinson B.475 testify to any native Irish interest in Gerald's works, and in TCD 1298 this is only the part of *Expugnatio hibernica* which deals with Gerald's family (in accordance with the Irish interest in genealogy). It is not surprising that the native Irish were not very interested in the vehemently pro-settler Gerald.

Hardly any Giraldian manuscripts have a Welsh provenance or origin, even one associated with the English settlers in Wales. BL Cotton Domitian A.i is thought to have been written at St Davids, and it would be very surprising to find no manuscripts from a

---

156 *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, xxxvi.
157 'Ex dono Willelmi Giralldi equitis et Cancellarij Hibernia', Rawlinson B.483, on a flyleaf; 'Ex doni domini Willelmi Geraldi Cancellarij Hibernia', Rawlinson B.490, on a flyleaf.
158 Fols. 46–9 contain copies by James Ware of of Latin inscriptions from Dublin churches and one in Irish from Tuam Cathedral; on a flyleaf are the coats of arms of the Earl of Moira and of William Crawford of Lakelands, Cork.
159 'In nomine Dei Amen I George fforlonge of Wexforde In mense man[d]i tum flores sunt blandi et hondes pulcri uiridique michi iocundum me consolandum in ter flores ubique', left margin of 63v.
160 Also, as John Gillingham has pointed out ('Images of Ireland', especially pp. 16–20), the English attitude towards the Irish in the sixteenth century was very similar to, and may even have had its roots in, the twelfth-century attitude expressed by Gerald in his Irish works.

place with which Gerald was so closely associated, but it is the only one surviving. According to Marvin Colker, TCD 515 has a Welsh provenance.[161] Of the four manuscripts now in the National Library of Wales only the early modern Peniarth 383D has any evidence that it could have originated in Wales, as it was owned by Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt (1592–1667). The others have nothing to tie their origin or early history to Wales. There are no surviving examples of Giraldian works translated into Welsh. From the extant manuscripts it seems that, as far as Wales was concerned, and certainly in the later Middle Ages, Gerald simply did not exist. This may have something to do with the fact that, at the end of the first edition of *Descriptio Kambriae*, Gerald suggested that Wales should be depopulated and turned into a game-reserve ...

There are hardly any manuscripts of Gerald's works which were written outside Britain and Ireland, and only a few more with a later foreign provenance. Today only six of the surviving manuscripts are to be found in libraries abroad.[162] It would appear that, for whatever reason, Gerald's works were not popular outside Britain and Ireland. Of course several of his works were not popular in Britain either, if one may judge from the small number of surviving copies; these tend to be the more autobiographical works. The more popular works were the ones concerned with Ireland and Wales, and perhaps these would not appeal to a Continental audience.

A small but interesting piece of evidence for a foreign provenance may be found in Bruges, City Archives, Fonds de Limberg-Stirum 39. This manuscript contains a cartulary of John Adorne (1444–1511), the grandson of Peter Adorne, founder of the Jerusalem Chapel in the diocese of Tournai. It also contains a catalogue of John Adorne's library from the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, and one of the items listed is

---

[161] Colker, *Trinity College Dublin*, II, 972.

[162] Douai 887, Leiden BPL 13, BNF latin 4126, BNF latin 4846, BNF latin 11111 and BAV Reg. Lat. 470. Ireland, of course, is also a foreign country now, but I consider it a special case as it was (at least nominally) under English control for the period in question here.

'Een ander bouc ghenaempt prefatio prima topografia in Hibernicam'.[163] It is likely that this refers to a copy of *Topographia hibernica*, though there are no copies of this work now surviving in Belgium. Slight though this evidence is (especially given that it does not definitely refer to Gerald's work), it may show that there were in fact some Continental readers of Gerald in the later Middle Ages, despite the lack of actual copies of his works from the Continent.

The only manuscript-evidence of Gerald's works travelling abroad is that of BL Additional 17920 and 19513, discussed above,[164] which contain an abbreviated and edited (and, in the former case, translated) copy of *Topographia hibernica*. This rather unexpected development of Gerald's work involved a long journey, from its beginnings in Angevin England through Anglo-Irish Ireland and its ecclesiastical politics to the papal court of Avignon and even the secular milieu of fourteenth-century Provence. Gerald might not have been pleased that his precious work had been so altered by Philip of Slane, but I imagine that he would certainly have been pleased that it played a part in religious politics, was read by a pope, and achieved some international fame.

---

[163] *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii*, ed. Derolez *et al.*, I, 23–4 (no. 15).
[164] pp. 190–1.

CHAPTER V

THE EARLY MODERN MANUSCRIPTS

The age of printing did not bring the end of manuscript copies of Gerald's works;[1] on the contrary, there are almost as many early modern manuscripts – that is, manuscripts written after about 1540 – as there are later medieval (thirty-seven early modern to forty-five later medieval), produced over a considerably shorter period.[2] The revival of interest in the past demonstrated by so many people from the mid-sixteenth century encompassed Gerald as well as the numerous earlier writers whose works were mined in Britain for arguments in favour of Protestantism.

No printed edition of a work by Gerald appeared until the end of the sixteenth century. Extracts from *Topographia hibernica* were printed by Richard Stanihurst in 1584.[3] The whole text, along with that of *Expugnatio hibernica*, was first printed in 1602/3 by William Camden in his *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica*.[4]

The two Welsh works were published in 1585 by David Powel,[5] but Powel omitted the last chapter of Book I of *Itinerarium Kambriae* (on Thomas Becket) and the whole of Book II of *Descriptio Kambriae*. Presumably his Welsh patriotism would not allow him to justify printing the less charming aspects of the Welsh character discussed in Book II. Camden published both works in 1602/3,[6] but they were simply reprinted from Powel's edition and so included only Book I of *Descriptio Kambriae*. In 1691 Book II was finally

---

[1] The interaction of script and print in the late Middle Ages and early modern period has recently been discussed in *The Uses*, ed. Crick and Walsham. See especially the introduction, pp. 1–26.
[2] There are thirty-eight early modern manuscripts.
[3] Stanihurst, *De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis*, pp. 219–64. The extracts are mostly from *Distinctiones I* and *III*.
[4] *Anglica, Normannica*, ed. Camden, pp. 692–754 (*Topographia hibernica*), 755–813 (*Expugnatio hibernica*).
[5] *Pontici Virunnii … Britannicae Historiae Libri Sex*, ed. Powel, pp. 47–230 (*Itinerarium Kambriae*), 231–84 (*Descriptio Kambriae*).
[6] *Anglica, Normannica*, ed. Camden, pp. 815–78 (*Itinerarium Kambriae*) and 879–92 (*Descriptio Kambriae*).

printed in Henry Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*.[7] *De iure et statu meneuensis ecclesiae*,[8] *De rebus a se gestis*,[9] *Vita Sancti Dauidis*,[10] *Vita Galfridi*[11] *Vita Sancti Remigii*,[12] *Retractationes*[13] and *Catalogus breuior librorum suorum*[14] were also first published in *Anglia sacra*.

Vita Sancti Hugonis,[15] *Gemma ecclesiastica*,[16] *Symbolum electorum*[17] and *De inuectionibus*[18] were not printed until the 1860s in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*. Only Books IV, V and VI of *De inuectionibus* were published at this time from a transcript of BAV Reg. Lat. 470, as the survival of that manuscript was not then known; the full text was published in W. S. Davies's edition in 1920.[19] *Speculum duorum* (surviving only in the same manuscript) was published in 1974.[20] Extracts from *Vita Sancti Ethelberti* were printed in the Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum* for May,[21] Brewer reprinted these extracts in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*. The full text was edited by M. R. James in 1917.[22] Extracts from Books II and III of *De principis instructione* were first printed in 1822,[23] and a fuller version of the text (Books II and III and extracts from Book I) was published in 1846.[24] The full text first appeared in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*.[25] Anthony Wood included some quotations from *Speculum*

---

[7] *Anglia Sacra*, ed. Wharton, II, 447–55. Wharton printed only Book II of *Descriptio Kambriae* and none of the other Welsh and Irish works. On Wharton and his works, see Douglas, *English Scholars*, pp. 139–55.
[8] *Anglia Sacra*, ed. Wharton, II, 514–627.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 457–513.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 628–40; *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, ed. Bollandists, I, 318 (no. 2111).
[11] *Anglia Sacra*, ed. Wharton, II, 375–407.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 408–33; *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, ed. Bollandists, II, 1038 (no. 7146).
[13] *Anglia Sacra*, ed. Wharton, II, 455–6.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 445–6.
[15] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VII, 83–147; *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, ed. Bollandists, I, 599; supplement, p. 435 (no. 4020).
[16] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, II.
[17] *Ibid.*, I, 199–395.
[18] *Ibid.*, I, 126–96 and III, 5–96.
[19] 'The Book of Invectives', ed. Davies.
[20] *Speculum Duorum*, ed. and trans. Richter *et al.*
[21] *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. Bolland *et al.*, Mai, V, 241*, 243*–247*; *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, ed. Bollandists, I, 395; supplement, p. 299 (no. 2626).
[22] 'Two Lives', ed. James.
[23] *Recueil des historiens*, ed. Bouquet *et al.*, XVIII, 121–63.
[24] *Giraldus Cambrensis de Instructione Principum*, ed. Brewer.
[25] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VIII.

Ecclesiae in his 'Antiquities of Oxford' (1674),[26] but the full text was only published in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*.[27]

It is therefore not surprising that there should be so many early modern manuscripts, as some printed texts were available only from 1691 while others had to wait to be published in the nineteenth century.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

The early modern manuscripts are very different from the medieval manuscripts. They are almost all made of paper, not parchment.[28] The edges of the paper are often untrimmed and rather ragged. The written space is either frame-ruled or simply marked by a single line to the left of the written space; sometimes it is not ruled at all, and the writing extends to within a centimetre of the edge of the page.

The script of the early modern period was developed from medieval cursive scripts and would not have been considered high-grade by medieval scribes. It can be quite illegible at times. There were two basic scripts, Secretary and Italic.[29] Secretary was the lower-grade, more everyday script which was developed from medieval Secretary (Cursiva Recentior). Typical letter-forms are an angular **c** formed of a short vertical and a horizontal headstroke, **e** shaped like a backwards figure 3, a large, sprawling **h**, **p** formed in a single stroke like **x** and two-stemmed **r**. Italic is a higher-grade script which was developed from the Humanistic scripts based on Caroline minuscule, which achieved popularity in Italy from the fifteenth century (and which became the basis for modern typeface). It has simpler letter-forms, for example of **a**, **e**, **g**, **h** and **p**, which makes it

---

[26] Wood, *Historia et Antiquitates*, pp. 54–7. According to John Gutch, who edited an English version of Wood's text in 1786 (Wood, *The History and Antiquities*, pp. [iii–iv]), the Latin version printed in 1674 was translated into Latin from an English original and Wood was not at all happy with it, prompting him to make a revised English version in 1676. The text edited by Gutch is part of this revised English version.
[27] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, IV.
[28] Lambeth 623 and the modern portion of CUL Ff.1.27, part 2 (pp. 473–94) are made of parchment.
[29] Hector, *The Handwriting*, pp. 61–4.

easier to read. Over time the two types tended to become hybridised. Manuscripts were not usually decorated – the elaborate initials and borders of medieval manuscripts were abandoned, and colour was rarely employed. Occasionally touches of red were used,[30] and often chapter-headings and important words, for example personal and place-names, were written in a more formal script (for example in Italic if the main text was written in Secretary).[31] The only decorated early modern manuscript is BL Royal 13.B.xii. It has large initials at the beginning of each chapter decorated with angular interlace and acanthus-leaf designs drawn in black ink.

All in all, the appearance of the early modern manuscripts very much suggests that they were for personal use, not for being the copy of a work to sit in a library and be read by many. This fits entirely with the British and Irish context in which the monastic libraries were dispersed with the dissolution of the monasteries, and scholars were obliged to build up their own collections.

London, British Library, Royal 13.B.xii and Royal Appendix 85

BL Royal 13.B.xii contains two copies each of *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Descriptio Kambriae.* Dimock described it thus:[32]

> It contains two copies of the Itinerary, and of the Description of Wales … 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.

---

[30] For example, in NLW Peniarth 383D chapter-headings and important words in the text (names, places, dates etc.) are in red; chapter-headings are also underlined.
[31] For example, in NLI 1416 and Lambeth 623.
[32] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, xvii–xix.

The end of the rougher copy of *Descriptio Kambriae*, which is the last text in the manuscript, is incomplete.

Royal Appendix 85, fol. 53, is a single paper-leaf containing the end of *Descriptio Kambriae* copied from a text of the same edition as that in Royal 13.B.xii. At first this suggested to me that another manuscript of this family had once existed; however, the second copy of *Descriptio Kambriae* in Royal 13.B.xii is incomplete at the end, finishing at *preterea quia minus* in II.ix. The text in Royal Appendix 85, fol. 53, would, if complete, supply the deficiency in Royal 13.B.xii. There are also other similarities between the two manuscripts: for example, the widths of the pages and written spaces are within 10mm of each other,[33] and both are written in a bold early modern Secretary hand with flat-topped **g**, two-stemmed **r**, tall **s** with a thickening in the middle of the stem and **v** with a straight, thick left limb. It seems very likely, therefore, that Royal Appendix 85, fol. 53, is not a witness to another copy of *Descriptio Kambriae* of the same textual family as Royal 13.B.xii but is in fact the missing part of that manuscript.

Matthew Parker's manuscripts

Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury 1559–75 and founder of the Parker Library in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, owned a number of manuscripts containing works of Gerald: CCCC 390, CCCC 400, CCCC 425 and CUL Ff.1.27, part 2 + CCCC 66A. The three Corpus Christi manuscripts are early, and CUL Ff.1.27 is medieval. However, CCCC 400 and CUL Ff.1.27 both had early modern parts added to them in Parker's time: CUL Ff.1.27, which originally contained *Topographia hibernica*, *Expugnatio hibernica* and *Itinerarium Kambriae* (among other works not by Gerald), had copies of *Descriptio Kambriae* and *Retractationes* added, while CCCC 400, which contains originally separate copies of

[33] Width of page: Royal 13.B.xii 200mm, Royal Appendix 85 195mm. Width of written space: Royal 13.B.xii 165mm, Royal Appendix 85 155mm. (I was able to compare these measurements because in some places on Royal Appendix 85, fol. 53, the full width of the page survives.)

Topographia hibernica (CCCC 400[B]) and *De iure et statu meneuensis ecclesiae* (CCCC 400[D]), acquired early modern transcripts of *Descripio Kambriae*, *Retractationes*, *Catalogus librorum suorum* and *De Giraldo* (CCCC 400[C]) and the pseudo-Giraldian *De successione episcoporum et gestis eorum uidelicet Bernardi et Dauid secundi* (CCCC 400[A]).

With CUL Ff.1.27 the motive was clearly to complete the set of Welsh and Irish works (the exemplar of CUL Ff.1.27, viz. BL Royal 13.B.viii, did not contain *Descriptio Kambriae*), and probably the early modern parts were added to CCCC 400 for a similar reason, although the 'set' is less complete there. In fact, my investigations in Chapter II showed that the early modern additions to CCCC 400 were made first; the copy of *Retractationes* in CUL Ff.1.27 was copied from that in CCCC 400[C].[34] The copies of *Descriptio Kambriae* (both of the mutilated first edition) in both manuscripts were in very similar hands. The copy of *De Giraldo* (which has been misplaced and appears in the middle of *Descriptio Kambriae*) was written in a different hand and was apparently copied from the text in TCD 515 which belonged to John Dee.[35]

Colophons

The early modern manuscripts are also distinct from the medieval by their copyists' habit of being much more forthcoming, both about themselves and what they were copying. There is less information about the location of a manuscript, which can be frustrating but is probably due to the fact that there were no longer any monastic libraries, keen to prevent the loss of their books by writing in them where they belonged (and often cursing potential thieves). However, early modern transcribers were sometimes more enthusiastic for their own efforts to be recognised.

---

[34] See above, pp. 103–5.
[35] See above, pp. 101–3.

For example, John Stow wrote his name and the date of his copying at the end of every work of Gerald's which he copied or translated: 'here begenythe Itinerarium of Giralde Cambrensis. and a description aswell of wales as britayne. writen in latyn and then in englyshe by John stow marchaunt taylor in Anno 1575'.[36] George Owen, who translated the two Welsh works for an unnamed patron, left the rubric 'Itinerarium Cambriæ Or A curiouse descripcion of the paynefull Journey of Baldwyn Archbushop of Cantorburye throughe Wales written first in latine by Sil. Giraldus Cambrensis With the Annotacions of Dauid Powell doctor of Divinity Englished by George Owen gentleman 1602' on the title-page of his work.[37] Even those who were simply copying the Latin text and not making an intellectual effort might leave their names on their copies, for example 'Topographia Walliæ Magistri Geraldi Cambrensis Eiusdem Itinerarium Walliæ Laurentij Nouelli 1562'.[38]

As can be seen from the examples above, early modern copyists were also more in the habit of dating their work. There are many more dated Giraldian manuscripts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than from all the preceding centuries put together. The following manuscripts are dated:

Bodleian Rawlinson B.471 (A.D. 1560);
BL Additional 43706 (1562);
BL Lansdowne 229 (1573);
NLI 1416 (1575);
BL Harley 544 (1575);
BL Harley 551 (1575–6);[39]
Lambeth 263 (1602);
BL Additional 4785 (1641).

---

[36] BL Harley 544, 3r.
[37] Lambeth 263, 1r.
[38] BL Additional 43706, 2r. On Laurence Nowell see, for example, Flower, 'Laurence Nowell' and Black, 'Some New Light'.
[39] *Topographia hibernica*, *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Descriptio Kambriae* were written in 1575 (3r, 37v, 62v and 120r); *Expugnatio hibernica* was written in 1576 (119v).

Early modern scribes also sometimes adopted the scholarly habit of acknowledging their sources, something which occurs in no medieval Giraldian manuscript. For example, 'Cod. Cott. Domit. A. 1' is written in the top left-hand corner of the first page (11r) of *Descriptio Kambriae* in TCC O.5.24. In more general terms the scribes of the Giraldian parts of BL Additional 4785 and Sloane 1710 noted that their exemplars were 'Ex bibliotheca Regia'.[40] Henry Wharton conscientiously noted the manuscripts from which he copied extracts of Gerald's works into Lambeth 594.[41]

There are two particularly detailed examples in BL Cotton Faustina C.iv: 'Sciendum uerò hìc est [*sic*] libellum magistri Giraldi de kambriæ descripcione et tractatum retractionum unà cum cathalogo librorum ab ipso compositorum e chartaceo exemplari modernis literis conscripto desumpta fuisse, reliqua uerò omnia ex ueteri pargameneo exemplari transcripta sunt' (5v)[42] and 'Sequens libellus de kambriæ descripcione, unà cum epistola ad hubertum archiepiscopum, e chartaceo exemplari modernis literis conscripto desumitur' (55v).[43] These colophons refer to BL Cotton Vitellius E.v, which was originally part of the same manuscript as Faustina C.iv.[44] The exemplar to which the first colophon refers may be a composite codex like CCCC 400, containing both medieval parchment and early modern paper copies of Gerald's works. It is unlikely (but not impossible) that the transcript of *Topographia hibernica* in Faustina C.iv was copied from CCCC 400[B] itself; however, despite being of a similar stage in the evolution of the text, it is missing text which is in CCCC 400[B].[45] On the other hand, the colophon may refer to two entirely separate exemplars, one of which is early modern, made of paper and

[40] 2r and 147r respectively. In both cases the text was probably copied from BL Royal 13.B.xii; see above, pp. 92–3.
[41] pp. 27, 53 and 55.
[42] 'It should be known that this book of Master Gerald on the description of Wales and tract of retractions together with a catalogue of books composed by the same was excerpted from a paper exemplar written in modern letters; all the rest was transcribed from an old parchment exemplar' (my translation).
[43] 'The following book on the description of Wales, together with a letter to Archbishop Hubert, is taken from a paper exemplar written in modern letters' (my translation).
[44] Tite, *The Early Records*, p. 222.
[45] See above, pp. 45–7, at p. 46.

contains *Descriptio Kambriae*, *Retractationes* and *Catalogus breuior*, and the other of which is medieval, made of parchment and contains *reliqua omnia* ('all the rest').

Another interesting set of colophons refers to BL Cotton Domitian A.i. All copies of the pseudo-Giraldian *De successione episcoporum* have the following colophon at the end: 'Ex libro quodam ueteri in quo continentur aliqua scripta Giraldi Cambrensis, et nunc in custodia Magistri Price de Wallia'.[46] This 'old book' must be Domitian A.i, which was taken from the treasury of St Davids by John Prise and does indeed contain a copy of *De successione episcoporum*, in fifteenth-century script.[47] However, another colophon, reading 'Ex quodam uetusto libro Jo. Price, post descriptionem Cambrie', stands at the end of *De Giraldo* in CCCC 400[C] and BL Harley 359;[48] an English translation, 'Out of an old booke of Mastar John prices aftar the discripcion of wales', follows Stow's translation of *De Giraldo* in BL Harley 544.[49] The curious thing about this is that *De Giraldo* is not in Domitian A.i, after *Descriptio Kambriae* or anywhere else. The mistake appears to have originated in CCCC 400[C], the exemplar of Harley 359 and possibly of Harley 544 – there is certainly no such colophon in TCD 515. It is possible that Domitian A.i did once contain *De Giraldo*, but I do not think that the text in CCCC 400[C] could have been copied from this putative text; I am sure that it was copied from TCD 515.[50] Whether this was an honest mistake by Parker when he copied *De Giraldo* for CCCC 400, or whether he was attempting to give the text more credibility by attributing it to an old witness from Gerald's homeland of Wales, it is impossible to say.

---

[46] 'From an old book containing some writings of Gerald of Wales, and now in the possession of Mr Price of Wales' (my translation). CCCC 400[A], [2r]; BL Harley 359, 11r; BL Harley 544, 14r.
[47] 155v–156v. On John Prise see Ker, 'Sir John Prise'.
[48] 34r and 14r respectively.
[49] 3r.
[50] See above, pp. 101–3.

Among the early and later medieval manuscripts *Topographia hibernica* is the most popular work, followed by *Expugnatio hibernica*. However, in the early modern manuscripts the most popular work is *Descriptio Kambriae*; there are copies of more of Gerald's works than may be seen in the later medieval manuscripts, and there was less straightforward copying and more alteration of the texts.

Topographia hibernica

There are only seven witnesses to *Topographia hibernica* in the modern manuscripts, and of those only two are straightforward copies of the Latin text.[51] BL Cotton Faustina C.iv contains a copy of the second edition, and BL Harley 359 contains a copy of the third edition which was compared with a first- and a fifth-edition copy. The copy in BL Harley 551 is an English translation of the fifth edition; it omits some chapters. The other three manuscripts – TCD 574, BL Additional 4822 and CCCO 263 – contain only extracts. Those in TCD 574 were taken from a first-edition exemplar, and those in CCCO 263 were taken from a fifth-edition exemplar. There is not enough text in BL Additional 4822 to enable one to say which edition it follows.

Expugnatio hibernica

There are more copies of *Expugnatio hibernica* than *Topographia hibernica*, which is again a change from the earlier manuscript-record. Twelve manuscripts contain this text, but, as with *Topographia hibernica*, there are only two copies of the full Latin text, in BL Harley

[51] This may have been due to the relatively early printing of parts of *Topographia hibernica*, but I am not convinced that it was. The extracts printed by Stanihurst are only an appendix to his work on the history of Ireland, and their availability in print may not have been widely known (Dimock did not mention Stanihurst in his account of the early printed versions of Gerald's works (*GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, lxxix–lxxx)). Also, the similarly small number of complete Latin copies of *Expugnatio hibernica* suggests a more general lack of interest in Gerald's Irish works.

310 and 359. A. B. Scott has said that Harley 310 was copied from BL Royal 13.A.xiv (a β-recension witness);[52] Harley 359 was copied from the incomplete text in Douai 887, with the text completed from and compared with a copy of the β-recension.[53]

There are four translations of *Expugnatio hibernica.* (1) NLI 1416, TCD 574 and Lambeth 623 contain copies of 'The English Conquest of Ireland' (discussed in Chapter IV, above), that in Lambeth 623 being somewhat abbreviated and having additional non-Giraldian passages. There are also independent translations of the text in (2) BL Harley 551, (3) Lambeth 248 and (4) Bodleian Rawlinson B.475. The first three are English translations; the last is in Irish. The text in Lambeth 248 was translated from a copy of the α-recension, and Harley 551 from a copy of the β-recension. TCD 574, BL Lansdowne 229 and Lambeth 580 contain extracts. Those in Lansdowne 229 derive from a copy of the intermediate stage of the α-recension. According to Scott, the extracts (the prophecies of Merlin) in Lambeth 580 derive from a copy of the α-recension, probably Lambeth 371.[54]

Descriptio Kambriae

There are seventeen copies of *Descriptio Kambriae.* Nine of these are copies of the complete Latin text,[55] although that in NLW Peniarth 383D is somewhat abbreviated. TCC O.5.24, BL Additional 4785 and BL Sloane 1710 contain only Book II, and a single leaf of the text is preserved in BL Royal Appendix 85. There are only two English translations of the text, in BL Harley 551 and Lambeth 263. The remaining two manuscripts – TCD 574 and Bodleian Rawlinson B.471 – contain extracts.

---

[52] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, p. xxxix.
[53] *Ibid.*
[54] *Ibid.*, pp. xxxix–xl.
[55] NLW Peniarth 383D, CCCC 400[C], CUL Ff.1.27, part 2, BL Additional 43706, BL Cotton Vitellius E.v, BL Harley 359, BL Harley 1757, BL Royal 13.B.xii and CCCO 217.

Of the complete Latin copies of the text, seven are of the first edition: CCCC 400[C], CUL Ff.1.27, part 2, BL Additional 43706, BL Cotton Vitellius E.v, BL Harley 359, BL Harley 1757 and CCCO 217. Dimock classified the text in BL Royal 13.B.xii as a copy of the second edition,[56] but Lewis Thorpe suggested that it could constitute a third edition.[57] NLW Peniarth 383D seems to be a copy of the first edition but with some second/third edition variants. The copies of Book II in TCC O.5.24, BL Additional 4785 and BL Sloane 1710 are all of the second/third edition. A rubric suggests that the text in TCC O.5.24 was copied (or at least derives) from BL Cotton Domitian A.i, and the copy in Sloane 1710 states that it is 'Ex Bibliotheca Regia', and so it probably derives from BL Royal 13.B.xii, the only complete copy of the second/third edition in the Royal collection.[58]

The translation in BL Harley 551 is of the first edition, and that in Lambeth 263 is of the second/third edition. The extracts in TCD 574 and those in Bodleian Rawlinson B.471 derive from a copy of the first edition.

As I showed in Chapters II and IV, above, all copies of the first edition of *Descriptio Kambriae* known to Dimock have a large lacuna and a small piece of misplaced text. My investigations in Chapter II[59] have shown that no undamaged copies of the first edition survive. This damaged text first appears in the surviving manuscripts in the late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century BL Cotton Vitellius C.x, Cotton Nero D.viii and Royal 13.C.iii. However, most of the copies of this text are modern. Given the general surge of scholarship in the early modern period, it is very strange that so many copies of this mutilated text were made without the scribes noticing that something was amiss.

---

[56] *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, VI, xxii–xxxii, espcially xxviii–xxix.
[57] Thorpe, *The Journey*, p. 50.
[58] There is no evidence of any copy of *Descriptio Kambriae* in the Royal collection which has been lost; see *The Libraries*, ed. Carley (in which, in fact, no copies of *Descriptio Kambriae* are listed).
[59] See above, pp. 88–92.

Itinerarium Kambriae

There are ten manuscripts containing *Itinerarium Kambriae.* Four of these contain complete Latin texts: NLW Peniarth 383D (again somewhat abbreviated), BL Additional 43706, BL Harley 359 and BL Royal 13.B.xii. There are English translations in BL Harley 551 and Lambeth 263. TCD 574, BL Lansdowne 229, Bodleian Rawlinson B.471 and CCCO 263 contain extracts.

Of the copies of complete texts, BL Additional 43706 and BL Harley 359 are of the second edition and NLW Peniarth 383D and BL Royal 13.B.xii are of the third edition. The only copy of the first edition is the translation in BL Harley 551; the other translation, in Lambeth 263, is taken from the third edition. The extracts in TCD 574 and those in Bodleian Rawlinson B.471 were taken from a copy of the second edition; those in BL Lansdowne 229 from a copy of the third edition. There are no suitable variants in the extracts in CCCO 263 to show which edition was used.

Retractationes and *Catalogus breuior librorum suorum*

All but one of the copies of these two works belong to the early modern period, and they are all derived from the one medieval copy, BL Cotton Domitian A.i. *Retractationes* appears in CCCC 400[C], TCC O.5.24, CUL Ff.1.27, part 2, BL Cotton Vitellius E.v, BL Harley 359 and BL Harley 544, and all but Ff.1.27 also contain *Catalogus.* The copy of each work in BL Harley 544 is an English translation. I have shown in Chapter II that all the modern witnesses were copied from CCCC 400[C].

De iure et statu meneuensis ecclesiae

There are three early modern copies of *De iure*, but only one, in BL Cotton Vitellius E.v, is a complete text, and that was damaged in the Cotton-library fire of 1731. BL Harley

544 contains an English translation of Book I and part of Book II; Bodleian James 2 contains quite extensive extracts.

Symbolum electorum

TCC O.10.16 contains a copy of *Symbolum electorum*, which was probably copied from TCC R.7.11 but contains only the first part of the text consisting of selections from Gerald's correspondence. Lambeth 594 also contains some extracts, taken from BL Cotton Cleopatra D.v.

De principis instructione

There are three manuscripts – BL Additional 48037, BL Cotton Titus C.xii and Lambeth 594 – containing extracts from *De principis instructione*, but no complete copies.

Others

Three other Giraldian works are represented in the modern manuscript-record. BL Additional 4787, a manuscript of Sir James Ware,[60] contains extracts from *De rebus a se gestis*, which – as a note in the manuscript states – were copied from BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii.[61] Lambeth 594 contains extracts from *Gemma ecclesiastica* copied from a Lambeth manuscript, probably Lambeth 236, the only surviving complete copy. Bodleian James 2 contains extracts from *Speculum Ecclesiae*, also taken from BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii.

London, British Library, Harley 359

BL Harley 359 contains quite a large number of Giraldian texts, namely the Welsh and Irish works, *Retractationes*, *Catalogus librorum suorum*, *De Giraldo*, the pseudo-Giraldian *De*

[60] O'Sullivan, 'A Finding List', p. 80.
[61] 'Sub Tiberio B.xiii', 245r1.

successione episcoporum and an extract from *De iure*. Some of these texts have been written in the same hand (a small neat Italic script), a fact which suggests that it is not entirely a composite codex. It is an interesting manuscript for several reasons. First, its works are derived from several sources. Its texts of *Retractationes*, *Catalogus librorum suorum* and *De Giraldo* were copied from CCCC 400[C];[62] according to Scott, its copy of *Expugnatio hibernica* was copied from Douai 887 to the end of that manuscript and then completed from a copy of the β-recension. Its text of *Topographia hibernica* was taken from a copy of the third edition like BL Arundel 14, but not Arundel 14 itself or its fellow Bodleian Bodley 511. Its text of *Itinerarium Kambriae* was taken from BL Additional 34762 or a manuscript very like it, and that of *Descriptio Kambriae* is a mutilated copy of the first edition.

The text of *Topographia hibernica* is particularly interesting: it was compared with more than one other exemplar, with differences between them and the base-text noted in the margins.[63] The portion of the text of *Expugnatio hibernica* copied from Douai 887 was also compared with the β-recension copy from which the text was finished, the β-recension readings being added on separate sheets. Clearly these texts came under the eye of an editor who took care to note the differences between various versions of the text in front of him (his work is possibly the small neat Italic hand found in nine of the ten texts in the manuscript). It is possible that the texts were being edited in preparation for a printed edition.

---

[62] See above, pp. 101–5.
[63] See above, pp. 52–4.

There are considerably more different combinations of works in the modern manuscripts than there are in the earlier manuscripts, which is consistent with the greater number of individual works present in the modern manuscript-record.

Full texts

Itinerarium Kambriae and *Descriptio Kambriae*

NLW Peniarth 383D, BL Additional 43706, BL Royal 13.B.xii and Lambeth 263 contain these two works, in translation in Lambeth 263. BL Royal 13.B.xii and Lambeth 263 contain the latest versions of both works, but the other two do not; BL Additional 43706 contains the second edition of *Itinerarium Kambriae* and the first edition of *Descriptio Kambriae*, whereas NLW Peniarth 383D contains the third edition of *Itinerarium Kambriae* and a first edition of *Descriptio Kambriae*, but with some second/third-edition variants.

Descriptio Kambriae, *Retractationes* and *Catalogus breuior*

CCCC 400[C] and TCC O.5.24 contain these three works; CUL Ff.1.27, part 2, contains the first two, but not *Catalogus breuior*. CCCC 400[C] and Ff.1.27 contain the first edition of *Descriptio Kambriae*, but the copy in TCC O.5.24 (of Book II only) is second-edition and derived from BL Cotton Domitian A.i.

Topographia hibernica, *Expugnatio hibernica*, *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Descriptio Kambriae*

The only manuscripts (of all Giraldian manuscripts) to contain all four Welsh and Irish works are BL Harley 359 and 551. In Harley 359 they are accompanied by *Retractationes* and *Catalogus breuior*, and in Harley 551 they are found translated into English. Harley 359 contains a second-edition copy of *Itinerarium Kambriae* and a first-

edition copy of *Descriptio Kambriae*; the textual histories of its other two works are more complicated. *Expugnatio hibernica* was transcribed from Douai 887, a copy of the earliest stage of the α-recension, until that copy breaks off, and was completed from a β-recension copy. *Topographia hibernica* derives from a third-edition exemplar; the text up to I.12 (71v) was compared to a first-edition copy and after that point to a fifth-edition copy.

The texts in Harley 551 are translations from a fifth-edition copy of *Topographia hibernica*, a β-recension copy of *Expugnatio hibernica*, a first-edition copy of *Itinerarium Kambriae* and a first-edition copy of *Descriptio Kambriae*.

Descriptio Kambriae, *De iure*, *Retractationes* and *Catalogus breuior*

BL Cotton Vitellius E.v contains these works. The copy of *Descriptio Kambriae* was taken from a first-edition exemplar, and the copy of *De iure* is of the second edition of that text. BL Cotton Faustina C.iv, containing a second-edition copy of *Topographia hibernica*, was also originally part of this manuscript.

De iure, *Retractationes* and *Catalogus breuior*

BL Harley 544 contains English translations of these works. It is not clear from which edition the translation of *De iure* was made, but two readings suggest that it was a copy of the first edition.[64]

Extracts

Topographia hibernica, *Expugnatio hibernica*, *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Descriptio Kambriae* are found in TCD 574. The extracts derive from a first-edition copy of *Topographia hibernica*, a

[64] See above, pp. 109–10.

copy from the later stages of the α-recension of *Expugnatio hibernica*, a second-edition copy of *Itinerarium Kambriae* and a first-edition copy of *Descriptio Kambriae.*

Expugnatio hibernica and *Itinerarium Kambriae* are found in BL Lansdowne 229. The exemplar of the extracts from *Expugnatio hibernica* was from the intermediate stage of the α recension, and that of the extracts from *Itinerarium Kambriae* was a third-edition copy.

Topographia hibernica and *Itinerarium Kambriae* are found in CCCO 263. The extracts from *Topographia hibernica* are fifth-edition; I have been unable to determine the edition of the extracts from *Itinerarium Kambriae.*

Itinerarium Kambriae and *Descriptio Kambriae* are found in Bodleian Rawlinson B.471. The extracts were taken from the second edition of *Itinerarium Kambriae* and the first edition of *Descriptio Kambriae.*

The extracts from *Gemma ecclesiastica*, *Symbolum electorum* and *De principis instructione* in Lambeth 594 include statements about the exemplars. They were taken from Lambeth 236, BL Cotton Cleopatra D.v and BL Cotton Julius B.xiii respectively.

Likewise, the extracts from *Speculum Ecclesiae* in Bodleian James 2 are said to have been taken from BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii. Those from *De iure* are said to have been taken from a manuscript of 'Mag. Colleg.', but there are no surviving Giraldian manuscripts at either Magdalene College, Cambridge or Magdalen College, Oxford.[65] The text is very similar to that of BL Cotton Domitian A.i.

WORKS NOT BY GERALD

There are only seven modern manuscripts which contain nothing but Giraldian texts,[66] and most of the remainder contain quite a large number of other works; there is only one

[65] See above, p. 109.
[66] CCCC 400[C], NLI 1416, BL Additional 43706, BL Cotton Faustina C.iv, BL Harley 359, BL Royal 13.B.xii and Lambeth 263. CUL Ff.1.27, part 2, contains only Giraldian works; BL Harley 551 and Bodleian Rawlinson B.475 contain only one short work apart from their Giraldian works.

(BL Harley 551) containing just one other work.[67] The manuscript with the most works is BL Lansdowne 229, with 112. In general, the contents of the modern manuscripts are much more miscellaneous than those of the medieval manuscripts. As with the Giraldian works themselves, there are fewer copies of complete works and more extracts, abbreviations and translations. Works which frequently accompanied Giraldian texts in the Middle Ages, for example Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*, Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* and Jacques de Vitry's *Historia orientalis*, are hardly found in modern Giraldian manuscripts. In some manuscripts the contents have an Irish theme, for example TCD 574 and 593, BL Additional 4787 and Lambeth 248, and similarly the contents of NLW Peniarth 383D have a Welsh theme. Many of the contents of BL Cotton Titus C.xii relate to Scotland. Extracts from chronicles, registers of monasteries, letters, charters and laws seem to have been particularly popular: they may be found, for example, in TCD 574, BL Cotton Vitellius E.v, BL Harley 1757 and Lambeth 594.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS OF GERALD'S WORKS

Overall, there are remarkably few straightforward copies of the Latin text, as written by Gerald, among the modern manuscripts: only eleven out of thirty-seven manuscripts contain complete texts.[68] Almost half of the manuscripts (seventeen) contain only parts of texts, and nine contain translations of all or part of some texts.

[67] A list of the churches and religious houses from which Edward III demanded a benevolence in the sixth year of his reign.
[68] NLW Peniarth 383D, CCCC 400[C], CUL Ff.1.27, BL Add. 43706, BL Cotton Faustina C.iv, BL Cotton Vitellius E.v, BL Harley 310, BL Harley 359, BL Harley 1757, BL Royal 13.B.xii and CCCO 217.

Abbreviations and verbal alterations

Even in the apparently straightforward copies of texts, there is sometimes some alteration. Early modern scribes or editors thought nothing of altering the text at the verbal level to make it more amenable to their Renaissance tastes. I have discussed the way in which the texts in NLW Peniarth 383D were abbreviated.[69] BL Additional 43706 and Cotton Faustina C.iv both contain complete, unabbreviated copies (of the two Welsh works and *Topographia hibernica* respectively); but they have some verbal variants from the text as printed by Dimock, which seem unlikely to be the result of errors in copying and rather the deliberate choice of a word considered more appropriate.[70] A similar process can be seen in the extract from *De principis instructione* in BL Additional 48037. This type of alteration of the text is not found in any earlier manuscripts, and suggests that the attitude towards the texts changed in the early modern period. They were not something to be preserved, exactly as found, for posterity, but rather the property of the editor as well as the author, to be changed by the former as (s)he saw fit.

BL Additional 4822, a manuscript of Sir James Ware, contains only brief extracts from *Topographia hibernica*, including both a piece of text entitled 'Alterius anonymi Præfatio in abbreviationem Giraldi Cambrensis de topographia et debellatione Hiberniæ' and chapter III.5 with an added paragraph. As I showed above (in Chapter II),[71] this abbreviation of *Topographia hibernica* is not that of Philip of Slane (discussed in Chapter IV);[72] Additional 4822 must therefore be evidence of another, independent abbreviation. The extra text in III.5 shows that the text was added to as well as abbreviated. I do not know when the abbreviation from which the text in Additional 4822 may have been made (that is, whether it was a medieval or a modern text).

---

[69] See above, pp. 82–3 and 96–9.
[70] See above, pp. 47, 78–9 and 89–90.
[71] p. 61.
[72] pp. 190–1.

Extracts from Giraldian works in this period range from large portions of the text, for example Book II of *Descriptio Kambriae* in TCC O.5.24, BL Additional 4785 and BL Sloane 1710 and the letters from *Symbolum electorum* in TCC O.10.16, to very short pieces of text, for example the single paragraph from *De principis instructione* in BL Additional 48037. The greater variety of Gerald's works appearing in the modern manuscript-record is entirely accounted for by extracts; there are complete texts of only the Welsh and Irish works, *Retractationes* and *Catalogus breuior* (the latter two of which are only short works anyway).

There are some examples of the type of extracts found in medieval manuscripts, that is, small parts of the text in which the scribe or editor was interested. BL Lansdowne 229 and CCCO 263, for example, have extracts like this. The extracts in TCD 574 and Bodleian Rawlinson B.471, by contrast, are quite extensive and represent more a compression of the whole text than a selection of parts from it. The extracts from *Topographia hibernica* in TCD 574, for example, concentrate on the factual aspects of the text and leave out the allegories and moralisations of which Gerald was so fond. Some extracts are for the most part merely summaries of the text, for example those in BL Cotton Titus C.xii, Lambeth 580 and Lambeth 594. In the case of Lambeth 580 the extracts were made for a specific purpose: to supply omissions in another text. They are the parts of the α-recension of *Expugnatio hibernica* which were excised in the making of the β-recension.

The extracts in Bodleian James 2 are quite extensive, taking up eighty-eight pages of the manuscript. The extracts from *Speculum Ecclesiae* are particularly interesting because they were copied from BL Cotton Tiberius B.xiii before that manuscript was damaged in the Cotton-library fire of 1731, and they supply some of the now-missing text. In the

extract below, taken from James 2, the text which is now wanting in Tiberius B.xiii is in italics.[73]

> Quod itaque Hieronimus docuit hoc et fecit dum in heremo Bethlemiticâ monasticam religionem *sub* modicâ tamen et modestâ congregatione dedicauit – ubi et uiri bonitatem et s*anitate*m feris et bestiis *non* abhorrentibus sed *sub quada*m quasi uene*ratione reuerentibus. leo ferarum ter[ ]ssimus se sponte domesticum reddidit et mansuetum. Qui cum ad æsynorum custodiam pabulo quotidiano ei assignato deputatus fuisset: uno asinorum suorum cum forte obdormisset per mercatores* transeuntes ad *merces d*eferendos et sublato, reuersionem eorundem diligenter obseruans. asinum eundem preciosis honustum mercibus paulo post tanquam se reconciliando domum reduxit.

This manuscript is therefore valuable as it allows some retrieval of the text of *Speculum Ecclesiae* lost from Tiberius B.xiii in the Cottonian fire.

Translations

Translations of Gerald's works abounded in the early modern period by comparison with the later Middle Ages. Most of these translations were English, and in several cases we know who made them. John Stow (1525–1605) seems to have been rather fond of Gerald, as he translated the four Welsh and Irish works, *Retractationes*, *Catalogus librorum suorum*, *De Giraldo* and part of *De iure* into English in BL Harley 544 and 551. A translation of *De iure* very similar to Stow's is in BL Cotton Vitellius C.x. Lambeth 248 is a translation of *Expugnatio hibernica*, not related to 'The English Conquest of Ireland'. Lambeth 263 contains translations of *Itinerarium Kambriae* and the first book of *Descriptio Kambriae*, made in 1602 by George Owen of Henllys at the request of an unnamed patron. The fact that after each chapter notes by David Powel (publisher of the first printed edition of the Welsh works, in 1585) were added and the absence of Book II of *Descriptio Kambriae* both suggest that the translation was made from Powel's edition.

[73] p. 13, lines 15–28; *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, IV, 23.

'The English Conquest of Ireland'

The translations include some copies of 'The English Conquest of Ireland', that abbreviated translation of *Expugnatio hibernica* which was made in the late Middle Ages. NLI 1416 and TCD 593 both contain this text; TCD 593 has been thought to be a copy of TCD 592,[74] even though, like all other copies of the work, its scribe updated the language. (Not one copy of 'The English Conquest of Ireland' is exactly verbally the same as any other.) I suspect that Bodleian Rawlinson B.475 is also a copy of this text, translated into Irish, but I cannot be sure.

'The Book of Howth'

The author or scribe of the text of 'The English Conquest of Ireland' in Lambeth 623 took the translation of *Expugnatio hibernica* one step further by abbreviating the text even more, and adding several lengthy passages in praise of John de Courcy, a relatively minor character in Gerald's text. Perhaps because Gerald did not say as much about his hero as he would have liked, and he was forced to add more himself, the author was not very complimentary to Gerald. For example:[75]

> This story, and divers other of the thrice noble and worthy conqueror, that none his peer was in all Europe for the manliness and stalworthiness with his own hand, I mean Sir John de Coursy, Earl of Ulster, was left out of the book written by Geraldus Cameranse, Archdeacon of Landaffe in England, and yet he was sent by the King with his son John to Ireland for the declaration of the truth.

A rubric states that 'this miche that is in this bocke more then Camerans did writ of, was translatyd by the premet Dovdall in the yere of ouer lorde 1551 out of a latten bocke in to Englishe which was found with Onell in Armaghe'.[76] This dates the text (if not the

[74] For example Dimock, *GCO*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, V, xciii, n. 1; Esposito, '"The English Conquest"', p. 495.
[75] *Calendar*, ed. Brewer and Bullen, VI, 84. See also pp. 91, 117.
[76] 59v22–6.

manuscript) to 1551 and locates it in Ireland. 'Primate Dowdall' was George Dowdall, archbishop of Armagh 1543–51.[77] In this text, therefore, an already abbreviated translation of *Expugnatio hibernica* was further abbreviated and extra passages were added by an author or editor who did not have a good opinion of Gerald, so that it bears little resemblance to the original text as written by Gerald; indeed, one can hardly imagine that Gerald would appreciate it.

[77] *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. Fryde et al., p. 379.

Chapter VI

Gerald in Context

The rather large proportion of Giraldian manuscripts datable to the author's lifetime has seemed unusual, with 20% of the surviving manuscripts probably made while Gerald was alive. Is this distribution unusual, however? How does the manuscript-record of Gerald's works compare with that of other authors in this respect (and others)? In this chapter I shall consider the manuscript-record of some of Gerald's twelfth-century predecessors' and contemporaries' works in order to place what I have discovered about Gerald's manuscripts in a broader context.

Given the limited space, this assessment will necessarily be superficial and synthetic; being largely based on the introductions to editions of the works in question, it may also be incomplete, given the tendency of editors to ignore, or indeed be unaware of, manuscripts not useful from a textual point of view (as I discovered in my search for Giraldian manuscripts). However, I hope that it will give a general sense of how the evidence presented in the previous chapters compares with that for other authors.

I shall confine the comparison to William of Malmesbury, Geoffrey of Monmouth and Henry of Huntingdon. The works of all three authors are roughly comparable to Gerald's, being broadly historical and hagiographical. Geoffrey and Henry are comparable to Gerald as both were secular clergy and therefore were probably lacking ready access to a community of scribes to copy out their works. William, although a monk, is also comparable to Gerald as several manuscripts survive, including some of his own works, which were produced under his close supervision.

William of Malmesbury was born about 1095 near Malmesbury (Wiltshire) of mixed Norman-English parentage and was a monk of the Benedictine abbey of Malmesbury from an early age. He never rose above the rank of precentor in the abbey, and in fact he refused its abbacy in 1140. The date of his death is uncertain but it is thought to have occurred around 1143.[1]

Between about 1125 and his death he produced ten original works,[2] perhaps the most famous of which are *Gesta regum Anglorum* and *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, a secular and religious history respectively of England from the time of Bede to William's own time. *Historia nouella* is a continuation of *Gesta regum Anglorum*. William wrote several Lives of saints, namely Patrick,[3] Dunstan,[4] Wulfstan,[5] Indract[6] and Benignus of Glastonbury,[7] and a history of Glastonbury, *De antiquitate Glastoniae ecclesiae*. His two more religious works are *De laudibus et miraculis beatae uirginis Mariae* and a commentary on Lamentations. He also produced compilations or digests, including a 'unique, if derivative version of the *Liber Pontificalis*';[8] *Defloratione Gregorii*, a digest of Roman imperial history; *Abbreuiatio Amalarii*, an abridgment of Amalarius of Metz's *De ecclesiasticis officiis*; and *Polyhistor*, a florilegium. He was also a book-collector and contributed many books to Malmesbury Abbey's library.

William's hand was first identified by a note in Lambeth Palace 224, a collection of letters and treatises of Anselm, which reads[9]

> Disputat Anselmus, præsul Cantorberiensis,

---

[1] Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, pp. 2–3.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 4–5.
[3] *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, ed. Bollandists, II, 941; supplement, p. 688.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, 353; supplement, p. 273 (no. 2348).
[5] *Ibid.*, II, 1263–4; supplement, p. 875 (no. 8756).
[6] *Ibid.*, I, 633; supplement, p. 472 (no. 4271).
[7] Only the Lives of Wulfstan and Dunstan survive complete: see *Saints' Lives*, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, pp. 307–13.
[8] Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, p. 4.
[9] *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, ed. Hamilton, p. xii, n. 1; Ker, 'William of Malmesbury's Handwriting', pl. 2.

Scribit Willelmus, monachus Malmesburiensis;

Ambos gratifice complectere, lector amice.

In 1870 N. E. S. A. Hamilton wrote that the hand in Lambeth 224 was identical to that in Oxford, Magdalen College, Lat. 172, a copy of *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, and went on to note the large number of erasures, interlinear and marginal additions and transpositions in the Magdalen College manuscript. 'No transcriber would have ventured on anything of the kind. They are not scholia, but precisely such corrections as are made by an author on second thoughts.'[10] Hamilton also pointed out that there are some small errors in all copies of *Gesta pontificum Anglorum* except this one, which may be explained by the misreading of the script in this copy, thus proving that it was the archetype of all the extant witnesses.[11]

In 1944 Neil Ker identified several other manuscripts in which William's hand appears;[12] Rodney Thomson has used these manuscripts to make a study of William's 'scriptorium' at Malmesbury.[13] William's hand may be seen in eleven manuscripts, and Thomson has identified four other scribes with whom he collaborated more than once. However, Oxford Magdalen Latin 172 is the only surviving copy of one of William's own works of which he himself was the scribe;[14] he also annotated, but was not the main scribe of, the only surviving copy of *Defloratione Gregorii*.[15] The texts of which William copied at least a part include works of Vegetius, Iulius Frontinus, Eutropius[16] and Iohannes Scottus Eriugena,[17] as well as treatises on the calendar[18] and a collection of

[10] *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, ed. Hamilton, p. xii.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. xvii.
[12] Ker, 'William of Malmesbury's Handwriting'; also see his *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, p. 128.
[13] Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, pp. 76–96.
[14] It is one of only two manuscripts written entirely by William (the other is Oxford, Oriel College 42; see *ibid.*, pp. 96–7).
[15] CUL Ii.3.20; see *ibid.*, p. 94.
[16] All in Oxford, Lincoln College Lat. 100.
[17] TCC O.5.20.
[18] Bodleian Auctarium F.3.14.

historical and legal texts.[19] He clearly took part in the general production of books, not merely of his own works.[20]

According to Rodney Thomson, the manuscripts with which William may be associated are of varying appearance. 'They are large and small, roughly- and highly-finished, of varying dates or undateable with any precision, written in a single hand or many.'[21]

> William's books are workmanlike ... The best of them are neat and plain, but not in any way splendid. Their decoration is chaste and unexceptional ... The quality of the parchment varies, but generally is not of the highest ... Other details of layout, such as dimensions of written space, number of bounding lines, columns or lines per page, again vary, although they were nearly always carefully done.

None of them are particularly formal, indicating personal or in-house use.

William's works seems to have gained an immediate and wide popularity. According to William Stubbs, *Gesta regum Anglorum* 'seems to have sprung at once into the position of a popular and standard history'; he cited numerous historians up to the sixteenth century who used it as a source.[22] The manuscript-record confirms the text's popularity, since it survives, complete or incomplete, in over forty manuscripts.[23] Although there is no autograph copy, there are sixteen manuscripts from the twelfth century, including six containing an abbreviated version of the text. All the twelfth-century manuscripts of this abbreviation are French, both showing that *Gesta regum Anglorum* was known in France soon after it was published and suggesting that the abbreviation may have been made in France.[24] (There are only two later copies of this

---

[19] Bodleian Arch. Selden B.16.
[20] According to Thomson (*William of Malmesbury*, pp. 3 and 76) he was the librarian of Malmesbury Abbey.
[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 82–3 and pll. 1–2, 6–18.
[22] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. Stubbs, I, xci and xcii–xciii.
[23] See *ibid.*, pp. lxv–xc, and *William of Malmesbury: Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. Mynors *et al.*, pp. xiii–xxi.
[24] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, II.2541, from Tournai; BL Add. 39646, from Braine-sur-Vesle; New York, NY, H. P. Kraus, from Bonne Espérance; BNF latin 17656, from northern France; BNF nouv. acq.

abbreviation, one from the early thirteenth and one from the early fourteenth century;[25] it therefore seems to have been a localised text in both space and time.) After the twelfth century the number of manuscripts of *Gesta regum Anglorum* gradually tails off, with eleven thirteenth-century manuscripts, seven fourteenth-century manuscripts (two of which are now only fragments), and only one fifteenth- and two sixteenth-century copies. The manuscripts are mostly English, but there are some fourteenth-century French copies, showing that William was still known on the Continent well into the late Middle Ages.

Historia nouella never appears without *Gesta regum Anglorum*, of whose text it is a continuation. It survives in ten manuscripts; in one case,[26] it was added in the fourteenth century to a twelfth-century copy of *Gesta regum Anglorum*. The other copies range in date from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, and all appear to be British; one is from Wales.[27]

Gesta pontificum Anglorum appears to have been slightly less popular than its secular counterpart, with almost thirty copies. None of the surviving copies has a Continental provenance (although this does not prove that it was not known on the Continent). Almost half the surviving manuscripts (thirteen) are datable before the middle of the thirteenth century, with six twelfth-century copies, but the text appears to have had greater longevity than *Gesta regum Anglorum*, with surviving copies from the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Despite the fact that *Gesta regum* and *Gesta pontificum* seem to be complementary or even companion texts, there are only five manuscripts containing both works.[28] Of these, three are early or mid-thirteenth-century, one fourteenth-century and one sixteenth-century.

---

lat. 2864, from Hautmont; San Marino, CA, Huntington Library, H.M. 627, from Aulne. There are only two surviving twelfth-century French copies of the complete text: Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 294 bis, from Clairvaux, and BL Royal 13.B.xix.

[25] BNF latin 6187 and Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, 792.

[26] BL Royal 13.B.xix.

[27] Royal 13.D.ii (Margam, Glamorgan).

[28] TCC R.5.34, BL Harley 261, BL Royal 13.D.v, Bodleian Laud misc. 729 and Bodleian Hatton 54.

Of William's other works, his *De laudibus et miraculis beatae uirginis Mariae* survives in most copies, with thirteen manuscripts spread quite evenly in date between the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries;[29] only two, however, contain both parts of the work.[30] Two have a French provenance.[31] William's Commentary on Lamentations seems not to have been well-known: it survives in only two manuscripts, both twelfth-century.[32] Likewise the works compiled by William, *Liber pontificalis*, *Polyhistor* and *Deflorationes Gregorii*, survive in a very few manuscripts, all twelfth-century: there are two copies of *Liber pontificalis*[33] and of *Polyhistor*[34] and only one of *Deflorationes Gregorii*.[35] *Abbreuiatio Amalarii*, however, was more popular, surviving in five manuscripts of which three are twelfth-, one is thirteenth- and one fifteenth-century.[36] William's two complete surviving saints' Lives, those of Wulfstan and Dunstan, are preserved in only one manuscript each (Wulfstan's in a twelfth-century, and Dunstan's in a probably fifteenth-century manuscript), but there are extracts from or abbreviated versions of the Life of St Wulfstan in five other manuscripts.[37] The Lives of SS. Patrick, Benignus and Indract are lost but may be retrieved in some degree from the *Cronica* of John of Glastonbury; John Leland also preserved some extracts from the Life of St Patrick in his *Collectanea*.[38]

De antiquitate Glastoniae ecclesiae does not survive at all as William wrote it, but only in copies containing later interpolations. According to John Scott, revisions were made to William's work by the monks of Glastonbury in the early thirteenth century as part of an attempt to regain finances and prestige after a fire and threats to their independence from

---

[29] See *El libro*, ed. Canal, pp. 33–40.
[30] Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 97 and BNF latin 2769.
[31] BNF latin 2769, from Saint-Denis; Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, 622, from Toulouse.
[32] BL Cotton Tiberius A.xii (damaged in the Cotton Library fire) and Bodleian Bodley 868. See Farmer, 'William of Malmesbury's Commentary', p. 286.
[33] See Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, pp. 118–37, at 118–19.
[34] See *Polyhistor*, ed. Ouellette, pp. 25–6; both are fourteenth-century.
[35] See above, p. 225 and n. 15.
[36] See 'The "Abbreviatio Amalarii"', ed. Pfaff, pp. 77–8.
[37] *Saints' Lives*, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, pp. 4–5, 159. Also see Dumville *et al.*, *Saint Patrick*, pp. 265–71.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 307.

their local bishop, him of Bath and Wells.[39] Even this altered work survives complete in only two copies, both from Glastonbury, one mid-thirteenth-century and one early fourteenth-century; there are two incomplete copies, one of which is a copy of the other.[40] There are also twelve manuscripts containing extracts, but the extracts mostly derive from the interpolated sections of the text and not from William's work.[41] They are mostly early modern sixteenth- or seventeenth-century manuscripts.

There is a notably large number of manuscripts – eleven – containing William of Malmesbury's autograph, in either the original text and/or in additional notes. However, these account for a very small proportion of the extant manuscripts of his works, as his hand only appears in two manuscripts containing works (or compilations) of his (one copy of *Gesta pontificum Anglorum* and one of *Deflorationes Gregorii*). His most popular works, *Gesta regum Anglorum* and *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, were copied soon after they were written; *Gesta regum Anglorum* was known in France before the end of the twelfth century and continued to be copied there into the fourteenth century. William's *De laudibus et miraculis beatae uirginis Mariae* gained some popularity in both England and, to a lesser extent, France, but his other works have a very limited (and medieval) manuscript-record. Only *Gesta regum Anglorum* and *Gesta pontificum Anglorum* show any evidence of being copied into the early modern period.

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH

Geoffrey of Monmouth was not a great self-publicist; he said nothing about himself in his works, and so his existence is only known from a few scattered references. He appears to have had some connection with Monmouth, as on three occasions he called himself *Monemutensis*. Possibly he was born there. He spent some time in Oxford, as he

[39] *The Early History*, ed. and trans. Scott, pp. 34–6.
[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 36–9.
[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 184.

witnessed some charters from the Oxford area at various times from 1129 to 1152. In the witness-lists of these charters he is twice described as *magister*, which suggests that he was a teacher, possibly at the college of St George in Oxford (which was dissolved in 1149). He was elected bishop of St Asaph in Wales in 1152, the high point of his career. He probably died in 1155.[42]

Geoffrey wrote two works on the prophet Merlin: *Prophetia Merlini*, supposedly a translation from British verse of the prophecies delivered by Merlin to King Vortigern,[43] and a verse *Vita Merlini*.[44] His most famous work, however, is *Historia regum Britanniae*, a long pseudo-history of Britain from the time of the Trojans, which is largely responsible for the fame of the legend of King Arthur. This work was (and still is) remarkably popular: it survives today in 215 manuscripts.[45]

It has never been suggested that any of the surviving manuscripts of *Historia regum Britanniae* are in Geoffrey's autograph. There are, however, fifty-eight manuscripts from the twelfth century (approximately 25% of the total), showing that the work became very popular soon after it was written. Thirteen manuscripts are twelfth/thirteenth-century, thirty-seven thirteenth-century, fifteen thirteenth/fourteenth-century, forty fourteenth-century, nine fourteenth/fifteenth-century and twenty-six fifteenth-century, suggesting a constant popularity into the last medieval century. According to Crick, 'interest in the *Historia* was at its height in the twelfth century ... and remained strong until the beginning of the fifteenth, when it began to decline. Only five manuscripts postdate the appearance of the first [printed] edition in 1508.'[46]

---

[42] *The Historia*, ed. Wright, I, ix–x.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. x. This work was incorporated into *Historia regum Britanniae* but also circulated separately from it.
[44] There has been some debate whether *Vita Merlini* is in fact a work of Geoffrey; the arguments were summarised by Parry (*The Vita Merlini*, pp. 10–15), who concluded that there is 'nothing in the poem that would prevent the acceptance of the fact ... that [it] was written by Geoffrey of Monmouth' (p. 13).
[45] Catalogued by Crick, *The Historia*, III.
[46] Crick, *The Historia*, IV, 216 and n. 115.

Geoffrey's popularity appears to have been as wide and as immediate in other countries as it was in Britain. Manuscripts of the *Historia* from, particularly, Flanders (the largest single concentration of *Historia*-manuscripts) and to a lesser extent from Normandy and Champagne, survive from the twelfth century onwards. It had reached Normandy before Geoffrey's death, as Henry of Huntingdon famously saw a copy at Le Bec in January 1139 and was amazed by it.[47] Two versions of the text seem to have developed almost exclusively in Normandy.[48] Manuscripts of the *Historia* are also found from southern France, Germany and Italy.[49] In Britain, groups of manuscripts may be found all over the country (except Scotland): from Wales, northern England (including Yorkshire, Lancashire and Northumberland), East Anglia, Canterbury, London, the south-west and the western Midlands.[50] Again this is in contrast with Gerald, whose manuscript-record suggests that his works enjoyed a very limited popularity on the Continent. In some cases particular versions of the text can be located to a certain area; for example, one version is mostly found in manuscripts from Flanders, and another (the 'First Variant') seems to have been associated with Wales.[51]

As I mentioned above, part of *Historia regum Britanniae* circulated as a separate work, entitled *Prophetia Merlini.* There has been some debate about whether this work was finished and circulated even before Geoffrey had completed *Historia regum Britanniae.*[52] Although *Prophetia Merlini* on its own was not as popular as the whole *Historia*, it still survives as a separate text in seventy-nine manuscripts, both English and Continental.[53] There are thirteen manuscripts datable to the twelfth or twelfth/thirteenth century,

---

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 9. On this letter, see Wright, 'The Place'.
[48] The 'Bern group' (Crick, *The Historia*, IV, 180–1) and the 'Leiden group' (*ibid.*, pp. 187–8). See also Dumville, 'An Early Text', especially pp. 15–18 and 23 respectively, and Reeve, 'The Transmission'. The text of Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 568, of the Bern group has been edited by Neil Wright (*The Historia*, I, with a detailed description of the manuscript in the introduction).
[49] Crick, *The Historia*, IV, 210–13.
[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 214–15.
[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 201–2, 197. The 'First Variant' text has been edited by Neil Wright, *The Historia*, II.
[52] Eckhardt, 'The *Prophetia Merlini*', pp. 169–71.
[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 172–6.

which, according to Eckhardt, 'tends to lend strength to the thesis that there soon *was* a separate "libellus Merlini"'.[54] However, there are more copies from each of the following three centuries,[55] including translations and texts with extensive commentaries on the meaning of the prophecies. Like *Historia regum Britanniae*, interest in copying the text seems to have waned towards the early modern period, with only four copies datable after the fifteenth century.

In contrast to the previous two works (or one work with two manuscript-records), Geoffrey's *Vita Merlini* survives complete in only one manuscript: BL Cotton Vespasian E.iv, dating from the end of the thirteenth century.[56] There are four other manuscripts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries containing about half the poem: 'Three of these copies are inserted in MSS of Higden's *Polychronicon* between the years 525 and 533, and the fourth is said to be "secundum historiam policronicam"'.[57] Two others, one fifteenth- and one seventeenth-century,[58] contain fragments of the prophecies.

In summary, there is no surviving autograph of Geoffrey and no manuscripts from his lifetime. However, there is a large number of manuscripts from the twelfth century, testifying to the immediate and wide popularity of *Historia regum Britanniae* and also of *Prophetia Merlini* as a separate text. Both works remained very popular in Britain and France throughout the Middle Ages, but the number of manuscript copies declined after the fifteenth century, possibly due to the appearance of a printed edition in 1508. *Vita Merlini*, in contrast, seems from the manuscript-evidence never to have had a wide circulation.

---

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 170 (her italics).
[55] There are twenty thirteenth-century, one twelfth/thirteenth century, sixteen fourteenth-century, two fourteenth/fifteenth century and twenty fifteenth-century manuscripts.
[56] *The Vita Merlini*, ed. and trans. Parry, p. 21; *Life of Merlin*, ed. and trans. Clarke, p. 43.
[57] *The Vita Merlini*, ed. and trans. Parry, p. 21; *Life of Merlin*, ed. and trans. Clarke, pp. 43–4. The manuscripts are BL Cotton Julius E.viii, BL Cotton Titus A.xix, BL Harley 655 and BL Royal 13.E.i.
[58] BL Cotton Cleopatra C.iv and Harley 6148 respectively.

Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon, was born about 1088, the son of the married archdeacon before him, Nicholas. Henry was educated at Lincoln in the household of Bishop Robert Bloet and became the archdeacon of Huntingdon on his father's death in 1110. He was also married and had a son, Adam. The time of Henry's death is uncertain, but it occurred somewhere between 1156 and 1164.

Henry's major work is *Historia Anglorum*, a history of the English people, written at the request of Alexander 'the Magnificent', bishop of Lincoln 1123–47. This work survives in five different versions, ending in turn at 1129, 1138, 1147, 1148 and 1154. Three letters (*Epistola ad Henricum regem*, *Epistola ad Walterum de contemptu mundi* and *Epistola ad Warinum de regibus Britonum*)[59] were incorporated into *Historia Anglorum* as Book VIII under the title *De summitatibus rerum*, and another small work, *De miraculis Anglorum*, became Book IX, with a tenth Book continuing the history to 1138. This is the second edition. The third and fourth editions (continued to 1147 and 1148 respectively) were only slightly revised, but in some copies of the fourth edition Henry's *Epigrammata* were added to form Books XI and XII. There has been much contamination of the text, by conflation of the various versions; often a copyist would not only continue the text of an earlier edition from a later one but also make alterations to the earlier text itself.[60]

Diana Greenway has listed forty-five manuscripts of *Historia Anglorum* in her edition of the text.[61] No autograph manuscripts survive;[62] in fact Greenway has remarked that it is unlikely that even Henry's personal copy was written in his own hand.[63] However, thirteen manuscripts of the text survive from the twelfth century and another four from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. At least one copy was at Le Bec in

[59] *Epistola ad Warinum* has been edited separately by Wright, 'The Place', pp. 92–113.
[60] *Ibid.*, pp. 106–7.
[61] *Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon: Historia Anglorum*, ed. and trans. Greenway, pp. cxvii–cxliv.
[62] Greenway, 'Henry of Huntingdon', p. 103.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 112.

France in Henry's lifetime, from which several existing copies descend; parts of it were incorporated into the chronicle of Robert of Torigny, the librarian of Le Bec.[64] Two surviving manuscripts have their provenance at Le Bec;[65] all the other twelfth-century manuscripts are English, however, suggesting thus that the text may not yet have been widely read abroad. Of the late twelfth/early thirteenth-century manuscripts, one is French[66] and another is English but was at Saint-Denis (Paris) in the early thirteenth century.[67]

The text seems to have been most popular in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with six thirteenth-century, three thirteenth/fourteenth-century and eight fourteenth-century copies. All these manuscripts are probably English, although one may be Welsh[68] and another Irish.[69] Those manuscripts with provenances are almost all from the south of England (the farthest place north is Lincoln).[70] There are only two fourteenth/fifteenth-century[71] and two fifteenth-century manuscripts,[72] but seven late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century copies, suggesting a renewal of interest in Henry in the early modern period. Interestingly, all but one of the early modern manuscripts are French, suggesting that the popularity of the work in England and in France was exactly opposite: there are many more English than French manuscripts from the later Middle Ages, but after the English Reformation most of the manuscripts are French.[73]

---

[64] *Ibid.*
[65] CUL Gg.2.21 and BNF latin 6042.
[66] Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 1177.
[67] BNF latin 10185.
[68] Exeter, Cathedral Library, 3514 (s. xiii); *Histora Anglorum* is in the original part of the manuscript, not in the additions made to it at the Cistercian abbey of Whitland in south-west Wales.
[69] CUL Additional 3392, which belonged to St Mary's Cistercian abbey, Dublin (and also contains a copy of Gerald's *Expugnatio hibernica*).
[70] St Augustine's, Canterbury (BL Cotton Vespasian A.xviii and Bodleian Bodley 521); Dieulacres, Staffordshire (London, Gray's Inn 9); Exeter (Cambridge, St John's College 184); Lanthony, Gloucestershire (BL Additional 24061); Lincoln (BL Royal 13.B.vi); London (BL Royal 13.A.xviii); Ramsey (BL Additional 54184); Southwick, Hants. (BL Arundel 48).
[71] Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College 70 and CUL Dd.1.17.
[72] Oxford, All Souls' College 31 and BL Arundel 46.
[73] Of the six late sixteenth- or seventeenth-century French manuscripts, one belonged to a scholar (Daniel Rogers); one is from Saint-Ouen (Rouen) and one may be from Chaumont (Haute-Marne). Three are of

I summarise: there is no autograph copy of Henry of Huntingdon's only surviving work. *Historia Anglorum* was immediately popular, however, as is shown by the large proportion (approximately 40%) of the surviving manuscripts datable to the twelfth century, including a small number from France. The manuscript-evidence suggests that it remained popular in Britain in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but declined somewhat in popularity in the fifteenth century, to experience a revival, at least in France, in the early modern period.

Conclusion

How does the manuscript-evidence of the authors above compare with the manuscript-record of Gerald's works? The early manuscripts of Gerald's works, containing various hands which can be seen in more than one manuscript, are perhaps most directly comparable to those containing the hand of William of Malmesbury, in which there were a number of scribes collaborating on more than one occasion. William's manuscripts, which Thomson has described as 'workmanlike' and are varying in appearance,[74] are, however, in contrast to those which I have suggested were produced in Gerald's 'scriptorium', which are all similar in appearance. They are, unlike William's, always carefully written, even in the case of marginal or inserted additions, and in some cases are splendidly decorated with gilded initials, illustrations and maps, suggesting a grander purpose than in-house use, perhaps as presentation-copies.[75] In the absence of a clear attribution of a hand to Gerald, as with William of Malmesbury and the verse in Lambeth 224, the identification of Gerald's hand may depend on interpretations of the nature of the additions to the early Giraldian manuscripts.

---

unknown provenance. See *Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon: Historia Anglorum*, ed. and trans. Greenway, pp. cxix–cxliii.

[74] See above, p. 226.

[75] See above, chapter III, especially p. 154.

Gerald's manuscript-record is unusual, however, in that so many of the early manuscripts may be associated with Gerald himself, and among those almost all his surviving works are represented. In the cases of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Henry of Huntingdon, there are many manuscripts from soon after the works were written, but none which can be associated with the authors. William of Malmesbury wrote in only two (extant) copies of his works. However, there are sixteen Giraldian manuscripts which may be associated with Gerald,[76] and these sixteen manuscripts between them contain thirteen of Gerald's nineteen surviving works.[77] To my knowledge, this is unparalleled for any other twelfth-century author. This may be due to accidents of survival, but it might be a reflection of the Gerald's ambition to send his works out to an appreciative audience.

The comparative popularity of Gerald's works in the manuscript-record – many copies survive of his Welsh and Irish works but only one each of his theological and autobiographical works – is paralleled in the manuscripts of other authors. Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Vita Merlini* was practically unknown in the later Middle Ages, whereas *Historia regum Britanniae* was remarkably popular. Historical or pseudo-historical works tend to be well-attested in the manuscript-record (for example, William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum*, Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*), whereas smaller works perhaps with a more localised relevance (for example the Life of a saint or the discussion of a theological issue which subsequently fell out of fashion) do not survive in great numbers.

The survival of several 'editions' of Gerald's more popular works is also paralleled in the works of other authors. Diana Greenway has pointed out, regarding Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, that 'we are dealing not with a series of "editions" in a

---

[76] See above, pp. 114–5 and 129.

[77] *Descriptio Kambriae*, *De principis instructione*, *Catalogus breuior*, *Retractationes Vita Sancti Dauidis* and *Vita Sancti Ethelberti* are the works which do not survive in an early manuscript.

modern sense, but with a steadily growing and changing text, which we can plot only incompletely through manuscripts that reproduce it at particular points in its development' – a very similar situation to that described by A. B. Scott in relation to Gerald's *Expugnatio hibernica*.[78] Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* also survives in a bewildering variety of forms.[79] As well as authorial editions, the survival of non-authorial versions of texts (for example, Philip of Slane's *Libellus de descriptione Hiberniae* and 'The English Conquest of Ireland') is also seen with Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* and William of Malmesbury's *De antiquitate Glastoniae ecclesiae*.

The lack of Continental Giraldian manuscripts, however, does seem to be unusual. The works of William of Malmesbury, Geoffrey of Monmouth and Henry of Huntingdon are attested in foreign manuscripts, mostly from France but also from Flanders, Italy, Germany and Austria. Those works which do not seem to have spread abroad from their countries (or even places) of origin, for example William of Malmesbury's *De antiquitate Glastoniae ecclesiae*, are attested in only a small total number of manuscripts, suggesting that they were not very well known even in their native land. They do not compare with the popularity of (some of) Gerald's works in Britain and Ireland and their apparently near-total lack of popularity abroad.

The large number of post-Dissolution (early modern) Giraldian manuscripts also seems to be somewhat unusual. There are significant numbers of manuscripts of some works – for example, Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* and of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum* – from this period, but other works do not appear in manuscript in the early modern period. Geoffrey of Monmouth is a notable case.[80] This

[78] Greenway, 'Henry of Huntingdon', p. 111, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. and trans. Scott and Martin, p. xl.
[79] Discussed by Reeve, 'The Transmission'.
[80] In Geoffrey's case, the lack of early modern manuscripts may be accounted for by the fact that the credibility of his *Historia* was severely damaged in the sixteenth century by the attacks of Polydore Vergil and others. See Kendrick, *British Antiquity*, pp. 78–133.

might be due to the appearance of printed editions of medieval works in the sixteenth century. However, it also might be due (partly) to editors concerned with quality of text, rather than the manuscripts themselves, not having mentioned copies of short extracts, adapted texts and translations such as I have found among the early modern manuscripts of Gerald. There may be more early modern manuscripts than I have discovered of the works of the authors discussed above.

The manuscript-record of Gerald of Wales is thus distinctive in the number of manuscripts associable with him from his lifetime, in his curiously localised popularity in the later Middle Ages, and in the upsurge of interest in him in the early modern period, which, as this dissertation proves by its very existence, continues to this day.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements, 7 vols. (Paris, 1849–85)

Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France (Paris, 1885–)

Abbott, T. K., *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, to which is added a List of the Fagel Collection of Maps in the Same Library* (Dublin, 1900)

Alexander, J. J. G., 'Scribes as Artists: the Arabesque Initial in Twelfth-century English Manuscripts', in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. M. B. Parkes and A. G. Watson (London, 1978), pp. 87–116

Arnold, T., ed., *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, 2 vols., Rolls Series 74 (London, 1882–5)

Avril, F. and P. D. Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine insulaire, VII^e-XX^e siècle* (Paris, 1987)

Ayscough, S., *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the British Museum hitherto Undescribed: consisting of Five Thousand Volumes, including the Collections of Hans Sloane, Bart., the Reverend Thomas Birch, D.D., and about Five Hundred Volumes Bequeathed, Presented, or Purchased at Various Times* (London, 1782)

Babington, C. and J. R. Lumby, ed., *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis; together with the English Translations of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century*, 9 vols., Rolls Series 41 (London, 1865–86)

Bartlett, R. J., *Gerald of Wales 1146–1223* (Oxford, 1982)

Berkhout, C. T., 'The Parkerian Legacy of a Scheide Manuscript: William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*', *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 55 (1993–4), 277–86

Bernoulli, C. A., ed., *Hieronymus und Gennadius: De Viris Illustribus*, Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften 11 (Freiburg, 1895)

Bischoff, B., *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1990)

Black, P. M., 'Some New Light on the Career of Laurence Nowell the Antiquary', *Antiquaries' Journal* 62 (1982), 116–23

Bolland, J. *et al.*, ed., *Acta Sanctorum, quotquot Toto Orbe Coluntur, vel a Catholicis Scriptoribus Celebrantur, quæ ex Antiquis Monumentis Latinis, Græcis, aliarumque Gentium*, 68 vols. (Antwerp, 1643–1940); supplement, Paris, 1876

Bollandists, Society of, ed., *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis*, 2 vols., Subsidia Hagiographica 6 (Brussels, 1898–1901); *Novum Supplementum* by H. Fros, Subsidia Hagiographica 70 (Brussels, 1986)

Bond, E. A., *Catalogue of the Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1848–1853* (London, 1868)

Bond, E. A., E. M. Thompson and G. F. Warner, ed., *The Palaeographical Society Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions*, 2nd ser., 2 vols. (London, 1884–94)

Bongars, J., ed., *Gesta Dei per Francos, siue Orientalium Expeditionum, et Regni Francorum Hierosolimitani Historia a Variis, sed illius Æui Scriptoribus, Litteris Commendata*, 2 vols. in 3 (Hanover, 1611)

Bouquet, M. *et al.*, ed., *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols. (Paris, 1738–1904)

[Brady, I. C.], ed., *Magistri Petri Lombardi Parisiensis Episcopi Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*, 3rd ed., 2 vols., Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 4–5 (Grottaferrata, 1971–81)

Breeze, A., 'Giraldus Cambrensis and Poland', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 34 (1987), 111–12

Brewer, J. S. and W. Bullen, ed., *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts Preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth*, 6 vols. (London, 1867–71)

Brewer, J. S., J. F. Dimock and G. F. Warner, ed., *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 8 vols., Rolls Series 21 (London, 1861–91)

B[rewer], J. S., ed., *Giraldus Cambrensis de Instructione Principum* (London, 1846)

Brewer, J. S. and R. Howlett, ed., *Monumenta Franciscana*, 2 vols., Rolls Series 4 (London, 1858–82)

British Library, *The British Library Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts 1756–1782: Additional Manuscripts 4101–5017* (London, 1977)

Brown, M. P., *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* (London, 1990)

Brown, M. P., 'Marvels of the West: Giraldus Cambrensis and the Role of the Author in the Development of Marginal Illustration', *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700* 10 (2002), 34–59

Butler, H. E., *The Autobiography of Giraldus Cambrensis* (London, 1937)

Butler, H. E., 'Some New Pages of Giraldus Cambrensis', *Medium Ævum* 4 (1935), 143–52

Camden, W., *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a Veteribus Scripta: ex quibus Asser Meneuensis, Anonymus de vita Gulielmi Conquestoris, Thomas Walsingham, Thomas de la More, Gulielmus Gemiticensis, Giraldus Cambrensis* (Frankfurt, 1603)

Campbell, L., F. Steer and R. Yorke, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the College of Arms Collections* (London, 1988–)

Canal, J. M., ed., *El libro "De Laudibus et Miraculis Sanctae Mariae" de Guillermo de Malmesbury, OSB (†c. 1143): Estudio y texto* (Rome, 1968)

Carley, J. P., ed., *The Libraries of King Henry VIII*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 7 (London, 2000)

Cary, G., *The Medieval Alexander*, ed. D. J. A. Ross (Cambridge, 1956)

Clarke, B., ed. and trans., *Life of Merlin: Geoffrey of Monmouth: Vita Merlini* (Cardiff, 1973)

Colgrave, B. and R. A. B. Mynors, ed. and trans., *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969; rev. imp., 1991)

Colker, M. L, *Trinity College Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts*, 2 vols. (Aldershot, 1991)

Constable, G., 'An Unpublished Letter by Abbot Hugh II of Reading concerning Archbishop Hubert Walter', in *Essays in Medieval History presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, ed. T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke (Toronto, 1969), pp. 17–31

Coxe, H., *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensis Hodie Adservantur*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1852)

Crick, J. C., *The* Historia Regum Britannie *of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, III: *A Summary Catalogue of the Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1989)

Crick, J. C., *The* Historia Regum Britanniae *of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, IV: *Dissemination and Reception in the later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1991)

Crick, J. and A. Walsham, ed., *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700* (Cambridge, 2004)

Davies, J. C., 'The Kambriae Mappa of Giraldus Cambrensis', *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* 2 (1950), 46–60

Davies, W. L., *Handlist of the Manuscripts in the National Library of Wales* (Aberystwyth, 1943–)

Davies, W. S., ed., 'The Book of Invectives of Giraldus Cambrensis', *Y Cymmrodor* 30 (1920)

Derolez, A., B. Victor and W. Bracke, ed., *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii: the Medieval Booklists of the Southern Low Countries* (Brussels, 1997–)

Derolez, A., *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 9 (Cambridge, 2003)

Douglas, D. C., *English Scholars 1660–1730*, 2nd ed. (London, 1951)

Duff, J., ed., *The Letters of Saint Jerome: a Selection to Illustrate Roman Christian Life in the Fourth Century* (Dublin, 1942)

Dumville, D. N., 'An Early Text of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* and the Circulation of Some Latin Histories in Twelfth-century Normandy',

Arthurian Literature 4 (1985), 1–36; repr. in his *Histories and Pseudo-histories of the Insular Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1990), essay XIV

Dumville, D. N. *et al.*, *Saint Patrick, A. D. 493–1993* (Woodbridge, 1993)

Easting, R., ed., *St Patrick's Purgatory: Two Versions of* Owayne Miles *and* The Vision of William of Stranton *together with the Long Text of the* Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii (Oxford, 1991)

Eckhardt, C., 'The *Prophetia Merlini* of Geoffrey of Monmouth: Latin Manuscript Copies', *Manuscripta* 26 (1982), 167–76

Ellis, H., *A Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manscripts in the British Museum with Indexes of Persons, Places and Matters*, 2 vols. in 1 (London, 1812–19)

Esposito, M., '"The English Conquest of Ireland"', *Notes and Queries* 12th ser. 3 (1917), 495–6

Eynde, D. van den, 'Le recueil des sermons de Pierre Abélard', *Antonianum* 37 (1962), 17–54

Farmer, D. H., 'William of Malmesbury's Commentary on Lamentations', *Studia Monastica* 4 (1962), 283–311

Flower, R., 'Laurence Nowell and the Discovery of England in Tudor Times', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 21 (1935), 47–73

Flower, R., 'Manuscripts of Irish Interest in the British Museum', *Analecta Hibernica* 2 (1931), 292–340

Forshall, J., *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, new ser. I (London, 1834)

Fotheringham, J. K., ed., *Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones Latine Vertit, Adauxit, ad sua Tempora Produxit S. Eusebius Hieronymus* (London, 1923)

Fryde, E. B., D. E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy, ed., *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, 1986)

Furnivall, F. J., ed., *The English Conquest of Ireland*, Early English Text Society original ser. 107 (London, 1896)

Galbraith, V. H., 'The *Historia Aurea* of John, Vicar of Tynemouth, and the Sources of the St. Albans Chronicle (1327–1377)', in *Essays in History presented to Reginald Lane Poole*, ed. H. W. C. Davis (Oxford, 1927), pp. 379–98

Gilbert, J. T., ed., *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland*, 4 vols. in 5 (Dublin, 1874–84)

Giles, J. A., ed., *Petri Blesensis Bathoniensis Archidiaconi Opera Omnia*, 4 vols. in 3 (Oxford, 1846–7)

Gillingham, J., 'Images of Ireland 1170–160: the Origins of English Imperialism', *History Today* 37.ii (February 1987), 16–22

Goldast, M., ed., *Monarchia S. Romani Imperii, siue Tractatus de Iurisdictione Imperiali seu Regia, & Pontificia seu Sacerdotali; deque Potestate Imperatoris ac Papæ, cum Distinctione utriusque Regiminis, Politici & Ecclesiastici*, 3 vols. (Hanover, 1612–14)

Gransden, A., *Historical Writing in England, c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1974)

Greenway, D., ed. and trans., *Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon:* Historia Anglorum*: the History of the English People* (Oxford, 1996)

Greenway, D., 'Henry of Huntingdon and the Manuscripts of his *Historia Anglorum*', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 9 (1986), 103–26

Gullick, M., 'Professional Scribes in Eleventh- and Twelfth-century England', *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700* 7 (1998), 1–24

Hackman, A., *Codices Viri admodum Reverendi Thomæ Tanneri, S.T.P., Episcopi Asaphensis*, Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae 4 (Oxford, 1860)

Hagen, J. J., *Gerald of Wales: the Jewel of the Church: a Translation of* Gemma Ecclesiastica *by Giraldus Cambrensis*, Davis Medieval Texts and Studies 2 (Leiden, 1979)

Hall, J. B. and K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, ed., *Ioannis Saresberiensis Metalogicon*, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medieualis 98 (Turnhout, 1991)

Hamilton, N. E. S. A., ed., *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum Libri Quinque*, Rolls Series 52 (London, 1870)

Hammer, J., 'A Commentary on the *Prophetia Merlini* (Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Book VII)', *Speculum* 10 (1935), 3–30

Hardwick, C. *et al.*, ed., *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, 6 vols. (Cambridge, 1856–67; rev. imp., Munich, 1980)

Hardwick, C., ed., *Historia Monachi S. Augustini Cantuariensis by Thomas of Elmham, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation*, Rolls Series 8 (London, 1858)

Hardy, T. D., *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, to the End of the Reign of Henry VII*, 3 vols. in 4, Rolls Series 26 (London, 1862–71)

Harrison, J., 'A Note on Gerald of Wales and *Annales Cambriae*', *Welsh History Review* 17 (1994–5), 252–5

Hayes, R. J., ed., *Manuscript Sources for the History of Irish Civilisation*, 11 vols. and supplement (Boston, MA, 1965)

Hearne, T., ed., *Thomæ de Elmham Vita & Gesta Henrici Quinti, Anglorum Regis* (Oxford, 1727)

Hector, L. C., *The Handwriting of English Documents*, 2nd ed. (London, 1966)

Hilka, A. and W. Soderhjelm, ed., *Die Disciplina Clericalis des Petrus Alfonsi, das älteste Novellenbuch des Mittelalters* (Heidelberg, 1911)

Hinnebusch, J. F., ed., *The 'Historia Orientalis' of Jacques de Vitry* (Fribourg-en-Suisse, 1972)

Horstman, C., ed., *Noua Legenda Anglie: as Collected by John of Tynemouth, John Capgrave, and Others, and First Printed, with New Lives, by Wynkyn de Worde a.d. mdxxii*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1901)

Humphreys, K. W., ed., *The Friars' Libraries*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 1 (London, 1990)

Hunt, R. W., 'The Preface to the "Speculum Ecclesiae" of Giraldus Cambrensis', *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 8 (1977), 189–215

Hunt, R. W. *et al.*, *A Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which have not Hitherto been Catalogued in the Quarto Series with References to the Oriental and Other Manuscripts*, 7 vols. in 8 (Oxford, 1895–1953 ; rev. imp., Munich, 1980)

Huws, D., 'Gildas Prisei', *National Library of Wales Journal* 17 (1971–2), 314–19

Ivy, G., 'The Bibliography of the Manuscript-book', in *The English Library before 1700: Studies in its History*, ed. F. Wormald and C. E. Wright (London, 1958), pp. 32–65

James, M. R., *The Bestiary: being a Reproduction in Full of the Manuscript Ii.4.26 in the University Library, Cambridge, with Supplementary Plates from Other Manuscripts of English Origin, and a Preliminary Study of the Latin Bestiary as Current in England* (Oxford, 1927)

James, M. R., ed and trans., *De Nugis Curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*, rev. ed. by C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983)

James, M. R., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the College Library of Magdalene College Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1909)

James, M. R., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1912)

James, M. R., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1907–14)

James, M. R. and C. Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge, 1930–2)

James, M. R., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse* (Cambridge, 1899)

James, M. R., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St Catharine's College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1925)

James, M. R., 'The Library of the Grey Friars of Hereford', in *Collectanea Franciscana*, I, ed. A. G. Little, M. R. James and H. M. Bannister, British Society for Franciscan Studies 5 (Aberdeen, 1914), 114–23

James, M. R., ed., 'Two Lives of St Ethelbert, King and Martyr', *English Historical Review* 32 (1917), 214–44

James, M. R., *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Emmanuel College: a Descriptive Catalogue* (Cambridge, 1904)

James, M. R., *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: a Descriptive Catalogue*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1900–4)

Jenkins, R. T., ed., *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940* (London, 1959)

Keats-Rohan, K. S. B., 'The Textual Tradition of John of Salisbury's *Metalogicon*', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 16 (1986), 229–84

Kendrick, T. D., *British Antiquity* (London, 1950)

Ker, N. R., *English Manuscripts in the Century After the Norman Conquest*, Lyell Lectures 1952–3 (Oxford, 1960)

Ker, N. R., 'From "Above Top Line" to "Below Top Line": a Change in Scribal Practice', *Celtica* 5 (1960), 13–16; repr. in his *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, ed. A. G. Watson (London, 1985), 71–4

Ker, N. R., ed., *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a List of Surviving Books*, 2nd ed., Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 3 (London, 1964); supplement by A. Watson (London, 1987)

Ker, N. R., 'Sir John Prise', *The Library* 5th ser. 10 (1955), 1–24; repr. in his *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, ed. A. G. Watson (London, 1985), 471–95

Ker, N. R., 'William of Malmesbury's Handwriting', *English Historical Review* 59 (1944), 371–6; repr. in his *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, ed. A. G. Watson (London, 1985), 61–6

King, E., ed., and K. R. Potter, trans., *William of Malmesbury: Historia Novella: the Contemporary History* (Oxford, 1998)

Knighton, C. S., ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge*, V.ii: *Modern Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1981)

Landgraf, A., ed., *Commentarius Cantabrigiensis in Epistolas Pauli e Schola Petri Abaelardi*, 4 vols., Publications in Mediaeval Studies 2 (Notre Dame, IN, 1937–45)

Landgraf, A., ed., *Écrits théologiques de l'école d'Abélard: texts inédits*, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense: Études et documents 14 (Louvain, 1934)

Lapidge, M. and R. C. Love, 'John of Tynemouth', in *Hagiographies: histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, ed. Guy Philippart, Corpus Christianorum Hagiographies 3 (Turnhout, 1994)

Lefèvre, Y., 'Un brouillon du XIII[e] siècle: le manuscrit 470 du fonds de la reine Christine. Étude sur quelques inédits de Giraud de Barri', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 58 (1941–6), 145–77

Leland, J., *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1709)

Lennon, C., *Richard Stanihurst the Dubliner 1547–1618: a Biography with a Stanihurst Text on Ireland's Past* (Blackrock, 1981)

Loomis, R., *Gerald of Wales (Giraldus Cambrensis): the Life of St Hugh of Avalon, Bishop of Lincoln 1186–1200* (New York, NY, 1985)

Luard, H. R., ed., *Flores Historiarum*, 3 vols., Rolls Series 95 (London, 1890)

Luard, H. R., ed., *Roberti Grosseteste Episcopi quondam Lincolniensis Epistolae*, Rolls Series 25 (London, 1861)

McIntosh, A., M. L. Samuels and M. Benskin, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*, 4 vols. (Aberdeen, 1986)

McKitterick, R. and R. Beadle, ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge*, V.i: *Medieval Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1992)

Mandach, A. de, 'Le problème posé par la koinê de l' "occitan central": le pape Jean XXII et deux anthologies de son temps comportant des textes occitans', in *Mélanges d'histoire littéraire, de linguistique et de philologie romanes offerts à Charles Rostaing par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis*, 2 vols. (Liège, 1974), II, 637–51

Matthew, H. C. G. and B. Harrison, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography from the Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, 60 vols. and index of contributors (Oxford, 2004)

Meister, F., ed., *Daretis Phrygii de Excidio Troiae Historia* (Leipzig, 1873)

Meyer, P., review of *Frère Philippe: les Merveilles de l'Irlande*, ed. Ulrich, *Romania* 21 (1892), 451–4

Migne, J. P., ed., *P. Lombardi Magistri Sententiarum, Parisiensis Episcopi Opera Omnia*, 2 vols., Patrologia Latina 191–2 (Paris, 1854–5)

Mommsen, T., ed., *C. Iulii Solini Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1958)

Mommsen, T., ed., *Gildae Sapientis de Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae ac Flebili Castigatione in Reges Principes et Sacerdotes*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Auctores Antiquissimi) 13.1 (Berlin, 1894)

Morgan, N., *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1190–1285*, 2 vols., A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 4 (London, 1982–8)

Mynors, R. A. B. and R. M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library* (Woodbridge, 1993)

Mynors, R. A. B., R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, ed. and trans., *William of Malmesbury: Gesta regum Anglorum: the History of the English Kings*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1998)

Oeser, W., 'Das "a" als Grundlage für Schriftvarianten in der gotischen Buchschrift', *Scriptorium* 25 (1971), 25–45

O'Loughlin, T., 'An Early Thirteenth-century Map in Dublin: a Window into the World of Giraldus Cambrensis', *Imago Mundi: the International Journal for the History of Cartography* 51 (1999), 24–39

O'Meara, J. J., *The First Version of the Topography of Ireland* (Dundalk, 1951; rev. ed. Portlaoise, 1982); repr. as (and cited from) *Gerald of Wales: the History and Topography of Ireland* (Harmondsworth, 1982)

O'Meara, J. J., ed., 'Giraldus Cambrensis in Topographia Hiberniae: Text of the First Recension', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 52C (1948–50), 113–78

Orpen, G. H., ed. and trans., *The Song of Dermot and the Earl: an Old French Poem from the Carew MS no. 596 in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth Palace* (Oxford, 1892)

Ostlender, H., ed., *Sententiae Florianenses*, Florilegium Patristicum 19 (Bonn, 1929)

O'Sullivan, W., 'A Finding List of Sir James Ware's Manuscripts', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 97C (1997), 69–99

Ouellette, H. T., ed., *William of Malmesbury: Polyhistor: a Critical Edition*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 10 (Binghampton, NY, 1982)

Pächt, O., J. J. G. Alexander and B. C. Barker-Benfield, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1966–73)

Parkes, M. B., *English Cursive Book Hands 1250–1500* (Oxford, 1969)

Parkes, M. B., *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London, 1991)

Parry, J. J., ed. and trans., *The Vita Merlini* (Urbana, IL, 1925)

Pfaff, R. W., ed., 'The "Abbreviatio Amalarii" of William of Malmesbury', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 47 (1980), 77–113 and 48 (1981), 128–71

Phillimore, W. P. W. and F. N. Davis, ed., *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, Episcopi Lincolniensis, A.D. MCCIX–MCCXXXV*, 3 vols., Publications of the Lincoln Record Society 3, 6, 9 (Lincoln, 1913)

Planta, J., *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, deposited in the British Museum* (London, 1802)

Poole, R. L. and M. Bateson, ed., *Index Britanniae Scriptorum: John Bale's Index of British and Other Writers*, 2nd ed. with introduction by C. Brett and J. P. Carley (Cambridge, 1990)

Powel, D., ed., *Pontici Virunnii Viri Doctissimi Britannicæ Historiæ Libri Sex, Magna et Fide et Diligentia Conscripti: ad Britannici Codicis Fidem Correcti, et ab Infinitis Mendis Liberati: quibus Præfixus est Catalogus Regum Britanniæ; Itinerarium Cambriæ: seu Laboriosæ Baldvini Cantuar. Archiepiscopi per Walliam Legationis, Accurata Descriptio, Auctore Sil. Giraldo Cambrense; Cambriae Descriptio: Auctore Sil. Giraldo Cambrense*, 3 vols. in 1 (London, 1585)

Prise, J., *Historiae Brytannicae Defensio* (London, 1573)

Reeve, M. D., 'The Transmission of the *Historia Regum Britanniae*', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 1 (1991), 73–117

Revell, E., ed. and trans., *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois*, Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi 13 (Oxford, 1993)

Reynolds, L. D., ed., *Texts and Transmission: a Study of the Latin Classics* (Oxford, 1983)

Richter, M., gen. ed., Lefèvre, Y., ed., R. B. C. Huygens, ed. and B. Dawson, trans., *Giraldus Cambrensis: Speculum Duorum, or A Mirror of Two Men, Preserved in the Vatican Library in Rome, Cod. Reg. Lat. 470*, Board of Celtic Studies, University of Wales History and Law Series 27 (Cardiff, 1974)

Richter, M., 'A New Edition of the So-Called Vita Dauidis Secundi', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 22 (1968), 245–9

Roberts, B. F., *Gerald of Wales* (Aberystwyth, 1982)

Robinson, J. A. and M. R. James, *The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey*, Notes and Documents Relating to Westminster Abbey 1 (Cambridge, 1908)

Robinson, P. R., *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 737–1600 in Cambridge Libraries* (Cambridge, 1988)

Ross, D. J. A., *Alexander Historiatus: a Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature*, 2nd ed., Athenäums Monografien Altertumswissenschaft 186 (Frankfurt am Main, 1988)

Ross, D. J. A., 'A Check-list of MSS of Three Alexander Texts: the Julius Valerius *Epitome*, the *Epistola ad Aristotelem* and the *Collatio cum Dindimo*', *Scriptorium* 10 (1956), 127–32

Ross, E. D., 'Marco Polo and his Book', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 20 (1934), 181–205

Rouse, R. H. and M. A. Rouse, ed., *Henry of Kirkestede,* Catalogus de Libris Autenticis et Apocrifis, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 11 (London, 2004)

Rouse, R. H. and M. A. Rouse, '*Statim invenire*: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R. L. Benson and G. Constable with C. D. Lanham (Oxford, 1982); repr. in their *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame, IN, 1991), pp. 191–219

Scott, A. B. and F. X. Martin, ed. and trans., *Expugnatio Hibernica: the Conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis*, A New History of Ireland Ancillary Publications 3 (Dublin, 1978)

Scott, J., ed. and trans., *The Early History of Glastonbury: an Edition, Translation and Study of William of Malmesbury's* De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie (Woodbridge, 1981)

Scott, K., *Dated and Datable English Manuscript Borders c. 1395–1499* (London, 2002)

Scott-Fleming, S., *The Analysis of Pen Flourishing in Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts*, Litterae Textuales: a Series on Manuscripts and their Texts (Leiden, 1989)

Seymour, S. J. D., *Anglo-Irish Literature 1200–1582* (Cambridge, 1929)

Sharpe, R. *et al.*, *English Benedictine Libraries: the Shorter Catalogues* (London, 1996)

Sharpe, R., *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin 1 (Turnhout, 1997)

Stanihurst, R., *De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis Libri Quattuor* (Antwerp, 1584)

Steele, R., ed., *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum*, Early English Text Society extra ser. 74 (London, 1898)

Stokes, W., ed., 'The Irish Abridgment of the "Expugnatio Hibernica"', *English Historical Review* 20 (1905), 77–115

Stubbs, W., ed., *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, 3 vols., Rolls Series 51 (London, 1868–70)

Stubbs, W., ed., *Memorials of Saint Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury*, Rolls Series 63 (London, 1874)

Stubbs, W., ed., *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gestis Regum Anglorum Libri Quinque*, 2 vols., Rolls Series 90 (London, 1887–9)

Thompson, E. M. *et al.*, ed., *The New Palaeographical Society Facsimiles of Ancients Manuscripts, etc.*, 1st ser., 2 vols. in 4 (London, 1903–12)

Thomson, R. M., *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (Woodbridge, 1989)

Thomson, R. M., *William of Malmesbury*, rev. ed. (Woodbridge, 2003)

Thomson, S. H., *Latin Bookhands of the Later Middle Ages, 1100–1500* (Cambridge, 1969)

Thorpe, L., *Gerald of Wales: the Journey through Wales and the Description of Wales*, (Harmondsworth, 1978)

Tite, C. G. C., *The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library: Formation, Cataloguing, Use* (London, 2003)

Tite, C. G. C., *The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton*, Panizzi Lectures 1993 (London, 1994)

Todd, H. J., *A Catalogue of the Archiepiscopal Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace, with an Account of the Archiepiscopal Registers and Other Records there Preserved* (London, 1812)

Ulrich, J., ed., *Frère Philippe: les Merveilles de l'Irlande* (Leipzig, 1892)

Wada, Y., 'Gerald on Gerald: Self-presentation by Giraldus Cambrensis', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 20 (1997), 223–46

Wanley, H *et al.*, *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 4 vols. (London, 1808)

Warner, G. F. and J. P. Gilson, *British Museum Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 4 vols. (London, 1921)

Webber, T. and A. Watson, ed., *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 6 (London, 1998)

Webber, T., *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral, c. 1075–c. 1125* (Oxford, 1992)

Wharton, H., ed., *Anglia Sacra, sive Collectio Historiarum partim Antiquitus, partim Recenter Scriptarum, de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ, a Prima Fidei Christianæ Susceptione ad Annum MDXL* (London, 1691)

Wilmart, A., ed., *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae: Codices Reginenses Latini*, 2 vols. (Vatican City, 1945)

Winterbottom, M. and R. M. Thomson, ed. and trans., *William of Malmesbury: Saints' Lives: Lives of SS Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract* (Oxford, 2002)

Wood, A., *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*, 2 vols. in 1 (Oxford, 1674)

Wood, A., *The History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford*, ed. J. Gutch (Oxford, 1786)

Wright, N., ed., *The* Historia Regum Britannie *of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, I: *Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS. 568* (Woodbridge, 1985)

Wright, N., ed., *The* Historia Regum Britannie *of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, II: *The First Variant Version* (Cambridge, 1988)

Wright, N., 'The Place of Henry of Huntingdon's *Epistola ad Warinum* in the Text-history of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britannie*: a Preliminary Investigation', in *France and the British Isles in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: Essays by Members of Girton College, Cambridge, in Memory of Ruth Morgan*, ed. G. Jondorf and D. N. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 71–113

Wüstefeld, H. C., 'Le manuscrit British Library Additional 17920 et son contexte socio-culturel', *Actes de XVIIe Congrès international de linguistique et philologie romanes (Aix-en-Provence, 29 aout–3 septembre 1983)* 9 (1986) (*Critique et édition de textes*), 99–110

Wüstefeld, W., 'Two Versions of the Purgatory of Saint Patrick and their Relation to Avignon', in *Non Nova, sed Nove: Mélanges de civilisation médiévale dédiés à Willem Noomen*, ed. M. Gosman and J. van Os, Mediaevalia Groningana 5 (Groningen, 1984)

Yule, H., ed. and trans., *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, 2 vols., 3rd rev. ed. by H. Cordier (London, 1903)