FAMILY, FEUD, AND FERTILITY AT MANORBIER CASTLE, PEMBS., 1200–1400

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This article explores the links between a significantly understudied early fourteenth-century manuscript miscellany housed in Trinity College Library in Cambridge (CTC MS O.2.5 (1109)), the family of Gerald of Wales (d. 1223) and the medieval castle of Manorbier in Pembrokeshire, where Gerald was born in 1146. It argues that the manuscript was produced by and for members of the de Barri family, and that the compilation, described as a 'mathematical miscellany' in James's catalogue,[1] in fact contains a rich selection of medical and other texts, with material added by a later hand, that provides new insights into the troubled history of the castle and its owners between 1200 and 1500.[2] Specifically, the article places manuscript and the physical remains of the castle, with a hitherto unrecognised garden space, in dialogue with Gerald's eulogy of Manorbier and the later history of his family. We suggest that CTC O.2.5 was owned by the family over generations, and may have helped it to address a deepening succession crisis that manifested itself in a bitter dispute over the castle and its estates. By bringing together history, palaeography and archaeology, we contend that Manorbier castle and CTC O.2.5 can be read together as linked elements in the family's story in this period. Whilst what follows must ultimately remain speculative, the case study of CTC O.2.5 is suggestive of the ways in which codicological studies might move away from a focus on medieval libraries and collections of books to incorporate more frequently studies of single books and their putative environments.

The manuscript's importance has been until now almost wholly overlooked, yet careful attention to the type of works being copied and compiled for this aristocratic household reveals a story of anxiety over the future that medicine, prayer and astrology were marshalled to deal with. Concerns with fertility and lineage were not unique to the de Barris, of course, but a holistic, multidisciplinary approach will place this important manuscript within its wider social, familial, political and literary contexts. The article will first briefly re-introduce Gerald and his well-known relationship with Manorbier, before examining the ownership of the manuscript, the family's history and, finally, the contents of the book read against their historical context. It will conclude with a re-reading of part of the castle site, understood as a tool in what might be termed the family's medical mission.

1 For a somewhat brief description of the manuscript's contents, see *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue*, ed. by M. R. James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907). Online at <http://sites.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/browse.php> [accessed 9 March 2016].

2 For a more accurate reflection of the manuscript's contents, along with folio numbers, see below, Table 1. We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Dr Sandy Paul at Trinity College Library, Cambridge, and Professor Julia Barrow at Leeds in clarifying the possible dates of the later additions.

Gerald of Wales' Paradise

The castle at Manorbier was constructed in the early twelfth century and was – famously – the birthplace and family home of the renowned medieval polymath and writer, Gerald of Wales, whose negotiation of his 'split' Welsh/Anglo-Norman identity has formed a primary focus of scholarly discussion, and whose love of the family seat at Manorbier was clearly established by him in his writing.[3] The building of the castle, still occupied and little changed from the date of its inception to the present day, was initiated by Gerald's grandfather, Odo de Barri, in the eleventh century, and completed by Gerald's father, William de Barri, in the early twelfth, with a two-storey chapel being added in or around 1260, a generation or so after Gerald's death. The chapel, as we shall see, was an important modification to the castle space, beyond its obvious religious and display functions.

Two of those works for which Gerald is best known, the much reworked and revised *Itinerarium Kambriae* [Journey around Wales], first drafted in about 1192, and the later *Descriptio Kambriae* [Description of Wales], written in 1194, are generally regarded within contemporary scholarship as being among Gerald's finest literary achievements during a long life spent as, amongst other things, an ecclesiastic, a courtier and a writer. His famed lyrical description of Manorbier castle in the *Itinerarium* speaks to this day of an aesthetically pleasing and impressively imposing residence, within whose walls Gerald was born in 1146 and which takes on a utopic quality in his writing:

> Stat autem hoc castrum, turribus et propugnaculis eximium, in collis cujusdam capite versus marinum ab occidente portum extenti; a circio et borea sub ipsis muralibus vivarium habens egregium, tam sui majestate quam aquarum profunditate conspicuum; pomerium quoque perpulchrum ab eodem latere, hinc vivario, inde nemore conclusum, tam saxorum prominentia, quam corylorum quoque proceritate praeclaro. A dextra vero castrensis promontorii parte, inter castrum scilicet et ecclesiam, ad stagni amplissimi statum et molendini situm, sabulosam vi ventorum convallem indeficientibus undis rivus inserpit. Ab occidente sinuoso quodam in angulo mare Sabrinum, jamjam prope in Hibernicum vergens, non procul a castro distante subintrat; [. . .] Naves igitur quascunque fere a

3 For a comprehensive study of Gerald and his writings, see Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages* (Stroud: Tempus, 1986, repr. 2006). On the specifics of Gerald's identity issues see, besides Bartlett, Yoko Wada, 'Gerald on Gerald: Self-presentation by Giraldus Cambrensis', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 20 (1998), 223–46; Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 'Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands: The Bodies of Gerald of Wales', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York: Palgrave, 2000), pp. 85–104. Gerald also outlines his own experiences in, for example, his *De Rebus a se Gestis*, a largely autobiographical account of his upbringing, education and embattled relationship with the English Church: *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. by J. S. Brewer, 8 vols (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1861), I, pp. 3–122. For a modern English translation of this work, as well as a number of Gerald's other autobiographical treatises, see *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, ed. and trans. by H. E. Butler (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005).

> majori Britannia in Hiberniam eurus impellit, ab hoc prospectu tam formidandam ventorum inconstantiam, quam furibundam et caecam fretorum rabiem videas audacter attentare. Terra triticea; piscibus marinis, vinoque venali copiose referta; et quod omnibus praestat, ex Hiberniae confinio, aeris salubritate temperata.
>
> [There [in Manorbier] the house stands, visible from afar because of its turrets and crenellations, on the top of a hill which is quite near the sea and which on the western side reaches as far as the harbour. To the north and north-west, just beneath the walls, there is an excellent fish-pond, well constructed and remarkable for its deep waters. On the same side there is a most attractive orchard, shut in between the fish-pond and a grove of trees, with a great crag of rock and hazel-nut trees which grow to a great height. At the east end of the fortified promontory, between the castle, if I may call it such, and the church, a stream of water which never fails winds its way along a valley, which is strewn with sand by the strong sea winds. It runs down from a large lake, and there is a watermill on its bank. To the west it is washed by a winding inlet of the Severn Sea which forms a bay quite near to the castle and yet looks out towards the Irish Sea [. . .] Boats on their way to Ireland from almost any part of Britain scud by before the east wind, and from this vantage-point you can see them brave the ever-changing violence of the winds and the blind fury of the waters. This is a region rich in wheat, with fish from the sea and plenty of wine for sale. What is more important than all the rest is that, from its nearness to Ireland, heaven's breath smells so wooingly there.][4]

Gerald was also unabashedly aware of the apparently partisan nature of this depiction, asking somewhat disingenuously for his readers' acceptance of this:

> Non itaque mirandum, non venia indignum, si natale solum, genialeque territorium, profusioribus laudum titulis auctor extulerit.
>
> [You will not be surprised to hear me lavish such praise upon it, when I tell you that this is where my own family came from, this is where I myself was born. I can only ask you to forgive me.][5]

As Gerald implicitly suggests via this description and, more explicitly in his *apologia*, Manorbier was his place of origins and, as Liz Herbert McAvoy has

4 *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, I, pp. 3–122; *Itinerarium*, pp. 92–3. For translation, see *The Journey Through Wales / The Description of Wales*, ed. by Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin, 1978), p. 150.

5 *Itinerarium*, p. 93 (trans. Thorpe, p. 151). On the castle's history, and extant remains, D. J. Cathcart King and J. Clifford Perks, 'Manorbier Castle, Pembrokeshire', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 119 (1970), 83–118.

recently argued, a place where the schism in his own identity is ultimately resolved and his sense of difference dissolved.[6] Indeed, it is, he tells us in the later *De Rebus a se Gestis*, also the place where as a boy he built sand *cathedrals* on the beach, whilst his brothers occupied themselves with mere sand castles.[7]

Educated at St Peter's Abbey in Gloucester and then, for over a decade, at the renowned University of Paris, Gerald's learning brought him into contact with many of the leading thinkers of his day. Moreover, this elite education destined him for high office in the church. The jewel in the crown of his ambition, however, the Welsh bishopric of St Davids, eluded him all his life. In his texts we see a literary negotiation of identity informed by a heady mix of deeply esoteric and traditional scholarship allied to a wide and eclectic mix of interests based on a passionately recalled childhood in Wales and a deeply acquisitive love of learning that encompassed both local mythologies and tales of the miraculous, the marvellous and the downright inexplicable. Bartlett comments that:

> The storehouse of concepts and terms which Gerald had available was […] not poorly stocked; nor were these concepts crude or inadequate […] Indeed, there is a fluidity and suggestiveness about the conceptual apparatus of Gerald's ethnographic works that sets them apart from the increasingly strict definitions of the schools.[8]

To Gerald, Manorbier was clearly a place that encouraged creativity and personal growth, a place wholly independent of the pressures of a public and literary life lived within the wider world. This tranquillity was not to last, however. For Gerald's mother was Angharad/Adeliz, daughter of the Welsh princess, Nest, and William of Windsor, and this led, in the generations that followed, to a series of interventions in the de Barri family's affairs by Angharad's kin, the powerful Carews. Within a century of Gerald's death in 1223, the castle would become the centre of a bitter dynastic inheritance dispute, leading to intrigue, betrayal, assault on the castle and, ultimately, murder.[9] Bartlett's assessment of the tenets of Gerald's Welsh writings and their 'conceptual apparatus', however, is equally applicable to the significant 'storehouse' of knowledge, information and learning that is evidenced in CTC O.2.5.

The de Barris and their Book

In their survey of Manorbier castle, King and Perks state that it was, 'a class of holding which almost inevitably leaves little trace upon recorded history'. Owners

6 Liz Herbert McAvoy, 'Gerald's Hard Country: Landscape and Enclosure in the *Itinerarium Kambriae*,' *Medium Aevum* annual lecture (Cardiff University, 18 April 2016).

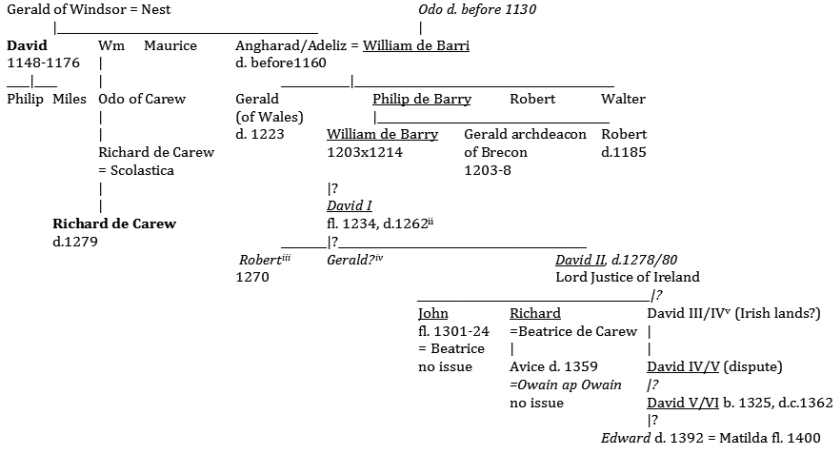
7 Gerald, *De Rebus a se Gestis*, p. 21 (*Autobiography*, p. 35).

8 Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 157.

9 J. R. Kenyon, 'Manorbier Castle' *Archaeological Journal*, 167.1 (2010), 43–45 (p. 43), may have been influenced by Gerald's description when he states that the castle led 'a peaceful existence' till the fourteenth century.

were often, 'people of little consequence, as were the de Barri family at Manorbier itself'.[10] Yet their links with the Carew family meant that two of Gerald's kinsmen (although not Gerald himself) served as bishops of St Davids, and the generations of de Barris after Gerald acquired significant holdings in Wales and Ireland.[11] Reconstructing the family line (Fig. 1) proves increasingly difficult from the thirteenth century onwards, but a little-known document preserved within the pages of CTC O.2.5 offers new light on this problem, and the contents of the codex as a whole point to one reason for the difficulty – that is to say, the family's inability to produce male heirs.

Fig. 1 The Carew and De Barri Families[i]
(Lords of Manorbier underlined, bishops of St Davids in **bold**, conjectured relationships in *italics*)



[i] Earlier portion after R. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: a Voice of the Middle Ages* (Stroud: Tempus, 1982/2006), p. 32; later portion following D. J. Cathcart King and J. Clifford Perks, 'Manorbier Castle, Pembrokeshire', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 119 (1970), 85–7, but with amendments as detailed below. See also Julia Barrow, 'Gerald of Wales' Great-Nephews', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 8 (1984), 101–106.
[ii] How the family line descends after David I is a matter for conjecture, as there is no secure evidence to link.
[iii] Robert the cleric, named as rector of Begelly in 1270 in CTC O.2.5.
[iv] A. G. de Barri witnesses a document of Richard dated 1278 (SDEA no. 148).
[v] King and Perks, p. 86, propose a third David as son of David II, with the brother of Richard numbered as David IV. In fact this would create a problem with the age of David V/VI, given as 24 in and IPM of 1359 - their correction to 'grandson' is sufficient to tidy up the generations.

Inserted into CTC O.2.5 are two, slightly different copies of a much earlier document, signed and dated on 4 July 1270, incorporated within the compilation at ff. 2r/v and 125v. The document's contents provide a tantalising link to the de Barri family and, by extension, to Manorbier itself. In the latter folio, which James describes as the earlier of the two copies, the signature line of witnesses possesses a strange anomaly, featuring:

10 Cathcart King and Perks, 'Manorbier', 84.
11 Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 25, writes of the 'sudden augmentation of a family fortune' as a result of de Barri activity in Ireland between 1183 and 1185. It is worth adding that the Irish branch of the family gained a reputation as collectors of books: Aisling Byrne. 'The Earls of Kildare and Their Books at the End of the Middle Ages', *Library*, 14.2 (2013), 129-53. We thank the anonymous reader for this reference.

> Johannes Tanke/Taneke [>different hand] verus possessor huius libri te[estan] te Mgr Bury[12] [>first hand] quondum rector de Bygely.

Here, John Tanke's signature, on palaeographic grounds, appears to have been added as late as the fifteenth century,[13] along with the copy of the charter, to an earlier, apparently isolated, statement of ownership. There are signs of rubbing under John's name that suggest the earlier owner's name was expunged. The 'true ownership', moreover, is testified to by a certain 'Mgr Bury'. But who is 'Mgr Bury' and to whom does the 'quondum' refer?

The answer to the latter question appears to lie in the contents of the document itself, which takes the form of a dispute settlement. Robert de Barri, rector of the church of Begelly, makes a sworn agreement with his parishioners, in the presence of Richard de Carew, bishop of St Davids, and twelve clerics appointed from Pembrokeshire, for the arrangements for the services at the 'capella de Villa Willelmi'. He and his successors would hold the chapel in perpetuity, and he and the parishioners would in future co-operate to find a suitable priest for the chapel, who would conduct services, baptise children, visit the sick, purify women, solemnise marriages and bury the dead. The parishioners, moreover, agreed to bury their dead in the cemetery and to pay to Robert and his successors ten *solidi* each year, as well as furnishing the chapel with a stone font, suitable vestments and all its necessary ornaments.

It is plausible to suggest, therefore, that John Tanke (or Fauke), whose relationship to the 'deceased rector of Begelly' is left obscure by the additions in the signature line, was witnessing a copy of the document as a direct descendant of its protagonist, and thus was a member of the de Barri family. Furthermore, whoever made the copy of the charter that embeds this earlier claim to ownership had a strong interest in retaining ownership of the book and reminding its readers of the family's longstanding interest in the manor and its dependencies. The ownership claim read in isolation, however, suggests controversy in the fourteenth century over possession of the book.[14]

It would be tempting to link the document to the castle itself as 'Villa Willelmi', particularly since the chapel at Manorbier had been built just a decade or so before this agreement was made. Gerald, however, tended to refer to it as 'castro quasi miliaribus' (translated by Thorpe as 'fortified mansion') or 'hoc castro',[15] so it is more likely that the chapel being referred to was in present-day East Williamston, within the parish of Begelly, and thus still linked directly to Manorbier's manorial

12 'Te[stant]te Mgr Bury' from the James catalogue reading. It is just possible that 'Bury' should be read 'Bary' and 'Tanke' could read 'Fauke'.

13 Although James dates the copy to the 14th century, recent examination suggests that a rather later date is more likely.

14 The name John Faucke (d. 1349) occurs among the fourteenth-century archdeacons of St Davids, so he could equally well have been related to the Carews: B. Jones, 'Archdeacons: St Davids', in *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300–1541: Volume 11, the Welsh Dioceses (Bangor, Llandaff, St Asaph, St Davids)*, ed. by B. Jones (London, 1965), pp. 59–61; see *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1300-1541/vol11/pp59-61> [accessed 27 April 2016].

15 Gerald, *Itinerarium*, p. 92 (trans. Thorpe, p. 150).

confines. The inclusion of the charter (copied not once but twice) signals that by the fifteenth century CTC O.2.5 was intimately linked to the memory of the de Barri family, and the list of goods and services to be delivered at the chapel points to the central concerns of family life in the earlier period – birth, marriage and death – all of which are featured prominently in the contents of the book itself. We should note particularly the inclusion of the purification of women, an important ritual that signalled not only a post-parturient woman's return to the church, but also the occasion for a celebratory feast bringing together family and community, and the resumption of marital sexual relations. Such a moment might have especial meaning if the health of the mother or baby was still in question.[16]

But why would someone claim ownership of a *book* in such strident terms, and go to the trouble of substantially amending a leaf (which may not be in its original place and thus have led to the second copy being made later and bound in at the front) to signal this? The clue may lie in the violence that broke out at Manorbier Castle around 1330.

Manorbier and the de Barris: Contested Ground

Briefly, this can be boiled down to a dispute between David IV/V and his uncle, Richard, over tenure of the castle and its lands. King and Perks outline this in their account of the castle's history, highlighting the fact that two different versions of the story exist.[17] For our purposes, the key events centred on David's claim, recorded across the royal rolls in 1331, 'that certain persons besieged his castle at Maynerbir, co. Pembroke, broke the doors and walls, carried away his goods there and at Pennaly and assaulted his servants.' Further, David's servant, Edmund de Barri, had been murdered at the time of the commission of the said trespasses.[18]

For the background to the dispute we have a later inquisition *post mortem* dated 1360 and relating to the death of Avice, wife of Owain ap Owain, which recounts that:

> John de Barry being seised of these manors, gave them to David [III/IV] de Barry, his brother, and the heirs male of his body, and David demised them to John for life. Afterwards David died and John de Barry, though having only a life interest, alienated the said manors in fee to one Richard son of Thomas, who immediately demised them [back] to John de Barry and Beatrice his wife for their lives. David de Barry [IV/V], son of David aforesaid, recently entered the manors, and John de Barry, while he was in seisin, gave him a release and bound himself to warrant his possession. So this David was long seised of the manors, until Richard de Barry, brother of David de

16 Paula M. Rieder, *On the Purification of Women: Churching in Northern France, 1100–1500* (New York: Palgrave, 2006) discusses this ritual and its constituent meanings in detail.
17 King and Perks, 'Manorbier', 86–8.
18 *CPatR Edward III 1330–34* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO), 1893), p. 199.

> Barry the father, came and forcibly disseised him and died seised of the manors. After his death the aforesaid Avice, wife of Owen ap Owen, daughter and heir of the said Richard de Barry, entered the manors and died seised thereof in fee. She held the manors of Maynerbire and Pennaly of the heir of Laurence de Hastynges, late earl of Pembroke, a minor in the king's wardship, as of the castle of Pembroch by knight's service; and the manor of Begely of John de Carrue by knight's service. She died on the eve of the Assumption, 32 Edward III, without heir of her body. David de Barry, son of David de Barry, son of the aforesaid David, her cousin, being [grand]son of David brother of Richard her father, aged 24 years, is her heir.[19]

The potted history in Avice's *post mortem*, however, does not tell half the story of the violence (King and Perks in fact term it 'David's version'), for an entry in the Close Rolls, dated 14 Oct 1331 records that, 'in the first year of the king's reign [1327] these lands, held by David de Barry, had been taken into the king's hands after David had invaded the manor of Penam … [Pennally], which Richard de Barry had unjustly taken from him'. So it seems that David had taken the law into his own hands regarding his dispute with his uncle.[20]

On December 3 of the same year there was another twist as 'certain men of the county' of Pembroke protested that the king's inquiry into the case, started in July, was 'to the injury of the liberty of the said county', because such cases would normally have been heard by the count of Pembroke, and that only the minority of the heir had led to the king's intervention, when in fact he should have left matters in the hands of lords of the county.[21] This technicality aside, however, the document also reported that William de Carew, Thomas de Carew and Owain ap Owain had been indicted for the felonies carried out. The Carews, as we have seen, were relatives by marriage of the de Barri family, and Owain was the husband of Avice, the eventual heir of Manorbier. This, then, was an intensely local, and familial dispute – no wonder the 'men of the county' wanted to sort it out themselves.

The story does not end there however. An entry into the Patent Rolls just five days later reveals more detail:

> Commission to Gilbert Talbot, Thomas de Chudesworth and Richard Simon, on information that certain persons have carried away from the castle of Manerbire, Penaly and Carru the goods of Richard Barri, Thomas de Carru and William de Carru and have forcibly possessed themselves of the lands of these same men, which were lately seized into the king's hands by the steward of the county of Pembroke on account of their outlawry for non-appearance before

19 A. E. Stamp, E. Salisbury, E. G. Atkinson and J. J. O'Reilly, 'Inquisitions Post Mortem, Edward III, File 143', in *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Volume 10: Edward III* (London: HMSO, 1921), pp. 386–400, *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/inquis-post-mortem/vol10/pp386-400> [accessed 27 April 2016].

20 *CClR Edward III 1330–1333* (London: HMSO, 1898), pp. 270–1.

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 405–6.

> John Giffard, William de la Roche, John de Stouford and William Casse, justices of oyer and terminer, to answer touching the death of Edmund de Barry and the robbery of goods of David de Barry, at Manerbire, co Pembroke; to discover the guilty persons to cause them to be arrested, with the aid of the *posse comitatus* if need be, and imprisoned until further orders, to recover the goods and lands for the king, and to return inquisitions of their proceedings herein.[22]

So it seems that David might have taken direct action one more time against his uncle and other relatives, although the record is careful simply to order that 'the guilty persons' be arrested. By August 1332, however, David, son of David de Barri is named in an order 'concerning the king's peace in Ireland', suggesting that Pembrokeshire had become a little too hot for him.[23]

The 8 December record is also interesting in that it names Richard, rather than Owain ap Owain, as being outlawed and under suspicion of the theft and murder of Edmund. By 1334 his goods and chattels had been seized. This fine may, ironically, have cleared the way for Owain and Avice to inherit the castle when Richard died, and they are listed as holding it in 1349.[24] We might note, further, that by this time Avice held Begelly, always an outlier, direct from the Carews, so the de Barris' hold, expressed in Robert's earlier rectorship of its church, may have weakened substantially as a result of the dispute.[25] Furthermore, a series of documents from the early 1340s records tension over the advowson of the church of St James at Manorbier itself.[26] Only when the line of Richard had died out did David's heir get the castle back. Even then, the de Barris' hold was fragile, and before the end of the century it escheated to the crown.

Family, Fertility and the Future: the Contents of CTC O.2.5

Just as the story of dispute and theft at Manorbier began to unfold, an unknown fourteenth-century writer was beginning to compile CTC O.2.5, the manuscript that would become a treasure-trove filled not only with knowledge and learning but also helpful and practical advice for future generations. It is possible that part of the book itself was among the goods at issue during the series of disputes: it

22 *CPatR Edward III 1330–34*, p. 236.
23 *CClR Edward III 1330–33*, p. 484.
24 J. E. E. S. Sharp, E. G. Atkinson, J. J. O'Reilly and G. J. Morris, 'Inquisitions Post Mortem, Edward III, Files 91 and 92', in *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Volume 9, Edward III* (London: HMSO, 1916), pp. 113–129, via *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/inquis-post-mortem/vol9/pp113-129> [accessed 27 April 2016].
25 Another inquisition of 1367 confirms the Carews as the lords of the manor and holders of the advowson of the church of Begelly: M. C. B. Dawes, A. C. Wood and D. H. Gifford, 'Inquisitions Post Mortem, Richard II, File 1', in *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Volume 15, Richard II* (London: HMSO, 1970), pp. 1–12, via *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/inquis-post-mortem/vol15/pp1-12> [accessed 26 September 2016].
26 *CPatR Edward III, 1340–1343* (London: HMSO, 1900), pp. 32, 51, 345, 569; the tension was between the king and the priory of Pembroke.

would certainly explain the claim the '*true owner'* that appears on f.125v. If indeed the book's story starts with the rector of Begelly, it may have been caught up in the turmoil that followed. Indeed, the omission of John Tanke's/Fauke's witness signature (but not others) from the copy of the charter on f.2r/v is also suggestive of a later change of ownership.

Turning to the manuscript itself, CTC O.2.5 consists of 211 leaves, and mainly dates (on palaeographic grounds) to the fourteenth century (James does not commit to early or late). It has been significantly mined by contemporary scholarship for some of the medical texts copied within it, but has rarely been considered in its whole form as a compilation or in terms of its ownership.[27] What of the compiler? If he, like, Robert, was a clerk with ties to the manorial household, patronised by both the de Barris and the Carews, both with close links to St Davids, he would have had access to a variety of texts that allowed for the addition of further relevant works to this eclectic collection.

A brief outline of its contents reveals a veritable *florilegium* of different genre texts in a mix of Latin and French.[28] This rewards a study of the entire manuscript that locates the text in its socio-cultural context, rather than cherry-picking its richest elements. CTC O.2.5's contents certainly express the manuscript's cultural heritage in its inclusion of topics as wide-ranging as astrology, astronomy and the tides, lapidary lore and computational methodologies.[29] It also includes more practical advice, such as tracts on women's medicine, a practical herbal and a variety of household recipes.

Unlike comparable household books of this period, there is no evidence of its compiler having included any prayers or liturgy for services. Yet the contents of the charter point to the liturgical duties that a family chaplain, or local rector, would have been expected to perform, and the manuscript does elsewhere contain a collection of penitential texts, which point to clerical ownership when the texts were assembled. The ever-present dangers of falling into sin, with which any cleric would have been deeply concerned, are dealt with by penances for fornication, adultery, and murder whilst drunk, among other sins. James notes that the section ends with the line 'isti subscripti mittendi sunt ad episcopum' [the writings below should be sent to the bishop], reinforcing the already visible connection between the manor of Manorbier and the bishopric of St Davids. There follow sayings of Secundinus and prognostic texts: the latter may have been subject to scrutiny,

27 Specifically, *An Anglo-Norman Medical Compendium (Cambridge, Trinity College, O.2.5 [1109])*, ed. by Tony Hunt (Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2014) publishes fols.98r-109v. Hunt has also published other parts of the MS: Tony Hunt, 'Anglo-Norman Medical Receipts', in *Anglo-Norman Anniversary Essays*, ed. by Ian Short (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1993), pp. 185–96; a number of the prognostic texts have been published in *Writing the Future: Prognostic Texts of Medieval England*, ed. by Tony Hunt (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2013).

28 See Table 1 in the Appendix.

29 Topics that were of longstanding interest in this part of the world and elsewhere: Mark Williams, *Fiery Shapes: Celestial Portents and Astrology in Ireland and Wales, 700–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

since such future prediction was not wholly approved of by the Church.[30] Yet the emphasis on birth prognostics (taking up nearly a third of the manuscript, including lunar tables), and significant content on women's medicine, alongside treatises on physiognomy and character, expresses a particular worry on the part of the compiler or his patrons about the future. The manuscript, viewed as a whole, points to a substantial interest in generation and other such matters pertinent to the de Barri family and, it must be noted, other Marcher dynasties within this region. Indeed, this was a period when many of the foremost Marcher families were disappearing without issue, something that was surely of major concern to the ruling elites of the period, and something against which they would desire to protect themselves against at all costs.[31]

The inclusion of a number of texts for calculating the church's feast days – including the important period of Easter – would have allowed the owners of this manuscript to regulate their lives and strive to live in accordance with Christian doctrine. The contents of the manuscript, therefore, reveal its dual function: its status as an indispensable resource for treating both the body and the soul.

As for the medical or health advice in CTC O.2.5 it is, on the whole, in Norman French with occasional words given in English, making it accessible to all kinds of readers, both male and female. With its practical content, this manuscript was clearly created to be used. To provide this knowledge, the compiler had access to a number of popular Anglo-Norman translations of other medico-botanical works (fols 98r–109v).[32] This collated group of texts should be read as a household digest, or a turn-to book of remedies and treatments for a wide range of conditions. These include, among many others, the treatment of worms in children and adults, burns and abscesses, and advice for dealing with a variety of swellings – including those caused by prophylactic blood-letting.[33] The medical advice provided for treating women's conditions is extensive and their specific needs carefully catered for. One of the striking eccentricities of MS CTC O.2.5 is the way in which extracts from well-known medico-botanical works have been inserted, or blended, into other medical knowledge, some of which is unique to this manuscript.[34] The compiler has achieved this by choosing specific sources that provided the material he was looking for or by extracting relevant sections from the source-texts he was using.

30 Hunt, *Writing the Future*, p. 15, points out that, during this period, there were concerns about the appropriateness of prognostic texts due, in part, to the proscriptions of Deuteronomy 18. 9–14, which saw the 'abominations' of prognostic and divinatory practices as abhorrent to God. Such texts nevertheless proliferated, becoming particularly popular with the University of Paris in the thirteenth century, in spite of being received sometimes with some hostility.

31 Brock W. Holden, *Lords of the Central Marches: English Aristocracy and Frontier Society 1087–1265* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), especially chapter 7, pp. 190–218. As Holden points out, pp. 214–5, during the 1230s and 1240s, the main line of the formerly indomitable de Braose and de Lacy families had died out because of the lack of male heirs.

32 Hunt, *Anglo-Norman Medical Compendium*.

33 Following on from this section is a copy of another medical text referred to as the *Novele Cirurgerie* [The New Book of Medicine], that includes material on cosmetics and a remedy for aiding fertility (fols 110a–123a). See *La Novele Cirurgerie*, ed. by Constance B. Hieatt and Robin F. Jones (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1990).

34 For this collection of remedies and recipes see Hunt, 'Anglo-Norman Medical Receipts'.

For instance, the extent of the section that begins at fol. 103va has been reduced from that of its source text to such a degree that it now focuses on an important aspect of male and female healthcare: fertility.

To lend a dependable tone to this work on fertility the compiler also attributed its contents to the teachings of two well-known authorities known from Antiquity and has added to these the name of Bede: 'Beda ly sage mire et Ypocras et Galien' [Bede the wise physician and Hippocrates and Galen].[35] A text attributed to Bede begins: 'Tres sunt dies ut ait beatus Beda' [There are three days, as Blessed Bede says], referring to three miraculous days on which only boys were said to be born.[36] Was CTC O.2.5 compiled with concern for male heirs in mind? There is no doubt that this advice is aimed at women of childbearing years, and their menfolk. After the short introduction seven emmenagogues are given to promote menstruation and thereby demonstrate or improve the woman's fertility, while only one has been included for excessive menstruation, for which the writer helpfully explains: 'le puet en nomer en romanz solounc le latyn "sourondement de sanc"' [in keeping with the Latin this one can be called in romance an overabundance of blood]. After a further four examples that give the reasons why a woman might miscarry, the writer turns to providing a complete regime, including dietary advice, for helping a woman to conceive, for which, he explains, it is necessary to return to 'mediccinez forainez estreynantes' [astringent foreign medicines].[37] The last three remedies in this section concentrate on discovering the cause of the infertility, one of which refers directly to a male cause associated with a humoural imbalance. In turn, the text stresses – unusually – that such an imbalance brings about a lack of sons: 'Asquans homes unt la semence et les cole(s) de freide nature et de secche, si engendrunt nulle fietz' [Some men have semen and testicles of a cold and dry nature [and] consequently they will engender no sons]. A widely disseminated test with its origins in Egyptian medicine, aimed at testing for infertility in both the male and female which calls for bran or wheat, is also cited.[38] Its aim is to attempt to discover whether it is the woman or man who is barren. The text then continues by advising that if this test has shown no sign of the woman's infertility, then one can aid her to conceive by having her ingest the dried testicles of a boar or piglet: 'Femme qui veut enceinter secche les colez del ver od de porcel, si en face pudre, sil beve od vin, et al fin de ces flors gise od[39] son *baron*' [A woman who wants to

35 This is a drastically reduced copy of the *Liber de Sinthomatibus Mulierum* [The Book on Women's Conditions] which appears later in this manuscript. The later copy is a very loose translation and unique copy. It has no title and also lacks part of the prologue but does retain its emphasis on being addressed to women for their own use (fol. 123rb–124va). It is described by Monica Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) p. 173 n. 24.

36 László Sándor Chardonnens, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics: 900–1100 Study and Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) p. 230.

37 There are further remedies for women including instructions for expelling a stillborn, turning a badly positioned infant during childbirth, to deliver a child whether alive or dead, for pains in the breasts, and to restore a woman who is ill after childbirth (fol. 100ra).

38 Izrahul Hasan et al., 'History of Ancient Egyptian Obstetrics and Gynecology: a Review', *Journal of Microbiology and Biotechnology Research*, 1 (2011), 35–39.

39 The manuscript reads 'Si gne od'.

conceive [should] dry the testicles of a boar, then drink it in wine, and at the end of her menstruation, sleep with her *Baron*] (fol. 105r). The most notable difference between this and other vernacular copies of this work is the way in which this compiler has succeeded in creating his own specialised work by focussing almost exclusively on advice for dealing with the causes of infertility and promoting conception.

To add to this condensed material for promoting conception the writer has included further, and more personal, advice to help the woman conceive. This appears in the form of two remedies requiring copious quantities of fresh roses (fol. 106rb). The first remedy is given as a set of simple instructions that call for the use of two clay pots and the application of heat. These remedies and treatments, however, were not the result of mere copying by rote; in this instance, the voice of this medieval writer can be clearly heard in the statement of preferring one method over another:

> En ceste manere deit home fere oyle roset Pernez lez rose (ment?) cest lez flors une livre ou .ii. si metez en un morter si triblez pus metez en un vessel de verre ov .ii. livre de oile dolive on en une solune coe que metez lez roses, si estupez le vessel si metez prendre a solail .viii. jours. Al ix^{me} colez les roses si metez autretant frecche et metez regiers al solail. Icoe fetez deke .xl. jours. Pus si lez metez en sauf. Iceste oile refreide tute chalurs.
>
> [In this manner one should make rose oil: Take some roses, that is the flowers, one pound or two, put them into a mortar, pound them and then put them into a glass vessel with two pounds of olive oil or [of it?] as much as needed for according to the quantity of roses used and then seal the vessel well. Then set it aside in the sun for eight days. On the ninth day strain the roses, and then put in the same quantity of fresh roses and put it again into the sun. Do this for eleven days, remove the roses and then store it away safely. This oil will cool all inflammations.]

With a disparaging tone, the writer adds that there are 'others who do this more easily' but adds his own judgment in that 'the other [method] is more cooling' (f.107v).[40] Advice for other remedies also evoke powerful images of treatments intended to both cure and ease pain by means of flowers of pennyroyal, wild celery, fennel, elderflower, and grapes, with other fragrant herbs and seeds taking centre-stage in a remedy for swollen feet, which was to be used while sitting by the fireside or out in the warmth of the sunshine.[41] Once again, this mixture would be redolent

40 'En un autre manere li autres font plus legerement [...] mez lautre est plus freide'.

41 'Prenez les flurs de puliol et les greins et lez flours de ache et les grains et les flurs de fanul et les greins et les flurs sambuci et les fleurs de grape et .vi. poignez de betone .iii. poignez de sauge .iii. poignez de savine et oile de linz enfundez sur tant que il geust suffisant tut ceste choses triblez et metez en un vesseil dareine od aisil et de coe oignez vos piez al solail ou al feu' (fol.106ra).

with scent of the flowers, the spiciness of the juniper and the heavy perfume of sage. This raises the obvious question where such ingredients might be found.

A Garden at Manorbier?

Thus far we have explored Manorbier's transition from Gerald's idyllic Eden to a contested site disputed between family branches, and proposed that the compilation of CTC O.2.5 was motivated in part by fear for the future of the de Barri family line as it was increasingly overwhelmed by the apparently more prolific Carews. A final link between people, place and text is provided in the form of the building of the chapel at Manorbier, which may have permitted the family to put some of their collected knowledge into practice by growing the necessary ingredients close to the place of their use.

The chapel was built during the lifetime of David de Barri, the second of that name associated with Manorbier, and active in the 1260s till his death c. 1280, a man who achieved the position of Lord Justiciar of Ireland. It was during David's lifetime too that the dispute involving Robert of Begelly and his parishioners arose. The chapel itself, of course, might be read as a form of building for the future, in that prayers might be said in it for the health and fecundity of the family. Whilst its relatively rich decoration points to display as one of its motivating factors, the existence of a hagioscope in the wall of what would have been the castle chamber, directly into the chapel, also suggests more personal reasons for prayer and intercession.[42] This building may, in addition, have enhanced the potential for self-care among the family in the late thirteenth century onwards, for it created, accidentally it seems, a sun-filled, triangular space at Manorbier that may have served as an enclosed garden.

This site, it was clear, was appropriated immediately for formal, private use, since its only access is through a large doorway from a wide passage within the main hall block. The whole space is overlooked by one of the large south-facing windows of the main chamber – giving a perfect view also towards the sea over the curtain wall. This awkward and potentially redundant space, also south-facing, could well have been used as a private, serendipitous walled garden with its aromas and buzzing insects adding to the pleasures of the domestic residence. In their survey of the site, King and Perks were not convinced: they dismissed the 'dank little garden' as a 'dismal' space.[43] Yet, the very fact of its high walls would have provided an ideal environment for the production *and* protection of delicate plants from the formidable winds (the 'tam formidandam ventorum inconstantiam') mentioned by Gerald as blowing in off the Irish Sea.[44] Such plants may, of course, even have been placed outside in containers, rather than planted directly into the ground, facilitating movement when the sun was too low to fully penetrate the space. Indeed, the area is currently planted with flourishing orange *crocosmia*,

42 King and Perks, 'Manorbier', 99.
43 King and Perks, 'Manorbier', 116 and 98 respectively.
44 Gerald, *Itinerarium*, p. 92 (trans. Thorpe, p. 150).

benefitting from the garden's shifting areas of sunshine and shade and the protection of the curtain wall.

Was the creation of this garden space as accidental as it appears? Possibly not, for the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries saw an upsurge not only in interest in medical manuscripts in the vernacular, but also in treatises on gardening and the creation of walled gardens that may have been intended to cultivate plants for both pleasure and cure.[45] And a substantial proportion of the fragrant and medicinal plants mentioned in CTC O.2.5 could easily have been cultivated in this sheltered spot. Situated as it was below the castle chamber, it is easy to image how the perfume of plants such as roses, sage and elderflowers on a warm, sunny day would certainly have evoked the type of sweetness of the air at Manorbier so eulogized by Gerald. It also stands in contrast to other, known castle gardens in this region, which in some cases are notable for their rather exposed positions, albeit that they, too, were also enclosed in some way.[46]

Conclusion

The entangled history of the family, the castle and the book we have been recounting here is in fact pulled together by the de Barri women, in particular Beatrice, wife of John I; her apparent death without issue was one catalyst for the struggles that followed, as different branches of the family sought to claim the estate.[47] The manuscript as we have it is the embodiment of these anxieties, bearing testimony to how a family of their social standing might respond – by looking for medical and prognostic help. The route by which the various texts were collected and collated, and by whom, remains uncertain. Beyond his surname in the charter, Robert de Begelly's relationship to the de Barri clan remains elusive, but his role as rector of Begelly may have inspired the process of assembling useful texts. The identity and role of 'Mgr Bury' remains unresolved, but if the genealogy outlined in Fig. 1 is correct, his defence of the book's owner points to another family member, whose title 'magister' suggests another educated, possibly clerical, man.

A close-up study of CTC O.2.5 and its contents as a coherent miscellany, alongside the history of de Barri clan and their Welsh estates, serves to highlight the importance of exploring such books in their entirety, helping to unearth the context of healthcare mechanisms to which families like this had recourse during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These involved both practical remedies for infertility and popular prognostics to help anticipate future fortunes, whether good or bad. They also included herbals and penitentials to ensure the health of both body and soul. In between, we also find ditties on romantic love and magic formulae. Whilst the content of the miscellany and the tensions within the de Barri

45 Fourteenth-century texts are discussed in Rebecca Krug, 'Plantings', in *A Cultural History of Gardens in the Medieval Age*, ed. by Michael Leslie (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 54–73 and 194–6.

46 See, for example, Spencer Gavin Smith, 'Dolbadarn Castle, Caernarfonshire: A Thirteenth-Century Royal Landscape', *Archaeology in Wales*, 53 (2014), 63–72.

47 We do not know precisely when she died; her husband John is last heard of in 1324, however.

family are not in themselves unusual for the period under review, the fortuitous inclusion within the manuscript of two copies of a deed pertaining to the manor of Manorbier, and featuring a hitherto unnoticed intervention by the bishop of St Davids, situates CTC O.2.5 in a very specific time and space, thereby increasing its importance to historians of medicine, religion and family alike.

As heir to Manorbier and castellan until her death in 1359, Avice wife of Owain, distant descendant of Gerald of Windsor and Beatrice's niece, might also have had a particular interest in cultivating both medical scholarship and medical plants at Manorbier to ensure her own children inherited the castle. As sole survivor of the family, she might even have inherited some of the texts that went to make up the book. In the event, she failed to produce a surviving heir, and the de Barri family's hold on the castle was broken by 1400 as a result. However, the copying-in of the dispute resolution in the fifteenth century attests to the remembered history of the book's ownership, and a further annotation of sixteenth-century date again associates the entire book with Robert de Begelly. Thereafter, the manuscript fell into the hands of father-and-son antiquarians, Thomas Gale (d. 1702) and Roger Gale (d. 1744), the latter of whom donated it to Trinity College, Cambridge in 1738. There it remained, receiving scant scholarly attention, except in terms of mining it for its *materia medica* and linguistic interest, until the present day.

Appendix

Table 1: Summary of the Contents of MS CTC O.2.5 (Language French unless noted)

James Cat.nos	Description
1–8	fols. 1ra–26vb: Prognostic treatises on spheres with diagrams – Latin
9	fol. 27r: Maze with dragon
10	fols. 27v–28r: Four elements and humours and four ages of man – Latin
11	fol. 28r–33r: Diagrams including the question for prognosis; *si mulier quam da pariet filium ut filiam*? "The Prognostics of Socrates the King"
12	fols 33v–41r: Prognostics in French
	Two blank folios 41v and 42r
13–16	fols. 42v–49r: Lunar and computational tables – Latin
17–18	fols 49v–50v: Prognostics and assessing medicine – Latin
19	fol. 50vb–53rb: Physiognomy – Latin
20	fol. 53v: Birth prognostic
21	55r–70v: Penitentials – Latin
22	fols. 71r–72v: Sayings of the philosophers – Latin
23	fols. 73r–73v: Treatise on climates – Latin

24	fols. 73v–74v: Birth prognostics and weather – Latin
25	fol. 74v: Magic text
26	fols. 75ra–85vb: A dialogue between a *discipulus* and *philosophus*
27	fols 86ra–91v: medical receipts in verse; followed by plant names and their virtues with synonyms
28	fols. 92ra–93ra: Ointments – begins in Latin continuing with Anglo-Norman French fols. 92rb–93va: Diagnosis by urine – Anglo-Norman French (*Lettre d'Hippocrate*) fols. 93va–96va: part of receipt collection known as the *Lettre d'Hippocrate* – Anglo-Norman
29	fol.96v later pen trials; fol. 96r *Kymer law Kymro et ies* (xiv–xv cent.) fol.97v blank
30	fols.98r–99va: *Capsula Eburnea* prognostics fols. 99va–109ra: collection of medical receipts – including a short herbal, a dietary section, paragraph on fevers, and extracts from the *De sinthomatibus mulerium* fols. 109ra–109rb: Short treatise on urines fol. 109rb–109v: additional remdies All in Anglo-Norman French
31	fols. 110r–125ra: Remedies, including a collection known as *La novele cirugerie;* an extract dealing with women's conditions taken from *Si com Aristocele nous dit* and charms – Anglo-Norman French and Latin
	fol. 125v: Second copy of the De Barri deed, includes the 'altered' section that refers to Johannes Tanke
32	fols. 126ra–128ra: Treatise on physiognomy
33	fol. 128r–fol.130r: Prognostics – Latin
34	fol.130v–132vb: planetary influences on human generation, *Parvus tractatus de secretis mulierum*
35	fol. 132vb–134va: Text on making aqua vita – Latin
36	fols. 134va–135vb: Treatise on the names of herbs – Latin
37	fols. 136va–138ra: Wound treatments – Anglo-Norman French and Latin
38	fols. 138ra–rb: Treatise on medicinal waters in Latin
39	fols. 138va–143ra: Geometric texts and how to measure depth of wells – Latin
40	fol. 143rb–144ra: Text on the sea – Latin
41	fols. 144ra–179rb: Substantial section of the *Secreta Secretorum*
42	fol. 179rb–181rb: Treatise on stones and their virtues – Latin
43	fols. 181rb–181vb: Treatise on birds and animals and their virtues – Latin
44	fol. 182ra–183vb: Practical texts on weights
45	fol. 183rb–184vb: Prognostics – Latin

46	fol. 184vb–185vb: Sayings of Aristotle? – Latin
---	Cat. gives that two leaves are lost which contained a divination tract, *De calculacione*
47–48	fol. 186rb–188v: Birth prognostic – Latin fol. 189ra–189vb: Practical estate management – Latin
49–52	fols. 190v–193v: Palmistry and prognostics, Latin
52	fol.193va–vb: Notes in Latin on the fruits of trees
53	fol. 194r–200r: Astrology texts, Latin
54	Blessing for livestock
55	fol. 200v–204va: Astrology, moral teaching and prognostics – Latin with some French
56	fol. 205r–fol. 205va: Charms and remedies – Latin
57	fol. 205va: Birth prognostic – French
58	fol.206va: Medical advice - Latin
59	fol. 206ra–207rb: Short tract comparing male and female nature
60	fol.207rb: Verses for moral teaching? – Latin and French
61	fol. 207va–210rb: Health text – French and birth prognostic – Latin
62	fols. 210va–211v: Receipts in Latin and French for making colours, love philtres Charm containing the ten names of Christ.
63	fol 211v: chiromancy in later hand – Latin