Gerald of Wales and the Cistercians

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'From the malice of monks, but especially the Cistercians, good Lord, deliver us.'[1]

This typically trenchant abuse voiced by Gerald of Wales in the *Speculum Ecclesie* has often been used to illustrate Gerald's hostility to the white monks, a hostility he shared with his equally outspoken Anglo-Welsh contemporary Walter Map. Indeed Map and Gerald have usually been grouped together as court critics and satirists of the Cistercian order in Britain. Certainly both were writing at about the same time and knew each other personally, as well as each other's work, yet it is perhaps too simplistic to see them as reflective of an identical anti-Cistercian literary tradition. The recent revisers of *De Nugis Curialium* have stressed the distinction between Walter and Gerald - a distinction to which Walter himself apparently drew attention in a conversation between the two which Gerald reports - 'You have uttered writings (*scripta*) and I words (*verba*).'[2] Walter operated in the still largely oral world of the Angevin court, and though he never received a high office, ending his career, like Gerald, as archdeacon, he was very much an insider in that world. Gerald, though active at court, was never so intimate within it, which is the chief reason for his failure to attain the rewards he thought he deserved, and he wrote for a somewhat different audience, if not more soberly, at least more seriously.

By the time Gerald wrote the *Itinerarium*, his first work to make detailed mention of the Cistercians, criticism of the white monks was already well under way. This is neither the time nor place to examine the growth of an anti-Cistercian rhetoric (of which a full study is still awaited), but it is essential to establish a context in which Gerald's own invective can be situated.[3] Opposition to the Cistercians came both from members of other monastic groups, such as the Cluniacs, who attacked them for being pharisaic and breaking with tradition, and from secular clerics, who concentrated their fire on those aspects of Cistercian territorial and economic policy, which broke the

Cistercian Rule, such as the possession of rents and churches, though little harm was probably done thereby, and for their policy of land clearance, which sometimes involved the removal of the peasant population.[4] Such activity was not contrary to their rule, but was undoubtedly disruptive.

The root of these assaults on the white monks was undoubtedly - at least in part - jealousy. Jealousy from other monks who, in an age of growing competition for benefactions, resented the Cistercians' successful appeal to lay patrons: jealousy from the secular clergy and bishops who found their own jurisdictions increasingly bypassed by Cistercian exemptions, perhaps most notably from the payment of tithes; jealousy, eventually, from lay lords of Cistercian landed acquisitions, which were resulting in a loss of temporal services and revenue. Early Cluniac criticisms of Cistercian hypocrisy and pharisaism enjoyed wide circulation, and were developed by satirists such as Pain de Mongerville whose poem 'de falsis heremitis qui vagando discurrunt', written c.1130, in many respects prefigures the satirists of the late twelfth century, such as the Canterbury monk, Nigel Longchamp, or Walter Map.[5] Though Leclercq was surely right in arguing that the target of Pain's criticism was not only hypocritical Cistercians, but extended to all wandering, false hermits, and thus followed an already well-established genre expressed by writers such as Peter Damian and Ivo of Chartres, it remains true that his criticisms are focused above all on those monks who falsely proclaim their virtue under an 'exterior simplicitas', 'veste sub alba'.[6] While only one manuscript of Pain's poem is known to have survived, the work was certainly known to Orderic Vitalis, who in 1135 produced his own critique of the Cistercians. Like Pain he condemns the new monks' hypocrisy. They ostentatiously wear white to differentiate themselves from other orders and to stress their righteousness, though black was traditionally the colour of humility. Though many are holy, many others are hypocrites. Even their devotion to Benedict's Rule is subtly likened to Jewish pharisaism: they 'were resolved to observe the Rule of St Benedict according to the letter as the Jews observed the law of Moses.'[7] For Orderic, the Cistercians, though in many respects laudable, have two chief failings, their desire for novelty and the hypocrisy of some of their followers.[8]

This, then, is the context for the anti-Cistercian writings of the satirists. In his *Speculum Stultorum* of 1179-80 the Benedictine Nigel Longchamp criticised the Cistercians for their greed in acquiring

property and encroaching upon the estates of others. Their hypocrisy in diet is condemned; they pretend to be vegetarian but are not. There is little unity in the order and the lay brethren cannot be trusted, presumably a reference to the growing insubordination of the *conversi* in Cistercian communities.[9] The *Speculum Stultorum* has been seen as the model for the rather later French vernacular satire of Guiot de Provins, *La Bible*, written about 1206.[10] Guiot had actually spent four unhappy months at Clairvaux before entering what he hoped would be a more congenial community at Cluny. Perhaps, like Gerald, his criticisms of the white monks were coloured by his personal experiences.[11] Like Nigel, Guiot condemns the Cistercians for their greed in acquiring estates; lands are depopulated and churches and churchyards desecrated by the grazing animals of the monks while within the abbeys all is hypocrisy, envy and a failure of fraternity. Whether Gerald would have known of the *Speculum Stultorum* is unclear, he could certainly have been aware of Map's *De Nugis Curialium* as he began his own writing career, for by then it was substantially complete, and though there is no unequivocal evidence that Gerald knew the work, he undoubtedly knew and corresponded with its author.[12]

Map's assault on the Cistercians is far more hostile to the white monks than is Gerald, at least in the latter's early writings. Most of his attacks are contained in chapters 24 and 25 of the first book.[13] He commences with a very distorted - and in places downright meretricious - account of the foundation of Cîteaux, allegedly by Benedictine monks from Sherborne who fled to France to escape the too strict discipline of their abbot. After some deliberation they decided to settle as hermits 'sub pretextu religionis'; they took the best land they could find, sometimes by subterfuge, and devoted all their energies to their lands; they neglected the office to cultivate their estates, and in particular reduced the time of the night offices. They were hypocrites in every aspect of their lives. Though vegetarian the monks are, Map hints, secret carnivores. But Map's hostility is focused above all on the Cistercians' greed and its corollary, their lack of charity. They take over other monastic communities, they destroy villages and churches, since their rule does not allow them to be retained. By driving out the villagers and parishioners they cause poverty and starvation which leads inevitably to banditry and crime.[14] Moreover, they forged charters, and he cites two examples, one almost certainly involving Byland abbey, and the other in which Neath abbey altered a charter of William, earl of Gloucester, giving

16 acres to read 100 acres.[15] They were even prepared to murder for greed: a man the monks of Tintern caught stealing apples on one of their Gloucestershire estates was hanged, and the monks of Byland were responsible for murdering a knight and his household in order to seize his estate.[16]

But it was the Cistercian possession of, and particularly exemption from, payments of tithe that undoubtedly occasioned the most bitter hostility.[17] Early Cistercian legislation had eschewed the possession of tithes but it did not take long for the white monks to change their policy, and in 1169 Alexander III expressed serious disquiet over the Cistercians' greed and their obtaining of types of property that their rule forbade, and he threatened them with a revocation of their fiscal privileges.[18] Papal attempts to curb the Cistercians' immunity from payment, notably Hadrian IV's legislation limiting it to newly-cultivated land, went some way towards redressing the grievance.[19] However, this legislation did not satisfy a polemicist like Peter of Blois, who attacked the Cistercians for theft, since their retention of tithes impoverished both the needy and the parish churches.[20] Peter of Blois' criticisms were echoed a generation later by Innocent III. His letter, perhaps addressed to the Cistercian General Chapter, perhaps to the English abbots, has long been known through the work of Professor Cheney, but its contents merit reiteration since they reflect an 'official' view of Cistercian failings at just the time that Gerald was writing the *Speculum Ecclesie*.[21] According to the pope, many complaints had been levelled against the order which up till then he had sought to hide, but now they had so increased that something had to be done. Tithes due from lands the monks cultivated themselves had not been paid, with the result that many parish churches were ruined; the Cistercians pressured and forced their neighbours to give or sell them property; they bought up or leased more land than they needed in order that the surplus might be farmed at profit; their business practices were reprehensible even to the laity; they acquired parish churches which they served; they accepted for burial the rich and powerful. We shall encounter all of these criticisms in Gerald's work.

Already by the last decades of the century the Cistercians themselves had begun to recognise and respond to this bad publicity. A number of Cistercian writers criticised their order's greed and departure from the old ideals and in 1180 the General Chapter, while referring to the need to put a brake on greed, particularly drew attention to

the grave, and daily increasing, scandal of retention of tithes. In future tithes would be payable from all lands acquired, unless the owner of the tithes granted them or made a composition with the monks concerning payment.[22] But it would certainly appear that the letter of Innocent III focused the Cistercians' minds as nothing had before. Cheney has shown how the Cistercian Chapter of 1214 addressed many of the issues the pope had raised. The acquisition of new property was severely curtailed. In future no lands from which tithes were due would be purchased, except for the support of new foundations, and then the lands would be leased to others who would pay tithes. Parish churches on Cistercian estates were to be restored or replaced; the Cistercian prohibition on reception of parish churches was reissued; the monks were not to enter into business partnerships with the laity.[23] Nevertheless exemption from the payment of tithes on newly cultivated lands continued to be the cause of considerable resentment and in 1203 Innocent III had to insist on the tithe-free status of Margam by threatening excommunication of those who sought to exact tithes from the community.[24]

By the end of the twelfth century there were eleven Cistercian abbeys in Wales, as well as two nunneries, Llanllyr and Llansanffraed-in-Elfael.[25] Two of these (Basingwerk and Neath) had originally been Savignac foundations and were incorporated into the Cistercian order in 1147. The earliest of the Welsh Cistercian houses was Tintern, founded in 1131 by Walter de Clare from L'Aumône, though Savignac Neath had been founded a year earlier. In 1140 monks from Clairvaux arrived in Dyfed, and in 1144 were settled temporarily at Trefgarn by bishop Bernard of St David's. A few years later they relocated at Whitland which became the senior, though not the wealthiest, abbey in *pura Wallia*.[26] From Whitland daughter houses were founded at Strata Florida, which in turn colonised Conwy, Llantarnam, and Cwmhir (the mother house of Cymmer) and Strata Marcella.

During Gerald's journey through Wales with archbishop Baldwin in 1188 they stayed at, or visited, most of these communities, but Gerald tells us little of his impressions. Their visit to Whitland is noted, and in another place Gerald refers to its 'good and saintly' abbot, Cynan.[27] Abbot John of Whitland may have accompanied the mission as far as Lampeter, where he preached a sermon, as did Seisyll, abbot of Strata Florida, only a few miles to the north. Seisyll, too, would seem to have gone with the archbishop as far as Anglesey, where he delivered another sermon.[28] At this time, therefore, there is little indication of

personal antipathy towards the Cistercians, though he is, as we will see shortly, prepared to criticise.

According to Gerald, Walter Map's hostility to the Cistercians was triggered by the abbey of Flaxley's refusal to pay tithes which Walter thought were due to the church of Westbury on Severn which he held.[29] Can Gerald's developing opposition also be attributed to personal experience of the white monks? 'From the malice of monks': this bitter prayer must be seen in context. It appears at the end of a long diatribe against William Wibert, the deposed abbot of Biddlesden (Buckinghamshire), whom Gerald regarded as his most dangerous enemy.[30] In the mid-1190s he reports that Wibert accused him (though with Gerald we can never be sure how far there is prejudicial reporting) of being an untrustworthy negotiator with the Welsh, because of his kinship with the native princes. Wibert even apparently suggested that Gerald had gone so far as to advise the Welsh to besiege a border castle.[31] Gerald maintained that these slanders accounted for his failure to achieve advancement at court. But, as Bartlett has suggested, there may be something to them. Wibert had certainly been a colleague of Gerald's on missions to Wales: certainly Wibert was not alone in using Gerald's Welsh connections to prevent his promotion, and at the same time to secure his own.

Any discussion of Gerald's attitude to the Cistercians, then, has to always have in mind the fact that most of his general criticisms were inspired by perceived personal grievances. He projects personal animosities upon the order as a whole.[32] Two other related points need emphasis. First, Gerald's criticisms became more savage as time progressed - and as the author grew more bitter with increasing alienation and marginalisation - culminating in his last major work, the *Speculum Ecclesie*, and second, Gerald frequently repeated and rewrote material in his writings, so that typically an episode is increasingly elaborated in successive works. Moreover, Gerald also constantly amended earlier versions of his works. Thus, for example, the *Itinerarium* was one of his first books, dating from 1191, but he produced at least two revisions, in 1197 and 1214. The first of these included for the first time the prophecies of Meilyr, discussed below, while not until 1214 did he insert the famous story of king Richard I, who in reply to a priest who told him he had three daughters who kept him from the grace of God, pride, lechery, and avarice, said that he had already married them off to the Templars, Benedictines, and Cistercians respectively.[33]

With Gerald personalities cannot be disengaged from the issues. However, if we take the first version of the *Itinerarium*, a work which is generally free from personal bitterness, we can perhaps see what were the elements in contemporary Cistercian practice that particularly concerned him. The Cistercians were in their first generation ascetic and holy, but they fell from grace through their success, and through ambition and avarice were corrupted. In particular they were responsible for taking lands that were not theirs by right. Yet Gerald is prepared to concede that this activity was in origin the result of good intentions. In order to provide hospitality and maintenance for the poor they required substantial estates and surpluses: their sin was to resort to illegal methods and theft to carry out their charitable work.[34] Later Gerald was to compare the problems occasioned by Cistercian generosity to visitors with the more parsimonious Carthusians who, unlike the white monks, did not go out of their way to feed the poor.[35] He records with approbation the charity and hospitality of Margam abbey and tells of a miraculous event when in early summer, the time of greatest dearth in the agricultural year, the customary crowd of poor gathered for relief at the abbey gate. The abbey arranged for a ship to bring grain across the Channel from Bristol - an indication of how dependent even the more prosperous, arable areas of south Wales were upon English imports for survival. However, the ship was delayed by contrary winds and only the unexpected ripening of corn in a field near the monastery more than a month before the usual harvest time saved both monks and the destitute from starvation. As a consequence the abbey was venerated by all as a divinely favoured community.[36] Such praise for the Cistercians is rather unexpected. Walter Map had, for instance, criticised the Cistercians' *lack* of hospitality, and the Cistercians themselves had taken measures to regulate their giving, and curb indiscriminate charity.[37]

Moreover, it is not just their hospitality that Gerald found praiseworthy amongst the Cistercians. Elsewhere in the *Itinerarium* he compares them favourably with the Cluniacs. The former cultivated their land carefully, they improved properties they were granted, they were frugal and used what they received for the communal good, while the Cluniacs were spendthrift, and dissipated their income through individual peculation with consequent damage to the community. They would never make sacrifices in times of hardship, and would certainly let the poor starve while they feasted; the Cistercians would forgo even their simple diet to give to charity.[38] Here Gerald's voice is far

more measured than Map's; for the former their avarice was an unworthy, but understandable, consequence of their charity, for the latter their lack of charity was a consequence of their avarice. Moreover the Cistercians were prepared to reform themselves. They had now forbidden the purchase of lands (a reference to the Statute of 1190); all lands should now be received unconditionally.[39]

Such criticisms as he has, therefore, are comparatively minor. We certainly do not recognise here any foretaste of the savage attacks of the later works. Moreover, there are few personal attacks or scurrilous stories, though Gerald does take the opportunity in a discursive aside to comment on the immoral behaviour of abbot Enoch of Strata Marcella. While discussing the Welsh hermit, the prophet and seer Meilyr of Caerleon, he tells how Meilyr was the first to know that Enoch had run away with a nun from the Cistercian nunnery of Llansanffraed. However, the abbot soon repented of his sin, returned to his abbey, and, like Peter, Paul, and Mary Magdalene, was stronger in his faith than before his fall. Meilyr seems to have specialised in pointing erring Cistercian abbots to the folly of their ways, for Gerald also recalls how, while the hermit was discussing a woman with abbot Cynan of Whitland, the abbot had broken down and confessed his lust for her, for which he was chastised by three monks of his community.[40] The story of Enoch is expanded in the *Gemma Ecclesiastica* and again, most fully, in the *Speculum Ecclesie*. Enoch, 'vir discretus, religiosus ac rigidus' had attracted a following of religious women for whom he founded the nunnery of Llansanffraed: the *Gemma* records how he made many of them pregnant. After eloping with one of them who was both well-born and beautiful, and living a secular life for many years, he finally returned to his mother house of Whitland where he performed due penance.[41]

Meilyr was not, however, an enemy of the white monks. He seems to have acted as an agent for Margam in their acquisition from Gruffudd ap Ifor, a son-in-law of the Lord Rhys, of land in Senghennydd, which may originally have been intended as a daughter-house of Margam, and the fact that the charter refers to the creation of a 'hermitage' or abbey, is a further clue to Meilyr's interest. Meilyr was also probably instrumental in the foundation of Llantarnam, and there is some evidence that he ultimately became a *conversus* at Margam.[42] Thus Meilyr's role as critic and advisor to the Welsh Cistercians - which mirrors the relationship between hermits and Cistercians found elsewhere as, for example, between

Wulfric of Hazelbury and Ford abbey - is somewhat more complex than a reading of Gerald alone would suggest.[43]

But Gerald is not (unlike Walter Map) universal in his hostility to the white monks. Even in his later works he is ready to accept that there were good Cistercians as well as laudable Cistercian practice. In his bitter letter addressed to Geoffrey of Llanthony, bishop of St Davids, in which Gerald attacks the bishop for all kinds of offences, including the alienation of church property, neglect of his pastoral office, and oppression of his clergy, he is accused of both failing to protect the Cistercians from despoliation in his diocese and for his unwillingness to show justice to the order unless first given a bribe, such as a good horse. Of course, such a statement implicitly recognises that the monks have themselves been guilty of *giving* bribes, but Gerald goes on to state that the abbot of Cwm Hir had protested at this treatment to the abbot of Cîteaux who had then taken the matter up at Rome.[44] Having dealt with Geoffrey's perversion of ecclesiastical justice Gerald moves to attack his pastoral deficiencies and neglect of his flock, to whom he did not preach, comparing this dereliction with the inspired preaching of archbishop Baldwin and with Bernard of Clairvaux. Both spoke through interpreters but roused their hearers to great devotion; both were of course Cistercians.[45] In the closing chapter of the *Itinerarium* Gerald provides a brief account of Baldwin's character and career. This is generally favourable. We are presented with a monk whose chief shortcoming is that he is too affable, too kind-hearted to impose discipline, first on his abbey - he had been abbot of Ford, and then on his archdiocese. He was, Gerald tells us, 'a better monk than abbot, a better abbot than bishop, a better bishop than archbishop'.[46] But of his spirituality there was no doubt - here we are far from the near caricatures of Cistercian monks that Gerald is to portray in his later works, notably the *Speculum*. Nevertheless even that work repeats, largely *verbatim*, Gerald's earlier praise of Baldwin, and this is adjoined to an equally favourable account of the bishop's friend, Serlo, abbot of L'Aumône, who had left the Cluniacs for the stricter life of the Cistercians. In his learning and asceticism Serlo represented an ideal Cistercian for Gerald; he was a light not only to his own community but to the Cistercian order throughout the world.[47]

It is in their treatment of Bernard of Clairvaux that the contrast between Gerald and Walter Map is most evident. Both recognise his greatness, but for Map he is symptomatic of the Cistercian evil - he

shone above the others like Lucifer among the stars of night - for Gerald he represents the aboriginal purity from which the monks have declined. To Walter his failure to work miracles is evidence of a failure of grace, to Gerald Bernard is a sublime preacher who can move his German audience to tears, even when speaking in French, and who is also prepared to condemn his own order for its desertion of its original ideals.[48]

Nevertheless praise of any Cistercian in the *Speculum* is rare and it is here that Gerald's hostility is most fully articulated. The *Speculum* was one of Gerald's last works. By now he was deeply and irreversibly disappointed in his dual ambition of making the diocese of St David's free of Canterbury, and of himself holding the bishopric. It is only in this context that we can interpret his fierce onslaught against the Cistercians. He begins his lengthy attack by presenting two versions of the order's origin. The one he favours is the same as that given by Walter Map, that four monks left Sherborne and founded Cîteaux under the leadership of Stephen Harding. He also cites another version of Cîteaux' foundation, which stated that it was established by Robert of Molesme.[49] Gerald then goes on to develop some of the themes he had discussed earlier in the *Itinerarium*. The first generation of Cistercians were holy, ascetic men, charitable to the poor and successful cultivators of their lands. Once again a favourable contrast is drawn with the profligacy of the Cluniacs, and their reliance on direct cultivation of their estates, rather than on fixed rents as did the Cluniacs, is seen as good economic practice.[50] Moreover, the sanctity of the early Cistercians had inspired the order of Savigny to transfer to the white monks from the Cluniacs, while many other individuals had flocked to the order.[51]

But prosperity corrupted, and greed and ambition brought about the downfall of the order's primitive purity. The white monks' habits no longer signified their inner grace, and though some remained loyal to the old ideals they could do little against the majority.[52] Having concluded his general introduction, Gerald next turns to the particular vices of the Cistercian houses in Wales. He starts with two southern neighbouring houses, one rich, the other poor, which he does not name, though he says that they were the only Welsh houses not subject to Whitland. These can be identified as Margam and Neath respectively: Margam was wealthier that Neath in 1291, though not greatly so. They co-existed peaceably till the arrival of an abbot from northern England (who is clearly Gilbert, abbot from 1203 to 1213,

and who later went mad and was deposed from office) at Margam who proceeded to harass the monks of Neath at every opportunity. He seized property and engaged in endless litigation so that ultimately the abbot of Neath was obliged to take the law into his own hands and recover by force some of the lands that had been taken from him.[53] That there were frequent property disputes between the two communities is well attested in the thirteenth century: it is also clear that Neath was no means always the innocent victim.[54] But it was not just that abbey which suffered from the abbot of Margam's depredations. The most famous example of Cistercian high-handedness is Margam's alleged seizure of an unnamed estate (which has now been convincingly identified as Llangewydd).[55] This case is both well-documented and well-known, but merits close examination. The abbey farmed Llangewydd from a local lord, but when the land had been improved, the monks secretly demolished the castle. They then obtained a perpetual lease of the parish church only to eject the parishioners and rase the church to the ground. Neither lord nor priest could gain redress in the courts, for the judges were in the monks' pocket. Thus the Cistercians both perverted justice and were responsible for the despoliation of others' property.

But a consideration of the documentary evidence suggests that the story of this estate is rather more complicated than Gerald would allow. It is first mentioned in a confirmation charter (1148 x 1183) of Nicholas, bishop of Llandaff. In it the bishop confirms the gift to Margam of the grange of Llangewydd by Roger of Halberton, with the consent of William Scurlage, presumably Roger's lord.[56] At least some of William's fee in Llangewydd was in the hands of Ewenny priory. This was later ceded by prior Maurice of Ewenny to abbot Cynan of Margam.[57] Margam acquired further property in the vill and a confirmation of all his rights in the parish church from Herbert Scurlage, heir to William.[58] It was probably during the lifetime of David, Herbert's son, that the incidents alleged by Gerald occurred. In 1217-8 bishop Henry of Llandaff notified Gilbert de Clare that David Scurlage was of full age and duly seized of his land when an agreement was made between him and Margam of his land in the fee of Llangewydd, and that well before then David's age had been recognised by judgement of the county court in Cardiff in a dispute between David and his bastard brother Raymond.[59] At about the same time David was also in dispute with a fellow tenant of the earl of Gloucester, Nicholas Poinz, who himself had interests in

Llangewydd.[60] Sometime around the turn of the century David confirmed lands of his fee and all his rights in the church of Llangewydd to Margam, and in 1202 he demised the remainder of the fee to Margam for three marks *per annum* and a payment of a horse worth £5, and 21 marks of rent 'prae manibus'. This sum would cover the rent for the next seven years for property he had leased to the monks earlier in the same year. A further 40 marks were to be paid on his behalf to Nicholas Poinz in settlement of a claim heard in the royal court concerning the Llangewydd fee. Nicholas was also to receive a horse worth three marks, while a horse worth two marks was to go to Walter Luvel, elsewhere identifiable as David's son-in-law, who had an interest in the fee through his *maritagium*.[61] In the following generation Henry, son of David Scurlage, confirmed all his rights in the fee to the monks in return for the not inconsiderable annual rent of 35 shillings and for a down payment of £9 10s and a foal 'in mea urgenti necessitate'.[62] That Margam was taking advantage of difficulties in the Scurlage family occasioned by an inheritance dispute and financial problems seems most probable and it may be that in 1217-18 David had vainly tried to recover the lost lands by claiming that he had been disseised while a minor. But this evidence does not provide any corroboration of Gerald's dramatic version of events, which seem to have been borrowed from a *corpus* of stories current in anti-Cistercian literature and deployed by Gerald to illustrate Margam's perfidy. Though the Cistercians may well have demolished the church, for there is a mid-thirteenth century reference to the church which 'was' at Llangewydd, there is no other documentary or (currently) archaeological evidence to indicate the existence of a castle on the fee.[63] It remains difficult to account for Gerald's prejudice against Margam and its abbot, though Cowley has plausibly suggested that he might have known of these disputes through his links with *magister* Maurice of Llangeinor, whose brother Clement was prior of Neath, while members of Gerald's own family were patrons of that abbey and might well therefore view its rival with disfavour.[64]

The case of Margam and Llangewydd is but one among many instances of Cistercian avaricious despoliation, a theme to which Gerald returns time and again. Thus in North Wales the abbey of Aberconwy wished to take over a *clas* (it has been suggested that of Beddgelert) in Gwynedd. The monks bought the support of the local prince (either Gruffudd ap Cynan or Llywelyn ap Iowerth) with the intention of appropriating the community, and making the clerics

monks and the buildings a grange of the abbey. Only the receipt of papal letters of protection prevented its absorption.[65] In Dyfed, abbot Peter of Whitland launched a similar bid for the small and poor Premonstratensian house of Talley, a day's journey away. The abbot and some of the canons were pressured to adopt the Cistercian rule and habit while the abbey's patron was persuaded to replace them with Cistercian monks. The community was expelled in a night raid by an armed force; it consequently appealed to archbishop Hubert Walter who restored them. But the Cistercians were persistent and the case was ultimately taken to Rome, where the matter was finally settled by Whitland renouncing its claim to Talley and by the grant of an annual pension in return for the wealthy grange of Rhuddlan Deifi which was exchanged for lands of less value.[66] At this time Talley was under the patronage of the Deheubarth dynasty. The Lord Rhys had died in 1197: his death was followed by a long period of political instability in Deheubarth.[67] It seems likely that the young and inexperienced new Cistercian abbot, who had only recently taken office, took advantage of local uncertainties in his bid to appropriate the Premonstratensian abbey. This also perhaps lies behind a similar appropriation in Ceredigion. Here a rich abbey, identified as founded by Robert fitzStephen and lying under Pumlumon (i.e. Strata Florida) is said to have robbed a house of small nuns (i.e. Llanllyr), following the death of its founder, Rhys ap Gruffudd, of a prosperous estate, which has been plausibly identified with Strata Florida's later grange of Hafodwen, even though the nuns had paid a substantial sum to Rhys' heir to be secure in their property.[68] The development of Strata Florida as the focal point of the patronage of the Deheubarth dynasty following Rhys' death and the corresponding decline in support of other local houses such as Talley or Llanllyr perhaps made the Cistercian seizure easier.

In the case of Llanllyr Gerald shows Cistercians seizing the estates of other Cistercian communities. We have already noted the rivalry between Neath and Margam. Gerald also criticises the Cistercians' acquisition of parish churches.[69] Spiritual revenues from churches and tithes had been forbidden to the white monks by their early legislation, but within a few generations this prohibition was being ignored.[70] Gerald saw this development as both symptomatic of Cistercian greed and as detrimental in several ways to the parish churches. Sometimes churches were taken by Cistercians and then abandoned, along with their cemeteries which were dug up. Such action was both sacrilegious

and socially disruptive, as these derelict churches became used as hideouts for robbers and murderers. The appropriation of churches also resulted in the impoverishment of parish priest and parishioners alike as tithes were diverted to monastic hands. To illustrate his point Gerald tells of how a poor priest whose parishioners had been ejected and whose revenues appropriated continued to serve his church and subsist on the revenue from his flocks until the Cistercians were able to gain his dismissal by bribing the bishop's officials.[71] Yet, though churches might be destroyed by the Cistercians, by the time Gerald wrote the *Speculum*, only one Welsh abbey, Tintern, had made an appropriation, and that was not in Wales.[72] According to Gerald the Lateran Council had forbidden Cistercian possession of churches and he alleged that they had suppressed some of their houses in Wales which were slow to respond to this legislation.[73] In fact the Council had not specifically forbidden Cistercian ownership of churches, but, as we have already seen, Innocent III was concerned at this policy, and in 1214 the General Chapter had itself prohibited the acceptance of parish churches, a prohibition which was repeated in the General Chapter of the following year.[74]

Other criticisms surface in Gerald's account of the abbey of Dore. Dore, which lay just across the border in Herefordshire, but whose estates straddled the frontier, had been founded in 1147 by Robert of Ewias, as a daughter house of Morimond.[75] Gerald illustrates his disapproval of the Cistercian practice of visiting the dying to ensure deathbed benefactions and lay burials by a bizarre story of how the monks (not immediately identified as of Dore, but the later context makes this clear) visited a wealthy dying woman at Ewias Harold and did not leave pestering her until she had been tonsured and cowled in the Cistercian habit.[76] This tale is shortly followed by another in which the monks of Dore received the mother of John of Monmouth as a monk, promising her that by so doing the gate of paradise would be opened. A little earlier the monks of the Cistercian abbey of Flaxley had made a similar promise to John's sister.[77] These *exempla* seem to be rather distorted accounts of *ad succurrendum* entries into the religious life. Such deathbed recruitment was forbidden by the Cistercians, but there is clear evidence from British Cistercian abbeys (including Fountains) that this prohibition was sometimes ignored, and that even women would on occasion be received into Cistercian houses.[78] It is the fact that these deathbed recruits were women that Gerald purports to find so shocking, but it is noticeable that in all the

instances he cites the woman was connected to an important patron of the abbey. The lady of Ewias Harold was almost certainly a member of Robert of Ewias' family, while John of Monmouth was the founder of Grace Dieu, a daughter house of Dore.[79] Was Gerald aware that in 1209 Matilda de Braose, the wife of Gruffudd ap Rhys, the patron of Strata Florida, after making her confession at Llanbadarn Fawr, had assumed the habit of the order, and was buried next to her husband at the abbey? Gruffudd, son of the Lord Rhys, was the powerful patron of Strata Florida: such an honour to his widow could perhaps not be denied.[80] The abbey was already established as the burial place of the princes of Deheubarth and several male members of the dynasty had been received as monks there on their deathbed.[81] Deathbed reception and burial of founders and their kin was part of the spiritual reciprocity binding community and patron, conferring prestige on both, but any burial brought fees, and sometimes endowments. Lay burials were expressly forbidden by the early Cistercian statutes, while secular churches jealously guarded their own rights to the burial of their parishioners.[82] Thus the action of the monks of Dore in allegedly carting the dying from the neighbouring parishes of Ewias Harold and Bacton to the abbey for burial was doubly reprehensible.[83]

Similarly, they had broken their rule by acquiring churches and rents, and lands had been stolen from the nearby Augustinian priory of Llanthony Prima, while the small Cistercian abbey of Trawscoed had been reduced to the status of a grange.[84] But Dore was chosen for particular attention because of its abbot, Adam. Adam had been a contender for the diocese of St David's in 1198. He had gone to Richard I in France immediately on hearing of the bishop's death, ostensibly to bring him news of a battle between the Welsh and English, but really to secure his nomination as the next bishop, and to further his cause had played on the king's known cupidity by buying a wood from him for the abbey.[85] Amongst his other sins Gerald records he had made a knight drunk and then got him to seal a forged charter making over property to the house.[86]

At Dore, therefore, the sins of the abbey are linked with those of its abbot. At Whitland, by contrast, Gerald's wrath is reserved for the abbot alone. Peter became abbot c.1202, after having been a monk only a short time. However, Peter is condemned not for his specific failings as a Cistercian, but because he aspired to the bishopric of St Davids, and was hence in direct rivalry with Gerald. In 1198 he was amongst the chapter's nominees, though neither he nor Gerald was

ultimately successful in securing the post. Gerald lost no opportunity to attack Peter, whom he accused of not only being the son of a priest but himself having a son, who was a canon of St David's, as well as having been the father of a child by his own cousin who conceived in a chamber underneath St David's cathedral. Peter is also accused of having despoiled his own abbey by using its resources to fund his own ambitions. Peter was a dangerous opponent - there was a powerful body of support for him in the St David's chapter, where his brother was a canon (as were other relatives), and he was also a favoured candidate of archbishop Hubert Walter. Not surprisingly, Gerald made every effort to gain Peter's deposition by appealing both to Cîteaux and Clairvaux, Whitland's mother house, an aim in which he eventually succeeded.[87]

One of the reasons behind Gerald's hostility to Peter may have been a feeling of betrayal since, before becoming a Cistercian, Peter had been a clerk in archdeacon Gerald's household.[88] A similar experience may underlie his attack on William Wibert. Wibert, too, wanted St David's for himself, but Gerald seems to have crossed swords with him earlier. As we have already seen, Wibert accompanied Gerald on diplomatic missions in the 1190s and Gerald felt that his promotion had been prevented through the former's machinations. Unlike Peter, Wibert was not a Welshman, though his abbey of Biddlesden was visited by the abbots of Margam and Neath, and it may have been at that time that Gerald first encountered him, though he says he first met him at the court of Eleanor, the queen mother, in 1192/3.[89] Moreover, Gerald writes how he knew something of the man since he held a church (which is probably to be identified with Chesterton) in the vicinity of Biddlesden - we might speculate that Gerald (like Walter Map at Westbury) had quarrelled with the abbey over tithes. Wibert had been cellarer of Biddlesden but had been deposed from office, primarily it would appear from sharp practice in the manipulation of debts the abbey had incurred to Aaron the Jew of Lincoln. The debts had been secretly paid off, but Wibert pretended that they were still outstanding, meanwhile using the interest payable on them for his own benefit.[90] To this Gerald adds a whole catalogue of sexual misdemeanours, including an affair with the wife of Robert de Chenduit who was serving with prince John in Ireland, which gained such local notoriety that William was himself nicknamed 'de Chenduit'. Additionally he had an encounter with a young clerk at the house of Matilda de St Valery, wife of William de Braose, in Brecon,

and had seduced certain boys at the court of the lord Rhys with lavish gifts, perhaps when he and Gerald were on one of their embassies.[91] Unfortunately for Gerald, Wibert had powerful supporters at the royal court, including archbishop Hubert Walter, and, worse from Gerald's point of view, was a friend of Peter de Leia, bishop of St David's. William and Wibert are accused by Gerald of devising a scheme by which Peter would be translated to the see of Worcester while William would obtain St David's.[92] By this time, Wibert had become abbot of Biddlesden through the patronage of queen Eleanor who had written in his support to the abbey of Garendon, Biddlesden's mother house, but he continued his scheming in Wales, attempting to gain the sees of both Llandaf and Bangor. For all the hostility between Gerald and Wibert, in 1196 the two men patched up their differences. The sincerity of both men can be doubted, it may be that Gerald felt himself too isolated at court to gain victory over his rival, but the next year the old conflict was renewed, and this time Gerald was successful. William Wibert was seemingly deposed by the abbot of L'Aumône, perhaps conditionally, the following year he lost office for good.[93]

By 1200, then, Gerald had seen off two of his Cistercian opponents, Peter of Whitland and Wibert of Biddlesden, while Adam of Dore had been neutralised. But their opposition and their scheming against the archdeacon had brought about a wider condemnation of their order, when Gerald deployed anti-Cistercian material to illustrate his enemies' failings. Undoubtedly he shared many of the misgivings of his contemporaries towards the successful order and, as we have seen, even his early work reflects this concern, but they were given an edge by feelings of personal bitterness and betrayal. We should not look then to Gerald for a fully-developed coherent opposition to Cistercian monasticism; paradoxically that is rather more evident in the rather less engaged satirists, like Walter Map.

By 1200, too, there was a rich corpus of *exempla* available for anti-Cistercian polemicists like Gerald. But at the same time there were those who thought the satirists had gone too far. The subprior of St Frideswide's, Oxford, (an Augustinian house, it should be noted), *magister* W. Bothewald wrote a poem condemning Walter Map's attack on the Cistercians.[94] He argued that the Cistercians were generally praiseworthy: even if occasionally faults were apparent in reality the monks were good ('Exterius si sit aliquis qui non operetur / Ut decet, interius tendat ad omne bonum'). Though there were individual

cases of delinquency it was not just to condemn the whole order. Focusing, as did the critics, on the Cistercians' freedom from paying tithes, Bothewald, after suggesting that Map was motivated by his failure to receive tithes from the Cistercians, defends their privilege. Tithes belong to Christ; in Christ's place tithes had been remitted to the Cistercians. Whoever accused the monks, therefore, was implicitly accusing Christ and the pope of injustice.

That the Cistercians were also concerned at the criticisms being raised against them is also apparent from their own legislation in General Chapters, such as that noted above against the possession of parish churches, while at the same time there are indications that at least one Cistercian attempted to refute Gerald's charges. According to John Bale, Adam II, abbot of Dore, whom Bale describes as a musician, poet, and philosopher, wrote a verse response *contra speculum Giraldi*, to which Gerald and his friend, the Hereford canon, Simon de Fraxino, wrote epigrams in reply, while Simon himself is said to have written in Gerald's defence against Adam and in support of the *Speculum Ecclesie*.[95] It is difficult to make sense of the chronology here: the *Speculum* was not completed until after 1219 and abbot Adam II did not become abbot till c.1216. Simon is thought to have written to Gerald asking him to join the cathedral community at Hereford between 1194 and 1197, but since Simon was probably still alive in the early 1220s it is conceivable that he collaborated with, and defended, Gerald at the very end of his life. Certainly, given Gerald's attacks on Dore and on Adam's predecessor as abbot, Adam I, in particular, a Cistercian counter-offensive is not improbable.

Though Gerald's condemnations of the white monks are clearly to be regarded in the context of contemporary anti-Cistercian writing they are presented through the distorting mirror of his own personal antipathies. How far they were intended for a wide audience is difficult to ascertain, though it is surely significant that the *Speculum Ecclesie* survives (though mutilated) in a single manuscript.[96] Gerald is writing, it appears, not for a public, but for himself. By the time of his death in 1223, the Cistercian appeal had largely faded. Benefactions were slackening, new foundations, though not unknown, were uncommon: at the same time the Cistercians, for all that their legislation attempted to maintain the ascetic ideals of their past, were losing their distinctive identity. Their economic organisation was changing as granges were farmed or integrated into manors, while *conversi* gave way to hired labourers. Tithes and *spiritualia*

assumed an increasing importance as sources of income, which continued a matter of disquiet to commentators such as archbishop Pecham as late as 1284.[97] Gerald wrote as Cistercian structures were changing fast. How far this represented the corruption of old asceticism, how far realistic adaptation to shifting spiritual and economic conditions is debatable, but to Gerald the answer was clear.

NOTES

1 *Giraldus Cambrensis: Opera*, IV ('Speculum Ecclesie'), 160, 8-9, ed. J.S. Brewer, Rolls Series, 1873.

2 *Giraldus*, V ('Expugnatio Hibernica'), 410-11, ed. J.F. Dimock, Rolls Series, 1867. Discussed in *Walter Map : De Nugis Curialium*, pp.xxii-xiii, ed. M.R. James, revised C.N.L. Brooke and R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford 1983. For two very different analyses of the personal and literary relationships between the two, see A.K. Bate, 'Walter Map and Giraldus Cambrensis', *Latomus* 31, 1972, 860-75, who contends that there is no compelling evidence that the two were friends and were at most distant acquaintances, and L. Thorpe, 'Walter Map and Gerald of Wales', *Medium Aevum* 47, 1978, 6-21. Thorpe, who does not seem to have been aware of Bate's article, argues for a much closer friendship.

3 Amongst the substantial bibliography on hostility between Cistercians and Cluniacs, see D. Knowles, 'Cistercians and Cluniacs: the Controversy between St Bernard and Peter the Venerable' in *The Historian and Character and other Essays*, Cambridge 1963, pp.50-75 and many of the essays in *Petrus Venerabilis, 1156-1956; Studies and Texts commemorating the Eighth Centenary of his Death*, ed. G. Constable and J. Kritzeck, Studia Anselmiana 40, Rome 1956.

4 For a general discussion of Cistercian depopulation, see R.A. Donkin, *The Cistercians: Studies in the Geography of Medieval England and Wales*, Studies and Texts 38, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto 1978, pp.39-51. Welsh examples are discussed below.

5 J. Leclercq, 'Le poème de Payen Bolotin contre les faux ermites', *Revue Bénédictine* 68, 1958, 52-86.

6 *Ibid.*, 79 (ll. 91-8).

7 *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, IV. xl -xlii, 311-27 ed. M. Chibnall, Oxford 1973.

8 Later, Peter the Venerable is criticised for his austere reforms, 'rivalling the Cistercians and other seekers after novelties' (*ibid.*, VI. 427, ed. M. Chibnall, Oxford 1978).

9 *Nigel de Longchamp's Speculum Stultorum*, ed, with introduction and notes, J.H. Mozley and R.R. Raymo, University of California English Studies 18, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1960, ll. 2111-2182, pp.78-79. On *conversi* discontent see J.S. Donnelly, *The Decline of the Cistercian Laybrotherhood*, Fordham University Studies, History Series 3, New York 1949.

10 *Les Oeuvres de Guiot de Provins, poète lyrique et satirique*, ed. J. Orr, University of Manchester, série française 1, Manchester 1915, ll. 1187-1326, pp.47-51.

11 *Ibid.*, pp.xv-xvi.

12 It is certainly possible that Gerald had read the *Speculum Stultorum*, for a line (317) in that work, 'Sola venire solent et vix et sero secunda' is repeated *verbatim* in Gerald's poem, *Planctus Humanae Miseriae* (Giraldus, I. 355). See *Nigel de Longchamp's Speculum Stultorum*, 8, 127 n. 49. For Gerald's links with Walter, see above, n. 2.

13 It has been suggested (*De Nugis Curialium*, p.xxv) that ch. 25 was written as a separate tract in the late 1170s.

14 *De Nugis Curialium*, pp.93-97.

15 *Ibid.*, pp.105-07 and notes.

16 *Ibid.*, pp.107-09.

17 The fullest study of this complex issue remains G. Constable, *Monastic Tithes from their Origins to the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge 1964, esp. pp.270-306.

18 *Ibid.*, pp.190-97.

19 *Ibid.*, pp.280-81.

20 *Ibid.*, pp.292-94.

21 C.R. Cheney, 'A Letter of Pope Innocent III and the Lateran Decree on Cistercian Tithe-paying' in *Medieval Texts and Studies*, Oxford 1973, pp.277-84.

22 *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis (1116-1789)*, ed. J.M. Canivez, 8 vols, Louvain 1933, I. 86-87. Constable, pp.194-95.

23 Cheney, pp.280-81; Canivez, I. 427-28. The restrictions placed on the acquisition of property foreshadowed the prohibition made the following year at the Lateran Council which forbade acceptance of all property unless granted in free alms, when it was either to be sold or leased (C.J. Hefele, *Histoire des conciles*, Paris 1913, V.ii. 1376-7).

24 *The Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) concerning England and Wales*, ed. C.R. and M.G. Cheney, Oxford 1967, no.518, p.85.

25 Cwmhir (1176), Basingwerk (c.1131), Conwy (1186), Cwmmer (1199), Llantarnam (1179), Margam (1147), Neath (1130), Strata Florida (1164), Strata Marcella (1170), Tintern (1131), and Whitland (1140). Valle Crucis was founded from Strata Marcella in 1201. Dore (1147) in Herefordshire, but which possessed considerable property across the Welsh border, was also often regarded as a Welsh community, in 1281 claiming to be Welsh, for example, for taxation purposes on the grounds of poverty (F.G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales, 1066-1349*, Cardiff 1977, p 235, n. 36). The fullest general study is D.H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, 2 vols, Tenby 1984 and see also Cowley. All these abbeys were probably noted on Gerald's now lost *Kambriae Mappa*, which showed 'many monasteries, especially of the Cistercian order' (Giraldus, I. 415).

26 Cowley, p.22. The early history of this community remains obscure and requires further elucidation.

27 Giraldus, IV. 59, 82.

28 *Ibid*, VI ('Itinerarium'), 119, 126 ed. J.F. Dimock, Rolls Series, 1868.

29 Giraldus, IV. 219-24. An interpretation also held by W. Bothewald, for whom see below. (*The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, ed. T. Wright, Camden Society, 1841, p.xxxvi).

30 Biddlesden was a small Cistercian abbey founded as a daughter house of Garendon in 1147.

31 Giraldus, I ('Symbolum Electorum'). 204, 295, ed. J.S. Brewer, Rolls Series, 1861; IV. 156. Discussed in R. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales, 1146-1223*, Oxford 1982, p.19.

32 As noted many years ago by D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, Cambridge 1949, p.667. See also his 'Some Enemies of Gerald of Wales', *Studia Monastica* 1, 1959, 137-41.

33 Giraldus, VI. 59, 44. There is as yet no detailed study of Gerald's authorial method.

34 *Ibid.*, 41, 43-4. Later, in the *Speculum Ecclesie*, (*ibid.*, IV. 246) Gerald was to suggest that additional causes of Cistercian greed were the order's failure to limit the size of its abbeys, and also to limit the scale of their acquisitions.

35 *Ibid.*, IV. 251.

36 *Ibid.*, VI. 67-69. See Bartlett, pp.106-07.

37 *De Nugis Curialium*, 98-100; B. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England, 1100-1540: the Monastic Experience*, Oxford 1993, pp.22-23. Map's criticism was echoed by John of Salisbury (*Ioannis Saresberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis Policratici*, II. 767b, ed. C.C.I. Webb, Oxford 1909).

[38] Giraldus, VI. 45-46.

[39] *Ibid.*, VI. 46. Canivez, I. 117-18. The repetition of this prohibition the following year (*ibid.*, 142) suggests that it was not immediately observed.

[40] Giraldus, VI. 59.

[41] *Ibid.*, II ('Gemma Ecclesiastica'). 248, ed. J.S. Brewer, Rolls Series, 1862; IV. 168-69; VI. 59. Little is known of the later history of Llansanffraed, and it has been suggested that this scandal led to its disappearance (J.E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, 2nd edn, London 1912, II. 599-600). This replication, and expansion, of material used in earlier works is a typical example of Gerald's authorial method referred to above.

[42] Williams, I. 6-7. See also Cowley, pp.23-24.

[43] H. Mayr-Harting, 'Functions of a Twelfth-Century Recluse', *History* 60, 1975, 345.

[44] *Speculum Duorum, or a Mirror of Two Men*, ed. Y. Lefèvre and R.B.C. Huygens, University of Wales, Board of Celtic Studies, History and Law Series 27, Cardiff 1974, pp.278-80.

[45] *Ibid.*, p.280.

[46] Giraldus VI. 149.

[47] *Ibid.*, IV. 104-10.

[48] *De Nugis Curialium*, pp.76-80; Giraldus I. 76; II. 152; IV. 223.

[49] Giraldus IV. 111-12.

[50] *Ibid.*, 112-14. Gerald is, of course, writing at a time of increasing inflation when the real value of rents was falling and landlords were turning to the direct management of their property in order to take advantage of rising prices.

[51] Giraldus IV. 114. For the fullest discussion of the Savignacs and their 'takeover' by the Cistercians see B.D. Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries and their Patrons in the Twelfth Century*, Urbana 1968, pp.80-115.

[52] Giraldus IV. 115.

[53] *Ibid.*, IV. 129-31.

[54] F.G. Cowley, 'Neath versus Margam: Some Thirteenth-Century Disputes', *Transactions of the Port Talbot Historical Society* 3, 1967, 7-14.

[55] Giraldus, IV. 134-35. See F.G. Cowley, 'Llangewydd: an Unrecorded Glamorgan Castle', *Archaeologia Cambrensia* 116, 1967, 204-06.

56 *Llandaff Episcopal Acta, 1140-1287*, ed. D. Crouch, Cardiff 1989, pp. 21-23. Another charter associates William Scurlage's son, William, with this grant.

57 *Carte et Alia Munimenta quae ad Dominium de Glamorganensia Pertinent*, ed. G.T. Clark, 2nd edn, Cardiff 1910, II. 420-21, 440. A later charter, issued by David Scurlage (*ibid.*, II. 436) indicates that this property amounted to 24 acres.

58 *Ibid.*, II. 431.

59 *Llandaff Ecclesiastical Acta*, pp. 51-52. For Gilbert de Clare's notification of these hearings, see *Carte*, II. 432-35.

60 *Earldom of Gloucester Charters*, ed. R.B. Patterson, Oxford 1973, no. 129, p.120, where David is wrongly said to be the son of William II Scurlage. See also, *Carte* VI. 2329. Nicholas later conceded all the rights he claimed in the disputed fee to Margam *(ibid.*, II. 225-26).

61 *Ibid.*, VI. 2301; II. 269-71, 436-37.

62 *Ibid.*, II. 438-39.

63 But see Cowley, 'Llangewydd: an Unrecorded Glamorgan Castle', for a differing analysis.

64 *Ibid.*, 10-11. For Maurice's vision of Gerald, see Giraldus I. 170-72.

65 Giraldus IV. 167-68. The fullest discussion of this incident is R.W. Hays, *The History of the Abbey of Aberconway, 1186-1537*, Cardiff 1963, pp.30-31. For the history of Beddgelert, see C.N. Johns, 'The Celtic Monasteries of North Wales', *Transactions of the Caernarvonshire Historical Society* 21, 1960, 14-41, especially 26-27, 30-31. It may well be, as Johns suggested, that the community at Beddgelert was converted into an Augustinian priory by Llewelyn Fawr, in order to give it protection against Cistercian expansionism.

66 Giraldus, IV. 143-45; Cowley, *Monastic Order*, pp.73-74.

67 R.R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change: Wales, 1063-1415*, Oxford 1987, pp.224-26.

68 Giraldus, IV. 152-53. Williams, *Welsh Cistercians*, II. 211.

69 Giraldus, IV. 136-38, 177-78 (where the Welsh Cistercians are not specifically mentioned, but it was probably these that he had in mind). For Walter Map's criticisms of this Cistercian practice, see *De Nugis Curialium*, pp.93, 111.

70 Canivez, I. 14-15.

71 Giraldus, IV. 137. The church is not identified, though it is possible that it was Llangewydd (see above, and Cowley, *Monastic Order*, pp.182-83).

72 The church was that of Woolaston in Gloucestershire (Cowley, *Monastic Order*, p.185); Williams, *Welsh Cistercians*, II. 334. For Tintern's draconian justice exercised in the abbey's wood at Woolaston, see *De Nugis Curialium*, p.107.

73 See above. Giraldus, IV. 138-39. There is no evidence at all for Gerald's accusation.

74 Canivez, I. 428, 448.

75 The fullest account is D.H. Williams, 'Abbey Dore', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* 2, 1966, 65-104. See also above, n. 25.

76 Giraldus, IV. 199-200. Gerald follows this story with a similar one of a woman received into a Cluniac house in Dublin by its abbot.

77 *Ibid.*, IV. 200-01.

78 J.H. Lynch, *Simoniacal Entry into the Religious Life, 1000-1260*, Columbus, Ohio 1976, pp.27-36. Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp.635-36, points out that though theoretically the Cistercians made a distinction between receiving the dying into their monasteries as novices, which was permitted, and death-bed profession, which was not, in practice there was nothing between the two. See also Williams, I. 182-84. For the Fountains evidence, see J. Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey and its Benefactors, 1132-1300*, Cistercian Studies 91, Kalamazoo 1987, pp.264-65.

79 Cowley, *Monastic Order*, pp.27-28. For Grace Dieu, see D.H. Williams, 'Grace Dieu Abbey', *Monmouthshire Antiquary* 1, 1964, 37-106.

80 *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes: Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, ed. T.Jones, Cardiff 1952, p.84.

81 *Ibid.*, p.71 (Cadell, the brother of the Lord Rhys); p.81 (Gruffudd ap Rhys); p.82 (Hywel ap Rhys). They would be joined in later generations by Rhys ap Gruffudd (p.99), Morgan ap Rhys (p.109) and Rhys ap Maelgwn, who was buried next to his sister in the chapter house (p.109). Owain Cyfailiog was similarly an *ad succurrendum* entrant at Strata Marcella, founded by his own Powys dynasty (*ibid.*, p.79) while Gruffudd ap Cynan of the Gwynedd princely dynasty was received into his family's foundation of Aberconwy (*ibid.*, 80).

82 Though the prohibition was reiterated by the Fourth Lateran Council (Hefele, V.ii. 1377) there was a gradual relaxation in the Cistercians' attitude. In 1157 they allowed the burial of founders (Canivez, I. 68) and in 1217 burial was granted to all those wishing it so long as they had the permission of

their parish priest (*ibid.*, 465). See also Wardrop, pp.261-62 and references there cited.

83 Giraldus IV. 202-04. See also *ibid.*, 178, 198-99 where the Welsh monasteries are accused of going to any lengths to obtain burials, even being prepared to bury excommunicates and those under interdict.

84 *Ibid.*, IV. 206-07.

85 *Ibid.*, I. 104-05.

86 John Bale attributed the so-called *Pictor in Carmine* to Adam I, together with a verse riposte to the *Speculum Ecclesie* and a work on music, *Rudimenta Musices*, neither of which appear to have survived. M.R. James, 'Pictor in Carmine', *Archaeologia* 94, 1951, 144 accepted this attribution, but the case is not wholly convincing (*Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, ed. C. Norton and D. Park, Cambridge 1986, pp.199-200).

87 Giraldus, IV. 147-49. Similar accusations were made of William Wibert at Biddlesden (see below).

88 *Ibid.*, II. 95-96.

89 *Ibid.*, I. 295.

90 *Ibid.*, I. 207, 210; IV. 160, 232-33.

91 *Ibid.*, I. 207-09, 233-34.

92 *Ibid.*, I. 299-300

93 *Ibid.*, I. 95, 102, 294; IV. 161. The Waverley annals mention the deposition of an abbot William (presumably an error for Wibert) of Biddlesden and his replacement by Adam, cellarer of Bruer in 1197 (*Annales Monastici* II, 251, ed. H.R. Luard, Rolls Series, 1865).

94 *Latin Poems*, ed. Wright, pp.xxxv-xxxvii. See also *De Nugis Curialium*, xxxi, xlivn.

95 J. Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytanniae Catalogus* (2 vols, Basle 1557, 1559, republished, Farnborough 1971), I. 29-40. For Simon's friendship with Gerald and his invitation to join the cathedral chapter at Hereford, see R.W. Hunt, 'English Learning in the Late Twelfth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* , 4th ser., 19 (1936), 23, 36-37; M.D. Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background*, Oxford 1963, pp.183-87; R.W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: the Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe*, 2nd edn, Oxford 1992, pp.liii-lv; 'Intellectual Development and Local Environment: the case of Robert Grosseteste' in R. Benson and E.W. Naylor, eds, *Essays in Medieval History presented to Edward B King*, Sewanee, Tennessee 1991, 1-22. For verse correspondence between Gerald and Simon, see Giraldus I. 382-87.

96 B.L., MS Cotton Tiberius B xiii. The text is found with the only surviving copy of Gerald's autobiographical, *De Rebus a se Gestis*.

97 Cowley, *Monastic Order*, 180.