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The Poet as a Healer

Bleddyn Owen Huws

All the quotations in verse apart from one in this paper are in the *cywydd* meter. For those who are not familiar with Welsh poetry, just a brief word of explanation. The *cywydd* is one of the twenty four strict meters of *cerdd dafod*, the traditional Welsh verse-craft. It consists of seven syllable lines arranged in rhyming couplets, and every line contains one of the four main types of *cyghanedd*. I should add that the *cywydd* is still a popular medium with contemporary Welsh poets, and used by many of them with great skill and proficiency.

It was the late Glyn Penrhyn Jones (1921-1973), one of Wales's most notable medical historians, and himself a distinguished physician, who first realised the importance of the poetry of the *Cywyddwyr* – the professional Welsh poets of the late medieval period – as a source of information about the outbreaks of bubonic plague, as well as other diseases such as smallpox.¹ Firstly in his book *Newyn a Haint yng Nghymru* (Famine and Disease in Wales) published in 1963, and secondly in his paper published in 1975 entitled 'The Welsh Poet as a Medical Historian', Glyn Penrhyn Jones gathers information about visitations of the plague in Wales by drawing on elegies, *cywyddau marwnad*.² Some of these elegies provide very graphic evidence of the effects of pestilence, and many of the most poignant examples come from a small group of elegies composed by grieving poets whose children died from the plague.³ There were several outbreaks of the bubonic plague during the century following the great pandemic of 1349.

The Anglesey poet, Gwilym ap Sefnyn, lamented the death of his ten children who probably died during the 1420s. Gwilym, who was by then an old man, was tormented by grief and could only wish the Lord take him from this world so that he could be with his children.⁴ Another poet, Llywelyn Fychan, lost five of his children to the plague, and in a poem mourning their death he offers a detailed description of the

inflamed circles that appeared under the children's armpits that caused them to shout in agony. The black buboes are described as *dimeiau, gemau gwymon*, 'halfpenny coins, and seaweed floats'.⁵ The swollen dark lumps that appeared on the skin are ingeniously depicted by this metaphor of seaweed floats or air filled bladders.

Face to face with the vicious attack of pestilence, people often could do nothing but pray for protection. But a recurring theme in some of these elegies is that people's attempts to pray for protection had failed. The fifteenth century poet Dafydd Llwyd of Mathafarn near Machynlleth composed an elegy to a girl he loved who died from the plague. Although many people had gone to church to pray on her behalf until their knees were bruised, and also gave many offerings, their prayers were not answered. What's striking about this poem is the combination of lamentation and what Glyn Penrhyn Jones called a 'remarkable clinical objectivity'. The signs of plague were visible on the girl's body:

Ysgrifen chwarren a'i chwys
Yn lliwio dan ei llewys,
A hefyd i gyd ei gwar,
Dimeiau fal nod mwyar.
Penodau ôl pin ydyw,
Powdr ermyn ar groen gwyn gwyw.⁶

'The mark [on] the gland and its sweat stains under her sleeve, and the nape of her neck all covered with coin shaped spots like berries, the marks [or points] of pinholes, [and] powdered ermine on pale [or withered] white skin.'

Ermine is a term used in heraldry for black spots on a white background, and this image corresponds with another line

in the poem that describes the appearance of the dark blotches on the girl's fair skin as, *Bupr ac inc ar bapur gwyn*, 'Pepper and ink on white paper'.⁷

One cannot but imagine the amount of fear caused by the outbreak of the plague, which led people to flee their homes and communities. Such fear is vividly conveyed by the poet Guto'r Glyn in his elegy to Dafydd Llwyd ap Gruffudd of Abertanad in the Tanat Valley, Powys, who probably died during the 1464-5 outbreak when he was possibly in his late twenties. Guto refers to the warnings given by God before two disasters mentioned in the Old Testament, the first given to Noah before the deluge, and the second to Lot and his wife before the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. But the third warning came to Dafydd Llwyd in the form of a bubo, the swelling of a lymph node, three days before his death – a sure symptom of the plague. The suddenness of the outbreak caused panic:

Trydydd i Ddafydd a ddoeth
Tridiau cyn marw gŵr tradoeth:
Cornwyd ar y gŵr llwydwyn,
Carnedd o ddialedd ynn...
Udfa dduw Llun, 'Dafydd Llwyd!',
A roes gwŷr a wasgarwyd;
Udo dduw Mawrth nid oedd mwy
Hyd Feifod, udo fwyfwy;
Udo dduw Iau nad oedd iach,
Wedi'i farw udfa oerach.⁸

'A third warning came to Dafydd / three days before the death of a very wise man: / a bubo on the fair and holy man, / a cairn of retribution for us... Men who were scattered / gave a howl on Monday, 'Dafydd Llwyd!'; / there was no greater howling on Tuesday / as far as Meifod, greater and greater howling; / howling on Thursday because he was unwell, / a colder howl after his death.'

In the cities and towns of England in the late Middle Ages, in London and York, for example, medical care was provided by physicians who had studied medicine at the universities of Europe, in Bologna, Montpellier and Paris, but medical care by a trained professional was only available to those who could afford it. In the rural communities of Wales most people had to depend on untrained practitioners, the care offered by monks in the monasteries, and whatever care was provided by family members. Although the Guild of Barber-Surgeons had

been established in London by the beginning of the fifteenth century, practitioners continued to call for greater regulation in order to curb the charlatans who were considered a threat to public health. Understandably, the licensed physicians were keen to uphold the highest standards of their profession, and in a petition to parliament in 1421 they warned against what they called 'many unconnyge and unapproved in the forsaid Science [that] practiseth... in Fisyk... [and] use hit to grete harm and slaughter of many men.'⁹

The impression we have is that sick people were vulnerable and seen as easy game for rogue doctors. Some quacks were out there just to fleece patients and their families. There was general suspicion of the so called 'doctors of physic' as there was among them some dubious characters who made their living by offering false hopes based on false treatments. Take for example a certain Roger Clerk who faced trial by the mayor and aldermen of London in 1382 for claiming to be a physician.¹⁰ He had received payment in advance from a man whose wife suffered from a fever, and had written a charm in Latin on a piece of parchment and wrapped it in golden cloth, and hung it around the sick woman's throat. When her condition worsened, her husband became suspicious, and accused Roger Clerk of being a quack. The charm, of course, was meant to cure the patient, but when the said piece of parchment was produced in court, it became very clear that poor old Roger had no command of Latin at all as he was illiterate. All he had done was scribble across the piece of parchment.

A commonplace in late medieval sermons and literature is that doctors were not to be trusted because of their insatiable greed for money. In Chaucer's Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales*, the fictional 'Doctor of Physic' and his love of gold serves to represent the general prejudice against physicians.¹¹ And as we can see in the following quotation from a poem by Siôn Tudur from the Vale of Clwyd, the portrayal of the unscrupulous doctor also circulated in sixteenth-century Wales:

Dyma flwyddyn i'r pysygrwr
I ysbeilio pob gwannwr,
Ac i addo'n iach ei wneuthud
O saith anaele glefyd,
A chael dwybunt i ddechrau
Am werth grot o gyffuriau,
A rhoi iddo arian lawer,
A'r claf yn waeth o'r hanner;
Ac os bydd y gŵr marw,

Mae hynny'n chwedl garw,
Yntau a daera yn eu llyged
Mai o eisiau cadw deied;
Ac fe â'r pysygwyr coegddall
I ladd gŵr ynfyd arall.¹²

'This is a year for a physician to plunder every weak man promising to cure him from the seven deadly diseases. Taking two pounds to begin with for four pennyworth of drugs and the patient twice as bad after giving him so much money. And if the man dies – that's an awful tale – the physician will strongly insist that he did so because that he failed to keep his diet, and the false physician goes on to kill another fool.'

Even when people could afford to pay for medical care and treatment by a physician, they were often disappointed, especially if a costly treatment had failed. For example, Lewys Glyn Cothi from Glyncothi in the parish of Llanybydder, in an elegy to a nobleman from Llangynnwr near Carmarthen, says that he heard that the deceased, Siôn Dafydd ap Gruffudd Fychan, placed his trust in a doctor from England who made several visits and brought him a medication made of beans, therefore implying its uselessness.¹³ The physician is referred to with contempt as 'a dog of an Englishman' who had an appetite for broth, suggesting his greed for money. The doctor's instruments for giving diagnosis and treatment are mentioned, uroscopy flasks and fleams, or lancets used for bloodletting. Although the poet does not mention the doctor's pestel and mortar, he does mention his deadly grounded powder potion. The fact that these critical comments appear in Siôn Dafydd's elegy suggests that his family laid blame for his death on the English doctor's failed diagnosis and treatment.

We can sense another poet's anger at the failure of doctors' treatment when he stated 'Yr wyf ddiw wrth feddygon', 'I'm angry with physicians', in a poem addressed to Siôn Conwy of Bothryddan Hall in Denbighshire.¹⁴ It is quite possible that the poet Lewys Môn's dissatisfaction with physicians was caused by their botched job at treating Siôn's head injury, because Siôn gained a licence by King Henry VIII 'to wear his bonnet at all times and in all places, on account of disease in the head.'¹⁵ Lewys Môn tells Siôn that he will be healed not by sitting indoors but by roaming outdoors, and encourages him to go out hunting for a stag or a wild boar. This poem may well have been composed to a patron who was in a

depressed state of mind because of his disfigurement.

From what we can gather from the poetry of this period, much medical care was provided by women who also acted as midwives, having acquired their knowledge from their mothers and grandmothers.¹⁶ The sick were cared for by mothers and wives in a domestic context where knowledge of medicinal herbs and remedies had been transferred from one generation to another. There are several references in the poetry to patrons' wives who cared for the sick. Two of the fifteenth-century poets who have already been mentioned, Lewys Glyn Cothi and Guto'r Glyn, give us insight into the care provided by women. When Lewys Glyn Cothi was on his way to celebrate the feast day of St Padarn in Llanbadarn Fawr, Aberystwyth, while the weather was cold, he fell ill with a fever and was looked after by a nobleman called Ieuan ap Lewys and his wife Tanglwyst.¹⁷ Ieuan gave him some of his imported wine, presumably mulled wine, and Tanglwyst prepared him a remedy mixed with spices like cinnamon, saffron, cumin and mace (powdered shell of nutmeg), and she also gave him pepper, ginger, orange, sugar candy (chrysalised sugar), and almonds. Lewys was also provided with aromatic balsam. To eat, he had apple and pomegranate served as a confection to fight-off his bout of illness, and also chicken meat and grains of Paradise, which were often used in medieval sick-dishes.¹⁸

Similarly, when Guto'r Glyn complained of his crippled knee, he was comforted by Joan Burgh of Wattlesborough in the parish of Alberbury in Shropshire.¹⁹ He offers an affectionate cameo of her giving him wine and mead in front of a warm fire, and serving many dishes that soothed his pain. His patron's awareness and knowledge of regimen is conveyed, and Guto claims that he can discard his plaster and poultice after being cared for by Joan.

Even though reliable medical care was available, people often turned to the protection and healing offered to them by the Church through the medium of a prayer and blessing. Faith-healing had a central role in society. A suffering patient would try any means of healing provided it led to a life free of pain, discomfort and misery. People went on pilgrimages to shrines and holy wells in the hope of being cured, or they simply put their faith in a prayer, either to God or to a saint. It was reassuring to know that one had a spiritual guardian in this world as well as in the next. At a time when Church leaders preached that physical illness was a result of corporal sin, it's no wonder that ordinary Christians expected divine cure and blessing by contemplating Christ's sorrow and suffering on the Cross.

The fifteenth century cleric and poet Maredudd ap Rhys from Rhiwabon, for example, composed a *cywydd* to the holy Cross at St John the Baptist Church in Chester; an act of devotion that brought him a cure for his gammy leg.²⁰ Before visiting Chester he had difficulty in walking because of the pain in his hip muscle or tendon, which also extended to his knee and foot. But after his visit he could walk briskly, he says. People did believe in miracles, and in his study of three thousand recorded miracles in medieval England, Ronald Finucane found that half of them occurred in a domestic setting, and the other half at saints' shrines.²¹ We are well reminded by Ronald Finucane that the modern day distinctions between folk remedy, faith-healing and professional medical care are inappropriate when we discuss the Middle Ages, because 'the sick drew upon all at the same time or went from one to another'.²²

It should be noted here that the notion of medieval healing as reflected in the poetry is always firmly framed within a Christian context. Poets would be careful to avoid any hint of witchcraft or sorcery, which would certainly be scorned at by the clergy. The cure of the soul was probably more important to the Church than the cure of the body, but what we often see is that the Christian doctrine of spiritual healing coexisted with physical healing by more practical means. Indeed, clerics often acted as medical practitioners.

What we find in the poems are words that soothe and reassure the patron-patient. One case in point is a *cywydd* by Lewys Glyn Cothi to Bedo Coch ap Maredudd from Rhaeadr Gwy who appears to have been injured in battle, and been left with a disfigured face.²³ Lewys stresses that the injury was a mark of the soldier's bravery and defiance. We are told that he had a visible scar above his mouth, from his tooth to his cheek in the shape of the letter 's'. The poet insists that Bedo Coch will be healed, and evokes the healing agents of the past. He refers to the mythical Ynys Afallach (the isle of Avalon) where king Arthur sailed to be healed. Bedo will also receive the support of the Holy Spirit which will act as a defending shield. Classical physicians are named. Claudius Ptolemaeus, the Greek astronomer whose observations of the positions of celestial bodies allowed him to make predictions about terrestrial and physical things, and Hippocrates is also mentioned. Closer to home, Rhiwallon, the first Physician of Myddfai is also called upon. This invocation serves to reassure the patient that medical knowledge can assist him; he can set his mind at rest that the power of healing is transferred to his own doctor, a certain Gruffudd ab Ieuan Feddyg, who

seems to have made a skin graft to cover the facial injury. What we have in this poem is a description of an early form of plastic surgery:

Da yr orgraffa Gruffudd
deintur gras o'r dant i'r grudd,
llythyren uwchlaw'r genau,
llun S aur oll yn hawsáu.²⁴

'Well does Gruffudd impress a letter above the mouth, a graceful indentation from tooth to cheek, in the form of a golden S offering relief.'

Sawduriodd, nis gwnïodd neb,
sidanwaith ar draws d'wyneb:²⁵

'He [i.e. Gruffudd] soldered, without stitching, a silk weaving across your face.'

Simant fegis croes owmal,
sined Duw y sy'n y tâl.²⁶

'A cement like an enamel cross, / God's seal on its edge.'

The poet intends to heal the scar with the blessing of the angels' ointment of myrrh and frankincense, and hopes that it also mends with the aid of a miraculous prayer to God.

He wishes him well, and the *cywydd* provided him with the reassurance that everything was in order. The patient was comforted, and told by the poet that he should be from then on without any anxiety, pain or discomfort.

So far I have discussed some elegies that refer to the devastating effects of pestilence, as well as some poems that mention people being treated and healed, but I now turn my attention to a small group of *cywyddau* where the poet himself takes the role of healer. These poems were composed to bless injured patrons and to wish for their full recovery. Most of them refer to injuries sustained in accidents. A regular occurrence seems to be a fall from a horse, although one *cywydd* by Lewys Glyn Cothi to a patron from Cilfái, Swansea, mentions a leg injury obtained in a brutal attack suffered at the hands of a bunch of Cardiff thugs.²⁷ The poet mentions stones being hurled and a strike by a bow and arrow. Lewys Glyn Cothi's poem was intended as a charm to heal his patron.

One idea that appears in some of these poems is that the poem itself is transformed into a salve that can heal.

This metaphoric representation of the poet's words as an ointment is quite fascinating, and treats the spoken word as a healing agent. The idea is explicitly conveyed in a *cywydd* addressed by Guto'r Glyn to one of his patrons in north-east Wales, Hywel ab Ieuan Fychan of Moeliwrch in the parish of Llansilin, some six miles west of the border town of Oswestry.²⁸ Hywel ab Ieuan had suffered a knee injury, and his knee-cap seemed to be badly damaged and was heavily bandaged. Guto states that he wishes the injury will be healed by conventional means, through the assistance of a physician, and through the comfort and care provided by Elen, Hywel's wife, who knew how to prepare a salve from medicinal herbs. But Guto also states that he as a poet, a master of words, could also play a part in the healing process. He claims that many people have been healed by a *cywydd*, and therefore asserts that he will transform his praise poem into a salve or an ointment:

Llawer dyn, llaw euraid wyd,
 Â chywydd a iachawyd,
 Myn y tân minnau i ti
 O foliant a wnaif eli!²⁹

'Many a man was healed / with a *cywydd*, you're a golden man of authority. / I swear by the fire, I will make for you / an ointment from praise!'

And if his words cannot cause an effect, he declares that a host of local saints will come to Hywel's aid and relieve him from his agony and eventually heal him.

One could easily read the reference to the poem itself becoming a salve as a figure of speech, and as nothing other than a metaphor. But we must never underestimate the power of the spoken word and its ability to heal. Even when the figurative use of language is employed, and even when words are not always meant to be understood literally, they can still have an effect.

One could read these healing poems as nothing else but a form of personal greeting, the sort of sympathetic, comforting words we today send on a get well soon card. But I think it is more than just an expression of sympathy. A distinction needs to be made between sympathy and empathy. Sympathy is an emotion extended by one person to another and implies support and encouragement. Empathy is stronger, because here a person can actually sense and feel another person's pain. It's not just a tap on the back and a reassuring smile, a sympathising gesture, but a sufferer is led to believe that one can actually feel his or her pain. It means that somebody can relate to and

identify with another person's anguish, to the extent that they share their suffering.

Empathy is central to a healing poem. It's because of his ability to identify with other people that Guto'r Glyn, for example, gained a reputation for his genuine concern and sincere friendship. Now, this brings us close to the main elements of the traditional intimacy between the patient and his doctor, because since the days of Hippocrates, that close relationship was considered an essential part of the whole healing process. The patient had to place his or her trust and confidence in the physician's ability to heal and cure.

In the closing section of the fifteenth-century English translation of an earlier medical text written in Latin by Gilbertus Anglicus, we have this statement: 'To þre þinges God 3eueþ vertu: to worde, to herbis, and to stonis.'³⁰ Those words are echoed by the famous medieval English surgeon, John Arderne and other authorities, therefore affirming the belief held by learned physicians that words could actually heal.³¹ As it happens, we have treatises in Welsh on the healing properties of herbs and plants, and also a lapidary – a treatise on the healing virtues of stones – and the healing *cywyddau* provide us with examples of the power of words in the healing process.³²

But the words of poets could also have a negative effect. People avoided ruffling a poet's feathers just in case he used his verse to curse them. The venom of the poet's tongue was feared because of the long held belief that a poet could inflict pain with his satire, and in some cases cause death. The poet had two contrasting abilities: the power to bless and to curse; the power to harm and to heal. With his power to bless he could utilise words in a positive manner to bring about a desirable and beneficial outcome. The two traditional modes of expression, or genres, whose function was to bring about a positive effect are the prayer and the charm. Both were used in medieval Wales to seek a cure for all sorts of medical conditions and ailments, and as we have already seen, we also have poems in the form of a prayer to seek a cure, or to seek protection from ill health and disease.

Those poems that were specifically composed to heal were quite similar to charms, because charms were incantations, where a verbal formula was used to produce a magical effect. The healing *cywyddau* also had therapeutic qualities. Through his command of rhetoric and verse craft, the poet could skilfully utilise his gift of words to bring about an effect, even though he might not have practical medical knowledge as such. That raises the question: did some poets have a practical knowledge of medicine?

There is evidence that some poets were certainly familiar with collections of remedies and recipes and probably had a keen interest in medicine. The names of some poets appear either as scribes or owners of medical manuscripts, poets such as Dafydd Nanmor of Nanmor Deudraeth near Beddgelert, Dafydd Benwyn from Llangeinwyr in Glamorgan, and Thomas Evans of Hendreforudd near Corwen, hinting to the poets' role in transmitting traditional Welsh vernacular medical learning. And of course, it is well known that the fifteenth-century poet Gutun Owain was the scribe of the astrological and medical material in the much celebrated Mostyn 88 (NLW MS 3026C) manuscript, written at Valle Crucis Abbey near Llangollen.³³ It is recorded that the poet Huw Llwyd of Cynfal Fawr near Maentwrog, Merionethshire, when he died in 1630, had in his possession a manuscript book containing remedies. He also had containers for keeping medications as well as silver medical instruments, which suggests that he was more than just a scribe and a preserver of medical knowledge, but was also a practising country doctor.³⁴

Central to medieval people's understanding of health and wellbeing was the Galenic theory of the humours, blood, yellow bile, black bile and phlegm that were complemented by the four elements, air, water, earth and fire. Illness occurred because of humoral imbalance within the body, and the medic's task was to restore the balance by diagnosis and treatment. Likewise, the poet could also play his part in healing by verbal therapeutic means. A poem with all its persuasive rhetoric and pleasurable musical words – and we must not forget that the *cywyddau* were often performed to the accompaniment of a harp – did contribute to the healing process.

People in late medieval Wales were not different to us in many respects: they were concerned about their health and wellbeing and about the advent of old age. These concerns are reflected by the poets and, as I have tried to demonstrate, some of them in their healing poems showed great care and compassion for their patrons; care and compassion, two important elements in the healing process, in the past as in the present.

NOTES

1. On his career, see the biographical entry in Munk's Roll: <http://munksroll.rcplondon.ac.uk/Biography/Details/2480>
2. Glyn Penrhyn Jones, *Newyn a Haint yng Nghymru a Phynciau Meddygol Eraill* (Caernarfon, 1963); *idem*, 'The Welsh Poet as a Medical Historian', in J. Cule ed., *Wales and Medicine* (Llandysul, 1975), pp.119-26.
3. See Dafydd Johnston ed., *Galar y Beirdd / Poet's Grief* (Caerdydd, 1993).
4. *Ibid.*, pp.60-7.
5. *Ibid.*, p.54 line 68 (my translation). This poem has been edited in Barry J. Lewis ed., *Gwaith Madog Benfras ac Eraill o Feirdd y Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Ddeg* (Aberystwyth, 2007), see appendix to poem no. 10, pp.157-63, and notes, pp.171-81, where the uncertainty about the authorship of this *cywydd* attributed to Llywelyn Fychan is discussed.
6. W. Leslie Richards, *Gwaith Dafydd Llwyd o Fathafarn* (Caerdydd, 1964), poem 56, lines 25-30 (my translation).
7. *Ibid.*, line 34 (my translation).
8. *www.Guto'r Glyn.net*, poem 89, lines 7-10, 17-22.
9. Michael T. Watson and Phyllis J. Watson, *Medical Practitioners and Law in Fifteenth Century London* (n.p., 2007), pp.31-2.
10. Patricia Basing, *Trades and Crafts in Medieval Manuscripts* (London, 1990), p.115.
11. L.D. Benson ed., *The Riverside Chaucer* (Oxford, 1998), pp.411-44.
12. Enid Roberts ed., *Gwaith Siôn Tudur* (2 vols., Caerdydd, 1980), poem 203, lines 273-86 (my translation).
13. Dafydd Johnston ed., *Gwaith Lewys Glyn Cothi* (Caerdydd, 1995), poem 30, lines 31-42.
14. Eurys Rowlands ed., *Gwaith Lewys Môn* (Caerdydd, 1975), poem LXIII.
15. *Idem*, 'Lewys Môn', *Llên Cymru*, 4 (1956), p.37.
16. See chapter 5 in Leigh Whaley, *Women and the Practice of Medical Care in Early Modern Europe, 1400-1800* (Basingstoke, 2011), pp.91-111.
17. Dafydd Johnston ed., *Gwaith Lewys Glyn Cothi*, poem 88.
18. Terence Scully, *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages* (Suffolk, 2005), p.189.
19. *www.Guto'r Glyn.net*, poem 81.
20. Enid Roberts ed., *Gwaith Maredudd ap Rhys* (Aberystwyth, 2003), poem 2.
21. Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London, 1977), p.69.
22. *Ibid.*, p.68.
23. Dafydd Johnston ed., *Gwaith Lewys Glyn Cothi*, poem 182.
24. *Ibid.*, 182, lines 35-8 (my translation).
25. *Ibid.*, lines 39-40 (my translation).
26. *Ibid.*, lines 41-2 (my translation).
27. Dafydd Johnston ed., *Gwaith Lewys Glyn Cothi*, poem 101.
28. *www.Guto'r Glyn.net*, poem 92.
29. *Ibid.*, lines 41-4.
30. Fay Marie Getz, *Healing and Society in Medieval England: A Middle English Translation of the Pharmaceutical Writings of Gilbertus Anglicus* (Wisconsin, 1991), p.289.

31. See Louise M. Bishop, *Words, Stones & Herbs: The Healing Word in Medieval and Early Modern England* (New York, 2007), pp.92-3.
32. For a discussion on a Welsh lapidary, see D. Greene, 'A Welsh lapidary', *Celtica*, ii (1954), pp.96-116. For a discussion on Welsh collections of medical material, see the survey by Morfydd E. Owen, 'The Medical Books of Medieval Wales and the Physicians of Myddfai', *The Carmarthen Antiquary*, xxxi (1995), pp.34-83, and for a discussion on the healing *cywyddau*, see Bleddyn Owen Huws, 'Llawer dyn.../Â chywydd a iachawyd': Guto'r Glyn yr Iachawr', in Dylan Foster Evans, Barry J. Lewis and Ann Parry Owen eds., *Gwalch Cywyddau Gwŷr: Ysgrifau ar Guto'r Glyn a Chymru'r Bymthegfed Ganrif/Essays on Guto'r Glyn and Fifteenth-Century Wales* (Aberystwyth, 2013), pp.283-303.
33. On this manuscript, see Morfydd M. Owen, 'Prolegomena i Astudiaeth Lawn o Lsgr. NLW 3026, Mostyn 88 a'i Harwyddocâd' in Iestyn Daniel *et al.* eds., *Cyfoeth y Testun: Ysgrifau ar Lenyddiaeth Gymraeg yr Oesoedd Canol* (Caerdydd, 2003), pp.349-84.
34. Gwyn Thomas, 'Dau Lwyd o Gynfal' in J.E. Caerwyn Williams ed., *Ysgrifau Beirniadol V* (Dinbych, 1970), pp.71-98 (pp.76-7).