



Healing Charms and Ritual Protection in Premodern Wales

Citation

Leach, Katherine. 2020. Healing Charms and Ritual Protection in Premodern Wales.
Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, Graduate School of Arts & Sciences.

Link

<https://nrs.harvard.edu/URN-3:HUL.INSTREPOS:37365535>

Terms of use

This article was downloaded from Harvard University's DASH repository, and is made available under the terms and conditions applicable to Other Posted Material (LAA), as set forth at

<https://harvardwiki.atlassian.net/wiki/external/NGY5NDE4ZjgzNTc5NDQzMGIzZWZhMGFIOWI2M2EwYTg>

Accessibility

<https://accessibility.huit.harvard.edu/digital-accessibility-policy>

Share Your Story

The Harvard community has made this article openly available.
Please share how this access benefits you. [Submit a story](#)

Healing Charms and Ritual Protection in Premodern Wales

A dissertation presented

by

Katherine Leach

to

The Department of Celtic Languages and Literatures

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the subject of

Celtic Languages and Literatures

Harvard University

Cambridge, Massachusetts

May 2020

© 2020 – Katherine Leach
All rights reserved

“Healing Charms and Ritual Protection in Premodern Wales”

Abstract

This dissertation explores premodern Welsh healing charms in order to demonstrate the ways in which the Welsh charm corpus conforms to broader, pan-European traditions while also innovating and adapting certain elements of the genre.

Healing charms are universal across all languages and cultures. They can be understood as ritual means of addressing situations of sickness and anxiety through a combination of specific language and actions, sometimes augmented with herbal medical prescriptions. Healing charms are found in Welsh manuscripts featuring medicine, religious texts, poetry, and literary prose. They are most often in Welsh, or they are dual-language charms in Welsh and Latin, and sometimes English. On occasion, they can be found completely in Latin.

To date, no major study of the Welsh corpus of healing charms has been completed, while the corpus of medieval and early modern English and European charms has been examined frequently by scholars. This study seeks to promote an increased general and scholarly awareness of and interest in the Welsh texts and their potential to help further develop our understanding of networks of knowledge transmission between Wales, England, and Europe. The majority of the charms in this dissertation are unpublished and previously unedited, and this project is first and foremost an anthology of charms in the Welsh corpus, beginning with the earliest medieval examples (mid-to-late fourteenth century), up to the middle of the seventeenth century.

Historic healing texts can illuminate nuanced aspects of knowledge production and exchange, highlighting the multilingual and multicultural networks of transmission in late medieval and early modern Britain and Europe. They can also offer insights into language use, religion, medicine, and popular practice. A comprehensive study of the premodern Welsh charms and rituals for healing and protection will shed light on the complex cultural and literary matrix of medieval Wales; one with shifting linguistic relations between not only Welsh and Latin, but also between English and Welsh during various periods of social, political, and religious reform.

Table of Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>Introduction</i>	<i>1</i>
‘What’s in a name?’: Some Aspects of Healing Charms	3
Blurred Boundaries: Magic, Religion, and Science	10
Healing and the Medieval Medical Marketplace	17
The Welsh Sources	20
Methodology	23
Dissertation Layout	27
Goals	29
<i>Chapter One: When your Head is ‘Caput’: Charms for Eyes, Ears, Teeth, Fever, and Epilepsy</i>	<i>31</i>
1.a: Eye Problems	34
1.b: Toothache Charms	43
1.c: Fever Charms	57
<i>For Fever: Tripartite writing and the ingestion of the words</i>	60
<i>Narrative Fever Charms</i>	65
1.d: Epilepsy Charms	81
1.e: Conclusion to Chapter One	88
<i>Chapter Two: Charms for Bleeding, General Wounds, and Bites</i>	<i>92</i>
2.a: The <i>Longinus</i> charm type	97
2.b: Tres Boni Fratres	114
2.c: <i>Flum Jordan</i> and Christ’s Birth in Bethlehem	124
2.d: Adam’s Blood, Writing in Blood, and Veronica	129
2.e: Charms for Animal Bites	140
2.f: Conclusion to Chapter Two	146
<i>Chapter Three: Outliers and Oddballs: Scrofula, Shingles, and other types of Swellings</i>	<i>150</i>
3.a: Charms for a Whitlow, Felon, or Other Abscesses	153
3.b: Charms for scrofula, or, the ‘King’s Evil,’ and Shingles	161
3.c: Abdominal swelling, cramp, gout, and general boils	179
3.d: Fertility, Childbirth, and a Good Night’s Sleep	188
3.e: ‘Heavenly Letter’ Charms	195
3.f: Conclusion to Chapter Three	212
<i>Chapter Four: The Devil, the Witch, and the Liturgy in Charms for the Protection of Property</i>	<i>215</i>
4.a: Charms for Fire and Mice	217
4.b: Charms against Theft	225
The Protection of Livestock	233
4.c: Short Verbal Livestock Protection Charms	236
4.d: Vernacular Charms to Protect against Bewitching	239
4.e: Latinate Livestock Charms	261
4.f: Conclusion to Chapter Four	270
<i>Conclusion</i>	<i>276</i>
<i>Appendix One: Selected Images</i>	<i>285</i>
<i>Appendix Two: Charms by Ailment, with Key Type/Motif and Language Use</i>	<i>292</i>
<i>Appendix Three: Charms by Manuscript</i>	<i>299</i>
<i>WORKS CONSULTED</i>	<i>306</i>

Acknowledgements

I must first thank several professors at Hunter College (CUNY): Yvonne Bernardo, Tamara Green, and Elias Theodoracopoulos helped foster my love for Latin and Classics while also encouraging my growing interest in Celtic Studies, while Marlene Hennessy introduced me to Medieval Studies and put me on the path to graduate studies.

Marged Haycock, Ian Hughes, Simon Rodway, and the faculty of the Department of Welsh and Celtic Studies at Aberystwyth University showed me genuine hospitality and unwavering support in my master's year and beyond. I am grateful to Cathryn Charnell-White and Peadar Ó Muircheartaigh, both of whom have offered a great deal of unofficial mentoring that has helped me navigate my final year as a doctoral candidate. In Aberystwyth I forged a number of deep and lasting friendships: to Rob, Taz, Ifor, Talat, Nely, Rowan, James, Kate, Kit, Adam, Rita, and the Eminent B.J.L., for helping me finally understand *hiraeth*.

I am fortunate to have a network of advisors whose knowledge, rigorous scholarship, and patient mentorship have pushed me to greater heights, and I am thankful for these relationships. My dissertation committee (Catherine McKenna, Stephen Mitchell, and Diana Luft) have provided valuable feedback and encouragement throughout the course of this research. Catherine McKenna's warmth and calm guidance, academically and personally, over the past six years have meant more to me than I can adequately express. I am thankful for her tireless commitment to the Department and to each of its students and staff members. Stephen Mitchell's avuncular and generous mentorship has made me a better scholar and teacher, and every 'best practice' in my own teaching has been modeled on what I observed from him as his Teaching Fellow. From early on, Diana Luft encouraged my interest in the Welsh healing texts, and I am grateful for the many lunches we shared in the National Library of Wales, and for all that I have learned and continue to learn from her. No

question has been too insignificant or too trivial for her, and her discerning and rigorous approach to the texts has benefited my work immensely. Without her, this project would not exist.

My work has been made better through the support and assistance of several individuals. Lea Olsan has, by now, become an ‘unofficial committee member,’ and this dissertation would be sorely lacking if not for her patience, countless hours of valuable feedback, and enthusiasm about the Welsh texts. My thanks as well to Katherine Hindley, who is always happy to field my questions about the English corpus and whose eagerness to share her own unpublished research is a wonderful model of collaborative scholarship. I am also grateful to Jacqueline Borsje and Barbara Hillers, who have provided encouragement, feedback, and stimulating conversation over the last several years and who have been role models both academically and personally. My sincere thanks, as well, to Barry Lewis, who has lent a critical eye to several of my translations and vastly improved my work. I would like to also thank Morfydd Owen, who first suggested I work on the healing charms and who has been kind and supportive ever since. Summer research in Wales and England was made possible by the generous support of the Friends of Harvard Celtic Studies, Harvard GSAS, and the Medieval Academy of America.

Harvard’s Department of Celtic Languages and Literatures has been a wonderful place to call home, and I am grateful to Joseph Nagy for his generosity, guidance, and sense of humor over the last several years, as well as to Natasha Sumner for coordinating the Graduate Student Life Workshops and for her general encouragement. I am especially grateful to Mary Violette, whose friendly and fascinating conversations have been bright spots of my time at Harvard. I am also thankful for the friendship of the graduate students in the Department, present and past (Georgia Henley, especially). Jo Wolf, Joseph Shack, and Michaela Jacques have provided friendship, laughter, and memories that I will carry with me. I am immeasurably and indescribably grateful for these friendships.

Having written the later stages of this dissertation amidst the global pandemic and the shuttering of the University and its buildings, I have been without access to not only the libraries and resources therein, but more importantly, I have deeply felt the absence of the community of collegial and inspirational mentors, scholars, students, and friends. The anxiety and uncertainty of these times have emphasized the extent to which I have come to rely so heavily upon this remarkable community, and I am grateful for the fellowship I have found within the Department of Celtic Languages and Literatures and within the broader Harvard community.

My time as a Resident Tutor at Pforzheimer House has been more profoundly gratifying than I could have ever imagined, and I am indebted to Anne Harrington, John Durant, Monique Roy, Brigitte Libby, Erik Nook, Daniel Frim, and Summer Rak. The students I have lived among, taught, shared meals with, and played IM sports with have taught me more than they will ever know. As much as I have been inspired by my own mentors, my greatest source of inspiration has come from these students. I am so proud of you all, and I am thankful for our time together. Thank you especially to Aline, Alyssa, Angie, and Sophie. I am honored to have been a part of your time at Harvard.

And finally, to my family: my parents and siblings who still do not fully understand what it is I do but who support me and listen patiently, nonetheless. And to Rachel, who has become family, and who never fails to make me laugh. Lastly, to Jordan (and Giles): I cannot adequately express my gratitude. This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my grandmother, Mary Jane Broker, who summed up my years of research in one simple sentence when she said, “Honey, these ‘charms’ of yours are easy to explain: it just comes down to faith.”

Introduction

“Charming is in as great request as physic, and charmers more sought unto than physicians in time of need.”¹

The topic of healing in medieval and early modern Wales has received relatively little scholarly attention, although it has recently received renewed interest.² Welsh healing traditions are steeped in legend and intertwined with popular lore surrounding the legendary *Meddygon Myddfai* (Physicians of Myddfai), three brothers—sons of a water fairy and a mortal—gifted in the art of healing, with a special emphasis on herbal medicine, whose descendants would go on to become the most prolific family of physicians in all of Wales. The legend seems to be a conflation of two folktales. The first is the story of the lady of Llyn y Fan Fach, a lake fairy who takes a mortal husband but must return to

¹ William Perkins, *A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft* (Cambridge, 1608), p. 153. As cited by Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England*. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), p. 209.

² Early foundational work can be found in Pierre Diverres, *Le plus ancien texte des Meddygon Myddveu* (M. Le Dault: Paris, 1913); as well as various research published by Morfydd Owen. See Morfydd Owen, “Meddygon Myddfai: A Preliminary Survey of Some Medieval Medical Writing in Welsh,” *Studia Celtica*, 10-11, (1975/76), 210-233. Hereafter as Owen (1975); as well as her article, “The Medical Books of Medieval Wales and the Physicians of Myddfai,” in *The Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, (1995) pp. 34-44. Hereafter as Owen (1995). Additionally, see Morfydd Owen, “Medics and Medicine,” in *The Welsh King and His Court*, ed. Thomas Charles-Edwards, Morfydd Owen, and Paul Russell (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000) pp. 116-141. See also John Cule, ed. *Wales and Medicine: an Historical Survey from Papers Given at the Ninth British Congress on the History of Medicine*, (British Society for the History of Medicine and Gomer Press: 1975). Ida B. Jones published an edition of one earliest Welsh medical manuscripts (Cardiff MS 3.242). See Ida B. Jones, “Hafod 16: A Mediaeval Welsh Medical Treatise,” *Études Celtiques*, 7. Pp. 46-75, pp. 270-339; 8. Pp. 66-97, pp. 346-93. Most recently, Diana Luft’s Wellcome-funded research explores the earliest Welsh medical manuscripts and her monograph with University of Wales Press is forthcoming. See also Diana Luft, “*Ansoddau'r Trwn*: A Welsh uroscopic tract,” *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, Vol. 58 (2011): pp. 55-86. Diana has also done significant work on the monastic contexts of the earliest medical manuscripts. See Diana Luft, “Locating the British Library Additional 14912 Calendar,” in *Studia Celtica*, Vol. 53 (2019): pp. 103-132. Hereafter as Luft (2019). Additionally, Bleddyn Owen Huws has explored questions of healing and the body by taking his starting point in poetry. See Bleddyn Owen Huws, “‘Llawer dyn.../ Â chywydd a iachawyd’: Guto’r Glyn yr Iachawr’ yn *Gwalch Cynyddau Gwyr: Ysgrifau ar Guto’r Glyn a Chymru’r Bymtbegfed Ganrif*/Essays on Guto’r Glyn and Fifteenth-Century Wales, ed. Dylan Foster Evans, Barry J. Lewis and Ann Parry Owen (Aberystwyth, 2013), pp. 283-303. idem, ‘Y Cywydd Iacháu ac Anthropoleg Feddygol’, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol*, 33 (2014), pp. 140-53; idem, ‘The Poet as a Healer’ yn *Transactions of the Physicians of Myddfai Society / Trafodion Cymdeithas Meddygon Myddfai, 2011-2017*, ed. Robin Barlow (Llandye, 2018), pp. 143-49.

the lake forever after receiving three blows from her husband. The woman bears three sons, and the second part of the story relates how she passed along herbal medicine and knowledge to her sons. This part of the tale contains so many onomastic references that scholars have suggested it is a later addition to the tale and is an attempt at explaining local place names with medical components.

The eldest son of the lake fairy is traditionally called Rhiwallon, and it was said that his descendants were skilled in the art of medicine. The tradition of hereditary families of craftsmen was a considerable aspect of medieval culture, and the area of Myddfai did indeed boast a number of historic hereditary families of physicians down to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There are references to the physicians of Myddfai throughout medieval Welsh literature from the fourteenth century onwards. However, the fusing together of the tale of the lady of Llyn y Fan Fach with Rhiwallon and the physicians of Myddfai seems to have happened in the early eighteenth century.³

There has been a tendency, even as far back as the Middle Ages, to automatically attribute Welsh medical texts to the legendary physicians of Myddfai. Several medieval Welsh medical texts attribute the works, or parts of them, to the legendary physician Rhiwallon and his sons, employing colophons suggesting that a historical physician Rhiwallan and his sons were doctors in the court of Rhys Gryg (s. xiii), son of the Lord Rhys of Deheubarth, a great patron of the arts and education in Wales.⁴ Their fame grew, and naturally texts were given more legitimacy if connected to the esteemed family. At some point, history and legend coalesced, and the twelfth-century court physicians became the semi-divine sons of the water fairy. The legend's popularity has historically

³ The tale first appeared in Ab Ithel, *The Physicians of Myddvai* (Llandovery, 1861). For more on the folk tradition of this tale in the context of the historical hereditary physicians and descendants of Rhiwallon, see Owen (1975).

⁴ Owen (1975)

resulted in a convoluted understanding of the Welsh tradition of medicine and healing and its place in the context of a wider, shared European tradition of knowledge about the subject.

This dissertation will focus on the Welsh-manuscript corpus of charms for healing and the protection of property, from the earliest examples (s. xiv) up to the mid-to-late seventeenth century.⁵ I will present the charms I have thus far discovered, and I will place them within a wider, pan-European context. Many of the Welsh charms have analogues in the corpus of medieval English and European charm traditions, and the overarching goal of this work is to demonstrate how the Welsh corpus engages with a broader, shared tradition, while also at times adapting the charms in unique and innovative ways.

‘What’s in a name?’: Some Aspects of Healing Charms

Healing charms are universal across all languages and cultures. They can be understood as ritual means of addressing situations of sickness and anxiety through a combination of specific language and actions, often augmented with herbal medical prescriptions.⁶ One of the most striking elements of the genre of healing texts is the extent to which healing customs associated with

⁵ Although at least three of the manuscripts used in this research were produced in England—likely in the borderlands—and written in English and Latin, they are known to have been in Wales by at least the sixteenth century, and likely even sooner. Therefore, they represent the types of medical knowledge with which a Welsh audience could engage, and copy from, if they were so inclined.

⁶ Scholars approach questions of definition from slightly differing angles. Some consider the performative and/or practical components of a charm; others focus on boundaries between magic, science, and religion; while others advocate that too much focus on boundaries (and on pagan versus Christian) obscures how the text functioned. Jonathan Roper, a prominent scholar of medieval English charms, notes the compelling definition by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, who wrote that charms are “verbal formulas, of Christian and non-Christian form, used outside of a Church context, and to which are attributed a supernatural effect, mostly of a protective, healing kind.” (as cited in Jonathan Roper ed., *Charms and Charming in Europe* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 1. Roper goes on to expand the Grimm brothers’ definition, stating that charms are the “verbal element of vernacular medical practice.” (Roper 2004, p. 1). Lea Olsan, whose prodigious work on Middle English charms has illuminated several nuanced aspects of Latin and English charming practices, argues that charms occupy a place between non-verbal plant remedies and prayers for healing but at the same time overlap both. See Lea Olsan. “Latin Charms of Medieval England.” *Oral Tradition* 7: pp. 116-42. Elsewhere, Olsan defines healing charms as speech acts that have the power to effect change in the condition of the patient for the better, when the charm is employed in appropriate circumstances by an authorized person. See Lea Olsan “Charms in Medieval Memory”, in ed. Jonathan Roper. *Charms and Charming in Europe*. (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 70.

different cultural and linguistic traditions share many common elements while at the same time shaping certain conventions of the genre to specific cultural values and needs. Our English word ‘charm’ is derived from the Latin *carmen*, a word with a fairly wide semantic range, including ‘song, poem, incantation or spell, prayer, or ritual.’⁷ The word might denote a religious hymn or a magical incantation but each of its meanings implies some sort of verbal performance. In the Welsh corpus of healing charms from the earliest examples (mid-to-late fourteenth century) up to the mid-to-late seventeenth century (the cutoff date for the present work), the most commonly used term for charm is *swyn*, with a similar semantic range to the Latin *carmen*, although *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* identifies *swyn* as a borrowing from the Latin *signum*.⁸

Charms typically contain verbal formulae meant to be spoken, written, read, worn, or enacted in some way. The performative action and the power inherent in the words themselves constitute the efficacious element of the charm. The efficacious words of a charm, or what Jacqueline Borsje characterizes as ‘words of power,’ are often made up of strings of words containing an element of pleasing sound pattern, often rhyming or alliterative.⁹ Sometimes the words are borrowings from other linguistic traditions (often Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic). In many cases, the words have, at some point in the charm’s transmission history, lost much or all of their semantic value. Yet such words and phrases allow for a great deal of adaptability in the performance and practical application of the text across various cultural and linguistic traditions. They also have the potential to offer insights into the milieus in which they were circulated and performed.

⁷ Lewis, Charlton T. & Short, Charles. (1849). *Harpers’ Latin Dictionary: A New Latin Dictionary Founded on the Translation of Freund’s Latin-German Lexicon*.

⁸ *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (henceforth as GPC) gives the following meaning of *swyn*: *spell, incantation; sorcery, witchcraft; magic remedy, charm for healing; (magic) charm, amulet, talisman; sign, ceremony, ritual, blessing; charm, fascination*.

⁹ See Jacqueline Borsje, "Medieval Irish Spells: “Words of Power” as Performance." In *Words: Religious Language Matters*, 35. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016).

Some scholars have, in the past, dismissed these words of power as meaningless ‘gibberish,’ while others have attempted to reconstruct their meanings. Both approaches, however, lack a sensitivity to the potential for these words and phrases to illuminate various nuanced aspects of the text. Within these verbal formulae are directives and injunctions that help to heal disease, banish demons, protect property, or accomplish some other aim relevant to the text’s user. A more fruitful approach to the texts is a consideration of what these ‘gibberish’ words and phrases communicate and how they do so; so that, as Leslie Arnovick puts it, “through context we begin to establish content.”¹⁰

S.J. Tambiah points out that, “the Greek doctrine of *logos* postulated that the soul or essence of things resided in their names.”¹¹ Commonly used words of power included various divine names borrowed from other linguistic traditions, such as *Adonai*, *Emmanuel*, *Messias*, *Eloi* (Hebrew); *Agios*, *Theos*, *Sotber* (Greek)¹²; and *Deus*, *Dominus*. Aramaic, and even Arabic, words were also sometimes used. Some charms feature divine attributes like *Omnipotens*, *Alpha*, and *Omega*, as well as words that Christ himself uttered, such as *consummatum est*, and *eli eli lama sabachthani* (My God, My God, why have you forsaken me),¹³ the words Christ said on the cross. Another popular word, *tetragrammaton*, the Greek word for the ineffable, four-letter Hebrew name of God. *Sabaoth* (‘Lord of Hosts’) can

¹⁰ Leslie K. Arnovick, *Written reliquaries: the resonance of orality in medieval English texts*. (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 2006), p. 35. Here Arnovick relies on the work of Winfried Nöth, ‘Semiotics of the Old English Charm,’ *Semiotica*. 19 (1977).

¹¹ S.J. Tambiah, “The Magical Power of Words.” *Man* 3, no. 2 (1968): 175-207, see especially pp. 182-184.

¹² *Agios o Theos*, the opening lines of the liturgical hymn *Trisagion*, or, ‘Thrice Holy’, was commonly used in charm texts and can be found in a great number of charms in the Welsh corpus. Phrases and words taken from the complete opening line were also common in charms, including those of the Welsh corpus. The first line reads: *Agios o Theos, Agios ischyros, Agios athanatos, eleison imas*. For more see Alderik Blom, “‘Linguae Sacrae’ in Ancient and Medieval Sources: An Anthropological Approach to Ritual Language.” In ed. Alex Mullen and Patrick James, *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) pp. 124-140. On the power of such divine words, see also Theodore Schire, *Hebrew Amulets: Their Decipherment and Interpretation* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), see especially pp. 17-19, 91-94, and 121.

¹³ Psalm 22 and Mark 15

also be commonly found, as well as perhaps the most commonly found word or phrase of power: AGLA, a term derived from the first letters of each word in the Hebrew phrase *Atta gibor leolam adonai* ('You are mighty forever, Lord').¹⁴ The Hebrew names of angels and archangels were also commonly used in charms (Gabriel, Michael, Uriel, and Raphael are common in the Welsh corpus).

Divine words and phrases of power borrowed from other linguistic traditions were believed to have been endowed with a sacred, apotropaic power, and many medieval writers and theologians believed Hebrew to be especially divine because it embodied the very speech of God.¹⁵ Often along the way, the efficacious words and phrases were miscopied or otherwise corrupted, and although it is clear to the modern scholar that these words represent something much more than mere 'gibberish,' it is difficult to determine the level of familiarity or recognition a medieval or early modern charm user would have felt. On the other hand, the use of a common stock of divine names and phrases would have facilitated innovation in the creation and transmission of texts. As Don Skemer has pointed out, "the significance of powerful words and formulas, divine names, and saints did not have to be explained to amulet users, who would have already known them from common prayers and liturgy."¹⁶

In fact, many, if not the vast majority, of the healing charms in the Welsh corpus look remarkably similar to standard prayers and liturgical rituals, or at least make extensive use of the same verbal formulae. In his study on magic in the European Middle Ages, Richard Kieckhefer outlines three basic types of verbal formulae associated with healing: Prayers (requests to God, Christ, Mary, or a Saint); Blessings (wishes addressed to the patient); and Adjurations or Exorcisms

¹⁴ Don Skemer, *Binding Words and Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages: Magic in History* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), p. 112.

¹⁵ See Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952).

¹⁶ Skemer p. 83

(commands directed to sickness itself or to some demon or agent responsible for the sickness).¹⁷

Thomas Forbes has considered verbal charms according to their construction, and he classifies charms as: (1) directions to the disease (consisting of adjurations, appeals, transferential to other animate or inanimate objects); (2) directions to the Devil or evil spirit (consisting of appeals and exorcisms); (3) directions to God, a saint, or another divine figure (consisting of prayers, liturgical elements, theology, invocations of divine names, and religious narratives); (4) word squares; (5) Gibberish and corrupt Latin; or any combination of the above.¹⁸ Charms in the Welsh corpus most often adhere to these same conventions.

Structurally, the Welsh charms are relatively consistent. They are typically delineated by a simple marginal cross indicating the start of the text, or they feature crosses within the text, written between the efficacious words. Crosses within the text almost certainly indicate at what point a ritual action should be performed, such as making the cross over the patient, wound, or charm object, if applicable. According to Olsan, the structure of a charm generally consists of a tag or heading that alerts readers and users of its purpose; a short ritual formula (such as *in nomine + Patris, etc.*); the incantation or operative words; instructions for the performance of the verbal formula (often regarding how many times to speak or write it); information regarding the practical application of the charm, including additional prayers or ritual actions, as well as any herbal prescriptions; and finally, an affirmation of effectiveness.¹⁹ Charms belonging to the Welsh corpus generally conform to Olsan's classification, although they very rarely include any herbal prescriptions and instead focus on verbal formulae and the recitation or writing of prayers and divine narratives. Many also omit any

¹⁷ Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in The Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 69-75. Hereafter as Kieckhefer (2014).

¹⁸ Thomas R. Forbes, 'Verbal Charms in British Folk Medicine', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 115 (1971), pp. 293-316 at p. 294.

¹⁹ Olsan "Charms in Medieval Memory," p. 66

sort of statement of efficacy, such as the *probatum est* of Latin medicine or the Welsh equivalent that is common in remedies of a purely medicinal nature.

Charms can be short verbal formulae in which the efficacy relies on the recitation of various words of power, often a short combination of words that are usually alliterative, rhyming, or with some other aurally pleasing sound pattern. Written charms rely on similar strings of efficacious writing and also often instruct that excerpts rooted in Christian tradition be written upon a specified material and hung about the patient, in a dwelling, or even burned or ingested. Other charms are longer and feature *historiolae*: short narratives about Christ, saints, biblical characters, or events from religious or mythological cycles. According to Olsan, the language of a narrative charm enables the simultaneous representation of a sacred past, living predicament and future expectation.²⁰ Such texts create a connection between the sacred narrative of the biblical past and the situation of the patient or charm user in the present. The power of a narrative charm lies partly in this perceived link between past and present, and the virtue and potency of the charm is in its ability to collapse the boundaries between narrative past and present reality, bringing the patient closer to the divine narrative and thus the divine power.²¹ In other words, the circumstances of the narrative parallel the situation in the present, and will affect the present through a sort of homeopathic magic, or, the principle of *similia similibus*.²²

In medieval narrative charms of Western Europe, the *historiolae* were often biblical or apocryphal episodes that became associated with a particular malady or condition. For example,

²⁰ *ibid.* See also Lea Olsan, "Latin Charms."

²¹ See Daniel James Waller, "Echo and the Historiola: Theorizing Narrative Incantation," *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 16:1 (2015), 263-80. Thank you to Katherine Hindley for this reference. See also David Frankfurter, "Narrating Power: The Theory and Practice of the Magical *Historiola* in Ritual Spells," in Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki, eds. *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, RGRW 129 (Leiden, 1995) pp. 451-470.

²² For more on narrative charms see Edina Bozók, "Medieval Narrative Charms," in *The Power of Words: Studies on Charms and Charming in Europe*, 101. (Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2013).

many charms to stop bleeding rely on the motif of the waters of Jordan standing still when Christ was baptized. The efficacy of this charm depends on the link between the power of the Christian imagery of the halted waters and the present condition of the patient's blood flow. As Lea Olsan points out, healing charms in medieval Christianity are most often found when a primary feature or symptom of an ailment coincided with a culturally charged image that could be effectively expressed as a charm: a specific charm motif is associated with its symptom by a specific image or word - what Olsan calls the 'semantic motif' of a charm.²³ As she has pointed out in her work on verbal charms in later medieval England, the existence of a medieval charm (or prayer) to cure an ailment probably depends less on the inherent nature of the medical condition than on the cultural perceptions of the disease or symptom.²⁴

The ways in which charms are ingrained in the cultural memory rely on the "indexical relationship" between symptoms associated with specific motifs that are used as a cure.²⁵ This model, as Olsan points out, rests on the description of 'dual coding' which involves both verbal and non-verbal, or imaginal, segments in memory: a verbal stimulus, whether a word or phrase, activates a referent image associated with the semantic motif.²⁶ Simply writing Gospel incipits could trigger the divine power of the word, but also at play was the assumption of a more correlative relationship between the sacred text and its apotropaic and therapeutic purposes relevant to the text's user, and its potential to create a sympathetic connection between the divine narrative and the patient.

²³ Olsan "Latin Charms of Medieval England," p. 130 and Olsan, "Charms in Medieval Memory," pp. 66-67.

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ *ibid.*

Blurred Boundaries: Magic, Religion, and Science

There is an enormous amount of variance and ambiguity in the term magic, and a lengthy and theoretical discussion of the definition, however interesting, is beyond the scope of this work.²⁷ Such efforts are not always productive since, as a concept, ‘magic’ is fraught with historical and cultural nuance that allows it to defy definition and resist tidy packaging into a term that aptly and sweepingly captures the concept. Valerie Flint has pointed out that, much in the same way that the term magic today denotes numerous meanings with various nuance and levels of presumption, this was also the case in medieval Europe, where a different weighting of terms—as well as debates about the implications of terms—existed, and in much ‘higher stakes’ way than would be the case today.²⁸ Some have tended to view the difference between magic and religion in terms of magic being manipulative and religion being supplicative, but Kieckhefer points out that this distinction is of little use when considering the medieval material, which is too full of ambiguity and nuance for this approach to be fruitful.²⁹

Many consider magic as implying some sort of control on the part of man over nature, with the help of powerful, supernatural forces.³⁰ James Frazer thought magic to be the most primitive phase in the evolution of man’s capabilities for reason, arguing that magic is the result of an inability to understand causal relationships and the laws of nature, and asserting that magic is ‘the bastard

²⁷ On magic, see, for instance, Marcel Mauss. *A General Theory of Magic*. (Routledge Classics. Taylor and Francis, 2005); Bronisław Malinowski, “Magic, Science, and Religion,” in *Magic, Science, and Religion, and other Essays* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1948); Murray and Rosalie Wax, “The Notion of Magic,” *Current Anthropology* 4, no. 5 (1963): pp. 495-518; See also Lynn Thorndike, “Some Medieval Conceptions of Magic,” *The Monist*, 25 (1915), pp. 107-139.

²⁸ Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990.) p. 3.

²⁹ Kieckhefer, *Magic*, p. 15

³⁰ Valerie Flint considers magic as being “the exercise of a preternatural control over nature by human beings, with the assistance of forces more powerful than they.” Flint, p. 3.

sister of science.³¹ According to Frazer, this primordial phase is eventually supplanted by religion, which later results in science.³²

There are no easily distinguishable lines of demarcation separating ‘magic’ from religion in the Middle Ages, especially considering how readily Christian healing practices relied so heavily on forms of legitimized Christian magic. Use of divine narratives, relics, and sacred writing was promulgated to various degrees by both medical and ecclesiastical authorities and these same methods were adapted, often with great reverence, by the laity and by popular practitioners.³³ In previous charm scholarship, many have devoted a great deal of attention to analyzing and distinguishing between charms and prayers as a means by which to untangle and distinguish between pagan and Christian. However, most modern scholars now agree that prayers and charms for healing and protection are not so easily untangled, nor is it fruitful to attempt to dissect and separate elements of a charm in such a way. It is now recognized that a more productive methodology involves looking for similarities rather than distinctions between verbal charms and Christian prayers, since the rituals and ultimate goals of both are so similar. Indeed many, if not the vast majority, of charms in the Welsh corpus incorporate elements of orthodox piety, such as the inclusion of various formulae from the liturgy or the use of various narratives from biblical and extra-biblical traditions.

Karen Jolly argues that “when issues of magic versus religion, heterodoxy versus orthodoxy, and prayer versus charm are set aside, we begin to see these rituals, prayers, and formulas as

³¹ James Frazer, *The Golden Bough : A Study in Magic and Religion*. 2nd Ed. (London : New York: Macmillan, 1900) see Chapter Four.

³² For a succinct yet helpful overview of previous scholarship on magic and religion, see the Introduction in Stephen Mitchell, *Witchcraft and Magic in the Nordic Middle Ages*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

³³ See H. Gertz and Keith Thomas, “An Anthropology of Religion and Magic: Two Views.” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 6 (1975-1976), 71-109.

normative Christian practice.”³⁴ She argues for acculturation or accommodation between constructs previously viewed as antithetical: for example, Christian and pagan, popular and elite, Latin and Germanic, textual and verbal, and she asserts that “the construct [of] popular religion functions as a useful frame for redefining Christianity in terms of overlapping and interacting spheres rather than exclusive categories of elite and popular. It allows us to see a spectrum of middle practices stretching between magic and religion. Most of all, popular religion validates the importance of assimilation and acculturation as competing traditions interact.”³⁵ I follow Jolly in her warnings about the dangers of attempting to unravel and separate something that was probably never conceived of as having such disparate parts. As Richard Kieckhefer points out, it is likely that only the theologically and/or philosophically minded would have even concerned themselves with questions of genre and definition.³⁶

So then, it is not productive, nor is it correct, to think about magic and religion as two incompatible and irreconcilable ideologies. Keith Thomas has pointed out that the attitudes of the Church to its own formulae determined the boundaries of ‘magical’ activities.³⁷ While the Church did not deny the existence of supernatural activity, it maintained that it could come from two sources: God or the Devil. This ideology is perhaps why so many charm rituals are so patently inspired by liturgical formulae, for so long as the rituals were allowed by the Church, they were neither superstitions nor unorthodox. In a way this holds true even after the Reformation, when, although Protestants forbade the use of the old Catholic prayers and rituals that they deemed so

³⁴ Karen Louise Jolly, “Anglo-Saxon Charms in the context of a Christian World View”, *Journal of Medieval History*, 11 (1985), pp.279-293, at p. 284.

³⁵ *ibid* p. 293

³⁶ Kieckhefer, *Magic*, p. 9

³⁷ Thomas 1971, p. 304

superstitious, they nevertheless accepted the practice of legitimate prayer used alongside medicine. Thomas also points out that in general, attitudes towards sorcery did not differ greatly between the medieval Church and its Protestant successor. The difference, however, was in the much wider range of the Catholic Church's magical remedies: various formulae within the Mass, as well as saints and their relics.³⁸

Primary sources reflect a high degree of variation in attitudes towards 'magical' cures as a part of religion. Some theologians and writers strongly condemned remedies they viewed as too superstitious, while others were more lenient. Catherine Rider, who has looked to penitentials and pastoral manuals in order to uncover medieval attitudes towards the magical, has pointed out that John of Kent (s. xii-xiii) understood verbal remedies as incantations that invoked the Devil, while at the same time accepting that for others they could be seen as legitimate religious actions.³⁹ Sermons against forbidden magical practices were popular, and those of Augustine (s. iv-v) and Caesarius of Arles (s. v-vi) influenced many others throughout the Middle Ages.⁴⁰ Both medical writers and theologians of the Middle Ages seem to have approached magical medical cures with a sort of ambiguity and there was a fairly large scope for differing views among each group. One early thirteenth-century manual maintained that priests should ensure that their people understand that

³⁸ *ibid*, p. 303 and 326

³⁹ Catherine Rider, "Medical Magic and the Church in Thirteenth-Century England." *Social History of Medicine* 24, no. 1 (2011): 92-107, at p. 92. In addition to pastoral manuals for clues regarding medieval attitudes towards magic, superstition, and healing, penitentials and ecclesiastical legislation are productive places to glean insights into the medieval mindset. Sources such as Regino of Prüm's *Canon Episcopi* (s. x) and Burchard of Worms' *Decretum* (s. xi) provide fruitful starting points from which to explore such questions.

⁴⁰ Flint, 42-43. For more on Caesarius, his sermons and his influence on later sermons and attitudes, see Richard Boese, *Superstitiones Arelatenses E Caesario Collectae*. (Typis Academicis I.A. Koch, 1909). Sermons of Caesarius appear in translation in Sister M.M. Mueller, *Saint Caesarius of Arles: Sermons*. (Washington D.C.: 1956) I. pp. 1-80. See also Lynn Thorndike, "The Attitude of Origen and Augustine Toward Magic," in *The Monist* 18, no. 1 (1908) pp. 46-66.

magic arts and incantations are not effective against illness in humans or animals but are instead snares of the Devil.⁴¹

In the late thirteenth century, William of Rennes condemned the use of brevia, or short written formulae, carried as protective amulets containing the various divine names of God and asserted that it was sinful to produce, carry, or sell them, but he acknowledged that the ignorance of a simple person would excuse them.⁴² Thomas Aquinas (s. xiii) also considered the use of unfamiliar names sinful, as well as dangerous for their potential to be names of demonic entities rather than divine names of God and his angels. Scholars such as Skemer and Duffy have argued that both the clergy and the laity were accepting of some charms, and Rider asserts that cures that relied on established prayers alone were acceptable, but remedies and rituals that featured unknown names or instructed prayers to be said over items such as an apple or a girdle would have been more likely to garner suspicion.⁴³ It seems likely that many of the formulae for healing were not considered magical at all by certain members of the clergy and laity but were rather looked upon as legitimate, Christian methods of healing.

⁴¹ Rider, p. 97 and she gives the text and her translation: Faithful priests should impress on their people so that they know that magic arts and incantations cannot bring about any remedy for any human illnesses, nor can they heal in any way animals which are weakening or lame or even dying; but rather these things are snares and traps of the ancient enemy, with which he perfidiously labors to entice the human race. *Commoneant sacerdotes fideles populos ut noverint magicas artes incantationesque quibuslibet infirmitatibus hominum remedii nil posse conferre, non animalibus languentibus claudicantibusque vel etiam moribundis quidquam mederi, sed haec esse laqueos et insidias antiqui hostis quibus ille perfidus genus humanum nititur allicere.* Rider cites Robert of Flamborough, in JFF Firth, ed. *Liber Poenitentialis*. (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies: Toronto, 1971) p. 261.

⁴² *Ibid*, 99 Rider's translation is: 'But those brevia in which certain characters and unfamiliar names are written because they are the unutterable names of God, and in which it is said that whoever carries this breve on themselves will not be endangered in this or that way, or that this or that good thing will happen to them, should without doubt be condemned and not be carried, and the people who write them, or teach that they should be carried, or carry them, or give them, or sell them, sin unless they are so simple that ignorance excuses them.' She gives the Latin text, as included in William of Rennes, in Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de poenitentia*. (Rome: Gregg Press; repr. Farnborough: 1603. 1967), p. 105.: *Illa autem brevia in quibus scribuntur quidam characteres, et quedam nomina inusitata, quia nomina Dei ineffabilia, et in quibus dicitur quicumque super se portauerit istud breue, non periclitabitur, sic, vel sic; vel istud, aut illud bonum sibi eneniet, proculdubio reprobanda sunt, non portanda; et peccant, qui scribunt ea, aut portanda docent, aut portant, aut donant ea, aut vendunt, nisi adeo sint simplices quod ignorantia debeat eos excusare.*

⁴³ Rider, p. 103, and see also, more generally, Skemer, as well as Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, C.1400-c.1580*. 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005)

Richard Kieckhefer has pointed out the bipartite structure of magic in the Middle Ages: demonic magic and natural magic, and he asserts that demonic magic was a perversion of religion that turned away from God and towards demons for assistance. Natural magic, on the other hand, was more akin to science and can be understood as a branch of science. This was the science that drew up hidden powers, or ‘occult virtues’ within nature.⁴⁴ The basic assumption of natural magic was that nature teemed with hidden forces and powers that could be imitated or exploited for human gain.⁴⁵ The concept of natural magic drew upon Greco-Roman traditions of locating occult powers and processes in the natural order. The phrase ‘occult virtues’ refers to an inherent property hidden within an object. Plants for example, were classified as being hot, wet, cold or dry, and these are all influenced by the power of the cosmos.

Natural magic included the science of powers in which the properties in question were technically very strictly within the realm of nature but also were a result of a broader cosmological effect.⁴⁶ In Galenic medical theory, illness was conceived of as being caused by an imbalance of the humors. Using the occult powers of an object could help restore the balance and return the patient to health. For example, if a plant was conceived of as being ‘hot’ then it would be used to treat maladies brought on by an excess of ‘cold’. But the plant could have other properties not explained in these terms. The power could be perceived to be a result of emanations from the cosmos or its occult power could be grounded in some symbolic feature of the object: for example, plants with liver shaped leaves, for example, were used to promote health of the liver and rid the patient of an

⁴⁴ Kieckhefer, *Magic*, p. 9. And see also Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, (New York: Macmillan, 1923). Hereafter as Thorndike, *A History of Magic*.

⁴⁵ William Eamon, *Science and the secrets of nature: books of secrets in medieval and early modern culture*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994) p. 194.

⁴⁶ Kieckhefer, *Magic*, p. 12-14

illness involving the liver.⁴⁷ In the elf charms of Anglo-Saxon England, if an illness was thought to have been caused by ‘elf-shots’, stinging nettles and other plants with arrow shaped leaves were often featured in the remedy because of their resemblance to arrows.

Augustine condemned all magical operations involving the powers of the stars, herbs, stones, and animal parts, and Isidore of Seville classified all sorts of divination under the heading of magic, asserting that even enchantment (magical use of words) and the use of ligatures (medical use of magical objects bound to patient) involved the art of demons.⁴⁸ However, in the thirteenth century, scholars such as Albertus Magnus began to see natural magic as an alternative to demonic magic and they began to use the term for operative functions like healing. They also distinguished natural magic from demonic magic.

The distinction between religion and magic is not always easy when thinking about medieval ‘magic.’ Kieckhefer has argued for a set of definitions derived from medieval culture in preference to modern definitions, and he points out that some classical anthropological definitions assume that religion and magic stand in binary opposition: religion petitions while magic coerces, or religion is public and official while magic is private and unofficial. Kieckhefer maintains that these binary oppositions are not helpful in studying medieval culture, and he warns that if, because of our modern biases, we confuse what they called ‘blessings’ with what they called ‘magic,’ then we are not truly listening to or grasping what they had to say about their concept of the world.⁴⁹ Perhaps Edmund Leach best distilled the essence of the debate regarding the boundaries of magic, religion,

⁴⁷ Robin Melrose, *Magic in Britain: A History of Medieval and Earlier Practices* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2018) p. 2

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 17

⁴⁹ *ibid*, x-xi

and science when he said that “the core of the magical act rests on empirically untested belief and is and is an effort at control - the first aspect distinguishes it from science, the second from religion.”⁵⁰

Healing and the Medieval Medical Marketplace

In medieval and early modern England (and Continental Europe), university-trained physicians often wrote contemptuously of ‘cunning women’ and men who used charms and salves to heal. The medieval medical marketplace was not well regulated, and these cunning women and men were seen, in part, as threats to the professional, formally educated physicians. Charms were (and still are) often dismissed by learned physicians, theologians, and scholars as ‘folk’ or ‘popular’ magic or healing, but they also belong, in ways, to the learned tradition of medical writing.

When we talk of learned and popular medicine, it is soon clear that ‘popular’ is a problematic and ambiguous term. In early modern England, for example, the craft of healing was mostly an unregulated, open marketplace in which a person had a high degree of control and power in relation to medical practitioners and care received. This is evident by the prevalence of lay healers and other types of healers such as cunning-folk, midwives, and empirics. Historian of medicine Roy Porter points out that it is easy to call this open marketplace, with its various types of practitioners, popular, but popular in relation to what?⁵¹ The use of the term popular implies a distinct contrast between elite/popular, high/low, and even written/oral, and it is clear that these binaries were not so clearly defined in the medieval and early modern periods. Adam Fox has pointed out that there was distinct and discernable reciprocity between oral and literature cultures, so much so that it is debatable

⁵⁰ Edmund Leach, "Magic." In *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences*. Ed. Julius Gould and William Lester Kolb. "Compiled under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization" (New York: Free Press. 1964.Pp. 398-99) p. 399.

⁵¹ Roy Porter, “The Popularisation of Medicine in Early Modern England,” in *The Popularization of Medicine: 1650-1850*, ed. Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1992) 18-19. Hereafter as Porter.

whether they should even be considered as being monolithic.⁵² Even though education reform took place in the late Middle Ages and Early Modern Era, the lowest in society remained illiterate and thus relied on a variety of accessible, affordable, and convenient modes of healing.⁵³

In the context of medical knowledge and practice, it is certain that society recognized the difference between these ‘high’ and ‘low’ distinctions: a university-trained physician, for example, who had studied Galen and theoretical medicine was clearly distinct from and ‘higher’ than a traveling empiric selling his cure-alls and exotic remedies. Yet although these distinctions existed, in practice they did not stop the majority of people from using a combination of different types of medical practitioners without too much anxiety about the distinctions and the boundaries they crossed in obtaining various types of healing.⁵⁴ Additionally, because there was no true controlled method of licensure at this time, university-trained physicians competed with lay healers, cunning-folk, priests and ministers, and travelling empirics. The Royal College of Physicians, established in London in 1518, controlled the medical marketplace only within London and a radius that extended just seven miles.⁵⁵

Men who were not university-trained physicians, nor even physicians at all, often wrote lengthy works on healing, much to the annoyance of the learned physicians. In 1530 Sir Thomas Elyot wrote his *Castle of Health*, a best-selling guide to health which was one of the most frequently reprinted works of medicine of the time, though it was heavily criticized by many intellectuals.⁵⁶

⁵² Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)

⁵³ For more see Lawrence Stone, “The Educational Revolution in England 1560-1640,” in *Past and Present*, 28 (1964). See also Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* (London: Methuen, 1981), chapter two, in which she points out that often the very poor did not feel the need to be literate, and that much of the oral culture was beginning to be put into print during this time.

⁵⁴ Porter. See also Kathryn Park, “Medicine and Society in Medieval Europe, 500-1500,” in ed. Andrew Wear, *Medicine in Society*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). Hereafter as Park, “Medicine and Society.”

⁵⁵ Porter p. 19

⁵⁶ See K. J. Wilson and Thomas Elyot. “The Letters of Sir Thomas Elyot.” *Studies in Philology* 73, no. 5 (1976): p. 1-78.

Within a decade Elis Gruffydd, a Welsh chronicler, translator, and soldier, translated the work into Welsh and *Castell yr Iechyd* circulated in Wales as well. Neither Elyot nor Gruffydd were physicians, but both felt that publishing a medical work was within their purview. Elyot defended his right to publish medical works and justified his work by informing his audience that a learned physician had once instructed him to read the works of Galen, Hippocrates, and others.⁵⁷ It is clear from his defense of his own authority and legitimacy that he regarded himself as being as capable as physicians who were educated and approved by the Royal College of Physicians. Thus, even learned material was not actually ‘learned,’ as it was neither inaccessible to the general population nor was it esoteric.⁵⁸

Popularization, in the sense of making medical knowledge more easily available and accessible, had been happening for centuries, and early medical writers such as Galen readily incorporated folk remedies into their theories of medicine and healing. Influential medieval European writers such as Gilbertus Anglicus (s. xiii), John of Gaddesden (s. xiii-xiv), and Bernard de Gordon (s. xiv), readily included charms and folk remedies into their writing as well, though often expressing some skepticism. Thus, learned medicine has always been, to some degree, composed of different levels of complexity, with the boundaries between popular and learned being more flexible than is often expected.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Elyot wrote: “But yet one thing much greveth me, that notwithstandinge I have ever honoured and specially favoured the revered College of approved Phisitions yet some of them hearing me spoken of, have sayd in dirision, that although I were pretely seene in storyes, yet being not learned in Phisicke, I have put in my books divers errors in presuming to write of hearbs and medicines.” Defending his right to make medical knowledge available in English, Elyot also wrote, “But if Phisitions be angry, that I have written phisicke in English, let them remember that the Greeks wrote in Greeke, the Romaines in Latin, Avicenna, and the other in Aribicke, which were their owne proper and maternall tongues.” Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Castel of Health* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1580)

⁵⁸ Indeed, earlier medical writers whose works contributed to the curriculum of the medical schools were themselves practicing a syncretic way of compiling and disseminating their works, making the knowledge available in their native languages. Arabic commentaries on Greek medicine were synthesized and commented upon, and Galen himself synthesized the medical material available to him. For more see Park, “Medicine and Society.”

⁵⁹ Porter p. 23

The Welsh Sources

In early medieval England, monastic scribes copied charm texts from earlier sources such as works by Pliny, Marcellus Empiricus's *De medicamentis* (s. iv-v), and Latin translations of Greek and Arabic sources.⁶⁰ The manuscripts often contained liturgical formulae such as benedictions, exorcisms, and litanies of saints that were often featured in charm texts throughout the Middle Ages, and indeed beyond. In Wales, the earliest healing charms date to the mid-fourteenth century, and much of this earliest material was indeed produced in a monastic context.⁶¹

Skemer notes that until the thirteenth century, written collections of healing charms were largely uncommon beyond monastic libraries. With the rise of the universities came an increase in the number of lay readers with a sufficient level of Latin and access to relevant texts. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, increased lay literacy and a greater number of vernacular

⁶⁰ Greek and Arabic medical works began to undergo translation into Latin and dissemination throughout Europe in the eleventh century. Constantinus Africanus, a converted Christian from around modern-day Tunisia who had studied medicine in Baghdad and other Muslim centers in Africa, was instrumental in the twelfth-century medical renaissance. Constantinus came to Salerno around 1076. He brought with him some twenty-three Arabic medical texts, which he then translated into Latin. These Arabic treatises were lengthy commentary on the Greek originals, and it is in this distinctly Arabic-inspired form that the Latin medical treatises made their way through Europe. At this point Greek science and medicine was embedded within the Arabic but had been completely transformed after centuries of Arabic commentary. The texts experienced a rapid dissemination throughout Europe, paving the way for medical texts to find their way into the university curriculum. Soon the medical canon was established, remaining consistent through to the Renaissance. Standard works in the study of medicine included Avicenna's canon, Galen's *Liber de Morbo et Accidente* and *Criticis Diebus*, and the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates, and the collection known as the *Articella*, which was a commentary on Greek medicine, based on Galen's *Ars Medica*, by the Arabic scholar Hunayn bin Ishaq. Although much of the European medical learning developed thanks to the Arabic scholars of the Greek texts, some earlier Greek works were translated directly into Latin in the sixth century and were, to an extent, still available in the Carolingian period. The majority of this material consists of short treatises on urine, diets, bloodletting, and pharmacology. For more on Salerno's significance in the revival of the study of medicine throughout the West, see Monica Green, *The Trotula: A Medieval Compendium on Women's Medicine*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001). This work is an edition of a famous corpus of women's medicine attributed to a female physician practicing in Salerno, but Green's introduction to the edition is a succinct and informative discussion of how Salerno became a vital component in the spread of the new models of medical study. For a general history see also Danielle Jacquart, "Medical Scholasticism", in *Western Medical Thought from Antiquity*, ed. Mirko D. Grmek. (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA, 1998) pp. 199-221; as well as H.E. Sigerist, "Materia Medica in the Middle Ages," *Bulletin of History of Medicine*, vii, pp. 417-423.

⁶¹ Luft (2019) and Owen (1975).

translations made healing texts available to nobility and laymen.⁶² Much of this type of medical writing consisted of miscellaneous scientific treatises, herbals, collections of herbal remedies, and various medical compendia circulating in Europe. Malcom Parkes has argued that most manuscripts of interest to a middle or upper class audience were compilations that were meant to both entertain and instruct, and such manuscripts would have included practical instruction and intellectual material that would have been standard for a well-read gentleman of the fifteenth century.⁶³ Some of the earlier Welsh compilations of medicine reflect this trend as well, though notably many of these lack significant collections of charms.

Healing charms are found in a wide variety of Welsh manuscripts, and are often found alongside works of medicine, religious texts, poetry, and literary prose. The charms are most often in Welsh, or they are dual-language charms in Welsh and Latin. Some later Welsh manuscripts feature charms in English as well, and at least one Welsh medical book also features medicine in Anglo-Norman French. The most common charms in Welsh manuscripts are for the general healing of bites and wounds or for staunching blood. Remedies for toothache, scrofula (glandular swelling and lesions), witchcraft, the evil eye, and fever are also common, as are general protective charms against various evils, misfortunes, and illnesses in both humans and livestock.

In the following chapters I will present and analyze Welsh healing charms from the earliest medieval examples—from around the mid-to-late fourteenth century—up to the around the middle to latter half of the seventeenth century. I have established an approximate cut-off date of the mid-to late seventeenth century simply due to constraints of space.⁶⁴ Others have published on ‘popular’

⁶² Skemer, p. 82

⁶³ Malcolm Parks, *The Literacy of the Laity*, (London: Aldus Books, 1973), p. 568-9.

⁶⁴ Additionally, Owen Davies has published prodigiously on charms, magic, and cunning folk in Britain from the later seventeenth century onward. See Owen Davies, "Healing Charms in Use in England and Wales 1700-1950." *Folklore* 107 (1996): pp. 19-32. Hereafter as Owen 1996. See also Owen Davies, "Charmers and Charming in England and Wales from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century," *Folklore* 109 (1998): p. 1-2, pp. 41-52; Owen Davies, "Cunning-folk in

magical practices in early modern Wales, but less has been said about medieval healing charms.⁶⁵

Healing charms rooted in the Middle Ages, and in fact often earlier, were adaptable to an astonishing degree, and there is a remarkable amount of continuity in practice from the Middle Ages and into the modern period. Charms compiled in Welsh folklore collections of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have direct parallels in the corpus of healing charms from the Middle Ages and early modern period, and I have, in places, endeavored to point out the more impressive examples of continuity.⁶⁶

Brynley Roberts has published an introductory article, in Welsh, that features a brief overview of several Welsh healing charms, and I am indebted to this work as a jumping off point for the earliest phase of my research.⁶⁷ On the whole, the corpus of medieval and early modern English and European charms has been examined frequently by scholars of literature, folklore, history of medicine, and religion, while the majority of premodern Welsh healing charms lie untouched in Welsh manuscripts.

England and Wales during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” *Rural History* 8,1 (1997), pp. 91-107; and Owen Davies, *Popular Magic: Cunning-folk in English History* (London and New York: Hambledon and London, 2003).

⁶⁵ Richard Suggett’s two monographs explore witchcraft trials in Wales, the earliest of which was 1594. Parts of Suggett’s work overlap with the material at hand. Additionally, Kate Bosse-Griffith published a book on the world of the Welsh cunning man and the charms and remedies employed by early modern and modern soothsayers but focusing mainly on two nineteenth-century Welsh cunning men. See Kate Bosse-Griffith, *Byd y Dyn Hysbys: Snyngyfaredd yng Nghymru* (Talybont: Y Lolfa, 1977). Another resource for relevant Welsh sources regarding healing and the power of the divine is Francis Jones, *The Holy Wells of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992). Welsh demonology and anti-witchcraft tracts also provide insights into certain customs and practices, but it must be borne in mind that such works were created in order to combat particular practices and so will present the customs with an amount of bias. One eighteenth-century Welsh Protestant published such a tract, and he describes the wicked customs practiced in Wales in his day, including using the Bible and a key or sieve to make prognostications, as well as prayers and charms to stop bleeding, and love divination. A fairly recent edition, with an informative introduction and English translation of the text has been published. See Lisa Tallis, ed. *Cas Gan Gytbraul: Demonology, Witchcraft, and Popular Magic in Eighteenth-Century Wales*. (Newport: South Wales Records Society, 2015).

⁶⁶ Kate Bosse-Griffith’s *Byd y Dyn Hysbys* is a valuable source of more modern practice, as is Elias Owen, *Welsh Folklore*, originally presented as an essay in the *National Eisteddfod* in 1887 and revised for publication in 1896. See Elias Owen, *Welsh folklore: A collection of the folktales and legends of North Wales*. (Norwood, Pa.: Norwood Editions, 1973). Chapter Four of the current work relies heavily upon a modern charm recorded by Elias in the nineteenth century.

⁶⁷ Brynley Roberts, ‘Rhai Swynion Cymraeg’ *The Bulletin Board of Celtic Studies* 21 (1965) pp 197-213.

Methodology

Armed with the references presented in Brynley Roberts's article, I used J.G. Evans's *Report on the Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* as a guide to identifying which additional Welsh manuscripts were known to contain charms and medicine, and which were likely to contain charms that may have been labeled instead as prayers, or even gone unnoticed. Evans provided a useful index to his momentous work, and I began my earliest research by searching for 'medicine' and 'charm' within his index. Because of the ambiguity of many of the texts and the tendency on the part of early manuscript cataloguers to label certain charm texts as prayers, I also combed the Evans *Report* for references to manuscripts featuring prayers. This provided me with a list of well over one hundred manuscripts that might potentially contain charms. The work of Daniel Huws has been instrumental in my research as well, and I relied heavily on *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, as well as his forthcoming *A Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes, c. 800- c. 1800*, which he has generously made available for early viewing.⁶⁸ Diana Luft, whose forthcoming study, funded by the Wellcome Trust, presents the first full modern edition, with translation, of the Welsh recipes found in several of the earliest fourteenth-century manuscripts, was also helpful in sending references to charms, transcriptions, and other useful information as she encountered charm texts in her own examinations of the medical treatises and herbals.

The collection of sources in this dissertation privileges the manuscripts of the National Library simply due to the sheer size and scope of the Library's collection, and I am grateful to the staff in the South Reading Room. Although Cardiff Central Library contains at least a dozen manuscripts that contain medical writing, and several that are likely to contain charms, many of

⁶⁸ Daniel Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press: National Library of Wales, 2000); and Daniel Huws, *A Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes, c. 800-1800*, forthcoming.

these are outside the date range of the present work.⁶⁹ Welsh manuscripts featuring medicine and charms are also found outside of Wales, and my research includes several manuscripts currently housed at Oxford's Bodleian and Jesus College libraries, as well as the British Library. There are no doubt charms waiting to be discovered in manuscripts and archives of various county records offices. Such sources, likely commonplace and household books from the later sixteenth century and into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, will add much to the discussion once more work can be completed.

In addition, material objects at St. Fagans National Museum of History can illuminate an element of popular and practical application of the texts that the manuscript records cannot. Such objects can provide a satisfyingly tangible insight into the ways in which stones, metals, and other talismans were used alongside verbal healing formulae. This research, then, will be a continuous endeavor as more manuscripts and archives are scoured and more foundational, textual work undertaken. This dissertation is the first attempt at presenting a large portion of the Welsh corpus of healing charms, edited (though sparingly) and with translation and commentary that will help place them within a broader context.

I have located, transcribe and translate as many healing charms as possible. In the course of this research, I have also uncovered love charms and other texts that might be more accurately labeled as experimenta.⁷⁰ Such texts include instructions for hair growth, gaining intelligence, and obtaining swallow stones endowed with specific magical properties. As fascinating and unique as

⁶⁹ However, there are at least two sixteenth-century manuscripts that likely contain charms (Cardiff MS 2.627 and Cardiff MS 2.632) that I have unfortunately been unable to include in the present work due to constraints of time.

⁷⁰ Of these texts, Ifor Williams has published an edition on a Welsh translation of a tract popular in medieval Europe. The tract explains the magical uses of snakeskin. For more see Ifor Williams, "Rhinweddau Croen Neidr," *Bulletin Board of Celtic Studies*, 9, pp. 33-36.

these texts are, I have limited the scope of this dissertation to charms for the healing and protection of people and their livestock.

I have omitted general prayers and *loricae* for protection as well, although future work comparing the *loricae* and more straightforward charms will be of great use in drawing out more nuanced aspects of each. A *lorica*, literally ‘armor, breastplate,’ and so named for its metaphorical protective quality, is a petitionary prayer to God or another divine being, most often a saint. It shares similar features to both litanies and charms, and as such, it occupies an opaque space in the overlap between charm and religion. Ultimately, most of the Welsh *loricae* belong more comfortably to the realm of religion, although there are many similarities between *loricae* and certain charm types. *Loricae* are often structured in ways similar to many of the charms we will see in this dissertation: with a litany of body parts for which the speaker is seeking protection from God and/or the saint(s).⁷¹ Welsh *loricae* are found in some of the same manuscripts in which several of the charms in this dissertation were written. Many Welsh *loricae* have poetic qualities, and several feature end-rhymes and other internal structures found in poetry but not charms.

In this work, I have also chosen to include several manuscripts of the fifteenth century, produced in England (in Latin and English) but brought to Wales by the sixteenth century at the latest, and therefore representative of the types of medical knowledge circulating in Wales. Throughout the dissertation, I have reminded readers of the provenance of these manuscripts, when applicable.

The vast majority of this work has been an effort in textual editing and translating. In editing

⁷¹ For more on *loricae* in the Welsh tradition, see Brynley Roberts, "Rhai Swynion Cymraeg." *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies/Bwletin Y Bwrdd Gwybodau Celtaidd* 21 (1966): 198. For Irish *loricae*, see Eleanor Hull, "The Ancient Hymn-Charms of Ireland." *Folklore* 21 (1910): 417. In the Welsh tradition, *loricae* are found for Alexander and Curig, and there are several texts associated with Taliesin that would also be considered *loricae*: *Pader Taliesin*, *Gweddi Taliesin*, and *Ymgroesiad Taliesin*, for example. Ireland has a rich tradition of such prayers from an early age, including the *Lorica of Saint Patrick* and the *Lorica of Gildas*, for example.

the texts, I have not preserved line breaks, but I have otherwise endeavored to keep my transcription of the texts as diplomatic as possible. I have supplied minimal punctuation and word breaks, both of which are often nonexistent or at best, inconsistent, in the manuscripts. I have added full stops to sentences in order to facilitate easier reading of the texts. Commas have been used sparingly. I have used a red font (or occasionally blue) to indicate rubricated manuscript text. In representing the text as close to the manuscript as possible (excluding line breaks which have not been preserved), I hope that readers might come away with a truer sense of the texts as they are preserved in their manuscript forms.

Square brackets are used to indicate corruption or illegibility of the text, whether due to the condition of the manuscript page or the quality of the ink or writing. In some cases, I have been able to supply tentative or potential readings of illegible texts based on similar or identical variants found elsewhere. Those are given in italics within the square brackets, or, in the case of more tentative suggestions, in the footnotes. I have used italics to indicate expansion of abbreviated text. I have endeavored to indicate when a scribe used Welsh-specific characters such as ‘G’ for ‘w’. When the text crosses manuscript pages, I have indicated page numbers in my transcription with a bracket. This was done simply to aid researchers who might wish to locate the charms within the manuscripts for further study. A cross, or +, within the text indicates when the scribe wrote a cross, often between efficacious words. Charm texts were transmitted in Welsh, Latin, and English, and demonstrate a high degree of variation. I have not attempted to standardize any spelling, which is often inconsistent even within the same manuscript.

I have tried to produce faithful translations of each text, though on several occasions I privilege a smoother though less diplomatic English translation. If the text seems erroneous, I have often offered suggestions in the footnotes, choosing to leave the untranslatable or erroneous text as is. Words and phrases left untranslated in the translation will be given in italics. Similarly, words and

phrases that resist translation have been retained in the translation and shown in italics. In many cases I offer tentative translations in footnotes. I have placed all original charm text in a side-by-side format with the translations. This was done to facilitate a more pleasant reading experience for an audience who may not be familiar with the Welsh language. Outside of the charm texts, Welsh quotes can be found in footnotes, with the translations in the body of the work.

A handful of the charm texts have been printed by Brynley Roberts and Ida Jones, although Jones, in her edition of Cardiff MS 3.242, did not include the Latin charms and often omitted the lines of Latin, efficacious text of the Welsh charms.⁷² Timothy Lewis printed an edition of one manuscript which features several charms (Wellcome 471, now digitized).⁷³ Additionally, Diana Luft generously shared with me her transcriptions of Cardiff MS 3.242.⁷⁴ My own transcriptions of the Cardiff manuscript charms are informed by Dr. Luft's, and I have noted in the following pages where, and to what extent, my own transcriptions of the Cardiff manuscript texts rely heavily on her transcriptions. All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted. My transcriptions and translations have benefited from the feedback of several scholars, but any errors are of course my own.

Dissertation Layout

I have attempted insofar as possible to group the healing charms much in the same manner that medieval medical writers presented their remedies: that is, beginning from the head and working downwards to the feet. Chapter One examines charms that work to heal ailments of the head, including eye problems, earworm, epilepsy, and toothache. Because several of the charms for

⁷² See Roberts, "Rhai Swynion Cymraeg" (Some Welsh Charms), as well as Ida Jones, "Hafod 16: A Mediaeval Welsh Medical Treatise." In *Études Celtiques*, 7 (1955). 46-75, 270-339; 8 (1955). 66-97, 346-93.

⁷³ Timothy Lewis, *A Welsh Leechbook, or Llyfr o Feddyginaeth* (D.S. Hughes, 1924). For the digitized manuscript, see http://search.wellcomelibrary.org/iii/encore/search/C__St:%22MS.417%22?lang=eng.

⁷⁴ Email communication, June 2018.

toothache feature motifs employed by fever charms as well, I have included fever charms in Chapter One in order to maintain some thematic unity.

Chapter Two presents charms for staunching blood from general wounds. In this chapter I have also included charms for general bites and stings of animals, although in medieval medical treatises, cures for poison and venomous animal stings or bites would have typically been found towards the end of the work. The charms of both Chapter One and Chapter Two conform to a very high degree to the types of healing charms common to England and Europe, though there are small variations in the formulae and in the apparent popularity of the charms. For example, in the Welsh corpus the most popular charm type by far was a narrative charm for staunching blood, the *Longinus* type (so named for its use of a narrative about the soldier who pierced Christ's side). *Longinus* charms were popular in Europe and in England as well, but not nearly to the same degree as in Wales. Additionally, the *Longinus* charms of the Welsh corpus have undergone significant poetic stylization unlike *Longinus* analogues of other linguistic or cultural traditions.

Chapter Three is somewhat of a miscellany, and it is here that one will find several of the outliers, the charms that do not seem to fully conform to any known comperanda of other traditions. Texts in this category include charms for scrofula (glandular swelling and lesions), a whitlow or felon (an abscess of the fingertip), and a condition that seems to indicate some sort of abdominal swelling. Other charms in this chapter have parallels in other traditions, such as *Heavenly Letter* charms that were used against a host of maladies and misfortune. In this chapter I have also included charms for cramp and gout, as well as charms that address fertility issues and childbirth. The latter charm types are interesting for their connections to English sources rather than Welsh traditions.

Chapter Four focuses on charms for the protection of men, women, and property (mostly livestock) from destruction and ruin via fire, rodents, theft, disease, and witchcraft. Many of the

charms of Chapter Four have analogues in other traditions, but the charms to protect against bewitchment represent a tradition that is, as far as I have found, unique to the Welsh. Here I argue that the charms for bewitched livestock developed in part from early, Latinate, liturgically inspired charms.

Goals

My research ultimately seeks to answer three questions: 1) How did Welsh charm users adapt and innovate healing texts that were common throughout Europe? 2) What networks of knowledge exchange existed that allowed for such a rich transmission of texts between Wales, England, and Continental Europe? 3) How did the more general socio-historical and cultural environment in premodern Wales shape the ways in which the healing texts are accessed? This dissertation is necessarily textual in nature, but even at this early phase can begin to answer questions one and two. In order to answer a more nuanced question like question three, the healing texts must first be made accessible for deep, contextual analysis, and this is where my work, in its current stage, breaks the most ground.

My goal with this research is to place the Welsh texts within a broader European tradition, rejecting the notion that Wales remained insignificant and isolated from intellectual developments and networks of information exchange in Europe. Such an approach will also reveal the innovative ways in which Welsh scribes and healers adapted medical charms popular across Europe for their own specific needs.

One aim of my research is to show how productive collaboration and sharing of knowledge has always existed among the nations of Europe. This study of the corpus of Welsh healing charms shifts the outdated paradigms that represent healing practices as nothing more than superstition and ill-founded beliefs about medicine and the body. It also reveals how premodern healing traditions operated and were inexorably entwined with religion. At one time, the study of medieval and early

modern Britain and Europe reflected a fragmented, more inward-looking approach that failed to recognize the thriving practice of exchange, multilingualism, and multiculturalism within a given tradition. More recently, scholars have been eager to uncover and emphasize the rich networks of exchange in multicultural and multilingual Britain and Europe. It is to this new understanding of the extensive historical networks of cultural exchange in medieval and early modern Britain that I hope my research can make its most notable contribution.

Chapter One: When your Head is ‘Caput’: Charms for Eyes, Ears, Teeth, Fever, and Epilepsy⁷⁵

*Scis aliquam precantationem ad febres et ad aliquam infirmitatem que dicitur benedictio?*⁷⁶

Introduction

My aim in this chapter, and indeed in this larger project, is to demonstrate the similarity of the Welsh-manuscript charm corpus to that of England and Europe, while at the same time highlighting the ways in which Welsh scribes adapted certain conventions of the genre based on specific cultural needs and factors. The similarity of the Welsh charm corpus to that of other traditions demonstrates a great deal of knowledge transmission across borders, and I have endeavored to provide enough analogous material to demonstrate these wider, shared practices.

I have attempted, as best as possible, to present my discussion of the charms *a capite ad calcem*, as a nod to medieval medical manuscripts, which present disease in such a manner. This chapter, for example, begins with a sixteenth-century charm for an ocular ailment, which I interpret as a cataract, that incorporates a unique herb-gathering ritual. Daniel Huws has determined the scribe to have been Thomas Gruffydd, a ‘prolific’ mid-sixteenth-century south Wales scribe.⁷⁷ He seemed to have been especially interested in herbal knowledge, and is responsible for the only two Welsh charms known to me that feature a unique and specific ritual for harvesting medicinal herbs. In Section 1.a, I present two charms to cure eye problems, beginning with Thomas Gruffydd’s herbal ritual. I have been unable to find its analogue in the medieval English corpus, the tradition that often looks most similar to the Welsh tradition. Specific rituals for gathering and blessing

⁷⁵ My thanks to John McGill for the clever head pun of this title.

⁷⁶ “Do you know any incantations for fever and for other illnesses that are called blessings?” London, British Library MS Royal 9. A. XIV, fol. 230r. A question that scholar John of Kent (s. xiii) suggested priests might pose to penitents in confession. As cited in Rider (2011), p. 92.

⁷⁷ Huws, *Repertory*. He was responsible for several copies of *Brut Tysilio* as well as several religious and medical texts.

healing herbs existed in other traditions of the Middle Ages, although they are uncommon in the extant Welsh corpus of healing charms. The practice is rooted even further back in history, as authorities such as Pliny discussed herb harvesting rituals and blessings. While this particular Welsh eye remedy is thus far unique to our corpus, the second eye charm presented in this chapter represents a common medieval European charm type. Like many narrative charms of the Welsh corpus, this charm was written in Latin. The efficacy of the charm relies upon a narrative featuring Saint Nicasius. The charm belongs to one of the earliest Welsh collections of charms (Cardiff MS 3.242, ca. 1375) and is representative of a wider, shared European tradition.

Section 1.b features eleven charms for alleviating toothache, written in Welsh and Latin. These charms employ a combination of motifs including brief verbal formulae, direct adjurations to the disease or disease-causing agent, and sacred narratives. Divine narratives common in medieval European toothache charms include *historiolae* relating to Saint Apollonia, whose teeth were pulled out by her torturers; Saint Susanna, who is more commonly found in charms to cure headache and alleviate other general pains, and whose narrative usually refers to her being wrongfully accused of and judged for promiscuity; and Saint Peter, whose narrative, based on a scriptural reference (Matthew 16:18), places him upon a rock, playing on the words *Petrus/petram*. In the Welsh charm corpus, the *Super Petram* charm type was used fairly equally for both toothache and fever.

Although medieval medical theory held that fever—which was seen as a disease itself rather than a symptom—originated in the heart, and not the head, I have included it in this chapter simply due to the overlap between the *Super Petram* charms for toothache and for fever. Section 1.c presents thirteen fever charms in the Welsh corpus, every one of which is representative of well-established medieval traditions elsewhere in Europe. Such charms often feature instructions to write certain liturgical phrases on three slices of apples or three communion wafers over three days, ingesting the material, and thus the divine words, each day. Other motifs include *historiolae* from biblical or extra-

biblical traditions, including two including two lengthy and fascinating texts that rely on the recitation of the *In Principio* of the Gospel of John. It is not entirely clear whether either of the two *In Principio* charms were understood to work against fever specifically, but manuscript placement and context suggests that they were used either against fever or as a charm against general misfortune and disease.

On the whole, Welsh-manuscript fever charms look most like several types of fever charms found in English manuscripts. These charms emphasize the written and spoken word, whether it be short written phrases or longer biblical narratives. Common fever charm motifs include images of Christ shivering on the cross; reference to a character called Architriclinus and a ritual with a hazel branch; *historiolae* featuring Saint Peter sitting upon a stone or before the gates of a holy city; or they simply call for the recitation of parts of the Gospel of John. The Welsh *In Principio* charms employ a fascinating orthographic convention, representing Latin phonology with Welsh orthography in a way that would have allowed Welsh speakers unfamiliar with Latin to access these texts. This demonstrates these charms privileged correct recitation of the texts above all else. Such texts are also fascinating for their potential to offer insights into pronunciation and language use in late-medieval Wales

Section 1.d presents seven Welsh-manuscript charms for epilepsy, which are most often found in Welsh manuscripts in English, and sometimes Latin. I have found only one complete Welsh-language epilepsy charm. The epilepsy charms of the Welsh corpus are overwhelmingly those of the *Three Kings* charm type, which invokes the three Magi. The efficacious word *ananizapta* or a similar variant is also common in epilepsy charms in Wales and throughout medieval Europe.

This chapter presents every currently known Welsh-manuscript charm that targets ailments of the upper body. It is curious that no charms against headaches exist in the Welsh corpus, as far as

I have found, and only one earache charm exists: in English and in a manuscript that in fact has stronger ties to England but was brought to Wales by the sixteenth century.

1.a: Eye Problems

Medical manuscripts of medieval Wales include various herbal or more strictly medical remedies that seek to alleviate afflictions of the eye. However, Welsh manuscripts offer very few charm remedies for the same thing. I have found only two: one in Latin, included in one of the earliest Welsh books of medicine (ca. 1375); and one in Welsh, a later, and so far unique, charm type. This eye remedy is one of the most fascinating charms in the Welsh corpus. It features a ritual for harvesting an herb and is one of the few Welsh-manuscript charms that includes herbal prescriptions along with the charm ritual and efficacious words. The text forms part of a composite manuscript made up of several smaller texts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and brought together at some point in the sixteenth century. It was written in the mid-sixteenth century by Thomas Gruffydd, a productive scribe in south Wales.⁷⁸

The ritual begins with a declaration of efficacy against a pain in the eye. The Welsh word *magl*, used throughout the body of the charm, has several meanings. In general, it denotes a snare or a fetter, both literally and figuratively. It is also attested as early as the thirteenth century in the sense of a cataract or a sty on the eye and is also attested in the later Middle Ages in Wales to reference a spot or blemish, as in Latin *macula*. This remedy is unlike anything thus far uncovered in the Welsh-manuscript charm tradition, and is also quite unlike anything in the English tradition.⁷⁹ It is also one of the few Welsh charms that uses *canu*, which for stylistic reasons I give below as ‘to recite’ but

⁷⁸ Huws *Repertory*. In addition to the just under 100 pages of medical writing in this manuscript (NLW Peniarth MS 204), Thomas Gruffydd also wrote several manuscripts of historical writing, including several copies of *Brut Tysilio*, along with religious prose, and part of another medical manuscript as well.

⁷⁹ I am grateful to Lea Olsan and Katherine Hindley for examining this charm and providing feedback on possible meanings and sources.

which has a primary meaning ‘to sing’ or ‘to chant’ as the verb of the ritual utterance. Most Welsh charms prefer the verbs *swynaf*, ‘to charm’ (apparently from the Latin ‘*signum*’) or *dwyedaf*, ‘to speak, say’. Here, however, the use of *canu* more closely parallels the sense of the Latin for charm, *carmen*, which refers to a verbal utterance usually chanted or sung.

Rac dolyr ar lygaid <i>kymer</i> nodwydd benn yn dy law ddehau a dos lle i keffych lyssau llywelyn a gostwng ar dal dy liniau a thwc ef yn y dwyrain a med naw brigyn o honaw ar nodwydd benn yn enw y tad ar mab ar ysbryd glan. Ac er gwardd or klwyf ar dolyr oddi wrth y dyn erbyn i farw. ac er torri y magl ar a lygad a chanu v pader v ave maria er anrydedd ir arglwydd Jessu grist er rhoi gras a gwrthae [147] y llyssie i amddiffyn y dyn rhodi y llysseu mewn gwlan gwyn a throedav⁸⁰ ym kylch a chroessa y llygad ar topyn hwnnw a chaned y klaf bym pater a chadwed y llyssau gidac ef a chroessed yn vnych a chanedd v pader ar bob gwaith ar i kroesso a hynny a dyrr y magl yn wir ac onis tyrr y kyntaf med yr eil waith ar drydedd ai vedi ai gyfodi yn yr un modd ar kyntaf oll ac ef a dyrr y magl heb efydd ai vedi bob amser yn y dydd a ffob dydd onid duw syl ac ef ai tyrr yn ssikir kanys profedic yw i wr ag i wraic er kroyloned vo⁸¹	Against pain in the eye take a pin in your right hand and go where you might get hold of Llewelyn’s herb (speedwell) and kneel down onto your knees and grab hold of it from the east. Harvest nine sprigs of it with the pin in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. And in order to banish the disease and pain from the man before he dies, and in order to remove the cataract on the eye, recite five Our Fathers and five Ave Marias in honor of the Lord Jesus Christ in order to bestow grace and potency [147] upon the herbs. To defend the person, put the herbs in white wool, rolling it around them, and make the sign of the cross over the eye with that bundle. Let the patient recite five Our Fathers over the wound and let him keep the herbs with him and make the sign of the cross frequently and recite five Our Fathers every time upon making the sign of the cross, and this will certainly remove the cataract. If it does not remove it the first time, harvest it a second and third time, lifting it [i.e. pulling out] in the same way as the first and it will remove the cataract without bronze. Always harvest it during the day, and every day except Sunday, and it will surely break it, because it is proven for men and women, no matter how cruel it [the cataract] might be.
--	--

The ritual contains a curious mix of herbal lore, practical medicine, and typical charming and blessing traditions. The ambiguous reference to the cataract being removed ‘without bronze’ could

⁸⁰ *troddaf*

⁸¹ NLW Peniarth 204 p. 146-147

be a reference to a bronze lancet or other instrument for removing the cataract.⁸² Bronze lancets have been used in surgical procedures, especially concerning the eye, since at least 1700 B.C.E., when we find a reference in Hammurabi Code: “If a physician performed a major operation on a nobleman with a bronze lancet and has saved the nobleman’s life or he opened up the eye-socket [*nakkaptu*] of a nobleman with a bronze lancet and has saved the nobleman’s eye...”⁸³ Early medical authorities such as Celsus (d. ca. 50 C.E.), Galen (d. ca. 210 C.E.) provided detailed instruction regarding cataract surgeries, and Celsus wrote of a procedure in which a plain bronze needle is inserted into the eye in order to push the cataract away (a procedure known as ‘couching’).⁸⁴ His closing advice is to put soft wool soaked in egg whites over the eye, followed by bandages.

The wool in the charm above, wrapped around the healing herbs (and perhaps placed directly over the eye after making the sign of the cross), along with the reference to the sty or cataract bursting without bronze, is evocative of the procedure detailed by Celsus and others. The use of wool in the charm is not unique in the overall European tradition but is relatively rare in Welsh charms. The only other such reference to wool in Welsh charms is found in several variants of a specific charm type (*Tres Boni Fratres*) for blows and wounds.⁸⁵ Practically speaking, the presence of wool in medieval medical remedies would also have served in a similar way that gauze in wound dressing serves even today.

In the seventh century, Paulus Aegineta also detailed this ‘couching’ procedure, explaining that at one point in the surgery, the copper of the needle should be visible through the transparency

⁸² My thanks to Diana Luft for this suggestion.

⁸³ Isabella C. Mazzola, “History of Cosmetic Eyelid Surgery,” in *International Textbook of Aesthetic Surgery*, (Berlin; Heidelberg: Springer, 2016), p. 721.

⁸⁴ Peter James and J. Thorpe, *Ancient Inventions* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1994), pp. 19-21.

⁸⁵ See Chapter Two.

of the cornea.⁸⁶ In the charm above, the needle or pin is not used as a surgical instrument, but rather as the tool used to harvest the efficacious herbs. In our text, the charm ritual is being presented as an alternative to the surgical procedure, which would have required a surgeon of great skill and precision. Even in a large city or university, a surgeon of such skill would have been difficult to come by.

The Welsh charm is more focused on gathering and blessing the herb to be used in the cure in order to grant it greater efficacy. Speedwell, or *Veronica*, referred to here by the Welsh name of *llysiau Llywelyn*, ‘Llewelyn’s herb,’ (which refers to various species of *Veronica*) was used in various medical recipes of medieval Europe. Nicholas Culpeper mentions it in his 1652 work *The English Physician*, explaining its Welsh name (given in his work as *Fluellin*, or *Lluellin*), with a story of how it worked to save a Welshman’s nose from the pox, so to honor the herb it was given a Welsh name.

The phrase “*a chanu v pader v ave maria er anrydedd ir arghwydd Jessu grist er rhoi gras a gwrthae y llyssie*” can be interpreted as, “And recite five Our Fathers and five Hail Marys in honor of the Lord Jesus Christ *for bestowing* grace and potency upon the herbs.” However, to me, the *er* has a causal valence and should be understood as *in order to*, so that the phrase instructs users to say the prayers *in order to* bestow grace and potency upon the herbs. In other words, the recitation of the prayers over the herbs is what will grant them their efficacy or activate the divinely inspired efficacy already present within the plants, through God’s grace and power. Sara Ritchey has noted that the recitation of herb-gathering prayers served to transform the plants into medicine, and that the efficacy of the herb hinges upon the verbal performance of gratitude and recognition of the healing power that God bestowed upon them.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Christopher T. Leffler et al. “A medieval fallacy: the crystalline lens in the center of the eye.” *Clinical ophthalmology* (Auckland, N.Z.) vol. 10 pp. 649-62. (8 Apr. 2016).

⁸⁷ Sara Ritchey, "The Sacrificial Herb: Gathering Prayers in Medieval Pharmacy." *Postmedieval* 9, no. 4 (2018): 432-43, at p. 434 and 437.

While the theology behind herb-harvesting invocations may seem questionable, the practice is rooted in Classical medicine, and Pliny's *Natural History* features several instructions regarding the ritual gathering of herbs: sometimes facing east, sometimes west; sometimes pulling with the left hand and other times using the right. In the writings of Pliny we also find the directive to harvest a plant using iron or another specified metal (including a nail),⁸⁸ and this practice found its way into Old English herbals as well.⁸⁹ In the Middle Ages, direct prayers or invocations to the earth or plants survived from Antiquity but were substituted with Christian benedictions.⁹⁰ Some medieval physicians believed that herb-gathering prayers and incantations worked as a sort of placebo that would alter the minds of the patient rather than the virtues inherent in the herbs, yet John of Gaddensen's early-fourteenth-century *Rosa medicinae* featured a nosebleed remedy that instructed users to harvest shepherd's purse while reciting prayers and other liturgical formulae.

Processes including ritual-like, incantatory harvesting and preparations of herbs are found in very early Old English remedies, and the inclusion of herb-gathering rituals continued in English manuscripts through the high Middle Ages. Such texts are not specific to medieval Britain but were widely circulated and translated into many vernaculars. It is fairly common for classical and medieval herbal treatises to include magical or religious rites that go along with the harvesting of herbs. The

⁸⁸ Pliny, *Natural History*, 7.24.6; 62, 116, and in H. Rackham, *Natural History*. Loeb Classical Library. (Cambridge, MA : London: Harvard University Press ; W. Heinemann, 1944). See Book XXVI, Chapter 12 for the directive to harvest the herb using a nail.

⁸⁹ Thorndike (1923), pp. 77-79.

⁹⁰ For example, the *Benedictio Herbarum* was popular in medieval England and in northern Germanic lands in general. One Old English book of medicine (*Lacnunga CXCI*) includes the text as a charm: "*Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui ab initio mundi omnia instituisti et creasti tam arborum generibus quam herbarum seminibus, quibus etiam benedictione tua benedicendo sanxisti eadem, nunc benedictione holera aliosque fructus sanctificare ac benedicere digneris, ut sumentibus ex eis sanitatem conferant mentis et corporis ac tutelam defensionis eternamque uitam. Per saluatorem animarum dominum nostrum iesum christum, qui uiuit et regnat deus in secula seculorum. Amen.*" As printed in Karen Louise Jolly, *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England : Elf Charms in Context*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 120. Hereafter as Jolly, *Popular Religion*. See also Felix Grendon, "The Anglo-Saxon Charms." *Journal of American Folklore* 22, no. 82 (1909): p. 151.

popular eleventh-century Latin herbal *Macer Floridus*, whose composer cited Pliny often, included similar rites that look both magical and religious.⁹¹ In our Welsh charm text, the instructions to harvest nine sprigs of the herb, on one's knees while pulling the herbs out of the ground towards the east comprise the 'magical' element of this remedy.

Such rituals often blur the lines between magic and religion, and many writers took up the task of clarifying what was acceptable. In the seventh century Saint Eligius is said to have warned against making lustrations or incantations with herbs.⁹² The twenty-third Penitential of Ecbert forbade the harvesting of herbs with charms, but clarified that it was acceptable to use the Pater Noster, Credo, or 'other holy prayers' instead.⁹³ In the tenth and eleventh centuries, Burchard of Worms also condemned the use of incantations over herbs but allowed for Christian prayers of thanks for the herbs. Thomas of Chobham, in his early-thirteenth-century pastoral manual for confessors, wrote, "Nor is it permitted to pay attention to certain observations or incantations when collecting medicinal herbs, unless it is only with the divine Creed or the Lord's Prayer, so that only God is honoured as Lord and creator of all."⁹⁴ The following example, from early fourteenth-

⁹¹ For example, on Vervain: "Whoever wishes to harvest this plant must first encircle it with gold and silver and recite a Pater Noster and creed. Then he must say, "I command you, noble herb vervain, *in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti* and by the seventy-two names of the almighty God, by the four angels, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Antoniel, and by the four evangelists John, Matthew, Luke, and Mark, not to leave any of your virtues in this earth and to place all these virtues with which God has created and endowed you under my power, Amen." The text continues with instructions that the silver and gold must be left around the plant overnight, and that the user should harvest the plant before sunrise on the next morning, digging the roots up without iron. After that, the user should wash the plant with wine and it should be consecrated on the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. As cited in Francis B. Brevart, "Between Medicine, Magic, and Religion: Wonder Drugs in German Medico-Pharmaceutical Treatises Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries." *Speculum* 83, no. 1 (2008): pp. 1-57 at p. 10.

⁹² *Vita Eligii*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, vol. 4 (Hannover, 1902) pp. 669-742 at p. 706.

⁹³ Grendon, 150

⁹⁴ 'Nec in collectionibus herbarum que medicinales sunt aliquas observationes vel incantationes liceat attendere nisi tantum cum symbolo divino aut oratione dominica, ut tantum deus creator omnium et dominus honoretur.' As quoted in Catherine Rider, "Medical Magic and the Church in Thirteenth-Century England." *Social History of Medicine* 24, no. 1 (2011): pp. 92-107.

century German scholar and priest Konrad of Megenberge, is representative of an acceptable form of herbal blessing in the tradition of the *Benedictio Herbarum*:

Omnipotent God, author of all human health and salvation, doctor of bodies and souls, who through ineffable wisdom appointed an abundance of herbs as health-giving medicine, for the uses of those languishing, grant, we beseech [you], that you may refresh this creation of vegetable with your health-giving blessing, so that they may be medicine of the body and strength of the spirit for whoever being sick uses them.⁹⁵

Richard Kieckhefer draws attention to the apocryphal legend of Jesus gathering herbs for Mary and points out that this story was featured in an illustrated fourteenth-century herbal. He argues that such images and stories would have further substantiated the Christian view of herbal blessings.⁹⁶ Elements of the Welsh instructions for harvesting the herb are clearly rooted in religious piety, and harvesting herbs in the name of the Lord and saying certain prayers over them to increase efficacy would have been deemed acceptable. Although rituals featuring Christian herb blessings are relatively common in medieval English manuscripts, I have been unable to find any direct analogues for the above Welsh eye charm ritual in other traditions. In fact, the charm is also unique among the corpus of Welsh charms, which rarely feature standard herbal medical prescriptions, let alone instructions on the ritualistic gathering and blessing of the herbs.⁹⁷

The second eye charm in the Welsh corpus, however, is representative of a common European narrative motif concerning Saint Nicasius, who is often invoked in medieval European

⁹⁵ 'Omnipotens Deus, totius humanae salutis et sanitatis auctor, animarum et corporum medicus, qui copiam herbarum ad usus languentium salubri medicina per ineffabilem sapientiam condidisti, presta, quaesumus, ut salutaris tua benedictione hanc holerum creaturam repleas, ut, quicumque infirmus eis usus fuerit, sint ei corporis medicina et animae fortitudo.' As quoted in Derek A. Rivard, *Blessing the World: Ritual and Lay Piety in Medieval Religion*. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), p. 56, n.45.

⁹⁶ Kieckhefer, *Magic*, p. 68

⁹⁷ In fact, the only other similar charm in the Welsh corpus is a fever charm with similar instructions, written in the same manuscript by the same scribe, which will be examined in more detail below.

charms for eye problems, toothaches, and pox.⁹⁸ There has occasionally been some confusion regarding which Nicasius the charms refer to. In the charms for pox, it would make sense to invoke Nicasius of Rheims, patron saint of smallpox victims because of his own supposed survival of smallpox. However, it is likely that the Nicasius in our charm for a spot in the eye is Nicasius of Rouen, whose cult was popular in England as well as France.⁹⁹

<i>Sanctus</i> Nichasius maculam habuit in oculo & deprecatus est dominum ut quicumque nomen suum scriptum super se pertauerit, maculam non haberet, neque non magis noceret. + Christus + vincit + Christus + regnat + Christus imperat + Dominus Ihesus Christus defendat oculos tuos ab omni malo per uirtutem sancte crucis. Dominus Ihesus Christus custodiat oculos tuos per uirtutem sancte crucis amen.¹⁰⁰	Saint Nichasius had a spot in his eye and he pleaded with the Lord that if anyone were to bear his name, written upon him, he would not have the spot, nor would it harm him anymore. + Christ + conquers + Christ + reigns + Christ commands + May the Lord Jesus Christ defend your eyes from every evil, by the virtue of the holy cross. The Lord Jesus is the protector of your eyes by the virtue of the holy cross amen.
---	--

A late-twelfth-century sacramentary of St. Benoit-sur-Loire features a similar charm, added in a thirteenth century hand:

In nomine Patris + et Filii + et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Sanctus Nichasius habuit maculam in oculo et deprecatus est Deum, ut quicumque nomen suum super se portaret, maculam in oculo non haberet + Christus vincit + Christus regnat + Christus imperat.¹⁰¹

Thomas Fayreford, an early fifteenth-century English physician, recommended that patients carry the name of Nicasius about them in order to protect from spots in the eye.¹⁰² Similarly, another

⁹⁸ For more on St. Nicasius in eye charms, see “Augensegen,” in Hanns Bachtold-Staubli, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (10 vols, Berlin 1927-42) in vol. 1, pp. 717-718.

⁹⁹ On St. Nicasius of Rouen as a healer of eye diseases, see Adolf Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter* (Freiburg, 1909) II, p. 487.

¹⁰⁰ Cardiff MS 3.242 p. 41

¹⁰¹ As printed in Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, *Landes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship* (1958) p. 1.

¹⁰² In B.L. Harley Add. MS 2558, the commonplace book of Thomas Fayreford, and he also offers a toothache charm that invokes Apollonia, similar to charms that are presented below.

English physician, John of Gaddesden, included a Nicasius toothache charm in his early-fourteenth-century book of medicine, which was copied often and transmitted widely: *“Item quicumque dixerit orationem in honore Appolonie virginis, die illo non habebit dolorem dentis si ter dicitur de sancto Nigacio martire.”*

¹⁰³ Trinity College Cambridge MS 0.1.20, a thirteenth-century medical manuscript of mostly Anglo-Norman and Latin, features a Nicasius charm within a longer series of charms for the eye:

Item + Agyos + Agyos + Agios + Sanctus Deus, sanctus fortis,
sanctus et immortalis. In nomine Patris et cetera, + Amen. Sanctus
Nigasius min utam habuit variolam et oravit ad Deum ut quicumque
nomen suum scriptum super se portaverit non haberet hoc malum.
Sancte Nigasi, ora pro isto famulo Dei, Amen.¹⁰⁴

The use of a Nicasius invocation is not unique to Britain and France but is widely attested throughout the charm corpora of medieval Europe, and they look fairly similar across several traditions.¹⁰⁵

Although versions of the Nicacius eye charm were copied into manuscripts throughout medieval Europe, the Cardiff manuscript version above is, so far, our only Welsh-manuscript example of a Saint Nicacius eye charm, and it is representative of a broad, shared trend throughout Europe. The Welsh herbal charm ritual for an eye blemish is also unique in the Welsh corpus, and

¹⁰³ Tony Hunt, *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-century England*. (Cambridge; Wolfeboro, N.H., USA: D.S. Brewer, 1990.) p. 28.

¹⁰⁴ Tony Hunt, *Anglo-Norman Medicine. II: Shorter Treatises*. Woodbridge, Cahiers De Civilisation Médiévale 43, no. 171 (Boydell & Brewer, 1998.2000), p. 222.

¹⁰⁵ For example, one medieval German manuscript includes a charm that features the standard Nicasius motif for an eye affliction: “A blessing for the pain in the eyes. Say: Saint Nicasius had a spot in his eye and entreated God that whoever would call his name would be relieved from the pain of the eyes. Saint Nicasius, Gods martyr, destroy the pain in the eyes of N.+ in the name of the Father + and of the Son + and of the Holy Spirit, amen. And have three masses said in honor of Saint Nicasius.” *Ein segen für den augenschweren: Sprich: Sant nicasius het ein flecken in den augen Vnd badt Godt, wer seinen namen anruffet, Das der erlöst würde von dem schmerzen der augen. Sant Nicasie, Gottes merteller, vertilg den schmerzen der augen des N. + In dem namen des vatters + vnd des suns + vnd des hailigen gaists, amen, Vnd früm drej messen In Sant Nicasien er.* As printed in Debra L. Stoudt, “Medieval German Women and the Power of Healing,” in ed. Lilian R. Furst, *Women Healers and Physicians, Climbing a Long Hill* (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1997) p. 15. Similarly, see Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, pp. 3-4 for another German Nicasius charm, found in the fifteenth-century Wolfsthurn Book. This version of the charm, slightly longer than the German charm above, specifies the potential colors of the speck (‘whether you are black, red, or white’), a fairly common tradition in medieval charming.

on the surface looks to be unique when compared to the charm texts of the other European traditions. Nevertheless, while it is innovative and thus far unparalleled, there are echoes of motifs found in the charms of medieval England, continental Europe, and even ancient Rome. And while the Welsh herbal charm for a cataract may feel archaic to some readers, it is reflective enough of the times in which it circulated, when Christian blessings over herbs remained part of an accepted practice.

It is, however, somewhat curious that only two charms for ocular afflictions exist. This paucity is especially apparent when considering how many eye charms appear in manuscripts of other traditions offer and considering how many medical recipes (non-charms) for eye problems have been preserved in Welsh medical texts. In other words, although the Welsh-manuscript eye charms conform to other known traditions, the lack of Welsh eye charms is itself somewhat atypical when compared to manuscripts of other traditions.

1.b: Toothache Charms

The corpus of Welsh-manuscript charms includes several charms for toothache, in both Latin and Welsh. Many are similar to Latin charms that circulated in England and elsewhere in Europe in the Middle Ages, namely the narrative charms that invoke Saint Peter, Saint Susanna, or Saint Apollonia, all of whom were commonly invoked due to the relevant parallels between the affliction and details of their respective martyrdoms. Saint Apollonia, the virgin martyr from Alexandria, endured torture that involved having her teeth violently pulled out, so it comes as no surprise that she would be invoked in charms for toothache, especially since she is said to have

endured the torture without feeling pain.¹⁰⁶ Cardiff MS 3.242 (ca. 1375), includes a short Apollonia toothache charm in a three-part series of toothache charms (see below for others).

Arall yw rac y danmoed: + in <i>nomine patris</i> + <i>et filii</i> + <i>et spiritus sancti</i> aue uirgo mater decus mundi + felix apollonia + <i>et dulcis sponsa</i> + <i>et reges summa</i> + vinea dei hostia sub gre flamm ~~arum~~ angustius dencium <i>Pater noster</i> . Credo in deum. ¹⁰⁷	Another for toothache: + in the name of the Father + and the Son + and the Holy Spirit. Hail virgin mother, splendor of the world + blessed Apollonia + and sweet spouse + and highest Queen + vine of God, sacrifice under <i>gre?</i> of flames, narrower of teeth. Our father I believe in God.
--	--

The Apollonia charm, though brief, is similar enough to toothache charms of other manuscript traditions that invoke her protection. British Library Royal MS 12 G IV, an English medical manuscript from the fourteenth century, includes a standard Apollonia toothache charm:

Contra dolorem dentium: Sancta Apollonia virgo fuit de cuius ore pro Christi amore dentes fuerunt extracti. Et deprecata fuit Christum dominum nostrum quod quicumque nomen suum super se portaverit, dolorem dentibus non haberet + Alpha + Omega + primus + et novissimus + principium et finis me defendat a dolore dentium qui est since principio et omnia creans ex nichilo. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, amen.¹⁰⁸

One manuscript associated with later medieval Wales features a brief and singular reference to Apollonia in a charm for a toothache. The manuscript features fifteenth- and sixteenth-century medical writing in English, Latin, and French. Although it was most likely created in England, near the Welsh border, it was brought to Wales fairly early on, perhaps around the sixteenth century, when it was brought together in its current form.

ffor þe toþeache. ffyrste take a candell of an ob & cutte ht in fyve
pertye & offe[crase] ht .v. sondays & say *every* sonday .v. *pater noster*

¹⁰⁶ See also B.R. Townend, 'The Narrative Charm with Special Reference to the Cure of Toothache,' *British Dental Journal* 85 (1948), pp. 29-34; E.F. Frey, 'Saints in Medical History' *Clio Medica* 14 (1979) pp. 35-70; and H. Nux, 'Sainte Apolline patronne de ceux qui souffrent des dents,' *Revue d'odontologie, de stomachologie* 3 (1947) pp. 113-53.

¹⁰⁷ Cardiff MS 2.342 p. 19-20.

¹⁰⁸ As published in Hunt, *Popular Medicine*, p. 88.

every sonday & .v. ave [crease] & a crede in þe worschyp of god & sey
 appolyne¹⁰⁹ & sey þese wordys .v. tymes over þe cheke + Agios +
 Iskyros + theo[crease] + panton + craton + & Isus. In *nomine patris*
 & filii & *spiritus sancti* +¹¹⁰

The use of a candle in a toothache charm is not surprising, as many medieval remedies for a toothache believed that heat applied to the cheek or mouth would cause the tooth worms (the perceived source of the toothache) to fall out.¹¹¹

The Cardiff MS that features the Latin Apollonia charm given above also includes a toothache charm that employs several commonly used, pan-European motifs, including the use of an amuletlike text inscribed with divine words and worn around the patient's neck.

Rac y dannod g6neuthur ysgruien or geireu hynn [20] ae roi am y vyn6gyl. In <i>nomine patris</i> + <i>et filii</i> + <i>et spiritus sancti</i> amen + A+G+L+A <i>migranium</i> ut + <i>migraniam</i> adiuro uos <i>per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et per quatuor evangelistas</i> + <i>Matheum</i> + <i>Marcum</i> + <i>Lucam</i> + <i>Johannem</i> + <i>per anglos</i> + <i>et archangolos</i> + <i>per merita suorum</i> ut vermes <i>comedere dentes huius famuli dei</i> .N. <i>non possent nec in die nec in nocte nec in sompno nec extra sompnum, nec in nulla cumpaltime</i>¹¹² <i>suorum nec in carne nec in gutture nec in ossibus honor et imperium laus et decus sit trinitas deus per omnia saecula saeculorum</i> A+G+L+A + alpha + <i>et Omega</i> + Messyas + Sother + <i>Christus</i> regnat + <i>Christus</i> imperat + <i>Christus</i> filius dei defendat .N. amen. <i>Pater noster</i>. Credo¹¹³	Against the toothache, make an inscription of these words [20] and put it around his neck. + In the name of the Father + and the Son + and the holy spirit amen. A+G+L+A. <i>Migranium</i> and + <i>Migraniam</i>: I command you by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and by the four evangelists + Matthew + Mark + Luke + John + by the angels and archangels and by their merits, let the worms not be able to eat the teeth of this servant of God .N. not by day or by night nor in sleep nor out of sleep nor in any <i>cumpaltime</i> of his nor in flesh nor in throat nor in bones. Honor and dominion, praise and glory be the Trinity, God forever and ever. A + G + L + A + alpha + and + omega + Messiah + Sother + Christ reigns + Christ commands + may Christ, the son of God defend .N. amen. Our Father, I believe.
--	---

¹⁰⁹ Interestingly, her name has been crossed out, and very many charms in this manuscript have been censored in some way.

¹¹⁰ NLW Peniarth 369, f. 49v

¹¹¹ The use of a candle, and its smoke, in toothache charms and remedies was common, and several remedies call for candles made from animal fat, along with, for example, leek and henbane seeds. My thanks to Diana Luft for this reference.

¹¹² Perhaps a form deriving from *palatinus* and relating to the roof of his mouth.

¹¹³ Cardiff MS 3.242, p. 19-20

The opening invocation *migranim vel migranium* might mislead readers into assuming it acts against an ailment such as our modern conception of a migraine. It is not immediately clear what is meant here, or why the two forms of migraine are written, though perhaps the repetition of the word with minor ending variations indicate that the words are, or were at some time, gendered and the adjuration is including both male and female ‘migraines.’¹¹⁴ One Old English toothache charm says, *adiuro te migranea uel gutta maligna* and continues with an invocation to the holy trinity, as well as the twenty orders of angels, sixty prophets, twelve apostles, four evangelists, and all the saints.¹¹⁵ In our text, it is likely that *migraniam* and *migranium* are names for worms which are being addressed and cast out from the teeth and body of the patient. The belief in worms in the teeth as the cause of a toothache can be traced as far back as the first millennium B.C.E., to the Akkadian “tooth worm incantation” written on a cuneiform tablet.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Lea Olsan gives a similar charm, translating a variant of the word as ‘ache’: “Another for the same euel of aking of teth. Aue rex noster. Aue spes nostra. Aue salus nostra. Adoramus te christe et benedicimus tibi. Dominus noster iesus christus noster omnipotens super mare sedebat. Et Petrus tristis ante eum erat. Et dixit Dominus Petro, “Quare tristis es?” Respondit Petrus et dixit, “Domine dentes mei dolent.” Tum Dominus ait, “Adiuro te migranea et maligna per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et per duodecim apostolos et quatuor euuangelistas, Marcum, Matheum, Lucam, et Johannem, ut non habeas potestatem nocere N[omen] hoc breve portanti.” + AGIOS + AGIOS + AGIOS + PATER . AUE . CREDO. TORAX CALAMITE. TORAX RUBEE. TORAX LIQUIDE. OMNES GUMME. (B. L. Sloane 2457, fol. 19v). Her translation is: [Another for the same evil aching of teeth. Hail our King. Hail our Hope. Hail our Salvation. We adore you Christ and we bless you. Our Lord, Our Jesus Christ, Our Almighty was sitting upon the sea. And Peter, sad, was before him. And the Lord said to Peter, “Why are you sad?” Peter answered and said, “Lord, my teeth hurt.” Then the Lord said, “I adjure you ache and evil through the Father and Son and Holy Spirit and through the twelve apostles and four evangelists, Mark, Matthew, Luke, and John, that you not have the power to harm *Name* who is carrying this narrative. + HOLY + HOLY + HOLY + FATHER + HAIL + I BELIEVE+ TORAX CALAMITE. TORAX RUBEE. TORAX LIQUIDE. ALL GUMS.]” As printed in Olsan, “Latin Charms Of Medieval England” pp 131-2.

¹¹⁵ Thomas Forbes, ‘Verbal Charms in British Folk Medicine,’ *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 115 (1971): 293-316 at 311. It is possible that this word is referring to a migraine, which was usually conceived of as pain affecting the middle of the head or only one side of the head. This would make sense in a toothache charm where the pain would presumably be localized to one side. One thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman book of medicine includes a toothache charm in which Mary is suffering from a toothache “Charme ad dentz: sancta Maria supra petram sedevat, Spiritus Sanctus superveniebat et dicebat ‘Quid tristaris Maria?’ et dicebat ‘Dolent dentes mei. Venit [vermis] migraneus et me mordit’. ‘Adiuro te migranea [f.14r] gutta per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum...” Tony Hunt, *Anglo-Norman Medicine II*, p. 232.

¹¹⁶ See *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* vol. 17 (1901). Pliny, Dioscorides, and other Roman writers also discussed the tooth worm. For more, see R. Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire*, (London: British Museum Press, 1988). See also W. E. Gerabek, "The Tooth-worm: Historical Aspects of a Popular Medical Belief." *Clinical Oral Investigations* 3, no. 1 (1999): pp. 1-6.

The same Cardiff MS features another toothache charm that might help illuminate the *migranium* of the first Cardiff toothache charm. This charm invokes Susanna, Peter, and the Virgin Mary. The charm was written in Latin but was tagged in the right margin with ‘*rhag y ddan.*’ or, ‘against the tooth[ache]’. It fronts a very common Saint Peter narrative with a reference to Susanna. Reference to Susanna is common in charms for various ailments but most often for general wound healing and headaches. Charms that invoke Susanna often focus on how she was wrongfully accused of promiscuity and our charm equates her liberation from false judgment with the liberation of the patient from the pain of toothache.¹¹⁷ The charm then features a dialogue between Christ and Peter, in which Peter complains of the worms in his teeth.

Contra dolorem dencium. In nomine patris + et filiā. et spiritus sancti. + amen + Qui liberauit susannam de falso crimine libera istum famulum tuum. N. de dolore dencium. Petrus sedebat super petram et maria uirgo dñm tenebat caput suum in manu sua superueniens dominus dixit ei qualem tristitiam habes. respondens petrus dixit. dentes mei dolent vermiculi deuoratur carnem meam et ossa mea. Respondens dominus dixit. Signate¹¹⁸ eos. + In nomine patris + et filiā. et spiritus sancti. amen. + christus vincit + christus uincit. christus regnat + christus imperat + christus ab omni malo hunc famulum dei defendat. amen¹¹⁹	Against a toothache. In the name of the Father + and the Son + and the Holy Spirit + Amen He who liberated Susana from false judgement, liberate your servant N. from toothache. Peter sat on a stone. And while the Virgin Mary held his head in her hand, the Lord approached and said to him, ‘why do you have such sorrow?’ Responding, Peter said, “my teeth hurt, worms devour my flesh and my bones. The Lord said, “Mark them with a sign + In the name of the Father + and the Son + and the Holy Spirit + Amen. Christ conquers + Christ conquers + Christ reigns + Christ commands + Let Christ defend this servant of god from all evil. Amen.
--	---

¹¹⁷ Hunt, *Anglo-Norman Medicine, II*. gives a late-thirteenth-century Susanna charm from Oxford Balliol College MS 231, f. 61v: “In nomine Patris + et Filii + et Spiritus Sancti, Amen + Jeo cray ben en nostre Seynur Jhesu Crit que jeo ceste home .N. puisse ayder de verme e de rauncle e de kaunker e de felun e gutefestre e de tuz maus + In nomine Patris + et Filii + et Spiritus Sancti, Amen + Seinte Susanne fu a torte criminé, [la] dilivera nostre Seynur. Jesu, si verrement cum vus deliverastes seinte Susanne de perile, issi deliveriez cest homme .N. de verme...” The charm also ends with a “Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat” formula.

¹¹⁸ The use of this verb is interesting and not terribly common in the Welsh corpus, although the Welsh word for charm, *synn* comes from the Latin *signum*.

¹¹⁹ Cardiff 3.242, p. 53.

The motif of Peter sitting or lying upon a marble stone is common among various medieval charming traditions, especially in toothache remedies, as we will see below, but this charm is interesting for its inclusion of the Virgin Mary. It seems as though this charm has merged at least two charm types into one, as Tony Hunt records a toothache charm that also places the Virgin Mary upon a stone complaining of a worm called *migranea* that has penetrated her teeth.¹²⁰ The dialogue between Mary and the Lord or the Holy Spirit in which Mary complains of worms that have penetrated her teeth shows remarkable continuity and was included in a Welsh manuscript copied ca. 1800 from texts in circulation at least in the eighteenth century and evidently long before.

A remedy for the toothache. Saint Mary was sad and was sitting on a stone near her hermitage, and the Holy Spirit came to her. ‘Why are you sad, mother of my Lord, and what pain is bothering you? My teeth hurt and a worm called megrim has pierced through within them, and I have bitten and swallowed it. I adjure you, *daffin o negribina*, by the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit, [by the] Virgin Mary, and God, the merciful Physician, that you not be able to cause disease nor pain nor harm this servant of God, here in this present hour, not in tooth, nor eye, nor head, nor in the whole of her teeth. So be it. Amen.’¹²¹

Adjurations, threats to the disease-causing agent, and exorcisms are all common features in charms against an ailment for which a worm is the perceived cause. The naming of the worm or disease-causing agent is an important feature in adjuration charms, as we have seen in the examples above.

¹²⁰ “Charme ad dentz: sancta Maria supra petram sedevat, Spiritus Sanctus superveniebat et dicebat ‘Quid tristaris Maria?’ et dicebat ‘Dolent dentes mei. Venit [vermis] migraneus et me mordit’. ‘Adiuro te migranea [f.14r] gutta per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum...’ Tony Hunt, *Anglo-Norman Medicine II*, p. 232.

¹²¹ *Rhag y dannoedd; cyferddawn yw. Santes Fair a eisteddodd ar garreg, ar faen yn ymyl ei meudwyfa, a'r Yspryd Glan a ddaeth atti pan oedd drist. Pam drist ti fam farghnydd, a pha ddolur a'th flin? Dolurio mae fy nannedd, ag au amddarwanodd pryf a ddaeth yma a elwir migram, ag mi ai cnoais ag ai lleweis. Mi a'th dyngbedaf di daffin o negrbina trwy yr Tad, a'r Mab, a'r Yspryd Glan, Mair Forwyn, yr bael feddig Duw, na bo itti allel na chlyw na dolur na molest i wasanaethwyr y Dduw yma, yn gyndrybol yr awr bonn nag mewn dant, nag mewn llygad, nag mewn penn, o gwbl or dannedd bob gwir yt. Amen.* As given in John Pughe and John ab Ithel Williams. *The Physicians of Myddvai; Meddygon Myddvai, or The Medical Practice of the Celebrated Riwallon and His Sons, of Myddvai, in Carmarthenshire, Physicians to Rhys Gryg, Lord of Dynevor and Ystrad Tony, about the Middle of the Thirteenth Century.* (D. J. Roderic; Longman & Co, 1861), 276-7. My translation.

Another such example in the Welsh corpus can be found in NLW Peniarth MS 326, bundle six, ca. 1460. This manuscript consists of loose leaves and fragments in eight bundles, currently bound in three volumes. The charm is found in a section containing medical recipes in Welsh and Latin, along with a Welsh herbal. The first half of the section (about twenty folios) contains medical writing from the second half of the fifteenth century while the last twenty or so folios of the section feature slightly later material. The manuscript is a dedicated medical manuscript of a fairly decent size, yet it contains only one short charm, found on folio three.

Rac y ddannoydd ysgrivenna y pedwar gair hynn ath vawd. A dywaid yn gynta In nomine patris ieth filii et spiritus sancti Amen // verbum caro factum est. crist a dernassa crist a orfydd crist a orchfyka crist drwy i ddioddevaint ef a iachaf daint y dyn hwnn ai henwi rrac klwyf aelwir val hynn oie loe soe roe mi a'ch tynghedvenna chwi y pedair chworedd hynn drwy na alloch chwi o glwyvo nai ddolvro o ddolvr y ddannoydd eithyr i ddvw i achav o bob rrvw glwyf or dannedd yn enw ir tad ar mab ar ysbryd glan.¹²²	Against the toothache write these four words with your thumb and first say 'in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy spirit Amen // the word was made flesh. Christ reigns, Christ triumphs, Christ conquers. Christ, through his suffering, shall heal [the] teeth of this man who is named. Against [the] malady, which is summoned thus: <i>oie loe soe roe</i> I adjure you, the four sisters here, that you not be able to harm nor afflict with pain of the toothache, but God shall heal from every type of malady of the teeth, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.
---	---

In some ways this charm represents standard practices found in medieval charms throughout Europe. The repetition of phrases referencing Christ's reign, triumph, and conquering is common in medieval European charms, as we have already seen it in the late-fourteenth century Latin toothache charm in Cardiff MS 3.243 above. Phrases from the Gospel of John, such as the *verbum caro factum est*, are also commonly used in charms, as is the invocation of Christ's suffering and his ability to heal. The naming of the disease-causing agents is also common in the wider European tradition, and it is unsurprising that they are female, as other charms in Germanic traditions name females as the root

¹²² Peniarth MS 326, vol. III, bundle 6, f. 3r.

of the disease (though they are usually named in nines or threes).¹²³ However, I am unaware of examples from other traditions that feature the same names found in this charm: *oie loe soe roe*.

A similar version is found in Wellcome MS 417, a later sixteenth-century book of medicine, in Welsh, though informed by several sources, at least one of them written no later than 1480, according to Huws.¹²⁴

Rhag y ddanoedd. Dowaid y geiriau hynn, In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti Amen. verbum caro factum est / ac yscrivena y geiriau ath fawd ddeau ar y grudd ar gyfair y daint claf yn y modd y doetpwyd or blaen a dwydyd y geiriau hyn ar ydaint. / krist a dernassa, krist a orfydd, krist a orchymy, krist a ymerodra, krist drwy i ddioddefaint ef a iacha daint y dyn hwn sy or clwy a elwir y ddanoedd + ac a elwir fal hynn oe, loe, soe, roe, mi ach tynghedvena chwi y pedair chwioredd hynn drwy allu duw na bo i chwi feddiant i glwyfo y dyn hwn o ddolur yr y ddannodd either i dduw i ryddhau ef o bob rhyw glwyf or ddanedd Amen.¹²⁵	Against the toothache. Say these words: in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit Amen. The word was made flesh / and write the words with your right thumb upon the cheek in front of the injured tooth as it was said before and say these words upon the tooth. / Christ reigns, Christ triumphs, Christ commands, Christ rules. Christ, through his suffering, shall heal the tooth of this man from the malady that is called the toothache, + and is summoned like this, <i>oe, loe, soe, roe</i>, I adjure you, these four sisters, through the power of God, that you not have the power to harm this man with pain of the toothache but God will liberate him from every kind of malady from the toothache, Amen.
--	---

This charm is striking in its similarities to the Peniarth manuscript version above, and it would be interesting to consider the two charms and their manuscripts in terms of potentially overlapping lines of transmission or a shared source text. Yet the nature of the medical texts and the ways in which they were copied also make the question of source texts a difficult and not entirely productive avenue of exploration. It is possible, however, to speculate about potential variants of charms that might have circulated and from which scribes could have drawn in compiling their own

¹²³ See for example, the discussion of the Welsh scrofula charm in Chapter Three of the present work.

¹²⁴ Huws *Repertory*. A version of this manuscript compilation survives in NLW MS 10255, where it is identified as ‘llyfr meddyginiaeth o gasgliad William Glynn Esqr. o’r Elernion 1527.’

¹²⁵ Wellcome MS 417 p. 54r

material. For example, an Old English charm against toothache features a set of efficacious words that look vaguely similar to those used in the Welsh charm, though the Old English charm is in no other way similar to our charms above. Only its efficacious words *caio laio* faintly echo the named sisters of the Welsh toothache charms above.¹²⁶

Not all Welsh toothache charms feature lengthy narratives and direct adjurations to the disease or the disease-causing agent. In a section of Welsh herbal knowledge, between the virtues of plantain and anise, one scribe included a short charm against toothache.¹²⁷ The verbal toothache charm is simple and represents a standard verbal charm: + *Eloy* + *Eloy. rag y ddanoedd*.¹²⁸ (+ *Eloy* + *Eloy.* against the toothache). The ‘*Eloy*’ here could refer to Saint Eloi, often spelled as *Eloy*, or, Eligius. As an extremely accomplished metal worker, noted for his skill as a blacksmith, Eligius is often depicted in Christian iconography holding a hammer and tongs. Although typically invoked in charms for horses, given such iconography, it is no stretch to see why he was invoked in a toothache charm as well.¹²⁹ *Eloy* could also be a reference to the name of God and the phrase Christ uttered on the cross, ‘*Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani*’ (My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?).¹³⁰

¹²⁶ *sing ðis wið tōðece, syddan sunne bēo on sette, swīde oft: “Caio laio quaque, uoque ofer sæloficia sleah manna wrym.” Nemne bēr þone man and his fæder, cweð þonne: “Lilumenne, aecð þæt ofer eall þonne alid: cōliad, þonne hit on eorðan bātost byrned; finit, amen.* For toothache, sing the following very often after sunset: “Caio laio quaque, uoque ofer sæloficia sleah manna wrym.” Then name the man and his father, next say, “*Lilumenne*, it aches beyond telling when he lies down; it cools when on earth it burns most fiercely; *finit*, amen. As presented and translated in Felix Grendon, “The Anglo-Saxon Charms,” pp. 170-171.

¹²⁷ The manuscript, NLW Peniarth MS 206, a composite manuscript featuring poetry and medicine, had already been brought together by about 1600. Huws *Repertory*. According to Huws, the scribe, Siôn Thomas Gruffudd (fl. 1610) was from near Wrexham and was responsible for much of NLW MS Peniarth 206. He is apparently not the Thomas Gruffydd (s. xvi) of south Wales responsible for the herbal medicine and herbal ritual of Peniarth MS 204, discussed in Section 1.a above. See Huws, ‘Scribes’, *Repertory*.

¹²⁸ NLW Peniarth MS 206, p 49

¹²⁹ See Ludovic Notte, “La Dévotion à saint Eloi dans les écuries princières (XIIIe-XVIe siècle),” *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 81 (2003), pp. 1051-74.

¹³⁰ See Matthew 27:46 and Mark 15:34.

Another Eloy toothache charm exists in NLW Sotheby MS C.2 (ca. 1500), the medical manuscript belonging to the northern Welsh physician Bened Feddyg. Apart from two long charms, which will be discussed below and in Chapter Three, Bened included very few charms in over one hundred pages of medical writing for which he was responsible. One is a similar variant of the above Eloy charm, though this incorporates the motif of writing the operative words on bread or an apple, presumably for the patient to then ingest. The prescription to write on food and ingest the words of power is common in fever charms, as we will see presently, and in Welsh manuscripts it is also found in a handful of charms against the bite of a dog.¹³¹

Rac y ddanoedd yssgrifena mewn bara neu mewn afal y geirrie hyn + eloy + eloy + a dywaid iii ffader ~~~~ ¹³²	Against toothache write in bread or in an apple these words + eloy + eloy + and say three Our Fathers.
---	--

Another roughly contemporary manuscript of mostly English and Latin medicine, though containing some Welsh, features a marginal *Super Petram* charm for a toothache.

petrus iacebat super petram mamoream et dixit Jesus ad petram cur iaces hic domine dentes mei dolent et dixit Jesus ad petrum surge petre veniam mecum et issi[] tetragramaso domini sit mihi sicut in nomine patris et filii at spiritus sancti amen. st. petru ¹³³	Peter was lying upon a stone of marble and Jesus said to Peter, ‘Why do you lie here?’ ‘Lord my teeth are hurting me.’ and Jesus said to Peter, “Arise Peter, come with me and [] <i>tetragramaso</i> . Lord let it be so for me, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit Amen. Saint Peter.
--	---

Christ’s dialogue with Peter is a hallmark of the *Super Petram*, but the marginal charm above omits part of the standard dialogue in which Christ commands Peter to cast out the pain or the worms and Peter asks that Christ heal him and anyone who carries the charm with them.

¹³¹ See Chapter Two for the Welsh dog bite charms.

¹³² NLW MS Sotheby C.2, p. 66

¹³³ NLW MS 572D, f. 39v

A late-sixteenth-century or early-seventeenth-century Welsh variant of the *Super Petram* charm type for toothache places Peter at the gates of Jerusalem rather than upon a rock. The text is noteworthy for its relatively sound use of Latin. By this time the narrative charms of Welsh manuscripts had become almost completely vernacularized, and although this charm is introduced in Welsh, the narrative is conveyed through Latin. It is illegible in many places due to the poor condition of the page, but enough of it remains so that we are able to grasp its essence

swyn rrag y ddannodd. Ante Portus Iyierosvlyma Petrus sedebat, petrus prele i dominus et Iesus dixit ei, Petre cur hic stas, respon[] illi Petrus: dentes mai me dolor[] et christus respondit illi: surge e [] tc. U dolore dentium sanabo [] Patris X et filii X sp[iritus sancti] X amen X s[] s christus [] U dolore dentium, Iti[] jum Williams christus sa[] dolore tuo L eundem d[] vinit¹³⁴ et regnut deus [] saculorum deus + Amen + []¹³⁵	A charm against the toothache. Peter sat before the gate of Jerusalem. Peter <i>asked</i> the Lord and Jesus said to him, “Peter why are you standing here?” Peter responded, “my teeth hurt” and Christ responded, “arise” [...] For pain of the teeth I heal you [<i>torn</i>] Father X Son X and Holy Spirit X Amen X. [??] Christ [<i>torn</i>] for pain of the teeth [...] Williams, Christ [...] your pain ...[Christ] comes and rules, God [<i>torn</i>] for ever and ever God + Amen [<i>torn</i>]
---	---

Although, to my knowledge, there are no biblical or apocryphal traditions in which Christ cured Peter of a toothache, the medieval association of Saint Peter with toothache is likely rooted in his name and the potential for a play on the words *Petrus/petram*, as he is most commonly said to be sitting upon a rock when he encounters Christ. W. F. Ryan argues that Peter became identified with toothache charms because of the “quality of rock hardness and marble whiteness that is sought for the tooth, and the renaming of Simon as Peter in the ‘*Tu es Petrus*’ episode in the Gospel of Matthew 16:18 (*Tu es petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam*/You are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church).¹³⁶ In the Welsh charm corpus, both toothache and fever charms use the *Super*

¹³⁴ This surely would have been *vincit*, according to the formulaic tradition, but the manuscript reading is clear and there is no indication of suspension or abbreviation marks.

¹³⁵ NLW Llanstephan MS 173, p. 3

¹³⁶ W. F. Ryan, *Bathhouse at Midnight: An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia*. Magic in History. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999) p. 174.

Petram motif and feature invocations to Peter, although this charm type is more frequently used against fevers.

It is curious that the Welsh-manuscript charm corpus does not feature a higher number of *Super Petram* toothache charms, or even variants that place Peter at the gates of a particular city rather than upon a stone, as is the case in other traditions. Although the *Super Petram* type was one of the most frequently copied charms in England, and was also exceedingly popular in Ireland, it was not used as frequently as a toothache charm in Wales, at least not as far as the extant manuscript evidence shows. The fact that both times it appears, it was copied in Latin and not Welsh also suggests that this charm type may have found its way into Wales either through early Latin manuscripts that circulated through monastic networks, or from Latin charms included in medical books produced elsewhere that circulated and were accessed and used as source texts for our Welsh manuscripts.

Barbara Hillers notes the popularity of *Super Petram* toothache charms in Ireland, in English and in Irish-language versions, and she has demonstrated that English versions of the *Super Petram* charm type are found in all provinces of Ireland but display a remarkable homogeneity and similarity to English versions collected in England. Hillers suggests the English-language version of this charm was brought with English settlers, as it is most strongly established in parts of the country associated with English settlement. The Irish-language versions, however, demonstrate much more variance, and Hillers suggests that these charms developed out of Latin versions of the *Super Petram* charm that would have reached Ireland through monastic networks.¹³⁷ Charms recorded in Scotland also

¹³⁷ Barbara Hillers, 'Towards a Typology of European Narrative Charms in Irish Oral Tradition,' in eds. John Carey et al., *Charms, Charmers, and Charming in Ireland: From the Medieval to the Modern* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019), pp. 87-88

feature the invocation of Peter in a toothache charm, as well as the motif of the marble stone upon which he sat.¹³⁸

I have uncovered only two premodern Welsh toothache charms that invoke Peter, though Owen Davies has pointed out at least one modern Welsh-manuscript version, in English, and there are likely several more examples of both Welsh and English charms yet to be discovered documented in the medieval and modern healing traditions of Wales.¹³⁹ The *Super Petram* charm type does, however, appear in several other instances in Welsh manuscripts of the later Middle Ages and early modern period, though they are adapted and used for fever charms, as will be shown in the following section.

Before examining the continued use of the *Super Petram* charm type to cure fevers rather than toothache, it is necessary to draw attention to a final Welsh toothache charm that defies classification. It is found in a book of Welsh medicine, produced at the end of the sixteenth century but copied, in part, from source material likely at least 100 years older. This toothache remedy occupies an opaque place somewhere between herbal remedy and charm. I am inclined to include it in the present work due the fact that its efficacy relies, at least partly, on the recitation of a number of specific prayers.

Rhac yr ddannoed. Kymēr belydr spayn a halen bras yn un quantiti a dod yn y twll yn y daint claf ac oni bydd twyll dod ef ar fon y daint a chan .5. pader 5 ave maria .7. gredo ac iach fydd. profedic yw. ¹⁴⁰	Against the toothache. Take Spanish chamomile in the same quantity of copper sulphate and put in the hole in the decayed tooth. If there is not a hole, put it on the base of the tooth and recite five Our Fathers, five Ave Marias, and a Credo and health will be. This is proven.
---	---

¹³⁸ Again though, such charms are not often found in Scottish Gaelic but rather were circulated in English and Latin, and with a great emphasis placed on the written word. See William Mackenzie, *Gaelic Incantations, Charms, and Blessings of the Hebrides: With Translations, and Parallel Illustrations from Irish, Manx, Norse, and Other Superstitions*. (Inverness: Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Pub., 1895), pp. 55-59

¹³⁹ Owen, Davies. "Healing Charms." p. 22.

¹⁴⁰ London Wellcome MS 417 (ca. 1600), f. 83v.

The use of copper sulphate, or blue vitriol, in a remedy is more reminiscent of later early modern and modern medical remedies, which, for its perceived efficacy relied partly on a chemical reaction of the materials: copper sulphate, often called blue vitriol or Roman vitriol turns from blue to red upon contact with acids, including acids found in sweat and other bodily fluids.¹⁴¹ It is possible that, in the case of the remedy above, it was also meant to be applied to the tooth as an analgesic. Part herbal medicine, part prayer, this remedy is difficult to classify. I have encountered no other versions in the Welsh corpus, although as a charm it is inconspicuous and more likely to blend into the more purely medical remedies.

In this section I have demonstrated the extent to which Welsh-manuscript charms are reflective of a shared European tradition of healing. In the process I hope I have also begun to underscore questions regarding the vernacularization of charms, especially narrative charms, common in a broader European tradition. So far, the evidence of the Welsh corpus suggests that many narrative charm types common in the traditions of England and Europe, although they are included in Welsh manuscripts, are never really vernacularized. This is evident in charms like the *Super Petram* charms for toothache and will become more apparent in the following sections.

There is an interesting delineation between written and spoken, Latin and vernacular. Often a dual-language Welsh-manuscript charm uses Welsh for the heading that identifies what the charm works against, then switches to Latin for the efficacious words of the charm, and often switches back to Welsh to conclude with instructions for the practical application of the charm (which prayers to say, how many times, and at what times etc.). I have found that when the ritual action of

¹⁴¹ Owen Davies has printed a mid-eighteenth-century blood staunching charm from Cumbria that instructs users to apply 'Roman vitrioll' to a rag and place it under the arm [i.e. in the pit of the arm]. The charm claims that as the blood is halted the 'blew powder is turned into blood by sympathy.] Davies assumes this chemical reaction to have been quite an interesting element of 'chemical magic' to an otherwise standard blood staunching charm. Davies, (1996) p. 21.

the charm emphasizes writing over speaking, the charm usually privileges Latin over Welsh. In general, this remains true for narrative charms in Welsh manuscripts. Even when a narrative motif is adapted for use against two different remedies, it is far more common for the charm to be included in Latin rather Welsh. This is true for the *Super Petram* charms we have seen above, and also for the Peter charms that we will see in the following section used against fever.

1.c: Fever Charms

Although fever is indicative of a number of underlying diseases, medieval healing texts addressed the fever rather than a specific disease for which it would have been a symptom. Indeed, Classical medical authorities conceptualized fever itself as a disease rather than a symptom, and this carried over into the medieval and early modern eras. Galen's *De febrium differentis* (s. ii) was a fundamental teaching text in the medieval university, and although he did not provide readers with a clear definition, he theorized that fever was the result of a heat contrary to nature.¹⁴² Avicenna's *Canon*, completed in Arabic in the eleventh century and translated into Latin in the twelfth century, was also used as a foundational teaching text throughout the Middle Ages. He defined fever as "extraneous heat arising from the heart and proceeding from it, to the entire body by means of the spirits and blood."¹⁴³ Iain Lonie notes that even up into the sixteenth century, physicians did not seem to agree upon a clear theory or classification of fevers, and that radical innovations in medical theory concerning fever did not happen until the seventeenth century.¹⁴⁴ I include fevers in this

¹⁴² See In-Sok Yeo, "Hippocrates in the Context of Galen: Galen's Commentary on the Classification of Fevers in Epidemics VI." *Studies in Ancient Medicine* 31 (2005): pp. 433-43.

¹⁴³ Avicenna, *Liber Canonis* (Venice, 1574; reprint Brussels, 1971), Liber IV, Fen I. Tractatus i, Capitulum i), as quoted in Melissa P. Chase, "Fevers, Poisons, and Apostemes: Authority and Experience in Montpellier Plague Treatises" n.12.

¹⁴⁴ Iain M. Lonie, "Fever Pathology in the Sixteenth Century: Tradition and Innovation" in W.F. Bynum and V. Nutton, eds., *Theories of Fever From Antiquity to the Enlightenment, Medical History*, Suppl. no. 1 (London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1981) pp. 19-44.

chapter simply due to the overlapping motifs with other charms in the present chapter, including the instructions for harvesting herbs in one case, and the use of the motif of Christ's dialogue with Peter in several instances.

I have found thirteen fever charms in the Welsh-manuscript corpus. Most are Latinate charms and are comparable to Latin fever charms of English and European manuscripts, which tend to employ a handful of common motifs: mostly narrative incidents from biblical traditions but also the instruction that the operative words be written and usually ingested. Sometimes the charms include herbal medicine as well. Above, I presented a unique Welsh eye charm that featured instructions on the harvesting of speedwell. In the same manuscript, the scribe, Thomas Gruffydd, wrote another similar, though shorter, herbal charm, this time to combat a fever. His two charms demonstrate the ways in which herbal medicine, prayer, and ritual coalesce in one remedy.

Rac yr axes <i>kymar</i> grafaing y vran ar gannwraidd velen a daint y llew ar dorllwyd a phwrs y bigail. ai medi ar dal dy lin a thwyn ev yr y dwyrain a dywedyd tri ffader a thri ave maria a hynny kyn y medi ai kroessi ai medi yn enw y tad ar mab ar ysbryd [71] er gwared y klwyf ar dolyr ar haint ar y klaf yr hwnn a elw ir yr axes oddar a dyn a elwir.¹⁴⁵	Against ague take buttercup and tansy and dandelion and common cudweed and shepherd's purse. Harvest them on your knees and grab hold of it from the east and say three Our Fathers and three Ave Marias over them. Before harvesting cross them and harvest them in the name of the Father and the Son and the [Holy] Spirit [71] in order to relieve the wound and the pain and the disease that is called the ague from the man who is named.
---	---

This charm is similar to the eye remedy in section 1.a for its instructions to harvest specific herbs on one's knees, pulling to the east, while reciting specific prayers. It combines charm-like elements that might be considered 'magical' (pulling out the plant in a certain manner and from or in a specific direction) with accepted religious practice (the prayers and blessings over the herbs), as well as with

¹⁴⁵ NLW Peniarth MS 204, p. 70-71

herbal medicine, though it does not specify what is to be done regarding the practical, medicinal application of these herbs to combat the fever.

Some fever charms in the Welsh corpus are brief and instruct that only a handful of efficacious words be used, such as this later fifteenth-century fever charm that was included in a collection of medical recipes and short tractates on the four humors and diet.¹⁴⁶

<i>pro</i> ffevriva + tetragramaton + agla + grediel¹⁴⁷ + ana[¹⁴⁸] + Emon + alesie + iessu crist me salvet + fili[] miseiere mei amen¹⁴⁹	For fever + <i>tetragrammaton</i> + <i>agla</i> + <i>gediel</i> + <i>ana</i>[] + <i>Emon</i> + <i>alesie</i> + may Jesus Christ save me + son[] + have mercy on me amen.
---	---

This short charm incorporates several motifs common to the shared charming tradition of medieval Europe, most notably in its use of the AGLA and the tetragrammaton—a term used to refer to the four-letter Hebrew name of God. Because speaking the name was taboo, it was instead referred to as the tetragrammaton, or ‘four letters.’ Eventually this word itself was used as a divine name in charms or charm-like texts. The notarikon *AGLA* stands for *Atah Gibor Le-olam Adonai*, “You, O Lord, are mighty forever” and was used in a wide variety of charms from many ages and traditions (in fact, modern wiccans or practitioners of magic still use it in their incantations and meditations).¹⁵⁰ It was extremely popular in medieval charms throughout Europe, and scribes of Welsh manuscripts very often included it the charms they copied as well. *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* lists *agla* as meaning ‘God’, and although these letters represented a divine name, *agla* did not, strictly speaking, mean God. The

¹⁴⁶ Huws *Repertory*

¹⁴⁷ *Grediel* could be a misreading of one of the names of the archangels, whose names were commonly invoked in charms.

¹⁴⁸ Likely, ‘*ananzipata*’ or a variant thereof.

¹⁴⁹ NLW Peniarth MS. 204, p. 245

¹⁵⁰ See my Introduction (pp. 5-6) for more on the use of this and other divine names in charm texts.

GPC notes that *agla* is a borrowing from the Greek ἀγλαός (bright, shining, radiant) and although its handful of uses in Welsh poetry might certainly mean it in that sense, especially since it is on at least three occasions juxtaposed with *eglur*, which has a similar sense, the true meaning of *agla* is rooted in the charm traditions of the Middle Ages.¹⁵¹ Nonetheless, its use in Welsh poetry clearly points to the poets' interactions with manuscripts and charm texts, and it is interesting that this charm motif was incorporated into their poetic vocabulary.

For Fever: Tripartite writing and the ingestion of the words

In her study of the English charm corpus, Lea Olsan has noted the recurrent use of liturgical phrases in conjunction with the consumption of obleys, or communion wafers, usually in a series of threes: three phrases, written upon three obleys, ingested over three days.¹⁵² Some fevers were categorized based on recurring patterns: the quotidian fever is daily, while biduan is every two days, tertian every three, and so forth.¹⁵³ It is possible that some charms' instructions to perform the charm over the course of several days was meant to parallel not only the holy trinity, but also the recurring patterns in fever. Olsan notes that during the 'long medieval period,' the most frequently copied fever charm in English manuscripts was a charm which required the user to perform it over

¹⁵¹ Examples of the word used in a Welsh context outside of the corpus of Welsh charms include a couple of uses in poetry. In the same manuscript as the charm above (Oxford Jesus College MS 111) we find: *Trindaŷt eglur ffaŷt agla am llynŷo*, and the line continues with *et + omega + alpha*. (column 1299); and later in the ms: "*arghŷyd eglur duw arghŷyd agla naŷ*" (column 1304). In the fifteenth century Iolo Goch used it as a stand-in for God as well: *Adŷios ysgeiros dros gur / Alpha w agla eglur*. From Lewis, Henry, Thomas Roberts, and Ifor Williams, *Cynyddau Iolo Goch Ac Eraill*. Arg. Newydd. ed. (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1937) p. 232. In the same century it was also found in a line of poetry with a similar sentiment: *'Medŷyliaid enaid ŷna - am feinioes / Im a fynodd Agla*. Huw Cae Llwyd, *Gwaith Huw Cae Llwyd Ac Eraill*. (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1953), p. 112.

¹⁵² Olsan, "The Language of," p. 31

¹⁵³ Lea Olsan, "Writing on the Hand in Ink: A Late Medieval Innovation in Fever Charms in England." *Incantatio*. An International Journal on Charms, Charmers and Charming 7 (2018): pp. 9-45, at p. 10 and she cites Timothy P. Newfield, "Malaria and malaria-like disease in the early Middle Ages," *Early Medieval Europe* 25, Issue 3 (August 20017), 251-300). Also see Demaitre 2013, p. 25-60.

several days. It involved writing on communion wafers, apples, sage leaves or other leaves, and parchment or paper as well.¹⁵⁴

Although there are not as many host charms in the Welsh corpus, this motif circulated in Wales, even if minimally. Wellcome MS 417, from the second half of the sixteenth century, though it is a compilation of medical texts that were very likely copied from a fifteenth-century exemplar contains a standard host charm¹⁵⁵ At least one source text for the manuscript was likely an English manuscript, given the presence of a statement of efficacy on folio 33r that claims it worked for the Duke of Gloucester. The fever charm is reminiscent of English remedies for ague or fever.

Rhag yr Acses. Kymēr dair Arlladen, ac ysgrivena arnyn Pater est alpha et o ar un o honyn, ai rhoi ir kalf oi bwyta, a doeded i pater noster kyn i bwyta / ar ail dydd ysgrivena ar yr ail filius est vita et veritas, a gwna iddo i bwyta a doydd 2. paternoster kyn i bwyta, Ar trydydd dydd kymered y drydedd afrlladen ac ysgrivened arni spiritus sanctus est et domini a gwna dri ffwynt fal hyn ◆◆◆ a ffar ir klaf i bwytaf a doydd tri Paternoster kyn i bwytaf ac ef a fydd iach drwy ras Dyw Amen.¹⁵⁶	Against the fever. Take three hosts, and write on them: ‘the Father is the Beginning and the End’ on one of them and give it to the patient to eat, and say one Our Father before eating. On the second day write on the second [host], ‘The Son is the way and the truth’ and make him eat it, and say two Our Fathers before eating. On the third day take the third host and write on it, ‘The Holy Spirit is and of the Lord’ and make three marks like this ◆◆◆ and make the patient eat it and say three Our Fathers before eating and he will be healthy through the grace of God Amen.
---	---

¹⁵⁴ Olsan, “Writing on the Hand,” p. 17

¹⁵⁵ Huws, *Repertory*

¹⁵⁶ Wellcome MS 417, f. 31v. Classen (*Making Magic* p. 49) presents a very similar charm, from Oxford Bodleian Additional MS. B.1: for ye feuer: Take 3. obleyes & wright on ye first pater est apha et ω & gyue ye sike to eate ye first daye, on ye second wright filius est vita & make 2. crosses & gyue ye sicke to eate on ye seconde day, & on ye 3 wright sp̄s sc̄tus est benedictum & make 3 crosses & kneele downe & say wth good devotion .5. pr nr & 5 a & a creede & thow shalt be hole. Lea Olsan gives another similar example, from Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 9308 (f. 14v): “For þe feueres Tak thre oblyes & in þat on writ *pater est* alpha et oo & mak a point. & ete þat þe ferst day. Þe secunde day writ on þat oþer oblye *filius est* vita & mak two titelis & ete it. Þe thridde day writ on þe thridde oblie *spiritus sanctus est* remedium. & mak iii pointes and ete it. but þe first day or þu ete þe oblie sey a *pater noster* and þe secunde day two & þe thridde thre *wit*²⁴ as fele Ave and credo.” As printed in Olsan, “Corpus of Charms,” p. 217.

This charm type calls for a liturgical phrase to be written on a host (presumably consecrated) or wafer and then ingested by the patient.¹⁵⁷ The instruction to make three marks upon the wafer could signify the order in which to eat the wafers, or it could have been conceived of as symbolic of three of the wounds of Christ.¹⁵⁸ Olsan understands the ‘wafers’ in the Middle English charms to be consecrated hosts, given the efficacy ascribed to them in healing, due to their consecration by a priest in preparation for the Eucharist.¹⁵⁹ The use, or rather, misuse of hosts was a source of anxiety within the medieval Church, as is made evident at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, at which degrees were passed to protect consecrated hosts from being stolen for magical purposes.¹⁶⁰ Even before the twelfth century and the doctrine of transubstantiation, which served to officially imbue the host with divine and transformative powers, the host had long been regarded for its powers of miraculous healing, and the fever charm above even directly parallels the Eucharist itself, with its directive that the patient ingest the host.¹⁶¹ Olsan notes that in England, Wycliffites and Lollards objected to the use of the host in healing charms, as did other reformers such as Bernadino of Siena, who saw the use of the host for healing fevers as a practice that venerated Satan.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁷ The Welsh term *afrrllad* can indeed mean a host used in the Eucharist, as well as a wafer or cake. Given that it is capitalized in the manuscript, and given the analogues in the medieval English tradition, I understand this word to signify that it should ideally be a consecrated host.

¹⁵⁸ See Olsan, “Writing on the Hand,” p. 18 for a fifteenth-century Middle English charm that gives similar instructions.

¹⁵⁹ *ibid*

¹⁶⁰ See Peter Browe, “Die Eucharist als Zaubermittel in Mittelalter,” in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*. 20.2: (1930), 134-154. See also: Peter Browe, *Die eucharistischen Wunder des Mittelalters*. (Breslau: Verlag Müller & Seiffert, 1938). My thanks to Lea Olsan for these references.

¹⁶¹ See Browe (1938) for more.

¹⁶² Olsan, “Writing on the Hand,” p. 25, and here she cites Alessandra Foscati, “Healing with the Body of Christ. Religion, Medicine and Magic,” in I. Andreani and A. Paravicini Bagliani, *Il Corpus Domini. Teologia, antropologia e politica*. (Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015) pp. 209-226, at p. 217.

Despite the theological issues regarding the practice, charms of this group flourished in English manuscripts over the whole of the medieval period. In the later Middle Ages, there was an increasing anxiety within the Catholic Church regarding misuse of the host, and access to the communion wafers was impeded. Olsan has noted that by the second quarter of the sixteenth century in England, with the Reformation in full force, host charms that were common in books of medical remedies began to display evidence of censorship.¹⁶³ It is difficult to determine whether the Welsh corpus would have experienced this same level of censorship, simply owing to the lack of extant manuscripts featuring large collections of charms. The evidence available does not point to serious censorship in the same way that is evident in English manuscripts. Host charms were not as prevalent in Welsh manuscripts compared to those of England, but the date of the Welsh host charm above (second half of the sixteenth century) and its lack of censorship suggest that this charm, at least, was not considered too problematic in a book of medicine. Perhaps in a manuscript of a more religious nature, this charm would have been subject to censoring.

In addition to divine words written on communion wafers, fever charms directing patients to write upon leaves, apples, or parchment flourished in Middle English manuscripts, particularly in the fifteenth century.¹⁶⁴ Several such charms were copied into Welsh manuscripts as well. An early fever charm (ca. 1382-1405) from one of the most important treasuries of medieval Welsh literature instructs users to write on apples over three days. This charm is found within a larger section of medicine that is, on the whole, noticeably lacking in charms.

¹⁶³ Olsan, 'Writing on the Hand' p. 24-25

¹⁶⁴ See Keiser 1998, 3869

Rac pob teirtion. Yscriuennner y my6n tri aual yn tri diwarnaf. Yn yr aual kyntaf. + on agla pater. Yn yr eil aual. + on agla filius. Yn y trydyd aual. + On agla spiritus sanctus. A'r tryded dyd ef a uyd iach. ¹⁶⁵	Against all fevers. Let three apples be written upon on three days. In the first apple + On agla Pater. In the second apple + On agla Filius. In the third apple + On agla Spiritus Sanctus. And on the third day he will be healthy.
--	---

An almost identical version was copied into the margins of Oxford, Bod. Rawlinson B467 in the fifteenth century.

Rac pob teirtan iscriveinier y my6n tri aval o vywn tri ei6 ar na6t yn yr aval kyntaf + on + agla + pater yn yr eil + on agla filius yn y trydyd + on agla spiritus sanctus + ac yn y trydydd dyd y byd iach. ¹⁶⁶	Against all fevers. In three days, write in three apples: In the first apple + On agla Pater. In the second apple + On agla Filius. In the third apple + On agla Spiritus Sanctus. And on the third day he will be healthy.
--	---

From a fairly early period, many fever charms instructed that the writing should be inscribed on an apple rather than a communion wafer. Olsan posits that an apple would have been a suitable alternative when there was no easy access to a priest and therefore a communion wafer, such as in female orders or when used by the laity.¹⁶⁷ Yet the existence of early liturgical rituals for the blessing of apples indicates that they were not only seen as practical suitable alternatives, but as suitable alternatives that would still be, in some way, imbued with a certain divine character. Liturgical rituals involving the a special consecration of apples are evident in texts that predate the charms above, as in, for example, the old Gelasian sacramentary: *Deus qui hanc arboris poma tua inssione et providentia*

¹⁶⁵ Oxford Jesus College 111 column 937, f. 233r. A similar example exists in a sixteenth (double check)-century manuscript, Bodleian Additional MS B.1: *Pro febribus medicina probata. Take an apple & cutt it in 3 peeces & on ye first part wright these wordes Ihs ageos dn̄s78 & on ye .2. part wright xp̄s otheos dn̄s .3. on ye 3 part wright resur- rexit a mortuis dn̄s79 & gyue him to eat & he shall be holl by gods grace .3 pr nr 2 a. 1 c...* as printed in Classen *Making Magic*, p. 45

¹⁶⁶ Oxford Rawlinson MS B 467, f. 2v-3r, bottom margin.

¹⁶⁷ Olsan "Writing on the Hand," p. 18

*progenitam [esse voluisti], nunc etiam eadem benedicere et sanctificare digneris precamu; ut quicumque ex ea sumpserint, incolumes esse valeant.*¹⁶⁸

On the whole, although fever charms specifying that words of power should be written and ingested were popular in England, they do not seem to have resonated with a Welsh audience to the same degree. Much more popular in the Welsh tradition were fever charms that relied on a divine narrative for their power.

Narrative Fever Charms

Narrative charms, discussed in more detail in the Introduction, serve to link the corporeal, present reality of the patient to the sacred, biblical or mythological past through the recitation of a particular narrative that mirrors the situation of the patient. The majority of medieval fever charms rely on religious narratives to act as the efficacious component of a charm. One common charm type evokes an image of Christ trembling on the cross as analogous to the shivering, fever-stricken patient, and a common phrase found within these charms is often *ecce crucem domini, fugite, fugite* or a similar variant.¹⁶⁹ One of the earliest Welsh medical manuscripts (ca. 1375) features a Latin fever charm which uses this motif and similar phrasing:

Rac teirton ar wreic g6neuthur ysgriuem ae roi am y myn6gl or geireu yssyd yn ol + In nomine patris + et filii + et spiritus sancti + amen. In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Xristi et caritas Dei fugite fugite febres terciane cotidiane quaterne. Cruxifixus sub poncio pilato fugite fugite febres	For tertian fever in a woman make an inscription of the following words and put it around her neck + In the name of the Father + and the Son + and the Holy Spirit + Amen + In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God, flee, flee, tertian fever, quotidian fever, quartan fever. He was crucified under Pontius Pilate, flee, flee,
--	--

¹⁶⁸ Henry Austin Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary & Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae*. (Harvard College Library Preservation Microfilm Program 2002; 08903 and Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894) p. 295. See also *Benedictio arboris* in Mohlberg, Eizenhöfer, and Siffrin, *Liber sacramentorum*, 234, ordo 90. Also see Derek A. Rivard, *Blessing the World: Ritual and Lay Piety in Medieval Religion*, (Catholic University of America Press, 2011) p. 52 n. 28.

¹⁶⁹ For more see Olsan 'Writing on the Hand' p. 13 and Roper (2005) pp. 102-3

+ In nomine patris + et filii + et spiritus sancti + amen¹⁷⁰

fever + In the name of the Father + and the Son + and the Holy spirit + Amen.

The Pontius Pilate/Christ shivering on the cross motif continued to find its way into early modern and modern charms as well. Although later than the scope of the present work, NLW MS 13111B (1801) a copy of an earlier eighteenth-century text, includes a fever charm belonging to this type, which features both the instruction to hang the efficacious writing around the patient's neck, as well as the references to Christ's crucifixion on the cross.

A charm for the ague. Place the following writing on the sick man's stomach, suspended around his neck. When our Lord Jesus Christ saw the cross that was prepared for him, he trembled greatly, and the Jews asked him thus, "Is the fear from seeing this cross, or is it the ague that afflicts you?" Jesus answered him thus, "I do not fear this cross and I am not afflicted by the ague. I tremble before my heavenly Father, seeing what he prepares for the ones who crucify me. And indeed, I speak to you that whoever hears and believes the words I say and [whoever] shall do everything that I have commanded, bowing before his heavenly Father, he shall never be afflicted by the ague, nor shall fear trouble him. And in the hour of the Lord Jesus Christ, let it be through your mercy, that the ague not afflict or bother your servant, servant of God the Father of Heaven, not presently nor in any other time during his existence and life in this word, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen and amen, forever."¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ Cardiff MS 3.242 p. 19

¹⁷¹ My translation, from the Welsh, given in John Pughe and John ab Ithel Williams. *The Physicians of Myddvai; Meddygon Myddvai, or The Medical Practice of the Celebrated Riwallon and His Sons, of Myddvai, in Carmarthenshire, Physicians to Rhys Gryg, Lord of Dynevor and Ystrad Tony, about the Middle of the Thirteenth Century.* (D. J. Roderic; Longman & Co, 1861), p. 279. Hereafter as Pughe. "Rbag y mmyth gryd cyferddawn. Dod yr ysgrifen bonn ar bwll calon y claf yn grogedig am ei fwmgl. Pan weles ein Harghwydd Iesu Grist y grog a ddarparaisid iddaw, Efe a grynes yn ddirfawr, a'r Iuddewon a ofynasant iddaw yn llyn, ai ofni ydd nyd o weled y grog bonn, neu ynteu y mmyth gryd y sydd yn dy ddoluriau, a'r Iesu au battebes yn llyn, Myfi nid wyf yn ofni y grog bonn, ag nim doluria'r mmyth gryd, eithr crynu ger bronn fy Nbad nefawl ydd wyf gan weled ei ddarpar Ef i'r rhai am crogant, ag wrthych yn lle gwir y dywedaf y neb o ddyn a glyw'r geiriau a ddwyethwyf ag au cretto ag a wnelo yr hynn oll a ddodais yn orchymynedig ynddynt gann ymgyrnu ger bron ei Dad nefawl, efe ni ddolurir fyth gan y mmyth gryd, ag ni ellir a bair iddaw ofnau. Ag yn awr o Arghwydd Iesu Grist poed o'th drugaredd na chaffedd y mmyth gryd ddoluriau a blinaw dy was bwnn a gwasanaethwr Duw Dad o'r nef, nag yn awr gyndrychol nag yn un amser arall ynglhyffryd ei fynydd ai einioes yn y byd bwnn, yn enw y Tad, a'r Mab, a'r Yspryd Glan, a poed jelly y bo. Amen fyth."

In the previous section I presented three toothache charms that relied on a dialogue between Christ and Peter. This charm type, which commonly places Peter lying ill upon a rock, was commonly employed in European toothache charms. However, in the Welsh corpus, the core elements of the Petrus toothache charms were much more commonly used as a fever charm. An excellent representation of a *Super Petram* charm type can be found in NLW Llanstephan 2. The manuscript, which is mostly religious in nature, dates to the mid-fifteenth century, though Daniel Huws has dated the hand that wrote the charm to the mid or late fourteenth century, making this one of the earliest charms in the Welsh corpus.¹⁷²

Petrus autem iacebat febritans super petram mermoriam¹⁷³ et uenit ei ihc + ait illi. Petre quid iaces hic Respondens petrus +ait ille. domine iaceo hic in mala febre. Tunc ait ihc ad petrum, surge + dimitte illam + continuo surrexit + dimisit ill [torn] tunc ait petrus ad ihm domine rogo te ut quemcumque hoc super se portauerit ut dicerit non noceat ei febres frigide nec calide cotidiana nec biduana nec triduana nec quartuana. tu[n]c ait ihc ad Petrum, Petre fiat tibi sicut petisti fiat fiat. In nomine patris. Jhesus nazareus crucifixus rex iudeorum miserere mei in manus tuas.¹⁷⁴	Peter was lying with a fever on a rock of marble and Jesus came to him and said, “Peter why are you lying here?” Peter, answering, + said, “Lord I am lying here because of a bad fever.” Then Jesus said to Peter, “Arise + cast it out” + He rose immediately and cast it out [] then Peter said to Jesus, “Lord I ask you that whosoever shall carry this on them and say it shall not be harmed by cold fevers nor hot [nor] quotidian, nor biduan nor tertian nor quartan.” Then Jesus said to Peter, “Peter, let it be for you as you have asked. Let it be, let it be.” In the name of the father. Jesus of Nazareth, crucified King of the Jews, have mercy on me in your hands.
---	--

This charm represents a common narrative motif in the charms of medieval Europe, and early Latin versions of this charm exist from at least the tenth and eleventh centuries.¹⁷⁵ We have already seen that the *Super Petram* charm type was used frequently in toothache charms. This cross-fertilization of charm types is a hallmark of oral tradition, as Barbara Hillers notes in her study of the *Super Petram*

¹⁷² Huws, *Repertory*

¹⁷³ *marmoream*

¹⁷⁴ NLW Llanstephan MS 2, p. 348.

¹⁷⁵ Roper, *English Verbal Charms*. FF Communications No. 288. (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 2005) p. 122.

charm in Ireland, so it is no surprise that it might be adapted to heal fever as well as toothache.¹⁷⁶

Although many of these Latin narrative charms seem more likely to have emanated from a written, likely monastic, environment, rather than having been circulated in a more oral context, their ‘cross-fertilization’ is nonetheless to be expected as charms (and especially those with such adaptable motifs) became increasingly more wide-spread and accessible.

The Welsh-manuscript charm above is not the only example of a *Super Petram* charm being used to heal a fever. One sixteenth-century charm in an English manuscript in the Bodleian manuscript looks remarkably similar to ours:

[a charm for]Agewe: In nomine patris et filij et spiritus sancti/Amen.
Petrus autem iacebat febricitatus/super petram marmoriam et
perueniens/illi Jesus ait petro, “Quid iaces hic?”/Respondid Petrus,
“Domine iaceo hic de/mala febre.” Et dicit ei Jesus,/”Surge et dimitte
illam.” Et continuo/surrexit et dimisit eum. Et dixit/Petrus, Domino
“Rogo te vt quicumque ei/portauerit super se scripta quod
non/noceant ei febre frigido/neque calide cotidiana, biduana
triduana/quartana quintana sextana septana octana/aut nonana.” Et
aiit illi Jesus, “Fiat tibi /sicut petisti in nomine meo/Fiat Fiat Fiat.
Amen¹⁷⁷

It is not uncommon for the narrative to be changed to place Peter standing or lying ill before the gates of a holy city, often Galilee or Jerusalem, as we have observed in the Welsh toothache charms of Section II. One of the oldest Welsh medical manuscripts, Cardiff MS. 3.242 reflects this tradition, placing him in Galilee. This charm text itself demonstrates the multi-dimensional and multi-functional aspect of textual charms such as this one, which would have also functioned as an amulet carried upon the patient.

In portu galilee iacebat *sanctus* petrus de mala febre. Venien *ihesus christus* dicit ei. Petre surge

At the gate of Galilee Peter was lying with a bad fever. Approaching, Christ said to him, “Peter,

¹⁷⁶ Barbara Hillers, “Towards a typology of European narrative charms in Irish oral tradition,” p. 82.

¹⁷⁷ Bodleian MS Additional B.1. As given in Frank Klassen *Making Magic, in Elizabethan England: Two Early Modern Vernacular Books of Magic*. Magic in History. (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019) 39-40.

sito. Et surgens petrus dimissa est mala febris dixit petrus. obsecro te <i>domine</i>. ut <i>mibi concedas quod qui habere verba super se portauerit a febribus liberetur</i>. Dixit ei <i>ihesus</i>. Petre. fiat <i>tibi verbum quia</i> petisti. + amen. I + acla. + citerum. atri{?}litos¹⁷⁸ + yskyros + eleyson + per te natus sum et per te passus sum. per te resurrexi + <i>christus</i> vincit. + <i>christus</i> regnat. + <i>christus</i> imperat secundum <i>Iohannes</i>. In principio erat verbum et verbum erat apud deum. et cetera¹⁷⁹	arise, from lying.” And arising, Peter cast out the evil fever. Peter said, “I implore you, Lord, grant it to me that whomever has and carries these words upon them shall be liberated from fever. Jesus said to him, “Peter, let the word be for you as you have asked.” + Amen. I + acla + citerum + atri{?}litos + yskyros + eleyson + for you I was born and for you I suffered and for you I rose again + Christ conquers + Christ reigns + Christ rules. According to John, in the beginning was the word and the word was with God et cetera.
---	--

It is possible that this charm is in fact two charms, as the rubrication of the characters might perhaps indicate, with the break coming between the first ‘amen’ and the AGLA formula. However, that would leave us with one charm consisting of only a narrative and no additional words of power, and another charm with *only* words of power and unfettered by the typical narrative or other anchoring structure (including any indication of what the AGLA and following words are effective for). It is fairly clear, however, that the second component of this charm features a corrupt invocation to Architrclinus (atri{?}litos), another common motif in narrative feature charms and popular in both Welsh and English manuscripts.

The Architrclinus charm type takes its name from the Greek *αρχιτρικλινος*: a master of the feast. This title is mentioned in the book of John, chapter two, during the depiction of the water-into-wine miracle at the wedding at Cana. Lea Olsan notes that in the English corpus one early example of this charm type was to be used against someone who holds back too much wine from

¹⁷⁸ Likely meant to be Architrclinus.

¹⁷⁹ Cardiff 3.242 p. 53

his cellar.¹⁸⁰ Other versions of this charm, such as this English-manuscript version, most typically used against fever, reference the water-to-wine miracle at Cana:

[margin: Pro febribus] In nomine patris 7 filij 7 spc sci Amen Sicut nm?
| est quia? dns noster ihc xpc mutauit aquam in vinum | in domo
architriclini ita sit hoc verum que tu virga virginea | corulo aduneas?
in medio 7 salues istum vel istam N | ab omni spe febrium Amen.¹⁸¹

Some versions of the Architriclinus charm include a ritual requiring a fresh green hazel branch, often to be broken into two pieces and then brought back together while verbalizing the invocation or incantation.¹⁸² In at least one fifteenth-century variant the joining or ‘kissing’ of the joined stems becomes analogous to a priest at the high altar making the body of Christ with his hands.¹⁸³ A Welsh-manuscript version of the charm includes the same analogy. Copied in the mid-fifteenth century, this version is a fairly early representation of the Architriclinus charm in the Welsh charm corpus.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ Olsan ‘Writing on the Hand’ p. 16

¹⁸¹ British Library Sloane MS 119, f. 27v, from the fifteenth century. My thanks to Dr. Katherine Hindley for this reference and transcription. Hindley also points out another version of this charmtyp which features the wine miracle, again from the early fifteenth century: Architricline þu sustest a heye and holdest hase | lyne mayde in þin honde and as wistely as | þe prest makith goodes bodi with word and as as wis | ly as at þe feste of architricline þou turnedest water | in to wyne as wisteli as þu custest þi dere worthi | moder kys asel mayde 3erde I comaunde þe and | hele .N. of þe feueres + In nomine patris 7 filii 7 spc | sci amen. In nomine meo demonia eicient linguis | locuntur nous serpentes tollent 7 si mortiferum quid | biberint non eis nocebit. super egros manum imponetur | 7 bene habebunt + Pater est alpha 7 oo + ffilius est | vita + Spc scs est remedium + Sce theobalde ora | pro nobis + Sca petronilla ora pro nobis + In nomine | patris 7 filii 7 spc sci Amen. (Camb. Magd. Col. Peppys MS 1661, p. 15)

¹⁸² See Thorndike, 1923-1935, I: 725-726 for comperanda.

¹⁸³ Olsan, “Writing’ p. 16

¹⁸⁴ There are several versions of this charm in the English corpus, including in British Library Egerton MS 833, 12v (1475-1500): “Another | tak 7 scher a wand of hesell of a yerer growyng 7 qwen | þu scheres hit say a Pater nr . in þe name of god 7 | efterward say þe charme þat folowes. [hand /ink changes here] Architri | cline seaunt en haute 7 teynt vne verge de coudre en | ses maynes 7 dit auxi verrament come ly prester fait | dieu eu ses maynes 7 auxi verrament come dieu nostre | sygnour ihu criste baysa sa tresdouce meyre ie vous | comaund . coniuere vergine verge de coudre con? ensem | ble baysetz par charite 7 aydetz cest home ou femme | de cest male feuer. In nomine patris et filij 7 spus sci. | amen. Pater est Alpha et Oo. ffilius est veritas | Spus sanctus est remedium . In nomine patris 7 filij et c. | 7 ger þe seke say v. Pater nr in þe worschep of þe .v. | woundes of our lorde.” I am grateful to Katherine Hindley for this reference and transcription.

Llyma s6yn rac y deirthon. Architriclinus sedebat in alterutro¹⁸⁵ et tenebat uirgam coruli uirgineam in manu sua et dixit tam veraciter sicut prebytur¹⁸⁶ facit corpus dominicum in manu sua veraciter sicut deus osculatus est matrem suam ita veraciter te conuiro uirgam [32] uirgineam quod eam ad inuicem osculata fueris et deliua¹⁸⁷ famulum tuum vel famulam tuam .N. a febre pro caritate pater noster qui est principum filius suus spiritus sanctus est remedium amen.¹⁸⁸	Here is a charm against tertian ague: Architriclinus sat holding a virgin branch of hazel in one of his hands and said: ‘As truly as the priest makes the body of the Lord in his hand, as truly as God kissed his mother, so truly I conjure you, virgin branch, so that you will have kissed [each other] in turn. And deliver your servant, male or female, N. from fever through the charity of our father who is the beginning, his son, the holy spirit is the remedy, amen.
--	---

The phrase *Pater est alpha, Filius est vita, Spiritus Sanctus est remedium* was commonly featured in English fever charms, especially as the efficacious phrases in the host or apple charms, as we have seen in Section III.B. Similar phrasing was also included in a fourteenth-century Welsh medical manuscript, as blessing of the herbs: *qui hanc herba usus fuerit, ter dicatur pater noster et aue maria, et ter benedicatur herba.*

*Qualis pater alpha et omega, talis principium et finis, talis spiritus sanctus remedium et uita.*¹⁸⁹ Another version of

¹⁸⁵ Alternatively, this could be interpreted as *in alternutro*, or as a variant of ‘altar’, as is sometimes found in this charm type. Lea Olsans has suggested that this word reads *alterutro* and is some form of *alte*, since many charms also place the character on a high hill or bank. I read the word as *alterutro* and I see no reason to amend its meaning beyond the given Latin meaning of *alterutro*, meaning ‘one of two’ or ‘one or the other’ and referring to the hand in which he is holding the branch. To complicate matters more, however, another Welsh-manuscript version reads *altum*, ‘on high,’ so it is entirely possible that that is what was meant here, by *in alterutro*.

¹⁸⁶ In one Anglo Norman example the Anglo-Norman ‘prestre’ is used. This word is clearly meant to be a variant, perhaps a mistake, of praesbyter. ‘*præbyter*’ is used in the Book of Llandaf once, and a few lines after the correct form *praesbyter*’ is used.

¹⁸⁷ A form of *deliuerare* for *deliberare*.

¹⁸⁸ NLW Peniarth 47, p.30-31. My thanks to Lea Olsan for offering feedback on the Latin of this particular charm. See also MS British Library Sloane 3160, f. 168v, (15th century): For fever: Architriclinus in alte sedens uirgam coruli virginiam inter manus tenens dicebat ‘Sicut sacerdos in altari verum corpus Christi ex divina magestate potestate sibi commissa conficit, et sicut beata uirgo Maria suis mamillis ipsum Christum lactavit oreque virginio et impolluto osculabatur, sic conjuro te, uirgam virginiarum, ut adiuuas et coniungas te in medio osculando et habeas potestatem per eius uirtutem liberandi ac defendi famulum Dei .N. admodum crucis portatum ab omni vexatione febrium. In nomine patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, amen. Adiuro te, uirgam virginiam, per uirtutem sacratissimorum nominum Dei + Adaye + Sadaye + tetragramaton + Sother + emanuel + Sabaoth + Adonay + ut adimplias tibi preceptum humiliter creatori obediendo. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, amen’. Et dicatur quinquies si sit necesse, hoc est si uirga se non coniungat. As given in Tony Hunt, *Popular Medicine*, p. 98.

¹⁸⁹ Cardiff MS 3.242 p. 41. See Hunt, *Three Receptaria*, p. 41 for similar formulae in French.

the Architriclinus charm appears in NLW Peniarth MS 205, a manuscript of a mostly medical nature written mostly by one hand over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

+Sswyn yw hwn rrac +++ y kryd Arsitriclenius sidens in altwm tinens yn mannvw sva vyrgam vyrsinam di korvlw eth diksyth tam virasyth eth seikvth presbiter konffisyth korpes domini kwm verbys sacramenta libys yn mysa eth tam virasiter seikvth diws oskvlatvs iest matrem svam [11] Eita konsiwrw ti vyrgam vyrginiam dikorvlw koth add yn veiseinys iestwm animem daffydd ap madog addsiwves¹⁹⁰ eth delibres jwm di ynn ffrymitati sva prw karitati dei patry omni potentys koth iest veia + veita + eth veritas + yn + patris + ieth ffilieï + eth ysbrytvts + sawnntei + Amen.¹⁹¹	+This is a charm against +++ fever. Arsitriclenus (Architriclinus) was sitting on high holding in his hand a virgin branch of hazel and he said “just as truly as the priest makes the body of the Lord with sacred words, make a libation on the altar, and as truly as God kissed his mother, [11] so I join you together, virgin branch of hazel. Attend and deliver the soul of Dafydd ap Madog’s soul, now from his infirmity, through the charity of God, Almighty Father who is the way + the life + the truth + In [the name of] + the Father + and the Son + and the Holy Spirit + Amen.
---	--

This charm is fascinating for several reasons. There are only a few instances in the Welsh charm corpus in which the charm user’s name is preserved embedded within the charm, here as Dafydd ap Madog. This charm also stands out for its use of Welsh orthography to represent the phonetics of the Latin verse. It is clear that in a charm like this, the priority was the correct pronunciation of the divine, efficacious words. Since charms were very often felt to overlap considerably with religious texts, it makes sense that they would thus employ the language of the church for efficacious words, prayers, or divine narratives. Code-switching between Latin and the vernacular is common in medieval medical writing, as we have already seen, and sometimes it seems as though scribes switch back and forth with little or no thought to the matter.¹⁹² Yet the charm above was written in such a way in order to allow a Welsh speaker who had no knowledge of Latin access to this charm. The same curious orthographic convention is used later in the same manuscript,

¹⁹⁰ Read as a variant of *adsideo*, an alternate form of *assideo*.

¹⁹¹ NLW Peniarth MS 205, p. 10-11

¹⁹² Lea Olsan “The Language,” p. 32

again in a charm against fever.

+ Yn prynsiw irath verbwm ieth verbwm irath apwth diwm ieth diws irath verbwm. Ok irath yn prynsiw apwth diwm. Omnia per ypswm ffakta swnt: ieth seini ypsv ffakawm iest neitsil koth ffaktwm iest: yn ypsw veita irath, ieth veita irath lwkys omniwm. Ieth lwkys yn tenebrys lwwseith, ieth tenebri iam non komprehendirwnt. Ffwyth [] myssws a diw, kwei nomen irath Jiohannes. Ik vinyth yn testimonywm wth testimonywm pereibereth di lwmne. Irath lwkys vira kwi ylvminath omnewm ominem veneientem yn vuk mwndwm. Yn mwndw + irath ieth mwndws per ypswm ffakws iest ieth mwndws iwm non koagnwyth. Yn proppia vinyth ieth swwei iwm non [41] resepirwnt. Kotkot awtem resepirwnt iwm, didyth eys potestatem ffilios dei ffeirei, ys kwei kridwnnt yn nomeini idiws: kwei non ekys sangwinibws nikwi ekys volwntati karnys nikwi ekys voluntati veirei sieth ekys diw natei swnt. ieth verbwm karw faktwm iest, ieth abeitavyth yn nobys ieth vydimws gloriam idiws, gloriam kwasei vwnesie[]tei a patri plinwm grasiei ieth vereitatus amen. + Rac y krydr + pater est alpha et oo + filius est veritas + spiritus sanctus est [reme]dium + ac ysgrivueni [42] hynny ar dair arlladeu neu dair tauell o abal y rran gyntaf y bore kynta yr ucha a ffvm pader a ffum avi maria a chredo ac velly yr ail bore ar trydydd am y ddwy wers eraill ac ef a gad hynny yn dda lawer gwaith a duw ai torro ar bawb ar y bo arno.¹⁹³	In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. This was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was made nothing that was made: in Him was life, and the life was the light of men; and the light shone in darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it. There was [a man] sent from God, whose name was John. This man came in testimony, to give testimony of the light, that all men might believe through him. It was the true light, which enlightens every man that comes into this world. He was + in the world and the world was made by Him, and the world did not yet know him. He came unto His own, and they did not [41] receive Him. But as many as received Him, He gave them power to be made the sons of God, to them that believe in the name of God, who are born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but are born of God. And the word was made flesh and dwelt among us: and we saw the glory of God, the glory as it were of the Only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. Amen + Against the fever + the Father is alpha and omega + the Son is truth + the Holy Spirit is the remedy + and [42] write this on three wafers or three slices of apples, the first part at first morning thereon, and five Our Fathers and five Ave Marias and a Credo and then the second morning and third morning the other verses and he who performs this well many times, God will relieve him of everything that be upon him.
---	--

The structure of the charm above is inconsistent with the typical Welsh charm, which usually begins with a statement alerting the user what the charm works against. Then follow the instructions and efficacious words, and finally the instructions to say a certain number of various prayers. The vast

¹⁹³ NLW Peniarth MS 205, pp. 40-42

majority of Welsh charms follow this pattern. It is possible, and probable, that this is actually two charms: the *In Principio* text, and then the standard written fever charm that corresponds to charms we saw above, which call for efficacious phrases to be written on hosts or apples. However, the *In Principio* begins suddenly, after a recipe for swelling in the abdomen or womb, and there is clear delineation between these two texts, with the *In Principio* beginning on a new page, identified by a specific heading, and marked out by a large red cross. A smaller, different style of cross in the left margin designates the start of the Welsh section that indicates the charm works against the fever. Yet this section is not set apart from the *In Principio* in the same way that previous remedies are set apart from one another. A bold line clearly separates the apple charm text from the text that follows it (a recipe against sudden pains or stitch). The presence of the *In Principio* text directly before the apple charm is significant regardless of whether or not we conceive of it as a separate charm. I have separated it in the text above for ease of reading, and although it seems ambiguous whether the scribe himself conceived of it as two charms, I have counted it as two charms in the Appendices and all other data.

Looking at the *In Principio* text and the apple directives together, though, it is significant that in the apple charm, the words of power—the Latin phrases—are correct Latin because they are to be *written*, while the text of the *In Principio* is clearly meant to be spoken. Since the “correct” Latin is to be written, one does not need to worry about being able to say it correctly for this part to be efficacious. One only needs to replicate the *letters* correctly. After writing the words, the user is instructed to say certain known and popular prayers. The *In Principio* text that stands above was almost certainly meant to be spoken, since its writing style privileges correct pronunciation above all else.

Another roughly contemporary example of the *In Principio* being used as a charm text and demonstrating this curious Welsh orthographic convention, can be found in NLW Sotheby MS C.2,

the physician's manual belonging to Bened Feddyg, a physician practicing in north Wales, in the Vale of Clwyd. Bened wrote the first 140 or so pages around the year 1500. His manuscript contains very few charms, mostly brief, verbal charms. However, he concludes his manuscript with an *In Principio* charm, although he never labels explicitly as such. The text that precedes the *In Principio* text is undeniably a Latinate charm, which Bened labeled as *llythyr cyweithas*: a rather unique way of labelling a charm but seems to mean something with the sense of 'efficacious writing'.¹⁹⁴ Given the manuscript context: its inclusion after a long, written Latinate charm, and given what we know about the use of the *In Principio* as a charm text, we can assume that in Bened's manuscript, this text also functioned as a charm though it was not explicitly called such. The boundaries between medicine, magic, and religion were so ambiguous that for our purpose I don't think matters as much what it was called. The point is that it functioned as an efficacious, therapeutic protection from a number of physical threats and anxieties. A closer analysis of the orthography of this charm can potentially tell us a lot of fascinating things about Bened himself, and perhaps even about Latin pronunciation at this time in Wales.

Yn prencipiū irrath verbwm <i>et</i> verbwm irrath apwth diwm <i>et</i> diws irrath verbwm. <i>et</i> hok irrath yn prensippiw appwth diwm omnia perypswm facta swnt <i>et</i> seini ypssw factwm iest neidgyl koth factwm iest yn yppssw veitta irrath ieth veitta irrath lwx ominwm <i>et</i> lwx yn tenebrys lwsseth ieth tenebri iam non komprenderwnt fwtyth wmw myssus <i>est</i> a diw kvwei nwmen irrath giuwhaness ik vinyth yn testeimomium wyth testeimoniwn peribirreth delymynni wth omnes kredyrent perylwm non irrath yli lwx seth wth testeimoneium peribirreth delymynni irath lux virra ~~ek~~¹⁹⁵ kwyl ylmynath omynem vynneientem yn ok mwndwm yn mwndw irrath <i>et</i> mwndws	In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was made nothing that was made: in Him was life, and the life was the Light of men; and the Light shineth in darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it. There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. This man came for a witness, to give testimony of the Light, that all men might believe through him. He was not the Light but was to give testimony of the Light. That was the true Light, which enlightens every man that cometh into this world. He was in the
--	--

¹⁹⁴ Thanks to Catherine McKenna for this suggestion.

¹⁹⁵ This is crossed out and above it is written 'wik'

perypswm factws iest <i>et</i> mwndws¹⁹⁶ iwm non kongnosyth yn propyria vinyth <i>et</i> svwei iwm non [117] ressipirwnt kot kot awtem ressipirwnt iwn didyth es pottestatem feilios dei feirrei ys kwei kridwnt yn omne igiws kwei non exssangwnnibws nikwi ex vwlwntanti karnys nikwi ex vwlwntate veirrei seth ex dew nattei swnt <i>et</i> verbwm karw factum iest et abitavyth yn nobys <i>et</i> vydimws glorreia igiws gloreiam kwassei vwneigineitei apatri plinwm grassi <i>et</i> veritatys¹⁹⁷ syth nwmen domynei benedigtw ex ok nvwngk et wsskwi yn sekuwlwni¹⁹⁸ ~~~	world and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not. He came unto His own, and His own received Him not. But as many as received Him, He gave them power to be made the sons of God, to them that believe in His Name, who are born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. And the word was made flesh and dwelt among us: and we saw His glory, the glory as it were of the Only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. May the name of the Lord be blessed from now and forevermore.
--	--

There are several possibilities that could explain why these Welsh charms use this convention of expressing Latin through Welsh orthography. It has been suggested to me that perhaps the scribes did not know Latin and were operating in an oral/aural context; or that the scribes wrote this way to imbue the text with some sort of magical, efficacious quality. My argument, though, is more practical. I believe that the charms represent an effort at making the Latin texts accessible to an audience that could not read or understand Latin. This would have been a significant part of the population in the sixteenth century.¹⁹⁹ Every charm in which we find this orthographic convention privileges the spoken word over the written. Each charm is more performative, with a focus on the efficacy of the words as spoken rather than written.

¹⁹⁶ Here Bened writes {*et*} *mundws* twice and crosses the second one out. This implies that he was copying from an exemplar rather than writing it in an oral/aural setting.

¹⁹⁷ This is the end of the prologue to the gospel of John.

¹⁹⁸ Sotheby MS C.2 p. 116-117. The end: Sit nomen Domini benedictum ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum, Psalms 112:2.

¹⁹⁹ For example, grammatical education in Wales took place in either English or Welsh, rather than in Latin, from the mid-fifteenth century. For more see Michaela Jacques, "The grammatical sources of the *Dwned*," in *Celtica*, eds. Barry J. Lewis, Ruairí Ó hUiginn. v. 41 (2019), p. 163-191.

For example, the contrast between Bened's version of the *In Principio* and another Latinate charm (see Chapter Three) that precedes it is striking. The Latinate charm was almost certainly copied from a written exemplar. Its long strings of Latin or Latinate names and phrases, along with the display script with which the charm begins, suggests that it was produced in a context where the emphasis is placed upon the importance of writing the efficacious words rather than speaking. In this charm, Bened represents Latin correctly. Overall in the Welsh corpus of charms, there is a relatively clear delineation in the way language is represented when the operative action of a charm is to write versus to speak. Additionally, I've found that when the language of a charm is mostly or fully in Latin (proper, written Latin), the charm is more likely to instruct that something be *written* whereas when it is a vernacular charm, the operative action is to speak.

This version of the *In Principio* offers several interesting insights, not only into charming traditions in late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth-century Wales, but also into the level of education that Bened might have had. It might be tempting at first to say that this charm was written down in an oral/aural context and that Bened himself was perhaps uneducated in or unfamiliar with Latin. In this scenario, he would be hearing the Gospel being spoken and writing down what he heard. However, his text displays near-perfect word separation, while the *In Principio* charm text of NLW Peniarth MS 205, which does seem to have been written by someone not quite as comfortable in Latin, is markedly more inconsistent with word spacing.

Bened consistently represents the final 't' value as a 'th' when it follows a vowel, and he uses a 't' when it follows a consonant. The *In Principio* text of Peniarth MS 205 does this as well. Unlike the Peniarth MS 205 version, Bened's does not use the double f as we might expect he would, nor does he go to the same lengths to represent the sound of the Latin 'x'. His text simply retains the x, for example in lux and ex, while the Peniarth MS 205 version uses *ekeys* and *lwkeys*. Peniarth MS 205, it

could be argued, makes a better effort to replicate the sound of an ‘x’ for an audience that might not immediately recognize or know how to produce the sound.

There are several other instances in which Bened’s text appears to be a slightly more academic text than the Peniarth MS 205 version. It would not be surprising if Bened did not have a formal university education in medicine, but on the whole, he seems fairly educated, even if informally or unofficially. His texts are not highly theoretical, they are more practical, everyday medicine, but there are enough fragments of theory to assume he had some level of informal education or access to the types of practical medical manuals circulating in Britain at the time.

Bened’s exact level of education in Latin is still undeterminable, although a couple of nuanced aspects of his text demonstrate his proficiency. Once Bened begins to write ‘qui’ but halfway through the ‘u’ crosses it out and begins again, this time writing *kw*. Another time he writes *hok* for ‘hoc’, but crosses out the ‘h’, likely because an h at the front of a word is not terribly common in Welsh except in cases of aspiration. On the whole, Bened’s choice in letter and sound substitution, as well as that of the scribe of the Peniarth 205 version, represents a deliberate effort at making pronunciation of the Latin as easy as possible for someone who otherwise had no knowledge of Latin. Giving such little credit to either scribe is reductive, and even if we cannot know with any certainty the status of either of the scribes’ education, both texts represent mindful attempts at rendering the Latin comprehensible and pronounceable to a non-Latin speaking Welsh audience. That in itself indicates that the writers of both versions of the *In Principio* had some level of Latin. These texts offer fascinating glimpses into language use around the sixteenth century, a pivotal time for language in Wales.

The use of the Gospel of John specifically as an apotropaic text goes back centuries. The opening words were featured prominently in early Coptic amulets that featured scriptural incipits, and they were used similarly in Syriac and Arabic healing charms and amulets. Augustine of Hippo

condemned the practice of binding the Gospel of John to the body, though he does suggest that rather, his audience should try sleeping with a copy of the Gospel.²⁰⁰

Small manuscripts of the Gospel have been found to have likely been used as amulets, such as the late fifth or early sixth-century Chartres St. John or the Stonyhurst Gospel; the tiny (138 x 92 mm) codex that is said to have been buried with Saint Cuthbert when he was reinterred at Lindisfarne at the end of the seventh century.²⁰¹ In the Western Church, the Gospel of John was used in the liturgy from an early date, but one of the earliest references to its use for votive and superstitious purposes can be found in an early-eleventh-century canon from the council of Seligenstadt:

*Quidam etiam laicorum & maxime matronae, habent in consuetudine, ut per singulos dies audiant evangelium, in principio erat Verbum, & missas peculiares, hoc est de sancta Trinitate, aut de sancto Michael: & ideo sancitum est in eodem concilio, ut hoc ulterius non fiat, nisi suo tempore, & nisi aliquis fidelium audire velit pro reverentia sanctae Trinitatis, non pro aliqua divinatione...*²⁰²

This canon links the recitation of the first lines of the Gospel of John directly with lay superstition, and prohibits layfolk, and especially women, from hearing it on a daily basis, as well as votive masses such as those of the “Holy Trinity” or “of Saint Michael” and it further instructs that such offerings were to be said only at their proper seasons, unless any of the faithful wished to hear the mass solely out of reverence for the Holy Trinity. In addition to the well-established use of the *In Principio* and other gospel texts in medical remedies of medieval manuscripts, the twelfth century in particular saw a rise in the habit of multiplying introits and gospels at low mass. This habit was blamed on the

²⁰⁰ See Skemer, 87. Keith Thomas also notes that in the early seventeenth century, a Nottingham cunning man sold copies of St. John’s Gospel as protection against witchcraft. See Thomas, p. 187. See as well Duffy, p. 114, p. 215, p. 281 for more on the Gospel of John as an apotropaic text.

²⁰¹ For more see Julian T. Brown, *The Stonyhurst Gospel of Saint John*. (Oxford: Roxburghe Club Publications, 1969).

²⁰² *Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Florence and Venice, 1758–98), pp. xix; 398. See Robert Law, “In Principio,” *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. 37, no. 2, 1922, p. 208.

greed of the clergy in response to soldiers and layfolk making their offerings at certain preferred gospels.

By the fifteenth century, use of the *In Principio* for apotropaic purposes had firmly established itself amongst the layfolk. In the early sixteenth century William Tyndale reported a custom of hanging a piece of parchment or paper with the *In Principio* on it around the neck to act as a charm against bad dreams, to drive out demons, and even to preserve the wearer from drowning. The tendency to credit this text with power over demons or evil spirits seems to have been most common in the British Isles. In fact, in one mid-to-late fifteenth-century Welsh herbal text (NLW Peniarth MS 204), the “herba Johannes,” has the power to guard against evil spirits if kept in the house.²⁰³

Other Welsh charms, like the charms of many other European traditions, featured the opening lines of the *In Principio*. In this case, the first four or so words acted as a referent that would then trigger the rest of the text, which the average lay person would likely have known very well. In the Welsh charming tradition, the only instances in which I have seen Latin phonemes represented with this unique Welsh orthography are in charm texts where the emphasis is on the spoken word and the efficacy lies in speaking it correctly. Even if the average lay person would have known the *In Principio* well enough, the existence of the Latin text, written in this Welsh orthography, would have allowed a person not literate in Latin access to this text. The power of this charm was clearly tied up in the spoken word of the text. Given the emphasis on both the word as a performative aspect of a charm, and as the subject of these fourteen verses, it is no wonder that this text was used in such a

²⁰³ NLW Peniarth MS 204, p. 32: *rac dryc ysbryd. herba Johannes yw erve Ion: nev ysgol vair. Rinwedd y llyssenynni hwnn o rydd mewn ty ef a geidw rac dryc yspdydd.* (Against evil spirits. Saint John’s herb is John’s herb, or St. John’s wort. The quality of these herbs is that if left in a house, it will guard against evil spirits.). This text is part of a Welsh translation of the English herbal *Agnus Castus*.

way. In a theology that emphasized Christ as the incarnate word, it makes sense that the *In Principio* would become such a common formula in written and spoken charms.

1.d: Epilepsy Charms

Early medical authorities relied on empirical observation to categorize and discuss epilepsy and the seizures that characterize the malady, the name for which is derived from the Greek word *epilambanein*, meaning ‘to seize’ or ‘to attack.’²⁰⁴ Their pathophysiological theories of epilepsy singled out the brain as the source of the ailment, but attributed it to an imbalance of humors in the brain.²⁰⁵ Epilepsy was also sometimes attributed to demonic or supernatural possession, and early medical texts offer cures of several types (including charms and rituals) to rid patients of the malady, including the use of alligator and gladiator blood and a variety of herbal simples and compounds.²⁰⁶ In one seventeenth-century medical recipe, the gall of a black pup was said to cure epilepsy if taken with a powder and the sign of the cross.²⁰⁷ The inclusion of dog’s gall also made its way into a nineteenth-century edition of a medical text. The text was allegedly copied from an eighteenth-century source (NLW MS 13111B) that represents copies of much older material associated with the legendary *Meddygon Myddfai*. The recipe reads:

Pro morbo kadendo, or epileptic disease, which casts a man down in
an insensible state. Set thy mind upon God, and say these words

²⁰⁴ Robert A. Gross, "A Brief History of Epilepsy and Its Therapy in the Western Hemisphere." *Epilepsy Research* 12, no. 2 (1992): 65-74 at 66.

²⁰⁵ For more on the history of epilepsy, in extraordinary detail, see Owsei Temkin, *The Falling Sickness*, 2nd edn. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971).

²⁰⁶ The liver of a toad, dog’s blood, a cuckoo’s head, and ravens’ eggs were all featured in various early medical remedies against epilepsy. For more see Luke E. Demaitre, *Medieval Medicine: The Art of Healing, from Head to Toe*. Praeger Series on the Middle Ages. (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Praeger, 2013) 140-151.

²⁰⁷ Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, p. 91.

three times in the patient's ear. Anamzapta, and when he is restored from the fit, administer him some dog's gall. The gall bladder should be hung in the house where the sick man dwells, for three days, in a place where it may be exposed to the wind; then it should be boiled in a quart of ale, thill it is reduced to a pint, and given to the patient to drink in the intervals of the fit.²⁰⁸

This charm, though later than the scope of this dissertation, illustrates the continuity of certain traditions regarding the treatment of epilepsy, most notably the efficacious word, given here as *anamzapta*. The same efficacious word can be observed in a mid-fifteenth-century manuscript of English and Latin medicine, known to have been in Wales from at least the sixteenth century, and likely before.

for þe fallynge euel: Trwe whenne he is fallen wþ 3at euel go to hym þere þat he ligges and go a boutte hym þries bygynnyng at þe rȝt eie and at ill a tyme a pater *noster* et an aue maria and in þe worschip of god and of oure lady and [35v]of al ye company of heuene *et* at eny time whenn þu comest to þe rȝt eie knele and sey þis worde in his rȝt eire ananzappa and schake hym by þe nose at þe þrid tyme and he schal rise up anone and be hole sicurly.²⁰⁹

The instructions to say the efficacious word *ananzappa* (or a variant) in the patient's ear was common in medieval epilepsy charms, but perhaps more commonly found in charms against epilepsy is the naming of the three Magi and the gifts they bestowed upon Christ at his birth. Cardiff MS 3.242 (ca. 1375) features a collection of about ten narrative charms in Latin, including a very common version of an epilepsy charm of the Three Kings type. This invocation of the three Magi likely comes from a

²⁰⁸ *Pro morbo kadendo. Hynny yw y clefyd cadarn, pan ddel a chynmpo o ddyn. Dyro dy feddwl at Ddun yn dda a dywed y geiriau hynn dair gvaith yn ei glust. Anamzapta, a phan gotto'r dyn o'r llygfa dyro iddo fustl ei, a chrog ef yn y ty y bo'r claf yn preswyllo, a dod ef lle y caffo nynt hyd ymben y tridiau, yna bwrw mewn chwart o gwrw hyn el yn beint, a dyro yfed i'r claf cyn y dell y chwyf eilwaith.* As given in *The Physicians of Myddfai, translated, with an introduction by John Pughe. Ancient herbal and other remedies associated with a legend of the lady of the lake Pughe*, p. 455.

²⁰⁹ NLW Peniarth MS 388, part i f.35r-v (s. xv)

reference in Matthew, in which they are represented as ‘falling down’ onto their knees in adoration as they present the Christ child with the gold, frankincense, and myrrh.²¹⁰

<i>Quicumque uiderit aliquem cadentem in continenti trahat sanguinem digiti auricularis patientis et hec tria nomina regum scribat in fronte ipsius patientis de sanguine eiusdem & postea scribat hos versus in pergamento. Iaspas fert aurum, thus Melchiar, Satropo myrram. Hec quicumque trium fert secum nomina regum soluitur a morbo domini pietate caduco. Nomina regum scribantur ex sanguine eiusdem patientis uersus de in causto.</i>²¹¹	Whoever should see someone falling, let him immediately take blood from the little finger of the patient and write these three names of kings on the forehead of that patient, in his own blood. And then let him write these verses on parchment: Jaspar brought gold, Melchior [brought] frankincense, Satropo [brought] myrrh. Whoever carries with him these names of the three kings will be saved from the falling sickness by the care of the Lord. Let the names of the kings be written with the blood of that same patient and the verse in ink.
--	---

It is curious that this charm has replaced the name commonly given as Balthazar, and instead the scribe has written Satropo. The three Magi or kings are associated with Cologne because of their translation in the twelfth century from the basilica of St. Eustorgius in Milane to Cologne Cathedral, as a gift from Emperor Frederick Barbarossa to the Archbishop of Cologne.²¹² They were commonly featured in healing traditions of Germanic lands, and in England, monarchs customarily distributed cramp rings, a tradition that lasted from the early fourteenth century up through the reign of Elizabeth I. In many cases these rings were inscripted with the names of the three Magi.²¹³ Eila Williamson draws attention to the Coventry ring, of the later fifteenth century, which is inscribed on the inside with *Caspar Melchior Baltazar ananyzapta tetragrammaton*, and she also notes that

²¹⁰ See Demaitre, p. 142.

²¹¹ Cardiff MS. 3.242 p. 41

²¹² Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater, eds. *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, vol. 3 (New York: P.J. Kennedy and Sons, 1956), p. 168.

²¹³ Olga Pujmanova, ‘Portraits of Kings depicted as Magi in Bohemian Painting,’ in *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*, eds. Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monnas, and Caroline Elam (London: Harvey Miller, 1997), pp. 247-266, at p. 265.

there are Irish and Scottish brooches with these same names inscribed, including the Islay gold ring brooch of the mid-thirteenth century, which is inscribed with the names of the three kings with Atrop replacing Balthazar. These names have also been found on drinking horns unearthed in Bergen and Arendal. Williamson also points out that the Kames gold ring-brooch of the mid-thirteenth century (and thought to be from the same workshop as the Islay brooch) features the inscription: IhESVS: NAZARENVS : CRUCIFIXVS : REX / IVDEORM : IASPER : MEL : PchIOR, while the back of the pin features the name ATROPA.²¹⁴

The use of *atropa(s)* as a replacement for the name more commonly given as Balthazaar has often been interpreted as referring to Atropos, one of the three Fates of Greek tradition. However, the Cardiff MS replaces Balthaazar with Satrapos, which allows for another interesting though purely speculative possibility: that the word intended here was not Atropos but instead a variant of *satrap*; a word that originates in Persian as a name for an ancient government ruler or leader.²¹⁵ The word was borrowed and used in Middle English, with a plural form of *satrap(e)s*, which was used to denote a Persian leader or wise man.²¹⁶

Most Welsh-manuscript versions of the *Three Kings* type feature correct usage of the traditional names of the three Magi. Variants belonging to this charm type are the most commonly found charms against epilepsy in the corpus of Welsh manuscript charms. They are most often found in Latin or English, and overall do not vary greatly in their content or structure. These charms

²¹⁴ Eila Williamson, 'The Cult of the Three Kings of Cologne in Scotland,' found in eds. Steve Boardman, John Reuben Davies, and Eila Williamson, *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World, Studies in Celtic History* 25, (Boydell Press, 2009) pp. 167-8.

²¹⁵ The Lincoln Cathedral Thornton manuscript copy of the *Liber de Diversis Medicinis* gives a version that looks very similar to the the charms of our Welsh corpus, and has changed the name of the third King: "The the blode of the litill fynger of hym that is seke and wryte thir thre names in his forhed of the iij kynges of Colayn, that is to say: Jasper fert aurum, thus Melchior, Attro pamirram. he that beris thir names of thir iij kynges with hym, he shall be lesid thurgh the petee of God of the falland evyll. Or write tham with the sam blode & hynge tham about his nek in a writ." As printed in Williamson, *ibid.*

²¹⁶ Middle English Dictionary online: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED38553>

commonly instruct the patient to use the blood of their own little finger in order to create a talismanic object featuring the names of the three magi. Some versions instruct the patient to hang the efficacious writing around their neck, while other versions say that carrying the words on the person will suffice.

Ffor the falling evill take the blood of hys lityl fyngyr that ys seke and write therwith the tre kyngys namys of Colen ● and do them about his necke ● Jasper fert mirram thus melchior ● balthazar airum <i>haec quicumque tri nomina</i> fert nomina regum soluitur a morbo domine pietate caduco ²¹⁷	For the falling evil take the blood of his little finger who is sick and therewith the names of the three kings of Cologne ● and do them about his neck ● Jasper brought myrrh, Melchior [brought] frankincense ● Balthazar [brought] gold. Whoever carries these three names of the Kings shall be freed from the falling sickness by the Lord's care.
---	---

One variant employs the *Three Kings* motif, which helps to identify it as a cure against the falling sickness, i.e. epilepsy. However, the Welsh heading uses the term *y haint mawr*, literally ‘the great disease,’ and elsewhere used to refer to leprosy.²¹⁸ The charm was written among a collection of medical recipes written by a scribe of the mid-sixteenth century.²¹⁹ There is some evidence of mild censorship, as the charm has been crossed over with thin lines, although it remains legible.

+Rag yr haint mawr +++ Jasper fert myram thus melcezar baltezar <i>et aurum hec quicumque trium</i> fert nomina reginis ssalvetur a morbo domini pitate caduco +++ <i>sancta</i> dorethea ananizapta ter <i>sancta</i> dorethea ²²⁰ orra ²²¹ prw nobis nomine	+Against the great disease+++ Jasper brought myrrh, Melcezar [brought] frankincense, Baltezar [brought] gold. Whoever carries these names of the kings shall be freed from the falling sickness by the Lord's care. +++ Saint Dorothea <i>ananizapta</i> [ter?] Saint Dorothy [orra] for us. In the name of the virgin saint Dorothea whoever/ says
---	---

²¹⁷ NLW Peniarth MS 50, p. 7 (ca. 1445)

²¹⁸ See E.S. Roberts, ed., *Llysienlyfr Meddiginiaethol* (William Salesbury), 1916. Also, *GPC*.

²¹⁹ Huws, *Repertory*

²²⁰ see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, C.1400-c.1580*. 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005) 94 and also see Mitchell, 48 for more on Dorothea.

²²¹ Perhaps a form of oratio? The Scottish word, *orra* means ‘charm’, which is tempting but seems unlikely. More likely it is something like ‘Saint Dorothea’s prayer for us,’ or, a direct address to her: ‘Saint Dorothea, pray for us....’

quicumque sante *virginys* dorethe nec domus
cremat^{ur} nec newans²²² triplex orriat.²²³

[this] thrice, the house will not be consumed by
fire nor [?]

This charm incorporates several different motifs, including the usual *Three Kings* narrative and the use of *ananizapta* as an efficacious phrase. The reference to Saint Dorothea is puzzling, and I have thus far been able to find an analogue in any other tradition.

A fifteenth-century English version, added into a manuscript that belonged to a Welsh library by at least the sixteenth century, includes a typical English-language *Three Kings* charm for epilepsy, though slightly embellished compared to other examples above.

ffor the fallyng evele

Take the blode of the lytell fynger of the ryght honde of hym that is seke * write thise iii names upon parchment with same blode + jasper + melchior + baltazar + & close it and hange it aboute his nekke that is seke tor then close it. put th{?} to golde myrre & ffrankencense of ychon a lytell and byd hym that is seke blysse hym. whan he ryseth uppe from his bed yche aday write thise iii names afore sayde and say then for his faders soule & his moders soule iii pater nosters and iii aves et yche aday drynke of the rote of pyonye w^{it} stale ale & he shall beid hool on warantyre. *probatum* est. [28v] and if it be achilde withynne age þat is an innocent drawe the blode in the same maner as it is sayde beforn & wryte w^{it} the blode the iii names in a maser or in a clene cuppe et wasche it w^{it} wyne or ale or mylke and gyf it the seke chylde to drynke and he schall ben hole sykerly²²⁴

Most *Three Kings* charms for epilepsy found in the Welsh corpus were written in English or Latin.

However, the existence of the *Three Kings* in the Welsh literary traditions of the sixteenth century, and likely before, are attested by several Welsh texts of what appears to be a miracle play, ‘Y Tri

²²² Or, *neivans*

²²³ B.L. Add. 15045, f. 116r

²²⁴ NLW MS 572D, f. 28r-v

Brenin o Gwlen' are preserved in various Welsh manuscripts.²²⁵ Yet despite the existence of the Welsh play fairly early on, the Welsh charm corpus features just one *Three Kings* charm in the Welsh language, while the others are Latin and English.

Rhag y gloesion llewig. Kymer y gwaed or bys bach ir claf ac ysgrifen ar gwaed hwnw y tri henw hynn mewn prachment memrwn Jaspar + Melchior + Baldazar + a chay ef yn glos a rhwymyn wrth wddwf y claf, a dywaid 3 pater noster 3 Ave Maria tros enaid y tri brenin hynny o gwlen, a thros eneidie i mamme ai tadeu, ac eneidie holl bobl y byd, a dyro yn y llythyr old mair a sens a dyged gidac ef.²²⁶	Against epilepsy. Take the blood from the little finger of the patient and write, with that blood, these three names in vellum parchment. Jasper + Melchior + Baldazar + and secure it close to the patient's neck with a tie. Say three Our Fathers and three Ave Marias on behalf of the souls of these three kings of Colen, and on behalf of the souls of their fathers and mothers, and on behalf of the souls of all people of the world. And put marigold and incense in the letter and carry it with him.
---	--

This Welsh version seems slightly embellished compared to many of the charms previously seen, and the mention of the souls of the fathers and mothers is unique. The instruction to carry marigold and incense with the letter contribute an extra layer of efficacy in their tangible parallel to the divine narrative of the charm: the gifts of the three Kings.

One early sixteenth-century version, written not long after 1509 includes an even more amplified version of the standard Three Kings charm type:

Ihesu xrsí. In nomine patris + et filii + et spiritus sancti + amen + Jaspar fert mirren thus melchar + balthazar awrum hoc quicumque tum secum fert nomina regum + Solvitur a morbo + domine pietate caduco coniuro te morbum caducum ne amplius noceas huic famulo tuo N. et concedas ei tranquillam pare{?} omnibus diebus vite sue per eum qui venturus et indicare vivos et mortuos +	Jesus Christ. In the name of the Father + and the Son + and the Holy Spirit + Amen. Jasper brought myrrh, Mechar [brought] frankincense + Blathazar [brought] gold. Whoever carries with them these names of the kings shall be freed from the falling sickness + by the Lord's care. I conjure you, falling sickness, that you not injure your servant N. anymore and that you depart
---	---

²²⁵ Cardiff MS 2.633, an early seventeenth-century mss by John Jones of Gellilyfdy; mid-sixteenth-century NLW Llanstephan MS 117; NLW Llanstephan MS 155, also of the sixteenth century; and NLW Peniarth MS 114, another John Jones of Gellilyfdy manuscript of ca. 1620-40. For more see Prydwyd Piper, "Ystori Tri Brenin O Gwlen." *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 20/21 (2000): 130-40.

²²⁶ Wellcome MS 417, f. 100r

et scilium? per igne amen + ihesu + nazarens + crucifixus + rex + iudeorum filii + dei + misere mei + amen +++ surrexerunt [360] vere a mortuis in nomine et potestate et in virtute domine nostri ihesu xristi et caritas dei et caritaco sancti spiritus sit semper cum omnibus nolis in xristi ihesu domino nostro ammen ar ysgriven hon vchot yssydd dda rrac yr haint o ssalet llewyc. ²²⁷	from him undisturbed <i>pare{?}</i> in all days by him who comes and declare <i>vinos/as in wines</i> and dead + ... through fire amen + Jesus + of Nazareth + Crucified + King + of the Jews, Son + of God + have mercy on me + Amen +++ they rose up [360] truly from dead, in the name and power and virtue of our Lord Jesus Christ and the charity of God and the ... of the Holy Spirit let him be always with all ... in Jesus Christ Our Lord amen. This writing above is good against epilepsy.
---	--

The text is difficult to decipher in several places, but it is evident that this charm belongs firmly to the *Three Kings* epilepsy charm type. Notable in this variant is the direct adjuration in which the charmer threatens and exorcises the epilepsy. This is less common in epilepsy charms but is, as we have already seen, a standard feature of various other charm types. Of the seven epilepsy charms thus far uncovered in the Welsh corpus, all but one belongs to the *Three Kings* charm type.

1.e: Conclusion to Chapter One

This chapter has presented charms that were believed efficacious for eye problems, toothache, fever, and epilepsy. The charms in this chapter conform to charms in the corpus of English manuscripts, although with some nuanced differences. In a chapter concerning charms for problems of or issuing in the head, it is perhaps surprising then, that we find no charms for headache or earache. There is just one: found in a fifteenth-century English manuscript, produced in England but brought to Wales by the sixteenth century. The charm reports to be for an earworm, presumably the perceived cause of an earache.

A gode prayer for a rwegle in a mannys ere. Take and blisse wele the ere. in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen. Conuiro te vermiclo	A good prayer for a worm in a man's ear. Take and bless the ear well. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen. I adjure
---	---

²²⁷ NLW Peniarth MS 181, p. 359-360

per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum et per victoriam passionis deum + nostri + Ihesu Xristi + et per septiformam spiritum sanctum et per gratiam et virtutem huius nominis + Ihesu Xristi + vt non habeas potestatem vltimis comorandi in isto famulo dei .N. nec in aliquis eius membro perforandi siue corodendi licenciam habeas sed per virtutem gloriosissime dei genitricis marie et domini nostri ihesu xristi sanctorum martirum dei. [10v] Negasii atque cassiani penitus confusus ab eo discedas et contritus amen. Et dic istam comiratonem in aure patientis sine sit homo vel mulier et genuflectendo dic cum ciramistantibus quiquies. Pater noster. Et tot saluta comēs beate marie iii honore qlq{ue?orum?} vuluerum dium nostri ihesu xristi et salvis erit gracia dei ad imiante. Amen.²²⁸	you, little worm, by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by the victory of God's passion + our + Lord Christ + and by the sevenfold Holy Spirit and by the grace and strength of this name + Jesus Christ + that you have no more remain any longer in this servant of God, N., nor may you have freedom to penetrate or eat away at any of his members, but by the virtue of Mary, the most glorious mother of God and the holy martyrs of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, Nicasius and Cassius. Depart, confused within and contrite, from him. And say this conjuration in the patient's ear, whether it be man or woman and kneeling down say with [?] five Our Fathers. And keep [? ?] blessed Mary iii in honor of the five wounds of Christ, our Lord Christ and you shall be saved by the grace of God [ad imiante] Amen.
--	--

Given that the manuscript was known to have been in Wales by the sixteenth century, and thus representative of the type of medical knowledge with which a Welsh audience could engage, it is curious that certain charm types were not written down into or adapted for Welsh manuscripts.

Of the two eye charms presented in this chapter, only one conforms to the wider, shared charming traditions, relying upon the narrative of Saint Nicasius for its power. The other, a curious mix of folk practice, herbal lore, and prayer, contains faint echoes of shared traditions but is itself unique. Toothache charms, however, remain largely representative of shared traditions, with no significant deviations from what we might expect to find in charms of England and Europe. The

²²⁸ NLW 572D, f. 10r-v. This charm comes within a larger section that focuses on worms in the ear, headache, or 'mygrayne' and toothache. In the bottom margin another hand has added a Welsh medical recipe, 'rag y meigrin' but part of it has been cut away with the trimming of the manuscript at some point. A nearly identical version of this charm appears in a Middle English medical manuscript (ca. 1450), B.L. Add. MS 33996, f. 104v: Carmen pro verme capud aures vel alibi in hominem ingresso. Coniuro te vermicule per patrem + et filium + et spiritum sanctum + et per victoriam passionis christi + et per septiformem spiritum sanctum, et per gratiam et virtutem huius nominis ihesu + ut non habeas potestatem vltius commorandi in isto famulo dei N, nec in aliquo eius membro perforandi siue corrodendi licenciam habeas, set per virtutem domini nostri ihesu + christi + et gloriosissime dei genitricis marie et sanctorum martirum tuorum Nicasii atque cassiani penitus confusus ab eo discedas contritus. amen. And sey þis charme in his ere, þat is seke, be hit man oþer womman and sey fyue pater noster and v aue in þe worschepe of þe v woundes of oure lorde crist ihesu þat he sofered on þe roode tre for to bye mannes soule out of þraldame. My transcription and translation.

narrative of Saint Peter upon a rock was widely used in toothache charms in England and other traditions, including Welsh, but was equally as common in Welsh fever charms.

On the whole, Welsh-manuscript fever charms, in particular, tend to closely parallel fever charms found in English manuscripts that often emphasize the written word, whether it be short written phrases or longer biblical narratives. Fever charms also on many occasions instruct that the efficacious words be ingested, and while there is more evidence of this in English manuscripts, this motif is found in Welsh manuscripts as well. In England, efficacious words are often written upon consecrated hosts, and there are at least two instances of that in the Welsh corpus. When the text does not call for a host, it often calls for the words to be written upon an apple and ingested. The substitution of an apple for a consecrated host makes sense, considering that liturgical blessings over apples were common in the Church. Furthermore, there is evidence that benedictions over apples or cheese to specifically bring about relief from chills and fevers existed as early as the tenth century.²²⁹

Other fever charms in the Welsh corpus, and that of the general medieval European tradition, include narratives of Christ shivering on the cross; a character called Architriclinus and a ritual with a hazel branch; Saint Peter sitting upon a stone or before the gates of a holy city; or simply call for the recitation of parts of the Gospel of John, namely the *In Principio*, or first fourteen verses. Two *In Principio* texts use a fascinating orthographic convention, representing the Latin of the texts with Welsh orthography in a way that allowed Welsh speakers unfamiliar with Latin to use the texts. They also represent the only times in which the text was written in full to function as a charm. This demonstrates these charms privileged correct recitation of the texts above all else. Every text that uses such orthography dates to the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century.

²²⁹ Olsan, "Writing on the Hand," p. 17

Such texts are also fascinating for their potential to offer insights into pronunciation and language use in late-medieval Wales.

This chapter has explored two charms for eye ailments, eleven toothache charms, thirteen fever charms, seven charms to combat epilepsy, and one earworm charm. Of the two toothache charms, one is vaguely evocative of deeply rooted and widespread European traditions of herb-gathering prayers while the other belongs firmly to the realm of shared Latinate traditions. The toothache charms are also, on the whole, representative of wider, shared traditions. Most common in the toothache charms are narrative formulae that reference Apollonia, Susannah, Mary, and Peter. Fever charms in the Welsh corpus demonstrate the most variation in terms of types and motifs employed. Fever charms can use brief verbal formulae as the words of power, or they can instruct that divine phrases be written on consecrated hosts or apples. Other fever charms rely on divine narratives that reference Peter, Christ shaking on the cross, and Architrclinus. The epilepsy charms remain the most fixed, relying almost always upon the ritual writing of the names of three Magi, often in the patient's blood. In general, the charms presented in this chapter demonstrate an overwhelming adherence to widespread and long-established English and European charming practices, demonstrating that Welsh scribes, and by extension a Welsh audience, were actively engaged with the production and transmission of a rich body of shared knowledge.

Chapter Two: Charms for Bleeding, General Wounds, and Bites

*To othere woundes, and to broken armes, some hadden salves, and some hadden charmes, Fermacies of herbes and eek
save They dronken, for they wolde hir lymes have.*²³⁰

Introduction

Charms for staunching blood and healing general wounds make up the largest percentage of healing charms in the Welsh corpus. Such were copied down in Welsh, Latin, and English. In addition to charms for staunching blood and healing general wounds, this chapter will also present several charms for alleviating pain and side effects from animal bites.²³¹ In comparing the Welsh charms to others found in English and European manuscripts, my goal is to demonstrate the ways in which the Welsh-corpus charms both conform to and diverge from certain standard, shared European traditions.

In the corpus of manuscripts known to have been in Wales by about the sixteenth century, I have thus far discovered fifty-two charms for staunching blood, healing general wounds, and curing animal bites (mostly those of rabid dogs). The vast majority of these charms are found in manuscripts produced in Wales and written in the Welsh language, though it is not uncommon to find Latin or English charms in Welsh manuscripts. Of the fifty-two charms presented in this chapter, there are thirty-four for staunching blood; seven for general wound healing; nine for dog bites (including one that also says it can be used for a snake bite); one for constricted veins, and one for removing an arrowhead from a wound.

²³⁰ Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Knight's Tale*, in ed. Larry Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) p. 61 lines 2711-2714.

²³¹ According to the head-to-toe general order of the medieval medical manuals, remedies that deal with poisons and the bites venomous animals are most often found at the end. However, reasons of space and thematic continuity necessitate that I include such remedies alongside the charms for blood staunching and general wounds. I am grateful to Lea Olsan for reading an early draft of this chapter and providing feedback. Any errors are my own.

Jonathan Roper's database of English charms, which includes texts from the Old English period up through the twentieth century, suggests that the most common use of healing charms in England was for staunching blood, and this is true of the Welsh corpus as well. Roper notes that of the 311 healing charms in his database, sixty-three (or, roughly twenty percent) were used for staunching blood.²³² More specifically, Roper concludes that in his database the *Flum Jordan* charm type was the most prevalent. This charm type uses a biblical narrative about the flow of the river Jordan coming to a halt at Christ's baptism in order to create a parallel between the flow of the Jordan and the flow of the patient's blood.

Although the *Flum Jordan* charm type is found in the corpus of Welsh manuscript charms, it is not the most prevalent blood staunching charm. Instead, the Welsh corpus is far more likely to feature *Longinus* charm types to staunch blood. *Longinus* charms rely on the narrative of the soldier (named Longinus in apocryphal material) who pierced Christ's side while he was on the cross. In Section 2.a, I will present the *Longinus* charms of the Welsh corpus and demonstrate the extent to which they conform to *Longinus* charms of other traditions and the extent to which they represent Welsh innovation of the shared European charm tradition. The earliest Welsh-manuscript *Longinus* charms are more likely to feature Latin and are more likely to conform to standard *Longinus* charm types found in English manuscripts, often in Latin. Later Welsh-manuscript *Longinus* charms, however, typically experienced significant expansion of the narrative and they are most commonly found in the vernacular. I have thus far discovered twelve standalone *Longinus* in the corpus of manuscripts known to have been in Wales before ca. 1650 (the approximate cutoff date for this

²³² Roper's work relies heavily on secondary scholarship and printed works, and though it is a monumental source of scholarship, it does not take into account a great deal of medieval charms that are known but remain unpublished. One scholar, Katherine Hindley, is in the early stages of compiling a database of medieval English charms. Once her database is complete, the total numbers of charms (and the types to which they belong) will no doubt be drastically altered. The second most popular category of charms, according to Roper, was the general healing of wounds, with thirty-four examples (or, ten percent). Jonathan Roper, *English Verbal Charms*, p. 62.

dissertation), making this charm type the most popular in the Welsh-manuscript corpus, as far as current evidence indicates. Additionally, two charms that employ *Longinus* invocations are given in section 2.b since they are found within another charm type. This brings the total number of charms featuring a *Longinus* invocation to fourteen.

Section 2.b explores a handful of charms in the Welsh corpus that are part of a wider, shared charm type called the Three Good Brothers, or *Tres Boni Fratres*. In many traditions a *Tres Boni Fratres* charm also includes a *Longinus* narrative, but in the Welsh tradition this is not typically the case. *Tres Boni Fratres* charms were common in England and other North Sea countries, as well as in Ireland. This charm type existed in vernacular languages from a fairly early stage and was also transmitted in Latin. There are three Welsh-language examples (one of which is among the earliest of any Welsh charm); a Welsh-language fragment; and two Latin versions found in manuscripts likely created in England, near the Welsh border, but brought into Wales by the sixteenth century if not earlier.

Another common charm type that is often found fused to a *Longinus* charm features a reference to Christ's birth in Bethlehem and his baptism in the river Jordan, at which time the waters stood still, according to apocryphal traditions. Section 2.c presents several examples of the *Flum Jordan* charm type in the Welsh corpus. Although Roper and others have noted the prevalence of the *Flum Jordan* charm type in English and other Germanic traditions, it does not appear to have been as prevalent in the Welsh tradition, as far as the manuscript sources indicate. Thus far in the corpus of Welsh manuscripts I have uncovered six charms that use the *Flum Jordan* reference: two in the Welsh language, three in English, and one that is orthographically Welsh but phonetically Latin, embedded into a *Longinus* charm. Many English-language versions of this type rely upon a rhyming or alliterative sound pattern, which would be hard to replicate in Welsh and thus might help to explain the relative lack of this charm type in the Welsh corpus. Accordingly, while the *Longinus* and *Tres Boni Fratres* charm types of the Welsh corpus were most often copied in Welsh or Latin (or a

combination of the two), *Flum Jordan* charms in Welsh manuscripts appear in English and Welsh, but are slightly more common in English, perhaps due to their immense popularity in England.

Many of the charms that feature *Longinus*, *Tres Boni Fratres*, and/or *Flum Jordan* elements also invoke the power of the five wounds that Christ suffered upon the cross. Some charm variants include a full ‘*Neque doluit neque tumuit*,’ or ‘uncorrupted wounds’ motif in which the patient’s wounds are compared to Christ’s wounds upon the cross, which supposedly did not fester or rot but remained sound. Other charm variants simply reference the power of Christ’s wounds, such as this general charm to heal a wound from a weapon, included in a collection of medical recipes and remedies written in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries:

llyma swyn rrac brath arf yn enw y tad ar mab ar ysbryd glan mi ath dynghedaf di vrath drwy rad a grym y pvmp archoll y rrai a vuant yn y gwir duw a gwir ddyn ac i kymmerth ynni santeiddia gorf er yn prynv ni ac er prynnv y rrai a ddioddefaist di isu grist amen. ²³³	Here is a charm against a wound from a weapon. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, I adjure you, wound, through the grace and strength of the five wounds that were upon the true God and true man and which he received upon his most holy body in order to redeem us and in order to redeem the ones that you suffered Jesus Christ, amen.
--	--

This charm is fairly representative of the standard types of invocations and adjurations common in Welsh charm types to heal general blows and wounds.

While some charms rely on the power associated with Christ’s five wounds, others rely on various motifs that reference or directly invoke the power of the blood of Adam and the blood of Christ. Section 2.d introduces several Welsh-manuscript charms that rely on various motifs that invoke the power of divine blood, as well as charms that call for the words of power to be written in the patient’s own blood. Many charms in this section are represented in English or Latin and were not translated into Welsh, again presumably due to the rhyming and sound patterns upon which the

²³³ NLW Peniarth MS 205, p. 49.

charm relied and the difficulty in achieving a similar result in translation. This section also includes Welsh-manuscript versions of a fascinating charm type to staunch blood, in one case specifically menstrual bleeding. The charm type invokes the narrative of Veronica, the woman who, according to apocryphal tradition, was healed from bleeding after touching the hem of Christ's garment.

Section 2.e analyzes nine charms that are efficacious against the bite of a mad dog, including one that also specifies it can be used for a snake bite. Jonathan Roper has noted that dog or snake bite charms are uncommon in his database, but in the Welsh corpus they are fairly common.²³⁴ The Welsh dog bite charms commonly include instructions for efficacious words to be written on bread or cheese and then fed to the patient, or sometimes the dog. Welsh medical writing also includes a fairly high number of medical remedies against the bites of snakes, dogs, and even monkeys.²³⁵ This concern with bites and stings of animals is consistent with trends in English and European medical writing in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

While the majority of the Welsh-manuscript charms in this chapter have analogues in other pre-modern traditions, especially English-manuscript traditions, a closer examination of the charms in the Welsh corpus reveals the nuanced ways in which Welsh scribes and manuscript compilers

²³⁴ Jonathan Roper, *English Verbal Charms*, 64

²³⁵ There are at least two Welsh medical charms for monkeys. While at first glance this may seem strange, it is important to keep in mind that scribes would have had a number of reasons for copying such remedies from their source texts and into the Welsh manuscripts. Exotic animals were very much in fashion in the Middle Ages, and we have evidence of a great number of menageries in Britain. For example, the royal menagerie at the Tower of London was likely established in 1204, when King John returned from Normandy with a variety of exotic animals. Seventy-five years earlier, King Henry established a park at Woodstock, Oxfordshire, containing lions, leopards, linxes, and other animals. The giving of exotic pets as gifts was also a popular practice, and indeed there are several fifteenth and sixteenth-century Welsh 'request' poems in which the poet visits a Lord's court and composes a poem requesting an ape or monkey. For more see, Caroline Grigson *Menagerie, The history of exotic animals in England, 1100-1837* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2016). For the Welsh request poems, see Jane Cartwright, "Abbess Annes and the Ape," in Janet Burton, Karen Stöber, eds., *Monastic Wales: New Approaches* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013) pp. 191-208. For more on the tradition of the 'request' poems, see, for example, Bleddyn Owen Huws, 'Praise lasts longer than a horse: poems of request and thanks for horses,' in Sioned Davis and Nerys Ann Jones (eds), *The Horse in Celtic Culture: Medieval Welsh Perspectives* (Cardiff: Cardiff University Press, 1997).

engaged with broader, shared charming traditions, continuing in the long-established tradition of healing rituals and charms, yet infusing the texts with a subtle but uniquely Welsh style.

2.a: The *Longinus* charm type

As is the case in medieval English manuscripts, charms for blood loss are the most commonly copied charm type in pre-modern Welsh manuscripts. In the extant Welsh manuscript corpus, the most popular charm for blood loss is by far the *Longinus* charm type, which was especially common in the medieval West and continued to be used well into the modern period.²³⁶

Variants of the *Longinus* charm type were circulated widely in medieval Europe: versions have survived in Latin and in various vernaculars including Old High German, Russian, French, Danish, Italian, Swedish, Byzantine Greek, and Irish.²³⁷

The efficacy of the charm relies upon a narrative based on the account of Christ's crucifixion in the Gospel of John, as well as the mid-fourth-century apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, which names the soldier who pierced Christ's side when he was on the cross.²³⁸ The *Legenda Aurea* also relates that Longinus was blind until he pierced the side of Christ, whose blood came into contact with Longinus's eyes, miraculously restoring his vision.²³⁹ Most *Longinus* charm narratives reference

²³⁶ For a foundational comparative study of blood loss charms see Oskar Ebermann, *Blut- und Wundsegen in ihrer Entwicklung dargestellt* (Berlin: Mayer, 1903). While my focus is on Welsh healing charms up to around the mid-seventeenth century, Owen Davies has presented some fascinating charms circulating in Britain in later eras, including Longinus charms for stopping blood. For more see Owen Davies, "Healing Charms in Use in England and Wales."

²³⁷ Roper, p. 113

²³⁸ The story is also referenced in several medieval works of literature including *Piers Plowman* and in a lesser known Chaucer poem. The name, according to Elizabeth Jameson, is an obvious derivation from the Greek λόγχη, spear or lance, and she suggests that the name of the soldier or centurion was created to suit the event. See Elizabeth Jameson, *The History of Our Lord as Exemplified in Works of Art: With That of His Types; Saint John the Baptist and Other Persons of the Old and New Testament*, 3rd ed. (London: Longmans, 1872) p. 160.

²³⁹ See Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea* xiviii (1969) p. 202

the blood and water that immediately flowed from Christ's wound, and every Welsh *Longinus* charm includes this formula.²⁴⁰ It seems a bit of a paradox that a charm for *stopping* blood would rely so heavily on this episode of blood *flowing*, but perhaps we are meant to instead infer a parallel between Longinus being cured by the power of Christ's blood and the patient being cured through invocation of the same redeeming blood; or perhaps with this reminder that Christ has already shed his blood for mankind, the patient's flow of blood would cease. Although the Welsh charms do not narrate his blindness being healed through contact with the blood of Christ, many do refer to him as being blind. Since the legend would have been well known, a phrase about Longinus the blind soldier who pierced Christ's side at the crucifixion would have acted as a referent that triggered the full episode in the mind of the charm user and/or patient.

Longinus charms were included in the earliest Welsh collection of healing charms: those of one of the earliest Welsh books of medicine (Cardiff MS 3.242), the late fourteenth-century manuscript, largely medical in nature, which features a large collection of charms in Welsh and Latin. While all of the Latin charms in this particular manuscript are narrative charms, only four of the vernacular Welsh healing charms feature narratives, or *historiolae*. As is typical of the earliest Welsh-manuscript healing charms, the words of power in these charms are mostly in Latin while the heading and the initial directions for the preparation of the charm are in the vernacular. What sets the first *Longinus* example apart from similar, contemporary, bilingual Welsh-Latin charms is that the scribe did not revert to Welsh for the final directions pertaining to the recitation and practical application of the charm, which is the standard for such dual-language charms in Welsh manuscripts. This is one of the very few times in which instructions are given in Latin, although in

²⁴⁰ Based on John 19:34.

this manuscript, which features Welsh, Latin, and Anglo-Norman, and was produced in a monastic context, such language fluidity is unsurprising.

Rac g6aetlin o wythien mal o le arall: ysgriuenna y geireu hynn. Longeus miles latus <i>domini</i> perforauit <i>et</i> continuo exiuit sanguis <i>et</i> aqua + In <i>nomine</i> patris stet sanguis + In <i>nomine</i> filii restet sanguis + In <i>nomine</i> spiritus sancti non exeat gutta. Ter fiet ista benediccio <i>et</i> restet sanguis.²⁴¹	For bleeding from a vein or another place, write these words: Longinus the soldier pierced the side of the Lord and immediately blood and water flowed out + in the name of the Father let the blood stop + in the name of the Son let the blood stand firm + in the name of the Holy Spirit let a drop not escape. Let this blessing be done three times and let the blood stop.
---	--

This charm generally conforms to the standard Latin versions in manuscripts of other traditions, although it is quite succinct.²⁴²

We find a similar Welsh-manuscript version in NLW Peniarth MS 47, part iv. In this version, it appears that the *Longinus* charm has been, on some level, merged with a *Nicodemus* charm type for removing an arrow from a wound. The mid-fifteenth-century hand responsible for this page has had to add the rubricated heading *rac gwaetlin* ('against bleeding') into the right margin to indicate where the Nicodemus charm ends and the Longinus charm begins. This *Nicodemus* charm conforms to other known examples that circulated in medieval Europe, most often transmitted through Latin, and very often used alongside references to Longinus.²⁴³ *Nicodemus* charms draw on the biblical and

²⁴¹ Cardiff MS 3.242, p. 1.

²⁴² A standard Latin version of this charm type might run: "A charm for to staunche blod. Longinus miles latus *dominā* nostri + Iesu Christi lancea perforauit et continuo exiuit sanguis et aqua in redempcionem inostram. Adiuro te sanguis per ipsum + Christum per latus eius per sanguinem eius + sta + sta + sta. + Christus et Iohannes descenderunt in flumen iordanis. aqua obstipuit et stetit, sic faciat sanguis istius corporis [f. 35f] In + Christi nomine et sancti Johannis baptiste amen. Et dica ter pater noster et ter Ave Maria. The charm, from Cambridge University Library, MS Additional 9308, is printed in Lea Olsan, "The Corpus of Charms in the Middle English Leechcraft Remedy Books," in Jonathan Roper, ed. *Charms, Charmers and Charming*. Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) 214-237, at 218-19.

²⁴³ McBryde notes that Longinus eventually shows up in charms to extract spearheads or arrows from wounds, often accompanied by a reference to Nicodemus as well. This is the case in one fifteenth-century German found, printed in translation by McBryde as 'the arrow charm': "Longinus was a Jewish knight who stuck a spear through the pure side of our Lord Jesus Christ. Nicodemus the Jew pulled the nails out of the hands and feet of our dear Lord Jesus Christ. As true as these words are, so truly may this arrow go out." John M. McBryde, "Some Mediaeval Charms." *The Sewanee Review* 25, no. 3 (1917): 292-304 at p. 295. Tony Hunt gives a standalone Nicodemus charm for removing iron, from a fifteenth-century manuscript (British Library Sloane MS 962, f.45v) that features copies of a variety of older medical

apocryphal associations of Nicodemus with the descent of Christ from the cross and the removal of the nails from Christ's body.²⁴⁴ It is not difficult to understand how the *Longinus* and *Nicodemus* motifs sometimes coalesced into one charm for staunching blood or removing arrows (or other foreign objects) from wounds. The three successive charms on this page, which comes at the end of the manuscript, offer various ways of treating blood loss and wounds but they are all representative of standard charming practices in medieval Europe.

Ad exuendum capud sagitte. Nichodemus extulit clauas plagarum domini nostri iesu Xristi de quibus plagis exunt sanguis et aqua. Sicut ista verba sunt vera et ita credimus ita exeat capud sagitte ab ista carne sicut ab isto osse. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen + max + nax + [RM] rac gwaetlin. Longius Ebreus miles latus domini nostri iesu xristi perforauit et continuo exiuit sanguis et aqua, sanguis redempconis et aqua baptismatis. In nomine patris + cessat sanguis + in nomine filii restat sanguis + in nomine spiritus sancti amplius non exeat sanguis. Rac gwaetlyn heuyt ysgruennner v6ch penn y weli y geireu hynn. a+g+l+a+teir gweith a thri phader a thri aue maria²⁴⁵	To extract the head of an arrow. Nicodemus removed the nails of the wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ, from which blood and water ran out. Just as these words are true, and just as we believe, so let the arrow depart from this flesh just as from this bone. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen. <i>Max + Nax</i> + [RM: against bleeding] Longi[n]us the Hebrew soldier pierced the side of our Lord Jesus Christ and immediately blood and water ran out: the blood of redemption and the water of baptism. In the name of the Father the blood stops + in the name of the Son the blood stands firm + In the name of the Holy Spirit let the blood not run out. Also against bleeding: Write these words above the wound three times: <i>a+g+l+a</i>, with three Our Fathers and three Ave Marias.
--	--

The *Longinus* charms we have just seen represent two of the earliest attested Welsh-manuscript examples of this charm type (late fourteenth and mid fifteenth century). They are relatively brief, and

recipes.: "Ad extrahendum ferrum carmen: 'Nichodemus extraxit clauos plagrum domini nostri Jesu Christi et sanguis et aqua exiuit, itaque sicut ista verba sunt vera, ita exeat iste carellus sive lancea sive ferrum de carne vel ab osse istius christiani.' In nomine Patris + et Filii + et Spiritus Sancti + amen. Et dicitur ter et qualibet vice Pater Noster et Ave Maria." As published in Tony Hunt, *Popular Medicine*, p. 94.

²⁴⁴ Sunny Harrison points out a medieval Italian veterinarian charm to be used when someone has shod a horse incorrectly. The charm instructs users to invoke Nicodemus, who removed the nails from the hands and feet of Christ. Sunny Harrison, *Jordanus Ruffus and the late-medieval bippiatric tradition: animal-care practitioners and the horse*. (University of Leeds, Doctoral Dissertation, 2018) p. 138-139.

²⁴⁵ NLW Peniarth MS 47, part iv, p. 31. In the mid-fifteenth-century hand of Siancyn ap Dafydd ap Gruffydd (Huws, *Repertory*).

they use Welsh sparingly: only for the instructions relating the charm's purpose and its practical use. Another fifteenth-century book of medicine in the National Library of Wales features several charms, including a *Longinus* charm that uses motifs not found in Welsh versions. This composite manuscript was brought together in the sixteenth century and contains medical writing in Latin, English, and some French. The manuscript was produced along the Wales-England border and was likely in Wales by the sixteenth century, if not well before.²⁴⁶ Because it represents the type of medical writing with which scribes and compilers of Welsh manuscripts would have very likely engaged, I have elected to present the charms of this manuscript. The *Longinus* charm was copied with several charms and herbal remedies to treat bleeding.

To stanch blode a feyre charme:

Aske þe monys name þen go to þe chyrch & þer say þi charme & spare hyt not for mon ne womon. In nomine + patris & filii & spiritus sancti amen when owre lorde was done on þe crosse þen came longyns þedur²⁴⁷ & smotte & hym wit hys spere yn to þe syde. blode & water came out att þe wonde & he wpyd hys Iyes & he [109] saw anon þrogh þe vertu of þat god dyed. Then þrogh þat deth I couire þe blode þat þen come no more fro þe þat Ihesus dyed for and to saue hys sowle .N. In nomine patris &c and say þe charme thryes & yf þu know hys name in what place so euer þu be so þis be yn a chirch.²⁴⁸

This English-language version is interesting for its assertion that it is useful for man or woman,²⁴⁹ as well as its directive involving knowing the patient's name and reciting the charm in a church. This

²⁴⁶ Thanks to both Daniel Huws and Gruffudd Antur, who answered my questions about this manuscript and concluded that it is highly unlikely this manuscript would have found its way into the Welsh library with which it is associated after the days of Robert Vaughan (d. 1667), and that it is likely that this manuscript was in Wales in the sixteenth century, if not before. The manuscript itself is a composite manuscript in English, French, and Latin and was likely produced somewhere in the Marches in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and brought together in the sixteenth century. Personal communication with Gruffudd Antur, January 2020.

²⁴⁷ A variant of 'thither.' My sincere thanks to Lea Olsan for providing feedback and suggestions regarding this charm. Personal communication, January 2020.

²⁴⁸ NLW Peniarth MS 369, f.109r-v

²⁴⁹ Note that the Sloane version, in n. 22 below, warns that it cannot be used for an animal, but is effective for both man and woman.

English-language version relates the narrative of Longinus wiping his eyes and being cured of his blindness through contact with the blood of Christ. I have found no Welsh-language version that includes these specific motifs.²⁵⁰

One small manuscript (ca. 1515) of Welsh prayers, poetry, and healing includes a shorter *Longinus* charm that is unique for its inclusion of an herbal prescription to accompany the charm.

i stopio gwaede. Longyns marchoc evrddol ebrv a roddet i wayw ruddevydd yn i law i dylly ystlus yn arglwydd ni Jesu crist oni ddoedd frwd o waed ir yn prynu ni oni ddoeth frwd o ddwr er yn golchi ni. Ga di waedd gwstadta di waed croes crist waed rac na redtech di mwy .N.. et postea dicat <i>pater noster et</i> ponit folium de vrtica²⁵¹ in lesione: I ystopio gwaed vn supra.²⁵²	To stop blood. Longinus the dubbed Hebrew knight put his red-bronze lance in his hand to pierce the side of our Lord Jesus Christ so that a stream of blood came, in order to redeem us, and a stream of water came, in order to cleanse us. Quit, blood, settle, blood. [By the] Cross of Christ, blood, do not flow out of .N. any more. and after say a Pater Noster and put a nettle leaf in the wound: To stop blood above.
---	---

The version above stands out for its herbal prescription of a nettle leaf. Only a few other charms in the Welsh corpus include herbal medicine within the body of the charm. This small manuscript, a miscellany in the hand of Dafydd ap Gruffudd, a priest or clergyman (his signature appears as Dafydd ap Griffith effyriad), includes prayers and medical recipes as well as a long list of Latin plant names followed by their Welsh equivalents. It is likely that he used this miscellany to dispense cures among his parishioners: a common duty in the job description of the clergy, especially in rural areas with little or no access to trained physicians. He copied the charm after

²⁵⁰ Tony Hunt gives a fifteenth-century version that features these motifs, from B.L. Sloane MS 962, f. 38v: “For to staunche blode: Firste ye most write þo mannes name or þo wommannes and þen go to chirche and sey þis charme and loke þat þu sei it for no best bot for man or womman. *Carmen*: ‘Whan Oure Lorde Jesu Criste was done on þo croys, þan com Longius thider and strong him with þo spere in þo syde. Blode and watur com out at þo wound. He wyped his yne and saw anone thorow þo holi vertu þat God did þere. I conjure þe, blod, þat þu come not out of þo cristen man .N.’ and say his name. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, amen. To sey þis charme ne (?) þar þe never rekke where þo man or þo womman be bot þat þu knowe her name.” As printed in Hunt, *Popular Medicine*, p. 93.

²⁵¹ A genus of plants in the family Urticaceae. Many species within the genus have stinging hairs, such as the commonly known stinging nettles (*urtica dioica*).

²⁵² NLW Llanstephan MS 10, p. 15.

prayer-like material and then continued with herbal medical remedies in Welsh and English, so his inclusion of the nettle leaf prescription is fitting given the overall manuscript context. It is also extremely rare for a Welsh charm to switch to Latin in order to present the instructions for the practical application of the charm, as the charm above has done. More commonly, the vernacular is used for instructions while Latin may be preferred for the words of power. This is also very often the case in the English tradition as well.

In general, the earliest Welsh-manuscript versions of the *Longinus* charm privilege Latin over Welsh, using Welsh only to provide brief practical instructions regarding the enactment of charm (in this case writing the efficacious words). However, the *Longinus* charm type was quickly assimilated into the Welsh tradition, almost always appearing as a vernacular Welsh charm from the later fifteenth century onwards. From that period on, Longinus charms in the Welsh corpus are fairly consistent in form and style, and they exhibit a distinct literary flair that versions from other linguistic and cultural traditions lack. As I hope will soon be clear, the *Longinus* motif lends itself to certain innovations of the charm type that had long been features of Welsh poetry, for example, the Welsh tendency to expand upon the character of Longinus. In the Welsh charms, he is reframed in a way that is similar to heroic depictions in both earlier and contemporary later medieval Welsh poetry: his lance is described in a distinctly poetic way, and his epithet is expanded to give it a more literary quality.

From the later fifteenth century onwards, most Welsh-manuscript *Longinus* charms include the description of Longinus as a Hebrew knight, as well as referring to him as blind. This is quite different to the English-manuscript charms (in Latin and in English), where he is rarely described as being blind, and is almost always simply called a Hebrew and/or a soldier (*miles*). Later medieval (from the later fifteenth century and onward) Welsh versions of the *Longinus* charm are more likely to feature an augmented characterization of Longinus, identifying him by an expanded Welsh epithet

‘Longinus marchboc evrddol ebrv’ (Longinus the dubbed/noble Hebrew knight).²⁵³ His description as a knight comes from the standard Latin tradition that calls him *Longinus miles*.²⁵⁴ The vernacular Welsh versions of this period also typically describe his lance as being ruddy or red-bronze in color: a feature that, to my knowledge, is unattested in other traditions but seems natural in the Welsh corpus. Welsh poetry is replete with descriptions of reddened, bloody spears, so it is unsurprising that Welsh scribes would seize the opportunity to style Longinus in the manner of the warriors and lords of Welsh poetry.

References to the ruddy red or bloodstained spears of warriors are common in the earliest Welsh poetry such as the *Gododdin*, which presents us with lines such as: “With huge dark-socketed crimson spears (stanza IX); They stained their spears ruddy with blood (Stanza X); Three spears stained with blood (Stanza XVIII); a red spear before Eidin's lord (Stanza C). Additionally, in later poetry patrons were complimented in terms of their prowess in battle. Guto'r Glyn, for example, refers to one of his patrons as “a badger with his red spear overthrowing a hundred men” (Poem 3.9).²⁵⁵ Red is, for obvious reasons, a color commonly used in heroic descriptions of spears, and the epithet *gwanrudd* (‘red-spear’) was often used by poets to refer to their patrons.²⁵⁶ It seems as though it would be a natural impulse then, that Welsh scribes would model Longinus on standard Welsh poetic devices. Indeed, the character of Longinus (and his association with healing) was so deeply

²⁵³ The word can also mean dignified or noble, but when used referring to a knight, also means ‘dubbed.’ It is not problematic that the texts assign to him an epithet that connotes such respect and nobility, as he was said to have converted to Christianity after the crucifixion and his legend grew to the extent that he became venerated as a saint.

²⁵⁴ It is interesting that the Welsh versions use *marchboc* (modern Welsh *marchbog*), which means ‘knight’ but also ‘horseman.’ It can connote a member of the military but has a slight nuance to it, meaning a high-ranking or noble member of the military, such as a knight. It can also have the same sense as the Roman *equites*. Given the wide range of the word, it is certainly suitable here, but it is slightly curious that the Welsh word *milwr*, a cognate of the Latin *miles*, was not preferred here, since Latin charms refer to him as Longinus *miles*.

²⁵⁵ For *The Gododdin*, see Joseph P. Clancy, *The Earliest Welsh Poetry*. (London: Macmillan, 1970). The poems of Guto'r Glyn can be found, in translation and with excellent commentary, at <http://www.gutorglyn.net/gutoswales/index.php>.

²⁵⁶ For more on weapons in medieval Welsh poetry, see J.P. Day, ‘Arfau yn yr Hengerdd a cherddi Beirdd y Tywysogion’ (Phd. Thesis, Aberystwyth, 2010).

embedded in the cultural consciousness and so easily adapted to various literary genres, that in the mid-fifteenth century, poet Guto'r Glyn composed a poem to a patron suffering with an arrow embedded in his thigh. Guto references Longinus in his opening stanza:

Christ was given of the Virgin Mary
to carry a heavy cross so as to die for us.
Yesterday I wept for your suffering,
your breast and crown and agony.
A blind man took his spear to pierce you
into the fresh blood with the bitter pain.
On account of your suffering at the hands of hard Herod,
the feat of your martyrdom,
be mindful entirely, you are our treasure,
of others who have been martyred.²⁵⁷

The following mid-sixteenth-century charm *Longinus* charm is representative of the transformation of the Welsh-corpus *Longinus* charm type into text with clear echoes of Welsh poetic traditions:

Llyma swyn y stobio gwaed o brathnev i ddynion. Gwnaf i iti, waed, fal ir agores lonsivr y marchog vrddol dall o wlad yr Ebriw ar gwaiv ruddefvdd yn ystlyss Iesu Grist yn harglwydd ni yni ddoeith dwy ffrwd vn o waed er yn pryni ni ag vn o ddwr er yn golchi ni. Gorchymvn iti waed estobio yn enwr dad yn enw y mab. Na cherdda di, waed, yn [enw]yr ysbryd duw glan. Nac ysgog di, waed, nag o gig nag o gnawd nag o ie nag o with. Yn enw dad, yn enw ar mab ar ysbryd dyw glan. A dowed y swyn yma deir gwaith a he[n]war dyn [2] y bor swyn iddo y waed yn kolli. A dyrro dy law ar i ben o byddi di yn gallu krydda²⁵⁸ ef a dowaid v bader a ffumb afi meria er anrydedd yr	Here is a charm to stop blood from wounds to people. I will do to you, blood, just as Lonsiur (Longinus), the blind, dubbed knight from the land of Israel, pierced the side of Jesus Christ our Lord with the red-bronze lance, and there came two streams: one of blood in order to redeem us and one of water in order to cleanse us. I command you, blood, stop in the name of the Father. In the name of the Son, do not flow, blood. In [the name of] the Holy Spirit of God. Do not move, blood, not from flesh nor from tendons nor from veins. In the name of the Father, in the name of the Son, and the Holy Spirit of God. Say this charm three times and
---	--

²⁵⁷ Translated by Eurig Salisbury at <http://www.gutorglyn.net/gutorglyn/poem/?poem-selection=069>. The Guto'r Glyn project also gives the original text: Crist a roed i ddwyn croes drom / O Fair Wry i farw erom. / Doe 'dd wylais am dy ddolur, / Dy fron a'th goron a'th gur. / Aeth dall â gwayw i'th dyllu, / I'r gwaed ir â'r gwayw du. / Er dy gur gan Erodd gaeth, / Athrylid dy ferthrolaeth, / Ystyr oll, ein ystôr wyd, / Wrth eraill a ferthyrwyd.

²⁵⁸ Another possibility is to read this verb as *ceryddaf*, 'to amend, make good.' A variant reading might be: 'Place your hand on his head until you can make him good.' My thanks to Diana Luft for this suggestion (email communication, Feb. 18, 2020).

v archoll llydan a ddioddefodd yn harglwydd y ni iesv grist er brynv yr holl cristynogion y byd amen. ²⁵⁹	name the man to whom [2] the charm is for and who is losing blood. Put your hand on his head until you can lessen it [i.e., the blood flow]. And say five Our Fathers and five Ave Marias in honor of the five extensive wounds that our Lord Jesus Christ suffered in order to redeem all the Christians of the world, Amen.
--	---

The sequence “Do not move, blood, not from flesh nor from tendons nor from veins,” is suggestive of the type of oral-aural practices seen in folk traditions, and it provides a glimpse into the strength of the text as oral performance. Additionally, the text above features a doublet (*nag o gig nag o gnawd*, lit. ‘not from flesh nor from flesh’), another poetic convention incorporated into charming practices.

One manuscript (NLW MS 873B) from the second half of the sixteenth century includes two *Longinus* charms, one of which looks similar to the charm above, though this variant omits the command to the blood to not run out of the flesh, tendons, or veins. Both charms instruct the charmer to place his or her hand upon the patient’s head, an act that evokes an image of a bishop or other clergy, and both also feature an invocation to the five wounds. A unique closing phrase that references Christ redeeming the souls of mankind from hell is another distinct feature of both variants. The charms were copied at very different points in the manuscript but look to be of the same hand. The manuscript features mostly religious and didactic prose.

(a.) Llyma sswyn i stopio gwaed brath nai ddyrnod. Mi a y swyna y ty waed val yr ygorodd Longys farychoc yrddol o Ebriw ar gwayw ryddefydd ar ysdlys jesu grist yn harglwydd ni oni a ddeth or brath ddwy frwd un o waed er yn prynu ni ac un o ddwfwyr er yn golychi ni. Yr wy yn gorychymyn iti waed ystopo yn enw y tad ar mab. Na cherdda di, waed, yn enw yr ysbryd glan. Nag ystoc, waed, yn enw y tad ar mab ar ysbryd glan. A dwaid swyn hwnn tair gwaith, a henwa y dyn i bo y waed yn kerdded a dod dy law ar y ben	(a.) Here is a charm to stop blood from a bite or wound. I charm you, blood: just as Longys (Longinus) the dubbed knight from Israel pierced the side of our Lord Jesus Christ with his red-bronze lance, until two streams came from the wound: one of blood in order to redeem us and one of water in order to cleanse us. I command you, blood, to stop in the name of the Father and of the Son. Do not flow, blood, in the name of the Holy Spirit. Do not stir, blood, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the
---	--

²⁵⁹ NLW Peniarth MS 204, p. 1. The charm is written in a poor, mid-sixteenth-century hand.

a dowaid v pader a ffymp afi mareia a chredo er ynrydedd yr pypm archoll prynysinal a ddioddefodd yn harglwydd ni jesu grist er tyny enaid tyn o kaethiwed yffern.²⁶⁰	Holy Spirit. Say this charm three times and name the man whose blood is flowing. Put your hand upon his head and say five Our Fathers and five Ave Marias and a Credo in honor of the five redeeming wounds that our Lord Jesus Christ suffered in order to draw out (the) soul(s) of mankind from the bonds of hell.
(b.) Llyma swyn ysdopio gwaed dyn. Mi a swyna i ti, waed. Val yr acores Lownyslo farchoc yrddol or briw ar gwayw ryddefydd ar ystlys jesu grist yn harglwydd. Afone a ddoeth or brat[h]ay ddwy ffrwd un o waed er yn pryny ar un llall er yn golychi. Mi a orychmyna iti waed ystopio yn enw y tad ar mab ar ysbryd glan. Nac ystoc wayd yn enw y tad ar mab ar ysbryd glan. A dowaid y swyn yma dair gwaith a henwi y dyn y bo y waed yn kolli. A rhoi i law ar y ben a dwedyd v. pader a ffym afi mareai er anrydedd yr v. aycholl pena oedd ai gorff yn harglwydd ni jesu grist er tyny enaid dyn o yffern.²⁶¹	(b.) Here is a charm to stop a person's blood. I charm you, blood. Just as Lownyslo (Longinus) the dubbed knight from Israel pierced the side of our Lord Jesus Christ with his red-bronze lance. Rivers came from the wounds, two streams: one of blood to redeem us and the other to cleanse us. I command you, blood, stop in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Do not stir, blood, in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. And say this charm three times and name the man whose blood is flowing. And put your hand on his head and say five Our Fathers and five Ave Marias in honor of the five chief wounds that were upon the body of our Lord Jesus Christ in order to draw out (the) soul(s) of mankind from hell.

In Chapter One, I presented a handful of Latin charms written in a fascinating Welsh orthography that was used to convey the phonology of the Latin-language charms to an audience of Welsh speakers with little or no knowledge of Latin. The manuscript in which one of those charms was written (NLW Peniarth MS 205, s. xv/xvi) also features a Longinus charm for which the scribe employed the same orthographic convention. In this example, the scribe began in Welsh, with a heading that indicates the charm should be used to staunch blood. The scribe then switched to Latin but used Welsh orthography to represent the Latin phonemes. As with the other examples of this unique orthography, it is quite clear that the scribe had some functional level of Latin and was

²⁶⁰ NLW MS 873B, p. 35

²⁶¹ NLW MS 873B, p. 251

copying the charms for non-Latin readers or users who would be able to pronounce the Latin properly based on the Welsh orthography. It is clear, then, that the efficacy of these particular charms relied, above all else, on the correct pronunciation of the Latin words of power.

Llyma swyn i attal gwaed. [Longi]ns²⁶² miles ebreus latas []²⁶³cia perfforavyth ieth []sewyth sangws []wnys ieth akwa [9] babtysmatys. yn nomyni pa+trys ieth fy+liei ieth ysbrytys + sawntei amen. yn nomyni pa+tris sessyth sangwivs yn nomini fy+liei ysbrytys+sawntei non ecsaith sangwivs. kweia kridemws koth sawnta maria mater domynei nostri jessuw krysti viri ynfontem genvwyth jesswm krystwm + ieth seikwth restityth akwa jordnys kwando baptytattus iest jessus krystus sic twwi vini kwi sangwenn swnt plini. yn nomyni pa+trys ieth fi+liei ieth ysbrytus + sawntei amen dywaid dri fader a thri avi maria.²⁶⁴	Here is a charm to stop blood. [Longinus] the Hebrew soldier pierced the side [of Christ with his lance] and the blood [of redemption] and the water of baptism [ran out]. [9] In the name of the Father + and the Son + and the Holy Spirit + Amen. In the name of the Father + let the blood cease, in the name of the Son + the Holy Spirit + let the blood not go forth. Just as we believe that Saint Mary is the true mother of our Lord Jesus Christ and she truly gave birth to the infant Jesus Christ + and just as the water of the Jordan stood still when Jesus Christ was baptized, so may the veins that are full of blood. In the name of the Father + and the Son + and the Holy Spirit +, amen. And say three Our Fathers and Three Ave Marias.
--	--

The charm deploys a tripartite invocation, drawing on the power of the Longinus narrative, along with reference to the Virgin Mary and Christ's baptism in the river Jordan. It stands out among the other charms of the Welsh corpus for its inclusion of the *Flum Jordan* motif, which, in other traditions is commonly employed in conjunction with Longinus narratives (see 2.c below for more). Also uncommon in Welsh blood loss charms is the reference to Mary, although it does appear in other versions of blood loss charms of other traditions. This charm is simply a transliteration of a common Latin variant, such as this version found in a fifteenth-century English medical manuscript,

²⁶² Empty brackets in this charm indicate the places in which the page is torn. In this case, the name can be supplied: either Longins, Longeus, or some variant.

²⁶³ Probably a variant of 'lancea'

²⁶⁴ NLW Peniarth MS 205, p. 8-9

B.L Additional MS 33996, a roughly contemporary manuscript that predates our Welsh manuscript by a couple of decades.

Longeus miles hebreus latus domini perforavit lancea et continuo
exivit sanguis et aqua, sanguis redempcionis et aqua baptismatis + In
nomine Patris cesset sanguis + In nomine Filii restet sanguis + In
nomine Spiritus Sancti non exeat amplius sanguis. O Maria, credimus
quod sancta Maria est mater Dei et verum infantem genuit, genuit
Christum, et sicut Jordanis aqua in qua baptizatus est Christus restitit,
sic restent tue vene que sanguine sunt plene.²⁶⁵

The invocation to the virgin Mary and the statement of belief in her as the mother of God does not appear in any vernacular Welsh versions of the Longinus charm type, other than the Welsh/Latin version of NLW Peniarth MS 205 above, though it was fairly common in Latin charms of other traditions.

Another fairly common feature of charms in English manuscripts is the censorship of the text at some point in the manuscript's history, often to the point of being impossible to decipher.²⁶⁶ For some reason, evidence of heavy censorship of charms in Welsh manuscripts, however, is relatively rare, but one mid-sixteenth-century Welsh *Longinus* charm shows some indications of mild censorship. The page containing the charm has been crossed out many times, although no words were fully redacted or altered. It could be that instead of deeming this charm text superstitious or unorthodox, someone simply found it to be of little use or importance. The manuscript, NLW Peniarth MS 88, was written by a single neat hand of the mid-sixteenth and contains miscellaneous poetry and prose of a religious nature, as well as popular, didactic texts.²⁶⁷ A Welsh translation of the *Anima Christi* prayer precedes the Longinus charm below. The popular, religious nature of several of

²⁶⁵ As published in Hunt, *Popular Medicine*, p. 29. For more on this manuscript see also, Lea T. Olsan. "Charms and Prayers in Medieval Medical Theory and Practice." *Social History of Medicine* 16:3 (2003): 343-366.

²⁶⁶ In fact, the most heavily censored collection of charms included in the present dissertation is contained within one of the manuscripts produced in England but brought to Wales by the sixteenth century.

²⁶⁷ Huws, *Repertory*

the texts of this manuscript indicates that a charm like this might have seemed, at one point, to have been a natural inclusion into a book of devotional material and a later owner or user of the manuscript deemed it inappropriate as either a prayer or a medical remedy, or perhaps both.

+llyma weddi i ystopio gwaed. Lonsiws varchoc dall o ebrw a gymerth gwaiw yn i law ac a vrathodd ystlyss yn arglwydd ni jessu grist dan ben i vron ac or brath i rredodd gwaed a dwr y gwaed er yn prynu ni a dwr er yn bedyddio ni + yn enw y tad safed y gwaed yn enw y mab safed y gwaed yn enw yr ysbryd glan na redted .N. mwy allan y tad ar mab ar ysbryd glan ath gatwo di rrac pob rryw ddrwc yn a[torn]²⁶⁸ ac yn dragwyddol ac oddiwrth bob profadigaeth ac oddiwrth dy holl dollurioedd di. agios agios agios yskyros agios athanatos elyson aninas. jessu grist yn enw y tad ar mab ar ysbryd glan amenn pater noster afe maria.²⁶⁹	+ Here is a prayer to stop blood. Lonsiws [Longinus] the blind knight from Israel took a spear in his hand and pierced the side of our Lord Jesus Christ under his nipple, and from the wound blood and water flowed out: the blood in order to redeem us and the water in order to baptize us + In the name of the Father let the blood stand still, in the name of the Son let the blood stand still, in the name of the Holy Spirit let the blood not flow out, .N., anymore. May the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, defend you against every type of evil, [earthly] and eternal, and from every temptation and from all of your afflictions. <i>Agios agios agios yskyros agios athanatos elyson aninas.</i> Jesus Christ in the name of the father and the son and the holy spirit amen, Our Father, Ave Maria.
--	---

The version above is one of the few Welsh-manuscript *Longinus* charm types to include words of power such as *agios*, *yskyros*, *athanatos*, *elyson*, and *aninas*. Such words are common in other charm types, but not often seen in Longinus narrative charms of the Welsh tradition. The charm is also unique in the Welsh corpus of Welsh *Longinus* charms for its inclusion of the formula invoking the Trinity against temptations and afflictions Perhaps this phrase gave the charm an added element of religious piety that seemed well suited to the rest of the manuscript in which it was included.

Another manuscript featuring primarily religion—a priest’s miscellany, written in northeast Wales over a period of time between 1556-1558—features a short *Longinus* charm in Welsh.²⁷⁰ Other

²⁶⁸ This very likely would have been *anysbrydol*, ‘earthly, carnal; devilish’

²⁶⁹ NLW Peniarth MS 88, p. 27

²⁷⁰ Huws *Repertory*

texts in the manuscript include various prayers, a Welsh version of part of the Gospel of John, texts concerning the Virgin Mary, one text on confession, and a calendar of fairs in northeast Wales.

llyma swyn rac y gweidling or gwythi. Loyncys farchoc dall a frathodd ystlys krist ac ar hyn y doeth y dyfrwed²⁷¹ yn enw y tad sef waed yn enw y mab gorffowys waed yn enw yr ysbryd glan []²⁷² wayd yn y gweliey. A hyny dair gwaith dan groysi yr archollay ac ef a baid yn y man a dowaid dri ffader a iii avi er anreyded ir fadar mab ar ysbryd glan.²⁷³	Here is a charm against bleeding from the veins. The blind knight Longinus pierced the side of Christ and thereupon came blood and water. In the name of the Father, stop, blood, in the name of the Son, be still, blood, in the name of the holy spirit [] blood, in the wounds. And [perform] this three times while crossing the wounds and it will stop in its place. And say three Our Fathers and three Ave [Maria]s in honor of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.
--	---

The charm above is slightly shorter than other sixteenth-century *Longinus* charms. It omits the reference to the color of his spear and is thus not particularly representative of a standard sixteenth-century Welsh *Longinus* charm.

In Wales, as in England, the use of the *Longinus* charm type continued into the early modern period and beyond. In NLW Peniarth MS 206 we find a short version more reminiscent of the earliest Latin versions. The charm text is from the late sixteenth century or early seventeenth, and Huws posits that the manuscript—a composite manuscript containing poetry, medicine, and scientific or pseudoscientific lore—was brought together by around 1600.²⁷⁴

Gweddi i ystopio gwaed. yn ynw y tad ar mab ar ysbryd glan. Marchog urddol o ebrw oi gymerth waiv yn i law ag oi frathodd yn arglwydd ni jessu grist ag a droes or brath ddwy ffrwd un o waed er yn prynu ni, arall o ddwr er yn bedyddio ni. Yn	A prayer to stop blood. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. A knight from Israel took his spear in his hand and pierced our Lord Jesus Christ and drew two streams from the wound: one of blood in order to
---	---

²⁷¹ ‘Dwfrwaed’ makes sense in this context and although the GPC only gives a few attestations of its use, it fits well, contextually, and also with the time in which it was first attested. It is also possible that we might read it as a variant *dwyrdd*, ‘two streams,’ as most of the charms read. Either reading however, is equally appropriate.

²⁷² This is unclear in the manuscript but is likely a verbal command to the blood to halt or remain.

²⁷³ NLW Llanstephan 181, p. 144.

²⁷⁴ Huws, *Repertory*

enw y tad atall y gwaed, yn enwr mab ystopiar gwaed, yn enw yr ysbryd glan na red y gwaed er briw hwn pod felli i bo amen. ²⁷⁵	redeem us, another of water in order to baptize us. In the name of the Father, cease the blood, in the name of the Son, stop the blood, in the name of the Holy Spirit, do not flow the blood from this wound, so let it be, amen.
---	--

Another roughly contemporary example can be found in a manuscript of mostly prayers of a Roman Catholic nature, from ca. 1619. This variant emphasizes the power of God and does not feature a direct adjuration to or about the blood, as do most *Longinus* charm types in the Welsh corpus. Instead, it relies on the ‘uncorrupted wounds’ motif, discussed in more detail below, where the wounds are compared to those of Christ, which did not rot or fester.

Gweddi i stopio gwaed. Lonsiws farchog[] ystlys yn arglwyd ni jesu crist ffonwayw oni doeth dwy frwt[] drosom ni un o waed er yn prynu ni ag un o ddwfr er yn golchi ni ar archoll hono ni hir lygiodd ni hir waedodd ni hir ddrewodd felly drwy nerth a gwrthiau y brath hwnw ni ddolurio ac ni chwyddo ag ni ddiffwrwytho onit i fod kyn laned a chyn iached a chyn wnaeth lonsiws yn yr arglwydd jesu grist pan oedd ef ar y groes yn [<i>diodeff</i>] angau dros yr oesedd. In nomine patris et filii et <i>spiritus</i> sangti amen. ²⁷⁶	A prayer to stop blood. The soldier Longinus [<i>pierced</i>] the side of our Lord Jesus Christ with a lance until two streams [<i>came</i>] over us: one of blood in order to redeem us, and one of water in order to cleanse us. And those wounds did not consume for long, did not bleed for long, and did not putrefy for long Therefore, by the strength and miracles of that wound, let it not hurt nor swell nor wither, but rather let it be as cleansed and as healthy as before Longinus made [the wounds] in the Lord Jesus Christ when he was on the cross suffering death through the ages. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen.
--	---

The Welsh manuscript corpus of *Longinus* charms for stopping blood includes fourteen charms: two Latin *Tres Boni Fratres* charms that also feature a *Longinus* invocation (both in manuscripts associated with England but brought to Wales early on); one fully in English, and associated with a Latin and English book of medicine likely produced around the border but brought to Wales by at least the sixteenth century; two that use Latin predominantly; one featuring

²⁷⁵ NLW Peniarth MS 206, p. 83

²⁷⁶ NLW MS 253A, p. 15

the fascinating orthographically Welsh representation of Latin; and eight in Welsh. Eleven versions feature some use of Welsh, even if just to identify what the charm works against or how to perform it. Several of the *Longinus* charms above are found in manuscript contexts that indicate they were thought of as more religious in nature than medical. In fact, in the Welsh tradition, the *Longinus* charm is more commonly found in manuscripts containing prayers and other religious material, as opposed to manuscripts that were strictly medical.

Of the twelve Welsh-corpus *Longinus* charms presented above, three versions specify that the text is a prayer (*gveddi*) and one calls it a blessing (*benedictio*). All three versions that identify as *gveddi* belong to a period later than the mid-sixteenth century.²⁷⁷ Five charm texts—all from the later fifteenth century and into the first half of the sixteenth century—specifically that they are charms (*synn*), as does the English version from the manuscript likely produced over the border in England. The remaining variants do not indicate whether they should be called charms or prayers, but simply begin with a statement regarding the function of the text (to stop blood).

Manuscripts produced or compiled for a more religious purpose use the terms prayer and charm with no discernable patterns. It might be unproductive to be overly concerned with the terminology here, but a consideration of how the texts were labeled, and thus to some extent conceived of by the scribe, might help to illuminate some of the nuance of these texts.

Overall the *Longinus* motif for stopping blood is well attested throughout Europe, and the Welsh corpus of charms demonstrates that it was used in Wales from the time of the earliest extant books of medicine and healing charms (the later fourteenth century). Extant sources point to the *Longinus* charm type as having entered the Welsh tradition via Latin but it was translated into Welsh

²⁷⁷ Lea Olsan has noted (personal communication, Feb. 2020) that this shift from the medieval usage of ‘charm’ occurs in England after the Protestant Reformation, when ‘charm’ became strongly associated with Roman Catholic ‘magic.’ It would seem that, in the case of the Welsh *Longinus* charm, the same phenomenon can be observed.

fairly early on (at least in the later fifteenth century and probably even before), from which point it almost always appears in the vernacular.²⁷⁸ The use of the *Longinus* motif continued in the Welsh tradition well beyond the date of the latest charm in this chapter (seventeenth century) and has been documented in charm collections of the modern period.

On a surface level, the Welsh *Longinus* charms share several features with *Longinus* charms of other traditions, in Latin and in the vernacular. However, the vernacular Welsh *Longinus* charms tend to feature more detailed and elaborate narrative, such as descriptions of Longinus and his lance, along with the general narrative describing the blood and water flowing from the wound. They are, on the whole, indebted to the Welsh poetic tradition in a way that no other charm type in the Welsh corpus has thus far demonstrated.

2.b: Tres Boni Fratres

In the shared European charm traditions, charms for staunching blood often feature the *Longinus* motif fused onto another popular motif: the *Tres Boni Fratres*, or Three Good Brothers, a charm used for the general healing of wounds. Variants of this charm type most often begin with a narrative that introduces three individuals on a journey to the Mount of Olives in order to collect healing herbs. On the way, they encounter and converse with Christ, who provides them with instructions for a remedy involving wool and olive oil. Christ also gives them a charm to recite, effectively creating a charm within a charm. Many versions also stipulate secrecy and prohibit receiving payment for the remedy. Other versions also commonly make use of the ‘*Neque doluit neque tumuit*,’ or “uncorrupted wounds,” motif which uses a formula comparing the soundness of Christ’s

²⁷⁸ I use the term ‘early’ in relative terms to the extant Welsh manuscripts featuring charms. Thus, the fourteenth century is early for the sake of this dissertation, since it is the date of the earliest charms. Scholars are somewhat divided on a precise cutoff date (if indeed such a thing is possible) for the Middle Ages in Wales, but the consensus is that the Middle Ages ended in Wales in the mid-sixteenth century.

wounds on the cross, where they supposedly did not fester, to those of the patient, who through this sympathetic, parallel power, will also not suffer wounds that fester.

Lea Olsan notes that the earliest version of this charm type is from a Greek papyrus from fifth- or sixth-century Egypt, and although it is lacking several of the key aspects named above, its inclusion of a narrative between Christ and three men, as well as a cure involving wool and oil, suggest that this charm is an early version of the *Tres Boni Fratres* type in which Christ engages in a dialogue with healers and delivers a cure to them.²⁷⁹ The charm is often found in Latin, although vernacular versions existed from fairly early on.²⁸⁰ A typical Latin *Tres Boni Fratres* charm might look something like this version, found in British Library Add. MS 33966 (s.xv, England):

Ad sanandum vulnera primo dicatur istud carmen: Tres boni fratres iverunt ad montem Oliveti ad colligendum herbas et obviaverunt domino nostro Jesu Christo qui dixit eis ‘Quo itis?’ Tres boni fratres qui respondentes dixerunt ‘Ad montem Oliveti ad colligendum herbas ad sanandum vulnera’. Et ait illis Jesus ‘Conjuro vos, tres boni fratres, quod herbas dimittatis et oleum de oliva et lanam nigram sumatis dicentes “Conjuro te, vulnus, per vulnus Christi preciosum a Longeo milite perforatum, quod neque ranclescebat neque putrescebat nec vermen generabat nec dolorem amplius sentiebat, sic nec tu ranclescas, neque putrescas, nec vermem generes nec dolorem inde sentias per virtutem olei et lane. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.”

²⁷⁹ Lea Olsan, “The Three Good Brothers Charm: Some Historical Points” in *Incantatio. An International Journal on Charms, Charmers and Charming* 1 (2011): 47-78. Olsan provides her translation of this charm, which Robert Mazza also prints in “P. Oxy. XI, 1384: medicina, rituali di guarigione e cristianesimi nell’Egitto tardoantico,” in *Annali di Storia dell’Esegesi. Il cristianesimo antico e la ‘magia’*. 24:2 (2007) pp. 437–462. Olsan’s translation (p. 49) is: Some men of ours met [or some men met us] / in the wilderness and said to the Lord: Jesu, what cure (*tharapia*) is there for the sick? And He said to them, ‘Oil of olives I gave/ and I designated myrrh for those who have acted in the name of the Father and the Holy Spirit and the Son.

²⁸⁰ Eleonora Cianci has found twenty-six versions in German manuscripts, the earliest dating to the thirteenth century. Other vernacular traditions include Italian, Spanish, and Dutch. See Eleonora Cianci, *The German Tradition of the Three Good Brothers Charm*. Göppinger Arbeiten Zur Germanistik ; Nr. 774. (Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 2013). See also Eleonora Cianci, “Maria Lactans” and the Three Good Brothers.’ in *Incantatio. An International Journal on Charms, Charmers and Charming*, 2. (2012) pp. 55-70. Tony Hunt lists an Anglo-Norman version, found in MS Trinity 0.1.20, f. 23rb: *Esperment a plaie. Treis bons freres estoient ke aloient al mont d’Olivet por coillir herbes bones a plaie et a garison. Et ancontrerent Nostre Seignor Jesu Crist et Nostre Seignor lor demaunda: ‘Tres bons freres, ou alez vous?’ Et il responderent: ‘Al mont d’Olivet por coillir herbes de plaie et de garison’. Et Nostre Sire dit a eus ‘Venez o mai et me grantez [f. 23va] en bone fei ke vous nel diez a nul home ne a femme ne aprendrez. Pernez oile d’olive et leine ke unkes ne fust lavee et merez sor la plaie’. Quaint Longius l’ebreu aficha la launce en le coste Nostre Seignor Jesu Crist, cele plaie ne seigna, ele n’emfla point, ele ne puoit mie, ele ne doloit mie, ele ne rancia mie. Ausi ceste plaie ne seime mes, n’emfle point, ne pue mie, ne doile mie, ne rance point, n’eschaufe mie. En le nun del Piere, el nun del Fiz, el nun del Seint Espirit, Paster Noster treis fois. As printed in Hunt, *Popular Medicine*, p. 72.*

Nec inde mercedem capiat, sed in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus
Sancti id faciat.²⁸¹

I have found two Welsh-language versions that are nearly identical. The oldest version was written in what Huws describes as an ‘old fashioned hand’ of the mid-fourteenth century.²⁸² This, then, is one of the oldest, if not *the* oldest Welsh-language charm.

O dri broder da pa le yr ewch chwi? Ni a awn heb wynt y uynyd olivet y geffiaw llysseuod y iacha braetheu. O dri broder da ymchwellwch dracheuyn a ch[347]ymerwch oel wlyf ag wlan du a gwyn wy a dodwch wrth y bratheu a dywedwch y swyn hwnn. Mi a thynghedaf di vrath drwy rat a grym y pump archoll y rai a vuant yngwir diw ag wir ddyn ac ae kym[er]th yn y santeidia gorff er yn prynu ni a[c] er y bronau y rai a duneist ²⁸³ di iessu grist hy[d] na doluryo ac na ddre6o ac na	O, three good brothers, where are you going? We are going, they said, to the Mount of Olives to get herbs to heal wounds. Oh three good brothers, turn back, and take olive oil and black wool and egg white which you will put on the wounds and say this charm: I adjure you, wound, by the grace and power of the five wounds which were upon the true God and the true man, and which he sustained on his holy body in order to redeem us. And by the breasts that you suckled,
---	---

²⁸¹ As published in Hunt, *Popular Medicine*, p. 29. Similarly, Ilona Tuomi has pointed out the existence of this charm type in several Irish manuscripts, such as sixteenth-century manuscript Dublin, Trinity College MS 133: *Pater noster 7 aue Maria 7 credo 7 Ibant tres boni fratres ad montem Oliueti bonas herbas querentes omnia uulnera sanantes obuiauerunt domino nostro Ihesu Christo Quo tenditis uos tres boni fratres? Domine ad montem Oliueti bonas herbas querentes omnia uulnera sanantes. Renertemini uos tres boni fratres 7 accipietis oliam oliue 7 lanam nidentis 7 consiuretis uulnera per quinq[ue] plagas domini nostri Ihesu Christi 7 per mamillas de quibus lactatus est Ihesu quod nequi uultus doleat nequi putrescat nequi sicutriscat plusquam fecerunt uulnera domini nostri Ihesu Christi. I[n] nomine patris 7 filii 7 spiritus sancti. amen. Cuic paidrecha 7 cuic aue Maria 7 creda ina diaid A cur sin i n-ola 7 i n-olaind muilt gin berrad romi 7 a cur imon cned 7 bid slan o tiachair cach cned re curfithir ginmotha sici n-olaiab.* Tuomi’s translation is: Pater Noster and Ave Maria and credo. (And) Three good brothers were going to the Mount of Olives seeking good herbs healing all wounds. They met our Lord Jesus Christ. “Where are you going, you three good brothers?” “O Lord, to the Mount of Olives, seeking good herbs healing all wounds.” “Turn back, you three good brothers, and you will take olive oil and wool of an ewe and you will conjure the wounds by the five wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ And by the breasts from which Jesus was nursed, that the wound may neither ache, nor putrefy, nor form a scar any more than did the wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ when he was hung on the cross.” Thus it shall heal cleanly, from the deep, just as did the wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ. In the name of the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen. ‘Five paters and five Ave Marias and a credo after them. Put that into oil and the wool of a wether which has not before been shorn, and place it about the wound, and every wound against which it is put will become free from soreness except for peritoneum or chest’ (the instruction translated by Best 1952, 30). Ilona Tuomi, “As I went up the hill of Mount Olive’ The Irish Tradition of the Three Good Brothers Charm Revisited.” *Studia Celtica Fennica* XIII (2016) pp. 69-96 at pp. 72-73. Lady Wilde also published an English Three Good Brothers charm in her *Ancient Legends, Mystic Charms, and Superstitions of Ireland* (1887), 80. The charm was used in Ireland even in the modern period, as is attested by Douglas Hyde’s inclusion of this charm type in Irish, which he says he got from Father O’Growney. (Hyde, *The Religious Songs of Connacht*, 1906, 2-3). Tuomi provides this charm, and a translation, on page 78 of her article.

²⁸² Huws, *Repertory*. The manuscript is a collection of prose, mostly of a religious, didactic nature. It features a text on the burial of Arthur, a Welsh version of the Gospel of Nicodemus, a Welsh version of the Seven Sages of Rome, and other theological tracts. Folios 72-74 feature a text on the nine daughters of the Devil, along with Latin and Welsh charms.

²⁸³ dynaf, denaf

vo *drug* arogleu gan y brath hwnn mwyn noc y
gan dy vratheu iessu grist namyn byt iachedic
megis yr yachassant dy vratheu di iessu grist yn
enw y tat ar mab ar ysbryt glan. a chanet tri
phader er enryded yr goronn drayn + a vu ai ben
yr arglwd []²⁸⁴ [348] In *nomine* patris hic te
innemo²⁸⁵ + + filii te arcu²⁸⁶ signo + + *Spiritus*
sancti te debio.²⁸⁷ In *nomine* patris + filii + *Spiritus*
sancti amen.²⁸⁸

Jesus Christ, that this wound not hurt nor fester
nor putrefy any more than your wounds Jesus
Christ, but let it be healed just as your wounds
healed, Jesus Christ, in the name of the father
and the son and the holy spirit. Sing three [Our]
Fathers in honor of the crown of thorns + upon
the Lord's head []. In the name of the Father
here *I name you* + + [in the name] of the Son I
mark you with an arc + + [in the name of] the
Holy Spirit I bind you + In the name of the

²⁸⁴ One or two lines here are either too heavily faded or have been erased (potentially never having been a part of this charm, as it continues quite as one would expect on the next page).

²⁸⁵ This is most likely some form of the Latin *nomino*, *nominare*. However, it is perhaps of interest to point out the Dutch verb *innemen*, which means 'to charm.' Although this is speculation, it is more appealing when we also consider that in Dutch, the first-person pronoun is *ik* (note our phrase above reads *hic te innemo*). It is possible that this phrase has been 'Latinized' from Dutch by a scribe attempting to make sense out of something that was likely unfamiliar but could have seemed vaguely like Latin or at least amendable to something more Latinate, thus the inclusion of the Latin second person pronoun *te* and amending the verb to a Latin first person present ending. This is interesting in light of some arguments about the influence of Dutch and Low Country charming traditions on the wider North Atlantic communities. Roper has noted that we do not necessarily always need to presume transmission of the charms via Latin, as has been a typical assumption in the past, and he points out that this is especially true in the case of cognate languages, notably around the North Sea countries (Roper, *English Verbal*, 159). He points out that maritime travel was actually at one point quicker than overland travel, and he illustrates his point using work by archeologist Martin Carver, who states that, "sailing is twice as quick as rowing which is twice as quick as walking" (M.O.H. 'Pre-Viking Traffic in the North Sea,' in Sean McGrail (ed.), *Maritime Celts, Frisians and Saxons: papers presented to a conference at Oxford in November 1988*. (London: Council for British Archaeology), 122). Roper also points out the similarities between North Sea Germanic languages and the wide-scale borrowings both linguistically and culturally, and suggests that charms could have very easily been transmitted, in local vernaculars, throughout the North Sea countries by merchants, clerics, students, and sailors in the middle ages (Roper, *English Verbal Charms*, p. 160). To further his claim, Roper cites T.M. Smallwood, who has demonstrated a series of analogues within some charms of the English and German corpora, which he explains was the result of 'some specific intercourse' likely around (or perhaps before) the early fourteenth century. Smallwood says this exchange could have happened directly between England and Germany, or possibly via the Low Countries. See Roper, 160 and T.M. Smallwood, "God was born in Bethlehem...": The Tradition of a Middle English Charm. *Medium Aevum* 58 (2): 206-233. See also Smallwood's "A Charm-motif to Cure Wounds Shared By Middle Dutch and Middle English. C. de Backer (ed.), *Cultuurhistorische caleidoscoop: aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. Willy L. Braekman* (Gent: Stichting Mes en Kultuur, 1992), 477-496. See also T.M. Smallwood, "The Transmission of Charms in English, Medieval and Modern." in Jonathan Roper (ed), *Charms and Charming in Europe* (London: Palgrave, 2004), 11-31. Finally, to add a more modern example of direct Dutch influence of English charming tradition, Roper notes the evidence of direct contact in the seventeenth-century trial records (Lancashire County Records Office), where a Henry Bagillie remarks that twenty years earlier, a Dutchman taught his father certain prayers and blessings to heal sick people or animals. These prayers and blessings were, interestingly, in English, but Roper's point nonetheless speaks to a rich network of exchange. (Roper, 161). T.M. Smallwood, Gerhard Storms, and Willy Braekman have all convincingly established connections between Old and Middle English charms to Dutch parallels. Smallwood argues that a handful of charm types for wounds are particularly common in North Sea areas, including the Flum Jordan, Longinus, and Uncorrupted Wound types.

²⁸⁶ For more see Lea Olsan, "The Arcus Charms and Christian Magic." *Neophilologus* 73, no. 3 (1989): 438-47.

²⁸⁷ read *debio*

²⁸⁸ NLW Llanstephan MS 2, p. 346-348

The example above includes instructions to use olive oil, black wool, and an egg white on the wound, with the wool presumably acting as gauze. Although the Welsh-language versions of the *Tres Boni Fratres* charm type do not feature a *Longinus* motif, they do make use of the ‘uncorrupted wounds’ motif and feature a direct adjuration to the wound. After appealing to the power of Christ’s wounds and the virtue of Mary’s breasts, the Welsh charms employ a brief ‘uncorrupted wounds’ formula: ‘let this wound not hurt nor rot nor putrefy any more than your wounds, Jesus Christ, but let it be healed just as your wounds healed, Jesus Christ.’ Lea Olsan has pointed out that this motif flourished early in vernacular traditions, and that it is one of the most continuously sustained elements of the *Tres Boni Fratres* charm type.²⁸⁹

Olsan also notes that in this formulaic motif, symptoms are limited to six: bleeding, festering, swelling, becoming inflamed, hurting, rotting, and she also suggests the possibility of the enumeration of the wound symptoms could have served to ‘medicalize’ the charm with its heightened attention to the detailed characteristics of the wound.²⁹⁰ The fact that this charm was included in the medical works of medieval physicians such as John of Gaddesden, Gilbertus Anglicus, and Thomas Fayreford further substantiates Olsan’s speculation about the ‘medicalization’ of this particular charm.²⁹¹

²⁸⁹ Olsan, “The Three Good Brothers Charm...” p. 52

²⁹⁰ *ibid*

²⁹¹ For example, Thomas Fayreford, a fifteenth-century English physician, included this charm in his book of healing, now British Library, MS Harley 2558, at f.64v. Lea Olsan provides a transcription of the charm: *Empiricum bonum expertum in vulneribus pauperum. Ibant tres boni fratres ad montem oliveti bonas herbas quærentes omnia vulnera sanantes. obviaverunt domino nostro Jesu christo. quo tenditis tres boni fratres? domine ad montem oliveti bonas herbas quærentes omnia vulnera sanantes. revertimini, inquit, tres boni fratres et accipite olivum olive et lanam bidentis et comurate vulnus per virtutem .5. plagarum domini nostri Jesu christi quod neque vulnus doleat neque putrescat neque cicatriscat plus quam fecerunt vulnera domini nostri Jesu christi. quando suspensus fu[i]t in cruce. sed ita munde sanet a profundo sicut fecerunt vulnera domini nostri Jesu christi. In nomine patris etc. et dic ter pater noster et ave maria. et magister dicas istud sequens: sicut christus fu[i]t fixus clave et lancea sic christus fu[i]t punctus clave et lancea. et sicut christus fu[i]t lanceatus clave et lancea et ritu sic fu[i]t sanatus ab ipsa puncturefixura. clavatura lanceatura per venerabilem nomen domini nostri Jesu christi. sic sanetur verissime*

Neither of the Welsh manuscripts that feature the nearly identical *Tres Boni Fratres* charms are primarily medical in content. In fact, they are both highly religious in nature, containing didactic religious texts, prayers, and even a Welsh translation of the Gospel of Nicodemus. For the most part the two Welsh versions of the charm are strikingly similar. The second version begins with a rubricated introduction to the charm. It is similar to the charm above, but its ending is different, asserting that the wound will heal without a doubt by the sixteenth day.

llyma y swyn a wnaeth yr Jessu Grist ac a'e dangossos y tri broder da. O dri broder da pa le yr ewch chwi? ni a awn heb wynt y vynydd olivet y geissaw llyssau da a iachaont brathau. O dri broder da ymchoelwch dracheuyn²⁹² [a chymerwch oel dolyf a gwlan du ag wyn wy a dodwch wrthy vratheu] a gwedwch y swyn hwnn. Mi a'th dyghedaf di vrath drwy rat a grym y pvmp archoll y rei a vuant yn y gwir [471] Dduw a gwir ddyn ac ae kymerth yn y santeidaf corf er yn prynu ni ac er y bronneu y rei addyneist di, Iessu Grist, hyt na ddoluyro ac na ddrewo ac na vo dryg arogleu gan y brath hwnn mwy noc y gwnaeth dy vratheu di Jessu Grist, namyn vut jachedig megis y iachassant bratheu Jessu Grist. Yn enw + y Tad + a'r Mab + a'r Ysbryd Glan. Amen. A chanet tri Phader yn enrydedd y'r teir hoel a uuant yn traet yr Arglwydd a'e ddwy law ar y groc, a Phader er anrydedd y goroesbrenn ac yn ddiogel ef a iachaa brath erbyn yr unett dydd ar bymthec.²⁹³	Here is a charm that Jesus Christ made and he revealed it to three good brothers. O three good brothers where are you going? We are going, they said, to the Mount of Olives to search for good herbs that will heal wounds. O three good brothers, turn back and take olive oil and black wool and put on the wounds and say this charm: 'I adjure you, wound, by the grace and strength of the five wounds which were upon the true God and true man, and which he received in his most holy body in order to redeem us and by the breasts which you suckled, Jesus Christ, that this wound not hurt nor fester nor putrefy more than your wounds did Jesus Christ, but that it be healed just as the wounds of Jesus Christ healed. In name of +the Father + and the Son + and the Holy Spirit. Amen. Recite three Our Fathers in honor of the three nails that were in the feet of the Lord and his two hands on the cross, and an Our Father in honor of the cross and without doubt the wound will heal by the sixteenth day.
--	--

vulnus istud. fiat fiat fiat. Amen. For more on Thomas Fayreford, see also Peter Murray Jones, "Thomas Fayreford: An English Fifteenth-Century Medical Practitioner" in eds. Roger French, Jon Arrizabalaga, Andrew Cunningham, and Luis Garcia-Ballester, *Medicine from the Black Death to the French Disease*. (Brookfield USA, Singapore, & Sydney: Ashgate, 1998), pp 156-183.

²⁹² From this point on the rest of this sentence is almost unreadable. However, with the aid of an ultraviolet lamp and manipulation of an image in photoshop, I have been able to make out the rest of this sentence, which is identical to the Llanstephan 2 version given above.

²⁹³ NLW Lanstephan MS 3, p. 470-471

One of the interesting aspects of this charm type is that it is a charm within a charm: the charm that Jesus relates to the three brothers is framed by the general, complete charm. In most medieval traditions, the core of both versions remains the same: the narrative that relates the brothers' encounter with Christ as they make for the Mount of Olives, the verbal formula featuring the adjuration to the wound, and the veneration of Christ's 'uncorrupted wounds,' Mary's breasts, and Christ's crucifixion. Many versions also feature an oath of secrecy and a promise to not accept money, but the Welsh versions omit this oath, as does the late-medieval Irish example given in n.40 above. Often the oath is sworn on Mary's milk or breasts and/or Christ's cross.

One manuscript from 1438 features a variant of this charm, which was added to the manuscript in the fifteenth or sixteenth century.²⁹⁴ The manuscript is largely religious in nature and features no other charms or medicine, as far as I am aware.

Tri broder da oedynt yn cerdyd ar un forde ac a gardysont an arloyd ny uesu gryst y tri broder da ble ewch ni aoyne euenyt oliuet e kysau llussee da iachynt iholl vrathe o tri broder da cymoelwch dracheuyn a cimerwch wlan du ag oele a wedwch y swyn hyn. Mi ath thiguedaf di vrath true rat a grym e pump archoll er rei a gymerith gowir du a gowyr dyn yn santiaf gnaude dros yn iechedd ny hyd na doluryog ac na driko ac na vo dregaro gele moy nag eiachauwyd bratih iessu gryst ac yr lxxxii ar y deuyly iessu... amen. ²⁹⁵	Three good brothers were walking along a road and they approached our Lord Jesus Christ. O three good brothers, where are you going? We are going to the Mount of Olives to get herbs that heal wounds. O three good brothers, turn back and take black wool and oil and say this charm. "I adjure you, wounds, through the grace and strength of the five wounds, those that the true God and true man received in his most holy flesh. Become healthy, so that it not hurt nor putrefy nor fester more than [] and the family of Jesus...amen.
---	---

Much of this Welsh is strange and would be difficult to decipher without the aid of the two fuller versions above. However, it is clear that this version retains the core motif of this charm type: the

²⁹⁴ Huws, *Repertory*

²⁹⁵ NLW MS 5267B, f. 60v. Initial transcription by Rebecca Try, with slight emendations which I have based on other variants. I have, unfortunately, been unable to see this manuscript or microfilm, thus am guided by the transcription made by Rebecca Try, "NLW MS 5267B: a partial transcription and commentary," PhD dissertation, Cardiff University, Dec. 2015.

dialogue with Christ on the journey to the Mount of Olives, and the charm they receive from him, along with the directive to use black wool and oil. An even more abridged variant of the *Tres Boni Fratres* charm appears in a Welsh charm to staunch blood, included in a sixteenth-century Wellcome manuscript, which seems to be a copy of materials that date to at least a century earlier.

I stopio gwaed. Gwna fal hynn, Dydd da yt lysse sy yn tufu ar y ddauar ar fynydd Olivet ith gad iacha yr archoll ystopia y gwaed yn enw Iessu grist a fu farw ar a y groes. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Amen.²⁹⁶	To stop blood, do like this: Good day to you, herbs, which grow on the ground on the Mount of Olives to allow you to heal the wound and stop blood in the name of Jesus Christ who died on the cross. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen.
--	---

The general charm type seems to have emerged across Western Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. One Latin version dates to the thirteenth century, while a German version appears in a manuscript of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Danish and Italian versions survive from the fourteenth century, and French versions survive from slightly later.²⁹⁷ Sometimes the brothers are named, such as in Danish versions, which give the names Ylinus, Cosmas, and Damianus.²⁹⁸ Ilona Tuomi notes that the Irish corpus of charms includes twelve *Tres Boni Fratres* charms dating from the later sixteenth century up to the modern period (one in Latin, two in English, and the remainder in Irish).²⁹⁹ While the charm type was relatively well-known in Europe, Roper notes that it seems to have been much less popular in England.³⁰⁰ It also seems likely that in

²⁹⁶ Wellcome MS 417, f.80v

²⁹⁷ Roper, *English Verbal Charms*, p. 128

²⁹⁸ See Olsan, “Three Good Brothers...” pp. 54-55 and Roper, *English Verbal Charms*, p. 127. Variants of these names also appear in Swedish charms, and in one fifteenth-century example appear as Cosmas, Damianus, Elida. My thanks to Stephen Mitchell for the Swedish reference. It is also of interest that in hagiographical tradition, Cosmas and Damiana were twin brothers and physicians.

²⁹⁹ Ilona Tuomi, “‘As I went up the hill of Mount Olive’: The Irish Tradition of the Three Good Brothers Charm Revisited.” *Studia Celtica Fennica XIII* (2016), pp. 69-96 at p. 70.

³⁰⁰ Roper, *English Verbal Charms*, 127. See, for comparison, a late-fifteenth-century Middle English example from B.L. Sloane MS 3160, ff. 133v-134: thre goode breþren went ouer þe londe & ihesu mete wt hem & seyde breþren wheþer wolle ye gon lorde we wendeþ to þe mount of oliuet to gadar herbes to hele wonddis & opir soris comeþ wt me & y

some traditions this charm type was actually composed in the vernacular before its translation into Latin, and Roper notes that a twelfth-century German version of this charm type predates any known Latin versions by at least 100 years.³⁰¹

I have recently found two previously unknown Latin versions of the *Tres Boni Fratres* charm in two manuscripts in the National Library of Wales. Both manuscripts feature English and Latin medical writing and were produced in England but were in Wales by the sixteenth century at the latest. The first example is from ca. 1400 and is found on the first page of a manuscript of medicine and charms.

Ad plagas sanandum. Tres boni fratres per viam ambulabant et iff³⁰²(?) obvi[smudged]³⁰³ ihesus cristus dixit o boni fratres quo itis[smudged] respondentes dixerunt domine [illegible] ad montem oliveti herba [faded] plagas et doloras et [illegible] sana[illegible] [1v] illis domine venite post me et iuravitis non absconditi dicatere necque mercani accipiatare sed ite ad montem oliveti et accipito olium et lanam nigram et illo tam et ponate illud sinit super plaga[m] et dicatas sic sicut longius hebreus cum lanceia percussit latus domini nostri ihesu christi et plaga illius d[torn]uscins non sanguinant nec putriunt nec dolunt nec tumesci nec guttam fecit nec temspostant ari [torn]sor? sic fiet plaga ista in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen. adiuro te plaga per dolorem domine nostri christi in quia sustinuit et per domini principis omnipotentem virtatem et sapientiam eius exias et decedas ab omnibus membris huius corporis in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen I	For healing wounds. Three good brothers were walking along a road and encountered Jesus Christ, who said, “O three good brothers, where are you going?” They said, “Lord, to the Mount of Olives to gather herbs to heal wounds and pain. The Lord [said] to them “go back and swear to not speak it secretly nor accept money but go to the Mount of Olives and take oil and black wool and with it put it upon the wounds and say this: Just as Longinus the Hebrew [soldier] pierced the side of our Lord Jesus Christ with a lance, and his wound [...] did not bleed nor putrify nor ache nor swell nor cause gout so let it not [...] so let this wound be, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. I adjure you, wound, through the suffering of our Lord Christ which he endured and by the almighty Lord [and] Prince, and by his virtue and wisdom depart and recede from every limb of his body in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit
---	--

schal 3ow teche take oyle of oliue tre and blake wolle & do þe wolle in þe oyle & lay it to þi wonde & say þs charm þer-ouer righte as longius þrillide þe seyde of god & þt wonde ne blede not longe ne rotide not ne oke no3t ne swellede ne fesstarde nou3 ry3tht so þs wonde ne blede he nou3 ne ake he nou3t ne swelle he not ne rote ne not in þe name of þe fader + & þsonne + & of þe holy gost + amen. As published in Olsan, “Middle English Charms” at p. 66.

³⁰¹ Roper, *English Verbal Charms*, p. 193 n.48

³⁰² Perhaps an abbreviated form of *infero*, ‘to move or march forward.’

³⁰³ This is most likely *obviaverunt* or some variant.

coniuro te wulnus <i>per</i> anunciationem <i>per</i> assumptionem <i>per</i> nativitatem beate marie <i>per</i> [faded] pasinum <i>per</i> ic [] iunium <i>per</i> passionem <i>per</i> marcem [faded] onohim resurexionem domini nostri ihesu christi [faded] tins set non nocias set sanes ut sanavetur in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen.³⁰⁴	amen. I conjure you wound, by the annunciation, by the assumption, by the birth of the blessed Mary, by the [...] the passion by this [...] by the passion, by Mark [...] the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ [...], do not harm, but may you heal as [Christ] was healed in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit amen.
---	--

The second version is very similar but has been crossed out twice and has faded to the extent that it is illegible except under an ultraviolet lamp, and even then, it is difficult to decipher. This version, from the fifteenth century, or possibly the early sixteenth century, begins with an English heading:

This is a charme for woundys <i>with</i> oyle & wole. Tres boni fratres <i>per</i> viam vuam ambulabant et obviaverunt eis + ihesu quibus dixit. tres boni fratres quo itis. domine nos imus ad montem olyveti ad colligendum herbas salvacionis sanitatis et integritates. tres boni fratres venite post me et [faded]³⁰⁵ <i>per</i> lac beate virginis marie quod non abscondetis neque in abscondito dices neque lucrum accipietes et ite ad montem oliveti et accipetes lanam nigram et [faded]³⁰⁶ et olium olive postea sic dicendo sicut longins miles latus domini nostri + iehsu christi lancea perforavit et illa plaga non diu doluit neque putres[faded]nt neque fistulavit neque rancleant neque sanguis[faded]ant neque guttam fecit sic plaga ista <i>per</i> virtutem illa plage non diu doliat + [faded]³⁰⁷ neque fistulet + neque ranqllet + neque sanguivret + neque guttam faciat [faded] san[faded] fiat et [faded] sicut sicut vulnus quod fecit longins miles domine nostri ihesu christi sic pendevit in cruce. in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen.³⁰⁸	This is a charm for wounds with oil and wool. Three good brothers were walking along a road and they met + Jesus, who said to them, 'Three good brothers, where are you going?' 'We are going to the Mount of Olives to collect herbs for salvation, health, and healing.' 'Three good brothers, go back and [faded] by the milk of the blessed virgin Mary that you will not conceal or [faded] you will not conceal it nor speak it in secret nor accept money and go to Mount of Olives and take [faded] black wool and [faded] and olive oil and then say this [faded]: The soldier Longinus pierced the side of our Lord + Jesus Christ with a lance and that wound ache for a long time nor putrefy nor [fester] nor rankle nor bleed nor cause gout so too this wound, by the virtue of that wound may not for long nor fester nor rankle nor bleed nor cause gout let it be just as the wound that the soldier Longinus made in our Lord Jesus Christ as he hung from the cross. In the name of the Father and the Son and the
---	---

³⁰⁴ NLW Peniarth MS 370b, f. 1r-v

³⁰⁵ Probably 'iurate mihi' or something similar.

³⁰⁶ Likely 'succisam,' as in other versions.

³⁰⁷ Perhaps 'neque diu putridet' or some variation.

³⁰⁸ Peniarth 369 f. 40r. An almost identical example exists in Cambridge University Library MS Add 9308 f. 61r, as printed by Lea Olsan in 'The Corpus of Charms in Middle English Leechcraft Remedy Book,' at p. 221. The charm reads: A charme for woundes *with* oyle & wolle. Tres boni fratres *per* viam ambulabant et obuiabat eis Iesus quibus dixit, Tres boni fratres quo itis? Domine, nos imus ad montem Oliueti ad [f. 61v] colligendum herbas saluacionis sanitatis et

	Holy Spirit, amen.
--	--------------------

Although the provenance for both of these Latin versions was likely somewhere along the Marches, it is indicative of the types of medical writing to which a Welsh audience would have access. The two Latin versions are found within books of medicine, while the three Welsh versions belong to manuscripts with no other medical writing apart from one other charm for a whitlow or felon, replicated in both manuscripts (see Chapter Three). The brief Welsh fragment that mentions herbs that grow on the Mount of Olives, found in a book of Welsh medicine, is a sub-variant and fragment of the *Tres Boni Fratres* type, as it lacks all other motifs apart from a reference to herbs and Mount Olivet. Like the Welsh Longinus charms, it would seem that the vernacular Welsh charms of the *Tres Boni Fratres* type were thought of as healing texts that were better suited to manuscripts of a religious nature rather than medical manuscripts that also of practical and/or theoretical medicine. This makes sense given the religious *historiolae* upon which both depend for their efficacy.

2.c: Flum Jordan and Christ's Birth in Bethlehem

Other motifs that often travel together in charms for blood loss or for general wound healing include a reference to Christ's birth in Bethlehem and his baptism in the river Jordan. Sometimes this *Flum Jordan* motif appears within a *Longinus* charm type, although on the whole the amalgamation of these two motifs into one charm is less common in the Welsh tradition. However,

integritatis. Tres boni fratres, uenite post me et iurate mihi per lac beate virginis Marie quod non abscondetis neque in abscondito dicetis neque lucrum accipietis. Et ite ad montem Oliueti et accipite lanam nigram succisam et oleum oliue postea sic dicendo: Sicut Longinus miles latus domini nostri + Iesu + Christi lancea perforauit et illa plaga non diu doluit neque putridauit neque fistulauit neque rancclauit, neque sanguinauit neque guttam fecit + sic plaga ista per virtutem illius plage non diu doelat + neque diu putridet + fistulet + neque ranclet + neque sanguinet neque guttam faciat, sed ita sana fiat [f. 62r] et munda sicut fuit vulnus quod fecit Longinus in latere domini nostri + Iesu Christi quando pendeat in cruce. In nomine patris etc.

in the Welsh corpus, *Flum Jordan* charm types always include a reference to Christ's birth in Bethlehem, as is often the case in the *Flum Jordan* charms of English manuscripts. Matthew 13 relates the story of Christ's baptism by John the Baptist, but it does not mention the flow of water being stopped. The narrative of the waters standing still at the baptism was taken from several extra-biblical texts such as the seventh-century *Chronicon Paschale*, which relates that at Christ's baptism, "The Lord said unto John, 'Say unto Jordan, stand! The Lord hath come to us.' And at once the waters stood."³⁰⁹ Ohrt presents perhaps the earliest example of this charm type, in Latin, from ca. 900: *Christus et S. Johannes ambulans ad flumen Jordane, dixit Chr. ad S. Johanne; 'Restens, flumen Jordane'. Commode restens fl. Jordane, sic reste[t] vena-[i]st[a]*.³¹⁰ Keiser suggests that the *Flum Jordan* charm type is the most prevalent type in the Middle English corpus, and Roper notes that it was far more widespread in his English database than the *Longinus* type.³¹¹

This charm type was still being used in England in the modern period, and Davies cites an example from a Shropshire blacksmith's notebook of the early nineteenth century.³¹² The charm is also well attested from the medieval and modern traditions of various European charm corpora, with analogues in Germanic and Romance languages, as well as Greek and Russian Orthodox

³⁰⁹ As cited in Owen Davies, "Healing Charms," p. 21. See also Adolf Jacoby, *Ein bisher ungeachteter apokrypher Bericht über die Taufe Jesu* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1902) pp. 70f. See also Ohrt, *Die ältesten Segen über Christi Taufe und Christi Tod in religionsgeschichtlichem Lichte* (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1938).

³¹⁰ As cited in Roper, *English Verbal Charms*, p. 105.

³¹¹ George Keiser (ed), *A Manual of Writings in Middle English 1050-1500. Volume 10: Works of Science and Information*. (New Haven: The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1998) 3670-3671; and Roper, *English Verbal Charms*, p. 113. See also Ohrt, *Die Ältesten Segen Über Christi Taufe und Christi Tod*, which devotes considerable attention to this charm type.

³¹² Davies, 20: A C[harm] to stop blud.—Our Saviour Jesus Crist was borne in Bethalem was Baptsed of Jon in the river of Jordan. God commanded the water to stop & it stoped So in his name do I command the blood to Stop that run from this orrafas vain or vaines as the water Stoped in the River of Jordan wen our Saviour Jesus Crist was baptized in the name of the Father. Stop blud in the name of the sun stop blood in the name of the Holeygst not a drop more of blud proceduth Amen Amen Amen—to be sed 3 times but if the case be bad 9 times and the Lords praier before & after holding your rithand on the place and marck the place thus + with your midel finger.

traditions.³¹³ *Flum Jordan* charms have also been collected in modern Ireland, though Barbara Hillers has argued that the charm type belongs more firmly to an English tradition, as all but five of the fifty-nine modern versions collected in Ireland are in English.³¹⁴

In the pre-modern Welsh tradition, this charm type did not enjoy quite the same wide-reaching popularity, and I have thus far identified far fewer *Flum Jordan* charm types than *Longinus*. Welsh-manuscript *Flum Jordan* charms are found in both English and Welsh but are not common in Latin. One fourteenth-century (or possibly early fifteenth-century) medical manuscript in the National Library of Wales features a *Flum Jordan* charm in Middle English. The manuscript is in Latin and English, but the book was in the possession of a David Lloyd, whose signature can be seen at the top of f. 38v. On the final page of the manuscript, f. 40v, he also wrote his name in block letters and below it added, in what appears to be a sixteenth-century hand, ‘*dy scrivenodd y llaw bon*’ (has written this signature). This is the only Welsh that appears in the manuscript, but it proves direct engagement with the types of manuscripts that were written and circulated in England. The charm features a rubricated title with the first initial in blue ink, which is otherwise uncommon in most of the Welsh manuscripts featuring medical writing.

Ffor to staunche blode

God þat was borne in þe burgh of bedleem & cristened in
þe flome jorduyn staunche þe blode of þis man .N. as þu
staunchedest þe flode of flome jordan þorou3 þe virtue of þi
woundes fyue þat þu sufferedest upon þe rode for synful manes kynde
on erþe and þorou3 þe virtue of þe blode þat ranne out of þi r3t side
stynte blode staunche bloode In nomine patris et filii et spiritus and sey
þis þries³¹⁵

³¹³ Roper, *English Verbal Charms*, p.133.

³¹⁴ Barbara Hillers, ‘Towards a Typology of European Narrative Charms in Irish Oral Tradition,’ in John Carey, Ciarán Ó Gealbháin, Ilona Tuomi, and Barbara Hillers (eds). *Charms, Charmers and Charming in Ireland: From the Medieval to the Modern*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019) pp. 79-102.

³¹⁵ Peniarth 388, part i, f. 40r.

Another English version was included in a Welsh manuscript (ca. 1484) of religious and secular poetry, didactic poems, and some prayers, which has led Daniel Huws to suggest that this manuscript emanated from a religious community.³¹⁶ It was added at some point in the fifteenth or early-sixteenth century. The manuscript features several English prayers and texts, including prophetic material, so an English charm is not particularly surprising.

To staunche bloode. ffyrst make a crosse ther as he bledeth wyth thys
blessyng. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen. As verily as
god was borne in bethleem and baptised was in flum Jordan, as verile
as the flood stooode. Reste thou blood, In nomine patris etc. And saye
v. pater nosters in the worshop of the v. woundes and also v. avees.³¹⁷

The charm is a fairly standard representative of a typical *Flum Jordan* charm in circulation in England in the later Middle Ages. Later in the same manuscript, this English charm was translated nearly word-for-word into Welsh, by what seems to have been the same scribe.

Y stopi gwayd: Yn gynta gwna groes ar yr archoll gan ddywedyd y fendith honn. jn <i>nomine</i> patris <i>et</i> filiij etc. Kyn gywired ac y ganed mabe dyw ym bethelem ac y bedyddwyd yn dyfwr Jordan, a chyn gywired ac y safwys y dyfwr, saf dithey waed. In <i>nomine</i> patris etc. A dyweid pemp pader pypm aue maria a chr[edo] er ynrydedd yr pemp archoll gan veddyleid am y ddioddei[feint] ³¹⁸	To stop blood, first make a cross upon the wound while saying this blessing. In the name of the Father and the Son etc. As truly as the son of God was born in Bethlehem and was baptized in the water of Jordan, and as truly as the water stood still, so stand, blood. In the name of the Father, etc. And say five Our Fathers and five Ave Marias and a Credo in honor of the five wounds while thinking about the passion of Christ.
--	---

The charm above differs from the English version of the same manuscript only in the prescribed prayers to say. Like many Welsh charms compared to their Latin counterparts, this charm has been slightly expanded, with the additional instruction to say a Creed while thinking about the suffering of Christ.

³¹⁶ Huws, *Repertory, Peniarth* 53

³¹⁷ NLW Peniarth MS 53, p. 66

³¹⁸ NLW Peniarth MS 53, p. 87

Another very similar version appears in NLW MS 873B, from the second half of the sixteenth century, a manuscript that features several other charms, including two *Longinus* charms, given above, as well as a charm against bewitched men and cattle (see Chapter Four).

I attal gwaed. Gwna groes ar gyfer y gwaed drwy y geiriay hyn, yn enw y tad. Ac velly kyn wired a geni Jesu ymethlem ai vedyddio yn yrddonen, ac val y safodd y dwr sa dithe. Ac nag ystoc, waed, yn enw gwelie yr arglwydd. Yn enw y tad ar mab ar ysbryd glan. ³¹⁹	To stop blood: Make a cross for the blood by means of these words: In the name of the father. And as true as Jesus was born in Bethlehem and was baptized in the [river] Jordan, and just as the water stood still, so stand, [blood]. Do not stir, blood, in the name of the wounds of the Lord. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.
---	--

One final version worth noting can be found in NLW Peniarth MS 369, the early Latin and English medical text likely produced in the borderlands of Wales and England but brought to Wales in the sixteenth century or earlier. The manuscript presents a succession of remedies for staunching blood, including this *Flum Jordan* charm. Unlike the others presented here, this version omits the reference to Christ's birth in Bethlehem.

To stanche blode att pe nase or any other place say <i>Domine Deus omnipotens adiutor N. famulo tuoe N. Sic stinxisti flumen iordanis quando christus in eo baptisatus fuit sic citissime restringas venas ipsius famulie tue N. sanguine plenas amen. Quicumque ter dicat liberabitur.</i> ³²⁰	To staunch blood at the nose or any other place, say: Lord God Almighty, Helper of N., your servant N. Just as you stopped the river Jordan when Christ was baptized in it, so too very quickly restrain the veins filled blood of this your servant N., amen. Whoever will say this three times will be liberated.
--	---

The corpus of charms included in Welsh manuscripts before the mid-seventeenth century includes just five stand-alone *Flum Jordan* charms (including the two versions found in the Latin/English

³¹⁹ NLW MS 873B, p. 36

³²⁰ NLW Peniarth MS 369 f. 108v

manuscripts of the Marches but brought to Wales by the sixteenth century).³²¹ Of these five, only two are found in the Welsh language. It is somewhat surprising that, given its popularity in England, the *Flum Jordan* charm type does not appear to have been more popular in the Welsh tradition. In England this charm type has been cited as the most popular wound charm, whereas in the Welsh corpus, the *Longinus* charm type was by far the preferred charm for staunching blood. Perhaps the emphasis on sound pattern, and especially rhyme, in the English *Flum Jordan* tradition had something to do with the charm's lack of transmission in Welsh, where the same type of sound pattern is not easily replicated in translation.

2.d. Adam's Blood, Writing in Blood, and Veronica

Another charm type that was popular in England, and in English due to its rhyming quality, was a brief narrative charm that references the redemption of Adam by Christ's death. In English, this *In Sanguine Adae* charm type, like the *Flum Jordan*, relies on an end rhyme in each line. Given this, it comes as no surprise that this charm type was also not common in Welsh translation. It appears, in English, fairly late in the Welsh-manuscript corpus, written, along with several other blood loss remedies (see below), in a seventeenth-century hand:

In the bloud of Adam was taken +
 In the bloud of christ it was all to chaken +
 And by the same blod I doo thee charg +
 that thou doo rune no longer at large +³²²

Although this charm type did not circulate widely in Welsh manuscripts that predate the seventeenth century, it circulated well into the modern period along the English border. Owen Davies has noted a nineteenth-century Shropshire version that is almost identical to our seventeenth-century version

³²¹ And a sixth charm uses the *Flum Jordan* motif within a longer *Longinus* charm.

³²² NLW Peniarth MS 66, p. 164.

above.³²³ Jonathan Roper points out that the earliest English examples of this charm can be found in Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), where it is described as being “for a bloudie flux; or rather an issue of blood.”³²⁴ Roper also suggests that these versions appear to be an “Englishing” of a text Reginald Scot found in Johann Wier's *De praestigiis daemonum*.³²⁵ Ohrt notes the existence of this charm in Latin, recorded by Hildegard von Bingen in the twelfth century.³²⁶ In the Welsh charm corpus, the general *In sanguine Adae* motif and its sub-variants appear fairly late and, based on the manuscript evidence, were not very popular.

In fact, the blood charms of NLW Peniarth MS 66, which are on facing pages, were almost certainly copied from Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*. The *In Sanguine Adae* charm given above was written on the left-hand page, while the three other charms that correspond to Scot's were written on the right-facing page, and in the same order as they appear in Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*. The same seventeenth-century hand is responsible for both facing pages.

for a bloudie flux or rather an issue of blood:
Take a cup of cold water and let fall thereinto three drops of the
same blood, and betweene each drop saie pater noster, and ave, then
drinke to the patient and saie who shall helpe you, the patient most
answer S mare stop the issue of blo[ud] +

Then continue the other charms for blood loss:

otheryse: write upon the patient's forehead with [*torn*] same blood
consumm[atun] est +

otherwyse saie to [*torn*] patient sanguis mane in te[*torn*] christus in se
+ sanguis ma[ne] in tua vena[s] sicut chrystus in sua peena sanguis

³²³ “Through the blood of Adam's sin/Was taken the blood of Christ/By the same blood I do thee charge/That the blood of [name] run no more at large.” As printed in Davies, *Healing Charms in Use in England and Wales 1700-1950*, 20.

³²⁴ Roper, *English Verbal Charms*, 109. Roper suggests that this could be a possible reference to monorrhea or dysentery.

³²⁵ See Roper, *English Verbal Charms*, 109. Roper cites Brinsley Nicholson (ed), *The Discoverie of Witchcraft by Reginald Scot, Esquire* (London: Elliot Stock, 1584) who gives Weir's version as “+In sanguine Adae orta est mors: + in sanguine Christi redempta est mors. + in eadem sanguine Christi praecipio tibi. + o sanguis, ut fluxum tuum cohibeas.”

³²⁶ As printed in Roper, *English Verbal Charms*, p. 110

mane si sicut christus quando fuit crucifixus: ter x.³²⁷

Another ‘*consumatus est*’ charm for staunch blood was copied into NLW Peniarth MS 369, though this version omits the instruction to write on the patient’s forehead in blood:

To stanche blode. Consumat~~um~~ est. Another +S + o + bus +p +y + e
+ z + sto~~p~~e þe blode of þis N.³²⁸

The ‘*stans sanguis in te*’ charm type has been documented in Latin in the fourteenth century and is notable for its rhymed form, which is not a common feature of Latin charms.³²⁹ Roper notes the existence of only two charms of the ‘*stans sanguis in te*’ type in his database, both from modern East Anglia.³³⁰ A sixteenth-century Welsh book of medicine includes a Welsh-Latin version that retains the word pattern and rhyming structure (fixus/crucifixus; tua/sua):

I stopio gwaed. Dod dy fawd new dy fysed ar y
wythen neu yr archoll a dowaid y wers hynn dair
gwaith. Sanguis et linor sta in te fixus sicut
christus stetit crucifixus sanguis et linor ista in
vena tua sicut christus stetit in fide sua In nomine
patris et filii et spiritus sancti Amen.³³¹

To stop blood. Bring your thumb or your finger
to the vein or the wound and say this verse three
times: Blood and bruise, stand fixed just as Christ
stood crucified. This blood and bruise in your
vein just as Christ stood in his faith. In the name
of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit,
amen.

³²⁷ NLW Peniarth MS 66, p. 165. Compare this series of charms to Scot’s: “For a bloudie flux, or rather an issue of bloud. Take a cup of cold water, and let fall thereinto three drops of the same bloud, and betweene each drop saie a *Pater noster*, and an *Ave*, then drinke to the patient, and saie; Who shall helpe you? The patient must answer *S. Marie*. Then saie you; *S. Marie* stop the issue of blood. + Otherwise: Saie to the patient: *Sanguis mane in te, sicut fecit Christus in se; Sanguis mane in tua vena, sicut Christus in sua poena; Sanguis mane fixus, sicut Christus quando fuit crucifixus: ter.* + Otherwise, as followeth. *In the bloud of Adam death was aken + In the bloud of Christ it was all to shaken + And by the same bloud I doo thee charge, / That thou doo runne no longer at large.* +” It seems clear to me that when the scribe ran out of room on the right-hand page of NLW Peniarth MS 66, he simply continued the text over on the facing, left-handed page. However, Scot’s text continues with several more blood staunching charms which our scribe of the Peniarth manuscript omits. See Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London: Elliot Stock reprint of first edition (1584), 1886) 273-4. The punctuation in the Welsh manuscript perfectly matches that of Scot, even down to the placement of crosses or similar within the text.

³²⁸ NLW Peniarth MS 369 f. 108v

³²⁹ “*Stans sangwis in te - sicut stetit Jesus in se, / stans sangwis fixus - sicut Jesus stetit crucifixus, / stans sangwis in tua vena - sicut Jesus in morte sua...*” As printed in Roper, *English Verbal Charms*, 122.

³³⁰ Roper, *English Verbal*, 121-122. “Stand fast; lie as Christ did/When he was crucified upon the cross/Blood remain up in the veins/as Christ’s did in all his pains.” (Roper also cites University College London *Survey of English Folklore*, M134).

³³¹ Wellcome MS 417, f. 97v

The Latin in this charm is one of the few instances of Latin in the Welsh medical manuscript in which the charm is found.

A mid-sixteenth-century manuscript of Welsh devotional material features an interesting but difficult to decipher Latin phrase written orthographically as Welsh. The manuscript (ca. 1544-52) features poetry, apocryphal gospels, saints' lives, proverbs, and some scientific texts such as planetary texts, palmistry, and instructions for bloodletting.

Llama swyn rhac y gweidling ffron³³² dowed y geiriau hyn diksyth dominws rrex basain konve[rtam]³³³ yn proffwndwm maris. Amen dowed hyny iii [torn] ac ysgrivena ir kylaf hyn yw gadw hyd y ix [torn] ac yna dwed v pater a v avi maria a chredo [yn] anrydedd i ddioddevaint krist a llosg yr ysgriven iach vudd.³³⁴	Here is a charm against a nosebleed. Say these words: The Lord said 'King of Basan I will convert in the depths of the sea. Amen. say this iii [times] and write it for this patient to keep until the end of ninth [day] and then say five Our Fathers and Five Ave Marias and a Credo in honor of the suffering of Christ. Burn the writing and he will be healthy.
---	--

The phrase in the charm above is a corrupt rendering of a Psalm 67:23,³³⁵ *Dixit Dominus: Ex Basan convertam, convertam in profundum maris*. Here the 'ex' has been written as 'rex' and at first glance it may seem curious that such a fragment would be used in a charm to stop bleeding. However, in the liturgy this line was used in the feast of the Conversion of Saint Paul (Jan. 25), where references to the river Jordan and the King of Bashan are found together: *Quo docente Deum mare vidit et fugit Jordanis conversus est retrorsum Quia turba gentium relicto vitiorum profundo Og rege Basan confuso Te solum adorat Christum creatorem quem et cognoscit in carne venisse redemptorem.*³³⁶ This charm offers a fascinating glimpse

³³² *ffroen*, 'nostril'

³³³ The text is torn here but I have supplied the end, in standard Latin and based on other variants.

³³⁴ NLW Llanstephan MS 117, p. 276

³³⁵ Modern numbering: Psalm 68:22.

³³⁶ The full text can be found online, via the Cantus Manuscripts database, <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/node/306177>: *Dixit Dominus ex Basan convertam convertam in profundis maris quod dixit et fecit Saulum ut stravit Paulum et statuit Per verbum suum incarnatum per quod fecit et saecula Quod dum inpugnans audivit Saule Saule quid me prosequeris Ego sum Christus durum est ut recalcitres stimulo A facie Domini mota est terra contremuit quae mox et quievit Dum cognito credidit Domino Paulus persequi cessat conchistianos Hic lingua tuorum est canum ex inimicis rediens ad te*

into a lesser-known motif used in blood staunching charms. Given the popularity of the *Flum Jordan* motif in blood staunching charms, it is not difficult to see how a part of the liturgy such as *Dixit Dominus ex Basan* would have come to be used as well as the standard narrative about Christ's baptism in the river Jordan.

The same manuscript features a unique charm to combat constricted veins. It is the only one of its type so far uncovered in the Welsh-manuscript corpus.

llyma ysgrifen rac kylmv gwithi + ari + wanffan + i dervys + domynis + kamys + mi kamini + pwy bynnac y vo y geirie hyn gantho niddaw arno gylymv gwithi byth ad duw yw gadw amen John ap Meredvdd ap Llewellyn ap John y kad y hi³³⁷	Here is an inscription for constricted veins + ari + wanffan + i dervys + domynis + kamys + mi kamini + Whoever has these words with him will not suffer from constricted veins, and God will keep him, Amen. John ap Maredudd ap Llewellyn ap John got it.
---	--

Other common Latin phrases are used in blood staunching charms found in Britain, such as this English/Latin charm that references Mary and deploys an adjuration to the blood that is similar to what we have seen so far.

To stawnche blode at þe nose or any other place Say Deus propicius esto huic famulo N. ut de corpore suo amplius non exiat gutta sanguinis si placeat [filio tuo deo] at genitrici tue marie. In nomine patris. Sessa sanguis. In nomine filii. Cessa sanguis. In nomine spiritus sancti fugiat omnis dolor et effusio sanguinis ab hoc famulo dei N. In nomine trinitatis amen.³³⁸	To staunch blood at the nose or any other place. Say: God, be propitious to this servant N. that drops of blood not run out of his body anymore if it pleases [you, Son of God] and your mother Mary. In the name of the Father, cease, blood. In the name of the Son, cease, blood. In the name of the Holy Spirit let all pain and flowing blood
--	---

Deus Dum Paulus in ore omnium sacerdotum iura dat praeceptorum Docens crucifixum non esse alium praeter Christum Deum Cum patre qui regnat et sancto spiritu cuius testis Paulus Hic lingua sacerdotum more canis dum perlinxit legis et evangelii duos molares in his contrivit Corrosit universas species medicinarum quibus curantur saucii reficiuntur enutrientur Quo docente Deum mare vidit et fugit Jordanis conversus est retrorsum Quia turba gentium relicto vitiorum profundo Og rege Basan confuso Te solum adorant Christum creatorem quem et cognoscit in carne venisse redemptorem.

³³⁷ NLW Llanstephan MS 117, p. 86.

³³⁸ NLW Peniarth MS 369, f. 108v. Similarly, B.L. Royal MS 12.B.XXV gives a charm that incorporates the same motifs: "Ad stringendum sanguinem. Deus qui sanguine proprio hominem redemisti propicius esto famulo tuo N vt de corporis sui membro plaga vel de naribus vel de vena gutta sanguinis non exeat amplius si placeat Christo filio dei sancteque genetricis Marie. In nomine patris + cesset sanguis. In nomine filij + cesset sanguis +. In nomine spiritus sancti + cesset dolor omnis et effusio. Sanguis huius N in voce Christi restet. Sanguis, Christus restringerete faciat. + Longi[n]us miles

	flee from this servant of God N. In the name of the Trinity amen.
--	---

Another charm incorporates several motifs observed in several blood staunching charms above, namely the directive to write the last words of Christ on the patient's forehead in his own blood. Then the *Deus propitius* formula is included, followed by an expanded adjuration to the blood.

This is the medycyn that kynge herry the v. vsyd in normandye for to staunche blode of his hurte men. ffurste write in his forhede wt his owen blode the wordis that Ihesu crist sayde in his passion. Consummatum est. with this orison, videlicet Deus propitius esto huic famulo tuo .N. vt de corpore suo amplius non exeat sanguis si placeat filio tuo deo et sus genitria virgini marie + in nomine patris + cessit sanguis + in nomine filii + cessit sanguis + in nomine Spiritus sancti + cessit sanguis + fugiat omnis dolor et effusione sanguis ab hoc famulo tuo. N. + In nomine patris + et filii + et Spiritus sancti + amen.³³⁹	This is the medicine that King Henry V used in Normandy to staunch the blood of his injured men. First write on his forehead, with his own blood, the words that Jesus Christ said in his passion: 'It is finished' with this prayer, namely, God be propitious to this servant of yours, N., so that the blood no longer run out if it be pleasing to you, O son of God and your mother Mary + in the name of the Father + the blood ceases + in the name of the Son + the blood ceases + In the name of the Holy Spirit + the blood ceases + let every pain and outpouring of blood depart from this servant of yours, N. + In the name of the Father + and the Son + and the Holy Spirit + Amen.
---	--

A Welsh book of medicine, from around 1500, includes a short blood loss charm that excludes any particular narrative but uses blood in a ritualistic way in order to act against a patient's bleeding. This charm is interesting for the glimpse it provides into how this charm would be enacted: the command for the charmer to write the words onto the right palm of the person

Christi perforavit latus domini et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua: sanguis redempcionis, aqua baptismi. In nomine + sancte trinitatis cesset sanguis sicut credimus quod sancta Maria est mater domini et verum infantem genuit Christum et sicut restituit aqua Iordanis in qua baptizatus est Iesus Christus ita restituunt vene tue que sunt sanguine plene. Et die postea pater noster et die euangelium, In principio." As printed in Lea Olsan, "Latin Charms in MS Royal 12.B.XXV" *Manuscripta* 33, no. 2 (1989): 119-28. at p. 125. Olsan also prints: Cambridge University Library, MS Add 9308. ff. 32v-33r, a charm for the bloody flux: *Lo{n}gin{s}s miles latus domini nostri Iesu + Christi perforauit et continuo exiuit sanguis et aqua, sanguis redempcionis et aqua baptismatis. In nomine patris, restet sanguis. In nomine filii, cesset sanguis. In nomine spiritus sancti non exeat sanguinis gutta ab hoc famulo dei N. sicut credimus quod sancta Maria vera mater est et verum infantem genuit christum, sic retineant vene que plene sunt sanguinem. Sic restet sanguis sicut restabat Iordanis quando christus in ea baptizatus fuit. In nomine patris etc.* As published in Olsan, "The Corpus of Charms..." p. 219.

³³⁹ NLW MS 572D, f. 12v (s. xvi)

receiving the charm demonstrates, in some small way, how a charm functioned as a performative text. A charm such as this, and the texts above that instruct that the words of power be written on the patient's forehead, would be difficult to perform on oneself, and thus point to the cooperative nature of the charm texts. Furthermore, this touches on the question of who was authorized to perform charms. This particular text is found in a Welsh book of medicine, so it was the physician or healer performing the directives. In a commonplace miscellany belonging to someone not authorized to perform charms (i.e. with no training in medicine or religion), the text would have likely needed to be taken to an individual with the authority (official or not) to perform it correctly for the patient.

Rac gwaedling ysgriffena y geirrie hyn ynhornedde ³⁴⁰ iy llaw ddeau ai waed i hun yn y modd hwn + a + g+ l + a+ ac ef a dyr. ³⁴¹	Against bleeding write these words in the palm of his right hand with his own blood in this way: + a + g+ l + a+ and it will stop
--	---

Another manuscript offers a mid-sixteenth-century charm for blood loss that has been crossed out. This relatively mild censorship could have happened when the texts were brought together, probably not later than ca. 1700.³⁴² The manuscript is made up of works of medicine, astrology, palmistry, religion, and poetry, all in hands of the sixteenth century.

I dorri gwaed ysgrifena y llythyr hwn a dyrro am i fwnwgl ac ef ai tyr o ba le bynac y bo p k l c p e y a p i s v s y ³⁴³	To stop blood, write this writing and put around his neck and it shall stop wherever it be. <i>p k l c p</i> <i>e y a p i s v s y</i>
--	---

³⁴⁰ This is likely some variant of *tor (y) neddair*: 'palm (of the hand).' See *GPC*, '*tor*.' I am grateful to Diana Luft for this suggestion.

³⁴¹ NLW Sotheby MS C.2, p. 66

³⁴² Huws, *Repertory*

³⁴³ B.L Add. 15045 f. 96r

The efficacious elements of this charm include a string of letters to be written and placed around the patient's neck as an amulet or ligature. These letters could have stood for something at one point in the charm's history, but it is unclear what these letters might have once represented to the charmer and/or patient. The charm is a variant of a popular set of instructions directing the charm user to inscribe words and hang them around the patient's neck. Often this group of charms features an additional directive to those who doubt its efficacy. This directive involves writing the words upon a knife and stabbing an animal (usually a pig), after which no blood will run out of the animal. This charm type was written into the margins of Oxford Rawl. B 467, a Welsh medical manuscript of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The charm is a fifteenth century addition:

Screve has <i>litteras</i> inportavit & liga ad collum infirmi p t c p c o v n y a x z i z ii in l et si non credid[eris] hoc es verum screbe in manubrio [f. 3r, BM] et cultelli per dicas <i>litteras</i> & occide porcele[m] vel alud animal et non exhibit sanguis.³⁴⁴	Write these letters and bring them in and bind them to the neck of the patient: p t c p c o v n y a x z i z ii in l and if you don't believe this is true, write [them] on the handle of a dagger while saying the letters and kill a piglet or another animal and no blood will appear.
--	---

A similar string of letters appears in a Welsh-corpus charm found in a composite manuscript featuring sixteenth- and seventeenth-century medical notes and recipes in English and Latin. The individual responsible for the section of the manuscript in which the following charm was written is David Holland of Oxford, writing around 1583. On a page of recipes for bleeding he includes a charm:

ffor bleding at the hole³⁴⁵

³⁴⁴ Oxford, Rawl. B 467, 2v-3r, bottom margins. Lea Olsan has recently pointed out to me (email communication, Nov. 2019) a comparable version, found in B.L. Sloane MS 122, f. 48r: Ad sanguinem stringendum. Scribe has caractas et ponas super eum. Psalmus iii. B c.p.o.x.a. ex quo si non credideris ita esse in cultello scribe has figuras et occide porcum cum eo et sanguis in eo non inuenietur.

³⁴⁵ Likely referring to hemorrhoids or bloody stool. The inclusion of Veronica at the end of the texts suggests menstruation, but the text specifies that it applies to both man and woman.

Another for the same vnderneath folowing in two scroules of
parchmant and bind them on both his thyes and he shale sease of
bleding. And if thoue wilt not boleue this writ the same lettors
vponne a knyffe and stike therwith anop or another both and then
shale no blode come out and these buie the letters. P. C. V. S. X. A.
G. Z. L. X. Z. N. M. or writ with his owne blode in the fforhead of a
man Beronix. and in the fforhead of a woman Beronixa.³⁴⁶

Parts of the charm do not make much sense, and it is possible that this variant is a corrupt copy of another version. The text offers several different options for stopping blood: it instructs its user to bind a scroll of parchment to each of the patient's thighs to stop bleeding, or to write the string of letters on a knife and then strike something (in other versions this is often an animal such as a pig), and finally to write Beronix(a) on the patient's forehead in their own blood. The charm seems to be a conflation of several common charm types in circulation in England in particular.

The *Veronica* (or *Beronixa* in its Greek form, as we have here) charm type, however, was commonly used in charms of other traditions, most often for a blood loss charm, and frequently for a charm to ease chronic bleeding or pain associated with a woman's menstrual cycle or bleeding due to childbirth. Efficacious characters were often written on parchment and tied to the body as an amulet, as in the charm above.³⁴⁷ This charm invokes the narrative of the woman who was healed from her flux of blood when she touched the hem of Christ's garment.³⁴⁸

One Welsh medical manuscript from the mid-sixteenth century features a Veronica charm for bleeding due to menstruation specifically (*gwæd blode*). The charm begins in Welsh with an identifying heading that depicts what the charm works against. The majority of the charm, however, is Latin but is written using the unique Welsh orthography that we have already seen in several other

³⁴⁶ NLW Peniarth MS 368, p. 137.

³⁴⁷ Olsan, "Charms and Prayers in Medieval Medical Theory and Practice," p. 358

³⁴⁸ Matthew 9:20; Mark 5:25; and Luke 8:44

charms. Although we do not know much about the scribe, or about what language(s) he worked in, it is clear that he had some familiarity with Latin because of his thoughtful depiction of the Latin in a way that would have been accessible to a Welsh speaker with no knowledge of Latin. He also makes the same mistake that Bened Feddyg made in the Welsh/Latin *in principio* charm of NLW Sotheby MS C.2 (see Chapter One): he begins to write ‘qui’ but quickly realizes his error, crosses it out and writes ‘kwei.’

Rag gwaed blode kym~~er~~ waed y dolurrus ac ysgrifena yn halken y dolvs yr hwn yma yn llawn llythyr verronik diws ~~q~~ kwei sswlw taktw fimbrei vestimenti tuwei muwleirem ynflwxuw sangwys konysteituwtem ssanari dingnatws es ti swbleissiter ex orramws domynei geissuw krystei in ei sswlws langwrres sanas wth fwxwm ssangwys ysteiws prw qw vel qwa vel qwsa prisses efwndim~~us~~ restringeri ieth sesteri fassias dextram pwtenssei tuwi ieth peitatis extentu in <i>nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen.</i>³⁴⁹	Against blood of menses. Take blood of the afflicted and write on the forehead of the afflicted this writing in full: Verronik. God who deigned to heal the woman suffering from a flow of blood by only a touch of the hem of your garment, we humbly beseech [you], Lord Jesus Christ, who alone heals illnesses such as the bloody flux of this one for whom, male or female, we pour out prayers. Make it stop and halt by extending the right hand of your power and compassion. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.
--	---

This charm represents one of the very few Welsh charms uncovered thus far that is specifically aimed at women and for problems unique to women. It is a near perfect match to a charm for the same purpose, found in a mid-fifteenth century manuscript of medicine in Latin, English, and French (B.L. Add. 33996, f. 151r). A reconstruction of the orthographically Welsh Veronica charm shows it to be a near identical match to the Latin version in B.L. Add. 33996, which reads:

Scribe hoc nomen *Ueronica* in fronte patientis cum sanguine eius et dic orationem istam. Deus qui solo tactu fimbrie uestmenti tui mulierem in fluxu sanguinis constitutatem sanare dignatus es te suppliciter exoramus Domine Iesu Christe qui solus langores sanas ut fluxum santuinis istius pro quo uel pro qua preces infundimus. restringere et sistere facias dextera tue potencie pietatis extendendo.

³⁴⁹ B.L. Add. 15045, f. 113r

In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen. cum pater noster et
aue maria.³⁵⁰

The Welsh/Latin Veronica charm above represents the only complete (and non-English) *Veronica* in the Welsh manuscript corpus. We can only speculate as to why the Latin was not translated into Welsh and was instead represented orthographically in Welsh for a Welsh speaker with no Latin. The charms that use this Welsh orthography, and thus retaining the Latinity of the charms, are all narrative charms. It is clear that the scribe or charm user deemed the Latinity of the narrative charms to be crucial to the overall efficacy of the charms, so it was most important that a Welsh charm user know how the words of power were to sound.

I have recently discovered a fragmented *Veronica* charm written on the last page of NLW Peniarth MS 204, a medical manuscript featuring several fifteenth- and sixteenth-century hands. Although the manuscript is almost completely in Welsh, this charm was written in English:

in nomine + patris + baranex [torn] patris + baranexa
in nomine + patris + baranex [torn]tris + baranexa
in nomine + patris + baranex an[torn] v. pater noster et ave et
do yn þe worstyp of þe v wondes þu schalt
[torn]furst to hym belevyste yn god et aske hym

³⁵⁰ As printed by Olsan in 'Charms and Prayers in Medieval Medical Theory and Practice,' p. 361. Her translation of this charm is: Write this name Veronica on the forehead of the patient with his/her blood and say this prayer: God who deigned to cure the woman presented with a flux of blood with only the touch of the hem of your garment, we humbly entreat, Lord Jesus Christ, who alone heals illnesses, such as the flux of blood of this person for whom (man or woman) we pour out prayers. Cause it to staunch and stop by extending the right hand of your power in compassion. In the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit Amen. With a Pater Noster and an Ave Maria. Olsan also lists a version of the *Veronica* charm type that Fayreford included in his book of medicine: Pro fluxu menstruali restringendo. Ad fluxum sanguinis restringendum. In nomine patris + filii + spiritus sancti amen. *Sancta Vetonica fluxum sanguinis paciebatur + tetigit fimbriam vestimenti christi + sanata est sic + mulier hac N. sanetur a fluxu sanguinis per nomen domini nostri iesum christi. Agyos. Agyos. Agyos.* Ter dicatur et evangelium ubi legitur: sanata est qui fluxum sanguinis paciebatur. Lege super eam certissime probatum et quod sanetur evangelium penultimum ante adventum. [Olsan's translation: For stopping menstrual flow. To stop a flux of blood. In the name of the Father + Son + and Holy Spirit Amen. Saint Ve[r]onica suffered a flux of blood + she touched the hem of Christ's garment + she was thus cured. + May this woman, N[ame] be healed of a flux of blood through our Lord Jesus Christ. Holy. Holy. Holy. Holy. Let it be spoken three times and the gospel where it reads, 'She was healed who suffered a flux of blood.' Read over her the most certainly proved case and that she may be healed, the next to last gospel before advent.] Lea Olsan, 'Charms and Prayers in Medieval Medical Theory and Practice,' p. 361-362. Tony Hunt also gives a Latin Veronica charm similar to the Welsh-manuscript version above: item scribe hoc nomen Veronica in fronte patientis cum sanguine eius et dic orationem istam: 'Deus qui solo tactu fimbrii vestimenti tui mulierem in fluxu sanguinis constitutam sanare dignatus es, te suppliciter exoramus, domine Jesu Criste, qui solus languores sanas, ut fluxum sanguinis istius pro quo vel pro qua preces infundimus restringere et sistere facias dextra tue potencie et pietatis extendendo: In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.' Pater Noster et Ave Maria. As printed in Hunt, *Popular Medicine*, p. 28.

[*torn*] þe v. wondys of ovr lord bled þat þey
[*torn*] yn³⁵¹ hwen³⁵² hys wyl was.³⁵³

Despite the presence of these three *Veronica* charms in Welsh manuscripts, it is notable that none have fully been translated and circulated in Welsh. In fact, the corpus of Welsh charms features very little in the way of ‘women’s medicine,’ or, medicine specifically for ailments suffered by women in menstruation or in childbirth. While a handful of ‘experimenta’ or divination methods exist to predict the sex of a child, there is a dearth of Welsh-language charms that deal directly with conception, pregnancy, and the safe delivery of a child (See Chapter Three). Similarly, all of the ‘experimenta’ or love charms in the Welsh corpus are for the aid of men in finding love or a wife and not the other way around.³⁵⁴

2.e: Charms for Animal Bites

Fourteenth-century medical writing in Europe is marked by a surge in the translation and transmission of specialized poison treatises. Works such as William Varignana’s (1270-1339) *De morsibus venenatorum* and Christopher de Honestis’s later fourteenth-century *Problemata de venenis* drew upon earlier works in Arabic. These Latin translations and commentaries became foundational texts in the university curriculum.³⁵⁵ William de Marra devotes a dozen pages of his work *Sertum papale de*

³⁵¹ Or, alternatively, Lea Olsan has suggested to me that what I take as a y could be a thorn. Unfortunately, in this text the discernible feature of the y and thorn is the descending stroke, which has been torn away. Magnification of the text shows what I consider to be the end of the final stroke of a y, which curls to the right (whereas the final downstroke of thorn simply connects to the vertical line of the first stroke of the character.).

³⁵² hwen: an old form of when. My sincere thanks to Lea Olsan for suggestions regarding this charm (email communication, December 2019).

³⁵³ NLW Peniarth MS 204, p. 272

³⁵⁴ Because these charms cannot be considered healing charms, I have omitted them from this dissertation, but they are the subject of an upcoming article on pre-modern Welsh love charms.

³⁵⁵ For example, the tenth-century work of Alī ibn al-‘Abbās al-Majūsī (known in the West as Haly Abbas) was translated by Constantinus Africanus in the eleventh century and Stephen of Antioch in the twelfth century. These treatises included discussions of snake bites, monkey bites, and the bites of various other animals. For more see Kathleen Walker-

venenis (Papal Garland Concerning Poisons) to the bite of mad dogs and of hydrophobia. William provides detailed descriptions about a mad dog, instructing that in order to ascertain whether a dog that has bitten a person is mad or not, the afflicted should rub a piece of bread over the wound and see whether other dogs will eat it, and if so, what effect it will have on them.³⁵⁶ William also seems to believe in the efficacy of charms and amulets to cure patients bitten by a mad dog and at risk for hydrophobia or rabies.³⁵⁷

One of the most comprehensive and hugely influential works was the *Canon of Medicine* by Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā, c. 980-1037). Drawing on other authors, Avicenna devoted several chapters to animal bites, the longest of which was devoted to rabid dogs. Avicenna also included chapters on snakes and other animals as well. His *Canon* was foundational in the academic study of medicine at medieval universities. Another addition to the university curriculum was Maimonides's *On Poisons and the Protection against Lethal Drugs*, which was translated into Latin several times in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This work, targeted at lay readers, gave instructions for treatment of bites from various animals.

Because of the wide variety of environmental factors, some authors, translators, or copiers would naturally only include information on the bites of animals found in their region. Others preferred a broad, encyclopedic inclusion of a wide variety of animals and Kathleen Walker-Meikle notes that encyclopedic coverage is especially seen in several thirteenth-century works intended as an aid for preachers.³⁵⁸ Similarly, Dominican scholar Albertus Magnus's (d. 1280) *De animalibus* devotes

Meikle, "Toxicology and Treatment: Medical Authorities and Snake-bite in the Middle Ages." *Korot* (Jerusalem: 1952) vol. 22 (2014): 85-104.

³⁵⁶ Later works on poison, such as Christopher de Honestis and John Martin of Ferrara, also include this suggestion.

³⁵⁷ For more see Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. 3, pp. 525-545.

³⁵⁸ Kathleen Walker-Meikle, "Toxicology" p. 91

a great deal of attention to snake bites, his material ultimately derived from Avicenna's *Canon*, it seems.

Welsh medical texts also provide non-charm, medical remedies for bites of snakes, dogs, and even monkeys. In the Welsh charm corpus, we find several for the bites of snakes and mad dogs. Extant charms indicate that charms for dog bites were more common in the Welsh tradition than charms that work against snake bite, which comes as no surprise given the lack of extremely venomous snakes in Britain. Cardiff MS 3.242, of the late fourteenth century, offers several animal-bite charms grouped in close proximity to each other within the manuscript.

Rac brath neidyr neu gi claf. ysgrienna y geireu hynn my6n g6aela6t fiol vassarn yn g6mpas, a chymer d6fyr glan a dilea yr ysgriuen honno a ro yr brathedic y yfet kynn y gyscu + zabbe + leo + fortis + decim + cephans +	For the bite of a snake or a rabid dog. Write these words in the bottom of a mazer vessel and take holy water and erase that writing and give it to the patient to drink before sleeping + zabbe + leo + fortis + decim + cephans +
Rac brath ki claf a vratho ki arall. kymer vara heid, ac ony cheffy h6nn6 kymer vara arall a chud bob wyneb yr bara ac emenyn ac ysgrienna y wers honn ym pob wyneb yr vrechdan honno a ro yr ki + Nari + Fari + heleuen + ra + cra + pra +	For the bite of a rabid dog that bites another dog: take barley bread, and if you cannot get that, take another (type of) bread and cover each side of the bread with butter and write this maxim on each side of that slice of the bread and give it to the dog: + Nari + Fari + heleuen + ra + cra + pra +
Rac brath ki claf. ysgrienna ar vrechdan o vara heid ac emenyn y geireu hynn a ro yr dyn y6 v6yta dri diwarna6t yn gyntaf b6yt. In <i>nomine patris et filii et spiritus sanc6</i> + <i>Pater noster</i> + deirg6eith + Gabriel + Michael + Raphael + pard + gard + adonay + kyrios + <i>dominus</i> + Messyas + <i>spiritus</i> + Sother + Saluator + el + heos³⁵⁹ + ysayas + jeremias + ezevias + daniel + alla³⁶⁰ + Matheus + Marcus + llucas + Iohanes + M + S + esyn + daniel + emanuel + dei + amen + + +³⁶¹	For the bite of a rabid dog. Write these words on a piece of barley bread and butter and give to the man to eat for three days as his first meal. In the name of the Father and the Son (and) the Holy Spirit + Our father + three times + Gabriel + Michael + Raphael + <i>pard</i> + <i>gard</i> + Adonay + kyrios + Dominus + Messyas + spirit + Sother + Savior + <i>el</i> + <i>heos</i> + Isaiah + Jeremiah + Ezekiel + Daniel + alla + Mathew + Mark + Luke + John + M + S + <i>esyn</i> + Daniel + Emanuel + dei + amen + + +

³⁵⁹ Likely Elias or Ezekiel.

³⁶⁰ This is the only time, to my knowledge, Allah is included in the list of divine names in the Welsh corpus.

³⁶¹ Cardiff MS 3.242, p. 1

The snake bite charm instructs users to write efficacious words in the bottom of a mazer drinking vessel, erase them by pouring water over them, and then ingest both the holy water and the efficacious writing, which looks to be a combination of words inspired by various languages (*leo*, *fortis*, and *decim* from Latin; and *cephans* possibly being a form of ‘Cephas,’ a name for Peter from the Aramaic word for rock).³⁶²

The use of bread in remedies for dog bites was a common motif that dates back centuries before the earliest extant Welsh dog bite charms. William de Marra included bread in his technique, discussed briefly above, for determining whether a dog that has bitten a person is rabid. Other charms to counter the bite of dogs not only feature the motif of writing upon bread, cheese, or butter and then ingesting the efficacious words, but in some cases the efficacious words look very close to the examples preserved in the Cardiff manuscript above. Forbes lists two in his 1971 article on British folk medicine. In the first one, the patient is to write upon an apple or a piece of ‘fine white bread,’ the phrase: “O King of Glory, come in peace, Pax, Max, and Max. Hax Mac, Adinax, opera chudor” and then ingest the apple or bread, along with the words for three consecutive mornings. The other instructs that the charmer should write the words, ‘Gary, nary, fuary, gary’ upon a piece of cheese and feed it to the dog.³⁶³

The first Welsh dog bite charm above features a phrase reminiscent of the ‘gary, nary, fuary, gary’ phrase (in the Welsh charm it is *Nari + Fari + heleuen + ra + cra + pra*), and several Welsh charms also use phrases that echo the ‘Pax, Max’ formula. A similar ‘Pax, nax’ formula was used in toothache charms (see Chapter One), and it is not difficult to imagine how such phrases could have

³⁶² For more on Peter and his association with rock or stone, especially in the context of charms, see Chapter One.

³⁶³ T R. Forbes, "Verbal Charms in British Folk Medicine." p. 299. Jonathan Roper also cites the second charm in his *English Verbal Charms*, p. 180, noting that the charm comes from a Hereford charmer’s notebook ca. 1804.

been seen as effective against the teeth, or bite, of an animal.³⁶⁴ Lea Olsan notes that in the case of some charms, such as these charms that use alliterative or rhyming sound patterns, the sound patterns alone would have served as the efficacious source of power. She also points out that even if such a verbal formula seems nonsensical to us, they can also show evidence of previous semantic structure or borrowing from other language sources.³⁶⁵

Another Welsh-corpus dog bite charm that uses the *ra cra pra* type of formula is found in NLW Peniarth MS 388. This English charm also instructs users to write in cheese or bread and then ingest the food item along with the efficacious words:

For bytyng of a wode dogge + []na + cra + qua + []re + frare +
 quar wryte þis wordys in chese or brede or put þis wordys in such
 wyse þat þe letters may be etc.³⁶⁶

Regardless of the efficacious words to be used, a common motif in dog bite charms is the prescription to ingest words of power that have been written upon bread or cheese. One Welsh charm from the mid sixteenth century is identified in the manuscript with a *manicula*, signaling its importance and drawing attention to it upon the page:

llyma gyvaredd brovedic rrac brath ki kynddeiriog ai ysgrivennv ar dair tavell o vara ai roi ir klaf ar dri ffryd + ar ely + phabenus + jenus + hebeant ni crvsto panis. ³⁶⁷	Here is a proven charm against the bite of a rabid dog. Write on three slices of bread and give to the patient at three meals + <i>ar ely</i> + <i>phabenus</i> + <i>jenus</i> + let us have a loaf of bread.
--	--

³⁶⁴ For example, this charm in B.L. Sloane MS 1067, df.248r: “De dolore dentium...carmen pro dentibus: Scribe in maxillam pacientis ista nomina + In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen + rex + pax + nax + in Christo filio. Et statim cessabit, ut vidi frequenter.” As printed in Hunt, *Popular Medicine*, p. 28.

³⁶⁵ Lea Olsan, ‘Latin Charms of Medieval England’ p. 124

³⁶⁶ NLW MS Peniarth 388, part i, f. 40v.

³⁶⁷ NLW Peniarth MS 205, p. 17

The common element in charms against a dog bite is the writing of efficacious words for the patient to ingest. In the charm above, as well as the Cardiff charm above, the words are written on bread.

Below, as in the case of another charm in the Cardiff series, given above, the words are written in or along the bottom of a mazer vessel. The words are erased by means of holy water and then given to the patient to ingest.

Rac brath ki kymddeirric.³⁶⁸ ysgrifena y geirrie hyn yngwelod ffiol vassarn sabaoth fordysyn capas ac oddyna gwaed ddwr bendigaid yn y ffiol ag wasgared ai vawd ar hyd y fiol y geirrau hyn a rroyr ir klaf yw yfed.³⁶⁹	Against the bite of a rabid dog. Write these words in the bottom of a mazer vessel. <i>Sabaoth fordysyn capas</i> and then [with] juice of blessed water in the vessel, spread these words with his thumb along the vessel and give to the patient to drink.
---	---

A few pages later in the manuscript we find another charm for the bite of a rabid dog:

Rac brath ki kymddeirrioc ar ddyn neu anifail ysgrifena y geirriau hyn mewn kaws neu varra a dyrro ir kla[f] yw yfwytta a rabus albus renus ranus epulus que amen.³⁷⁰	Against the bite of a rabid dog upon a man or animal. Write these words in cheese or bread and give it to the patient to eat. <i>A rabus albus renus ranus epulus que amen.</i>
---	--

One composite manuscript of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also includes two charms for a dog bite. The second charm features a series of efficacious words that look similar to those of the charm above.

llyma swyn da rrac daint ki kynddeiroc afre mown afre mown ut at ot effecane essecane effecane agla alpha ynn nomni patrys ieth ffilie ieth sprutws santei amenn [different hand]	Here is a good charm against the tooth [i.e. bite] of a rabid dog. <i>afre mown afre mown ut ot effecane essecane effecane agla alpha</i> in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit amen. [different hand]
---	--

³⁶⁸ cynddeiriog

³⁶⁹ B.L. Add MS 15045, f. 114v. This text has been crossed out once while the rest of the page has been left untouched.

³⁷⁰ B.L. Add. MS 15045, f. 119r. This charm follows a few recipes on poison and spots of the eye. The page has been crossed out but is still legible.

arall + rimus + et pilus + us + rimus + ramus + et pilus + et us + ³⁷¹	Another + <i>rimus + et pilus + us + rimus + ramus + et pilus + et us +</i>
--	---

The efficacy of both charms relies solely upon the nature of the words and further instruction regarding the practical use of the charm is lacking. Overall the Welsh manuscript corpus of charms for bites conforms to other traditions, most noticeably in the use of the directive to inscribe a short series of efficacious words onto bread or cheese (or in a vessel which is then filled with water) and then ingesting the food (or water) along with the efficacious words.³⁷² There are nine charms to heal bites from dogs or snakes, eight of which are in Welsh and one in English, all of which are short verbal or written charms that rely on this motif of the ingestion of words of power.

2.f: Conclusion to Chapter Two

In this chapter I have presented several charms for staunching blood and healing general wounds and bites of animals. In the entire Welsh-manuscript charm corpus, the most popular charms are hemostatic *Longinus* charms that rely on the narrative of the soldier (named Longinus in apocryphal traditions) who pierced the side of Christ as he hung from the cross. There are twelve Welsh-manuscript *Longinus* charms and one English *Longinus* charm in a book of English and Latin medicine brought to Wales by at least the sixteenth century.

³⁷¹ NLW Peniarth MS 205, p. 45

³⁷² For example, Claude Lecouteux lists several dog-bite charms in translation in his *Traditional Magic Spells for Protection and Healing*. One fourteenth-century French charm reads: “Remedy for treating the bite of a dog or any other rabid beast. Take a bread crust and on it write the following words: + *bestera + bestie + brigonay + dictera + sagragan + es + domina + fiat + fiat + fiat*. (France, ca. 1393 *Le Mesnager de Paris*, 788. He also gives a much older Latin charm against rabies: To cure rabies. Write this on bread and give it to eat to the one with rabies and to all animals: *Bus gur raber sibus graon diton. Si gur ramina pax peun pax inpeon peopn pax ita amen*. (*Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 7 (1839), 1020-21). And finally, he lists a nineteenth-century Lithuanian charm for the same: For Rabies. Write this on the butter of three slices of bread that should be given the patient to eat in the morning, the evening, and the following morning: *Irijon + Sirijon + Karbon + Karfun + Stilida + Stalitora + Kakara + Idata + Stridata + Sijan + Beijan + Ad deus + Meus +*. As published in Claude Lecouteux, trans. Jon E. Graham, *Traditional Magic Spells for Protection and Healing* (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 2017) p. 128.

The broader manuscript contexts also indicate that *Longinus* charms were perceived as fitting in well with religious material, perhaps more so than with manuscripts of medicine that were produced for practical use by physicians or other healers. *Longinus* charms are less likely to appear in texts that heavily feature medical writing and herbal medical recipes. However, only three versions identify the text as a prayer (*gueddi*): these are all from the second half of the sixteenth century and into the early seventeenth century. Five versions (from the later fifteenth century and into the first half of the sixteenth century) call the text a charm (*swyn*), as does the English version. The remaining variants do not indicate whether they should be called a charm or a prayer, but simply begin with a statement regarding the function of the text (to stop blood), although one refers to the text as a blessing (*benedicchio*) midway through the text. At first glance, *Longinus* charms of the Welsh tradition look similar to those of English and other European manuscripts. However, a more thorough comparison unveils some differences. Welsh *Longinus* charms are characterized by a lengthier narrative.

This is especially true for the charms of the later fifteenth century and on. Longinus is often known as ‘Longinus the blind, dubbed knight from the land of Israel’ rather than simply ‘the soldier Longinus’ or ‘the Hebrew Longinus’ that is typical in other traditions. His spear is also described in much the same way as medieval Welsh poetry describes the spears of its warriors.³⁷³ Overall the vernacular Welsh *Longinus* charms are styled in a highly literary manner that is not observed in *Longinus* charms of other traditions.

It has been noted that *Longinus* charms were not nearly as prevalent in England as *Flum Jordan* charms for staunching blood. Given the proximity to England, England’s long history of

³⁷³ For example, fifteenth-century Welsh poet Guto’r Glyn uses the imagery of a red colored or blood-stained spear, using variants such as *gwayw tanrhuddm* ‘fire-red spear’ (poem 33, line 36 on www.gutorglyn.net). He also uses ‘*gwaywrudd*,’ or ‘red spear’ in several poems. The imagery of red, blood-stained spears appears in several poems by others, and features in the epic poem *Y Gododdin* as well.

conquest in Wales, and the general conformity of the Welsh charm corpus to charms also found in the English corpus, it is surprising that in the Welsh tradition, *Flum Jordan* are uncommon while *Longinus* charms were the most frequently copied charm in Welsh manuscripts. Barbara Hillers has pointed out that in Ireland, both *Longinus* charms and *Flum Jordan* charms are present in the pre-modern and modern records, but that they belong to two distinct linguistic and cultural traditions, even though both were used as blood staunching charms. She argues that *Flum Jordan* charms are part of the English-language tradition, with all but five of the fifty-nine modern *Flum Jordan* charms collected in Ireland being in English. *Longinus* charms, on the other hand, are part of a Gaelic tradition (thirty-seven of the thirty-eight collected charms are in Irish), and Hillers suggests that this charm type probably entered Gaelic tradition via Latin *Longinus* charms.³⁷⁴ In Welsh manuscripts, *Flum Jordan* charms typically include the reference to Christ's birth in Bethlehem, and they are as likely to be transmitted in the English language as they are in Welsh. *Longinus* charms, on the other hand, look altogether to be more 'vernacular.'

This is also true of the *Tres Boni Fratres* charm type, for which three substantial Welsh versions exist, along with a fragmented sub-variant, and two Latin versions found in manuscripts created along the Marches, in Latin and English, but brought to Wales by at least the sixteenth century. The Welsh *Tres Boni Fratres* charms are among the oldest Welsh charms, and they predate the Latin versions included in this chapter (those of the manuscripts from the borderlands). The Welsh versions are fairly standard representations of a wider, shared European tradition, in Latin and in various vernaculars.

³⁷⁴ Barbara Hillers, 'Towards a Typology of European Narrative Charms in Irish Oral Tradition,' p. 91. Interestingly, Irish charms add that wine flowed out of Christ's body with the blood and water, and they seem to have difficulty with the name Longinus, instead substituting a variety of other names. Hillers also suggests that the introduction of this charm type to Ireland is associated with pre-Reformation English settlements.

The other Welsh-manuscript blood staunching charms in this chapter focus on blood as a central motif: whether it is the blood of Adam, Christ, or the patients themselves. These appear fairly late in the Welsh manuscript corpus and do not feature the lengthier divine narratives to the same extent as the earlier, more prevalent narrative charms whose powers rely largely on the charmer and/or patient's belief in the symbolic parallels created between the Christian narrative and the corporal reality of the patient. Veronica charms for staunching blood can be found in several medieval Latin and English manuscripts of England but were not as commonly copied in the Welsh corpus. Two exist in English, both short and/or fragmented, while the Welsh corpus contains one that is orthographically Welsh but phonetically Latin. This version is a near identical copy of Latin versions prevalent in English manuscripts.

The charms for animal bites, however, look less obviously consistent with any shared traditions known to me, although several general parallels exist in other traditions, such as variants of common words or phrases of power, along with the instructions to write efficacious words upon bread or cheese and consume the words and thus the power. The core motif of the dog bite charms is the writing of, and more importantly, the ingesting of the words of power. Perhaps when the efficacy of the charm relies on the act of ingesting the words of power, there is more room for variation in terms of what the efficacious words are, as long as the patient ingests them.

The hemostatic charms of the Welsh corpus display a general conformity to wider, shared traditions found in England and continental Europe, with several nuanced Welsh adaptations in style and content, most notably in the *Longinus* charms.

Chapter Three: Outliers and Oddballs: Scrofula, Shingles, and other types of Swellings

*To pre pinges God 3eveþ vertu: to worde, to herbis, and to stonis.*³⁷⁵

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present several remaining Welsh-corpus charms aimed at specific injuries and maladies, many of which do not conform to shared English and European traditions to quite the same extent as the charms explored in Chapter One and Chapter Two. Like the manuscripts in which most of the following charms are found, this chapter is a bit of a miscellany. Nonetheless, I have endeavored to organize it in a way that allows for some level of thematic unity.

In section 3.a, I will analyze three charms for a whitlow or felon (abscesses of the finger). Two of these charms employ motifs that are not unexpected, and although they too lack known parallels in other traditions, they are not wholly unique to the same extent as other charms in this chapter. One whitlow/felon charm, however, is reflective of a common ritual that includes fashioning a lead amulet inscribed with efficacious phrases and placed over the abscess.

Section 3.b explores three charms for scrofula (glandular lesions) and shingles. Throughout this dissertation I have asserted that, while Welsh charms quite often exhibit unique innovations in style and content, they are, on the whole, not unique in and of themselves, but conform more generally to broader European traditions. The two variants of the scrofula charm, however, are, to my knowledge, unlike any other charm in the traditions of England and Europe. Although it

³⁷⁵ Gilbertus Anglicus, Wellcome MS 537, f. 310v (s. XIII). As cited by Louise Bishop, *Words, Stones, & Herbs: The Healing Word in Medieval and Early Modern England*. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007).

contains a handful of shared European charm motifs, I have been unable to track down its analogous examples outside of Wales. It experienced some level of continuity and was transformed into a shorter charm for shingles that was recorded in the nineteenth century. While there are no analogous charms in the English or wider European tradition, certain aspects of the charm are vaguely evocative of extant charms in both Britany and Scotland.

Section 3.c presents three charms for what appears to be a type of abdominal swelling, though potentially referring to a general swelling on the body. In this section I will also explore two brief but fascinating verbal charms against cramp. Both are reflective of similar practices known to have taken place in medieval and early modern England. Continuing the theme of swellings, I also analyze two general charms for boils and gout, along with a fascinating charm ritual for cough.

Moving on to section 3.d, I will present two charms for protection in childbirth, both of which belong firmly to well-established English and European tradition; a charm for fertility, also attested in the English corpus; and a charm to bring about sleep - a fitting end, I think, to a section devoted to charms for bringing children into the world.

In section 3.e, I will explore six variants of a common, pan-European (and indeed beyond) medieval charm type that relies upon long strings of divine names and a narrative relating the divine origin of the charm itself. These texts, classified as *Heavenly Letter* charms, nearly always feature an introduction that asserts their divine origins, often alleging that Christ wrote the letter, which was found upon his body after being removed from the cross. In some cases, the letter is said to have been given by a Pope to a King: In the Welsh tradition it is usually Pope Leo who gives the text to King Charles. Other protagonists featured in this charm type include Joseph of Arimathea, William, and Gabriel.

As I hope it has been made clear by now, the Welsh corpus of healing charms, for the most part, reflects an active participation in the exchange and transmission of medical knowledge that was taking place in England on the Continent. On the whole, for nearly every Welsh-corpus charm presented thus far, an analogous example can be found in the wider, shared European tradition. The conformity of the Welsh corpus to shared European traditions remains largely, though less patently, perceptible for the charms in this chapter, apart from two unique variants of a Welsh charm for *scrofula* (a swelling of the nodes in the neck, now associated with a type of tuberculosis).

Common or shared motifs that the charms of this chapter employ include lists of divine phrases, names, and words. Some feature direct addresses and adjurations to the malady or the perceived cause of the malady. The overarching goal of this chapter, and indeed this larger work, is to illuminate the ways in which the Welsh charm corpus demonstrates an active engagement with healing traditions and medical knowledge being disseminated throughout Europe and England while highlighting unique adaptations and innovations. While several Welsh charm types exhibit certain unique features and innovations, few can be said to represent a wholly independent tradition with no correlatives to be found in other linguistic or cultural traditions. This chapter presents the small number of completely unparalleled Welsh charms, as well as several charms, that, at first glance appear unique to the Welsh tradition, but nonetheless incorporate and build upon common shared motifs. As I hope has been made evident by now, the majority of Welsh charms reflect engagement with wider popular traditions of England and Europe. Despite the several outliers of this chapter, this conformity remains a feature of the Welsh charm corpus.

3.a: Charms for a Whitlow, Felon, or Other Abscesses

In medieval medical writing, the terms whitlow or felon refer to an abscess caused likely by a bacterial infection and affecting the tips of the fingers and toes.³⁷⁶ Hippocrates prescribed black gallnuts soaked in honey as a remedy for whitlow, and Galen followed suit, stipulating that the remedy should be used for minor cases.³⁷⁷ The terms whitlow and felon seem to have been used somewhat interchangeably, or at least to some extent synonymously, although strictly speaking, ‘felon’ comes from French and has an original meaning of ‘abscess, ulcer, boil’ whereas ‘whitlow’ comes from Germanic languages, with the first element possibly deriving from Dutch *vijt* or Low German *fit* (abscess).³⁷⁸ Another term for this seems to have been more widely used in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and indeed still in use today, is *paronychia*, which is an inflammation beside a finger (from the Greek *para*, ‘beside’ and *onyx*, ‘nail’).³⁷⁹

The Welsh corpus of healing charms features two nearly identical charms for whitlow or felon specifically, and one charm that can be used for whitlow or felon, but also specifies several types of abscesses or festering. The two near-identical whitlow and felon charms feature several similar motifs to other charms we have seen, and more that I will discuss presently, namely the opening invocation to Christ and the adjuration to and exorcism of the disease or its agent from the patient’s body and into the earth. Both whitlow/felon charms are relatively old compared to the

³⁷⁶ For more on this, including a history of medical writing on the topic of this malady, from Mesopotamia and Egypt to medieval medical authorities such as Hally Abbas, see Amiya Kumar Mukhopadhyay, Archana Singal, Shekhar Neema, and Piyush Kumar. "History of Nail Diseases." In *Nail Disorders: A Comprehensive Approach*, 3-9. 1st ed. CRC Press, 2019.

³⁷⁷ Leigh Chipman, ‘Recipes by Hippocrates, Galen and Hunayn’ in Peter E. Pormann, ed, *Epidemics in Context: Greek Commentaries on Hippocrates in the Arabic Tradition*, Scientia Graeco-Arabica; v. 8. (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2012) p. 287.

³⁷⁸ Pascaline Faure. "From Accouchement to Agony: A Lexicological Analysis of Words of French Origin in the Modern English Language of Medicine." *Lexis: Journal in English Lexicology* 11, no. 11 (2018): *Lexis: Journal in English Lexicology*, 01 April 2018, Vol.11.

³⁷⁹ *Oxford English Dictionary*

overall Welsh corpus. This particular charm was written by an ‘old-fashioned’ hand of the mid-fourteenth century, making this charm one of, if not *the*, oldest charm text in the Welsh corpus.³⁸⁰

Rac gwyrthlys neu y felwn. Croyssa y ddaear yn gyntaf ath uawt ddeheu a dywet ual hynn or llawr hwnn y doethost. In creatus pater. In creatus filius. In creatus <i>Spiritus Sanctus</i> et inmensus³⁸¹ pater. In mensus filius. In mensus <i>Spiritus Sanctus</i> et Eternus pater. Eternus filius. Eternus <i>spiritus Sanctus</i>. A dywet gyda hynny wrth groessi y ddaear. Mi ath dynghedaf di felon y enw y tad ar mab ar ysbryt glan val y doethost or ddaear yt vynet drachevyn yr ddaear a diffwyaw yno. Ac ynaf crossi ath uawt y felwn ac eilwerth croessi y ddaear a dywedut y gwersseu or blaen. Incat; [346] A heuyd mi ath dynghedaf di or byt hwn yn enw y tat ar mab ar ysbryt glan. A croessi y felwn. Ar dryded werth croessaf y daeyar a dywet y gwersseu or blayn. In creatus pater. A dywedet geir tra gair mal y dewedwt or blayn. ac erchi ydo uynet yr daear drwy rym y geirieu or blayn .a.+g.+l.+a. ffigite pingite <i>spiritus</i> nos per [] In <i>nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti</i> amen.³⁸²	Against a whitlow or felon. Cross the ground first with your right thumb and say this: from this ground you came. The Father is uncreated, the Son is uncreated, the Holy Spirit is uncreated. The father is boundless, the son is boundless, and the holy spirit is boundless. Eternal Father, eternal son, eternal Holy Spirit. And say this while crossing the ground. I adjure you, Felon, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, just as you came from the earth, return into the earth and weaken there. And make a cross with your thumb over the felon and cross the earth a second time and say the previous verses. <i>Incat</i>; And also; I adjure you from this world in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Cross the felon. On the third time, cross the ground and say the following verses. The Father is uncreated. Say word for word as it was said above and order it to go into the ground through the rhyme of the following words. a.+g.+l.+a. <i>ffigite + pingite spiritus</i> nos by []. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit amen.
---	--

The text begins with a ritual blessing of the ground by making the sign of the cross over it while reciting lines from the Athanasian Creed. The charmer then verbally banishes the whitlow back into the earth from whence it came, crossing the earth one more time while saying the same opening lines from the Creed. The efficacy lies in the act of thrice crossing the ground while repeating lines from the Athanasian Creed, and as well on the rhyme of the words that come at the

³⁸⁰ Huws, *Repertory*. Huws says that the three leaves that comprise this section would have been blanks at the end of a quire.

³⁸¹ Athanasian Creed

³⁸² NLW Llanstephan MS 2, p. 345-346

end of the charm, namely the *figite* and *pingite*. This is one of the few instances in the Welsh corpus in which the text explicitly attributes the efficacy of the charm to the sound patterns of the words which seem to have no semantic value, but rather relies upon its verbal and aural quality.

A slightly later and nearly identical version of the charm is found in NLW Llanstephan MS 3, from the early fifteenth century and featuring various religious and didactic prose, as well as bardic grammar. There are a handful of charms and prayers in the manuscript, all written by an unidentified hand of the early fifteenth century.³⁸³

Rac y gwrthlys neur felwn kymer y dra hwnn ynghymraec neu llatin. Croessa yn gyntaf y ddayer ath uawt a dywet val hynn: or llawr hwnn y doethost. In creatus pater in creatus filius in creatus <i>Spiritus Sanctus</i>. In mensus pater in mensus filis in mensus spiritus sanctus. Eternus pater <i>eternus</i> filius eternus spiritus sanctus.³⁸⁴ Ac y gyt a hynny dywet wrth groessi y ddayer. Mi a thynghedif di felwn yn enw y tat ar mab ar yspryt glan, ual y doethost or ddayer ytt vynet dracheuyn yr ddayer adiffwrwy[436]aw yno. Ac yna croessi ath vawt y felwn ac eilweith croessi y ddayer a dwedut y gwerseu or blaen a heuyt [<i>mi ath dyngbe</i>]³⁸⁵ daf or byt yn enw y tat ar mab ar yspryt glan. A chroissi y felwn ar drydeth weith croessi y ddayer a dwedut y gwerseu ar dynghet geir tra geir val ymae yn dysgu or blaen erchi iddaw vynet yr ddayer drw rym y geireu gynneu + A + G + L + A + fugite piginti spiritus vos per [] + In <i>nomine</i> patris + <i>et filii et spiritus sancti</i> +³⁸⁶	Against a whitlow or felon take this material in Welsh or Latin. First cross the ground with your thumb and say this: from this ground you came. The Father is uncreated, the Son is uncreated, the Holy Spirit is uncreated. The Father is boundless, the Son is boundless, the Holy Spirit is boundless. The Father is eternal, the Son is eternal, the Holy Spirit is eternal. And together with, while crossing the ground, say: I adjure you, felon, in the name of the father and the son and the holy spirit, as you came from the earth, return into the earth and weaken there. And then with your thumb cross the felon and a second time cross the ground and say the previous verses and also: [<i>I adjure you</i>] from the world in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. And cross the felon a third time while crossing the ground and say the verses and adjuration, word for word as it is taught above. Order it to go into the earth through the rhyme of the previous
--	--

³⁸³ Huws, *Repertory*

³⁸⁴ These first three Latin lines come from the Athanasian Creed. Like many phrases from liturgical and general Christian and Jewish traditions, its inclusion in a charm is unsurprising. One fourteenth-century Middle English charm instructs users to say the prayer over a woman in birth to ensure a speedy delivery. (British Library Sloane 521, f. 128r-159v). See Thomas Forbes, "Verbal Charm," p. 302. See also Peter Murray Jones and Lea Olsan, "Performative Rituals for Conception and Childbirth in England, 900-1500." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 89, no. 3 (2015): 406-433. This Creed is also used in a complex ritual for the protection of livestock (See Chapter Four of this work).

³⁸⁵ This section of the line has faded to the point of illegibility, but I am supplying the line based on the nearly identical version found in NLW Llanstephan MS 2.

³⁸⁶ NLW Llanstephan MS 3, p. 435-436

	words. + A + G + L + A <i>fingite, piginti</i> Spirit, [] <i>vos per seqtur</i> + In the name of the father and + the son and the + holy spirit.
--	---

This variant is notable for its instruction to use the text in Latin or Welsh: a detail not commonly encountered in Welsh charms. The rhyming quality of the words of this charm is less impactful, and perhaps somewhere in transmission, the *fingite* of the first version of this charm was understood to mean *fugite* and amended in such a way. This would, of course, be logical, following the formula commonly found in a wide variety of charms: *fugite partes adversae*, along with other variants of this formula.

Overall, the Welsh charms for whitlow or felon do not seem to have direct parallels in other traditions, but the content of the charms is to be expected, given what we have already seen of medieval charming traditions. For example, one Middle English charm is reminiscent of the Welsh charms above. It contains an invocation to Christ and references his creation of the earth, as well as angels, confessors, bishops, and abbots, and it concludes with an adoration to the felon, banishing it from the land of God.

A charme for the feloun: In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, amen. 'I conjure the, wilked feloun, in tho name of God al-weldyng of heven, erthe and helle and of tho sonne and of tho mone and of tho .vii. sterres and of all creatures and of all aungeles and of all the confessours, bisschopes and of all hundred abbotes redy to syng on mydwyntur nyght, that thu ne entre ne no lenger dwell, in tho name of tho Fader and of tho Sonne and of tho Holy Gost.' Sey thus aboute the hors.³⁸⁷

This charm is obviously for a felon in a horse, which would presumably manifest as some sort of abscess or sore on or around a horse's hooves. The lesions and infection sometimes identified as

³⁸⁷ Hunt *Popular Medicine*, p. 97.

felon or whitlow in medieval medical texts were also sometimes identified as ‘foot-and-mouth disease’ (see Chapter Four, on charms to protect livestock).³⁸⁸

One of the more fascinating Welsh charm texts also identifies itself as a charm for a multiform of lesions, festering wounds, and even to cure a venomous animal bite. It features motifs we have seen already, such as the use of the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and Credo, but also the *neque doluit tumuit*, or ‘Uncorrupted Wounds’ motif which employs a formula comparing the wholeness of Christ’s wounds upon the cross, where they did not rot or fester, to the patient’s wound, which by a sort of sympathetic, divine parallel, will also not fester or rot (see Chapter Two). The charm also states the importance of naming the specific wound, if that information is known, so as to give the charm more power over the malady or its cause.

It features a complicated and specific ritual that involves melting lead into a thin square or rectangular shape and then ritually inscribing crosses in each corner and in the middle while saying specific sections of the Pater Noster. There are also specific instructions regarding the performance and practical application of the charm, including detailed instructions on the creation of the charm, which in this case is a material object that cannot touch the ground and is made of lead and used as an amulet. The charm prescribes exact instructions for how often and when the charm should be worn and cleaned, and what happens in the event that it touches the ground. It is found in a late-sixteenth-century Welsh book of medicine, parts of which represent source material at least a century older.³⁸⁹

Rhag y kankyr, ffelwn, ffestulan, ar ffestyr a brath ynifail gwenwynig. Kymær blwm pur a thawdd ef a gwna ef yn blat llydan a chur ef oni botho teneu	Against the canker, felon, fistula, and the fester and the bite of a poisonous animal. Take pure lead and melt it and make it into a broad plate
---	--

³⁸⁸ Gustave Moussu, G, and John A. W. Dollar. *Diseases of Cattle, Sheep, Goats and Swine*. (New York: W. R. Jenkins, 1905), p. 41. My thanks as well to veterinarian Maxbetter Vizleberg for explaining equine veterinary medicine to me (personal communication, April 2020).

³⁸⁹ Huws, *Repertory*

ar lân krib pen pedwar konglog a gwna groes a chyllell ne a ffrik arall ymhob kongol or pedair a [35v] dechreu yn y gongol or tu assw, or gongol uchaf ac o ddina ir gongol uchaf or tu deau, ac oddino ir gongol issa or tu assw, ac oddyno ir gongol issa or tu deau ar bumed groes ynghanol y plât a doyd yd bader or hanner hyd banem nostrum tra fych yn tynny y llin gyntaf ar hyd y plat, ac ynna tra fych yn tynny y llin ar draws, dywaid Panem nostrum ar pader oll, ar Ave Maria, a gwna felly ar bob kroes or pum kroes, A ffair ir claf ddwydd i badereu ai Ave ai gredo tra fych dithe yn gwneuthur y gyfaredd ac yna dodi wrthaw er anrhydedd i dduw. Ar groes yn y kanol a wnair yn olaf oll wrth y dolur dowaid yn y modd hynn 3. gwaith arno. / *Quinque* plaga domini nostri Iesu christi nec putrescebant nec tumescebant, sic nec possunt istud malum, a henwi y dolur o gwyddost pa ryw ddolur ydiw, ac oni wyddost dowaid Istud malum: In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti Amen. A gorchymyn ir klaf na atto ir plwm gyfyreddyd ar llawr un amser ac na fynno feddyginiaeth or byd namyn hono, tra fo [36r] yn arfer o hono, ac na thynned o ddino ond unwaith yn y ddyd ar nos, onid yn yr un awr i doded wrtho i dynny ef drannoeth ai sychu a lliain glân. a dodi wrtho drachefn ar tu i bo y croesau a fydd nessaf at y dolur ar plwm a ddyl fod kyd a chyfled ag kyn deneued ac i plugo am y dlolur. / ac os kyfwrdd ef ar ddauar raid fydd i doddi ai fwrw ai groesi o newydd oll, os ynte a gedwir yn dda nid raid ond yr un swyn hwnw oni el yn iach onid i dynnu ai sychu unwaith beunydd ai rwymmo a chadach llien ar y dolur a ffob gwaith ar i tynner dowaid dy bader ar Colect yma arno beunydd ai groesi Domine Iesu christi fili dei uni[genitus] qui precioso sanguine tuo nos peccatores in cruce redimisti mittere dignere benedictionem tuam super plumbum istud, et quicquid infirmitatis ex ea tactum fuerit per virtute tristissime passionis tue sanitatem accipiant per christum dominum nostrum Amen Ac arfered or swyn hwnn drwy gredu ac addoli duw, ac ymgadw rac swrffed a ffechod ac iach fyd.³⁹⁰

and strike it until it is thin, in the shape of a four-cornered head comb and make a cross with a knife or another pointed instrument in all four corners. Begin in the upper-left corner and from there, to the upper-right corner, and from there to the lower left, and from there to the lower right corner and the fifth cross in the middle of the plate. Say half of your Paternoster up to “panem nostrum” while making the first line along the plate, and then while making the line across, say “our bread” and the whole Paternoster, and the Ave Maria, and do this with all five crosses. And make the patient say his Paternosters and his Ave and his Credo while you are performing the charm, and then place it upon him in honor of God, with the central cross that was made last upon the wound, saying in this way three times: “Just as the five wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ did not rot nor swell, so too this wound will not be able to. And name the wound if you know what type of wound it is, and if you do not know, say “this wound”: In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen. Command the patient to not once allow the lead to touch the ground and to not seek any medicine in the world except this while he is using it, and not to remove it from him except for once during the day and the night, except for the one hour when he is told to remove it and to clean it with a clean linen cloth, and then to replace it with the side that has the crosses on it closest to the sore. And the lead should be as long and as wide as the wound, and fine enough to wrap around it. And if it touches the ground, it must be melted and struck anew with crosses. But if it is well kept he only needs this same charm until he heals except when it is removed for drying once daily, binding it with linen rags on the wound and every time upon its removal say your Paternoster and this Collect on it daily and cross it. Lord Jesus Christ, only begotten son of the only God, your precious blood redeemed us, the sinners, on the cross. Deem it worthy to send your blessing over this lead, and let any illness be moved out of it

³⁹⁰ Wellcome MS 417, f. 35r

	through the virtue of your most sad suffering let them receive health through our Lord Christ amen. And let him use this charm in faith and worship of God and let him avoid surfeit and sin and he will be healthy. ³⁹¹
--	---

This is one of the most fascinating charms in the Welsh corpus for its insights into the ways in which material, amuletic objects were fashioned and used. Language use in this charm is also interesting, as the scribe switches seamlessly between Welsh and Latin. Instructions for the creation and application of the charm are in Welsh, while the efficacious words to be recited are in Latin. It is also interesting to note that typically in Welsh charms, when the efficacious words are given in Latin (proper Latin rather than the orthographically Welsh Latin we saw in the previous chapter), the text privileges writing over speaking for the ritual action of the charm. This charm is unique among the Welsh corpus, but parallels can be found in other medieval traditions. One early-fourteenth-century charm (B.L. Add. 15236) includes a very close parallel to the text above. This version switches between Latin and French but is strikingly similar to the Welsh charm above:

Pro antrace, fistula, vulneribus et aliis morbis contagiosis, accipias laminam plumb ita longam et latam sicut vulnus, postea in quolibet angula fac unam crucem et unam in medio, et dum facis ipsas cruces dicatis omnia ista: Domine Jhesu Christe qui passus es pro jobis in cruce, da sanitatem huic famulo tuo N. Vulnera quinque Dei sint medicina sui. Sit medicina sui pia crux et passio Christi. Postquam hoc perfeceris cave ne predicta lamina tangat terram, quia, si fecerit, perdet virtutem suam. Et sciendum quod ad quamlibet crucem dicere [f.32] debes: Domine Jhesu Christe..., ut prius cum ceteris. Postea ponendo dictam laminam super morbum dicere debes istud carmen cum tribus benedictionibus. Dame seinte Marie mere au Sauveour, pur les cink joyes ke vous aviez de vostre cher filz kaunt vous le conceutes saunz humayne compaignie et l'enfuntastes virgine saunt peyne et vous le veites de mort relevar a vie et par sa vertu demeyne au ciel mounter, et kaunt il vous corona sur toutes autres creatures, jeo vous en pri ke vous priez vostre cher filz pur les cink plaes ke il sufri en la croiz, ke il garrisce ce mal. E a checune feiz ke vous dites

³⁹¹ With particular thanks to Diana Luft for offering feedback on my translation of this text

ceste charme donez la beneicun: In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti amen. Sicut plage Domini nostri Jhesu Christi non putuerunt non ranclerunt nec vermes fecerunt, ita plaga ista on putrescat nec ranclescat nec vermem faciat, sed ad sanitatem perveniat. Gardez bien ke la plate ne seit remue avaunt treis jours. E pus pernez la ruge cholecte et quisez bien en eawe ove toute la racine et l'escosz, et debrusez ove vos meins, et metez point de fer et quiset taunt ke la meite [de] l'eawe seit retret, et pus lavet la plate sovent et le mal et recuchez la plate autre feiz, et pus dites cest oreysun: Domine Jhesu Christi qui precioso sanguine tuo nos peccatores in cruce redemisti, mittere digneris benedictionem tuam super plumbum istud ut quid infirmitatis ex eo tactum fuerit per virtutem sanctissime passionis tue accipiat sanitatem, per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen. Ausi vereiment cum nostre sire Jhesu crist fu mis en la croiz en le mount Calvarie, et ausi vereiment cum il sufrit cink plaes pur nous, et ausi vereiment cum ses plaes ne festrerent ne ranclerent, ausi vereiment ne pussent le[s] plaes cesti N. rauncler ne festrer. E ausi vraiment cum il se resuscita au tierz jour de mor[t] en vie, ausi vraiment pussent ces plaes aver saunte et garrisoun. Amen. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen. Pur garrir festre, verme et cankre et toute manere de plaey (sic) overte fetes cum jeo ay dit, et saunte avera li pacient par la grace Deu.³⁹²

A shorter, fully Latin version is found in MS Cambridge Corpus Christi College 388, f. 31 (ca. 1320)

Carmen ad cancrum. Item pro vulneribus et cancris: Primo fiat plumbum tenue ad mesuram plate et fiant .v. cruces cum .v. Pater Noster ut in quatuor angulis plate et una in medio plate ut hic apparet per figuram istam sequentem [figure of the square with crosses] et dicitur istud carmen super plumbum: [f.31vb] 'Domine Jesu Christe, qui precioso sanguine tuo nos peccatores in cruce redemisti, mittere digneris benedictionem tuam super plumbum istud ut quicquid infirmitas eo tactum fuerit per virtutem sanctissime pascionis tue accipiat sanitatem per Christum dominum nostrum.' Et dicitur ter Pater Noster et non moveantur plumbum usque ad quartam diem et

³⁹² P. Meyer, "Notice du MS. Bodley 761 de la Bibliothèque Bodléienne (Oxford)." in, Meyer, Paul, Gaston Bruno Paulin Paris, Antoine Thomas, and Mario Roques. (Romania. Paris: Société des amis de la Romania., 1872)p. 517 n.1. Several other similar lead charms are given in this work, including: le charme de plum. Coment vous garrez chescune manere de plaie, suave mortele plaie, par une plate de plum, ne festre ne kancre ne porra remuer de cel lieu tant com la plate i est verreement. Issi sera la plate faite: ffaitez une plate de plum quarre auxi tenve cum un parchemyn & faitex iiij croiz en iiij. corners de la plate & une croiz en milieu, et benesquiez la plate a chescun trait kant vous faites le croiz, & dites sur chescun croiz v. pater noster en la honurance des .v. plaies, et ditez teux vers: Vulnera quinque Dei sunt medicine mei; sint medicine tua .N. pia crux et passio Christi. +. Jhesu, si verreement com vous suffristez .v. plaies en vostre seintisme corps pur touz peccheurs, auxi verreement garisez cest homme, N., vostre sergant, de ceste maladie, Amen. Veez que la plate ne tuche point la terre apre la benesoun, & remeuz la plate iii. fez le jour & lavez le de chaude eawe, et a chescun remuer dites .v. pater noster. (516-517).

quotiens movetur dicitur ter Pater Noster et sine dubio sanitatem sine
dilacione possidebunt.³⁹³

While the lead amulet charm found in the Welsh corpus has close analogues in other medieval traditions, I have thus far found no analogues, at least in the English corpus, to the first two whitlow or felon charms, which feature a formula from the Athanasian Creed and a banishment formula that sends the disease back into the earth.³⁹⁴

3.b Charms for scrofula, or, the ‘King’s Evil,’ and Shingles

One of the more impressive banishment adjurations to a disease or disease-causing agent is found in a Welsh charm against scrofula. This charm type is among one of the more astounding examples of the performative, verbal power of a charm, and is to my knowledge unparalleled in any other linguistic or cultural tradition.

Scrofula refers to a tumor or swelling in the neck, now associated with tuberculosis. The term is a diminutive of the Latin word *scrofa*, or, ‘sow,’ which according to Aristotle and other medical authorities, was prone to disease.³⁹⁵ The disease was often referred to as the ‘King’s evil’ due to the widespread belief that the monarchs of England and France were endowed with a divine ability to lay hands on scrofula patients and cure the disease. During these ‘touching ceremonies,’ which were introduced in England by Edward the Confessor, passages from the Gospels of Mark and John were read over the sick.³⁹⁶ The reading of Mark would have enforced themes of divine

³⁹³ Tony Hunt, *Three Receiptaria from Medieval England*, in *The Languages of Medicine in the Fourteenth Century. Medium Aevum Monographs; New Ser., 21.* (Oxford: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2001), 145-146.

³⁹⁴ I am grateful to Katherine Hindley, who verified this for me by consulting her unpublished database of late medieval English healing charms.

³⁹⁵ Stefan Grzybowski and Edward A. Allen, "History and Importance of Scrofula." *The Lancet* 346, no. 8988 (1995): 1472-474 at p.1472. Others, however, debate this particular etymology and have suggested that it should be taken figuratively as stone, reflecting the hardness of the lymph glands when swollen, which Galen himself described.

³⁹⁶ William of Malmesbury recorded the first known instance of this royal touch, in which a young woman with swollen glands was healed by the king after washing and rubbing the afflicted areas. William attributed this healing (more likely

healing and established the monarch as a true follower of Christ, about whom the verses are written, and even perhaps drawing some parallels with the Christ's apostles. Mark 16:17-18 speaks of the believers who will expel demons in Christ's name, take up serpents, be immune to poison, and have the ability to lay hands on the sick and heal.³⁹⁷ We have already observed in Chapter One how the Gospel of John, especially the *In Principio*, was used in ritual healing, and it was also a common feature of the royal 'touching ceremonies' that were performed to heal scrofula patients.³⁹⁸

In England, Edward I (1272-1307) was said to have laid hands on over 500 patients in just a month's time. Some monarchs performed this ritual by offering patients a special coin or medallion, the 'touch-piece' which was often worn as an amulet.³⁹⁹ The ritual seemed to have enjoyed its greatest popularity during the Reformation, and Charles II is said to have laid hands on around 4,000 people a year (compared to Henry VIII in the first years of the 1530s, when he was said to have performed the royal touch ceremony on just sixty-five patients).⁴⁰⁰ This popular ritual was

due the clearing, opening, and draining of the lesions) to divine miracle and the power became associated with the monarchy. William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. William Stubbs (H.M. Stationery Office, 1887), 2:272-273, and as cited in James F. Turrell, "The Ritual of Royal Healing in Early Modern England: Scrofula, Liturgy, and Politics." *Anglican and Episcopal History* 68, no. 1 (1999): pp. 3-36 at p. 6.

³⁹⁷ *Signa autem eos qui crediderint, hæc sequentur: in nomine meo daemones ejicient: linguis loquentur novis: serpentes tollent: et si mortiferum quid biberint, non eis nocebit: super ægros manus imponent, et bene habebunt.* Vulgate edition.

³⁹⁸ Other verses and prayers from the Sarum Missal and the Book of Common Prayer, for example, were said over the sick, depending on the monarch. James II issued a rite that can be found in "Ceremonies Used for Healing the King's Evil" in *The Literary Museum, or A Selection of Scarce Old Tracts*, ed. F.G. Waldron (London, 1792). See also W.A. Maskell, ed., *Monumenta Ritualia Ecdclesiae Anglicanae*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1882). Elizabeth's rite is found in William Tooker, *Charisma Sive Donum Sanationis, Seu Explicatio Totius Quaestionis De Mirabilium Sanitatum Gratia: In qua Praecipue Agitur De Solenni & Sacra Curatione Strumae, Cui Reges Angliae Rite Inaugurati, Divinitus Medicati Sunt.* Londini: Windet, 1597. at p. 94-97. James I, for example, seems to have ceased the performative action of making the sign of the cross over the patient, but continued to perform the healing ritual. See Turrell, p. 26.

³⁹⁹ Stefan Grzybowski and Edward A. Allen, "History and Importance of Scrofula." p. 1472.

⁴⁰⁰ For more see Stephen Brogan. *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin.* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK; Rochester, NY, USA: Boydell & Brewer, 2015).

supposedly continued up into the eighteenth century, and its popularity was captured in medical descriptions and treatises as well as literature such as Shakespear's *MacBeth*.⁴⁰¹

James Turell notes that the sign of royal power associated with this healing ritual was so potent a symbol that Charles I ordered investigations and punishments of folk healers who attempted to heal scrofula in similar ways, though some have argued that this was an effort to eradicate fraud rather than competition.⁴⁰²

I am unaware of a particularly strong shared tradition of healing charms for scrofula in Britain, perhaps due to the popularity of the royal touch ceremony, which would have likely been more desirable to the patient. Similarly, perhaps a proliferation of touch pieces and other material relics used as amulets were preferred over textual charms. I have thus far found two complete versions of this particular Welsh scrofula charm. They are nearly identical, which indicates a relationship between the two, whether in written or oral transmission, directly or indirectly. There is also one later variant, a fragment that contains similar core motifs but is altogether much more succinct. The overarching theme of the Welsh scrofula charm variants focuses on the exorcism of nine disease-causing worms, identified as daughters of a king. Lea Olsan has noted that worms are commonly associated with diseases of the flesh, and that such charms also feature verbal rituals that enact the killing or diminishing of the worms, usually in the form of counting them away.⁴⁰³ The

⁴⁰¹ F. Barlow, 'The King's Evil', *The English Historical Review*, 95/374 (January 1980), pp 3-27. Royal surgeons such as William Clowes, John Brown, and Richard Wiseman wrote about the healing ritual in the time of Elizabeth, which was fraught with issues of religious and political legitimacy. In Act IV, Scene 3, Malcolm describes the royal touch ritual he observed at the court of Edward the Confessor.

⁴⁰² See, for example, Judith Richards, "'His Nowe Majestie; and the English Monarchy: the Kingship of Charles I before 1640,'" *Past and Present* 113 (1986), p. 87.

⁴⁰³ Lea Olsan, "The Worm in the Worm Charms," paper given at the International Society for Folk Narrative Research – Committee on Charms, Charmers and Charming and Belief Narrative Network Committee Three Day Conference, Budapest, Dec. 2017.

earliest example of a Welsh scrofula charm, from the early sixteenth century, is also one of the longest Welsh-language charms thus far uncovered.

Llyma swyn rrac y manwnnion Mi a swyna y ti rrac y manwynion trwy awdryrdawd yr Arglwydd Jessu Grist ar Arglwyddes Fair y Fam. A thrwy ath awdryrdawd y pedwar peroffwyd ar hygain. A thrwy awdryrdawd yr holl gonffessoriaid saint. A thrwy awdryrdawd yr holl ferthyrri o saint a santesav. A thrwy yr holl werryddon o santesav. A thrwy awdryrdod yr holl engylion ar holl archengylion. Mi ath dystrywa: mi ath [d]ysdrywais [11] mi ath diwraidda mi ath ddiwreiddaiss. Mi ath differewythaf mi ath differwythais. Dros ix mor, dros ix mynydd, dros ix tiwarchen elfydd hyt na bo ynoch na chwydd nac adwyth na chlwyl na chlefyd na gwayw na gwyn na ffryf gwryw na ffryf benyw, nac yth waed nac yth weli nac yth wythi nac yth lythni nac yth fer nac yth es[g]lwrn nac yth kac⁴⁰⁴ nac yth knawd nac yth bedwar aelawd. Dy holl korff yn iach i gyd o wartha dy pen hyd yn gwadne dy draed. Amen. Patter noster ac Afi Maria. <i>Kwm gelon Crist ymresebion dragendi fal y dragon</i>⁴⁰⁵ aethon fal y daython ni lwyddo Duw y manwynion mwy no naw merched brenin Rriallon or ix ir viii or viii ir vii or vii ir vi or vi ir v or v ir iiiii or iii ir iii or iii ir ii or ii ir i or i heb i yn y byd. Ymaeith; ymaeith ir mor diffaith ymaith bryfyn ir mor sygyn. Mi ach gorchmyna chwi ych naw ir ddaiar ddyddgwy ddyddgofwy ddyddgain ddydd glwy gwallgofwy [12] gwallgain cyrgwy cyrgofwy cyrgain yr ddayar ych ix yn ych cyfair. A dwaid gwaith pob pryd a thre pryd porre annos, a ffater ar ol pob gwaeith ac y swynych.⁴⁰⁶	Here is a charm against scrofula. I charm you against scrofula through the power of the Lord Jesus Christ and the Lady Mary his mother. And through the power of the twenty-four prophets. And through the power of all the holy confessor saints. And through the power of all the holy martyrs, male and female. And through all the holy virgins. And through the power of all the angels and archangels. I will destroy you, I have destroyed you [11] I will uproot you, I have uprooted you. I will weaken you, I have weakened you. Across nine seas, across nine mountains, across nine sods of earth until there not be within you swelling nor harm nor disease nor illness nor agony, nor pain nor any worm, male or female in your blood nor your wound nor your veins nor your appetite nor your marrow nor your bones nor your meat nor your flesh nor your four limbs. Your whole body healthy from the top of your head to the soles of your feet. Amen Pater noster and Ave Maria. <i>Kwm gelon Crist ymresebion dragendi</i> like the dragon they went away as they came. May God not allow the scrofula to prosper any more than the nine daughters of King Rhiwallon. From nine to eight, from eight to seven, from seven to six, from six to five, from five to four, from four to three, from three to two, from two to one, from one to not a single one. Away, Away to the uninhibited sea, away worm to the undertow of the sea. I command you nine to the earth <i>ddyddgwy ddyddgofwy ddyddgain ddyddglwy gwallgofwy gwallgain cyrgwy cyrgofwy cyrgain</i> into the earth all
---	---

⁴⁰⁴ Likely meant to be *keic*, as in version below and as would be more expected as a doublet with *knawd*

⁴⁰⁵ An ambiguous phrase, perhaps purposefully so, that resists translation. *Kwm gelon Crist* could mean, 'Valley of Christ's enemy,' while *ymresebion* could be the verb *resefio* 'to receive communion' with the *ym* prefix denoting reflexivity, making this phrase '[In the] valley of Christ's enemy we receive communion.' *Dragendi fal y dragon* is also ambiguous in its own right. *Fal y dragon* is straightforward as 'like a dragon.'

⁴⁰⁶ NLW Peniarth MS 204, p. 10-12

	nine of you directly. And say [it] once at every meal & 3 days morning and night, and a Pater after every time that you recite the charm.
--	---

The charm consists of several components, beginning with a formulaic invocation of a wide-ranging cast of divine characters. The text then launches into a highly performative series of threats to the disease or the disease-causing agent[s]. This section is one of, if not *the*, most highly dramatized sections of any Welsh charm. The power of the words to destroy the disease or its cause is strengthened in the performative, ritual utterances that depict completion of the threatened act: *I will destroy you, I have destroyed you*, etc. Following this highly effective series of threats, the charm then exorcises the disease and its cause out of the patient's body and into a series of liminal spaces: nine seas, nine mountains, nine sods of earth (or, mounds). The use of the number nine here foreshadows the counting down and expelling and naming of, the nine disease-causing agents, apparently nine sister-worms.

The folkloric elements in this section of the charm are strong. The reference to nine seas is reminiscent of the popular 'ninth wave' tradition in Irish folklore.⁴⁰⁷ In the eleventh-century *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, we are told of the Milesian conquest of Ireland and the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, a race of Irish mythological deities. After landing in Ireland, the Milesians consent to a temporary truce, in which they will return in their ships and stay a certain distance from Ireland: a distance of nine waves.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁷ And indeed, in Welsh tradition too, as is evidenced in a praise poem to Tenby, the fair fortress on the ninth wave.' See Marged Haycock, ed., transl, *Legendary poems from the Book of Taliesin*. 2nd ed. (Aberystwyth: CMCS Publications, 2015)

⁴⁰⁸ For more see John Carey, "Lebor Gabála and the Legendary History of Ireland" in Helen Fulton, ed., *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society*, Dublin: Four Courts, 2005) pp. 32–48; as well as T.F. O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 1946)

In addition to the nine seas as a place of banishment, the charm also later commands the agents of the disease to the wild, or uninhabited wasteland of a sea. This interpretation is supported by the following lines in the charm, which mention the undertow (*sugn*) of the sea. Many narrative charms use the motif of space, presented in terms of divine power and demonic power. Such charms often feature a divine character juxtaposed with the demon or disease-agent, often a worm. Éva Pócs has noted that in many modern Eastern European charms, the dwelling place of the demons and demonic disease-causing agents is often a barren stone desert, which she describes in terms of opposition: human/non-human or demonic; divine/satanic.⁴⁰⁹

Such motifs were also widespread throughout medieval Europe, and the Welsh *scrofula* charms provides a rich example of the banishment of the disease-agent to a number of wild, barren spaces. The banishments in general, and their verbal formulae, are vaguely reminiscent of liturgical rituals to banish demons in several rituals for blessing holy water, salt and honey, and sanctifying the boundaries of a church or parish.⁴¹⁰ The Welsh *scrofula* charm banishes the nine disease worms across nine seas, nine mountains, and nine sods of earth, and later in the charm, to the wild, barren, undertow of the sea. Pócs notes that the world to which the demons or diseases are banished is often characterized by a barrenness: an absence of plowing or sowing, or an uncultivated desert or mountain.⁴¹¹ For example, in Russian charms, a serpent (or sometimes the devil himself) can be found under a rock in the middle of the sea, and this motif is echoed in a rune stick from Denmark, ca. 1300:

I pray Earth to guard and High Heaven, the sun and Saint Mary and
Lord God himself, that he grant me medicinal hands and healing

⁴⁰⁹ Éva Pócs, “Miracles and Impossibilities in Magic Folk Poetry”. In: Roper J. (eds) *Charms, Charmers and Charming*. Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) 36.

⁴¹⁰ For more on this, see Chapter Four, on charms used for the protection of humans and their property, most often livestock. Many of these charms are rooted in, or lifted directly from, authorized, liturgical rituals of the Church.

⁴¹¹ Pócs, “Miracles” p. 36

tongue to heal the Trembler when a curse is needed. From back and from breast, from body and from limb, from eyes and from ears, from wherever evil can enter. A stone is called Svart[r] (black), it stands out in the sea, there lie upon it nine needs, who shall neither sleep sweetly nor wake warmly until you pray this cure which I have proclaimed in runic words. Amen so be it.⁴¹²

In the tradition of Latin benedictions, demons are also banished to places such as *profundum desertum, ut nominibus nihil noceant* or *ubi nec aratur nec seminatur*.⁴¹³ In the Welsh scrofula charm, the nine disease worms are banished in a series of adjurations throughout the charm. After the first of the exorcisms, the Welsh charm enumerates the body parts of the patient, so that the demon will be unable to remain hidden within the patient.⁴¹⁴ This litany of body parts is common in charms of various traditions and most often begins at the head and works down the body. Our charm features a version of this as well.

The Welsh scrofula charm then deploys a countdown motif to exorcise the worms from the patient's body. Diminishing charms that feature such counting down, often from nine or seven, are common in the wider, shared European charming tradition. One Old English charm features the very similar motif of counting down the sisters in a charm for a glandular swelling, scrofula, worms, or general evil:

Against a kernel. Nine were Noththe's sisters. Then the nine became eight and the eight became seven and the seven became six and the six became five and the five became four and the four became three and the three became two and the two became one and the one

⁴¹² As quoted in Stephen Mitchell, *Witchcraft and Magic in the Nordic Middle Ages*, p. 64

⁴¹³ Pócs, "Miracles" p. 36. Here she cites Weinreich's Latin benediction text and offers her translations of the above as 'a deserted depth, so that may harm nothing by means of names' and 'which is not ploughed nor sown.' Pócs also notes that although the motif of banishing the demon or disease-agent into rocky, barren deserts or marshes was popular throughout Europe but was more predominant in Easter and South-Eastern Europe.

⁴¹⁴ Éva Pócs, "Church Benedictions and Popular Charms in Hungary." In, *The Power of Words: Studies on Charms and Charming in Europe*, 165. (Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2013), p. 187. She also cites Franz 1909 II (Die kirchlichen bendiktionem) p. 580 and Pradel 1907, pp. 351-2.

became none. This will be a remedy for you against a furuncle and scrofula and worms and every kind of evil. Sing *Benedicite* nine times.⁴¹⁵

Here kernel refers to a grain or kernel and refers to a swelling or tumor of the flesh. Storms asserts that, “the monotonous repetition of the same formula gives it an intensity and a weight that leaves no room for embellishments.”⁴¹⁶ A much earlier analogue can be found in the works of Marcellus Empiricus, a fourth- and fifth-century medical writer from Gaul who included several charms and other material often called ‘popular’ or ‘superstitious’ among his medical work *De medicamentis*. In one, Marcellus gives a charm against swollen glands in which the ‘gland sisters’ are counted down from nine until no more are left.

Glandulas mane carminabis si dies minuetur, si nox ad vesperam, et digito medicinali ac pollice continens eas dices: Novem glandulae sorores, octo glandulae sorores, septem glandulae sorores, sex glandulae sorores, quinque glandulae sorores, quattuor glandulae sorores, tres glandulae sorores, duo glandulae sorores, una glandula soror. Novem fiunt glandulae.... una fit glandula, nulla fit glandula.⁴¹⁷

Although Storms did not consider this Latin version to have been a source for the Old English charm (rather, he posited that the source of the Old English charm was Germanic; an argument based solely, it would seem, on the name Noththe), there are fascinating parallels to the Welsh scrofula charm found in both the Old English charm and the Latin charm. There is no reason not to

⁴¹⁵ *Wip cyrnel. Neogone wæran Noðþæs sweoster. þa wurdon þa nygone to VIII. and þa VIII to VII and þa VII to VI and þa VI to V and þa V to IIII and þa IIII to III and þa III to II and þa II to I and þ I to nanum. þis þe lib be cyrnelles and scroffelles and weormes and æghwylces yfeles. Sing Benedicte nygon sibum.* From BL Harley MS 585 (s. x-xi), as cited and translated in Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic*. (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1948) 150-150. The nine sisters of Noththe is perhaps evocative of the nine needs of the Danish charm given above.

⁴¹⁶ *ibid*

⁴¹⁷ You shall sing on the swollen glands in the morning when the day is shortening, and towards evening when the night is shortening, and holding between your healing finger [i.e. the fourth finger] and thumb you shall say “the nine swollen glands are sisters, the eight swollen glands are sisters...” This charm curiously restarts the count at one gland-sister, beginning at nine and counting down to zero, but dropping the reference to the glands as sisters in the second part of the charm. As published and translated in Storms, 151-152. See also Marcus Empiricus XV, 101-102 in ed. M. Niederm, *Corpus Medicorum Latinorum*, (V, Leipzig, 1916) p. 120.

suppose that multiple layers of influence, and over several centuries, did not play a role in the formation of the Welsh scrofula charm. The diminishing gland-sisters charm is not the only parallel to be found in earlier traditions. Storms also notes a German charm with other parallels discernable in the Welsh scrofula charm: “Go out, worm, from your nine little ones, out from the marrow to the bone, from the bone to the flesh, out from the flesh to the skin, out from the skin to this arrow. Lord, may it happen thus.”⁴¹⁸ A.A. Barb believed this charm, as well as the Noththe charm, to have been unquestionably developed out of the apocryphal Coptic text, “Book of the Resurrection of Christ,” attributed to the Apostle Bartholomew. In this text, “Death” or the “Destroyer” descends into the underworld with six sons in order to enter Christ’s tomb and take possession of his body. They are, of course, defeated, and the seven demons are described as ‘wriggling’ like worms. To back up this claim, Barb cites a German charm that features Peter lying in his tomb, eaten up with worms, which gradually diminish, from nine to zero.⁴¹⁹ It is also possible that a medieval charm user would have performed an exorcism of the disease causing agents (often seven or nine in number) and been reminded of several parallels in Mark 16, when Jesus drives seven demons out of Mary Magdalene and when later in that chapter, Christ says that his believers will cast out demons in his name.⁴²⁰ In most European worm charms, Job eventually became the main character of the diminishing worm charm type, logically because of his connection with worms and disease in several biblical and extra-biblical traditions.⁴²¹ The *Testament of Job* relates his experience:

⁴¹⁸ *Contra vermes. Gang ut nesso mid nigun nessiklinon, ut fana themo marge an that ben, fan themo bene an that flesg, ut fan demo flesge an thia bud, ut fan thera bud an thesa strala. Druhtin werthe so.* As presented and translated in Storms, 149.

⁴¹⁹ A. A. Barb, "Animula Vagula Blandula." *Folklore* 61, no. 1 (1950): 15-30, 26-28.

⁴²⁰ Mark 16:9. *Surgens autem mane prima sabbati, apparuit primo Mariae Magdalene, de qua ejecerat septem demonia.* Vulgate edition.

⁴²¹ For example, Hunt prints the earliest Anglo-Norman example of a Job charm, from the twelfth century (B.L. Sloane MS 84, f. 40v). The charm is for gout, though it was also used for farcy and diseases resulting in swelling, as in scrofula. *Carmen Contra guttam: In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Jop vers bout. Quanz en bout? .IX en bout, de IX. . VIII., de VIII. . VIIe [sic], de. Vii> .Vi., de VI. .V., de .V. .III., de .III. .III., de III. .II., de .II. .I. de .I. nul. Si verrement cum Deus uarit seint Job, si unarisse il icesit hume vel ista mulier de cest enfermete u de festre hu de gute. In nomine Patris et Filii. Christus natus, Christus passus,*

And I continued lying on the floor for three hours. and he smote me with a hard plague from the top of my head to the toes of my feet. And I left the city in great terror and woe and sat down upon a dunghill my body being worm-eaten. And I wet the earth with the moistness of my sore body, for matter flowed off my body, and many worms covered it. And when a single worm crept off my body, I put it back saying: "Remain on the spot where you have been placed until He who has sent you will order you elsewhere."⁴²²

Job's speech to the worm trying to escape his body parallels, in some way, the commands to the worms in our charm above. If our scrofula charm was in some way influenced by the Job traditions in general, or more directly by this text, the emphasis on the command to the worm to depart to various liminal spaces makes sense. These commands rely upon the power of God and the divine names invoked at the beginning of the charm. This feature of the Welsh scrofula charm contains some faint, though admittedly speculative, hints of Job's admonition to the worm to stay put until ordered elsewhere.

The *Testament of Job* also presents another interesting, though even more opaque and speculative parallel: that of Job's daughters. Upon his death, he called his children (seven sons and three daughters) to his bedside, where he gave the boys their inheritance and left the three daughters each with a three-stringed, protective girdle.⁴²³ The first daughter's name is Yemina, or, 'Day,' which

et Christus resurectus a mortuis. Ego sum Alfa et Omega, primus et novissimus, initium et fin[is] mundi et consumacio seculi et vita et pax + In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Another French charm of the fifteenth century uses the Job and worm motif in a remedy for farcy (MS Exeter Cathedral 3519): *Charme de saint Job pur lez vermez ou [e]lez sount; 'Com a Dieu ployt par la volente de Dieu et par la grace de Dieu et par la creaunce de luy, si en garist et auxi garisez tu de tez mayus et de tez dolours, de ceo en avant ja mal te ne facent.'* In nomine Patris et Filii et Spritus Sancti trois foitz soit dit ove .iii. Pater Noster et .iii. Ave Maria et .iii. Credo. Hunt, *Popular Religion*, p. 81

⁴²² Testament of Job 5:5-8. Russell P. Spittler, *The Testament of Job: Introduction, Translation, and Notes*. (1971).

⁴²³ "Now then, my children, in keeping these, you will not have the enemy plotting against you nor [evil] intentions in your mind because this is a charm (Phylacterion) from the Lord. Rise then and gird these around you before I die in order that you may see the angels come at my parting so that you may see with wonder the powers of God." Then rose the one whose name was Day (Yemima) and girt herself; and immediately she departed her body, as her father had said, and she put on another heart, as if she never cared for earthly things. And she sang angelic hymns in the voice of angels, and she chanted forth the angelic praise of God while dancing. *ibid*, 11:12-16.

brings up an interesting parallel in the Welsh compound names for the disease-causing agents found within the charm.

Naming of the demon or evil in order to obtain some sort of power over it is common in many traditions, and the naming of each nine ‘worms’ seems to function in a similar way. Each name consists of two alternating and repeating compositional units made into compound words.

The words that are repeated as the first aspect of the compound words are:

dydd- (‘day’ or even, ‘battle’);
gwall- (mistake, fault; wrong, lie; defect, lack, want; hunger); and
cyr (itself meaning ‘muscle, sinew; flesh, though the same word can also mean ‘by’ or ‘near, close to.’)⁴²⁴

The second part of the compound names consist of repetitions of:

-g[l]wy (from *chwy*, ‘malady, disease’), though also as *-cwy* (‘wicked one’);
-gofwy (visitation; visitor); and
gain (bulk, capacity) or *cain* (‘fair, beautiful, excellence; or as a noun, ‘fair things’).⁴²⁵

Potential meanings or shades of meaning could include:

dyddgwy = wicked one’s day day; wicked one’s life; wicked one’s battle
ddyddgofwy = visitation’s day / visitation’s battle? day of visitation
dyddgain = fair one’s day.... fair one’s battle?
ddyddglwy = disease’s day.... disease’s battle... disease-battle
gwallgofwy = disease’s evil
gwallgain = fair one’s evil
cyrghwy = wicked one’s flesh
cyrghofwy = wicked one’s visit
cyrghain = wicked one’s bulk/beauties/excellence

While it is also entirely possible that these names were simply made up names due to the appealing aspect of their internal sound patterns, it is interesting to note the potential nuance of meanings they

⁴²⁴ It might be more accurate to understand this as a variant of ‘ger.’ It’s clear that that’s how it was read by someone, since the Wrexham 2 version of this charm gives *ery* rather than *cyr* in all of the compounds featuring this word.

⁴²⁵ GPC

could have evoked in a patient or charmer's mind. The fact that the names remain nearly identical in the other complete version is also interesting, though probably unsurprising since the versions are nearly identical, an indication of a strong relationship between the two, whether oral or written.

The nine daughters of King Rhiwallon are also unparalleled in the Welsh tradition, and any other tradition as far as I am aware. Reference to nine daughters is evocative of a medieval allegorical text that depicts nine vices as daughters of the Devil and assigns each of these daughters to a group in society (knights, clergy, etc.). The exemplum of the Devil's daughters circulated especially widely in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It was used in sermons and texts used as tools for teaching the laity about deadly sins, and from there was developed for other literary traditions, such as the Anglo Norman French allegory: *un tretiz coment le deable maria ces IX files a gent du secle et de seinte Eglise, solom Robert Groceteste*' and two similar fourteenth-century Occitan texts.⁴²⁶

While our scrofula charm text is clearly not derived from this tradition, it may be indirectly inspired by the nine daughters of the devil tradition, as well as the demon-sister motifs popular throughout Europe and discussed above. A tentative argument that the Welsh text could have been in some way inspired by the nine daughters of the Devil tradition is made stronger by the existence of a fourteenth-century Welsh copy of the nine daughters of the Devil text found in NLW Llanstephan MS 2, a mid-fifteenth-century manuscript that consists largely of religious and didactic

⁴²⁶ Leglu, C. (2015) 'The Devil's Daughters and a question of translation between Occitan and Anglo-Norman French: 'De las .vii. filhas del diable' (British Library Add. MS 17920). *Revue d'Etudes d'Occ: La France Latine*, 160. pp. 93-123. ISSN 0222-0326 Available at <http://centaur.reading.ac.uk/39083/>. See also B. Haureau, 'Les Filles du Diable,' *Journal des Savants* (janvier 1884) 225-228, and P. Meyer, 'Notice du Ms. Rawlinson Poetry 241', *Romania* 29 (1900) 1-84. Leglu, building off of the work of Meyer, suggests that the extant Anglo-Norman texts derive from an earlier Latin or Anglo-Norman source, and that two surviving Occitan variants of the early fourteenth century were produced, at least in part, from Anglo-Norman sources. Leglu gives part of the Occitan text and a translation (p. 4): "We find different estates of people in this world, and if faults are to be found in those that we have discussed, then there are even more to be found in the others. That is why we read that the Devil married Injustice/Unfairness, from whom he had nine daughters: Simony, Hypocrisy, Plunder, Usury, Deceit, Pride, False Service, Sacrilege, and Lust. Because, in his opinion, he could not find more than eight types of men, he married off no more than eight of them. He gave Simony to clerics, Hypocrisy to the religious, Plunder to knights and men of noble birth, Usury to the covetous, the avaricious and the rich, Deceit to the cheats and the false merchants, Pride to the powerful lords, False Service to workers, and Sacrilege to labourers. Lust remains common to everyone."

prose.⁴²⁷ The Welsh text appears to be a clear translation of a standard text belonging to this tradition, and begins: *Dienl abriodes enwired yn wreic ida6 ac a vu ida6 naw merchet o bonei nyth a briodet ar nawuet yn butein. Y verch kyntaf idaw a chwir Simonia...* (The Devil married Injustice, his wife, and he had nine daughters with her, eight who got married and the ninth prostituted herself. The first of his daughters was called Simony...). The text continues with the lesson about each daughter/vice and which social class she belonged to (Simony to the clergy, as one would expect). Following the text is the whitlow charm we saw in section 3.a.

The Welsh scrofula charm exists in two almost identical versions, including presenting nearly identical names for the nine disease-causing worms, the so-called ‘daughters of King Rhiwallon.’ This epithet is strange and unattested elsewhere in the Welsh tradition. Traditionally Rhiwallon was not a king, but a physician in the court of a Welsh ruler, and the progenitor of the line of Welsh physicians known in later lore as legendary physicians of Myddfai (see Introduction). Several medieval and early modern Welsh medical texts feature colophons that reference Rhiwallan and his three sons. In these charms it seems that the semi-legendary healing sons of Rhiwallon have been conflated with the tradition of the fever demons, usually sisters, of older traditions, and here have become worms that are causing the disease or swelling.

Lea Olsan notes the prevalence of demon sisters found in fever charms of medieval England and Germanic traditions, but the gland sisters of Marcus Empiricus demonstrates that this was not solely a Germanic tradition.⁴²⁸ Another interesting parallel to the number nine and the sea is found

⁴²⁷ While the manuscript is of the fifteenth century, Daniel Huws has dated the hand of this particular text to the mid-fourteenth century. Huws, *Repertory*.

⁴²⁸ One charm invokes seven divine figures (the Sleepers) against the seven evil fever sisters [see Franz 1909 II, p. 482-3 for the text]. Olsan translates one example in “Writing on the Hand,” p. 12. The charm is found in B.L. Sloane MS 389, f. 91v-92r. The relevant excerpt reads: *coniuro vos quo septem estis sorores prima daliola secunda vestulia tercius fugalia quarta suferalie quinta affrecta sexta lilia septema luctalia per patrem + et filium et spiritum sanctum + et per diem in diebus et per misericordiam domini nostri Ihu xpi + per omnes angelos + archangelos + per apostolos + martires + confessores atque virgines + omnes sanctos dei per omnes virtutes celorum et per celum et terram + mare et omnes que in eis sunt. . .* I conjure you who are seven sisters, the first Daliola, the second Vestulia, the third Fugalia, the fourth Suferalie, the fifth Affrecta, the sixth Lilia, the seventh Luctalia through the

in Norse mythology, with the nine daughters of Ægir, who are personified as sea waves and are referenced in the thirteenth-century, in both the Poetic Edda and the Prose Edda.⁴²⁹ It is also possible that the nine daughters of King Rhiwallon, the evil, disease-causing worms, were meant to stand in opposition to the commonly-invoked nine orders of angels.

The second variant of this charm looks much like the variant above, with some very minor changes in vocabulary and a shortened ending that lacks the instructions for when and how to enact the charm (and with what prayers). The bulk of the charm is tidily enveloped between the invocation of the divine characters at the beginning, the sources of power against the entities named at the end of the charm in order to have their power weakened as they are being exorcised from the patient. The version below is from a manuscript of the second half of the sixteenth century, a collection of mostly moral or religious texts, but with some poetry, astrology, and medical writing, including a small number of charms.⁴³⁰

Mi y swynaf yti rac y manwnon trwy awdyrdod yr arglwydd jessu grist a thrwy awdyrdod yr arglwyddes vair y fam a thrwy awdyrdod y pedwar proffwyd ar igain a thrwy awdyrdod yr holl gonfessoriaid o saint a santessay: a thrwy awdyrdod yr holl weryddon o santessay: a thrwy awdyrdod yr holl engylion ar holl arch engylion: Mi ath diffwrwythaf, mi ath diffwrwythais, mi ath dileaf, mi ath dileais, mi ath gorchmynaf, mi ath gorchmynais. Dros naw mor, dros naw mynydd, dros naw twarchen elfydd, hyd na bo o hanoch na hwydd, nag adwyth, na chlwyf, na chlefyd, na	I will charm you against scrofula through the power of the Lord Jesus Christ, and through the power of of Lady Mary his mother, and through the power of twenty-four prophets and through the power of all the holy confessor saints, male and female: and through the power of all of the virgin female saints: and through the power of all the angels and archangels: I will paralyze you, I have paralyzed you, I will obliterate you, I have obliterated you, I will command you, I have commanded you. Across nine seas, across nine mountains, across nine sods of earth, until there
---	---

Father and Son and Holy Spirit and through the day of days and through the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ and through all the angels, archangels and through the apostles, martyrs, confessors and virgins and all the saints of God through all the powers of heaven and earth and sea and all that are in them . . . (Olsan's transcription and translation).

⁴²⁹ See Helgakvíða Hundingsbana I. See Kuhn, Hans and Gustav Neckel, *Edda: Die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst verwandten Denkmälern*. 5. verbesserte Aufl. (Heidelberg: Winter, 1983). For the Prose Edda see Anthony Faulkes, *Edda*. Everyman. (London : [Rutland], Vt.: J.M. Dent ; Charles E. Tuttle, 1995).

⁴³⁰ Daniel Huws, *Repertory*

gwayw, na gwyn. Na ffryf byw, na ffryf marw, na ffryf meniw, na ffryf gwriw. Nag yth waed, nag yth welaiy, nag yth wthi. Nag yth ver, nac yth esgyrn, nag yth esgyrn, nac yth gic, nac yth gnawd, nac yth bedwar aelawd. Ath oll gorff yn jach y gyd o warthaf dy benn hyd yn gwadnay dy draed. Amen, pater noster. <i>Kwm gelon krist ymrabron dragon di val y dragon.</i> Aethon aethon val y daython. Na lwyddio duw ar y manwnion mwy noc ar naw merch[63]ed Riallon. Hyd na chwyddion, hyd na wython, hyd na roddo duw rad ar ymanwnion mwy noc ar naw merched Riallon vrenhin. O'r naw y'r wyth, o'r wyth y'r saith, o'r saith y'r chwech, o'r cheth y'r pump, o'r pump y'r pedair, o'r pedair y'r tair, o'r tair y'r ddwy, o'r ddwy y'r un, o'r un heb yn ohonyn. Ymaith, ymaith y'r mor diffaith. Ymaith, bryfyn, y'r mor sygyn. Mi a'ch gorchmynaf chwi y'ch naw y'r ddayar y'ch kyfair, ddyddgwy ddyddgofwy dyddgaingeyr gwy eyr gofwy eyr gaing wall gwy wallgofwy wall gaing ych naw yr ddayar y ny kyfair amen.⁴³¹	be from you no swelling, nor infection, nor disease, nor fever, nor agony, nor pain. Nor a living worm, nor a dead worm, nor a female worm, nor a male worm. Not in your blood, nor your wounds, nor your veins. Not in your marrow, nor your bones, nor your bones, nor your skin, nor your flesh, nor your four limbs. And your whole body healthy from the top of your head to the soles of your feet. Amen, pater noster. <i>Kwm gelon krist ymrabron dragon di</i> like the dragon. They came, they came as they went. May God not allow the scrofula to prosper any more than the nine [63] daughters of King Rhiwallon, so that it not swell, nor throb, so that God not bestow grace upon the scrofula any more than upon the nine daughters of King Rhiwallon. From nine to eight, from eight to seven, from seven to six, from six to five, from five to four, from four to three, from three to two, from two to one, from one to not a single one of them. Away, away to the wild sea. Away, worms, to the undertow of the sea. I command you nine into the earth directly, <i>ddyddgwy ddyddgofwy dyddgaingeyr gwyeyr gofwyeyr gaing wallgwy wallgofwy wallgaing</i> you nine into the earth directly, amen.
---	--

Overall this charm is a fascinating and, so far, a uniquely Welsh example, though it features several motifs common in the wider tradition, patently demonstrating a high level of unique innovation, adaption, and expansion of these shared motifs. Direct adjurations to the disease or disease-agents, as well as exorcisms to other, liminal, places are common in nearly all charming traditions. That the cause of the disease is a group of worms is not entirely surprising either, given that there were many diseases thought to be results of worms (we have already seen toothache and earworm charms in Chapter One, for example).

⁴³¹ NLW MS 873b, p. 62-63.

This specific scrofula charm type presents a fascinating glimpse into a genre of highly performative healing charms in which a wide variety of motifs and typical verbal formulae coalesce. It is fairly uncommon in the extant Welsh corpus, having only survived in the two nearly identical versions above. However, a late-seventeenth-century fragment contains several of the core motifs of the fuller version above. The nine daughters of the king are not named, nor is the king. This variant is also lacking in terms of the formulaic rhetoric that characterizes the versions above.

The charm begins with a brief invocation of a more limited number of divine agents and continues with a truncated litany of body parts. The diminishing aspect of the charm is reflected in full, as the charm counts down the nine disease-causing agents: the sisters, daughters of a king. Out of context, and without the full versions above to inform our interpretation, this charm would be more difficult to decipher, as it simply begins with no identifying tag or heading and nothing to indicate its purpose. The charm (ca. 1695) is slightly outside of the date range for this project but nevertheless presents an interesting glimpse into the continuity of this otherwise seemingly unpopular charm type. The manuscript in which this fragmented variant appears is a late seventeenth-century commonplace miscellany containing a handful of religious prose texts, as well as texts on husbandry, medical recipes, poetry, and several extracted fragments from almanacs.⁴³²

crist a durist a mair fam crist ar deuddec apostol dyna gymdeithion yn harglwydd jesu crist y sydd o saint ac o santaidd n' y nefoedd a fo n' eiriol ac yn edrychol ar dynu fy nglwy i am dolyr or gie ac or gwithi or mer ac o'r asgwrn ac or asgwrn gwrn cydd ⁴³³ fel na neidio ac na chodo fel y dystrowiodd duw y manwne o'r naw merched gallach o frenin o'r naw ei wyth o wyth ei saith o saith ei chwech o chwech ei bymp o pump ei	May Christ, who suffered, and Mary mother of Christ, and the twelve apostles who are the companions of our Lord Jesus Christ, who are amongst the saints and the holy ones in heaven, may they be an advocate and take charge of removing my disease and my pain: from the sinew and from the veins and from the marrow and from the bones and from the hidden bone, that it not throb nor swell up but that God
---	--

⁴³² Huws, *Repertory*

⁴³³ It is likely that the scribe duplicated the *gurn* of *asgurn*, and that this should read *asgurn cydd*.

beder o bedr ei dair o dair ei ddwy o ddwy ei un o un heb yr [torn] ei danfono fy nglwy ei am dolyr trwy jesu grist yn harglwyd. ⁴³⁴	destroy the scrofula from the nine <i>most cunning</i> daughters of the King: from nine to eight from eight to seven from seven to six from six to five from five to four from four to three from three to two from two to one from one to not a single one, send from my illness and pain through Jesus Christ our Lord.
---	---

The shared motifs between this variant and the two fuller versions above include the opening invocations to Christ, Mary, and the apostles, followed by a pared down list of body parts from which the disease is being banished. The diminishing formula here refers to nine wily⁴³⁵ or cunning daughters of an unnamed king but is clearly rooted in the same tradition as the fuller versions above.

Although overall, the Welsh scrofula charm type contains several individual elements found in various Latin and Germanic traditions, it is unlike any charm of other traditions, as far as I am aware. It is possible that this text could share motifs with charms found in Scotland, Ireland, or another Celtic tradition whose corpus of charms is not yet as easily accessible as those of England and other European traditions. A modern Scottish ritual with compelling parallels to the Welsh scrofula charm has been recorded and was quite popular. The ritual is called ‘apportioning the *mam*’ and it consists of a lengthy procedure in which the *mam*, or swollen gland (lit. a mound or hillock) is exorcised from the patient and to a series of physical hills in the landscape, whose names are spoken aloud during the ritual. The ritual has been described as being performed into the nineteenth century in Scotland:

The person who practiced the *Eolas* [knowledge; charm] took a darning needle and laid it across the *Mam* or swelling. He then took an axe and

⁴³⁴ NLW 6735b, p. 9

⁴³⁵ The reading here is ambiguous, as the word I am understanding to mean wily or clever, *call*, is in superlative form but is mutated, which we would not normally expect in plural. The manuscript reading is very clearly “gallach” but the precise meaning here alludes me.

placed its edge on the needle, thus forming a cross, and at the same time saying, “*So air Mam*” – (naming a particular *mam* or hillock). The needle was then shifted, the axe placed across it again, and that portion of the swelling assigned to another *mam*; and so on for nine or twenty-four times, according to the method of the performer.⁴³⁶

Nine was the number traditionally practiced on the Mainland and in most of the Western Islands, which provides a fascinating parallel to the focus on the number nine in the Welsh scrofula charms. The ‘*so air Mam...*’ banishment formula of the modern Scottish tradition echoes the Welsh scrofula banishment formula, in which the cause of the nodular swellings and lesions are banished across nine mountains.

One nineteenth-century charm from Britany contains a curious parallel to the two fuller versions of scrofula given above, namely in the banishment of the disease over nine seas and nine mountains. The charm, for shingles, reads: “Pass your hand over your chest several times, at the ailing area, in a clockwise direction, while saying “Shingles, go away! This is not your place here nor elsewhere. Between nine seas and nine mountains, there is your lodging.”⁴³⁷

Interestingly, a similarly worded charm for shingles was used in Wales even into the nineteenth century. Elias Owen collected a charm that was performed only in the morning, and only after both the patient and the charmer had fasted. The charmer would blow on the inflammation nine times, spit upon it, and rub it in while saying the following:

Male eagle, female eagle,
I send you
Over nine seas, and over nine mountains,
And over nine acres of unprofitable land,
Where no dog shall bark, and no cow shall low,
and where no eagle shall higher rise.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁶ Inverness Gaelic Society, *Transactions*, 1871, p. 163

⁴³⁷ Claude Lecouteux, trans. Jon E. Graham, *Traditional Magic Spells for Protection and Healing*. (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 2017), 143.

⁴³⁸ *Yr Eryr Eryres/Mi a'th ddanfonaïs/ Dros naw mor a thros naw mynydd/ A thros naw erw o dir anghelfydd/ Lle na chyffartho ci, ac na frefo funch/ Ac na ddelo yr byth yn uwch*. Text and translation from Elias Owen, *Welsh Folklore*, p. 264

Owen's translation of *eryr* as 'eagle' lends a poetic and enigmatic touch to this charm against shingles, which, in Welsh, is known as *eryr* or *eryri*, hence the conflation with 'eagle' (in Welsh, *eryr*). The word derives from Latin *orior*, 'to rise' or 'to become visible,': fitting for both an eagle and the raised irritation of shingles. Owen claims that this charm was especially prevalent in the south, where after the eighteenth century the spoken form of the word was not *eryr* or *eryri*, but rather *eryrod* or *erod*.

One mid-sixteenth-century charm for shingles looks altogether unlike the late-medieval scrofula charms and modern shingles charms, only retaining one core element: the threat of destruction of the disease.

Rac yrr yr ysgrifena y geirrie hyn yni bylaen ac yni ol val hynn In <i>nomine</i> patris te in nomo .N. <i>nomine</i> filii te cri cir cucido In <i>nomine</i> spiritus sancti te deloe amen.⁴³⁹	Against shingles write these words before him and behind him, like this: In the name of the father <i>I name you</i>, N., in the name of the Son <i>te cri cir cucido</i>. In the name of the Holy Spirit I destroy you amen.
--	--

3.c: Abdominal swelling, cramp, gout, and general boils

Another group of charms with no obvious parallels outside of the Welsh tradition are charms against an ailment or disease identified in the Welsh texts as what I read as *y vamog*. This group of charms presents several problems, namely in the ambiguity of the name of the malady against which the charm works. I have so far uncovered three charms that work against *y vamog*, or potentially read as *y vainog*, or *y vaniog*, or *y vamuoc*. The number of minims and lack of punctuation over the letters in many of these texts makes interpretation difficult. One possible interpretation, though unsatisfactory, is that the word is a variant of *maen* or *maenog* and connotes something related

⁴³⁹ B.L. Add. 15045, f. 103r

to stones, which, medically-speaking, makes sense but does not seem to fit linguistically or contextually. A second option is a stretch linguistically, but in the context of charm texts and comperanda, makes perhaps the most sense: *mannog*, which indicates some sort of spot, blemish, or freckle would make sense contextually, as there are several charm types in other traditions that seek to rid the patient of freckles or unwanted blemishes. However, as is the case with *maen*, a masculine noun, the initial mutation from ‘m’ to ‘v’ is difficult to explain

One reading of this word would be to understand it as *mamog*, which *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* lists as ‘womb, uterus, also transf. and fig.; hysteria; false pregnancy, pseudocyesis; prolapse of the uterus.’⁴⁴⁰ The initial *treigladd meddal*, or ‘soft mutation’ from ‘m’ to ‘f’ (represented in most premodern manuscripts as a ‘v’) is explained by the fact that the noun is a feminine and in all three variants of this charm it follows the definite article.⁴⁴¹ Thus, it would seem that this charm refers to some sort of uterine problem, or figuratively, as hysteria. To further confuse matters, the charms in this group use gendered vocabulary that indicates this charm was regarded as appropriate to a male as well as female. One example, written in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, uses the term *pechadur o ddyn*, ‘sinner of man,’ and although *dyn* can be more broadly used to talk about a person or humanity, the adjective *pechadur* is given in its masculine form. If a charm existed for an ailment that was known as one suffered by women only, we would expect the adjective to read *pechadures*, the feminized form of the word. It seems then, that this word is being used to refer more broadly to a swelling within the abdominal area.

⁴⁴⁰ GPC. My sincere thanks to Diana Luft for answering several questions about possible readings of this word, and for suggesting that this word might be parallel with Middle English ‘moder,’ discussed in more detail below. (email communication, Feb. 2020).

⁴⁴¹ The Welsh language is notorious for its initial mutations and features three distinct types of mutations, each with a specific cause. For more see Simon Evans, Evans, *A Grammar of Middle Welsh*. Mediaeval and Modern Welsh Series ; Supplementary Volume. (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1970). For the modern Welsh learner, Gareth King provides a concise of mutations: Gareth King, "A Summary of Mutations." In *Modern Welsh: A Comprehensive Grammar* (Routledge, 2003), 511-13.

We might understand the Welsh *y vamog* as a parallel to the Middle English *moder*, or *mawmoder*/ *mawe modyr*, listed in one fifteenth-century English/Latin dictionary as: ‘*pe mawe modyr: molacrum. Quo mola vertatur molacrum..dicitur esse, Ast molacrum ventris dicitur esse tumor*’ (the mawe modyr: molacrum. Where the mole is turned into a molacrum, it is said to be, but a ‘molacrum’ of the abdomen is said to be a tumor).⁴⁴² ‘*Mole*’ here, from Latin *mola*, can be taken to mean a false conception or a tumor or mass found in the uterus.⁴⁴³ If *mole*, *mola*, and *mawmoder* refer to a false pregnancy or a swelling of the uterus caused by a tumor, or mole, it is not a stretch to imagine how this word came to denote any sort of abdominal swelling, whether in a female and related to a pregnancy (or not), or in a male. I understand the Welsh charms to be referring to some sort of swelling or tumor of the abdominal area and not restricted to female patients or pregnancy, but I have left the word untranslated in the example below. It is also possible, given the Scottish charms that refer to a *mam* (lit. hillock or mound), that this word was perceived as any swelling, not specifically confined to the abdomen.

All three Welsh versions of this charm invoke the power of Christ, as Alpha, and draw their power from the reference to the sign of the cross. The oldest version of the charm is from the late-fifteenth or early- sixteenth century:

yn nwmini patrys <i>et</i> ffiliei <i>et</i> sprvtvs santei amen alffa krist ei domnei kristei domne <i>per</i> krwsvs ok singiwm iessuw kristei ffeilei dei iessu grist vab duw byw trugarha wrthyf vi bechadvr o ddyn amen duw. swyn yw hwn rrac y vamnoc. ⁴⁴⁴	In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen. Alpha, Christ, Lord Christ, Lord, through this sign of the cross, Jesus Christ, son of God, Jesus Christ, son of God, living, have mercy on me, a sinner of a man, amen God.
---	---

⁴⁴² The English/Latin word list can be found in B.L. Add. MS 15562, 78b, as cited in the Middle English Dictionary, entry ‘moder’ online at <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary>.

⁴⁴³ See MOLE, *n.*⁶ in the Oxford English Dictionary online. (<http://dictionary.oed.com/>). Today a molar pregnancy refers to a pregnancy in which a tumor develops in the uterus, usually near the beginning of the pregnancy and often resulting in the loss of the pregnancy. See, ‘Molar Pregnancy’ at Harvard Health Publishing online (pub. April 2019) and accessed February 2020, at https://www.health.harvard.edu/a_to_z/molar-pregnancy-a-to-z.

⁴⁴⁴ NLW Peniarth MS 205, p. 43, from the late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth century.

	This is a charm against <i>y vamnoc</i> .
--	---

A nearly identical version of the charm can be found in B.L. Add. MS 15045, a composite manuscript of poetry, religious prose, astrology, palmistry texts, and medical recipes. The charm was written into a collection of medical remedies by a scribe of the mid-sixteenth century.⁴⁴⁵

rrac y vamoc. + In <i>nomine</i> alpha kyrysti domini kyrysti domne per crussys ok singnum jessu kristi filii dei meisserre mei jessu grist varglwydd vab duw byw trugerha di wrthyfi bechadur amen ~~pater~~ in <i>nomine</i> patris et filii et yspyrytws sancti amen. Dywaid iii ffader iii ave maria a chredo pan sswynych iii beunudd y dywaid y klaf hyd ymhen y iii diau a chred. ⁴⁴⁶	Against <i>y vamoc</i> + In the name of Alpha, Christ, O Lord, through this sign of the cross, Jesus Christ son of God, have mercy on me my Lord Jesus Christ son of the living God, have mercy on me, a sinner, amen. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit amen. Say three Our Fathers and Three Ave Marias and a Credo.
--	--

The reliance on the efficacious power of the cross continues through the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth. Daniel Huws has identified the scribe of the final charm for '*y vammog*' as Siôn Thomas Gruffudd, whose floruit was in the early seventeenth century.⁴⁴⁷

llyma weddi rag y vammog alffa kristi domini per krustus ⁴⁴⁸ hoc signum jesus kristi ffili di dei arglwydd dduw byw un mab mair vorwyn vam jesu grist trighara di wrth y pechadures hon ney pechadur hwn y sydd mewn dolur y vaniog ag yno henwir dyn ag yno doidydd tri ffaderau a tri afe maria ag un kredo ar weddi hon yn doidydd dair gwaith ag iach fyd. ⁴⁴⁹	Here is a prayer against <i>y vammog</i> . <i>Alpha kristi domini</i> , through this sign of the cross, Jesus Christ son of God, Lord God, living One, son of the Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus Christ. Have mercy on this sinful woman or sinful man who is in pain from <i>y famog</i> and then let the man be named and then say three Our Fathers and three Ave Marias and a chredo with this prayer, said three times, and health will be.
--	--

⁴⁴⁵ Huws, *Repertory*

⁴⁴⁶ B.L. Add MS 15045 f. 116r. Both charms on this page are identified by a large cross in the left margin at the beginning of each charm whereas the start of each medical recipe on the previous page is indicated with a different sign.

⁴⁴⁷ Huws, *Repertory*

⁴⁴⁸ read *kerussus* or *keruscus*, 'cruxis'

⁴⁴⁹ NLW Peniarth MS 206, p. 83.

Other charms exist for general boils and swelling, and one of the oldest Welsh medical manuscripts (Cardiff 3.242, ca. 1375), features a standard example that uses several motifs already seen in the course of this work.

Rac y mann a phob ry6 gyuot or a uo ar dyn. kymmer dalen o eido ac ysgrienna y geireu hynn yndi a dot 6rtha6 + In <i>nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti</i> + amen + fugite + partes + aduerse + vicit + leo + de + tribu + iuda + fugite + <i>pincti</i> + In <i>nomine</i> adonay + alpha + et <i>Omega</i> + agyos + adonay + tetragramaton + Sother +⁴⁵⁰	For a boil and every type of swelling that might be upon a person. Take an ivy leaf and write these words on it and put it on it: + In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit + Amen + be gone + evil + powers + the lion + of + the tribe + of Juda + conquers + flee + <i>pincti</i> + In the name of Adonay + alpha + and omega + Agios + Adonay + tetragramaton + Sother
---	---

The use of objects such as the ivy leaf as a conduit upon which words of power are inscribed (and then often ingested) should now be familiar, as many fever charms we have seen employ this motif, using apple, hosts, or bread, especially the fever charms of Chapter One and the dog bite charms of Chapter Two. The charm above also uses an ivy leaf as the object upon which the efficacious words are to be written. The words of power include a formula common in exorcisms, and also found in fever charms or in general charms to exorcise evil spirits or disease. The formula is commonly found as *Ecce crucem Domini, Fugite partes adversae, Vicit Leo de tribu Iuda, Radix David, Alleluia*,⁴⁵¹ and is attributed to the thirteenth-century Franciscan friar Anthony of Padua, who supposedly gave the prayer, written upon parchment, to a woman suffering from demonic possession. The formula, found in the *Rituale Romanum*, and also found in Rev. 5.5, and as a popular

⁴⁵⁰ Cardiff MS 3.242, p. 1. All transcriptions and translations are my own, but I am indebted to Diana Luft who provided me with her unpublished transcriptions of this particular manuscript (email communication, June 2018), against which my own transcriptions were compared and sometimes amended. Any remaining mistakes are, of course, my own.

⁴⁵¹ Behold the sign of the cross. Be gone, evil enemies. The Lion of the tribe of Juda, the ‘root’ of David has conquered, Hallelujah!

hymn, was commonly used in rituals of healing and liturgical exorcisms.⁴⁵² The phrase is also found in medieval fever charms, though other early charms for various purposes also invocations to the cross using this formula or a similar variant.

The Cardiff manuscript (s. xiv-xv) also features a charm for another type of swelling, namely gout, which was recognized by medical authorities in ancient Egypt and in Greece, and was referred to by Hippocrates as, ‘the unwalkable disease.’⁴⁵³ The name has its origins in the Latin *gutta*, ‘drop’ and refers to the Hippocratic theory that the pain and swelling was caused by an excess of one of the four humors, which would result in drops of humors, most often phlegm, for example, flowing into the joints.⁴⁵⁴ The Cardiff manuscript charm draws on the powers of not only Christ and Mary, but also the evangelists, apostles, and a litany of other divine characters, including the Seven Sleepers, who are discussed in more detail below.

Hoc carmen est <i>contra</i> qualemcumque gutta. + In nomine patris + & filii + et spiritus sancti + amen. Coniuro te guttam per patrem + & filium + & spiritum sanctum + & per sanctam mariam matrem domini nostri ihesu christi + & per quatuor euangelistas domini + Marcum + Matheum + Lucam + Johanem + & per septem dormientes dei + & per .xii. apostolos dei + & per omnes sanctas uirgines dei + & per omnes [smudge] patriarchas dei + & per omnes prophetas dei + & per omnes confessores dei + & per omnes sanctos martyres dei + & per omnes electos dei + vt ad nichilum	This is a charm against any kind of gout + In the name of the Father + and Son + and Holy Spirit + Amen. I command you, gout, through the Father + the Son + and the Holy Spirit + and through holy Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ + and through the four evangelists of the Lord + Mark + Matthew + Luke + John + and through the seven sleepers of God + and through the twelve apostles of God + and through all the holy virgin of God + and through all the [] patriarchs of God + and through all the prophets of God + and through all the confessors of God + and through all the holy martyrs of God + and through all the chosen
---	---

⁴⁵² The popularity of the formula in culture is also attested by its inclusion in Don Quijote (II.515), when he tells a group of flirtatious women, “*fugite partes adversae*.” For more see Hilaire Kallendorf, *Exorcism and Its Texts: Subjectivity in Early Modern Literature of England and Spain* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2003).

⁴⁵³ Nuki, G., Simkin, P.A. A concise history of gout and hyperuricemia and their treatment. *Arthritis Res Ther* 8, S1 (2006). <https://doi.org/10.1186/ar1906>. For more on this history of the magical, medical, and empirical treatments of gout, see Gerald P. Rodnan and Thomas G. Benedek, “Ancient Therapeutic Arts in the Gout,” *Arthritis and Rheumatism*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (August), 1963. pp. 317-340.

⁴⁵⁴ *ibid*

reductum recedas ab hoc famulo dei. Ostende nobis domine. & cetera. Et salutare & cetera. ⁴⁵⁵	ones of God + that you recede to nothing from this servant of God. Show to us, O Lord, etc. And salvation etc.
--	--

This charm has a rather ‘multi-purpose’ feel to it, as it is essentially a litany of divine names and a call for protection, calling for the banishment and diminishment of the disease.

While many of the charms for an abdominal swelling above rely on the power of the cross and invocations to Christ and Mary, other charms in the Welsh corpus consist of simple verbal formulae or feature shared, pan-European motifs that are to be expected but might not have verbatim or near verbatim parallels in other traditions. Two charms for cramp employ short verbal formula consisting of alliterative or otherwise pleasing sound patterns and repetitions:

Rhag y kramp. Dowaid y geiriau hynn. thoval get and gott gott ranay.	Against cramp, say these words: <i>thoval get and gott gott ranay</i> .
It[e]m Arap erax o boxi. ⁴⁵⁶	Another: <i>Arap erax o boxi</i> .

These two very brief charms against cramp are short verbal remedies wherein the powerful is simply the aural quality of the efficacious words. The words *thoval get* and *gott ranay* belong to a well-attested tradition of verbal charms for cramp or spasm. These same names are prescribed in several English medieval manuscripts. One version, attributed to the well-known English physician John of Gaddesden (d.1361), says, “Thes names schul be write in parchemyn with crosses: *thebal ech guth et guthanay*” and fourteenth-century surgeon John Ardene recommends that the words *thebel gut guttany*

⁴⁵⁵ Cardiff MS 3.242, p. 58. All transcriptions and translations are my own, but I am indebted to Diana Luft who provided me with her unpublished transcriptions of this particular manuscript (email communication, June 2018), against which my own transcriptions were compared and sometimes amended. Any remaining mistakes are, of course, my own.

⁴⁵⁶ Wellcome MS 417, f. 131v

are good for spasm.⁴⁵⁷ In addition to this phrase, or slight variations of it, being found in surviving medieval manuscripts, a number of ‘cramp rings’ have been found throughout Britain, each bearing similar phrasing. One ring found in Worcester is inscribed with “+ THEBALGVTHGVTHANI” while another found in Glamorganshire reads, “+ THEBAL.GVT.GVTTANI.”⁴⁵⁸

It is not uncommon to find charms in which the efficacy relies solely on the power of certain sound patterns rather than prayers and lists of divine words or phrases. Rhyme, repetition, and alliteration in such phrases provides a pleasing sound pattern. Words in such phrases are often Latin or Latinate, or rooted in Greek or another linguistic tradition though corrupt in their manuscript forms. Sometimes the words cannot be traced to a linguistic tradition, or perhaps never belonged to one and were made up simply for their sound patterns. One verbal formula used repeatedly throughout the Middle Ages consisted of five words, all but one in Latin. The *Sator Arepo tenet opera rotas* formula, often called the ‘sator square,’ was common in charms of the Middle Ages, and was often written in square form. The words form several palindromes throughout the whole square and are the same when read right-to-left, left-to-right, top down, and bottom up.

S A T O R
A R E P O
T E N E T
O P E R A
R O T A S

The origins of this word square go as far back as antiquity, having been found in Pompei and throughout Italy, commonly inscribed upon stone.⁴⁵⁹ A second-century version of this word square

⁴⁵⁷ Lea Olsan, “Latin Charms of Medieval England,” at p. 126. Charms of this type can be found in B.L. Add 33,996, B.L. Sloane MS 1067 (f. 219), B.L. Sloane MS 56, and B.L. Harley 2558. See also Lea Olsan, “Charms and Prayers in Medieval Medical Theory and Practice,” *Social History of Medicine* 16, no. 3 (2003): 343-66.

⁴⁵⁸ Walford, W. S., and Albert Way. “Examples of Mediæval Seals.” *Archaeological Journal* 18, no. 1 (1861): 47-102, p. 64

⁴⁵⁹ For more on this magical square and its various uses, see Robert Favreau, “Rex, Lex, Lux, Pax. Plays on Words and Letters in Medieval Inscriptions.” *Bibliothèque De L'Ecole Des Chartes* 161, no. 2 (2003): 625-35, esp. at 631-2. See also R.E. Bader, ‘Sator arepo: Magie in der Volksmedizin,’ *Medizinhist. Jnl* 22 (1987), 115-34.

has been found in Cirencester England, and scholars have used this evidence to argue for the early date of Christianity in Britain.⁴⁶⁰ The meaning of the phrase has been the topic of much debate, as *Arepo* is the only non-Latin word and has been taken by some scholars to be a personal name, rendering the meaning of the phrase something like ‘the farmer Arepo has and works the plough.’⁴⁶¹ The *Sator* phrase in full is not particularly common in Welsh charms, and when it does appear, it usually appears in the way that is featured above, that is, in a running list of efficacious words rather than the more deliberate square formation.⁴⁶²

One Welsh charm for a cough features the *sator* formula in this linear, written format. The ritual is somewhat difficult to decipher, but it appears to involve removing the inner wood of a section of an elder branch and carving five sections in which to write each word of the *Sator* formula. The patient is then instructed to drink spring water through the now hollow branch that has been carved with efficacious words, and then tie the branch at his neck. This ritual is curious and is noticeably lacking in many divine words. It also is devoid of the typical instruction to say a certain number of Our Fathers, Ave Marias, and/or Credos.

Rhag y pâs. Kymer fodfedd o wialen ysgaw a thynn y galon ar pabwyr o honi allan a nadd y wialen yn bump squâr ac ysgriven y pump gair hyn arni gair ar bob ystlys iddi o hyd modfedde fal hyn + Sator + Arepo + tenet + opera + rotas	Against the cough. Take an inch of an elder branch and pull out the heart and pith of it and carve the branch in five squares and write these five words on every corner of it, along an inch, like this + <i>Sator</i> + <i>Arepo</i> + <i>tenet</i> + <i>opera</i> + <i>rotas</i> +
---	---

⁴⁶⁰ Robin Flower, "Sator Arepo Tenet Opera Rotas." *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 2 (1925): 131. See also David Shotter, *Romans and Britons in North-West England* (Lancaster: Centre for North-West Regional Studies, 1993). However, this word square likely originated in Hebrew or Mithric traditions. It was later given a Christian meaning, with the letters rearranged in the shape of a cross, spelling out Pater Noser in each bar of the cross, with the remaining letters (a and o) interpreted to stand for ‘alpha’ and ‘omega.’ See Robert Milburn, *Early Christian Art and Architecture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

⁴⁶¹ J. Gwyn Griffiths, 'Arepo' in the Magic 'Sator' Square," *The Classical Review*, New Series, Vol. 21, No. 1, March 1971, pp. 6–8.

⁴⁶² Although it does exist as a standalone drawing that does not accompany any charm texts in NLW Peniarth MS 364i (s. xvii) and B.L. Add. 31055 (s. xvi).

+ a fferi ir claf yfed y ddiod o ddwfr ffynnon o gylch y wialen a rhwymo y wialen am fwnwgl y claf ac iach fydd. ⁴⁶³	and make the patient drink spring water from the outer ring of the branch and tie the branch at the neck of the patient and he will be healthy.
---	---

3.d: Fertility, Childbirth, and a Good Night's Sleep

The *Sator* phrase also often appears in charms or amulets to ensure a speedy and successful childbirth. Monica Green's work on the compendium of gynecological medicine and medicine geared towards women features several rituals surrounding childbirth, including one lengthy ritual that instructs its user to write the phrase in cheese or butter and give it to the woman to eat.⁴⁶⁴ In the Welsh manuscript corpus, very few charms for conception and childbirth exist, and those that have survived have come to us from manuscripts more closely associated with England. One manuscript, NLW Peniarth MS 369 (s. xv-xvi), features two successive charms for childbirth. The manuscript was most likely produced in England, near the Welsh border, and brought to Wales by at least the sixteenth century, and likely earlier. It is a composite manuscript that was brought together in current form at some point in the sixteenth century, perhaps before or upon its arrival in Wales.⁴⁶⁵ It

⁴⁶³ Wellcome MS 417, f. 50v. An interesting parallel can be found in the book of Genesis, when a similar ritual is used to ensure fertility in sheep. In this ritual, Jacob hollows out branches of poplar, hazel, and chestnut so that the flock can drink through them as troughs, after which they conceive: "And Jacob took him rods of green poplar, and of the hazel and chestnut tree; and pilled white strakes in them, and made the white appear which was in the rods. And he set the rods which he had pilled before the flocks in the gutters in the watering troughs when the flocks came to drink, that they should conceive when they came to drink. And the flocks conceived before the rods, and brought forth cattle ringstraked, speckled, and spotted. And Jacob did separate the lambs and set the faces of the flocks toward the ringstraked, and all the brown in the flock of Laban; and he put his own flocks by themselves and put them not unto Laban's cattle. And it came to pass, whensoever the stronger cattle did conceive, that Jacob laid the rods before the eyes of the cattle in the gutters, that they might conceive among the rods." (Genesis 30:37-42, King James Version).

⁴⁶⁴ See Monica H. Green, ed. and transl., *The "Trotula": A Medieval Compendium of Women's Medicine* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001). See also Monica H. Green, "The Development of the *Trotula*," *Women's Healthcare in the Medieval West: Texts and Contexts* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1996); and Peter Murray Jones and Lea T Olsan. "Performative Rituals for Conception and Childbirth in England, 900-1500." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 89, no. 3 (2015): 406-433.

⁴⁶⁵ Huws, *Repertory*

gives us our only two examples of childbirth charms: both in English and Latin, and both conforming to the standard birth charms of a wider, shared tradition. These two charms come within a short section containing remedies for medical problems affecting women.

The first charm is a standard example of a *Holy Mothers* charm type, which was widespread throughout early medieval and medieval Europe, though Peter Murry and Lea Olsan note the potential for variance between traditions. For example, French versions of the *Holy Mothers* charms tend, on the whole, to feature devotions to named saints and be more prayerful in nature while Latin forms are often simpler forms consisting of three holy mothers and a *sator* phrase.⁴⁶⁶ Such charms seem to have been especially common in manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This particular charm features an adjuration to the unborn child, coaxing it out by calling upon the power of Christ. This version belongs to a variant of the *Holy Mothers* charm type that lists Elizabeth and John the Baptist, as well as Mary and Christ.

That a womon schall have no payne yn the byrth of a chylde Elisabeth pep[er]it Johanem Maria christum. In nomine + patris + et filii + et spiritus sancti + Amen + Sive masculus [110r] siue femina exire christus te vocat + christus regnat + christus imperat ⁴⁶⁷ + ecce vicit leo [de tribu] iudam radix dauid. in eternum. ⁴⁶⁸	Tha a woman shall have no pain in the birth of a child. Elizabeth bore John, Mary [bore] Christ. In the name + of the Father + and the Son + and the Holy Spirit + Amen + Whether masculine or feminine, Christ calls you to come out + Christ reigns + Christ commands + Behold the lion [of the tribe] of Judah conquers, the 'root' of David. Forever.
---	---

This version also features phrases more liturgical in nature, which would help give the charm a heightened sense of power. The tripartite *Christus regnant* phrase is also included, though only two-thirds of the phrase has been written into this charm. This phrase, as we have already observed, was

⁴⁶⁶ Murray and Olsan, 417

⁴⁶⁷ John of Arderne, a fourteenth-century surgeon whose work was widely circulated in Latin and Middle English, included a childbirth charm that also employed this formula. See Murray and Olsan, 420-1.

⁴⁶⁸ NLW Peniarth MS 369, f. 109v

common in healing charms and was frequently included in birth charms as well. Marianne Elsackers notes that from the thirteenth century onwards, the formula *vicit leo de tribu Iuda, radix David* was also often included in these *Heavenly Mother* charms.⁴⁶⁹ An analogous example to the charm above, found in the English corpus, features similar wording but expands the text, invoking Lazarus as well, and equating his leaving the tomb to the infant being born of the mother. This version also features a motif typical of birth charms: that is, the use of the text as an amulet or girdle.⁴⁷⁰

Maria uirgo peperit Christum / Elizabet sterelis peperit Johannem
Baptistam. / Adiuro te infans si es masculus aut femina per patrem et
filium et spiritum sanctum / ut exeas et recedas ultra ei non noceas
neque insipientiam illi facias amen. / Videns Dominus flentes sorores
Lazari ad monumentum lacrimatus est / coram iudeis et clamabat /
Lazare, ueni foras / et prodiit ligatis manibus et pedibus qui fuerat
quatruiduanus mortuus / Writ ðis on wexe ðe næfre ne com to nanen
wyrce and bind under hire swiðran fot.⁴⁷¹

This English charm is similar in its mention of only Maria and Elizabeth as holy mothers, and it also features the formula that entreats the child out of the parturient woman, a common element of this charm type.⁴⁷²

⁴⁶⁹ Marianne Elsackers, “Medieval Prayers for a Safe Delivery,” in Korte, Anna. *Women and Miracle Stories: A Multidisciplinary Exploration. Numen Book Series*; v. 88. (Leiden, Boston: BRILL, 2004) 192

⁴⁷⁰ Birth rolls or girdles were popular and were often kept by religious houses in order to loan to pregnant women, though few have survived from medieval England. One monk is known to have been rewarded for giving a birthing girdle to Queen Elizabeth in 1502, before she gave birth. See Murray and Olsan, 425, who also reference W. J. Dilling, “Girdles: Their Origin and Development, Particularly with Regard to Their Use as Charms in Medicine, Marriage, and Midwifery,” *Caledonian Medical Journal* 9 (1912–14).

⁴⁷¹ As printed in Murry and Olsan, p. 416 n.21. Their translation (p. 415-416) is: The Virgin Mary gave birth to Christ. Sterile Elizabeth gave birth to John the Baptist. I adjure you, infant, whether you are male or female, through the Father and Son and Holy spirit that you go out and depart in addition may you [demon] not harm this one [the mother?] nor cause that one [the child] to be senseless amen. The Lord, seeing Lazarus’s sisters weeping, shed tears at the tomb in the presence of the Jews and shouted: “Lazarus come out” And he came out, with his hands and feet bound, he who had been four days dead. Write this on virgin wax and bind on her right foot.

⁴⁷² One Anglo Norman version, roughly contemporary to our Welsh-corpus example above, calls upon a number of holy mothers and includes several divine phrases that we are familiar with by now: For a woman þat travels on child: Bind þis writt to hir theghe + in nomine + Patris + et Filii + et Spiritus Sancti + amen et per virtutem Dei sint medicina mea. Sancta + Maria + peperit + Christum + Sancta Anna + peperit + Mariam + Sancta + Elizabeth + peperit + Johannem + Sancta Cecilia + peperit + Reonigium [corr. Remigium] + sator + arepo + tenet + opera + rotas + Christus + vincit

Birth Charms that rely on these motifs are prevalent in codices and rolls of England and Europe, and have also been found on rune sticks, such as the fourteenth-century rune-stick from Bergen that reads: *Maria peperit Christum, Elisabeth peperit Johannem Baptistam. In illarum veneratione sis absoluta. Exi, incalve! Dominus te vocat ad lu(cem)/ lu(men).*⁴⁷³ Other variants of the *Holy Mother* birth charms emphasize different mothers, such as Anna, who gave birth to Mary, often using the verb *gignere* rather than *parere*. The second Welsh-corpus childbirth charm found in NLW Peniarth MS 369, found in direct succession of the charm above, uses a similar *Holy Mother* motif, this time focusing on Christ's direct lineage, emphasizing Mary's mother, and Mary's role as Christ's mother.

ffor a womon þat trauellyth wġt chylde: Beata anna genuit sanctam mariam. maria genuit domini nostri Jhesum christi et sancta maria genuit filium dei annunciationem gabriele archangelo per ipsam natiuitatem credo ego istud quia omnes christiani a morte & ab omni periculo possunt liberari. Sancta Maria genitrix dei & omnes sancte virgines intercedant pro famula sua. N. & call þe womanos name amen. ⁴⁷⁴	For a woman who is traveling with child. Blessed Anna bore Holy Mary. Mary bore our Lord Jesus Christ. Holy Mary bore the son of God. [By] the Annunciation by the archangel Gabriel, by that same Nativity, I believe that all Christians can be liberated from death and from all danger. Let holy Mary, mother of God and all the holy virgins intercede on behalf of your servant N. And call the woman's name, amen.
--	---

This charm's efficacy is reliant on the evocation of several divine events surrounding Christ's birth.

Charms that belong to this variant were especially widespread in the fifteenth century, and Murray

+ Christus + regnat + Christus + imperat + Christus + te + vocat + mundas + te + gaudet + lex + te + desiderat + Christus + dixit + Lazaro + veni foras + deus ulcionum + dominus + deus ulcionum + libra famulam tuam + .N. dextra domini fecit virtutem + a + g + l + a + alpha + et o + Anna + peperit + Mariam + Elizabet + precursorem + Maria + dominum + nostrum + Ihesum + Christum + sine dolore et tristicia. O infans, sive vivus sive mortuus, exi foras, quia Christus vocat te ad lucem + agios + agios + agios + Christus vincit + Christus + regnat + Christus + imperat + sanctus + sanctus + sanctus + dominus + deus + omnipotens + qui + es et qui eras + et qui venturus es, amen + Blurcion + blurun + blutanno + bluttino + Jhesus + nazarenus + rex + judeorum + fili + dei + miserere mei + etc. (As printed in Hunt, *Popular Medicine*, p. 98-99)

⁴⁷³ Mindy MacLeod and Bernard Mees, *Runic Amulets and Magic Objects*. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006) p. 160. For several other charms of this type that look similar to the Peniarth charm above, see Antoinette Marie Pratt, *The attitude of the Catholic church towards witchcraft and the allied practices of sorcery and magic* (Washington, D.C.: National capital Press, 1915), 96-98. Tony Hunt also lists a similar version: [A]d mulierem in partu laborantem: Liga super ventram istud scriptum: +Maria peperit Christum + Anna Mariam + Elisabeth Johannem + Celina Remigium + sator + arepo + tenet + opere [sic] + rotas. As printed in Hunt, *Popular*, 133.

⁴⁷⁴ NLW Peniarth MS 369, f. 109v

and Olsan have pointed out that in these examples, the verbal formula emphasizes that birth is essential to salvation according to the creed.⁴⁷⁵ A nearly identical version can be found in the fifteenth-century manuscript known as *Liber de Diversis Medicinis*, which also features other charms for toothache, epilepsy, blood staunching, and fevers. The childbirth charm reads:

An oper charme. Nota bene optime. Beata Anna [g]enuit sanctam Mariam matrem Domini nostri Dei nunciante Gabriele arcangelo. Per ipsam natiuitatem credo quia omnis christianus a morte & ab omni periculo potest esse liberatus. Sancta Maria Dei genitrix & omnes apoltoli & omnes martires & omnes sancti confessores & omnes sancte virgines intercedant pro famula Dei .N. Amen.⁴⁷⁶

It is perhaps significant that these two childbirth charms, both of which conform, to a high degree, to standard traditions especially in England, are found in the same manuscript of English and Latin medicine, most likely produced in England. I have found no Welsh language charms for childbirth, although one Welsh charm for fertility will apparently work on a woman having difficulty conceiving, or an old, barren tree. It instructs users to write a specific sequence of letters upon tin or lead, and then have the woman carry it with her, apparently without knowing. To test this charm and increase the fecundity of the tree, the amulet can simply be bound to an old tree that has not borne fruit. The amulet consists of a series of letters written on tin or lead.

I beri i wraig blanta; ne i hen brenn ddwyn ffrwyth ni ddug ddim yrioed. Kym^{er} ac yscrivena y llythreneu hyn + S. i. g. o. s. y. t. o. r. c. o .n. ff. p. e. mewn tynn ne blwm, ac na âd iddi wybod paham i mae yn i ddwyn ef yn i chyweithas ac os myni i brofi rhwym ef wrth brenn ni ddug irioed frwyth ac ef a ddwg frwyth.⁴⁷⁷	To cause a woman to be pregnant or an old tree to bear fruit which has never borne fruit. Take and write these letters + S. i. g. o. s. y. t. o. r. c. o .n. ff. p. e. in tin or lead. And do not let her know why she is carrying it in her company [<i>i.e. 'in her possession'</i>] and if you want to put it to the test bind it to the tree that has never borne fruit and
---	--

⁴⁷⁵ Murray and Olsan, 419-20.

⁴⁷⁶ As printed by Murray and Olsan, p. 420 n.23. Murray and Olsan cite the charm as printed by Ogden, *The 'Liber de diversis medicinis' in the Thornton manuscript* (MS. Lincoln cathedral A.5.2.), Early English Text Society, o.s. 207 (London: EETS, 1938) p. 57, n.32.

⁴⁷⁷ Wellcome MS 417, f. 40r.

it will bear fruit.

This charm also demonstrates a close correspondence to others found in manuscripts produced in England, such as B.L. Add. MS 33996 (fol. 153v): [margin: vt concipit]: **U**t mulier concipiat | suspende circa collum has caractères: c. a. a. c. a. q. c. x. + + + c. t. h. quod si volueris probare suspen|de super arborem *quae numquam produxit fructum* 7 germinabit.⁴⁷⁸ It is worth mentioning that all three of these charms centered around procreation or childbirth are found in manuscripts with a stronger English association. In the case of one, its likely provenance was the borderlands, while the Wellcome manuscript seems to have, at least in part, been copied from an English source text. All three charms demonstrate a high level of conformity to traditions prevalent in England.

The final charm in this section also features a string of seemingly random letters to be inscribed upon a material object. This charm, to combat sleeplessness, instructs for the words to be written upon a knife's handle and put under the patient's pillow without them knowing. On the whole, it is similar to charms of the English corpus, and it features a reference to the Seven Sleepers, who also found their way into several Old English charms to ensure peaceful sleep and protection from demons or nightmares.⁴⁷⁹ Such charms are not as commonly found in the Welsh corpus, nor

⁴⁷⁸ I am grateful to Katherine Hindley for sending me her transcription of this (March 2020), from her database currently in preparation. See also Lea Olsan, "Charms and Prayers in Medieval Medical Theory and Practice" p. 356 for a brief discussion of this charm.

⁴⁷⁹ For example, in the *Lacnunga*, (s. x/xi): For fever: one must take seven little sacramental wafers such as one makes offertory with, and write these names on each wafer: Maximianus, Malchus, Iohannes, Martinianus, Dionisius, Constantinus, Serafion. Then afterwards one must sing the incantation that is related hereafter, first into the left ear, then into the right ear, then above the crown of the person's head; and then let a virgin go to him and hang it on his neck, and let it be done for three days; he will soon be better. As translated in Edward Pettit, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Remedies, Charms, and Prayers from British Library MS Harley 585, The Lacnunga* (Lewiston, Queenston and Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2001).644-9.

are charms to combat general sleeplessness or sleep related problems. I have found only one such charm, from the late-fourteenth-century Welsh book of medicine now in the British Library.

pwy bynnac a heb allu kyscu ...⁴⁸⁰ Arall escrivennu enŵweu y seith kyscadur myŵn carn gyllell a dechreu o ymyl y llauan ay dodi dan y ben heb wybod idaw.⁴⁸¹	Whoever is unable to sleep...Another: write the names of the seven sleepers in a knife's hilt, beginning from the edge of the blade and put it under his head [i.e., pillow] without him knowing.
--	--

The charm instructs that the names (though the charm does not give the names) of the Seven Sleepers be written upon a knife and placed under the patient's head without him knowing. The charm also invokes the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, who, according to legend, went into a cave to pray as Christians were being persecuted under the reign of the Emperor Decius. The seven men fell asleep, and when they woke, hundreds of years had passed (the number differs in some charms and legends) and Christianity had taken hold. The legend's popularity is, in part, thanks to Gregory of Tours, who wrote two Latin versions.⁴⁸² The legend was well known in early medieval England, as Ælfric includes it in his homilies, stating that they slept for 371 years.⁴⁸³ In the Welsh corpus it is far more common for several for the names (Maximianus, Malchus, Iohannes, Martinianus, Dionisius, Constantinus, Serafion or variants thereof) to appear scattered among the lengthy lists of divine name for longer, general charms, especially those that belong to the *Heavenly Letter* type.

⁴⁸⁰ Two herbal recipes come between the title and the charm remedy. In a successive list of remedies for the same ailment, it is common to find the ailment described only once, in the first remedy. Other remedies in a series of cures for the same ailment typically begin simply with 'item' or, in Welsh, 'arall.'

⁴⁸¹ B.L. Add. MS 14912, f. 19v

⁴⁸² See Raymond van Dam, trans., *Gregory of Tours, Glory of the Martyrs* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1988). On the tradition of the Seven Sleepers, see Christian S. Krokus, "The Darkness Is Not Death: Toward A Christian-Muslim Comparative Theological Study of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus." *Spiritus: A Journal of Christian Spirituality* 17, no. 1 (2017): pp. 40-59.

⁴⁸³ W. Bonser, "The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus in Anglo-Saxon and Later Recipes." *Folklore* 56, no. 2 (1945): pp. 254-56, at p. 256.

3.e: 'Heavenly Letter' Charms

One charm type frequently found in medieval English sources—both written into manuscripts and also copied onto scrolls which were then worn or draped around the body as an amulet, is the Heavenly Letter type.⁴⁸⁴ It is attested from the fourth century, and enjoyed considerable popularity in the later Middle Ages.⁴⁸⁵ Don Skemer has argued that this charm type ultimately has its roots in an apocryphal letter, from Christ to King Abgar V of Edessa, to protect against illness and political threats.⁴⁸⁶ Although the Heavenly Letter charms do not actually often reference the letter from Christ to Abgar, they do typically assert some type of divine origin. It is also common for the charms to purport that they were brought to a King from a Pope, often Leo or Gregory in the English tradition, and Leo or Boniface in the Welsh, as far as I have observed.⁴⁸⁷ Charms that belong to this type almost always begin with an introduction that establishes the charm's divine origin and how it came to be known, along with a list of maladies against which the charm works. These charms also frequently instruct users on how to perform the charm, whether it should be worn, bound to a body part, or simply written or looked upon. Compared to other verbal charms found in manuscripts, *Heavenly Letter* texts stand out for their multifaceted nature: the efficaciousness lies in both the words as well as the object itself, worn as an amulet in many cases.

⁴⁸⁴ Rosanne Hebing, "Allmygti god this lettyr sent": English Heavenly Letter Charms in Late Medieval Books and Rolls,' *Studies in Philology* 114, no. 4 (2017): 720-47 at 721.

⁴⁸⁵ *ibid*, and see also Owen Davies, *Grimoires: A History of Magic Books* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) especially pp. 34, 144, 192.

⁴⁸⁶ Skemer, 98

⁴⁸⁷ For more on the English tradition, see also W.R. Jones, "The heavenly Letter in Medieval England,' *Medievalia et Humanistica* 6 (1975), 163-178; Rosanne Hebing, "The Textual Tradition of Heavenly Letter Charms in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts." *Amsterdamer Beiträge Zur Alteren Germanistik* 69 (2012): 203-22; and R.G.A., Kemenade, A.M.C. Van, Bremmer, R.H., Chardonnens, L.S., and Radboud University Nijmegen. "The Cultural and Material Contexts of Heavenly Letter Charms in Medieval England." 2017, 2017. See also Chardonnens, László Sándor, and Rosanne Hebing. "Two Charms in a Late Medieval English Manuscript at Nijmegen University Library." *The Review of English Studies* 62, no. 254 (2011): 181-92.

Heavenly Letter charms are commonly found in manuscript miscellanies of prayers, psalms, litanies, etc.⁴⁸⁸ Skemer has argued that the first Heavenly Letter charm is found in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Eusebius of Caesarea, (c. 324) in which Eusebius references letters between Christ and Abgar.⁴⁸⁹ Through the divine origin of the letters, Abgar's health and the safety of his city was procured and the legend, and tradition of the Heavenly Letters text, spread throughout Europe.⁴⁹⁰ Hebing divides these letters into several types based on their function and the characters who appear within the texts. For example, the Welsh corpus features both a *Letter of Joseph of Arimathea* sub-type as well as more common *Prière de Charlemagne* sub-type, both of which function as protection from a multiform of disease or misfortune and are demonstrated in more detail below. In the Welsh corpus there also generic letters that, although they do not specify any divine origin of the text, demonstrate several other motifs and, for the purpose of this work, are therefore being tentatively grouped with the *Heavenly Letter* charm type.

The first *Heavenly Letter* in the Welsh-manuscript corpus is found in NLW Peniarth MS 369, in a hand of the fifteenth century. The manuscript was likely compiled on the border of Wales and England and was known to be in Wales soon after its production. It is a lengthy charm, found on a page with a heading that reads 'ffor the fevers.' After several fever remedies, the text begins in English, reporting that Pope Leo gave the letter to King Charles. This charm belongs to the subtype known as *Prière de Charlemagne*, but when the text switches to Latin, Joseph of Arimathea becomes a protagonist.⁴⁹¹ The charm asserts that it can protect against enemies, witches and other evils, death

⁴⁸⁸ Hebing, "Allmygti god," 726

⁴⁸⁹ Skemer, 96-105

⁴⁹⁰ *ibid*

⁴⁹¹ The King Charles tradition in Heavenly Letter charms is not altogether unusual. See Louis Gougaud, "Le priere dite de Charlemagne et les pieces apocryphes apparentees," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique* 20 (1924): 218, 224.

without confession, natural phenomena such as lightning and thunder, as well as drowning, burning, illness, pregnancy, and death in general. The text also asserts that it was written by Christ himself and found by Joseph of Arimathea when he helped move Christ's wounded body from the cross.

Seint leo þe pope þis lettre to gode kyng charles of fraunce & seide he þat berith þis writ with hum be he man or woman or childe yar he nawt drede of his enemy ne ouercom sal he be in werre ne in batayle ne in no nede an fare ne with fere be brent ne in water ydreynthe ne with no fynde be acomeryd ne with no wichwoman be atysid ne withoute shrifte deye ne soden depe be take ne with lytenyng be smete ne of no þondere ne o no lord ne of no lady wreth withouten grete gilte also ley þis lettre on seke manis bed & hem leue þeron his euyl sal be slakid also ley þis lettre on a woman & she be trauelyng ov childe & say .v. pater noster & aue & þa [] shal be deliuered wne sche sal nowt mysfare also in þis lettre is a name hoso nomyth it threyȝe daies sal he not dye þow he w[ere] ahonged these beþe þe namys of owre lord ihesu criste. In nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti amen. hoc breue inuenit ioseph abernnathia super plagarum domini nostri ihesu christi anreies litas digitus filii dei scriptum cum tolle[unclear] corpus eiusdem de cruce quicumque hoc breue super se portauerit mala mort [...] ⁴⁹² moretur neque bio{?} orediderit non timebit ignem nec mulierem nec pon[] pentem nec ignem nec aquam nec febrem nec postem ne famem ne fulgam nec ton[itbia?] nec morte subitaneam & si mulier pregnas super se portauerit nec nir/s?I? nec p[...]or [...]ibit primum n? doi? ousi? phustipha + figa + figa + figalb + sother + emanuel + sabaoth + adonay + gaman + tetragramaton + vege + sae + pan[faded] + [faded]meon + sagla + neras + eloy + christus vincit + christus regnat + christus imperat + [faded] nomina ineffabiliam ⁴⁹³ deus. Messias + sother + emanuel	Saint Leo the Pope [gave] this letter to good King Charles of France and said he who carries this writing with him, be he man, woman, or child, will have no fear of his enemy, nor will he be overcome in battle, nor shall he fear fire or being burnt, nor drowned, nor be vexed by fiend or witch (woman), nor die without confession, nor be taken in sudden death, nor be smote with lightning or thunder nor face the wrath of any lord or lady without great guilt. Moreover, lay this letter on a sick man's bed and leave it on him and his evil shall be lessened. Moreover, lay this letter on a woman, and if she is traveling with child, say five Our Fathers and an Ave Maria and [] shall be delivered and she shall not suffer misfortune. Moreover, in this letter is a name, and whoever says it over three days shall not die though he was hanged. These are the three names of our Lord Jesus Christ. In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, amen. Joseph Abernnathia found this letter upon the wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ [anreies? litas?] written by the fingers of the son of God when they carried his body from the cross. Whoever carries this letter upon them shall [not] be hindered by painful death nor [bio? orediderit?]. He will not fear fire nor women nor [] nor fire nor water nor fever nor ? nor hunger nor lightning nor ? nor sudden death and if a pregnant woman carries it upon herself, she will not ... nor...phustipha + figa + figa + figalb + sother + emanuel + sabaoth + adonay + gaman + tetragramaton + vege + sae + pan[faded] + [faded]meon + sagla + neras + eloy + Christ conquers + Christ reigns + Christ commands +
---	---

⁴⁹² two or three faded letters, likely 'ne' or 'nec'

⁴⁹³ This phrase comes up in the eleventh-century Old English *Heavenly Letter* charm found in the *Lacnunga* (B.L. Harley MS 585, f. 184r-v). The efficacious words of the text, which follow the Old English instructions of the charm, read:

+ sabaoth + adonay + unigenitus + via + vita + manus + homo + usion + princepium + unigenitus + sapiencia + virtus + alpha + capud + finis + ad + agum [faded]nis + vitulus + serpens + aries + leo + vermus + omega + verbum + splendor + [faded]obglimat + lux + ymago + panis + flos + vit + in enhianna + pet [78v] athanatos + kyrios + theon + panton + cruon + ysus + ego + sum + qui sum + via + & veritas + vita + spiritus + creator + redemptor primus + misericors + mitus + mansnetus + christus vincit + christus regnet + christus imperat + christus omni malo me liberet + te + tra + gra + mat + ton + vincit leo + de tribu iuda + radix dauid + allam + ihesu nazarenus + rex iudeorum + filii dei miserere mei amen + mentes sanctam spontaneam + honorem deo patrie liberationem + ista nomina deum nostrum ihesu christi protegant visitent & defendat me N. ab omnibus malis praesentibus praesente & futuris h[ic?]enum amen + signum tau T⁴⁹⁴ me custodiat amen. Tetragramaton + ananizapta + mismiolodams + messias + sother + emanuel + sabaoth + adonay + agyos + athanatos + yskyros + vsus + homo + vsyon + unigenitus + via + virtus + sapiencia + creator + eternus + redemptor + veritas + unitas + lamazabatam + ego + sum + qui + sum + aries + ouis + vitulus + serpens + leo + vermes + primus + nouissimus + pater noster + eternus + rex + omnipotens + creator + eternus + hoc nomina assistant et protegant me N ab omni malo & ab omni periculo ano? & ifu?to + gotha + gothe + hoc assistant hunc famulo tuo N pro dubitatione plagae hoc scriptum portauit domino dei omni apostoli dominus nostri ihesu christi quorum nomina sunt + petrus + paulus + andreas + johanes + philippus + syman + thadeus + matheus +

[faded] the names of the unutterable God: Messias + sother + emanuel + sabaoth + adonay + Only Begotten + the Way + the Life + the Hand + Man + usion + princepium + Only Begotten + Wisdom + Virtue + Alpha + Head + End + ad + agum [faded]nis + Calf + Serpent + Ram + Line + Worm + Omega + Word + splendor + [faded]obglinat + Light + Image + Bread + Blossom + vit? + in enh?ianna + pet [78v] athanatos + kyrios + theon + panton + cruon + Jesus + I + am + who I am + the Way + & the truth + the life + Spirit + Creator + First Redeemer + Merciful + mitus + mansnetus + Christ conquers + Christ reigns + Christ commands + Christ, liberate me from every evil + te + tra + gra + mat + tron + the line + of the tribe of Judah + conquers + the 'root' of David + Jesus of Nazarus + King of the Jews + Son of god have mercy on me amen + Holy, generous mind + honor to God, liberation of the fatherland + Let these names of our God Jesus Christ protect, visit, and defend me, N., from all present and future evils h[ic?]enum Amen + Let the sign of Tau T keep me amen. Tetragramaton + ananizapta + mismiolodams + Messiah + Sother + Emmanuel + sabaoth + adonay + agyos + athanatos + yskyros + vsus + Man + vsyon + Only Begotten + Way + Virtue + Wisdom + Creator + Eternal + Redeemer + Truth + Unity + lamazabatam + I + am + who + I am + Ram + Sheep + Calf + Serpent + Lion + Worm + First + Last + Our Father + Eternal + King + Omnipotent + Creator + Eternal + Let these names assist and protect me N. from every evil and from every ? danger, present and future + gotha + gothe + let these [words] assist this servant of yours, N. against the uncertainty of

Ranmigan adonai. Eltheos. mur. O ineffabile. O miginan. midanmian. misane. dimas. mode. mida. meagartem. Orta min. sigmone. beronice. irritas. uenas quasi dulap. feruor. fruxcantis. sanguinis. siccatur. fla. fracta. frigula. mir gui. etsibdon. segulta. frautantur. in arno. midomnis. abar utho. sydone. multo. saccula pp pppp sother sother misere mei Deus Deus mini Deus mei. AMEN. Alleluia, Alleluia. As cited by Hebing, *The Textual Tradition*, p. 217. It can also be found in a long and complex ritual found in a Welsh manuscript. The ritual is deeply rooted in liturgical tradition and was used to ensure the health and safety of livestock. It is discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

⁴⁹⁴ Cf. the B.L. Harley MS T.11 roll, which includes a Heavenly Letter text, including an illustration of a green Tau cross in a red frame. Hebing, 734.

iacobus + barnabas + bartholomeus + thomas + ut hunc familiam tuam N. defendant me ab omne malo & ab omnibus periculis prete? presentibus & futis + in nomine patris & filii + & spiritus sancti + amen. ⁴⁹⁵	disease. Our Lord Jesus Chist carried this writing of the Lord God to every apostle, whose names are + Peter + Paul + Andrew + John + Phillip + Simon + Thadeus + Mathew + Jacob + Barnabus + Bartholomew + Thomas + for this servant of yours, N. Let them defend me from every evil and from every danger present and future + In the name of the Father and the Son + and the Holy Spirit + Amen.
---	--

Another Welsh manuscript features an English *Heavenly Letter* charm that belongs to the Charlemagne tradition. This charm was added onto a page of the mid-fifteenth-century manuscript containing a copy of the laws of Hywel Dda. The charm itself is from the later fifteenth century. It is a short text, especially compared to the typical charms of this type. There are no efficacious words, only the introduction that indicates how the text came to be and what it can be used against. Perhaps the most interesting feature of this charm is the fact that at some point in the manuscript's history, likely the mid- or later sixteenth century, the word pope was rubbed out entirely. This is one of the few instances of charm censorship in Welsh manuscripts.⁴⁹⁶

Seynt leon þe pope wret þis letter and send hit to kyng charlis and seid
he þat berith þe letter on hym ne dare he noȝt drede of hys enemys
tobe ouercom ney felled, tobe y dampnd ne with þe fend to ben
ouercom ne wþ entesehm ne in no nede inys far ne no batayl to be

⁴⁹⁵ NLW Peniarth MS 369, f. 78r-v, hand of the fifteenth century. For comparison, see the Heavenly Letter charm variant in Oxford Bodleian Library Bodley MS 850, fols. 93v-94r, as printed in Hebing, p. 743: Allmygti god this lettir sent to seynt leon the pope of rome. And he it wrote to kyng charles and seyde. he þat bereth this lettir upon hym thar not drede hym of his enemy to be ouercom. ne he shall not be dampned ne of no fendis to be ouercom. ne with fir brent ne sodeynly takyn ne withoute shrifte dye. ne with no nede misfare. ne in batayll be ouercom. ne of lord ne lady take wrath withoute grete gilte. ne in fir be brent. of lygtnyng ne in water dreynt. And ley þis lettir upon a seke man of þe feuyr and he shall sone slake. And a woman that trauayleth a childe ley it on hir wombe and she shall sone be delyuered. + messyas + Sother + emmanuel + Sabaoth + Adonay + Ego sum qui sum + via + manus + homo + Usyon + Osea + Panton + Craton + Uirgo + Uita + Spes + Caritas + Eon + Saluator + Serpes + Aries + leo + Uermis + Primus + Nouissimus + Rex + Pater + et filius + et spiritus sandtus + omnipotens et misericors + Creator + Eternus + Redemptor + Trinitas + Unitas + Iste nomina protegant me ab omni malo et defendant et gubernant + Alpha + et omega + Elenus + ffons + Amnes + Eternus + Redemptor.

⁴⁹⁶ It is interesting to note, however, that the only manuscripts which show serious signs of censorship are manuscripts in English and Latin, produced in England and brought to Wales likely by at least the sixteenth century.

ouercom ne with lorde ne lady wrath to hym berith. Ne in fyre be brent
 ne in water be dronet ne be smete wyt layt ne for sothe ni þis writ ben
 the namys that whose namys thame he schale no dy þat day tho3t he
 were honge on a tre ande was per nyt by tresilian kyng charlis knyht vir
 wryt on ai sede body and beleue wel yer on ye sekenes schale yswage
 ande þef a woman be traulyng of chelde take bere þis namys in here
 ry[ght] hond ande wyt þe grace of god sche schal be sone deliuede wyt
 out eny peril and þis be þe namys of wor lord god⁴⁹⁷

The reference to Tresilian in the charm above refers to Sir Robert Tresilian, Chief Justice of London, 1381-7.⁴⁹⁸ The *Heavenly Letter* charm type exists in one version, as far as I know, in the Welsh language.⁴⁹⁹ The text is in poor condition, and reading it under an ultraviolet light, or from a microfilm

⁴⁹⁷ NLW Peniarth 39, f. 77v, late fifteenth century.

⁴⁹⁸ For more see Skemer, *Binding Words* 193-99. Classen gives a similar version of this charm that also references Tresilian the Justice of London: *Sainte Leo þe pope of Rome wrote þes names to king Charbis of france when he went to the battail of rownliuale & say: what man þt bareth he haue no dread of his enimies to be overcome in battaile, nor he shall never be burned wth fyre, nor drowned wth water nor he shall never dye in strife & hatred nor he shall never dye suddaine death, nor there shall never no wicked spirit hurt him, nor he shall never haue sicknesse nether þe axes, nor þe fevers, nor he shall never be falsely be damned before any judge nor he shall never have wrath of man or woman without great guilt nor he shall never miscarry in no neede, nor he shall never haue no disease of thundringe nor of lightning nor feare his truehyng nor he shall never haue þe fallinge evil, nor he shall not dye though he were hanged & yt was proved by Tresilian þe iustice of Londuen & yf a woman be in traveline of childe & shee beare these names vpon her the woman shall be delivered, & þe child shall come to chirstendome & þe woman to purification through the virtue of these holy names of our Lord Iesu christ following on the other syde [18v] Ihs + xps + messias + sother + Emanuel + Saboath + Adonay + vnitas + Trinitas + sapientia + via + vita + veritas + virtus + ops + ho + Vision + Saluator + Caritas + Aeternitas + Creator + redemptor + Requires + finis + unigenitus + fons + spes + sacerdos + ymas + Otheos + origo + manus + splendor + lux + gracia + fons + mundus + imago + paracletus + columba + corona + Propheta + humilitas + fortissimus + altissimus + pacientia + athanatos + kyros + yskeyros + et mediator + A + G + L + A + Tetragrammaton + caput + Alpha + et omega + primogenitus + et nouissimus + panton Carton + et ysus + ego sum qui sum + agnus + ouis + vitulus + serpens + Aries + leos + vernis + vnus pater + vnus filius + vnus sps scts + Ehy + Ehy + Ehy + lamazabathani + Iasper fert aurum + Thus Melchior, Antropa mirram + baec quicumque tuum secum fert nomina regum + Souitur a morbo bni pietate caduco + Ananizapta + Ananizapta + Ananizapta + Ihs nazarenus rex Iudeorum filii dei misere mei amen. Sana me et salua me et costodi me domine deus meus ab omni malo et ab omnibus infirmitatibus meis amen + Michael + Gabriel + Raphael + Seraphiel + Sariel + [19r] Vriel + Tobiel + Barathiel + Reguel + Deus abrahami + Deus Isaacci + Deus Iacobi + Petrus + Paulus + Andreas + Jacobus + Philippus + Simon + Barnabas + Thomas + Iohannes + Tadeus + Marcus Mathens + Lucas + Iohannes + vt me defendant ab omni malo et periculo et ab omnibus infirmitatibus meis amen. 3 pr 3 avi i c et dicas In principio erat verbum etc. Classe, *Making Magic*, p. 50-51. Reginald Scot also includes a copy of this charm type in his *Discoverie of Witches*.*

⁴⁹⁹ However, one non-charm text reports to be general advice for health, sent to Queen Isabel of England at the request of her brother (Charles), King of France. The text reads: *lhyma gynghorau a anfoned oddi wrth ffysygnwr o fynedd Peleres at Ysabel brennhinnes loygr wrth dysyfiad brenin ffraink i brawd a hynny sydd dda i bawb i nybod. Hyn sydd dda ir penn ar ymennydd, sanrgr kamomil, a musk bloden violed a rhos gochion, yfed gwin yn fessurol, bwyta powdr saits a nuttmegs yn gym hosur kribu dy benn yn fynyeh, kym hapusrwydd i gysgu, gwrandu yn fesurol gerddi bwyta yn fesurol mwstard a ffupur a letwari a rhosgoch ion. Hyn sydd ddrwg ir y mynydd pen y mynydd eniveilled, pob rhyw surffet, pob method supper bwy gysgu yn y fan gwedi.* (This the counsel that was sent from physicians from Mount Pelion? to Isabel, Queen of England at the request of her brother, King of France, and this is good for everyone to know. This is good for the head and the brain, the aroma of chamomile and the musk of the viola flower and oil of roses. Drink wine in moderation, eat a powder of sage and nutmeg in the same amount, comb your head [hair] frequently, a moderate amount of sleep, listen in moderation to music (or poetry), eat mustard and pepper and an electuary and oil of roses in moderation. This is bad for the brains of people and animals: every type of excess,

copy, allows one to more easily decipher the efficacious words, almost all of which have been erased from the manuscript at some point, leaving only red crosses littering the page. The charm is found in a mid-sixteenth-century manuscript of poetry, proverbs, saints' lives, planetary tables and other pseudo-scientific works, as well as directions for bloodletting and keeping health in general. The formulaic opening of the charm is characteristic of *loricae*, which references the symbolic cloaking of the patient with the divine armor or protection invoked by the charm.

Dodaf arnaf arwydd a nawdd rac pob rryw yn enwr ystad ar mab ar ysbryd glan ac yn enw y vii arch angel sy yn sefyll gar bron duw y kynta yw mihangel gabrel reaffel uriel Rinzuiel peranta jaeron amen pater noster	Place upon me a sign and protection against every type [of evil] in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and in the name of the seven archangels who stand before God. The first is Michael. Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, Rinzuiel, Peranta, Jaeron, Amen, Our Father.
Llyma lvrir iarlys y geiriau hyn a anffoned i jarlys brenin ffraingk im gadw rac i elynion ysbrydol nid amgen y kvthyrelid vffern yr hai hyn sy yn keisio ffael ar yr enaid ar korff y gelynyon bvdal yw dynion gwenhevthvs drwc i meddwl yr hai hyny sy yn keisio ffael ar y korff yw ddwyn [] i ddyrwc angav trwy arvau llifed nuw wenwyn [254] A Rac y ddau vath elynion hyny ymae dav gweddaiav ar geiriae hyn ir neb y bo rol or geiriev hyn gantho neu lyvyr neu ysgrifieu yni dy ohonvn a da yw yn rhwllw bo gwraic yn trefaelio ar dyn bychan igael rwydddeb ir wraic a bedydd ir ytaedd a da yw rrac trais dda a dwr a lladron A chadw dy dy athwraic ath bylant Rac i kwilaid o arall achadw dy dda rac drais a cholled amen.	This is the lorica of Charles, these words were sent to Charles, King of France, to protect him against his supernatural enemies, namely devils of hell, the ones who seek to make the body and soul err The earthly enemies are deceitful men, bad of thought, those who seek to make the body fail and lead it to an evil death through sharpened weapons or poison [254] And Against the two types of those enemies, there are two prayers and with these words for anyone who has a roll of these words with them, or a book or writing of them in his house, and it is good to have anywhere a woman is laboring to give birth to a baby, to ease the woman and bless the child, and it is good against plundering goods, water, and thieves. And [it will] protect you, your wife, and your children from shame from another, and protect your wealth from plunder and loss, amen.
Y geiriav hyn sy o gyvrinach yn haglwydd ni jessu grist yr hain ni ddyli neb i darllen ir gwagedd nac o veredd + <i>christus</i> + deus + <i>genitus</i> + vni + gentys + pater + criator + <i>christus</i> + hoiam + acuus + rex + iserael + adonae + emanel + argios + othios + athan	These words are from the secret of our Lord Jesus Christ, no one should read them in vanity nor frivolity + Christ + God + Begotten + Only

drunkenness, a late supper, and sleeping in the place after). Wellcome MS 417, f. 137v (later sixteenth century). My transcription and translation.

+ atos + sgiros + othios + athan + atos + elyson + heli + lania +zabatam + Jesu + nazarinus + rrex + Judreom + marcus + + mathevs + liwcas + Johanes + ego + suic + alffa + oo <i>primius</i> + &+ nou[issimus] + ysuius + ante + m6ndi + patpin + non+ est ++ gui + do + imame + mia + <i>per</i> + posid + ervare + ditcich +oiperus + pater + noster + avi + crido + a + g + l + a ++ melcha + jervin + Jerdan + vu + um + vum + lic + am + Rebroz + aripo + grel + godion + vadax + mator + fons + lapis + vsion + silys + gloza + lolus + homor + sit +dei + pat + on + potenti + criador + <i>omnium</i> + eriatvs ++ agla + a + g + l + a + mysias + sother + manel ++ sabath + adonae + othios + athanatos + pantos. ⁵⁰⁰	+ Begotten + Father + Creator + Christ + <i>boiam</i> + <i>accus</i> + King + Israel + Adonai + Emmanuel + Agios + Otheos + Atan + Atos + atos + sgiros + othios + athan + atos + elyson + heli + lania +zabatam + Jesus + of Nazarus + King + of the Jews + Mark + Matthew + Luke + John + I + suic + Alpha + Omega, First + Holy + Last + Ysuig + before + the world + patrin + It is + not ++ gui + do + imame + mia + <i>per</i> + posid + ervare + ditcich + oiperus + Our + Father + Ave + Credo + A + G + L + A + melcha + jervin + Jordan + vu + um + vum + lic + am + Rebroz + aripo + grel + godion + vadax + mator + Fountain + Stone + vsion + silys + gloza + lolus + homor + sit +dei + pat + on + potenti + Creator + of all + eriatvs ++ agla + a + g + l + a + mysias + sother + manel ++ sabath + adonae + othios + athanatos + pantos
--	--

Another version of the *Heavenly Letter* charm that identifies a divine origin is the fifteenth-century charm found in NLW Peniarth MS 369, where Saint William and Gabriel are credited as having played a role in delivering the letter from heaven to mankind. Rather than working against various misfortunes, this letter is efficacious for worms, gout, canker, and any sort of festering wound.

for all *maner* of sekenes. this is the writinge of seint *william* that seinte gabryell broght from our lord of hevyn to hele all cristen men & women of worme of gowte of kanker of fusteringe of swelling of gowte tremelinge and of al *maner* of gowte festerynge lete singe iii massis in the name of the holy gost and after warde sey these wordis folowing on the seke *man* or seke *woman*. In *nomine* patris et filii et spiritus sancti Amen. As verily as god was & is & ever shalle. and as verely as he seid & soth seid. And as verely as he made and well made. And as verely as he of the virgyn mary flesh and blode toke. And as verely as his worthy body v wounds suffered to redeme all synfull men. And as verely as his worthy body was on the crosse. And as verely as his hande and his fete were naylyd *witb* naylis and as verely as his hed was crownyd *witb* a crowne of thorne. And [99r] as verely as his blessed

⁵⁰⁰ NLW Llanstephan MS 117 p. 253-4

body was put in the sepulac and as verely as he the gate of hell brake. And as verely as he rose from deth to life & stye to hevyn. And as he on his fathers right side restythe. And as verely as he shall come at the dredful day of dome and euery man shall aryse [cut off] flesh & blode at the age of thirty winter. And as verely as our lorde shall deme all at his will. and as verely as all this is soth and I beleue that it is soth and shal be soth so verely iwarshed be this man or woman .N. of the goute of worme of canker other of festeringe ded be the gowte ded is ded shalle *with* the grace of god for ever more Amen. In *nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti* Amen.⁵⁰¹

The power of this charm lies in its narration of the various stages of Christ's life. There are no direct adjurations to the disease and no litany of divine or efficacious words and phrases.

The final two charms that I have tentatively, and somewhat tenuously, associated with the *Heavenly Letter* charm types feature no narrative relating the charms' divine origins or how it came to be in the possession of mankind and instead rely solely upon the typical long lists of divine words of power. Portions of this charm look quite similar to the more standard *Heavenly Letter* charms above, if on a solely superficial level. The first charm, from NLW Llanstephan MS 27 (*Llyfr Coch Talgarth*), ca. 1400, features works of a predominantly religious nature, including several saints' lives, apocryphal narratives, prayers, and several texts of a more scientific or general knowledge nature, including texts on how to interpret dreams, as well as the phases of the moon. The charm text follows various religious material and precedes the prayer *gratias tibi*.

Pwy bynnac a dywetto yr enweu hynn. neu ae hedrycho. nyt reit idav ovyn y elyn ydyd hvnnv. nac ouyn arueu na gyenvyn. na than. na dvfyr. nac angeu deissyfyt. na phoeneu na neb rylv argywed ar y gorf. ac ny dygvyd myvn clefyd. ac ny vyd marv heb gyffes. Deus. + dominus. genitus. unigenitus. + pater + creator + *christus* +

Whoever says these words, or looks at them, need not fear his enemy on that day, nor fear weapons or poison or fire or water nor sudden death, nor pain, nor any type of bodily danger and will not fall ill nor die without confession. God + Lord + Begotten, Only Begotten + Father + Creator + Christ + Sleep + Man + Agate + Israel + Adonai + Emanuel + Holy + Mighty + God + Immortal + God + God + *lamazabathani* + Jesus of Nazarus King of the

⁵⁰¹ NLW Peniarth MS 369, f. 98v

sompnus. + homos. + achatus.⁵⁰² + Iesisrael. + adonay. + emanuel. + agios. + yskiros. + otheos. + athanatos. + ely. + eloy. + lamazabathani. + Ihesus. nazarenus rex uideorum. + matheus. + marcus. + lucas. + Johannes. + ego sum. + qui sum. + agir. + ouis. + vitulus. + serpens. + leo. + alpha. + et omega. + primus + novissimus. qui ante mundi principium et et seculum seculi. viuo in eternum. et non est qui de manu mea possit eruere.⁵⁰³ dicut dominus omnipotens. pater noster et ave maria. + a + g. + l. + a. + malagordip. + gordan + gordanim + urnum + burcum. + blitamin. + kerbirion. + aropo + gerologodyon. + tegramoton + vadax + amator + fons + via. + vita. + veritas. + petra. + lapis. + ussion + Iuniciu. + finis. + homo. + vrion. + vsion + [...] laus. et honor sit deo patri omnipotenti creatori omnium creaturarum. amen. + messias. + sother. + emanuel. + sabaoth. + adonai + otheos + athanatos. + panton. [152v] + craton⁵⁰⁴ + ysus. + mediator. + Jrere. + saluator. + alpha + et omega. + vita. + via. + sapiencia. + primogenitus + virtus. ++ veruus. + erumpe + episcopus. + ihesus + pater. + et filius. + et spiritus sanctus. + on + addi. + flos + trunis. + creator omnium rex. + deus misericors eternus. principium. salva me rys uab thoma uab einyavn et defende ab omnibus aduersitatibus meis. amen. + crux bona. + crux digna lignum super omnia ligna. + me tibi consigna redimens me a morte maligna. + crux fugat omne malum. + crux est i preparacom rex. + per crucis hoc signum fugiat procul omne malignum. + et per idem signum salvetur quodque benignum. + per signum sancte crucis de inimicis nostris libera nos deus noster amen. + et eum assistant huic famulo tuo rys uab thomas duodecim apostoli domini nostri ihesu christi. quorum nomina

Jews + Mathew + Mark + Luke + John + I am + who I am + agir + Sheep + Worm + Serpent + Lion + Alpha + and Omega + First + Last + who before the beginning of the world and forever and ever I live in eternity and there is no one who can deliver from my hand, said the Omnipotent Lord. Our Father and Ave Maria. + a + g + l + a + Malagordip + Jordan + Jordanim + urnum + burcum + blitamin + kerbirion + aropo + gerologodion + te[tra]grammaton + vadax + Lover + Fountain + Way + Life + Truth + Rock + Stone + Ussion + of cows + End + man + urion + ussion + [...] Praise and honor be to God, the first, Almighty creator of all creatures, Amen + Messiah + Sother + Emmanuel + Sabaoth + God + God + Immortal + Everything [152v] + Strength + Jesus + Mediator + Jrere + Saviour + Alpha + and Omega + Life + Way + Wisdom + First-born + Virtue + Truth + break forth + Bishop + Jesus + Father + and Son + and Holy Spirit + on + addi + Blossom + trunis + King, Creator of everything + Eternal, Merciful God, Beginning. Heal me, Rhys ap Thomas ap Einion and defend against all my adversities, amen. O good cross + O worthy cross tree above all trees + consign me to you, redeeming me from wicked death + The cross drives away every evil + The cross is made ready for the King. + By this sign of the cross, let every evil flee. + and by this same sign let be healed every good + Our God, by the sign of the holy cross, free us of our enemies, amen. + And let them, the twelve apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, assist him, this servant of yours, Rhys ap Thomas, whose names are thus: + Peter + Paul + Andrew + Jacob + Phillip + Simon + Matthew + Bartholomew + Thomas + Mathias + John + Barnabus + Mark + Luke. let them defend him, Rhys, bearing this brief, from

⁵⁰² *achates?* Latin for ‘agate.’ Various traditions from ancient Greece, Rome, and the Middle East assign several protective powers to agate, and it was often used as a general talisman. Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (ch. XVI on Stones and Metals), ed. Barney, Lewis, Beach & Berghof, Cambridge University Press 2006, p. 325

⁵⁰³ See Deut. 32:39: *videte quod ego sim solus et non sit alius deus praeter me ego occidam et ego vivere faciam percutiam et ego sanabo et non est qui de manu mea possit eruere* (See that I am he and there is no other God besides me. I cause death and I make life. I have wounded and I will heal and there is no one who can deliver out of my hand. Vulgate edition.

⁵⁰⁴ From Greek, κράτος, ‘strength, might’

sunt hic. + petrus. + paulus. + andreas. + jacobus. + philippus. + symon. + matheus. + vartholomeus. + thomas + mathias. + johannes. + barnabas + marcus. + lucas. ut defendant eum rhys hoc breue portantem. ab omnibus insidiis dyaboli. + a. + g. + l. + a. + etragramaton. + quanton. + liath. + Ydole. + vton. + v. + s. + e. + u. + u. + m. + athanatos + panton. + craton. + occinomoys. + sada. + dona. + adona. + yskyros. + janua. + lapis. + fons. + origo. + paraclitus + bona. + via. + veritas. + orr. + x + ori + panaraaa. + xxx + Jhesus. + abus + mediator + ad dei. + flos. + ?ssseth. + in nomine patris + et filii + et spiritus sancti amen. + ely + eloe. + saboath. + + edonay. + le + ve. + vlia + gloth + Jata. + laneos + agla + m + g + r + v + vp + amen + [153r] ffax. + quaeo. + ac. + ni. + oeon. + arathon. + conthanatos. + crux pellit hostem + christus uincit + christus regnant + christus triumphat + christus imperat. + christus filius dei uiui me famillum tuum rys uab thomas. bene + dicat. + et omni malo defendat. + fiat pax + adegre. + b. + d. + zeb + leel + os. + abb + genitor. + heli. + rar + filius. rusca. zosma. + christus. + aclones + kyros. + vincem christus + inmoialis. + flabe. + zai. + panton. + sacherin + tam. + cram. + amen. + ante hyskyros. + hel + heloy. + helot + helion. + Saboath + adonay + la. + van. + tetragramaton. + hen + emanue. + athantos. + Messyas + Jhesus nazareus. + rex iudeorum + filii dei mi + serere memi. et adiuua me. amen.⁵⁰⁵	every diabolical evil. a + g + l + a + [t]etragramaton + <i>quanton</i> [craton? ‘strength’] + <i>liath</i> + <i>ydole</i> + <i>uton</i> + v. + s. + e. + u. + u. + m + Immortal + Everything + Strength + <i>occinomoys</i> + <i>sada</i> + <i>dona</i> + <i>adona</i> + <i>yskyros</i> + <i>janua</i> + Stone + Fountain + <i>origo</i> + Paraclitus + Good + Way + Truth + <i>orr</i> + <i>x</i> + <i>ori</i> + <i>panaraaa</i> + <i>xxx</i> + Jesus + <i>abus</i> + Mediator + to God + Blossom + <i>?ssseth</i> + In the name of the Father + and the Son + and the Holy Spirit amen + Eli + Eli + Saboath + Adoni + <i>le</i> + <i>ve</i> + <i>vlia</i> + <i>gloth</i> + <i>Jata</i> + <i>laneos</i> + <i>agla</i> + m + g + r + v + vp + amen + [153r] <i>ffax</i> + <i>quaeo</i> + <i>ac</i> + <i>ni</i> + <i>oeon</i> + <i>arathon</i> + with God + the Cross drives out the enemy + Christ conquers + Christ reigns + Christ triumphs + Christ commands + Christ, son of the living God + bless me, your servant Rhys ap Thomas and defend from every evil + let there be peace + <i>adegre</i> + b + d + <i>zeb</i> + <i>leel</i> + <i>os</i> + <i>abb</i> + Born + Holy? + <i>rar</i> + Son. <i>rusca</i> <i>zosma</i> + Christ + <i>aclones</i> + <i>kyros</i> + <i>vincam</i> Christ + Immortal + <i>flabe</i> + <i>zai</i> + Paton + sacherin + <i>tam</i> + <i>cram</i> + Amen + before Mighty. + <i>hel</i> + <i>heloy</i> + <i>helot</i> + <i>helion</i> + Sabaoth + Adonai + <i>la</i> + <i>van</i> + tetragrammaton + <i>hen</i> + Emmanue[l] + Immortal + Messiah + Jesus of Nazarus + King of the Jews + Son of God + have mercy on me + and help me. Amen.
--	--

In its introduction, the charm employs a verbal formula similar to the opening of the *Heavenly Letter* charms above, namely in the assertion that anyone who recites the words (or in this case, even looks upon them as well) shall be protected from enemies and weapons, along with poison, fire, water, sudden death, bodily injury, and death without confession. The series of divine

⁵⁰⁵ NLW Llanstephan MS 27, p. 152r-153r.

names used in this charm, and in all of the charms throughout the Welsh tradition, as well as a wider, shared tradition, are rooted deeply in earlier liturgical traditions. The widely known sequence *De nominibus Dei* was popular at least from the eleventh century and contained a list of the divine names of God, all of which are found in the Welsh charms above. The widespread tradition of prayers containing exhaustive lists of divine names (often 56, 72, or 76) was a tradition so deeply ingrained in medieval belief that we find references to it in works such as *Perceval*.

The hermit taught the knight a prayer
by whispering it in his ear
time and again, till it was clear
that he could say it back the same.
Such potent forms of Our Lord's name
were in this prayer, so great and many,
no one should utter it on any
pretext except in fear of death.⁵⁰⁶

A similar charm appears in the physician's manuscript from northeast Wales (ca. 1500), NLW Sotheby MS C.2. Although this version of the charm does not begin with any instruction or indication of what this charm works against, its efficacious words are very similar to the charm above. The Sotheby MS charm is much shorter but is approximately sixty percent identical to the Llanstephan MS 27 version, down to the identical placement within the charm of several strings of divine words and phrases. The scribe, Bened Feddyg, does not identify this text explicitly as a charm, and the table of contents he provided for the manuscript, the text is labeled a '*llythyr cyweithas*.' It is fairly clear to me that this charm belongs to the tradition of *Heavenly Letter* charms, as Bened himself labeled it as a 'kindly' or even efficacious letter. The label that Bened ascribed to the text echoes the wording of the *Heavenly Letter* charm of NLW Llanstephan MS 117: '*Y geiriav hyn sy o gyvrinach yn baghnydd ni jessu grist...*' ('These words are from the secret of our Lord Jesus Christ...').

⁵⁰⁶ Chretien De Troyes, ed., trans. Ruth Harwood Cline, *Perceval* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), p. 175.

Deus + Jesus + genitus + vnignitus + pater + creator + Spiritus + bonne + actus + lex + isuy + adonnay + emanuel + agyos + yskyros + otheos athanatos + elysson + ely + lamazavatanis + Ihesus + nazarrens + rex + judeorum + marcus + Matheus + lucas lukes + ego + sum + qui sum alpha + et <i>omega</i> + primus + et nofissimus + ante + mundi + principium + et in <i>seculum</i> + <i>seculi</i> vivo ego + in eternum + non est qui de manu mea possit ervesse + dicit deus omnipotens + pater noster + ave maria + credo + a + g + l + a mecha + Jorbin + <i>Jordanum</i> + unum + bonum + lucam kerebriorum + aripo + gerologodinum vadex + amattor + fons + via + vitta + veritas + petra + lapis + Ussion + filius + gloria + laus + sit + deo + patri + creatori + omnium + creaturum + a + g + l + a + messias + sother + Emanuel + sabaoth + adonay + otheos + athanatos + panton + craton + yssus + kyros + alpha + et oo + primus + et nouissimus + via + vita + veritas + sapientia virtus + ego + sum qui sum + agnus + ouis + vitulus + et <i>serpens</i> + arries + leo + <i>verrmis</i> + rex + pater + et filius + et spiritus + sancti + on + athdi + flos + sumas + set + cit + A + g + l + a + alpha + et <i>omega</i> + petrus + paulus + andreas Jccobus + symon + philippus + barthlomens + symon + Judas + mathias + Johnes + thomas + marcus + lucas + barnabas + matheus + <i>christus</i> + eloy + vincit + sabaoth + athonay + regnat + alpha + [116] et <i>omega</i> + imperat + <i>christus</i> + ab omne malo defendat me Bened ap Res + latrice + per centinum defendat amen + Jhesus + nazarrenus + rex + Judeorum ydon + y drea + yskyron + qua + t + t + g + t + R + o + v + t + f + + g + a + m + o + r. In nomine patris et filiis et spiritus sancti amen per ladion + preladon + trilerion sacadon + sagathon + vrriel + rafael + briel + ssariel + toviel + ragnel + pantazon + panachel + micael + in nomine patris <i>et</i> filis <i>et</i> <i>spiritus sancti</i> amen. ~~~~~⁵⁰⁷	God + Jesus + Begotten + Only- Begotten + Father + Creator + Spirit + Good + Deed + Law + <i>isuy</i> + Adonai + Emannuel + Agios + Yskyros + Otheos Athanatos + Elysson + Eli + <i>lamazavatanis</i> + Jesus + of Nazarus + King + of the Jews + Mark + Matthew + Luke Luke + I + am + who + I am, Alpha + and Omega + First + and Last + Before + the Beginning + of the World + and forever + and ever + I live + in eternity + There is no one who can deliver out of my hand + said Almighty God + Our Father + Ave Maria + Credo + a + g + l + a Mecca + Jorbin + Jordan + one + good + <i>lucam kerebriorum</i> + <i>aripo</i> + <i>gerologodinum vadex</i> + Lover + Fountain + the Way + the Life + the Truth + Rock + Stone + ussion + Son + Glory + Praise + Be + to God + the Father + Creator + of All + Creatures + a + g + l + a + Messiah + Sother + Emmanuel + Sabaoth + Adonai + Otheos + Athanatos + Panton + Craton + Yssus + Kyros + Alpha + and Omega + First + and Last + the Way + the Life + the Truth + Wisdom Virtue + I + am + who I am + Lamb + Sheep + Calf + and Serpent + Ram + Lion + Worm + King + Father + and Son + and Holy Spirit + <i>on + athdi</i> + Blossom + <i>sumas</i> + <i>set + cit</i> + A + g + l + a + Alpha + and Omega + Peter + Paul + Andrew + Jacob + Simon + Phillip + Bartholomew + Simon + Judas + Matthias + John + Thomas + Mark + Luke + Barnabus + Mathew + Christ + Elois + conquers + Sabaoth + Athonay + reigns + Alpha + [116] and Omega + commands + Christ + defend me, Bened ap Rhys, from every evil + <i>latrice</i> + defend me through <i>centinum</i> + Jesus + of Nazarus + King + of the Jews <i>y don + y drea</i> + Yskyron + qua + t + t + g + t + R + o + v + t + f + + g + a + m + o + r. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit amen per ladion + preladon + trilerion sacadon + sagathon + Urriel + Raffael + Briel + Sariel + Toviel + ragnel + Pantazon + Panachel + Michael + in the name of the Father and the Son
---	--

⁵⁰⁷ NLW MS Sotheby C.2 p. 115-16. Repges prints a text that looks similar to this: *Domine Jesu Christe, filii Dei, miserere mei et defende me N. famulum tuum hodie et cotidie, omni nocte et omni tempore ab omnibus dampnis et perditionibus* + Sother + Emmanuel + Sabaoth + Adonay + Panthon + Crathon + Thetragramaton + Yskeros + Agyos + ymas + eleyson + O Theos + Athanatos + Alpha

	and the Holy Spirit, Amen.
--	----------------------------

While the *Heavenly Letter* charms are more ambiguous in terms of separating them from a more straightforward prayer, they clearly operate, to some extent, in both spheres. The perceived power imbued in the words, and the importance of ritual utterances or acts of writing as the source of power make these texts both charm and prayer.

Cardiff MS 3.242 (s. xiv) features a number of Latin charms rooted firmly in liturgical, biblical, and extra-biblical traditions, including a charm to protect against all pains. As one of the most liturgically-inspired manuscripts in the Welsh corpus of manuscripts that feature a high number of charms and medicine, it is no surprise that the content of the charms so clearly reflects this religious provenance.⁵⁰⁸ A close analysis of the charms in this manuscript alone, with an eye towards liturgical and biblical borrowings and references, would make for a fruitful and fascinating endeavor but is unfortunately outside the scope of the present work. However, even at first glance, the opening lines of many of the Cardiff manuscript charms are evocative of formulae rooted in liturgical blessings and adjurations.

<i>pro omni dolore</i> ⁵⁰⁹ In nomine patris quesui te: ⁵¹⁰ I n nomine filii inueni te: In nomine spiritus sancti delebo te. Circumdet te spiritus sanctus. ⁵¹¹ + O	For all pains. In the name of the Father I have searched for you. In the name of the Son I have found you. In the name of the Holy Spirit I will
--	--

et Omega + Vermis + Vitulus + Leo + Ovis + Aries + Agnus + Homo + Uryon + Scorpius + Primus + Novissimus + Summus pater + Filius + Sotber + (Spiritus) Sanctus + Trinus + Creator omnium rerum + Deus sanctus + et eternus, principium, finis, salva me ab omnibus malis et adversitatibus. Amen. (Repgees, 1959, p. 335). See also Henk Schoot, *Christ the 'Name' of God*, Thomas Aquinas on Naming Christ (Leuven: Peeters Publications of the Thomas Instituut te Utrecht, vol. I 1993).

⁵⁰⁸ For more on the production of this manuscript and its monastic context, see Morfydd Owen (1995); Owen (1975), and especially Luft (2019).

⁵⁰⁹ This is written in the left margin.

⁵¹⁰ See similar phrasing embedded within a longer text printed in Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words*, p. 299: “...in nomine patris quesui te. In nomine filii inueni te. in nomine spiritu sancti. deleto te super aspidem et basiliscum et cetera.” p. 299.

⁵¹¹ This phrase is found in several charms and benedictions. See, for example, a similar formula in the *Exorcismus contra imminensem tempestatem fulgarum & grandinis*: ‘Circumdet te nubes Deus + Pater. Circumdet te Deus + Filius. Circumdet te Deus

crux + <i>christam</i> + O crux + admirabilis, euacuacio uulneris, restitutio sanitatis, fuge inimice super aspidem & basclās cum ambulabis & conculcabis leonem & draconem.⁵¹² Ter dicas hunc uersum. Ecce crucem + domini, fugite partes aduerse, vicit leo de trābu Iuda, radix dauid⁵¹³ + agyos otheos + agyos + yskyros + agyos + athanatos + eleyson ymas. <i>Sanctus</i> deus. + <i>sanctus</i> fortis. + <i>sanctus et immortalus</i>, qui tollis p[e]ccata mundi miserere nobis.⁵¹⁴ + <i>christus</i> vincit + <i>christus</i> regnat + <i>christus</i> imperat. O dolor adiuro te per ihesum christum. & per annunciationem eius & incarnationem, & per aduentum & natiuitatem, apparicionem, circumcisionem, baptismum, Ieiunium, crucem + passionem, mortem, resurrexionem, sanctam & gloriosam ascensionem & per sanctum spiritum peraclitum⁵¹⁵ cum patre & filio & per diem iudicii. & per uirtutem sancte crucis marie, vt exeas & effugias,	destroy you. Let the Holy Spirit encircle you. + O cross + of Christ + O wonderful + cross. Evacuation of the wound. Restoration of the blood. Flee, enemy, over the viper and basilisk when you will travel and oppress the lion and dragon. Thrice say this verse. Behold the cross + of the Lord. Flee, evil powers. The Lion of the tribe of Juda, the ‘root’ of David has conquered. <i>Agios o Theos</i> + <i>Agios + ischyros</i> + <i>Agios + athanatos</i> + <i>eleison imas</i>. Holy God. Holy Strong + Holy Immortal, who takes away the sins of the world, have mercy on us. Christ rules + Christ reigns + Christ commands. Pain, I adjure you through Jesus Christ and through his annunciation and incarnation and through the advent and nativity and apparition, circumcision, baptism, fasting. [through] the cross + and the passion, death, holy resurrection and glorious ascension. And through the Holy Spirit of Paraclitus with the
--	--

Spiritus + Sanctus...’ As printed in, *Rituale seu Manuale Romanum ... Cum cantu Toletano, & appendice ex Manuali Toletano*. 1673. p. 475.

⁵¹² This phrase references Psalm 91:13: super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis et; conculcabis leonem et draconem. Edgar, Swift, Angela M. Kinney, Richard Challoner, and Dumbarton Oaks. *The Vulgate Bible : Douay-Rheims Translation*. Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library ; 1, 4-5, 8, 13, 17, 21. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010).

⁵¹³ The *Ecce crucem, fugite partes adversae, vicit leo de trābu Iuda, radix David* formula was common in medieval exorcisms and quotes an antiphon of the Cross. The ‘lion of Judah’ references Rev. 5:5. The formula is found in manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries and was included in the *Rituale Romanum* in 1614. It was used in healing charms, often for fevers, throughout medieval Europe. The formula has also been found on amulets in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. See Rudolf Simek, "Elves and Exorcism:: Runic and Other Lead Amulets in Medieval Popular Religion." In *Myths, Legends, and Heroes: Essays on Old Norse and Old English Literature*, 25. (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 2011). The words are also part of a *Heavenly Letters* tradition (See Section II) in which letters were purported to have been written and delivered by divine characters. The text forms part of *Saint Anthony's Brief*, having been given by him to a woman suffering from possession or temptations. It became a popular charm in the Middle Ages and remained popular for centuries. In the sixteenth century Pope Sixtus V had it inscribed at the base of the obelisk in St. Peter's Square. See also Mark-Robin Hoogland, *The Academic Sermons*, The Fathers of the Church, Mediaeval Continuation, Volume 11, Fathers of the Church. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2010.) p. 276 n.67.

⁵¹⁴ Here we have the Trisagion, or ‘Thrice Holy’ prayer with the Greek transliterated into Latin characters, and then translated into Latin. In the Latin Church its main use was on Good Friday, during the ceremony of the adoration of the cross. Given this, its inclusion in a charm is natural, especially when we have already seen the importance the cross plays as an efficacious element of many different types of healing charms. On the veneration of the cross in charm texts and in medieval society in general, see ed. Catherine E. Karkov, Sarah Larratt Keefer, and Karen Louise Jolly, *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England*. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006.)

⁵¹⁵ A divine name, but also literally with the meaning ‘defender’ or ‘protector’ (*Lewis and Short*). Long accepted as a name of God by early theologians, it was commonly used in charms that feature divine names. For more see George Johnson. *The Spirit-paraclete in the Gospel of John*. Monograph Series (Society for New Testament Studies), 12. (Cambridge Eng.: University Press, 1970).

atque discedas a locus in quibus es & a toto coprore .N. Ter dicatur pater noster & aue maria. Domine ihesu christe fili dei uiui a deo ueracite sicut posuisti uirtutem in verbis in herbis & in lapidibus preciosism da hinc tibi salutem.⁵¹⁶	Father and the Son. And through the day of judgement and through the virtue of the Holy Cross of Mary that you depart and flee and leave from the place in which you are and from the entire body of N. Let three Our Fathers be said and an Ave Maria. Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God living and true God just as you placed virtue in words, in herbs, and in precious stones, give health to me.
--	--

The rubrication of the text at ‘*Domine*’ may indicate that this was perceived as a separate text, yet I read it as an additional assertion of efficacy and supplication to Christ for health.⁵¹⁷ The phrase comes at the bottom of the page and was certainly not a part of the following page’s text, which is of completely different content (logic). It makes the most sense to understand it as a functional and efficacious terminus to the charm text. The proverb relating the virtues present in words, stones, and herbs was well-known in the fourteenth century, and John Gower wrote in his *Confessio amantis*:

In ston and gras vertu there is
 Bot yet the bokes tellen this
 that word above alle erthli thinges
 Is virtuous in his doings
 Wher so it be to euele or goode.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁶ Cardiff MS 3.242, p. 54. All transcriptions and translations are my own, but I am indebted to Diana Luft who provided me with her unpublished transcriptions of this particular manuscript (email communication, June 2018), against which my own transcriptions were compared and sometimes amended. Any remaining mistakes are, of course, my own.

⁵¹⁷ Although the first letter of *Domine* is rubricated, it is not an elaborate capital, nor is it rubricated any differently than various letters of efficacious words within other charm texts. Daniel Huws and Diana Luft have suggested that the manuscript was rebound in an order different to its original intended order, so it is possible that a different text originally followed and that our proverb was indeed intended as the beginning of that text. However, one would expect a proverb of that type to be followed by an herbal or text explaining the virtues of natural matter. Such texts are lacking in this manuscript. The statement regarding the virtue that God placed in herbs, words, and stones, was commonly attached to charm texts and medical texts.

⁵¹⁸ *Confessio amantis*, Book VII, in *The English Works of John Gower*, ed. G.C. Macaulay (London: Oxford University Press, 1901), vol. II, 82. See also Edward Peters, “The Medieval Church and State on Superstition, Magic, and Witchcraft From Augustin to the Sixteenth Century,” in *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Middle Ages*, ed. Karen Jolly et al. (London: Athlone Press, 2002), pp. 173-245.

It makes sense that a charm asking for protection from all pains would conclude with a proverb relating God's power in bestowing efficacy upon the natural word, as well as with a plea that he similarly bestow health and grace upon the patient. Claire Fanger notes the preponderance of this proverb in the Middle Ages and its importance in healing as well as theological debates regarding the power of words to affect change.⁵¹⁹ The proverb was included in the medical manuscripts of prominent physicians such as Gilbertus Anglicus (s. xiii): *To pre pinges God 3eveþ vertu: to worde, to herbis, and to stonis*⁵²⁰ and Keith Thomas presents one sixteenth-century charm that relies upon this same sentiment:

First he must know your name, then your age, which in a little paper he sets down. On the top are these words, In verbis et in herbis, et in lapidibus sunt virtutes. Underneath he writes in capital letters, AAB ILLA, HYRS GIBELLA, which he swears is pure Chaldee, and the names of the three spirits that enter into the blood and cause rheums, and so consequently the toothache. This paper must be likewise burned, which being thrice used is of power to expel the spirits, purify the blood, and ease the pain.⁵²¹

Aspects of this charm for general pain echo themes and verbal formulae employed in several charms we have already seen, such as the adjuration '*fugite partes aduerse*' that appears commonly in fever charms (see Chapter One), as well as the phrase, '*vicit leo de tribu Iuda, radix David*,' which was used in charms belonging to a wider European tradition. After a string of divine, efficacious names, the Cardiff manuscript charm for all pain launches into an adjuration to the pain, exorcising it

⁵¹⁹ Claire Fanger, "Things Done Wisely By a Wise Enchanter: Negotiating the Power of Words in the Thirteenth Century," in *Esoterica* 1 (1999): 97-131 at p. 122 n.1. She points readers to Hans Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi: Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung*, vol.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), especially. 11787, 14224, 7310, 2748.

⁵²⁰ Gilbertus Anglicus, Wellcome MS 537, f. 310v (s. XIII). As cited by Louise Bishop, *Words, Stones, & Herbes: The Healing Word in Medieval and Early Modern England*. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007).

⁵²¹ Keith Thomson, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 180. Tony Hunt also lists a lengthy fifteenth-century charm that features the same sentiment, part of which reads: *...Credo dit e facetz le malade dire 'Auxi, Deus, auxi verrement cum avetz mis vertue en parole, en pere e en herbe, auxi verrement donez saunte a .N. par soun noun baptize.'* As printed in Hunt, *Popular Medicine*, 90-91.

through the power of Christ and various events in his life, from his birth to his ascension. The text also features a direct address to the cause of the pain or disease, along with the command for it to depart, as is standard in charms. These adjurations often look similar (or in fact are identical) to exorcism formulae found in liturgical procedures, as we will see in Chapter Four.

3.f: Conclusion to Chapter Three

Several of the charms of this chapter present difficulties due to their overall apparent nonconformity to charms belonging to a wider, shared tradition. Most of these charms employ verbal formulae and motifs that we might expect, or have indeed already seen in previous chapters, yet as a whole they remain anomalous, with no known parallels in other traditions as far as I have been able to find. On a micro level, such charms employ many motifs and formulae shared throughout Europe, but on a macro level these charms are structured in a way that does not conform to a specific type known in other traditions. When a charm on the whole looks completely unparalleled in other traditions, it is usually possible to find traces of shared motifs. I point this out not to discount or discredit any potential native tradition of medicine or healing, but rather to emphasize the extent to which cultural and textual exchange was happening throughout Europe, even at its far reaches, in places often othered as exotic or superstitious in their beliefs and practices. The majority of the charms in this chapter have analogues, at least to some degree, in the material of medieval England or Continental Europe. These charms, for gout, tumors, general swellings, abscesses, and childbirth, all point to a rich tradition of knowledge exchange. Even the most patent outlier, the scrofula charm, although it is no doubt a fabulously strange and fascinating text, finds analogues in other traditions, especially in later Welsh and Scottish charms that target general nodular swellings.

The *Heavenly Letter* charms also demonstrate the high degree of exchange and engagement with various trends on the part of the Welsh scribes and manuscript compilers. This charm type was included in manuscripts of religion and healing in Wales, despite its impressive length and linguistic complexity. Bened Feddyg, a physician in north Wales ca. 1500 saw fit to include it at the end of his medical manuscript, one of only a handful of charms he includes, and by far the longest. The emphasis in the *Heavenly Letter* charms is on the writing of the charm and the carrying of the text as an amulet. Its Latinate form enforces an argument that has underpinned much of my work thus far: when the charms feature a heavy use of Latin, or when they are overall more Latinate, the ritual action is most often to write, sometimes to read. Conversely, vernacular Welsh charms featuring little or no Latin often privilege speaking over writing.⁵²²

Bened Feddyg's manuscript is a perfect case in point. He concludes his portion of his medical manuscript with two lengthy charms: the first is the *Heavenly Letter* variant above. Although he does not indicate whether the text should be read, written, or recited, it belongs very firmly to the realm of written charm. Even the script is different, beginning in a display script, and featuring correctly written throughout. However, a charm that follows his *Heavenly Letter* charm is simply the *In Principio* of John (see Chapter One). This text is written in Latin using a Welsh orthography that would make its recitation possible for a Welsh speaker who could not read or speak Latin. The difference in these two charms, which Bened wrote in direct succession of one another, demonstrate the differences between written charms and oral charms; Latin and the vernacular.

In this chapter I have endeavored to present several 'outliers': charms with no direct parallels, as far as I have uncovered, though still composed of certain stock elements found throughout wider, common charming traditions. The conformity of the Welsh corpus to shared

⁵²² refer back to Intro and also bring in a bit of secondary scholarship, because I think Lea has said that this is true for English as well, and it makes sense that this would be the case.

European traditions remains largely, though sometimes less patently, perceptible for the charms in this chapter, apart from two variants of a Welsh charm for scrofula (a swelling of the nodes in the neck, now associated with a type of tuberculosis). The scrofula charms appear to be unique to the Welsh corpus, however, like many charm types discussed in previous chapters, certain core elements of the scrofula charm crop up into rituals and charms documented in the nineteenth century. This demonstrates the remarkable adaptability and continuity of the healing charms in the Welsh corpus.

Chapter Four: The Devil, the Witch, and the Liturgy in Charms for the Protection of Property

*None should presume to hang any phylacteries from the neck of man nor beast, even if they are made by priests and it is said that they contain holy things and divine scripture because there is no remedy of Christ in these things but only the devil's poison. None should presume to make lustrations or incantations with herbs, or to pass cattle through a hollow tree or ditch because this is to consecrate them to the devil.*⁵²³

Introduction

In addition to protection from physical injury or illness, the safeguarding of personal property—especially property on which one's livelihood depended, such as livestock—would have been a high priority in the medieval and early modern periods. This chapter presents and analyzes the Welsh corpus of charms for the protection of people and their property from fire, rodents, and theft, as well as charms to protect livestock from disease and bewitchment.

In section 4.a, I present two charms against fire, both employing similar motifs and belonging to the same general charm type. These two charm variants circulated in English and European manuscripts, but neither version appears to have enjoyed much popularity in the Welsh tradition. Both manuscripts in which the fire charms are found have strong associations with England: one of the manuscripts was produced in England, while the other features large sections written by a David Holland of Oxford. These factors lead me to believe that these particular charms belonged to a tradition that had more firmly taken hold in England. This section also features three charms to rid a property of rodents, all of which more or less conform to traditions found in other English manuscripts.

Section 4.b features charms to combat thievery. I have so far discovered six anti-theft charms in Welsh manuscripts (or manuscripts known to have been in Wales from the fifteenth or

⁵²³ *Vita Eligii*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, vol. 4 (Hannover, 1902), pp. 669-742 at 706.

sixteenth centuries). In this section I again argue that these charms are representative of standard English and wider European practices, but they do not seem to have been as widely disseminated in the Welsh tradition. Like the fire charms in section 4.a, the theft charms are found in manuscripts with strong associations with England, and only one of the charms was written in the Welsh language (although another features some minimal Welsh glossing of the Latin text).

The remainder of this chapter will present and analyze charms for the protection of livestock.⁵²⁴ Here I offer my characterization and categorization of these charm types, followed by a presentation and analysis of six short verbal livestock-protection charms (section 4.c) ten vernacular Welsh charms for bewitched people and livestock (section 4.d), and three Latinate charms to protect livestock from disease (section 4.e)). Section 4.f concludes that both the vernacular charms against bewitched livestock and the Latin charms against diseased livestock were representative of the times in which they enjoyed their greatest popularity. I contend that the vernacular charms against witchcraft were at least partially influenced by earlier Latinate livestock-protection charms, and that their development was a necessary product of late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century cultural trends.

Many analogous Old and Middle English charms have previously been characterized as superstitious, heterodox practices, yet scholars such as Karen Jolly and Ciaran Arthur have demonstrated that these charms represent a lay adaptation of standard liturgical practices within the Church, and they contain a degree of orthodoxy for which they are often not credited.⁵²⁵ The Welsh corpus of livestock protection charms also demonstrates a symbiosis between orthodox liturgical

⁵²⁴ I am especially grateful for Diana Luft for her feedback on this section, including some suggestions regarding my translations of several particularly problematic texts. Mistakes are, of course, my own.

⁵²⁵ Jolly also points out the dangers of too strictly categorizing the texts in terms of our modern notions of religion and ‘magic.’ See Karen Jolly, *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996). See also Ciaran Arthur, ‘Charms’, *Liturgies, and Secret Rites in Early Medieval England*, Anglo-Saxon Studies 32 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018).

practice and popular practice. There are eight similar variants of a charm type against bewitchment in livestock and their owners and two non-standard anti-witchcraft charms. Along with *Longinus* blood-staunching charms and charms for fever, charms against bewitchment in people and livestock are among the most frequently recorded charm type in the Welsh corpus, according to my current data. The charms for the protection of livestock, especially the earlier Latinate charms, are all deeply rooted in liturgical rituals and formulae, and their development over several centuries can yield fascinating insights into the ways in which charms were transmitted, adapted, and performed.

4.a: Charms for Fire and Mice

In medieval Welsh law, fire is one of the ‘Three Columns of Law’ alongside homicide and theft.⁵²⁶ Both the English and Welsh law codes refer to fire as a thief, and both devote significant attention to loss or damage caused by fire. Despite the law texts’ interest in fire and its destructive nature, I have found just two Welsh-corpus charms to protect against fire. Both are from manuscripts with significant English influence: the earliest version was copied down into a manuscript produced in England (ca. 1400), near the Welsh border, and brought to Wales not long after.

Contra domorum conbustionem + ne [] accipe sagittam ut aluid ut lapidam <i>et</i> scribe <i>super</i> hoc ista verba [men]tam sanctam spontaniam honorem deo patri liberrationem <i>et</i> post hoc verba [2v] versus <i>sancte</i> colimq̃lle p̃oibe mala dampna fauille <i>sanctus</i> colimquillus signet ab igne	Against the burning of homes + [] take an arrowhead or other [material] or a stone and write these words upon it: By the holy and generous soul, by honor to God and liberation of the country. And after, [write] these words: O Saint Columcille, prevent the destructive damages of the ember. Let Saint Columcille seal
---	--

⁵²⁶ Although the Laws in Wales Acts of 1535 and 1542 mandated that English law was to be used in Wales, the last recorded legal case to be heard under Welsh law was a Carmarthenshire land dispute in 1540. In some areas of Wales cases were disputed and decided under the Welsh system into the seventeenth century. For more on law in medieval Wales, and on Welsh law versus English law in Wales and the Marches, see Thomas Charles-Edwards, Paul Russell, and Welsh Legal History Society (Series); v. 5. (Bangor: Welsh Legal History Society, 2005). See also Huw Price, *Native Law and the Church in Medieval Wales*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); and R.R. Davies, “Law and National Identity in Thirteenth-Century Wales,” in *Welsh Society and Nationhood: Historical Essays Presented to Glanmor Williams*, ed. R.R. Davies et al. (Cardiff: Cardiff University Press, 1984) pp. 51-69.

domus <i>et cum</i> sic faceris proice scriptum vltra domum <i>et</i> statim sessabit ignis. ⁵²⁷	the house from fire. And thus, having done this, throw the writing over the house and the fire will immediately cease.
--	--

Invocations to Columcille in charms to protect against fire were popular throughout Europe and represent a common medieval association between the Irish saint Columcille and an ability to control fire.⁵²⁸ Columcille's cult spread widely in many Germanic regions from the tenth through twelfth centuries, so it is unsurprising that elements from this tradition would find their way into the charms transmitted throughout Europe. Given his early association with protection from fire and lightning, it seems only natural that charms throughout the Middle Ages and Early Modern Era would continue to invoke him in the same way.

The phrase *sancta spontanea honore deo et patrie liberationem* in the charm above suggests that this charm—or an earlier version of it—also included an invocation to saint Agatha, whose tomb, according to tradition, contains a tablet, delivered by an angel, and bearing the inscription “*Mentem*

⁵²⁷ NLW Peniarth MS 370b ff 2r-v

⁵²⁸ Irish hymns and prayers to important saints are among the oldest in Western Europe and were used in Irish monasteries from an early date. Several were composed or used to protect against disease, to ensure a safe journey, or as general protection from evil and general peril. One commonly used early medieval hymn was the *Noli Pater*: a hymn to Columcille used as a charm against fire and lightning, and also likely against the Yellow Plague, which decimated much of Ireland throughout the century in which the hymn is supposed to have been written. See Eleanor Hull, “The Ancient Hymn-Charms of Ireland,” in *Folklore* vol. 21, no 4 (December 1910) pp. 417-446, 418. The preface of the hymn states that if it is recited before sleep and upon waking, the user will be protected from fire caused by lightning. It begins with the adjuration: *Noli pater indulgere/ tonitrua cum fulgore/ ne frangemur formidine/ huius atque uridine* [Father do not allow thunder and lightning lest we be shattered by the terror and the fire of it] (Picard, p. 17). According to one tradition, Columcille's association with protection from fire resulted when the king granted him land in Derry in order to establish a monastery. A raging fire soon consumed the monastery, and to protect the land from the fire, the hymn *Noli pater* was composed and it was “sung against every fire and thunder from that time to this; and whosoever recites it at lying down and rising up, it protects him against lightning flash.” In a more developed version of this legend from the sixteenth century, Columcille was studying at a monastery near Dublin and a plague called *buidech connail* broke out, so he fled to his birthplace in Donegal and was granted land in Derry for a monastery. He set fire to it, perhaps as some sort of cleansing purification, but the fire grew too large, and Columcille composed the prayer in order to combat the fire. For more on Columcille's power over the plague see Ann Dooley, “The Plague and Its Consequences in Ireland” in *Plague and the End of Antiquity*. Lester K. Little, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 215-230. For more see Jean-Michel Picard, “Adomnan's “Vita Columbae” and the Cult of Colum Cille in Continental Europe.” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, Vol. 98C, No 1 (1998) pp. 1-23. See also J.H. Bernard & R. Atkinson, *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, vol. II (London 1898), 28; as well as Brian Lacey, *Saint Columba, His Life and Legacy* (Dublin: The Columban Press, 2013) 34.

sanctam spontaneam, honori Dei et patriae liberationem.” Early on, people ascribed power to these words, and if affixed upon or above every door of a house, the writing was believed to have the power to ward off evil spirits and prevent fire.⁵²⁹ Although most commonly known for the sexual violence she endured in her life, the *Legenda Aurea* also relates that one year after Agatha’s death, the pall that covered her tomb was put in the path of lava advancing from an explosion of Mt. Etna, wherein it halted the advance and saved the city from destruction.⁵³⁰

The same Agatha-inspired phrase, as well as invocation to Columcille, was also copied into a healing text written by a David Holland of Oxford ca. 1583. Holland’s portion of the manuscript consists of notes in English and Latin, along with various remedies, including a charm to protect against fire.⁵³¹

ffor to seas an sodayne ffyre of houses by nyght or by day whether it
be. write these verses that folowe upon a skroule of parchmant or
papir and bind it to a stone and by the grace of god it shal sease if tho
do cast it out the house. Sancte conu~~m~~quille mala dampna defendes
ffauille atque colu~~m~~quillus seruet ab igne domus et per ista tria nomina.
Shirimines vsus tetragramaton. In nomine patris et filii etc. Et iacta in
igne et vere essibit mente sancta spontanea honore deo et patrie
liberationem.⁵³²

O Saint Conumguille [Columcille] you will defend against the
destructive damages of the ember and let Columcille protect the
house from fire, by these three words: *Shirimines vsus tetragramaton*. In
the name of the Father and the Son etc. Cast it in the fire and truly it

⁵²⁹ Franz Joseph Mone, ed. *Hymni Latini Medii Aevi: V.3, Hymni ad Sanctos* (Friburgi Brisgoviae: Sumptibus Herder, 1855), p. 176.

⁵³⁰ Jacobus de Voragine, *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda aurea vulgo Historia lombardica dicta*. Ad optimorum librorum fiden recensuit Dr. Th. Graesse. Editio tertia (Vratislaviae: Guilelmus Koebner, 1890).

⁵³¹ Page 115 features ‘D: Holl: Oxon, 1583. The manuscript itself is a composite manuscript of politics, music, and medicine, and was brought together by the seventeenth century. The name ‘Gruff. Edwards’ also appears on several pages, in a hand that Daniel Huws dates to the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Huws also provides information on a scribe by the name of David Holland (fl. ca. 1590) of the Wrexham area, and he suggests that this is the same David Holland. It is possible that Holland wrote the medical notes for Edwards, or that Edwards was in possession of this medical portion probably not long after its creation. Huws, *Repertory*.

⁵³² NLW Peniarth MS 368, p. 149

will recede. By the holy and generous soul, by honor to God and liberation of the country.

Given Agatha's story: the sexual violence she endured and the protective quality her pall demonstrated when it halted the lava, it is no wonder that she is came to be invoked in charms and rituals against fire. Lea Olsan notes the presence of a fifteenth-century Agatha charm in British Library Royal MS 12.B.XXV, and although this charm is presented as one against the figurative fires of lust, Olsan recognizes that it was likely used against literal, physical fire as well.⁵³³

pro ignis incendio: Scribe hec verba que secuntur et iacta vltra ignem.
Et illa scribe in die Sancte Agathe in tempore legendi euangelium +
mentam + sanctam + spontaneam + honorem deo et patrie
liberacionem. Et dic verus, dic: domus ardet. Et cum dixeris, iacta
super domum.⁵³⁴

Like the two Welsh corpus versions above, this Royal MS version features both the Agatha phrase and the directive to throw the efficacious writing either out of or over the house or fire, depending on the version. In B.L. Royal MS 12.B.XXV, the Agatha charm is followed by another fifteenth-century charm against fire, this one calling upon Columcille in much the same ways as we have already seen. The Royal MS version reads: *Sancte Columquille prohibe mala dampna famelle. Atque Columquillus prohibet mala dampna famelle.*⁵³⁵ A fourteenth-century manuscript from Pembroke College,

⁵³³ The charm, along with two others, appears under a heading 'hii sunt extincionis libidnis.' It is perhaps of interest, then, that the fire charm in NLW Peniarth MS 368 comes immediately after a short herbal remedy for childbirth ('ffor deliverance of a childe').

⁵³⁴ As published in Lea Olsan, "Latin Charms in MS Royal 12.B.XXV," p. 126.

⁵³⁵ *ibid* at p. 127. Here Olsan has amended her reading to 'famelle' from what shows in the manuscript as 'famlle.' Some variants use 'famille' or similar, which I understand to be from Latin 'familia' as in household. Other variants, such as our Welsh-manuscript version, use *fauilla*, 'ember, cinder, ash' Given the difficulties posed by medieval handwriting, especially the minims of the letters in question, along with the fact that charms were often scrawled more messily into whatever space would accompany them, it is easy to see how these words could have been used interchangeably.

Oxford, contains an almost identical Columcille invocation in a fire charm: *Sancte Columquille remoue male dampna favilla atque Columquillus saluet ab igne domus.*⁵³⁶

Another variant of this formula appears within a longer charm against rats and mice in a Swedish manuscript of remedies (Linköping, Stiftsbibliothek M5, s. xv-xvi):

O sancta kakwkylla
remoue dampnosa facilla vel fauilla,
Quod tibi de celis
concessit vox micaelis.⁵³⁷

Similarly, a fifteenth-century manuscript from near Helmstedt reads: *O sancta Kakukilla. Remoue mala dampna favilla. Fac leger missam de sancta cruce.*⁵³⁸ Scholars have suggested that the name of Columcille was corrupted to ‘Kakwkylla’ at some point in the process of transmission and that elements associated with both Columcille and Saint Gertrude of Nivelles were fused together to create specific charms and iconography to ‘Kakukilla.’⁵³⁹

⁵³⁶ As printed in J.I. Mowat (ed.), *Sinonoma Bartholomei. A glossary from a fourteenth century ms in the library of Pembroke College. Anecdota Oxoniensia. Medieval and Modern Series, I. 1* (Oxford, 1882), 3.

⁵³⁷ As published in Stephen Mitchell, “Faith and Knowledge in Nordic Charm Magic,” in Karoline Kjesrud and Mikael Males, eds., *Faith & Knowledge in Late Medieval & Early Modern Scandinavia* (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming). Hereafter as Mitchell, “Faith.” My thanks to Stephen Mitchell for providing me with an early version of this work. See also A.G. Noreen, *Altschwedisches Lesebuch* (Halle, 1892-94) 98-9, no 180. In this version it is clear that Kakwkylla is identified as a female saint, and the beginning of the charm relates a narrative that places her in a prison being plagued by rats and mice. Mitchell also points out that this character shares much in common with Gertrude of Nivelles.

⁵³⁸ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Helmst. 912 (s. xv), f. 110v. See also n.19 above.

⁵³⁹ This would explain the association of this charm with the power to rid a home of rats and mice, a power attributed to Gertrude, who is often depicted with mice running up her staff. See also H. Bächtold-Stäubli, ed. *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, 10 volumes (Berlin, 1927-42), iv. 913-914. See also W. Braunsfels, ed. *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Freiburg, 1974), cols. 263-4; and *Kulturbistorisk Lexikon för nordisk Medeltid* (Malmö, 1960), vol. 5, cols 276-80. One fourteenth-century also invokes Columcille and uses the ‘vox Micaelis’ formula, although in this case it is for protection from a storm: *Contra tempestatem isti tres uersus scribantur in cedulas quattuor et ponantur subter terram in quattuor partes provinciae: Sancte Columcille, remove mala queque procelle ut tunc orasti, de mundo quando migrasti quod tibi de celis permisit vox Michaelis.* Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 7021 (s. xiv). [Against a storm these three verses should be written on four sheets of paper and put under the earth (i.e., buried) in four parts of the province: Saint Columcille, take away all bad storms like when you recited the prayer sent to you from heaven by the voice of Michael when you left the earth.]. The ‘vox Micaelis’ formula also occurs in Thuringen, in 1485, where we find a charm that says: *Sancta Kacukilla/virgo martir benedicta/boc genus femelle/de domo cuncta repelle/Hoc tibi de celis / precepit vox michaelis.* See Mireille Madou. *De Heilige Gertrudis van Nijvel*, I. (Brussel: Paleis der Academien - Hertogsstraat, I. 1975), 196. See also Adolph Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen*, 2 vols (Freiburg i. Br., 1909), vol. 2, 62-3. The *Amra Choluim Cille* mentions his ability to calm bad weather. This attribution can be found in Adomnán’s *Vita Columbae* as well, as he is depicted several times as a “weather saint” who calms the seas and winds to save his friends or raises the sea to punish enemies. See Stokes, Whitley (ed. and tr.),

Saint Gertrude is indeed invoked in a Welsh-corpus charm for driving away rats and mice.

The charm is part of a three-charm series aimed at exterminating rodents and was copied into a fifteenth-century manuscript again produced in England, likely near the Welsh border, and brought to Wales not long after the manuscript's creation.

Ad ffugandum mures et ratones. scribe in quatuor cedulis velum quatuor petris nomina subscripta. In prima Johannes alpha et omega + Johannes emanuel. In secundam matheus alpha et omega + matheus emanuell. In tercia marcus alpha et oo +marcus emanuell. In quarta lucas alpha et oo + lucas emanuell. Et quando intres in domum vel in orum⁵⁴⁰ dic vii pater noster & vii ave maria cum oratione sequens. Sicut deus nostri jesus christus cum. [68r] exiret de civitate Jerusalem precepit vt mures & ratones non haberent potestatem in grangiis coligendum nec prodant set exeant omnes mures & ratonis ab hac domo vt blada aut grana non corodant nec minuiant nec alia dampna faciant per virtutem domine nostri jesu christi qui viuit et regnat deus per omnia secula seculore Amen. Domine deus meus qui fecisti celum et terram mare et omnia que in eis sunt multiplica hoc semen et omnia temporalia bona infra hanc domum oblata vel offerenda benedic & deffede vt omnes mures & ratones non noceant propter nomen sanctum tuum quod est benedictum in secula seculorem amen. post hec pone in quolibet angelo domus unam de prodatur cedulis vel petris dicendo in quolibet angelo vii pater noster et vii ave maria et scribo in iiiiior poste domus Sancta geretrudis + & securus eris.⁵⁴¹	For mice and rats to be driven away. Write on four leaves of vellum, or on four stones, the names written. In the first: John, Alpha and Omega + John, Emmanuel. + In the second: Matthew, Alpha and Omega + Matthew, Emmanuel. In the third: Mark, Alpha and Omega + Mark, Emmanuel. In the fourth: Luke, Alpha and Omega + Luke, Emmanuel. And when you enter the house or barn, say seven Our Fathers and seven Ave Marias with the following oration: Just as when our God Jesus Christ departed the city of Jerusalem and seized the mice and rats so they would not have the power to assemble in barns or propagate, so let all the mice and rats depart this home and wheat and grain, and do not let them gnaw or threaten nor do any other damage, by the virtue of our Lord Jesus Christ, God who lives and reigns forever and ever Amen. My Lord God, you made the sky and the earth and the sea and everything that is in them. In every blessed season multiply this seed, shown and offered underneath this house, and bless and defend it, so that no mouse or rat do any harm, on account of your holy name that is blessed forever and ever. Then put one of the written pages or stones in any corner of the house, saying in whichever corner seven Our Fathers and seven Ave Marias and write in the fourth post of
--	---

“The Bodleian Amra Choluimb Chille”, *Revue Celtique* 20 (1899): 31–55, 132–183, 248–289, 400–437. Corrigenda in *Revue Celtique* 21 (1900): 133–136.

⁵⁴⁰ [h]orreum

⁵⁴¹ NLW Peniarth MS 369, f. 67v–68r. Parts of this charm are identical or very close to a charm against rats and mice found in B.L. Royal MS 12.B.XXV, discussed above. Lea Olsan, “Latin Charms in MS Royal” prints the text of the rodent charm (p. 124): *Ad effugandum mures et ratones a domibus. Primo accipe iij lapides de limo terre quadratos et siccantur per ignem vel solem. Et scribatur in primo lapide + Matheus alpha et w + Matheus Emanuel +. In secundo + Marcus alpha et w + Marcus Emanuel. In tertio Lucas alpha et w. Lucas Emanuel +. In quarto Johannes alpha et w + Iohannes Emanuel +. Et antequam intres in [h]orreum dicas vij pater noster et viitem infra [h]orreum, cum ista oratione: Sicut exeunte domino Jerosolimis civitate precepit vt mures et ratones non haberent potestatem corrodendi nec colligendi blada, sic exeant ab hac domo, vt hoc bladum hic impositum et imponendum non*

Ad idem. In nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti amen hoc breuiculus scribe & sub segete pone in oris & omnes mures morientur In nomine patris et filii + arcus arpunis vrcha sanaphin examina Geamina alpha et omega + ⁵⁴²	the house: Saint Gertrude + and you will be untroubled. For the same. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit Amen. Write this little brief and put it in a hole under the field and all mice will die. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit + <i>arcus arpunis vrcha sanaphin examina Geamina alpha and omega</i> +
---	--

The efficacious words of the second charm were likely valued for their aural quality, with some alliteration and partial rhymes. The first charm features a fascinating set of directives that include writing efficacious names and phrases on sheets of vellum or stones and placing them in the corners of the house or barn. The historiola that relates how Jesus banished rats from Jerusalem is unknown to me, although Stephen Mitchell has recently pointed out that a rodent charm in Linköping, Stiftsbibliothek M5 includes an invocation to St. Cyriacus and historiola in which King David asks the Lord to keep Jerusalem free of rats and mice.⁵⁴³

The third rodent charm in the three-charm series in NLW Pen. MS 369 also includes an invocation to Saint Cyriacus but omits any reference to rats and mice in Jerusalem. This charm can be used for earthworms as well as rats and mice. It instructs users to write on stones in much the same way as the first.

carmen pro muribus ratonibus & vermibus.	A charm for mice, rats, and worms. Take four
--	--

corrodant nec minuant. Oremus: Domine deus meus qui fecisti celum et terram mare et omnia que in eis multiplicata sunt, ita hoc semen hic impositum sive imponendum benedic et defende vt mures et ratones illi non noceant propter n[omen] tuum sanctum, quod est benedictum in secula. Amen. Postea pone lapidem Mathei in orientis parte. et sic de singulis.

⁵⁴² NLW Peniarth MS 369, f. 68r

⁵⁴³ Mitchell, "Faith," p. 188. The only reference to Jerusalem and mice that I have been able to find is the story relating the Assyrian siege of Jerusalem, in which the mighty Assyrian army was unable to take Jerusalem (ca. 700 BCE). Herodotus (2.141), writing in the fifth century BCE, attributed the Assyrian defeat to their gear having been gnawed by a hoard of mice in the night. For the story and commentary, see David J.A. Clines and Lester L. Grabbe, *Like a Bird in a Cage: the Invasion of Sennacherib in 701 BCE*. (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2003).

accipe iiiior lapides de crota <i>et scribe in primo lapide Marcus agios in secundo lapide matheus otheos In tercio lucas yskyros In quarto Johannes athanatos et pone lapides illos in iiior partibus quacumque in iiior garbis & inponendo quolibet lapidem dicatur + pater noster & aue deinde dicatur hec conuiriatio sanctus tyrus</i>⁵⁴⁴ a iuventute sua deo placuit <i>et servire studuit per illud sacrum servicium quod fecit domino nostro iesu christo</i>⁵⁴⁵ & per sua merita conuiro vos mures <i>et ratones & vermes terre ne huic segeti malum faciat & nec malum faciendi potestatem habeatis in nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti amen. Et detur de quolibet genere segetis una garba pauperibus &c.</i>⁵⁴⁶	stones <i>de crota</i> and write in the first stone Mark agios. In the second stone: Matthew Otheos. In the third stone: Luke Yskyros. In the fourth: John Athanatos. And put those stones in four lots, and then put them in four sheaves, and put in whichever stone and let be said + Our Father and Ave while this conjuration is said. Saint Cyriacus, from his youth, pleased God and studied to serve by that sacred servitude that he did for our Lord Jesus Christ and by his merit I adjure you mice and rats and worms in this earth or field causing harm, that you have no power to do any harm. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, Amen. And let one sheaf from any type of field be given to the poor, etc.
--	---

The efficacy of this charm relies on several of the same mechanisms as the first charm in the series.

The writing of the names of the evangelists juxtaposed with four divine names, along with the placing of the stones into sheaves to presumably be buried or placed along the periphery of the house or field, creates a divine seal of protection around the perimeter of the property. The instruction to give to the poor a sheaf of whatever type of crop the particular field yields is a nice touch, and perhaps a rather literal embodiment of the biblical proverb that ‘one reaps what one sows.’

All three of the charms to protect against rodents are found in the same manuscript and have strong associations with England. I have found no vernacular Welsh charms that target the

⁵⁴⁴ Cyrus (Cyriacus)

⁵⁴⁵ There are two saints with this name: Cyriacus, who converted to Christianity as an adult and spent his life helping and ministering to the slaves who built and maintained Dioclesian’s baths, and also invoked as one of the ‘Fourteen Holy Helpers’ against various disease; or, Cyriacus, a Pope who entered the service of the Church at an early age and who is mentioned in the legend of Ursula. See Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, 2 vols., trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 2.256-60. Given the reference in the charm to the holy service to which he dedicated himself in his youth, I understand this charm to be invoking Cyriacus the Pope, although it seems that the scribe himself was unsure, given that he wrote an initial ‘t’ rather than ‘c.’

⁵⁴⁶ NLW Peniarth MS 369, f. 67v-68r

extermination of rodents, nor have I encountered vernacular Welsh charms to protect against fire. Given how serious the threat of fire was and given how much space Welsh law texts devote to procedures surrounding fire, one might expect to find this same level of concern reflected in the Welsh corpus of charm texts as well. Both Welsh-manuscript charms against fire that have so far come to light are more representative of general English and European traditions that seemingly did not spark the same level of interest in the Welsh tradition.

4.b: Charms against Theft

Medieval Welsh (and English) law texts also devote significant space to disputes involving the protection of or theft of property, usually livestock, in addition to their concern with fire, which itself was considered a thief. Once again, the corpus of Welsh-manuscript charms does not demonstrate quite the same level of concern for outright theft, although I have uncovered more extant theft charms (6) than charms for fire (2). All six anti-theft charms are from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and all are representative of fairly standard European charm traditions. The first is from NLW Peniarth MS 368, the same manuscript in which we find one of the Columcille fire charms discussed above.

Ad [la]rones [] noctem. Dic haec verba in quatuor partibus domnis et fac signum sancte cuius? + michael Gabriell. Uriell. Ganosnell et post ea dicas coniuro vos latrones cuius conditionis estis + per deum viuum + per deum verum + per deum sanctum ⁵⁴⁷ + et per Jesu xriste filius euis vnicum dominum nostrum + vt nullus vestrum habet potestate mihi nocere, nec	For thieves [] by night. Say these words in the four parts of the home and make the sign of this holy [cross]+ Michael. Gabriel. Uriell. Ganosnell. And then you say to them ‘I conjure you thieves + by the living God + by the true God + by the holy God + and by our Lord Jesus Christ his only Son + that none of you have power to harm me, nor enter here, nor <i>carry off?</i> my things + in the name of the Father + and the Son + and the Holy Spirit + amen.
---	--

⁵⁴⁷ This tripartite formula comes from the liturgical blessing of the baptismal water, as does the phrase ‘per Jesum Christum, filium euis unicum dominum nostrum’... See Louis Albert Joly de Choin, *Instructions sur le rituel: contenant la Théorie & la Pratique des Sacraments & de la Morale, & tous les Principes & Decisions nécessaires aux Cures, Confesseurs, Prédicateurs, Chanoines, Bénéficiers, Prêtres, ou simples Clercs.* (A Lyon: Chez les Freres Perisse, 1780) p. 51.

huc intrare nec res meas anfferne ⁵⁴⁸ + in nomine patris + et filii + et spiritus sancti + amen. ⁵⁴⁹	
---	--

The recitation of the four divine names in four corners of the house is not an uncommon motif of medieval charms, as we have seen in other protective charms above. The names are those of archangels, although I have encountered no other text that uses the name Ganosnell. Lea Olsan notes the common use of the names of the thieves with whom Christ is crucified: Dismas and Gestas/Gemas. Perhaps "Ganosnell" represents a conflation of several traditions, or a misunderstanding of a name from an exemplar. The conjuration in this charm is similar to conjurations in charms found in English manuscripts, and Olsan notes that this formulaic use of such performatives such as 'coniuro' and 'adiuro' is a hallmark of Christian Latin charms.⁵⁵⁰

Two successive charms against thieves are also preserved in NLW Peniarth MS 369, the manuscript in which we find the series of mice and rat charms. In many places the manuscript's poor and faded condition necessitates a reading under ultraviolet light, and several of the charms have been crossed out at some point in the manuscript's history. However, it is possible to decipher most of these two charms:

(a.) ffor thev[es] [...] [e]nemyes sey this or bere it on the & they s[hal]l
haue no power vppon the[e]. Iesus autem transiens [per medium]
illorum ibat irruat super eos ferundo & pane in magnitudine brachij tui
donec fiant immobiles quasi lapis donec pertransiat populus tuus
donec quem possedisti.

(b.) pro latronibus: in bedlem god was borne betwene too bestis to rest
was leyde in that stede ther was nother thef nor mon but the holy trinite
which silf god that tehre was borne deffende our bodyes & our catall

⁵⁴⁸ Perhaps some form of *ferro*, with the connotation of 'to carry away'?

⁵⁴⁹ NLW Peniarth MS 368, p. 138

⁵⁵⁰ Lea Olsan, "Latin Charms of Medieval England: Verbal Healing in a Christian Oral Tradition," 116. For example, the conjuration found in B.L. Sloane 2584, vol. 73v-74r, as cited by Olsan on p. 133: *Coniuro vos demones et latrones, elphos et morbum caducum vt non habeatis potestatem nocere hunc famulum dei, .N[omen].*" ("I conjure you demons and thieves, elves, and epilepsy that you not have the power to harm this servant of god, Name.")

fro theves & all maner of myscheves & harmes wherso we wende by
londe & by water by tyde or by tyme amen.⁵⁵¹

Reference to Bethlehem (charm b. above) and to Christ's birth have been observed in Old English charms to protect cattle from thieves.⁵⁵² T.M. Smallwood has pointed out an early fourteenth-century charm and several other multi-forms, to which we can add the charm above.⁵⁵³ More specifically, our charm (b.) above belongs to the 'second derivative,' according to Smallwood, which consists of least eight other known copies. For example, Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd vi 29, fol. 85v (ca 1380-1410), gives a charm that is almost identical to our Peniarth MS charm (b.) above:

In Bethlem God was boren; between two bestes to reste he was
leyde. In þat stede was neyþer thef ne man bote þe holy Trinite. eþ
ilke selue God þat þer was borne defende our bodyes *and* our cateles
fro theues *and* alle oþer maner mescheues *and* harmes where so we
wende, be londe or water, be nyght or day, be tide or tyme. Amen.⁵⁵⁴

Both charms in the Peniarth MS belong firmly to the tradition of English-manuscript charms. In the first Peniarth charm (a.) above, the phrase *Ihesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat* (Luke 4:30)

⁵⁵¹ NLW Peniarth MS 369 ff 75r-v

⁵⁵² Heather Barkley, "Liturgical Influences on the Anglo-Saxon Charms against Cattle Theft." *Notes and Queries* 44, no. 4 (1997): 450-452. Barkley notes the parallels between various lines in the cattle theft charms and lines of liturgical formulae for various occasions. For example Barkley, p. 451, where she compares the line from the charm: *Bethlem hatte seo burh lē Crist on geboren wes, seo is gemersod ofer ealne middangeard* (The city in which Christ was born is called Bethlehem / It is glorified over all the earth), to a more complex line from the liturgy used at Advent: *Bethleem, civitas Dei summi, ex te exciet dominator Israel, et egressus ejus sicut a principio dierum aeternitatis; et magnificabitur in medio universae terrae, et pax erit in terra nostra dum venerit.* (Bethlehem, highest city of the Lord, from you will come a Ruler for Israel, and his coming forth [will be] just as [was foretold] at the beginning of time; and he will be glorified throughout the entire world, and there will be peace in our world when he will come.).

⁵⁵³ T.M Smallwood, "God was Born in Bethlehem...: The Tradition of a Middle English Charm." *Medium Ævum* 58, no. 2 (1989): 206-23. The charm, printed by Smallwood at p 206-7, reads: God was iborin in bedlem. Iborin he was to ierusalem. Ifolewid i pe flum iordan. per nes inemned ne wolf ne pei. Crist and seinte tñite xpist i seinte tñite Child with wolf 7 pei ous 7 aalle oure au tee. And alle godes crafte.Scint huue and seint lue. With inne woves 7 with outc. Seine ous alle aboute. Oist 7 seint iohan pe baptist. pat)?ou ne me. psmite pne ppou pne pbpte. p)?ou pstond pstipple palpsa pston. pstarc palpsa pded pmon pstond palle pwey pstipple. ptiple phich phabpbe pydon pmipwilpl.

⁵⁵⁴ As printed in Chiara Benati, "Painted Eyes, Magical Sieves and Carved Runes," p. 159 in Classen, *Magic and Magicians, in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Time: The Occult in Pre-Modern Sciences, Medicine, Literature, Religion, and Astrology*. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture Ser. 2017. Hereafter as Benati.

constitutes an important aspect of this charm's efficacy. The same phrase has been found inscribed on jewelry and other items, and was often used to protect travelers from thieves, enemies, and other misfortune.⁵⁵⁵ A mid-sixteenth-century Welsh charm against enemies also uses this phrase, embedding it into a longer narrative from Jesus's youth.

gweddi da rac i elynion. Yn Samaria y mae gwlad Bedvr ac Andras. Ac yno y doeth yr Eiddion at Jesiv yn y yfiengtut ac ai dygyson i ben kraic ychel ar [167] fedr i wthio ir llawr yw anafv ac i ladd ac Jesiv Grist a basiodd drwyddyn oll ac a neidiodd ar graic yr hwn y mae i ol yno eto yw gwlad a ffwy bynac ac a roddi i ymddiried ar yr arglwydd Jesiv Grist ac a ddoyto y weddi a ddyfod ynte yr amser hwnw, ny ddicon i elynion iddo ddim drwc, sef Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat a doydud y wers hon or sawlter dair gwaith, Irruat super eos formido et pauor in magnitudine brachii tui domine fiant immobiles quasi lapis donec pertranseat populus tuus domine populus iste quem redemisti.⁵⁵⁶	A good charm against his enemies. In Samaria is the land of Peter and Andrew. And there came the Jews to Jesus in his youth and they led him to the top of a high rock with the intent to push him to the ground and injure and kill him. And Jesus Christ passed through all of them and jumped upon a rock, upon which his footprint is still to be seen there. Whoever puts his faith in the Lord Jesus Christ and says the prayer that he said at that time, his enemies will not be able to do him any evil: 'But Jesus went passing through the midst of them.' And say this verse from the psalter three times: 'Terror and dread will fall upon them and by the power of your arm, Lord, they will be as still as stone until your people pass by, Lord, those that you have redeemed.'
--	--

An English version of the charm can be found on page 155 of the same manuscript.

that was our lord Jessu kreyst att hawvlf a myl fron nazreth is the blode of the ovr lord for the jewes ledd hym upon a high ysdon roche to kast hym down et yslee hym but gafid cryst pased thrauogh thryn et lepe on a roch where his steppes are yet sene et thar fore say sum men whan thay diad [dreden] thaym of theves or els of eiviemyes they say thivs *jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat* and thayn say also the vrsses of the sawlter thyre tymas.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁵ Skemer, p. 90 and his n.43, and See Benati, p. 153 for comperanda.

⁵⁵⁶ NLW Llanstephan MS 181 p. 166-7. This last Latin verse comes from Exodus xv. 16. My sincere thanks to Professor Barry Lewis, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, for looking over an early draft of this text and translation, and for his valuable suggestions.

⁵⁵⁷ NLW Llanstephan MS 181, p. 155

The same verse from Luke was fittingly inscribed on the Noble, a gold coin produced by Edward III in the mid-fourteenth century, and it remained a feature of the coin for centuries.⁵⁵⁸ The translation of a phrase typically reserved for textual charms into a material context (that is, coins), provides modern scholars with a glimpse of the continuity of such efficacious phrases and their adaptability to various mediums.

The most extensive Welsh-manuscript charm against theft is found in a fourteenth-century Welsh book of medicine, though the charm itself is a fifteenth-century addition, in Latin. Its focus is the identification of the thief rather than prevention and protection. The manuscript, British Library Additional MS 14912, represents one of the ‘first generation’ Welsh medical manuscripts and is one of only a handful of extant Welsh medical books from the fourteenth century. The original fourteenth-century texts are mostly devoid of charms or charm-like material. The Latin charm, however, fits nicely within the wider tradition of thief identification and property recovery that existed in late medieval and early modern charms; not only in the Latin and English traditions, but also in the traditions of Germanic and Scandinavian manuscripts as well.⁵⁵⁹

Versions of this charm type, labeled by modern scholars as the ‘eye of Abraham’ charm (or, in German, *Diebesauge*), most often involve the ritual of painting an eye on a wall and then striking it with a nail and/or hammer (often made of copper). It is so named because of its common invocation to Abraham, who looked down upon murders, adulterers, and thieves when he was taken up into the chariot of the cherubim.⁵⁶⁰ The charm depends on the principles of sympathetic magic: a

⁵⁵⁸ See Herbert A. Grueber, *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland in the British Museum*. (London: Trustees, 1899).

⁵⁵⁹ See Benati, p. 207, where she points out a fifteenth-century Low German version (Stockholm, Kungliga bibliotek, X, 113). She also gives other examples found in northern Germanic and Scandinavian manuscripts, although these versions look less like our Latin example from the Welsh manuscript.

⁵⁶⁰ The name Abraham has been used in many magical texts and dates to at least the third century AD. The *Testament of Abraham* (ca. 100AD) links Abraham with an ability to see sinners and thieves, when he is taken by the angel Michael in the ‘Chariot of the Cherubim’ and Abraham sees the entire world. *The Testament of Abraham. The Greek text now first edited*

perceived connection between the eye painted on the wall and the eye of the guilty thief, which is meant to water or hurt once the painted eye is struck. This particular motif has been traced back to an early fourth-century Greek papyrus.⁵⁶¹ The British Library Additional MS 14912 version represents the only example of this charm type in a Welsh manuscript:

Accipe clavem⁵⁶² cuprum⁵⁶³ et spumam⁵⁶⁴ argenti et distempa cum albumine⁵⁶⁵ ovi⁵⁶⁶[] galline in die iovis⁵⁶⁷ politi formam oculum ad modum oculi procedent in parieti et interiori parti oculi scribe. Ihesu christ. saluator. et interiori parte. Ihesu christ sciens omnium rerum occulor manifestor, pater verus propagator in nomine eius principio. Et coniuro vos vires et mulieres in spicientes oculum istum ut vir cum qui ut que ista rem furatus est iterum conuiro vos vires et mulieres	On a Thursday, take a copper nail and the foam of silver and distemper with the white of a hen's egg [...], smoothing out [i.e. painting] the form of an eye onto a wall, in the way that eyes appear. On the inner part of the eye write, 'Jesus Christ the savior' and on the inner part write, 'Jesus Christ knower of all things, I am hidden, I am revealed, the Father, the true propagator, in his name chiefly, I conjure you men and women looking at this eye that the man, whoever of you
--	---

with an introduction and notes, ed. Montague Rhodes James (Cambridge: The University Press, 1892), 87-88. See also *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Vol. 1: *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City and New York: Doubleday, 1983), 887. In the mid-third century AD, Origen writes of the tendency of Egyptian to use the names of Abraham and other Hebrew figures in order to produce a magical effect. As cited in Stallcup 33. See *Contra Celsum* 1.22, transl. Henry Chadwick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 22. The name is used in several charms against thieves, including in a sixteenth-century Danish charm (see Benati 168-9) that calls for Abraham to bind the thief. A Middle English charm against thieves similarly calls for Abraham to bind the thief (Abraham propheta provoc[e]at te vel vos fugientes [et] alliget" and instructs the user to write four names on four pieces of paper " + Abraham ++ Solomon ++ Jacob ++ Sancta crux +" British Library MS Sloane 3850, fol. 34v. See Stallcup, 33-35.

⁵⁶¹ Stephen Burr Stallcup, "The "Eye of Abraham" Charm for Thieves: Versions in Middle and Early Modern English." *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 10, no. 1 (2015): 24. For the text, British Library Pap. Gr. XLVI, fols. 1v-2r., and its edition and translation; Karl Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen zauberpapyri*. An English translation exists in Hans Deiter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) 102.

⁵⁶² The Welsh gloss above clavem reads *hoel* which indicates that even though the Latin words for nail and key have been confused, it was understood to mean 'nail.'

⁵⁶³ Welsh gloss: *o gopyr*, 'of copper'

⁵⁶⁴ A Welsh gloss above *spumam* appears to be *bwrw* but the last letter is difficult to make out. It is possible the word represents an early variant of *bermaf*, which would make it one of the earliest attestations. According to GPC, a seventeenth-century dictionary lists *burmo*/ *burmaf* and *spumo* as equivalents. However, it could also be a form of *byn*, as there are later variants of the charm that refer to it as 'living silver.'

⁵⁶⁵ Welsh gloss: *gŷn*, 'white'

⁵⁶⁶ Welsh gloss: *ŷy*, 'egg'

⁵⁶⁷ Thursday, or, *dies Iovis*. This is glossed in Welsh as *iav*, as in *dydd Iau*, Thursday. Many of the northern Germanic charms against theft emphasize that some part of the ritual must be carried out on a Thursday.

ut manifeste signata ut patefiat <i>omnibus</i> qui ut que N. ista rem furatus est de quo ignostimus⁵⁶⁸ et de patefiat : et cum malueo⁵⁶⁹ suspenso clauem oculum percutti⁵⁷⁰ dicat. Rabies. stelorum. etha. cathends. alrer. s. rales. celerum racha[?] cochita. hunc. furem. aparer. quis res ista furatus est de qua querimus et tunc clavem per dictum oculum.⁵⁷¹	has stolen this thing, and again I conjure you men and women that you be revealed with a sign so that all things might be revealed and so that this thing belonging to N. that was stolen, be revealed so that we might recognize it. And with mallet suspended, strike the nail to the eye and say: <i>Rabies. stelorum. etha. cathends. alrer. s. rales. celerum racha[?] cochita.</i> Let the thief who has stolen these things and whom we seek be revealed. And now by saying [this] [strike] the nail to the eye.
---	--

This charm contains a number of interesting features. In addition to the text of the charm, the page upon which it commences features two contemporary doodles of men's faces, in profile, potentially to demonstrate how the eye of the charm was to be drawn. There is also a drawing of what appears to be a key and potentially a mallet (See Appendix One). Several of the Latin words of the opening are glossed in Welsh. So, for example, we know that although the Latin word says to take a copper *key*, it was understood to mean nail, as the Welsh gloss *boel* (nail) indicates (despite the drawing of what very possibly looks to be a key). It is no great surprise that the Latin words for nail and key would be confused, as the accusative forms are *clavum* and *clavem*, respectively. To obfuscate matters more, there was a well-attested tradition of using a key to locate missing property, as well as the popular collection of fourteenth- or fifteenth-century grimoire texts known as the Key of

⁵⁶⁸ This is likely meant to be *agnostimus*, 'to recognize', as it reads in most of the other versions.

⁵⁶⁹ Welsh gloss: *murthol*, 'mallet'

⁵⁷⁰ From *percutio*, *percutere*, 'to strike'

⁵⁷¹ British Library Additional MS 14,912, ff. 35v-36r. The charm ends rather abruptly without specifying what happens once the eye is struck. The rest of the text is mostly illegible, but it seems that at least two other charms with relatively similar motifs were fused onto this Eye of Abraham charm.

Solomon. English versions from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also confuse key and nail in the text.⁵⁷²

Overall, the ‘Eye of Abraham’ charm type is fairly well-attested in English and European manuscripts, and Stephen Stallcup has identified at least five variants extant in manuscripts from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. Some versions of the charm lack an invocation,⁵⁷³ while others include a Christian invocation: commonly the phrase ‘Jesus salvator’ as in our Welsh-manuscript version. These versions instruct the user to write ‘Jesus Salvator’ within one of the circles of the eye on the wall and then to also say: *in nomine Dei precipio ut vobis viris et mulieribus insipientibus oculum istam manifesto signo patefiat (qui vel que) rem istam de qua querimus furatus est vel furati sunt, modo agnoscamus, et Deus patefaciat.*⁵⁷⁴ This is fairly similar to the Welsh-manuscript version, except in the English charm, the thief’s eye will water once he or she looks upon the eye.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷² British Library Sloane MS 3864, fol. 41r., as printed in Stallcup 27: To know who they bee that have stollen anything out of yr house and to make them confess the same. Take argentum vivum and the white of an egg and mingle them together and make an eie uppon a wall in this manner  and then call in all them that thou suspectest and let them behould the eie, and his or hers which stole the thing will water. If they will not confess, take a copper key and putt it on the eie of the wall and strike uppon it saying, *hære, et gures, vales*, and the partie that is guilty, shall cry mine eie, myne eie; *probatum est*. Another version in which key and nail were confused can be found in British Library Additional MS 36674 and is printed in K.M. Briggs (1962), p. 261

⁵⁷³ Such as this mid-fifteenth-century English version found on f. 75r of B.L. Add. MS 34,111: For hem þat bereþ a way þi gode and stelip it hauyng suspecion of man or woman. Take þe white of þe siluer þat is kesten a way þer from and stamp it strongliche and prene it on a walle such an eye . And þan do clepe befor þe þe names of hem þat þow hast supecion, and hym þat þow hast most suspecion do hym loke upon þis eye and 3if he be coupable his right eye shal be watery. And 3if þat he wille a3eyn sege it, tak a nayle þat is hedes made of copre and stik it in þe eye and smyte þer on wiþ an hamer strongliche and he shalle crie a none ri3ht as þow hast ysmite hym. And þis experiment haþe be muchel assaied and yproued and assay it whoso haþe nede. As printed in Susan Eastman Sheldon, *Middle English and Latin Charms, Amulets, and Talismans from Vernacular MSS* (Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, 1978), 125. Here I follow most of the editorial principles as printed in Stallcup, 26.

⁵⁷⁴ British Library Sloane MS 3864, fols. 83r-v. As printed in Stallcup 27.

⁵⁷⁵ Another variant of the ‘eye of Abraham’ charm uses *historiolae* from the Hebrew bible, including a lengthy prayer and several biblical examples of sinners and thieves being made to confess. These versions can be found in British Library Sloane MS 2721 and Bodleian Additional MS B.1. For our purposes these are interesting because of some similarity in the wording of both versions and the Latin version found in the Welsh medical manuscript. British Library MS Sloane 2721, on f. 137r, instructs users to “take þe qhite of an eg and þe fome of silvyr þt is casten a way and mell þame to geder and peynte an eye on þe walle on þis maner . The Bodleian version gives similar instructions: “Take the white of an hens Eye [sic] & spume argenti...” (As printed in Stallcup 31). The Welsh-manuscript version calls for ‘spumam argenti’ and the white of a hen’s egg. Although it is tempting to attempt to trace direct sources for this charm text, given the ways in which charms were transmitted—both orally and in written form—it is virtually impossible to trace direct

In general, the Welsh-manuscript charms for the protection of property from fire, rodents, and thieves more closely reflect traditions in England and on the Continent. Almost none of the charms above exist in the Welsh vernacular, as far as I am aware. Additionally, they are found in manuscripts with strong links to England or English scribes. It is possible that the lack of textual remedies to protect against the destruction of property is due to the presence of material objects that served the same purpose but are outside the scope of this dissertation (and likely have not survived). For example, amulets and talismans—such as the stones and vellum seen in Section 4.a—may have been much more widespread than the texts that outline how they are to be created and used. The Welsh corpus includes two fire charms, three charms to expel mice and rats, and six charms that target theft or thieves. Rather than demonstrating much anxiety over damage to architectural or non-living domestic property, the Welsh charm corpus is overall much more concerned with safeguarding livestock from various diseases and misfortune, especially witchcraft.

The Protection of Livestock

There is a degree of symbiosis between orthodox liturgical practices and healing rituals such as charms, which have, at various times, been characterized as pagan superstition or heterodox practices that were misappropriated by the unlearned laity.⁵⁷⁶ As we have seen by now, this symbiosis

manuscript sources of a charm, especially one as well-attested and frequently copied as the ‘Eye of Abraham’ charm, in all of its variants. The charm is recorded in *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584) by Reginald Scot, the notorious anti-Catholic, Elizabethan who argued the irrationality of a belief in witchcraft. *Discoverie of Witchcraft* in itself is a rich source for popular practice and belief in the sixteenth century. Scot records a number of charms against thieves, including one which, though it varies from the charms above, is nonetheless recognizable as an ‘Eye of Abraham’ charm type: “Read the seven psalmes with the Letanie, and then must be said a horrible praier to Christ, and God the father, with a curse against the theefe. Then in the midst of the step of your foote, on the ground where you stand, make a circle like an eie, and write thereabout certain barbarous names, and drive with a coopers hammar, or addes into the midst thereof a brasen naile consecrated, saie:ng: Justus es Domine, & justa judicia tua [Ps. 118.137], Then the theefe shall be bewraied [i.e., revealed] by his crieng out.” See George Mora, ed., *Witches, Devils, and Doctors in the Renaissance: Johann Weyer, ‘De praestigiis daemonum,’* (Binghampton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1991) 381.

⁵⁷⁶ See Eamon Duffy *The Stripping of the Altars Traditional Religion in England, C.1400-c.1580*. 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Karen Jolly, *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); and Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*. (Cambridge University Press, 2014)

is easy to spot in a large number (if not the majority) of medieval and early modern charms from many traditions, not only that of Wales. However, it is especially prevalent in the Welsh corpus of premodern charm rituals to ensure the protection of livestock. The likely reason for this lies partly in the similarity between ancient, orthodox Christian rituals to ensure agricultural fecundity and charm rituals for the protection of livestock and other sources of agriculture.

My aim in the remainder of this chapter is to demonstrate this symbiosis at work in the premodern Welsh corpus of charm rituals to ensure the protection of livestock. I argue that the most commonly found Welsh livestock charms—those for the protection of people and their livestock from witchcraft—developed, at least in part, from earlier Latinate agricultural charms which rely on medieval liturgical rituals such as the exorcism and blessing of salt and holy water, and the Rogationtide processions that existed to help ensure agricultural fecundity and expel evil spirits from the boundaries of the parish. I will also demonstrate that the boundaries between heterodox ‘magic’ and orthodox religion were more fluid than often realized, and like many scholars of English charm traditions, I find that too much emphasis on attempting to demarcate these boundaries is not often productive.

I have sorted the corpus of Welsh-manuscript charms for the protection of livestock into three general types:

1. Short verbal charms for healing or protection from disease in animals. They can be in any combination of Welsh, Latin, or even English, and they are found in a variety of manuscript contexts and from various periods, though are most commonly found in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century (discussed in section 4.c).
2. Lengthy, vernacular Welsh charms for the protection of people and their livestock from the ill effects of witchcraft and the evil eye. This charm type is the most well-attested of the three types, and it enjoyed an impressive longevity, being transmitted and used from the later fifteenth century onward. Variants of this type were copied frequently in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and continued to be transmitted in a more-or-less fossilized form well into the nineteenth and even twentieth centuries (discussed in section 4.d).

3. Latin or Latinate charms for protection of livestock from disease and/or general evil. The few charms that comprise this group are fairly lengthy written charms whose efficacy depends on narratives or formulae from Christian liturgy and ritual. The extant charms in this group are found in a single manuscript of the late fourteenth century (discussed in 4.e).

In Section 4.c, I will present the small group of short verbal charms for the protection of livestock from disease, and I will situate them within a wider shared tradition. Section 4.d will feature a fascinating group of Welsh livestock-protection charms specifically against bewitchment. Variants of this charm type began to appear in Welsh manuscripts around the end of the fifteenth century and were transmitted in Wales at least into the late nineteenth century. Although at first glance this later bewitched livestock charm type seems unique and unlike any comparanda, they in fact retain some core elements of the earlier, more clearly liturgically inspired Latinate charms, which I will then explore in section 4.e.

One of the earliest Welsh medical manuscripts, Cardiff MS 3.242 (ca. 1375) features two Latinate charms for the protection of livestock, as well as an additional charm that does not specify whether it was to be used on humans or livestock, but due to its similarities with other animal-protection charms, I argue that it could have been understood as being applicable to both man and animal. These Latin charms emanated from a religious context and were likely meant to be used by a member of the clergy rather than the laity.⁵⁷⁷ I present these Latinate charms in section 4.e, and I argue that these early Latinate livestock-protection charms were pivotal in the development of the later vernacular charms against bewitched people and livestock.

My argument, then, also depends on an argument for the great extent to which each group of livestock protection charms—the earlier Latinate group and the later group of Welsh charms

⁵⁷⁷ For more see Morfydd Owen (1995) p. 34

against bewitched livestock—can be understood as a microcosmic representation of larger social and cultural traditions regarding the devil and the witch and their malevolent, diabolical powers of destruction. Both groups of charms can act as a sort of looking glass through which we can catch a glimpse of aspects of the culture in which they were most heavily transmitted.

4.c: Short Verbal Livestock Protection Charms

These short verbal charms are most often in Welsh and feature operative words in or deriving from Latin, as well as words and phrases from Greek and Hebrew. Charms such as this also typically involve the recitation or writing of liturgical prayers and phrases. One such example was copied into a late-fifteenth-century Welsh medical manuscript. This particular remedy is noteworthy for its inclusion of an additional herbal prescription, which is uncommon in Welsh charms. More often, charms are written alongside medical recipes that feature instructions on preparing drinks or poultices, but the herbal medicine and charm are not often blended in such a deliberate way.

Rhag llaid. Mêd gorn y karw y gwraid ar dywarchen ar pryd a chyllel a charn corn a chân 5 pader a dod y dywarchen yn i lle a dod y llysse wrth droed yr eidion, ne yn lle i bo yn dyfod ai i mewn ai allan ac iach fyd. da yw bloneg îr a mêl wrtho pan dorro gyntaf.⁵⁷⁸	Against foot-rot of livestock. Harvest buck's horn plantain at the root and sod and the soil with a horn-handled knife. Dig up the bucks-horn plantain and sing five Our Fathers and put the sod in its place and the herbs on the ox's foot, or in the place where it goes in and out [ie the doorway] and he will be healthy. Fresh lard and honey are good for when it first breaks out.
--	--

The charm also includes standard charm elements such as the recitation of the Our Father and the placement of an item in the threshold of a building. However, it lacks much of the common stock of verbal formulae found in many other European charms of the Middle Ages, such as this charm for

⁵⁷⁸ Wellcome MS 417 f. 78r. The manuscript is an early-sixteenth-century copy of an earlier work that Daniel Huws determines to have been no later than 1483. Huws, *Repertory*.

farcy,⁵⁷⁹ found in the same manuscript:

Swyn rhag y parssiwn. In nomine + patris + et + filii + et + spiritus + sancti + amen + zolebantur + alleluya + alleluya + treseu + tresea + a + g + l + a + amen + a dywedyd ar y march yr evengi Ionn: In principio erat verbum. ⁵⁸⁰	Charm against farcy. In the name of + the Father + and + the Son + and + the Holy + Spirit + amen + zolebantur + alleluya + alleluya + treseu + tresea + a + g + l + a + amen + And say over the horse the Gospel of John: In the beginning was the word.
---	---

The invocation of the Trinity, followed by other divine words, is a common feature of charm traditions and we have already observed how the recitation of certain passages from the Gospel of John was also common in rituals for healing and driving out demons. Two other short charms against farcy exist in a manuscript that was written over an extended period from the fifteenth century through to the early sixteenth century.

++hoc +est+nomen+sancġ + rac ac + ii pro farins ⁵⁸¹ + in nomine patris et filii et speritus sancġ amen. Rac y ffarsiwn kais vch benn yr ysgeriven hon. ⁵⁸²	++ this + is + the holy + name + against and + ii for farcy + in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit Amen. Against farcy, try the above-mentioned writing.
--	---

A variant of this same charm is found again two pages later:

+hoc + est + nomen + sancġ + Nigac cir pro farsmo + in nomine patris et + filii + et + spiritus sancġ + Amen ⁵⁸³	+ This + is + the holy + name + Nigac cir for farcy + in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit Amen.
---	---

Around 1500 a short charm against worms was added into a book of medicine that belonged to

⁵⁷⁹ Farcy, sometimes also called glanders, is a bacterial infection of the skin and respiratory tract. It is most common in horses and donkeys, though it can also infect other livestock. It is usually picked up and spread through contaminated food and water sources. I am grateful to veterinarian Maxbetter Vizelberg for his patience in answering my questions regarding various diseases in livestock.

⁵⁸⁰ Wellcome MS 417, p. 32v

⁵⁸¹ A variant of the word for farcy (farciminum, farcimen, or farcin)

⁵⁸² NLW Peniarth MS 205, p. 45

⁵⁸³ NLW Peniarth MS 205, p. 47

Bened Feddyg, a physician in North Wales. It is one of just a handful of charms to have been included in the manuscript. Based on the size and condition of the manuscript, it is pretty clear that it was used as a portable, practical manual for healing.

rac y pryvet byw ymol dyn ne anivel vio+ta vic+ta con+tra dic+ta kri+dra vic+ta con+tra dic+tata ⁵⁸⁴	Against the live worms in the stomach of a person or animal: vio+ta vic+ta con+tra dic+ta kri+dra vic+ta con+tra dic+tata
---	---

The sound pattern of the efficacious words of this charm, along with the repetition of Latin and Latinate words, would have surely lent this charm a mysterious, ceremonial quality, and the placement of the crosses to indicate when an action was to be performed (almost always no doubt making the sign of the cross over the wound or the wounded) emphasizes the overall staccato quality of the verbal phrase. A roughly contemporary charm found in another Welsh manuscript, though in English, looks very similar. The charm was included in a list of remedies for worms and other similar ailments.

item for to kyll bote or wormys yn man woman or chylde or any
maner of beste say *this* worde on theyn w^{it} the crosses as hyt ys
markyd folwyng but be well ware that ye say hyt not on no woman
w^{it} chylde: +viota + victa + contra + dicta + credad +victa + contra
+ dictata + *and* say the words w^{it} the crosses iii tymes *and* say v *pater*
nosters and v avys *and* a crede.⁵⁸⁵

This charm is one of the few Welsh-manuscript charms that offers specific instruction regarding the purpose of the crosses within the text. Its admonition that it should not be used on pregnant women is also of note here. This charm was used to kill parasites living within the stomach, so it was thought of as too powerful and too much of a danger to the life of the fetus.

⁵⁸⁴ NLW Sotheby MS C.2, p. 201

⁵⁸⁵ NLW MS Llanstephan 10, p. 18

On the whole this handful of short, verbal charms for the protection of animals, as well as people in some instances, is not terribly unique. They are similar to what we would expect in manuscripts of animal husbandry and general household remedies. They incorporate divine words and standard verbal formulae for which the efficacy relies on sound pattern, the power of God, and the proper performance of the charm.

4.d: Vernacular Charms to Protect against Bewitching

This group of charms consists of lengthy, vernacular Welsh charms for the protection of people and their livestock from bewitchment or the evil eye. This particular charm type is one of the most well-attested of all of the Welsh-manuscript charm types and it enjoyed an impressive longevity, being copied and transmitted from the later fifteenth century up through the end of the nineteenth century, and in all likelihood, beyond.⁵⁸⁶ The livestock charms in this group all contain several similar elements, but the most common feature is that they are concerned with the protection of people and livestock from witchcraft, using the same common, core formula. Of the ten Welsh charms against bewitchment, only two deviate from the standard type. One is almost completely unintelligible. I offer my transcription and a very tentative attempt at supplying some sense of coherency. I have indicated the most problematic passages with italics in my translation.

Llyma swyn rac reibni. ⁵⁸⁷ Mi a thisbwylla fal y disbwyllod mair i mab o ddyfwn y anwn o anwn	Here is a charm against bewitchment. I will heal you as Mary brought back her son from the
--	--

⁵⁸⁶ I recently gave a talk on this group of charms at the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. During the questions, one woman shared a childhood memory in which a family member found a tin box nestled in the rafters of a barn. Inside of the box was a piece of paper with a charm that has unfortunately been lost to time. However, this interesting personal narrative further highlights the continuity of charming practices even up into the twentieth century.

⁵⁸⁷ *GPC* lists *rheibni* as voraciousness or fortune telling, with the earliest example being from the Thomas Wiliems dictionary (1604-7). This fits contextually, as later in the charm the text refers to lust, however, Brynley Roberts references this charm in passing and seems to consider this charm as belonging to the group of witchcraft charms, as do I. See Brynley Roberts, "Rhai Swynion Cymraeg," *The Bulletin Board of Celtic Studies/Bwletin Y Bwrdd Gnybodaau Celtaidd* 21 (1966). As a verb, *rheibio* means to cast a spell, bewitch, etc.

i feryd dyfwn y bedwar man byd kynt diweddar nac y daw wrth vd y ben lleth er baladr yng had pedair ysydd un hafod⁵⁸⁸ trech mor n[eu?] arfor drech mi neno stewor[d?] tryfyr ai chwand o gaer feri bater yr indod. Rac chwand rac dafod rac y menydd k^{ym}er v dod tri chylch haiarn trihernyn elldyd rac ydd golwg drwyg y fi ai gweiyd y tad ar mab ar ysbryd glan fal [] warda ni amen dowaidd pader noster bob gwaith ar swynych iii gwaith ag iach fydd yn wir. _____ dadl wir dafol mair neu tafod yr ein svra y gog nev svran y koed ar dair dailen daind y llew dafod yr hydd gwalld y forwnt.⁵⁸⁹	depths of Annwn, from Annwn, Creator of the depths [and] of the four corners of the word <i>before the end, let it not come upon earth. The chief crushes with his spear in battle, four which there will be. One tongue? stronger the sea than the shore. Stronger [am] I than the steward. Darts of his lust from the fortress created by the father of the Trinity. Against lust, against impudence, against a brain, take three rings of iron, three bits of iron every day against an evil look at me. And say, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Like this [] guard us Amen. Say an Our Father three times, every time upon charming, and health will truly be.</i> _____ A true statement. Wood dock or lamb's tongue, wood sorrel or wood sorrel and three leaves: and three leaves: leaf of a dandelion, leaf of a hart's tongue; leaf of maiden's hair.
--	--

As it stands, this charm, from the mid-sixteenth century, is an anomaly.⁵⁹⁰ It is unclear whether the scribe himself understood the text, but it was written within a four-page series of charms, the rest of which conform to their respective types and were clearly understood by the scribe. It is also possible, of course, that this charm was not meant to be understood, and that its impenetrability would have contributed to its perceived efficacy.

The second atypical Welsh charm against witchcraft contains faint echoes of several Old and Middle English charms against thievery that reference Christ's birth in Bethlehem.⁵⁹¹ However, its opening and closing verbal formulae are similar to other charms in the Welsh corpus. This charm,

⁵⁸⁸ This was likely meant to be *tafod* but due the scribe's eye skipping, was rendered as *bafod*. My thanks to Paul Russell and Diana Luft for assisting in my ongoing attempt to puzzle out this strange text.

⁵⁸⁹ NLW Peniarth MS 204, p. 2-4

⁵⁹⁰ Date given in Huws, *Repertory*

⁵⁹¹ Old and Middle English charms against theft and for the protection of livestock often rely upon both the power of the cross and a verbal formula referencing Christ's birth in Bethlehem. Other charms in the Welsh corpus, and from general shared European tradition, reference Christ's birth in Bethlehem, most typically in charms for staunching blood, as we have seen in the previous chapter.

then, from a mid-sixteenth-century medical manuscript, seems to be an amalgamation of several charm types. It is difficult to decipher at times, and there is evidence of some crude poetic meter in several lines (manuscript line breaks are not preserved below), though the *cyngbanedd*⁵⁹² is faulty. Nonetheless the performative aspect of this charm is unmistakable and it no doubt made a compelling impression on its intended audience. Several motifs in this charm were also used in texts we have already seen, such as the reference to the nine waves (or, nine seas in the scrofula charms of Chapter Three), and the historiola that references Mary saving or defending Jesus (as in the charm above), a reference that is so far unknown to me but likely exists in an apocryphal tale I have yet to encounter.

llyma swyn rhac rhaib ag adwyth nyd amgen dyhoraf a dyhorais a mi ddiffynaf ac ymddiffyneis lle y hymddiffynnawdd mair i y hyn mab y gwr a anet ymethlem ac a vedyddywyd ym yr yrddonen nyd draen rydyn veirw ⁵⁹³ nyd draen koll dros holl wthi ac lythi ac o naw ton heli pypm bys krist vain weli y ddiosol ⁵⁹⁴ y draen o henni yn ennw y tat ar mab ar ysbryd glan dyweid pypm pader a ffymp ave maria a chredo yn ghyveiri pypm archoll krist amen. ⁵⁹⁵	Here is a charm against bewitchment and evil, namely, I will hinder [you], and I have hindered [you]. I will defend, I have defended, where Mary defended her own son, the man who was born in Bethlehem and baptized in the [river] Jordan. No thorn will draw out [your] marrow [or, 'death'], no thorn will wreak havoc throughout all [your] veins and appetite. And through nine sea waves, five fingers of Christ [i.e. Christ's agency], his sharp wounds will strip the thorn from him, in
--	--

⁵⁹² A system of sound arrangement in Welsh poetry in which lines are organized using various structures of alliteration, rhyme, and stress.

⁵⁹³ I am understanding this word, which in its non-mutated form would be *meirw*, to be a direct borrowing of the English 'marrow', which is listed in the Middle English Dictionary as: *marwe* n.(1) Also *marw*, *marwa*, *marwbe*, *maro(w(e) & margh(e), mar3, marogh(e), mar(o)u3*, (early) *marb* & *marigh*, *mariz*, *marie*, *marē* & *mergh(e)*, *mero(u)3*, *mer(e)u3*, *merow(e)*, *merewe*, (early) *mearb*, (errors) *merurb*, *merw3* & *meri*, *merrighe*, (early) *meari* & *margthe*, *merzpe*, *merowth*, *mirpe*. https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary/MED26987/track?counter=1&search_id=1484216. The usual Welsh word for 'marrow' is *mêr*. It is also possible that this word is 'dead' *marw*, *meirw*. However, we find a similar formula that references marrow, veins, and appetite in succession in two contemporary Welsh charms against scrofula, which we have seen in Chapter Three: *nac y'th wythi nac y'th lythin nac y'th fer*. The alternate reading of this line, if *meirw* is understood as 'dead' would be: 'no thorn will draw out [the] dead', or, 'no thorn will draw out death.' This reading is appealing in some ways, but overall does not conform to any other motifs used currently known to me. It is possible also that an earlier version contained the more standard form of marrow, but this scribe, given the context of the charm, understood it to be *meirw* as in death.

⁵⁹⁴ This is difficult to decipher but could potentially be *ddiosgl*, a form of *diosgaf*, 'lay bare, denude, clear away; bark, peel, strip; deprive, divest, despoil' GPC, '*diosgaf*'

⁵⁹⁵ B.L. Add. MS 14913, f. 14r

	the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Say five Our Fathers and Five Ave Marias and a Credo in reference to the five wounds of Christ, Amen.
--	---

Much of this charm is difficult to decipher, but it seems clear that the thorn is the agent of the malevolent witchcraft. The association made between witchcraft and a thorn is interesting. One Old English metrical charm “For Theft of Cattle,” uses a thorn as a negative analogy and is associated with weakness and lack of vitality. Embedded within the charm is a curse to the would-be cattle thief:

Eall he weornige, swa syre wudu weornie,
swa breðel seo swa þystel,
se ðe ðis feo oðfergean þence
oððe ðis orf oðehtian ðence.⁵⁹⁶

Let him completely wither, as dry wood might wither,
as brittle as thistle
he who might consider bearing off this cattle
or who considers driving this livestock off.⁵⁹⁷

Joseph Harris compares the Old English thistle simile to a curse in *Skírnismál*, a lay contained within the Poetic Edda, preserved in a fourteenth-century Old Norse manuscript: *ver þú sem þistill, / sá er var þrunginn / í ǥnn ofanverða*, “Be like to the thistle, / that in the loft was cast and crushed.”⁵⁹⁸ Both of these texts threaten a person with the imagery of a weak or brittle thistle. Harris supposes that there must be an “old, perhaps common Germanic, tradition of cursing with the thistle.”⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁶ As cited in Joseph Harris, “Cursing with the Thistle: ‘*Skírnismál*’ 31, 6-8, and OE Metrical Charm 9, 16-17,” *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 76, no 1 (1975): 26-33, at p. 29. Hereafter as Harris. Harris takes his text from *Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, VI, ed. E. Dobbie (New York, 1942), 11. 16-19.

⁵⁹⁷ My thanks to Joseph Shack for this translation.

⁵⁹⁸ Harris, 26

⁵⁹⁹ *ibid*, 31

Scholars have likened the thistle to a sort of demon that would have been regarded as a menace to human prosperity and fecundity. Just like a thistle in corn, the subject of the curse might be crushed like the destructive weed she supposedly is.⁶⁰⁰ It is worth mentioning several biblical parallels echoed by the thistle and thorn charms above; most relevant, perhaps, is in the story of the fall in *Genesis*, when the thistle represents the cursed state of the earth: *Spinas et tribulos germinabit tibi, et comedes herbam terrae.*⁶⁰¹

Two early medieval manuscripts (the Stowe Missal and the St. Gall manuscript) feature Old Irish charms against a thorn, though neither demonstrates any direct analogues with the Welsh charm above. Additionally, John Carey has called attention to an Irish legal treatise on poetic hierarchies that ends with a discussion of a type of satire enacted through a spell. The text references the performance of a ritual involving sorcery, and the accompanying glosses describe piercing a clay doll with thorns.⁶⁰² Jacqueline Borsje also points out that poets who recite this type of satire are said to hold a thorn (*delg*) in their hands, and she argues that such use of thorns in supernatural and destructive rituals should remind us to be cognizant of the possibility that charms and rituals to protect against thorns were not only used “against ‘thorns’ immediately harming body parts but also

⁶⁰⁰ Ursula Dronke, *The Poetic Edda*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 256. See also Ursula Dronke, “Art and tradition in Skírnismál,” in eds. Norman Davis and C.L. Wrenn, *English and medieval studies presented to J. R. R. Tolkien on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1962). See also Harris, 30.

⁶⁰¹ Gen. 3:18, Vulgate Bible, found at <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Genesis+3%3A18&version=VULGATE>. The King James version reads, “Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field,” and can be accessed at <https://biblehub.com/kjv/genesis/3.htm>. Additionally, 2 Corinthians 12:17 features another interesting reference that links the thorn with Satan: “And lest I should be exalted above measure through the abundance of the revelations, there was given to me a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me, lest I should be exalted above measure, and online at <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=2+Corinthians+12%3A7&version=KJV>. Thank you to Stephen Mitchell for this reference.

⁶⁰² John Carey, “Charms in Medieval Irish Tales: Tradition, Adaptation, Innovation,” in ed., John Carey et al, *Charms, Charmers and Charming in Ireland: From the Medieval to the Modern. New Approaches to Celtic Religion and Mythology*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019), p. 22. For the law text, see also Liam Breatnach, *Uraicecht na Ríar: The Poetic Grades in Early Irish Law* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1987), pp. 114–15.

against thorns used in such destructive supernatural rituals, performed from a distance.”⁶⁰³ Borsje also notes that many charms against thorns draw on the power of Christ, often featuring historialae that reference his suffering from the crown of thorns, and she points out the existence of a more recent charm to remove a thorn: ‘The briar that spreads, the thorn that grows, the sharp spike that pierced the brow of Christ, give you power to draw this thorn from the flesh, or let it perish inside; in the name of the Trinity. Amen.’⁶⁰⁴

It is worth mentioning the widely held medieval and especially early modern belief that images of wax, when pricked with a thorn or needle, would cause pain in the individual represented by the wax image. This power, what one today might imagine in terms of a ‘voodoo doll’, was associated with the devil and witches under his power. In April 1612, Elizabeth Southern of Lancashire was examined under suspicion of witchcraft. Elizabeth, at this time likely well into her eighties, is recorded as having detailed how to do bodily damage to a person by witchcraft:

And further this Examinee confesseth, and sayth, that the speediest way to take a mans life away by Witchcraft, is to make a Picture of Clay, like vnto the shape of the person whom they meane to kill, & dry it thorowly: and when they would haue them to be ill in any one place more then an other; then take a Thorne or Pinne, and pricke it in that part of the Picture you would so haue to be ill: and when you would haue any part of the Body to consume away, then take that part of the Picture, and burne it. And when they would haue the whole body to consume away, then take the remnant of the sayd Picture, and burne it: and so therevpon by that meanes, the body shall die.⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰³ Jacqueline Borsje, “The Second Spell in the Stowe Missal,” in eds. Cathinka Hambro and Lars Ivar Widerøe, *Lochlan – Festschrift til Jan Erik Rekdal på 60-årsdagen. Aisti in ómós do Jan Erik Rekdal ar a 60ú lá breithe*. (Oslo: Hermes Academic Publishing, 2013), 12-26 at page 17.

⁶⁰⁴ *ibid*, 11, and she gets the charm text from: Lady Wilde, *Legends, charms, and superstitions of Ireland* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1919 (new edition of the 1887 publication); reprint: Mineola: Dover Publications 2006) 190-1

⁶⁰⁵ Thomas Potts, *Pott’s Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster, Reprinted from the Original Edition of 1613 with an Introduction and notes by James Crossley, Esq.* (Manchester: Charles Simms and Co, 1745), accessed through Project Gutenberg at <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/18253/18253-h/18253-h.htm>.

Thus, it is not at all surprising that our Welsh charm, which was written down perhaps half a century before the testimony above, would associate the destructive powers of witchcraft with a thorn. Elizabeth's instructions regarding pricking the image in a targeted location that corresponds to the part of the body one wishes to injure is echoed in the formula of the Welsh charm "No thorn will draw out [your] marrow, no thorn will wreak havoc throughout all [your] veins and appetite."

The Welsh charm above draws an artful parallel to the sharp wounds of Christ and the malicious thorn against which the charm acts. It pits the malevolent thorn against the holy wounds of Christ and his crown of thorns with the line: "And through nine sea waves, five fingers of Christ [i.e. Christ's agency], his sharp wounds will strip the thorn from him, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit." Through Christ's agency and by the power of his wounds, the evil threat of the thorn in the charm is diminished. The reference to the sharp wounds of Christ, presumably referencing Christ's crown of thorns, and holiness of Christ's wound would have presumably evoked a deeply resonant image in mind of the charm's user and/or receiver. Apart from the two charms above, there is only a small degree of variation among the remaining charms to protect men and livestock from bewitchment. These charms began to circulate towards the end of the fifteenth century, and they were frequently copied in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They are all in Welsh and are more likely to be found in manuscripts that were either created or brought together for a more religious purpose. This group of charms displays a noteworthy consistency in their use of three core motifs:

1. The specification that the charm works against *rheibio* or *lygadynnu*. Both of these words signify a bewitchment or some sort of witchcraft. *Rheibio* comes from the Latin *rapio*, and can have the meaning of 'to plunder, pillage,' though its primary definition is 'to cast a spell on, bewitch, beguile.' *Llygad-dynnu*, literally 'eye-pulling' means 'to charm, enchant, fascinate, allure, entice, attract, bewitch,

beguile, captivate, draw, lead astray.’⁶⁰⁶ One variant uses *arganfod*, which can mean ‘to see, to discover, to find’ but also ‘to charm, bewitch.’ It is not insignificant that the semantic range of each word all allude to something being *taken* (or, consequently, needing to be *perceived* or *found*).

2. The use of a formulaic invocation to Jesus that references him forgiving the sins of Mary Magdalene and raising Lazarus from his grave. These two allusions to Mary Magdalene and Lazarus travel together in the charms: one is never found without the other.
3. Reference to a ‘devilish’ man or woman whose ‘evil, excommunicated heart has been interdicted from the Catholic faith.’ The stasis of this verbal formula throughout the group of charms is striking. Its word order, vocabulary, and placement within the overall charm remain fixed across several centuries.

In general, the degree of continuity of this charm type over centuries is remarkable. In the late-nineteenth century Elias Owen collected a charm against foot and mouth disease in cattle. When the farmer consulted a ‘conjurer’, he was given a written charm and instructed to place it on the horns of the cattle as both a cure and a preventative. Owen reports that he received this charm from Rev. John Davies, vicar of Bryneglwys, who got it from Mr. R. Jones, Tynywern, Bryneglwys, Denbighshire, who had received it from his uncle:

Yn enw y Tad, a’r Mab, a’r Ysbryd. Bod i grist Iesu y gysegredig a oddefe ar y groes, Pan godaist Sant Lasarys o’i fedd wedi farw, pan faddeuaist Bechodau I fair fagdalen, a thrygra wrthyf fel bo gadwedig bob peth a henwyf fi ag a croeswyf fi +++++ trwy nerth a rhinwedd dy eiriau bendigedig di fy Arglwydd Iesu Crist. Amen. Iesu Crist ain harglwydd ni gwared ni rhag pop rhiwogaeth o brofedigaeth ar ysbrydol o owch deiar nag o Is deiar, rhag y gythraelig o ddun nei ddynes a chalon ddrwg a reibia dda ei bercheneg ei ddrwg rhinwedd ei ddrwg galon ysgymynedig	In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit. May Jesus Christ the sanctified one who suffered death on the cross, because you raised Lazarus from his tomb after his death, because you forgave Mary Magdalene her sins, have mercy on me, so that everything that I name and cross +++++ may be saved by the power and virtue of your blessed words my Lord Jesus Christ. Amen. Jesus Christ our Lord save us from every kind of temptation, whether spiritual from above ground or below ground, from the devilish man or woman with an evil heart, who
--	--

⁶⁰⁶ *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, ‘rheibio,’ ‘llygad-dynnu,’ and ‘arganfod.’ Online at www.geiriadurprifysgolcymru.com.

a wahanwyd or fydd gatholig +++++ trwy nerth a rhinwedd dy eiriau Bendigedig di fy Aglwydd Iesu Crist. Amen Iesu Crist ain harglwydd ni Gwared ni rhag y glwy ar bar, ar Llid, ar genfigain ar adwyth [...] ⁶⁰⁷ ar Pleined Wibrenon ar gwenwyn deiarol, trwy nerth a rhinwedd dy eiriau endigedig di Fy Arglwydd Iesu Crist. Amen. ⁶⁰⁸	bewitched the cattle of their owner; his evil virtue, his evil excommunicated heart interdicted from the Catholic Faith +++++ by the power and virtue of your blessed words my Lord Jesus Christ. Amen. Jesus Christ our Lord save us from the disease and affliction, and wrath, and envy, and the evil, and the [...] and the planet of the sky and the earthly poison, by the power and virtue of thy blessed words, my Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.
---	--

Around 400 years earlier, this same charm was recorded in National Library of Wales Peniarth MS 67, a manuscript from ca. 1483. ⁶⁰⁹ The charm exists in this manuscript as a fragment among poetry, and has usually been catalogued as a prayer, but the verbal formula perfectly matches other versions of the charm against the bewitching of men and livestock:

Ai ddryglygaid ysgymvnedic yr h6nn a 6ahardd6yt or ffydd gatholic crist jessu dr6y eiriol y vendigedic vair a holl saint nef ai holl santessav ac er rrin6edd y dd6y vron a ssvgnaist arnvnt a rrin6edd y pvmp lle6ennydd amen. poed g6ir ynghardod jessu vrenin a mair i vam ⁶¹⁰	His accursed evil-eye, the one who is interdicted from the Catholic faith of Jesus Christ, through the supplication of blessed Mary and all the saints of heaven, male and female, and because of the virtue of the two breasts upon which you suckled and the virtue of the five joys amen and amen, through the benevolence of King Jesus and Mary his mom.
---	--

We can see what the full version of this charm might have looked like by turning to a more complete, contemporary, version from ca. 1484, and likely emanating from a religious community. The charm was an addition by a later fifteenth- or sixteenth-century hand. ⁶¹¹ It begins with instructions to make a knot, in silence and with eyes closed.

⁶⁰⁷ Four words Owen deemed unintelligible.

⁶⁰⁸ Elias Owen. *Welsh Folk-lore: A Collection of the Folk-tales and Legends of North Wales*. (Norwood, Pa.: Norwood Editions, 1973), p. 454.

⁶⁰⁹ Huws, *Repertory*

⁶¹⁰ NLW Peniarth MS 67, page 277. The previous pages consist of poetry and this simply begins *in media res* at the top of the page.

⁶¹¹ Huws, *Repertory*

Gwna rwymyn dullun dall wyt ac yn vut. ac anvon ym gyssnoden. Gwna wregis march diarchen. A gwe o gylch y gwaec wen. Krist kun er dy gissegredic weddi a wnaethost di kyn diodd. ac a veddeuist y fechodeu y veir vawdlen ac a gyvodaist sain lazar or bedd. Trugarhaa wrthi vi val y bo rinweddol du eirieu di Megis y bo kadwedic pob ryw ddynion a fob rrw dda ar a enwir yn enw y girieu hyn + Crist Jessu yn arglwydd ni kadw [65] a gwrthladd rac pob ryw gaeth provodigaeth anesprydawl oddywch y ddayar ac is y ddaear. Rac kythreul o ddyn kynvugennus galonddic yr hwn a ribiodd y da ai berchenoc oy ddryc rinwedd ay ddryc galon scyminynnedic yr hwn a waharddwt or fydd gatholic vair vorwyn a holl saint nef ay holl santesseu. Er rynwedd y ddwy vron y sygneist arnunt a rynwedd y pym llywenydd amen. Dwed hyn deir gweith ac ar bob gweith dweit bader ac ave maria a chredo.⁶¹²	Make a knot in a line, being unseeing and mute and put in [lit. 'send'] locks of hair. Make a girth [for] an unshod horse and weave [it] around a bright buckle. Lord Christ because of your holy prayer that you made before suffering and [because] you forgave the sins of Mary Magdalene and you raised Saint Lazarus from the grave, have mercy on me so that your words may be efficacious, so that every type of man and every type of livestock that are named might be protected in the name of these words + Jesus Christ our Lord defend and prevent every type of grievous devilish temptation from above ground and below ground, and against a devilish, malicious-hearted person who bewitched the livestock and their owner with his evil nature and his evil, excommunicated heart, which was interdicted from the Catholic faith of the Virgin Mary and all the male and female saints of heaven. Through the virtue of the two breasts on which you suckled and through the virtue of the five joys amen. Say this three times and upon each time say a Pater and an Ave Maria and a Credo.
---	---

The charm above is unique for its inclusion of directions for the creation and performative use of a ritual object. This charm evokes traditions attested to in Scottish, English, and Irish traditions. In the Scottish tradition, it was believed that a witch could bewitch cattle and steal milk by braiding a rope woven from hairs taken from the tails of every head of cattle. Then, by pulling on the rope, the malevolent charmer could draw milk away from the cow and into their own vessel.⁶¹³ Kittredge also

⁶¹² NLW Peniarth MS. 53, page 64-65. This manuscript has also been edited. See Edward Stanton, Henry Lewis, W. J. Gruffydd, and National Library of Wales. *Peniarth 53. Adysgrifan O'r Llanysgrifan Cymraeg* ; 5 (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1927).

⁶¹³ Julian Goodare, Lauren Martin, and Joyce Miller. *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotland*. Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic. (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) p. 241.

notes that this ‘witch’s rope’ or cow tether belief was recorded in 1634 in Lancashire as well.⁶¹⁴

Shane Lehane has written about similar traditions in Ireland, where the *cailleach* (‘old woman’ or ‘hag’) was also believed to be able to steal milk and butter by walking across fields before sunrise on May day, skimming the dew off the grass using various tools, including a long briar, whitethorn branch, or rope, as well a spancel made from cow hair or straw, which was thought to be used to tether the cow’s legs. Lehane also notes that sometimes the *cailleach* would tie knots in the rope to represent the cows she had bewitched.⁶¹⁵ In this context, the rope and the knot in the Welsh charm above make more sense: they are simply part of a counter-ritual that relies on the same mechanism that malevolent charms of bewitchment were thought to employ.

One mid-sixteenth-century variant specifies that it is to be used against a ‘plague of evil and bewitchment.’ This version is unique in that it specifies how many prayers, and which ones, were to be said in different circumstances. Like the charm above, it also describes the more performative aspect of the text, supplying specific instruction about when the charm user should enact certain parts of the ritual. Although the text here is incomplete due to the poor condition of the page, the charm remains mostly understandable.

rrac ecgryasant adwyth ac arganfod ai dwedud dair gwaith sydd raid i ddynion nev i anifeliad d[w]d[u]edud tri ffader a thri chredo a thri afe maria er anrrydedd ar tad ar mab ar ysbryd glan. Rraid yw yn gynta ir klaf neu i berchenoc y da ddwedud kredo er anrrydedd i dduw ar deuddec ebostol a deuddec pwngk fydd gatholic a ffump afe maria er anrrydedd ir arglwyddes vair ai ffump llywenydd a ffump pader er anrrydedd i bvmp archoll yn arglwydd ni jessu grist ac vii	Against a plague of evil and bewitchment it must be said three times. For people or for animals one must say three Our Fathers and three Credo and three Ave Marias in honor of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Firstly, it is necessary for the patient or the owner of the livestock to say a Credo in honor of God and the twelve apostles and the twelve doctrines of the Catholic faith, and five Ave Marias in honor of the Lady Mary and her five joys, and five Our Fathers in
--	---

⁶¹⁴ George Lyman Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1929), p. 164.

⁶¹⁵ Shane Lehane, “The *Cailleach* and the Cosmic Hare,” in John Carey et al. *Charms, Charmers and Charming in Ireland*, pp. 189-204, at p. 189.

pader er anrydedd i fartha lletywraic yr arglwydd ac un pader er anrrydedd vair vadlen i chwaer hithe ai braiod lasar ac vel hyn i dyleir a lle i bo kroes ar y llyf: rroi kroes ar y dynnion neu ar y da [] dyn neu berch[<i>en</i>]oc y da[] ar arglwyddes vair. [] av ar ysbryd glan. J traethaf i y [] ist kun er y kysegredic waed yr[] st ar y groe[s] yn ehelaeth er kariad ar [] id dyn ac er y kysegredic weithredoedd a wnaethost i [] diodde ar y groes pan vaddevaist di arglwydd i ffechodau i vair vadlen ac a gyfodaist saint lasar or bedd arglwydd wedi i varw trvgarha wrthaf iv arglwydd.⁶¹⁶	honor of the five wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ and seven Our Fathers in honor of Martha, our Lord's host and an Our Father in honor of Mary Magdalen, her sister, and her brother Lazarus. And this is how it should be done: where there is a cross in the book, place the [sign of the] cross upon the people or upon the livestock [] or the owner of the livestock [] and the Lady Mary [] and the Holy Spirit. I will declare [] Lord Christ because of your holy blood [] on the cross magnanimously for the love of []man and because of the holy deeds that you did [] suffering on the cross because you, Lord, forgave the sins of Mary Magdalene and raised Saint Lazarus from the grave after he had died. Have mercy on me, Lord.
--	---

The liturgical and biblical influence demonstrated in this charm type should be clear by now, given the content of the charm and the text's preoccupation with Mary Magdalene, Lazarus, and sometimes a litany of other Saints, as well as the verbal formula that references the evil, excommunicated person casting the spell or evil eye. The charm above represents the only Welsh charm, to my knowledge, that includes a prayer in honor of Martha.

One version, from the second half of the sixteenth century, identifies the text as a prayer rather than a charm, but its contents conform to the standard version:

Llyma weddy dda rag rraib ag adwith y ddynion ag y dda. Yn enw y tad ar mab ar ysbryd glan. + Duw a mair a groeso enidie a chyrff ych holl ddynion chwy. Ag eilwaith, a gatwo ag amddyffyno ych holl dda chwy a pfob rryw ddynion a ffob rhyw dda ac a ssy ac a fo bith yn ych gwsnaith y chwy ag yn ych meddiant chwy: Amen: yn enw y tad ar mab ar ysbryd glan un duw tri fferon a holl saint nef a holl santesse nef ag engylion nef ag arch engylion nef ar drindod vendygedig or nefoedd ar arglwyddes vendygedic vair ai harglwydd mab aned dduw nodolig myfy	Here is a good prayer against bewitchment and evil for people and livestock. In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. God and Mary, who bless (the) souls and bodies of all your people. And again, who preserve and protect all your livestock and all types of people and all types of livestock, those that are and those that might ever be in your service and in your power. Amen: in the name of the father and the son and the holy spirit, one God, three persons, and [in the name of] all the saints of heaven, male and female, and the angels and
--	---

⁶¹⁶ NLW Peniarth MS. 88, page 2

a'ch kroessa chwy + ach dynion ach da a chwblwl ac a gavocho gyda chwy. Kroes duw yn benaf a ffedair a ffawl ac andras a chwblwl o apostolion kryst ar pedwar proffwyd ar hygain a vyant yn proffwydo krist kyn y eny ar padriarchaid ar confessoriad ar merthyry o Saint.⁶¹⁷	archangels of heaven, and the blessed trinity of the heavens, and the blessed lady Mary and her son, the Lord, born Christmas day. I cross you + and your men and your livestock and everything that you have. The cross of God, especially, and Peter and Paul and Andrew and all of the apostles of Christ and the twenty-four prophets who were prophesying Christ before his birth, and the patriarchs and the confessors and the martyr Saints
---	--

The charm above is also fairly instructional and is fairly consistent in indicating when the user should make the sign of the cross. The invocation of Mary is a feature of all of the Welsh livestock-protection charms against witchcraft, but the charms vary in their level of devotion to her. Less common, at least among this particular group of charms, is the invocation of the cross, although it is a common feature of Welsh charms (and those of other traditions) more generally. Many Old and Middle English remedies and rituals for the safeguarding of property and livestock rely on the apotropaic power of the cross.⁶¹⁸ The invocation of the cross and the adjuration to Christ, Mary, or any number of saints or biblical characters—especially in a charm to drive out malevolent forces—is common in charms of many traditions. It is a rhetorical device ultimately taken directly from official Church practice, even if its orthodoxy was sometimes overshadowed by

⁶¹⁷ NLW MS 873b, p. 270

⁶¹⁸ For more see Karen Jolly, “Tapping the Power of the Cross.” As a comparative example, take Corpus Christi College MS 41, an eleventh-century copy of the Old English Bede, whose margins were used by an unknown cleric to record remedies and prayers, including a set of remedies against cattle theft. This charm type is also found in the *Lacnunga*. “As soon as someone tells you that your cattle are lost, then before you say anything else say: “The city is called Bethlehem in which Christ was born. It is glorified throughout the whole world; So may this deed become notorious in the sight of men, through the holy Cross of Christ. Amen” Pray then thrice eastwards and then say thrice: “May the Cross of Christ bring (them) back from the east” ‘ pray then thrice westwards and then say thrice: “May the Cross of Christ bring (them) back from the west”; pray then thrice southwards and say thrice: “May the Cross of Christ bring them back from the south; pray thrice northwards and say thrice: “May the Cross of Christ bring (them) back from the north; the Cross of Christ was lost and is found; the Jews hung Christ, did the worst of deeds, hid that which they could not conceal; so may this deed not be concealed by any means, through the holy Cross of Christ. Amen.” *Lacnunga*, ed. Petit, I, CXLIX, pp. 102-103, as cited by Jolly, “Tapping the Power” p. 72 n. 47.

accusations of superstition and heterodoxy, and even if, in practice, it was labeled as a charm and not a prayer.

One later fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century variant labels the text as a charm. The contents of this composite manuscript are mostly medical or what some might deem ‘magico-medical’ so it is not surprising that the scribe would label this text as a charm rather than prayer.

Llyma sswyn da rrac llygadydd yn enw y tad ar mab ar ysbryd glann. Krist kvn yr dy gyssegredic [gweddi] a wnaethost di kynn dioddef ac a vaddeuaist i ffechodau i Vair Vadlenn ac a gyvodaist ssaint lasar or vedd trygarha wrthyf vi val i bo rrinweddol dy eiriau di + megys i vo kadwedic pob rryw ddynion a ffob rryw dda ar a henwer yn enw y geiriau hynn + krist jesu yn harglwydd ni kadw a gwrthladd bob rryw gaeth brovedi[gaeth] anysbyrdul oddiwch [y ddaiar] ac is y ddaiar rrac [kythreul o] dyn kenvigenu[s galondic yr] [8] hwn a reibiodd y da ai berchenoc oi ddryc rrinwedd ai ddryg kalon ysgy[mm]vnedic yr hwn a wyharddwyd or ffydd gatholic krist jesu drwy eiriol y wynvydedic vair a holl saint nef ai santesau yr rrinwedd y ddwy vronn y sugnaist arvnt a rrinwedd y pvmp llywennydd amen ~~ dywaid dair gwaith ai thri pater noster a thri ave maria ~⁶¹⁹	Here is a good charm against bewitchment. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Christ Lord because of your holy [prayer] that you made before suffering and who forgave the sins of Mary Magdalene and you raised Saint Lazarus from the grave, have mercy on me so that your words may be efficacious and so that every type of person and every type of livestock named might be protected in the name of these words + Jesus Christ our Lord protect and defend against every type of grievous, devilish temptation from above ground and below ground and against a devilish, malicious-hearted person, who bewitched the livestock and their owner with his evil nature and his evil, excommunicated heart, which is interdicted from the Catholic Faith of Jesus Christ through supplication of Blessed Mary and all saints of heaven, male and female, by the virtue of the two breasts upon which you suckled and [by] the virtue of the five joys amen ~~ Say three times, and with three Our Fathers and three Ave Marias ~
---	--

Later in the same manuscript, part of this charm has been repeated and inserted after instructions for making a medicinal bath for general wound healing:

+I wnevtbur ennaint vis mai i iachav o naw natur ghryf kymer yr eidral a ffennigl ar alxander a dail yr ysgaw a berwr kochion a thavod yr hyd ar polypodiwm ai berwi	To make a medicinal bath in May, for healing of nine kinds of wound, take ground ivy and fennel and alexanders, and elder leaves and red cress and hart's
---	--

⁶¹⁹ NLW MS. Peniarth 205, p. 7

<i>mwyr no thair awr achymer yr enaint hwnnw dri dieu a vnyta vud beynydd a chwrrw gyd ac ef a velly [15] aeilei + ffabinvs + rinvs + ebiant + ynn+ grvstw + pannvs+ et nomni + ir mwyn y pvm hweli ac ir mwyn y pvm llywenydd amen ac yn enw y tad ar mab ar ysbryd glan grist gwyn ir dygysegredic weddi a wnaethost di kyn goddf ac a veddevaist i vair vadylen i ffechodev ac a gyvodes lasar or bedd trygarha dithev wrthyf vi amaddev val y bo rrinweddol ych geirev megis y bo kadwedic pob rrw ddynion a ffob da ar a henwais yn enw y geriev hyn grist iessu kadw a gwared ni arglwydd rrac pob rryw ddyrrwc a ffrovedigaeth [16] anysbyrdoedd vwch daiar ac is daiar rrac kennvigenvs ddynion kythrevliedic kenvigenvs galonddic yrrai a reibie y da ar dynionn ai berchenoc o ddyrg rrinwedd a a deryc⁶²⁰ kalon ystyvynic y rrwnn awaharddwyd or ffydd gatholic grist jessu drrwy dy wryf vam di vair ar holl saint nef ai santesef ac ir r[i]nwedd y ddwy vron a sugnaist arnvnt ac ir dolur y pvmweli ac ir mwyn y pvm llewynydd amen poed gwir. +⁶²¹</i>	<i>tongue⁶²² and polypody and boil them more than three hours and take this oil/ ointment three days while eating porridge and beer daily and likewise: [15] aeilei + ffabinvs + rinvs + ebiant + in + crystw + pannis + et nomini + on account of the five wounds and on account of the five joys, amen. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Blessed Christ because of the holy prayer that you made before suffering and you forgave Mary Magdalene her sins and you raised Lazarus from the grave, have mercy on me and forgive so that your words may be efficacious, and so that every type of person and all livestock that are named might be protected in the name of these words. Jesus Christ keep and protect us, Lord, against all types of evil and devilish temptation from above ground and below ground and against a devilish, malicious-hearted person, who bewitched the livestock and the people, its owner, by evil virtues and his evil, obstinate heart, which is interdicted from the Catholic Faith of Jesus Christ through your virgin mother Mary and all the saints of heaven, male and female, and because of the virtue of the two breasts that you suckled and because of the pain of the five wounds and on account of the five joys amen and amen.</i>
---	--

The use of this charm type continues well into the modern period. It undergoes slight modification starting in the seventeenth century, where the text is slightly lengthened. From this time it is most often labeled as a charm rather than a prayer, and we can observe the inclusion of motifs that seem strange, perhaps even a bit anachronistic in places: either including elements of much older charms or perhaps a purposeful manipulation of the text to make it seem older. While these later versions continue to include the Christian motifs such as various invocations to Christ,

⁶²⁰ *drug*

⁶²¹ NLW Peniarth MS 205, p. 14-16.

⁶²² GPC: *hart's tongue (fern), Phyllitis scolopendrium; ceterach, esp. C. officinarum; burdock, Arctium.*

Mary, the Apostles, and angels, these versions also include material that seems strange, archaic, and are generally hard to decipher. The tendency towards textual expansion in such a way makes sense in the context of growing antiquarian interest in and fascination with occult matters. British Library Additional MS 15408 is a manuscript from the early seventeenth century and is largely made up of a Welsh-English vocabulary of about 6,000 words, apparently in the hand of Owen Jones (named on folios 154r-v). The manuscript emanates from a northern Welsh Roman Catholic setting, and features contemporary (or near-contemporary) additions of the *Ave Maria* in Welsh, as well as the charm for the protection of cattle from bewitchment, which retains the core kernel of the earlier charms of the same type, but also represents a unique rhetorical expansion.

llyma swyn rhag rhaib ag adwyth yn eno y tad ar mab ar sbryd glan a holl saintue ai holl saintese nef ar angylion ar archyngylion nef ar drindod fendigedig or nef ar aglwyddes fair forwyn ai harglwydd i mab aned dduw nadolig + mi a swyna iti swyn duw yn benna a ffeder a ffaul ag andreas a cwbl o apostolion krist ai ddesgiblion ar pedwar proffwyd ar hygien [152r] ar hygien a fv yn proffwydo krist kyn ei geni duw er i fawr feddiant ai bower ath groeso di ag ath radwo rhag kythreilied dynion a rhag kythreilied uffern a rhag pob rhwv ddrwg bydol ag uffernol duw o eigion o ddwfrw bedyddion byd duw ath weryd <i>rag osger rag tresgordd a ragordd a gerdd⁶²³ ysenordd⁶²⁴</i> a	Here is a charm against bewitchment and evil, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and all the saints of heaven, male and female, and the angels and archangels of heaven and the blessed Trinity of heaven and the virgin Lady Mary and her Lord, her son, born Christmas day + I charm you a charm of God, chiefly, and Peter and Paul and Andrew and all the Apostles of Christ and his disciples and the twenty-four prophets [152r] prophesying before his birth. May God, by his great might and power, protect you and bless you against devilish men and against fiends of hell and against every type of evil, earthly and of hell. God of the sea,
--	--

⁶²³ As *cherdd* in another variant, given below, thus I read this as *cerdd*, ‘song, poem, etc.’ rather than as coming from the verb *cerddaf*, ‘to walk, journey, etc.’

⁶²⁴ The meaning of the words *tresgordd*, *ragordd*, and *ysenordd* are difficult to decipher, but it is possible that the sound pattern here was important to the extent the meaning mattered less, if really at all. The only possibility that I can think of which would allow for any sense to be made of these words is to understand them as compound words. The dictionary form of what the text presents as *osger* is *gosgordd*, suggesting that in this text there is room to assume some fluidity between o and e, and in the presence (or lack thereof) of *dd*. One option might be to assume a compound word is being made with *gordd*, ‘hammer’, which plays on the proper end of the first word *gosgordd*, ‘host’, here as *osger*. So, we would be left with *rag tresgordd* (against a battle-hammer), *a ragordd* (and against a hammer), *a gerdd ysenordd* (with a song of the hammer of satire). This presents a problem, however, in that the second component in the compound word should undergo soft mutation, thus dropping the initial ‘g.’ A mutation from c to g would be expected in the case of these compounds, so another option might be to assume the compound word is made up of *cordd*, ‘tribe, troop.’ The fact that the GPC posits that this word is the final element in our first word in this strange series, *gosgordd*, ‘host’ (in the text as *osger*). This reading would provide us with: *rag tresgordd* (against a battle-troop), *a ragordd* (and against a troop), *a gerdd ysenordd* (with a song of the satire-troop).

rag bigail chwanog a rhag y trinawr gorsedd⁶²⁵ ai trinawr gwagedd a rhag pen defddig ai holl gymdeithion ouredd⁶²⁶ dygroy⁶²⁷ hayarnedd⁶²⁸ di gig dall fyddar pob gwynf[y]dedig rhag y bendar⁶²⁹ y fyches a gerdda y fuches rhag y forwyn benoeth a gerdda yn benoeth kroes duw rag och llygaid dynion rheibys a rhag afrad ag rhus a rhag aflwydd a mer nag yn yr [152v] yn r esgwn nag yn y kig nag yn y giay nag yn y gwythi nag yn y kroen gorchymyn i chwi newidio allan or dynnion ar da yn ddwy ran or neulldy un ir awur ar llall ir ddauar yn ych kyfair Amen. Yn enw y tad ar mab ar sbryd glan krist erbun dy gysegredic weddi a wnaethost kyn diodde o honof ar y groes ag y maddeuaist i fair fadlen i holl bechode oi mebyd hyd i henge ag a godaist Saint Lasar yn fuw o farw vn drigarog Jesu grist bydd di drigarog wrthi finae fel y bo rhinweddol dy eirie di mewn wellis a ddwylwy[f]⁶³⁰ fi or gene yn enw di yn gadwriaeth ar ddynion a da [153r] dynion a da ar a henwer yn enw dy Jesu grist kadw di ag amddiffyn di hwynt rhag pob profodigeth ddrwg anysbyrdol vwch y ddayar nag is y ddayar rhag kythreilied o ddynion kynfigenus galonau adwyhedig y rhai a rheibiodd y da ai berchenog ai drwy fuchedd ai drwg kalonau ysgymmendig y rhai a waharddwyd or ffydd gatholig yn harglwydd ni Iesu grist drwy eiriol y wenfededig fair forwyn wryf a holl angylion nef ag er rhinwedde y ddwyfron gysegredig y rhai a sygnaist di y llaeth o honynt kadw di y dynion ar da yr ydis yn i henwi yn dy enw di gynhyrchol yn yr [153v] yr oes oesoedd Amen. A dwaid 3 ffader er anrhydedd ir tad ar

of the water of the world's baptized, may God protect you against a warband, *against a battle-troop, and against a troop with a song of the satire-troop.* And against a greedy pastor and against the three nines [i.e. twenty-seven] bishops [lit. bishop throne] and their wives and against a chieftain and all of his cold, black-skinned companions, his naked pallor, blind, and deaf. All blessed ones [i.e. the divine figures invoked above] against the chieftan of the cattle-pen who walks the cattle-pen, and against the bare-headed maiden who walks bare-headed. God's cross, against your spell-casting enchanters, and against evil and fear and against disease: [not in] the marrow nor in the bones nor in the flesh nor in the sinews nor the veins or the skin. A command to you, to move out of the people and the livestock, from the two parts separately: one to the air and the other to the earth, both of you, Amen. In the name of the Father and of the Son and the Holy Spirit of Christ, by your holy prayer that you made before suffering on the cross, and you forgave Mary Magdalene all of her sins from her infancy to her death and you raised Saint Lazarus, alive from dead. Merciful Jesus Christ, be merciful to me so that your words, which I pour out from my lips, may be efficacious in [accordance with] your will, In your name, as protection for the people and the livestock that are named, in your name, Jesus Christ, keep and defend them against every evil, devilish temptation from above ground or below ground, and against a devilish, malicious, person, evil-hearted, who bewitched the livestock and their

⁶²⁵ Another way of interpreting this 'three nines of the *gorsedd*' could understand the *gorsedd* has having the meaning of mound, or grave mound. In this case, the *gwagedd*, or women could potentially be perceived as malevolent fairy women.

⁶²⁶ The other variant of this charm, given below, says *oerredd*, 'coldness,' which is how I also interpret this.

⁶²⁷ This word is not easily deciphered but looks something like *dygroy*. Given that the other variant (see below) reads *du groen*, I feel comfortable taking the meaning of *dygroy* to be *du groe[n]*.

⁶²⁸ I read this as a variant of *baearnwedd*, which connotes a blueness or pallor

⁶²⁹ read *benadur*, as in the variant below.

⁶³⁰ Another variant, given below, reads 'ddywelwyf fi am geneu.' I interpret this verb as *dimwylaf*: 'to pour, empty out.'

mab ar sbryd glan a ffum pader a v. ave maria ir anrhydedd ir pvm harcholl a oddefodd yr harglwydd Jesu grist a ffvm pader ir arglwyddes fair ag vn gredo er anrhydedd ir devddeg apostel ai dwydud dair gwaith bob vn or tri ffryd ol yn ol ag felly yn wir amen.⁶³¹	owner through behavior with his evil, excommunicated heart which is interdicted from the Catholic faith of our Lord Jesus Christ through supplication to the blessed virgin, Virgin Mary and all the angels of heaven and by the virtue of the two holy breasts from which you suckled milk, protect the people and the livestock so named in your prolific name forever and ever Amen. And say three Our Fathers in honor of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and five Our Fathers and Five Ave Marias in honor of the five wounds that our Lord Jesus Christ suffered, and five Our Fathers to the Lady Mary and a Credo in honor of the twelve apostles and say them three times at each one of the three meals after and thus it is true, Amen.
---	---

A similar version of the charm above is found in a later manuscript of the same century. Although this manuscript is a bit later than our scope (its date range is 1675-1725), it is nonetheless interesting for establishing the continuity of this charm and its transmission in Wales.

Dyma swyn rhag rhaib ag adwyth. Yn enwr tad ar mab ar ysbryd glan ai holl senitie nef ar santeise a[n]gylion ar archangylion nef a'r i drindod fendigedig o'r nef a'r arglwyddes fendigedig fair forwyn ai arglwydd fab aned ddydd nadolig + mi swyna itti swyn dduw yn benaf a pheder a phaul ag andreas ar cwbl Apostolion Christ ai ddysgyblion ar pedwar proffwydd ar higien a fu yn proffwyddo Christ [246] cyn ei eni. Duw er ei fowredd ai bower ath groeso di ag ath gadwo ath dynion ath da rile bynag i bo[] rhag cythreilied o ddynio[n] a rhag cythreilied o uffern, a rhag pob rhyw ddrwg bydol ag uffernol o feigion⁶³² dyfr bedryddion byd Duw ath weryd <i>rhag osger rhag tresgor a rhagordd a cherdd ysenordd</i> a rhag y bigail chwanag a rhag y tri nawyr wragedd a rhag y penef ddig ai holl gymdeithion oerred du groen hanarnedd digig	Here is a charm against bewitchment and evil. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and all the saints of heaven, male and female, angels and archangels of heaven and the blessed trinity of heaven and the blessed Lady the Virgin Mary and her son, the Lord, born on Christmas day + I charm you a charm of God, chiefly, and Peter and Paul and Andrew and all the Apostles of Christ and his disciples and the twenty-four prophets who were prophesying Christ [246] before his birth. May God, through his greatness and his power, protect you and keep your people and your livestock wherever they be []. Against devilish people and against fiends of hell, against every type of earthly and infernal evil from the depths of the water of the world's baptized, may God protect you against a warband, <i>against a battle-troop, and against a troop and</i>
---	--

⁶³¹ B.L. Add. MS 15048 f. 151v-153v

⁶³² read *eigion* as in the other version

ddall fyddar bob gwynfydedig rhag y benadur y fuches a gerdd fuches, rhag ir forwyn benaeth a gerdd yn benoeth croes duw + a gadwo eich dynion ach da rhag ych llyged dynion rheibwyr a rhag afrad ag echret rhag aflwydd yn y mer nag yn yr esgirn, nag yn y cig nag yn y gie [247] nag yn y gwithi, nag yn yr croen y cerffyn a iacheis. rwin gorchymun ichwi newidio allan or dynion ar da yn ddwy ran or nailldu, un ir Awyr ar llall ir ddaear yn eich cyfer Amen. Yn enw'r tad ar mab ar ysbryd glan Crist yr undeb dy gysegredig weddi a wnaethost di cyn diodde o honot ti ar y groes, ag yna y maddieneist di i Fair fagelen ei holl bechode oi mebyd hyd ei hange ag y codaist St. Lazar or bedd fyw o farw, yn drugarog Jesu Christ bydd drugarog wrthif ime fel y bo rhinweddol dy eirie di mewn wyllys a ddywelwyf fi am geneu yn dy enw di yn gadwrieth ar ddynion a da ar a henwir yn dy enw di, Jesu Christ cadw di, amddiffyra di hwynt rhag pob profedigeth ddrwg anysrydol uwch y ddaear ag is y ddaear, a rhag cythreilied o ddynion cenfigenis ai calone addowthig y rhai a reibiodd y dda oi perchnogion ai drwg fuchedd, ai drwg galone yscymunedig, y rhai a waharddwyd or ffydd Catholig yn Harglwydd ni Jesu Christ trwy eiriol y wynfydedig Fair forwyn wryf, a holl anglion nef, ag er anrhydedd rhinwedde y ddwy fron gysegredig a sugnaist di Amen. + Terfyn.⁶³³

a song of the satire-troop. And against the greedy priest and against the twenty-seven wives and against the chieftan and all of his cold, black-skinned companions, his naked pallor, blind and deaf. And all the blessed ones against the chieftain of the cattle-pen who walks the cattle-pen, against the bareheaded maiden who walks bareheaded. God's cross + protects your people and your livestock against your spell-casting enchanters, and against evil and fear and disease: [not] in the marrow nor in the bones nor in the flesh nor in the sinews [247] nor in the veins nor in the skin of the body, which I healed.⁶³⁴ I command you to move out from the men and the livestock from the two parts separately: one to the air and the other to the earth, both of you, amen. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit of the only Christ, your holy prayer that you made before you suffered on the cross, and there you forgave Mary Magdalene of all her sins from her infancy to her death and you raised Saint Lazarus from grave, alive from death. Merciful Jesus Christ, be merciful to me so that your words, which I pour out from my lips, may be efficacious in [accordance with] your will. In your name as protection for the people and livestock who are named. In your name. Jesus Christ keep and defend them against every evil, devilish temptation from above ground or below ground, and against a devilish, malicious person, evil-hearted, who bewitched the livestock and their owner with his evil life, with his evil excommunicated heart, which is interdicted from the Catholic faith of our Lord Jesus Christ

⁶³³ NLW MS Peniarth 1190a, pp. 245-247

⁶³⁴ Similar formulas appear in other of these charm types, and in the scrofula charm too. They are somewhat evocative of the Old English charm against 'elf-sickness.' For example, from MS Royal 12 D XVII, ff. 123b-125, as cited in Storms *Anglo Saxon Magic* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1948) pp. 222-228, and in this section in particular: Deus omnipotens, pater domini nostri Jesu Christi, per impositionem huius scripturae expelle a famulo tuo N. omnem impetum castalidum de capite, de capillis, de cerebro, de fronte, de lingua, de sublingua, de guttore, de faucibus, de dentibus, de oculis, de naribus, de auribus, de manibus, de collo, de brachiis, de corde, de anima, de genibus, de coxis, de pedibus, de compaginibus omnium membrorum intus et foris. Amen. *Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, drive out ever attack of mountain-spirits from your servant N., by the imposition of this writing, from the head, the brains, the forehead, the tongue, from under the tongue, from the upper and lower part of the throat, from the teeth, the eyes, the nose, the ears, the hands, the neck, the arms, the heart, the soul, the knees, the hips, the feet, the joints and all limbs outside and inside. Amen.* (229). Storms says such an enumeration is characteristic of magic in general, not only of Celtic magic, as Grendon supposes (Grendon, p. 225).

	through supplication to the blessed virgin, the Virgin Mary, and all the angels of heaven and in honor of the virtue of the two holy breasts which you suckled, Amen. + End.
--	--

There seems to be no pattern in how the variants of this text are identified within each manuscript. Some versions are labelled as ‘charm’, and others as ‘prayer’, while still others offer no label but simply present the text as one that is efficacious against witchcraft and evil. It remains unclear whether the labels of charm versus prayer are significant, or whether they indicate scribal preference or overall manuscript context.

Despite a rather nebulous conception of (or possibly a lack of concern over) *what* the text was—charm or prayer or both—scribes and compilers of manuscripts continued to copy and circulate this charm type well into the modern era. As we have seen, it underwent modification in the seventeenth century, a period in which antiquarian fascination with the occult and other seemingly archaic matters took hold. Despite some slight alteration, mostly seen in the significant level of rhetorical expansion, the seventeenth-century versions of this charm type retain the core kernel of the fifteenth and sixteenth-century versions, namely the inclusion of the formulaic invocation to Jesus that references Mary Magdalene and Lazarus; and the reference to a ‘devilish’, malicious hearted man (or less often, woman) whose evil, excommunicated heart was interdicted from the Catholic faith.

A striking feature of this charm type against bewitchment of men and their livestock is the high degree to which the charms reflect the time in which they enjoyed their greatest popularity: the sixteenth century. I have already noted that the earliest versions of this charm type belong to the end of the fifteenth century. It is perhaps significant that the earlier charms do not tend to use *rhailb* for the concept of a bewitching or witchcraft. While two early variants are fragmented or do not specify what the text is for, one early variant uses *arganfod*, whose meanings can be to discover or find, or to

charm or bewitch. Another early variant uses *llygad-dynnu*, literally ‘eye-pulling’, which means to bewitch, entice, or lead astray. Both of these words potentially indicate a subtle difference in the way the malevolent ‘witchcraft’ or evil was perceived. Here, it seems as though the charms are to protect a man’s cattle from a vague force or an enchantment that might cause them to wander off into the hands of an awaiting thief. In contrast, the variants from the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century are more reflective of a world in which anxiety around and preoccupation with the destructive power of a witch, and their terminology seems to reflect this. By this time crop failure, illness in humans and cattle, and cows going dry (or butter being ruined) had long been blamed on maleficent, demonic forces. Satan, as well his fallen angels, were thought to be the source of all evils, and in the early fifteenth century John Mirk wrote of witches that:

Thay rerythe warres: thay makyth tempestys in the see, and drownyth schyppes and men, thay makythe debate bytwyxx neghtburs and manslaght therwyth; thay tendyth fyres, and brennen howses and townes; thay reryth wyndys, and blowyth don howsys, stepuls, and tres; thayt make wymen to ouerlaye hor children; thay makyth men to sle homsolfe, to hong homsolfe othyr drowne hom in wanhpe, and such mony othyr curset dedys.⁶³⁵

Some 200 years later theologian William Perkins similarly says that:

The wonders done by Inchanters are: 1. The raising of stormes and tempests; windes and weather, by sea and land: 2. The poysoning of the ayre: 3. Blasting of corne: 4. Killing of cattell, and annoying of men, women, and children: 5. The procuring of strange passions and torments in mens bodies and other creatures, with the curing of the same: 6. Casting out of deuill.⁶³⁶

⁶³⁵ *Festial*, p. 150, as cited by Duffy, p. 268. Similarly in *Dines and Pauper*, I. p. 152: “the devils have leave of God “to causen hedows tempest, to enfectyn and envenymen the eyr and causen moreyn and sykness, hunger and droughte, dessencioun and werre be destruccioun of charite, be myspryde, covetyse, lecherye, wratthe, envye.”

⁶³⁶ William Perkins, *A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft; so Farre Forth as It Is Revealed in the Scriptures, and Manifest by True Experience*. Digital Library of Classic Protestant Texts. (London: Printed by Cantrell Legge, Printer to the University of Cambridge, 1618), p. 128.

Such sentiments were by no means new. In the early eleventh century, Burchard of Worms, in Book 19 of the *Decretum* states that, “some women firmly believe that by their charms and incantations they can attract their neighbor’s milk or honey to their own cows or bees, or to those of whomsoever they will.”⁶³⁷ At the end of the twelfth century Giraldus Cambrensis says “that certain old women, as well in Wales as in Ireland and Scotland, change themselves into the form of hares in order the more secretly to steal other people’s milk by sucking udders under a false shape, is an old complaint and still common.”⁶³⁸ By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the association between witchcraft and economic or natural misfortune had become so common that Puritan cleric and sceptic John Gaule remarked skeptically that:

Every poore and peevish olde Creature (such is their Ignorance and Uncharitableness) cannot but fall under their suspicion, nay their infamous exprobaton; every Accident, (more than ordinary) every disease whereof they neither understand the Cause, nor are acquainted with the Symptomes must bee suspected for witch-craft. His Cow or his Hog, cannot be strangely taken, but straight it must bee reckoned and rumored for bewicht.⁶³⁹

The Welsh livestock protection charms against bewitchment fit very nicely within the broader sixteenth- and seventeenth-century social perceptions of witchcraft, malevolence, and the devil. This was, after all, the tumultuous era of religious reform and a rise in a specific type of witchcraft anxiety that served as a catalyst for the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century witchcraft trials in England and Wales.

⁶³⁷ Hartmut Hoffmann, Rudolf Pokorný, and Burchard. *Das Dekret Des Bischofs Burchard Von Worms : Textstufen, Frühe Verbreitung, Vorlagen*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Hilfsmittel ; 12. (München: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1991), p. 283.

⁶³⁸ Giraldus. *The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales*, transl. Lewis Thorpe. Penguin Classics. Harmondsworth; New York: Penguin, 1978, p. 267.

⁶³⁹ John Gaul, 1646 *Select Cases of Conscience Touching Witches and Witchcraft*, as cited in Charles Pickstone, *The Divinity of Sex: The Search for Ecstasy in a Secular Age*, (New York: St. Martin’s Publishing Group, 2016) p. 157.

4.e: Latinate Livestock Charms

The final group of Welsh manuscript charms that focus on the protection of livestock is small but distinct. The few charms in this category feature longer and more complex formulae, mostly in Latin, but with Welsh headings or tags that indicate what the charm is effective against. The charms that comprise this group are found in a late-fourteenth-century medical manuscript in Latin and Welsh (and with a small amount of French as well). These charms undoubtedly emanated from a religious context and their key feature is the extent to which phrases and invocations from the liturgy and church rites are incorporated into the texts. It seems fairly clear that the intended use of this manuscript and its remedies and rituals, at least at the time of its production, was for a priest authorized to perform such texts.

The first charm of this group is unique for its weaving of the full text of the Pater Noster text among efficacious phrases and invocations to a variety of divine figures.⁶⁴⁰ Although nearly every Welsh charm instructs its users to say or write various combinations of these prayers, this charm is, to my knowledge, the only one that provides the text of the complete prayer rather than simply referencing its title in order to act as a referent for the complete text.

Rac clefyt y mynyd neu afl6yd arall ar 6arthec: g6neuthur d6y ysgriuen or geire yssyd yn ol hynn a roi y gyntaf ohonunt yn y gordr6s ar llall dan a trotheu yn y lle y gnotaont dyuot nac y dy nac y vuarth. In *nomine* Patris & filii & *Spiritus Sancti* + amen + Pater Noster *qui es in caelis sanctificetur nomen tuum adueniat regnum tuum fiat voluntas tua sicut in caelo & in terra* + A + G + L + A + per auctoritas + planet + per ista sancta nomina + per nouem ordines + per nomina archangelorum + et per quatuor evangelistas + & duodecim ap[osto]los defende Ihesu Xriste animalia .N. ab omni malo & ab omni morbo & ab omni fulgure & tempestate ab improuisa morte & subitanea & temptatione

For murrain or another affliction on cattle. Make two inscriptions of the following words and put the first of them in the lintel and the other under the threshold in the place where they usually come, either the house or the farmyard. In the name of the Father + and the Son + And the Holy Spirit + amen + Our Father who is in heaven hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as in heaven + A+G+L+A+ by the authority + of the planet + by these holy names + by the nine orders + by the names of the archangels + and by the four evangelists + and the twelve apostles, Jesus Christ, defend N.'s animals from all evil and all

⁶⁴⁰ In the Middle Ages the laity was expected to memorize certain baseline prayers such as the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and Credo, so it comes as no surprise that such prayers were often prescribed in charm texts of the same period.

diabolica quem ad modum multiples anima tua deus oues boues vaccas, vitulos,⁶⁴¹ + panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie, & dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut & nos di[mittimus] debitoribus nostris et ne nos inducas in temptationem sed libera nos a malo amen.⁶⁴²	disease and all lightning and storms and sudden and unexpected death and diabolical temptation just as you, God, with your spirit, multiply the sheep, cow, calf. + Give us this day our daily bread and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us and lead us not into temptation but deliver us from evil, amen.
--	---

This charm shares several common motifs with charms of other traditions, notably those found in Old and Middle English for the same purpose. The act of inscribing efficacious words either directly onto wood or onto paper which is then placed behind the wood of some part of the entrance to a home or barn was common in protective charms and even today new evidence for this practice is occasionally discovered during renovations of early modern dwellings.⁶⁴³

The following page of the same manuscript presents a similar charm. Although the use of N. (for nomen) usually address a person, it does not specify that it is only to be used on a person, and it is not difficult to imagine this being used to protect N's livestock from disease as well, given the

⁶⁴¹ Copenhagen, Universitetsbibliotek AM 187 8vo, fol. 55v, features an Old Danish-Latin charm that features several parallels to our charm above: Item Om thu wilt, at thifæ tachæ æy thit fæ oc æy ransmæn oc æy ulwæ tachæ thæt, tha scrifh thætæ ofæn dynæ træ, thær the gangæ wt: Domine, qui creasti equos, porcos, boues, uaccas et oues in adiutorium hominum, crescant opera tua, et defende animalia tua de dentibus luporum et de manibus inimicorum. cristus illa + ducat, cristus illa + reducat et per intercessionem sancti eustachj defende illa de lupis et latronibus, amen. (*Det arnamegnæanske håndskrift Nr. 187 i oktav, indeholdende en dansk lægebog*, ed. Viggo Saby (Copenhagen: Thieles Bogtrykkeri, 1886), 97. As cited in Chiara Benati, "Painted Eyes, Magical Sieves and Carved Ruines" p. 159). Benati's translation of this is: If you do not want thieves or wolves to take your cattle, then write this formula onto the door post through which they go out: Lord, you who have created horses, pigs, oxen, cows and sheep in order to help men, may your creatures crow. And defend your animals from the teeth of the wolves and from the hands of enemies. May Christ drive + them and bring them + back and, for the intercession of St. Eustachius, protect them from wolves and thieves. Amen.

⁶⁴² Cardiff MS 3.242, page 19. This text, and the following texts from this manuscript were included in Ida Jones's edition of the Cardiff manuscript. While she does include the Welsh charms, she often omits the lines of Latin or Latinate efficacious words, even when found within a Welsh-language charm. I am also indebted to Diana Luft, who shared her transcriptions of this manuscript with me, against which I compared and sometimes amended my own transcriptions, especially for the charms that follow.

⁶⁴³ Old English agricultural charms also commonly feature the use of Pater Noster in a similar way. In the eleventh century Vitellius Psalter, there is a barn ritual and although the opening of the text is damaged, the instructions for this ritual are clear, and they include writing the complete Pater Noster onto sticks which are then placed, in the form of a cross, onto the floor. Similarly, the well-known Old English *Æcerbot* field ritual calls for the inscription of the names of the evangelists onto four sticks, which are then placed into the corner of each field. For more see Ciaran Arthur 'Charms', *Liturgies, and Secret Rites in Early Medieval England*, pp 155-157 as well as Karen Jolly, *Popular Religion*, pp. 7-8.

similarities in verbal formulae that it shares with other charms in the Welsh corpus (and in that of England as well) for the protection of both people and livestock.

Rac y cleuyt ma6r nac atwyth arall g6neuthur ysgriuen yn y mod h6nn ae roi am y vyn6gyl + in <i>nomine patris</i> + & filii + & <i>spiritus sancti</i> + amen + sanet + te .N. deus + pater qui te creauit + liberet te + .N. dei filius qui <i>pro</i> te passus est amen + messyas + sother + emanuel + sabaoth + adonay + est vnigenitus + via + vita + manus + homo + vsion + a + g + l + a + tetra + gramaton + <i>sancta trinitas</i> + vnus <i>deus</i> .N.+ <i>per</i> <i>uirtutes horum domini</i> + <i>nomine sancti dei</i> + & <i>per</i> <i>intercessionem beate marie uirginis</i> & <i>omni</i> <i>sanctorum</i> sanet te .N. & + <i>proteget</i> te + <i>custodiat</i> te & defendat ab <i>omni</i> malo & ab <i>omni</i> morbo & ab <i>omni</i> faciencia dyaboli + & ab <i>omni</i> uersucia hostis <i>domini</i> & ab <i>omni</i> mala passione iuntis + corporis amen <i>pater noster</i> credo in deum.⁶⁴⁴	For the great disease or another evil: write this and put it around the neck: + in the name of the Father + and of the Son + and of the Holy Spirit + amen + let God heal + you, .N. + let the father who created + you liberate you.+ N., the son of God who suffered for you amen + Messiah + Sother + Emanuel + Sabaoth + Adonay + only begotten + the way + the life + manus + homo + vsion + a + g + l + a + tetra + gramaton + Holy Trinity + one god .N. + by the virtues of these Lords + by the holy name of God + and by the intercession of the holy Virgin Mary and of all the saints let him heal you, N. + and let him protect you+ let him keep you and defend you from every evil and from every illness and from every diabolical deed + and from all the cunning of the enemy of the Lord and from every bad pain of the joints and the body + Amen, our Father, I believe in God.
---	---

The invocation of a litany of divine names is a common feature of charms in all European traditions from the medieval and early modern periods, as we have already seen. Most interesting for the purpose at hand is the call for protection from evil and diabolical deeds of the enemy of Christ. This type of verbal formula is a likely candidate for a source of inspiration for the formula in the vernacular livestock bewitchment charms: the phrase that references the malicious, evil, ‘devil of a person’ who was excommunicated from the Catholic faith. Such a formula evokes liturgical prayers and exorcisms from standard liturgical rites.

The inclusion of liturgical rituals in charm texts is best demonstrated by the complex Latin livestock-protection charm, also found in the same late fourteenth-century Welsh manuscript as the

⁶⁴⁴ Cardiff MS. 3.242 page 20

two we have just seen. This particular charm is noteworthy not only for its great length and complexity, but for its incorporation of liturgical rituals for the blessing and exorcism of salt and holy water. Due to the immensity of the ritual, I have broken up into several sections in the following pages, so that a fuller appreciation of its complexity might be more easily reached.

(a.) Pro peste ouium et omnium animalium. In primis dicatur salis et aque exorcismus sicut consueit⁶⁴⁵ ecclesia dominicis diebus & fiat adiuracio super eandem aquam. Adiuro creatura aque + per deum uiuum + per deum uerum + per deum sanctum + per deum tocius⁶⁴⁶ dulcedinis creatorem + per deum qui te ab amaro dulcem fecit, per deum qui te in abyssum perduxit, per deum qui te diuini transitu populi siccari iussit, per deum qui super te pedibus amblauit, per deum qui te in chana galilee signo admirabili sua potencia aquam conuertit in vinum, per ipsum te adiuro [50] ut efficiaris aqua sancta, aqua benedicta, ut ubicumque fueris aspersa omnis immundus spiritus confusus abscedat per uirtutem & nomen dei nostri ihesu xristi, qui uiuit & regnat per omnia saecula saeculorum, amen.	(a.) For disease of sheep and all animals. First let the exorcism of salt and water be said, just as the church was accustomed to do on the Lord's days [ie, Sundays] and make an adjuration over that same water. I adjure you, creature of the water + by the one God + by the true God + by the holy God + by God the creator of all sweetness + by God who, from bitterness, made you sweet, by God who led you through the deep, by God who ordered you to dry up for the passage of the divine people, by God who walked upon you with his feet, by God who, with a wondrous sign of his power, changed you from water into wine at Cana in Galilee. By that very God I adjure you, [p. 50] that you be made holy water, blessed water, so that wherever you be sprinkled, every impure spirit may depart, confounded by the virtue and the name of our God, Jesus Christ, who lives and reigns through all ages, forever and ever, amen
---	---

The charm thus begins with a statement regarding the charm's purpose, and directions to have the exorcism of salt and water performed. The adjuration and formulae can be commonly found in various extant medieval and early modern missals. The ritual continues with the prayer and invocation to God to grant health and safety and exorcise the water.

(b.) Oremus, Presta domine per huius aspersionem aque sanitatem mentis, integritatem corporis, tutelam salutis, securitatem spei corroboracionem	(b.) Let us pray. By this sprinkling of water, oh Lord, grant health of mind, soundness of body, safe-guarding of health, safety in hope, strength
--	---

⁶⁴⁵ read, 'consue[u]it

⁶⁴⁶ sibilization, read: totuis.

fidei, hic & in eternum. Te ergo domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus inuoco, vt hanc aquam exorzizare & benedicere digneris pro tua pietate ut omnis spiritus immundus in ea ultra locum non habeat, sed ubicumque aspersa fuerit angelorum tuorum descendat exercitus, per dominum. Tu + immunde spiritus exi & recede & fuge ab hac aqua, ut ultra numquam reuersus accedere praesumas, per dominum. Rogamus te domine sancte pater omnipotens, vt angelus tuus excludat uanos terrores meridianos et nocturnos & omnis immundissimos spiritus & infestaciones diaboli a nobis & ab hac aqua & descendat benedictio celestis & uirtus de regno celorum vt benedicta sit hec creatura aque, vt quicumque ex ea biberit uel lauerit benedictus sit & saluus, per dominum.	of faith, here and forever. Therefore, I invoke you Lord, holy father, almighty, eternal God, exorcise and bless this water; through your compassion deem it worthy that from this point on there be no evil spirit in it. But wherever it be sprinkled let an army of your angels descend. By the [power of the] Lord, depart, withdraw, and flee from this water, evil spirit, so that from now on you will not dare to come back. By the [power of the] Lord. We ask you, holy Lord, almighty Father, that your angel drives out the daily and nightly deceptive terrors and all most evil spirits and diabolical infestations from us and from this water and let descend a heavenly blessing and virtue from the kingdom of heaven so that this creature of water be blessed so that whoever drinks from it or washes with it be blessed and unharmed through the Lord.
--	---

In the section above, the focus is on the exorcism of the holy water. As with the majority of the text, this belongs firmly to the realm of the liturgy, though as others have noted, many rituals of the Church encompass elements that incorporate the more ‘magical’ elements of practices Church officials strove to stamp out. Grendon has argued that the use of holy water itself appears to be a continuation and adaptation of an early rite, as does the rite of baptism.⁶⁴⁷ The exorcism of water continues, as the text beseeches God to bless the salt and water.

(c.) Oremus. Domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus instaurator & conditor omnium elementorum te deprecamur non nostris adornati meritis, sed de tuis presumentes miseracionibus vt hanc creaturam salis & aque benedicere digneris, vt ubicumque irrozauerit uel de gustata fuerit omnis spiritus immundus ab eo confusus & increpatus effugiat & tui sancti nominis inuocatione perterritus plasma tuum quod in te adire [p51] dignatur relinquens abscedat nec ulterius inte locum uel potestatem habeat commorandi per dominum. ~~~ Exorizzo te	(c.) Let us pray. Holy Lord, almighty Father, eternal God, restorer and creator of all elements, we beseech you, not equipped with our own merits but confident in your compassion, that you deem it worthy to bless this creature of salt and water so that it wherever it will have been sprinkled or will be tasted, every evil spirit will flee from that place, confounded and rebuked, and through invocation of your holy name, may it be destroyed, may it leave, abandoning your form that it deemed worthy to go into you, and have no longer the power of remaining in this
--	---

⁶⁴⁷ Grendon, p. 144.

auctor dyabolice potestatis & inuentor malicie cum omnibus principibus satellitibus tuis. In nomine patris & filii & in nomine glorie deitatis cui nouem ordinis angelorum & chori pertriachar[um] & apostolorum. diebus ac noctibus proclamant. Sanctus. Sanctus. Sanctus. qui erat. & qui est. & qui uenturus est omnipotens,⁶⁴⁸ ut ex eas & recedas a creatura ista salis & aque cum omnibus illusionibus & artibus tue milicie, ita ut ubicumque creatura ista signaculo crucis christi insignita ingressa, aut ispersa fuerit, omnis inde adinuensiones malicie tue effugiant, & nullus ei ibi locus ultra relinquatur, per dominum nostrum ihesum christum uisibilem atque inuisibilem omnium creatorem, qui uiuit & regnat cum eterno patre & spiritu sancto, per omnia saecula saeculorum.	place, through [the power of] the Lord, I exorcize you, diabolic progenitor of power and contrivor of evil with all of your princely attendants. In the name of the Father and the Son and in the name of God, full of glory whose nine orders of angels and chorus of patriarchs and apostles proclaim day and night. Holy Holy Holy, [the lord] Almighty, who was, and who is, and who is to come. Depart and withdraw, creature, from this salt and water with all illusions and crafts of your evil. Thus so that wherever this creature be brought in, marked with the sign of the cross of Christ, and will be scattered, all devices of your evil will flee from there, and none of it will be left in that place. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, who lives and rules over all creatures, visible and invisible, eternally with the Father and the Holy spirit through all the ages.
--	--

After the exorcism formula, the text instructs that several hymns be read. The first obvious charm-like element in this ritual is the instruction to circle the sheepfold seven times while sprinkling the newly blessed water. Rituals such as this are also featured in Church processions and represent another way in which the rituals of charming practices and the rituals of religion are cut from the same cloth. The text also prescribes the reading of four Gospels over the four corners of the sheepfold.

(d.) ~~~ Post hinc legant tres passiones, Videlicet. Scitis quia post biduum. Et Erat pascha. Et egressus Ihesus. Iste passiones legantur super aquam, & poste dicantur tres misse eodem die silicet, Exaudiuit de templo. Nos autem gl[oriari], Salue sancta parens, Omnibus finitis, circui ouile septem uicibus aspergendo aquam benedictam canendo hos psalmos. Domine ne in furore .i.	(d.) After this, let them read three Passions, namely: ‘you know that after two days,’ ‘It was Passover,’ ‘And Jesus departed.’ Let these Passions be read above the water and after let three Masses be said on that same day, namely: ‘He went out from the temple,’ ‘Yet it behooves us to glory in the cross,’ ‘Hail holy mother.’ Having completed all of those, circle the
---	---

⁶⁴⁸ Rev. 4:8: Et quatuor animalia, singula eorum habebant alas senas: et in circuitu, et intus plena sunt oculis: et requiem non habebant die ac nocte, dicentia: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus omnipotens, qui erat, et qui est, et qui uenturus est. Vulgate Bible Online. Similar verbal formulae, and variations of the latter half of this verse, are common in charming traditions.

Beati quorum. Dixit iniustus, Domine ne in furorum .ii. Misererer mei deus, Domine exaudi .i. De profundis, Domine exaudi .ii. Benedictus dominus deus israel, Te deum laudamus, Benedicite omnia opera domini, Magnificat, Quicumque vult. Hiis dictis legantur quatuor euangelia super quatuor anglos ouilis. Scilicet: Cum esset desponsata, In principio, Recumbentibus. Liber generacionis. cum hiis precibus. Ostende nobis domine. Mitte nobis domine. auxili de sancto [52] Esto nobis domine turris fortitudinis, Domine exaudi, Dominus uobiscum. Oremus. Deus qui laboribus hominum etiam de mutis animalibus solacia subrogasti, supplices te rogamus ut sine quibus, non alitur humana condicio nostris facias vsibus non perire, per christum. domine nostri. Acciones nostras, Ineffabilem.	sheepfold seven times while sprinkling the holy water and singing these psalms: ‘Lord rebuke me not in your fury,’ i, ‘Blessed are they,’ ‘The unjust have said,’ ‘Lord rebuke me not in your fury,’ ii ‘Have mercy O my, O God’; ‘Hear, o Lord’ i; ‘From the depths,’ ‘Hear, O Lord,’ ii ‘Blessed be the Lord God of Israel,’ ‘We praise you, God,’ ‘Bless ye all the works of the Lord,’ ‘Whoever wishes.’ When these have been said, let the four Gospels be read over the four corners of the sheepfold, namely: ‘When as his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph,’ ‘In the beginning,’ ‘At length he appeared to the eleven as they were at the table,’ ‘The book of the generation,’ along with these prayers: ‘Show us Lord, your mercy,’ ‘Send us, Lord, help from the sanctuary [52] Be a tower of strength for us, Lord’; ‘Lord hear my prayer’; ‘Lord be with you.’ Let us pray. O God, who has supplied relief to man’s labors, even by mute animals, we humbly beseech you that you would not cause them, without which mankind cannot subsist, to fail us in our need, and to perish. Through Christ our Lord. ‘Direct our actions’ ‘O unutterable [man].’
--	--

After performing the above readings throughout the sheepfold, the ritual calls for the verses from Agatha’s tomb, which we have already seen used prominently in fire charms, to be written and affixed over the door of the house or barn.

(e.) Et postea scribe hoc & pone <i>super</i> hostium domus, uel <i>super</i> ingressum & egressum ouilis. Mentem sanctam spontaneam honorem deo & patri liberationem.⁶⁴⁹ Sacrificiis domine placatus oblatis, opem tuam nostris temporibus clementer, impende, per dominum nostrum. Benedictionem tuam domine populus fidelis accipiat, qua corpore saluatus sit ac mente, & congruam tibi exhibeat	(e.) And then write this and put it above the door of the house, or above the place where the sheep enter and exit. ‘She had a holy and generous soul, gave honor to God, and accomplished the liberation of her country’; Having been satisfied by the sacrifice which has been offered, grant your aid mercifully in our times, Lord. Through our Lord. May your faithful people receive your blessing, through which they might be saved in body and mind, and let them demonstrate fitting
--	---

⁶⁴⁹ As noted in Part A of this chapter, this phrase comes from the tomb of St. Agatha.

seruitutem, & propiciacionis tue beneficia semper inueniatur per dominum. ⁶⁵⁰	service to you, and let them always find the benefits of your mercy. ⁶⁵¹
---	--

This text is noteworthy for its impressive length and complexity, as well as for its similarities to other agricultural rituals found in Old and Middle English traditions.⁶⁵² However, the most striking feature of this charm ritual is perhaps the way in which it is virtually impossible to disentangle the liturgical elements and the charm elements. Indeed, what makes this ritual so interesting is the extent to which it emphasizes the ways in which orthodox religion features charm-like rituals, and vice versa. It is unlikely that we will find a source text that matches our text exactly but its close match to several versions of the exorcism of salt and water, in various sources, demonstrate that the charm ritual belongs firmly to the milieu of religion, though there are charm-like elements to be sure. Grendon posits, in his survey of Old English charm, that a remedy calling for holy water to be poured over diseased animals may well be a Christianized form of an older Teutonic ritual.⁶⁵³

Parallels abound between this ritual for the protection of livestock and standard elements of the liturgical year. The Cardiff manuscript ritual begins with instructions to first complete the exorcism of salt and water, as the church was accustomed to do on Sundays. High Mass began with this exorcism and blessing ritual, after which commenced a procession around the church. As the

⁶⁵⁰ Cardiff MS 3.242, p. 49-52. Again, I am indebted to Diana Luft, who offered me a transcription of this manuscript (June 2018, email communication). For this particular text, I have used Diana's transcription, with a few minor emendations. See also her recent article, which considers the monastic contexts in which this manuscript and another early Welsh medical manuscript were produced: Diana Luft, "Locating the British Library Additional 14912 Calendar," *Studia Celtica*, vol. 53, no. 1. (Dec. 2019), pp. 103-132.

⁶⁵¹ My sincere thanks to Nely Van Seventer, Aberystwyth, who looked over an early translation of this text and provided valuable feedback.

⁶⁵² See, for example the *Æcerbot* ritual, which is printed in several places, including Felix Grendon, "The Anglo-Saxon Charms," *The Journal of American Folklore*, 22, no. 82 (1909) pp. 105-237, at p. 172-177. The charms edited and discussed by Karen Jolly in *Popular Religion* also exhibit parallels.

⁶⁵³ Grendon, p. 145.

procession advanced, the blessed water was sprinkled at the altars of the church. Consecrated holy water was also delivered, for a fee, into households throughout the parish in order to banish devils. Eamon Duffy notes the importance of this exorcism and blessing ritual based on the fact that in England the parish clerk's wages were often linked to this ritual, and he was sometimes known as the "holy-water clerk."⁶⁵⁴ This ritual served to give laity access to a source of power against demons, general disease, and other afflictions, and it is no surprise, then, that the ritual would be included in formulas to drive out disease and evil in livestock.

Several aspects of this ritual are also similar to Rogationtide rituals, namely the elaborate processions that took place in the leadup to Ascensiontide.⁶⁵⁵ During the processions, church banners and crosses were carried throughout the parish in order to drive out evil spirits from within the boundaries of the parish.⁶⁵⁶ One aspect of the Rogationtide ritual included readings of the Gospels at various boundary markers in order to cleanse and bless the field. The charm ritual above calls for three masses to be read after the holy water ritual, with the first being "Exaudiuit de templo," a mass that forms the introit for the main Rogation Day, April 25. Rituals such as the exorcism and blessing of salt and water, as well as the lengthier rituals such as Rogationtide processions, would have helped to create archetypes through which laity could access not only the verbal liturgy but also consecrated, tangible objects such as salt and holy water.

The manuscript in which this ritual is found has clear monastic connections and was likely produced at a monastic house in South Wales.⁶⁵⁷ The instructions within the charm to recite the

⁶⁵⁴ Duffy 124

⁶⁵⁵ Rogation is April 25, and the feast of the Ascension is celebrated on the fortieth day after Easter.

⁶⁵⁶ Practices such as this have roots in Ancient Greek and Roman traditions, such as the *lustratio* rituals performed to purify cities and drive out demons from within boundary markers, as well as to bless fields, crops, and animals.

⁶⁵⁷ Luft (2019)

mass indicate that this text was intended for performance by an authorized individual such as a priest. Some charm rituals go so far as to stipulate that a priest should perform the rite, or at least suggest that the patient attempt to first find a priest to enact the text.⁶⁵⁸ Reading the words of power — in this case liturgical formulae — over the four corners of the sheepfold, as well as the verse invoking Agatha, which we have already seen in other charms above, incorporate charm rituals and traditions into an otherwise fairly straightforward collection of liturgical formulae. Indeed, we have seen throughout this work the extent to which charm texts and rituals rely on liturgical formulae. In a charm, this orthodox practice and more ‘magical’ or popular practices coalesce to create the unique texts and rituals that make up the Welsh, English, and wider European charming traditions. While the lengthy Cardiff ritual is clearly rooted in the liturgy, it contains enough ritual, charm-like elements to warrant its inclusion in this consideration of the development of charm texts for the protection of animals from various diseases and misfortune

4.f: Conclusion to Chapter Four

The use of these sacramentals, even in ‘magical’ exploitations that some theologians rebuked, in reality, seemed to have very often more closely adhered to Orthodox practice than has sometimes been realized. That later Reformers saw Rogationtide ritual as a problematic and overly superstitious ritual of the Church might help account for the fact that its use as a prophylactic, agricultural ritual seems limited to the period that predates the Reformation. The development of the later Welsh bewitched livestock charms could have therefore been a necessary adaptation of the earlier rituals, which looked very much like the Rogationtide rituals that would have once been viewed as orthodox but increasingly became suspect during religious reform efforts. Additionally, if the complex

⁶⁵⁸ For example, an Old English charm for epilepsy says that it is preferable if a mass priest performs the ritual, if the man has the means to find one. See Grendon, p. 146.

liturgical ritual for healing sheep, given above, were intended for use only by a priest, it would then necessarily undergo adaptation so that its use on the part of the laity would not be problematic.⁶⁵⁹

The core of the complex liturgical Latin livestock ritual is the same as the core of the later charms to protect livestock: an invocation to God (and divine agents acting through his power) asking that he intercede in order to protect the livestock not only from physical disease, but perhaps more importantly, from diabolical evil. In the liturgical Latin ritual, the “diabolical progenitor of power and contrivor of evil” is being commanded to withdraw, along with its “illusions and crafts of evil.” This exorcism is paralleled in the formula of the later variants that defend against every type of “devilish temptation from above and below ground” and from a “devilish, malicious-hearted” person with an “evil nature and evil, excommunicated heart...” In fact, the formula in the later variants that references the “excommunicated heart, which is interdicted from the Church” can be read as itself a form of performative, symbolic excommunication or exorcism of the disease or disease-causing agent. Although it is not official and authoritative in the same way as the Latin ritual that features official liturgical exorcism formulae, its purpose is the same. It is, I argue, simply a lay adaptation of a similar, earlier ritual only capable of being carried out by a priest and thus not entirely useful as religious reform began to take hold.

Although the later vernacular Welsh charms for the protection of cattle from witchcraft fit very nicely into the world in which they were copied and transmitted, they continued to retain a core element of earlier Latinate livestock charms like those found in Cardiff MS 3.242. In the Latinate charms, for example, we see phrases such as:

by the intercession of the holy virgin Mary and of all the saints let him
heal you, N. + and let him protect you+ let him keep you and defend

⁶⁵⁹ While I am not arguing that the later vernacular Welsh charms developed *directly* from the charms of the Cardiff manuscript specifically, my argument is based on an assumption that similar charms were in circulation, as indeed analogues with charms in other manuscripts of England would suggest. The charms in the Cardiff manuscript are representative of earlier, Latinate charming traditions and similar texts would have circulated among the monastic networks of Wales, England, and France.

you from every evil and from every illness and from every diabolical deed + and from all the cunning of the enemy of the lord and from every bad pain of the joints and the body.

By the late fifteenth century and beyond, the rhetoric has been expanded yet the sentiment remains:

Jesus Christ our Lord protect and defend against every type of devilish temptation from above the earth and under the earth. Against a devilish man, malicious-hearted, who bewitched the livestock and their owner with his evil nature and his evil, excommunicated heart, which is interdicted from the Catholic Faith of Jesus Christ through supplication to Blessed Mary and all the male and female saints of heaven by the virtue of the two breasts upon which you suckled and [by] the virtue of the five joys amen.

On the surface, the later livestock protection charms against witchcraft look to be something completely different to the earlier Latinate charms for cattle and sheep, and in many ways, they are. However, if we consider how much earlier charms had in common with liturgical rituals such as Rogationtide processions, and how suspiciously those rituals were viewed by Reformers, it becomes much easier to see how the later witchcraft charms could have developed from the earlier, liturgical Latin livestock protection charms.

It is not insignificant that the bewitched livestock charms begin slowly cropping up at the end of the fifteenth century and then explode in popularity from the mid sixteenth century into the early seventeenth century, the time of intense religious fervor and reform. It is, however, curious that the Welsh charms would develop into a charm type so unique and unlike other witchcraft and livestock charms in pre-modern Britain or Europe. If the livestock charms developed out of the earlier, clearly more liturgical Latinate livestock charms, and if this development was in part due to the increasing suspicion of such ‘superstitious’ practices such as the Rogationtide and other field rituals, why then is there no evidence of censorship, especially in the seventeenth century and beyond, and why the veneration of Mary and other saints, even in charms of the mid-sixteenth century, a time in which the worship of saints was prohibited?

One possibility lies in the proliferation of saints in Wales from a very early age, and the intensity with which most people clung to the worship of saints, especially the Virgin Mary, who was immensely popular in Wales. Glanmor William notes that there were by far more churches and chapels dedicated to her (143 have been identified thus far) than any other saint, and at least seventy-five healing wells.⁶⁶⁰ The Welsh were particularly well-known for their veneration of saints and at the end of the sixteenth century, people still clung to the old Catholic faith.⁶⁶¹

Wales was often regarded as a ‘hotbed of ignorance, superstition, and witchcraft’⁶⁶² yet the low rate of witchcraft persecutions and the liturgically inspired charms against witchcraft offer another side to this story. While it is true that a low rate in witchcraft-related trials might signify a wider cultural acceptance of activities that were elsewhere considered suspicious, such as using healing or protective charms, it is also possible that there was a general awareness of the ways in which some ritual charm texts incorporated repackaged elements of the liturgy for the pragmatic needs of the lay person, and were thus deemed as acceptable and no more ‘superstitious’ or heterodox than would be a common prayer heard at the mass.

Eamon Duffy notes that there has always been a tendency to take it as axiomatic that there was a wide gulf between elite and popular religion, and that the average lay person did not fully understand nor correctly practice the orthodox religion taught to the clergy, but rather practiced a sort of popular religion with clear elements of paganism and superstition; and he cautions that to equate popular religious practice with rampant superstition is to lack an understanding of exactly

⁶⁶⁰ Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1962) p. 479

⁶⁶¹ In 1567 the bishop of Bangor, spoke contemptuously of the lewd feast-day celebrations and he admonished people for continuing to light candles for saints. Additionally, the first book to be printed on Welsh soil, *Y Drych Christianogawl* (The Christian Mirror) was printed in secret, in a cave in North Wales.

⁶⁶² Peter Maxwell-Stuart, *The British Witch: The Biography* (London: Stroud, 2016) p. 165

what comprised these ‘popular practices.’⁶⁶³ The laity of the premodern era found archetypes within liturgical traditions that shaped their perception of the world and their response to common anxieties and dangers. Accordingly, it makes sense that the charms we have seen in this chapter, and throughout this dissertation, represent an adaptation of sacred rituals and phrases for their own imminent needs. In fact, the rituals surrounding the blessing and use of holy water *encouraged* lay participation (sprinkling of holy water—that they could purchase—throughout their own homes and fields) and kept rituals such as these firmly within the framework of orthodox liturgy.

Rather than representing a world of heterodox superstition, these charms demonstrate a fairly faithful pattern that the church itself had long established. John Mirk himself, in his wildly popular *Festial*, provides one such paradigm that proliferates into healing charm texts: the apotropaic use of the holy cross:

For as St Augustine said: the memory of Christ's passion is the best defense against temptations of the Devil. Hence crosses have been placed on high in the holy church, so that by seeing them you might remember Christ's passion. And therefore, crosses and other images have been necessary to the Church.⁶⁶⁴

Rituals, phrases, images, and prayers were appropriated straight from orthodox Christianity and adapted for the pragmatic concerns of the laity. Even if some of the charms and rituals seem heterodox, they are, in reality, more devotional in nature than sometimes given credit for. Karen Jolly argues that “when issues of magic versus religion, heterodoxy versus orthodoxy, and prayer versus charm are set aside, we begin to see these rituals, prayers, and formulas as normative Christian practice.”⁶⁶⁵

⁶⁶³ Duffy 2

⁶⁶⁴ Mirk, John, Susan Powell, British Library, and Early English Text Society. *John Mirk's Festial: Edited from British Library MS Cotton Claudius A.II*. Early English Text Society (Series). Original Series No. 334-335. (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009) p. 171

⁶⁶⁵ Karen Louise Jolly, “Anglo-Saxon Charms in the context of a Christian World View”, *Journal of Medieval History*, 11 (1985), 284

As ideas about religious reform began to circulate and take shape, it makes sense that the rituals once more clearly adopted from the liturgy became transformed into something less recognizably liturgical. This is especially true in these charms which look similar to rituals such as the Rogationtide processions, which reformers viewed as particularly problematic. The transformation and development of Welsh charms for the protection of livestock fit nicely into the changing times in which they were copied. With such complex changing religious practices, the charms underwent a transformation of their own, looking increasingly less like religion, at least at surface level, as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries progressed.

It is perhaps noteworthy among the corpus of bewitched livestock charms that later versions are more often labeled as charms in the manuscripts, perhaps to further distance them from religion. However, upon closer examination, it becomes clear that these later charms retain the core sentiment of the earlier Latinate charms, namely the preoccupation with a maleficent, supernatural force—the devil in the early Latinate charms, and the witch in the later medieval and early modern charms, along with the use of liturgically-inspired formulae. These charms can offer glimpses not only into the changing attitudes towards witchcraft and diabolical maleficence, but they can also be viewed as a conduit through which earlier medieval rituals were carried.⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁶⁶ Interestingly, a charm included by Reginald Scot in his *Discoverie of Witchcraft* displays faint echoes of the Welsh bewitched cattle charm. Scot lists it as a charm against thieves, calling it Saint Adelbert's curse: By the Authority of the Omnipotent Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by the holy Virgin Mary Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the holy Angels and Archangels, and S. Michael, and S. John Baptist, and on the behalf of S. Peter the Apostle, and the residue of the Apostles, and of S. Stephen, and of all the Martyrs, of S. Sylvester, and S. Adelbert, and all the Confessors, and S. Alegand, and all the holy Virgins, and of all the Saints in Heaven and Earth, unto whom there is given power to bind and loose: we do excommunicate, damn, curse, and bind with the knots and bands of Excommunication, and we do segregate from the bounds and lists of our holy Mother the Church, all those Thieves, Sacrilegious persons, ravenous Catchers, Doers, Counsellers, Coadjutors, male or female, that have committed this theft or mischief, or have usurped any part thereof to their own use... Reginald Scot, *Discourse concerning the nature and substance of devils and spirits*. (Ann Arbor: Text Creation Partnership, 2011), Book XII, Chapter XVII, online at <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A62397.0001.001/1:18.17.9?rgn=div3;view=fulltext>

Conclusion

In 1594 Gwen ferch Ellis became the first person in Wales executed for witchcraft.⁶⁶⁷ Known locally as a healer, it was her association with healing charms that implicated her in the charges of witchcraft.⁶⁶⁸ The evidence against Gwen included a Welsh charm for general protection and good health, apparently written backwards, and found inside the home of a prominent local family, the Mostyns, engaged in a dispute with a woman connected to Gwen. When asked by the court whether she used charms in addition to salves and herbal remedies, she conceded that she used healing charms in order to heal sick men, women, children, and animals. After more prompting, Gwen recited her charm, which consisted of petitionary verbal formulae that invoked God, the Trinity, the three Marys of the New Testament,⁶⁶⁹ and referenced other Christian images in a plea for protection against general evils. Richard Suggett has modernized and translated the charm she recited for the court:

In the name of God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit of God,
And the three Marys, and the three consecrated altars
And the blessed son of grace,
And by the stones, and by the herbs,
To which the son of grace bestowed their virtues
In order that they should defend thee, the sinner who suffered an
adversity,
As Christ defended you.
In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit,
Against adversity above wind, against adversity below wind,
Against adversity above ground and below ground,

⁶⁶⁷ For more on Gwen's trial, along with trial documents of other witchcraft and witchcraft-related legal cases in Wales, see Richard Suggett, *Welsh Witches: Narratives of Witchcraft and Magic in 16th and 17th Century Wales*, (Atramentous Press, 2019). See also Richard Suggett, *A History of Witchcraft and Magic in Wales*, History of Wales, (Stroud: History Press 2008).

⁶⁶⁸ Gwen also made her living spinning and making linen, in addition to preparing salves and charms.

⁶⁶⁹ Presumably this refers to the three Marys which the Gospel of John mentions as being present at Christ's crucifixion: Mary mother of Jesus, Mary Magdalene, and Mary Clopas. This could, however, also refer to the three Marys present at Christ's resurrection: Mary Magdalene, Mary Clopas, and Mary Salome, as related in Mark 16:1.

Against adversity of the middle of the world,
Against adversity in [any] place in the world,
God keep you and preserve you from a wolf of a man,
From the evil thing of hell.
I take thee to be a child of God,
And a follower of Christ and an heir
to the kingdom of heaven.⁶⁷⁰

Overwhelmed with the task of transcribing Gwen's lengthy Welsh charm in the otherwise English court documents, the scribe eventually gave up and terminated the transcription, noting "manie other wordes and tedious sentences."⁶⁷¹ These tedious words and sentences would have consisted of Christian phrases that had long been a staple of European healing charms. Cases such as Gwen's demonstrate the idiosyncratic ways in which healing practices were regarded throughout history and the instability of the boundaries between medicine, magic, and religion and they can also tease out nuanced political and cultural tensions surrounding healing practices.

Gwen's case, and indeed the corpus of charms we have explored throughout this dissertation, highlights an important tension surrounding vernacular language use in Wales during a time of conquest and reform, both religious and political. During Gwen's lifetime, the first decades of the early modern era in Wales, healing charms were routinely copied—most often in Welsh—into manuscripts that featured medical writing, religious works, and other poetry and prose. In general, the charms of this epoch display remarkable continuity from the earliest charms extant from medieval Wales (s. xiv), although their structure and function were adapted considerably, most noticeably over the course of the later fifteenth century and into the sixteenth century, when the

⁶⁷⁰ Suggett, *Welsh Witches* p. 44. The Welsh text, which he modernizes and gives on p. 43-44 reads: *Yn enw'r Tad, y Mab, a'r Ysbryd Duw glan, a'r tair Mair, a'r tair allor gysegredig, a'r Mab Rhad bendigedig, ac ar y main ac ar y llysiau y rhoddodd y Mab Rhad ei rinweddau er mwyn dy amddiffyn di, y pechadur, a gafodd aflwydd fel yr amddiffynnodd Christ [di]. Yn enw'r Tad, a'r Mab, a'r Ysbryd Glan, rhag aflwydd uwchlaw gwynt, rhag aflwydd islaw gwynt, rhag aflwydd uwchlaw daear, rhag aflwydd islaw daear, rhag aflwydd yng nghanol y byd rhan aflwydd o unrhyw le yn y byd bydded i Dduw dy gadw a'th amddiffyn rhag blaidd o ddyn, rhag y perth drwg o uffern. Yr wyf i yn dy gymryd di yn blentyn i Dduw, yn aelod Crist ac yn etifedd teyrnas nef.*

⁶⁷¹ Suggett, *Welsh Witches*, p. 57

charms begin to display a sudden propensity for rhetorical expansion, while also demonstrating a sharp rise in the use of the vernacular over Latin. The *Longinus* charms are a prime example of the vernacularization of a standard charm type belonging to a pan-European tradition.

Analyses of the Welsh charm corpus can unearth nuanced aspects of Welsh language and culture by considering the implications of the changing structure and function of the charms throughout their evolution over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is possible that this predilection for narrative expansion, along with an emphasis on the vernacular, is a result of political and religious tensions between England and Wales due to severe restrictions by the English that prohibited Welsh from being used in any official capacity. The resulting interest in the translation of religious texts into Welsh is made manifest in the tradition of healing charms, which often rely on religious narratives for their efficacy.

Many of the early Welsh charms use Latin more predominately than their predecessors. The shift from Latin to Welsh appears to have happened in the mid-to late fifteenth century. The two nearly identical charms for whitlow/felon (Chapter Three) perfectly encapsulate this shift. The version from the later fifteenth century (NLW Llanstephan MS 3), instructs that the charm can be used in Welsh or Latin (*Rac y gwrthlys neur felwn keymer y dra hwnn ynghymraec neu lladin*).⁶⁷² The charm itself is mostly in Welsh, with a handful of Latin biblical and liturgical references. The almost identical but earlier version, from the later fourteenth century, does not offer a choice in language, and while the instructions and adjurations are in Welsh, the charm, on the whole, places a slightly greater emphasis on Latin. It is also shorter, the later version having been expanded by about a hundred words.

The several instances of phonetically Latin charms written in a unique Welsh orthography further emphasize the shift to the vernacular in texts that once circulated in Latin. These texts are

⁶⁷² Against the whitlow or felon take this material in Welsh or Latin.

mostly from the early-to-mid sixteenth century. The *In Principio* text of the physician's manual (NLW Sotheby C.2) suggests that while some educated Welshmen clearly had some level of Latin, it was necessary to reproduce the Latin texts using Welsh orthography, in order to ensure that a broader Welsh audience could access the texts. Another manuscript which features several instances of the fascinating phonetically Latin but orthographically Welsh texts is NLW Peniarth MS 204 (s. xvi). The charms of this manuscript do not feature Latin other than in names of prayers and biblical characters, and these are often spelled in non-standard Latin ways in order to make them easier for a Welsh speaker to pronounce. In fact, the only proper Latin of NLW Peniarth MS 204 is a Latin to Welsh dictionary, which further emphasizes the shift to the vernacular in texts that once circulated in Latin. Latin is represented with a unique Welsh orthography in several other manuscripts as well, all of which date to the sixteenth century.

The sudden emphasis on the vernacular in the sixteenth century becomes especially interesting when mapped onto wider trends in Welsh social history and literature at the time. This shift coincides with important political and social changes in Wales such as the Laws in Wales Acts (1535 and 1542) which fully incorporated Wales into the United Kingdom, banning Welsh from being used in any official capacity. However, Protestant Humanist efforts in Wales led to the first publication of the New Testament and Book of Common Prayer into Welsh in 1567, and the first complete translation of the Bible into Welsh in 1588. It is not surprising that sixteenth-century anxieties over religious material in the vernacular would manifest themselves in an often-overlooked aspect of religious practice such as charming. The changes in charming traditions map very nicely onto more general changes in religion, politics, and language.

What the Data Suggests

I cannot claim to have uncovered every charm in the Welsh corpus. The ambiguity of the texts, as well as their structure and typically short length means that they were often inserted in blank spaces between other texts. Unlike English manuscripts, which feature a large number of marginal charms, the Welsh charms were typically written within the body of the page rather than along the margins. They can be found mixed in with more strictly medicinal remedies, or between poetry, didactic prose, or religious texts.

This dissertation contains 142 charms. Of these, blood and wound charms were far and away the most commonly copied, with thirty-four charms for staunching blood, as well as eight for general blows and wounds (or extracting an arrow from a wound). Blood staunching charms alone make up 23.94% of the entire corpus discovered thus far.⁶⁷³ In this group, the *Longinus* charms were preferred, and they make up 35.29% of the blood staunching charms. There are twelve stand-alone *Longinus* charms, with another two references to *Longinus* embedded within a longer *Tres Boni Fratres* charm to heal general wounds. In England, the most popular charm for staunching blood was the *Flum Jordan* and Christ's birth in Bethlehem type. This is not the case in the Welsh tradition. Welsh *Longinus* charms demonstrate a remarkable adaptability especially over the course of the fifteenth and into the sixteenth centuries. Of the twelve stand-alone *Longinus* charms, only two are in Latin: one from ca. 1375, and from a monastic medical and religious manuscript; and the other from the mid-fifteenth century, miscellany. A third, from the later fifteenth or earlier sixteenth century, uses Welsh orthography to convey the Latin phonemes, which indicates that whomever this charm was intended for would not have been able to read and correctly recite the Latin.

⁶⁷³ Fever charms and toothache charms were also frequently copied, and this dissertation has presented thirteen fever charms and eleven toothache charms. The uniquely Welsh charms to protect people and cattle from bewitchment were also frequently copied, and I have found ten such charms, mostly from the sixteenth century.

There is also a correlation with Latin and writing, and the vernacular and speaking. The overwhelming majority of Welsh charms (of every type, not only blood staunching charms) privilege the written, efficacious word when the charm is given in Latin, while vernacular Welsh charms more often instruct the charmer to recite the charm and words of power. The majority of the charms in Welsh with directives that involve writing are dog bite charms, where the act of writing (on bread, cheese, or around a vessel) is simply the core motif of the charm. Overall, when a charm is in predominantly written in Welsh, the efficacious words are to be spoken, while Latin charms instruct that they, and the efficacious words are to be written, or in very few cases, simply read or looked upon.

In England, the shift towards English in medical and scientific texts begins around 1375. Within 100 years, Linda Voigts argues that the process of vernacularization in this field was mostly complete.⁶⁷⁴ From 1350-1500 (in England) there was a dramatic shift towards the use of English in charm instructions and in the efficacious words of spoken charms. Charms that emphasized the spoken word commonly circulated in vernacular languages while charms that stressed writing almost invariably used Latin or other unknown words. This suggests a fundamental difference in the perceived power of written and spoken words, and of Latin and the vernacular, and so far, the data suggests that this holds true in the case of the Welsh charm corpus as well.

In general, the charms in the corpus of Welsh charms conform to those of England and Europe. Nearly all of our charms find some analogue in the charms circulating in England and on the Continent. Even the major outliers such as the scrofula charms (Chapter Three) and the bewitched livestock charms (Chapter Four) are evocative in some ways of other traditions, usually in the use of a specific motif or phrase. And while our Welsh corpus charms do demonstrate an active participation in wider trends, many of them show evidence of unique Welsh innovation and

⁶⁷⁴ Linda Voigts, "What's the Word? Bilingualism in Late-medieval England." *Speculum* 71, no. 4 (1996): 813-26.

adaptation, such as the poetic and highly stylized Welsh *Longinus* charms, or the scrofula charms that likely developed out of or were inspired by various Latin and Germanic diminishing charms for scrofula and swollen nodes.

Further Considerations

Now that a great deal of foundational, textual work on the Welsh charm corpus has been undertaken, questions such as this can be more easily and more deeply explored. Work of this kind is inherently interdisciplinary. Textually, the healing charms operated across linguistic, religious, and cultural boundaries as they were copied, disseminated, and adapted. The healing charms of the Welsh-manuscript corpus display an enduring adaptability and degree of continuity across centuries. The Welsh charms are multi-faceted and complex, and an analysis of this corpus can challenge notions that much of Wales was inactive in the premodern medical, religious, and intellectual developments of England and Europe. And while many Welsh charms represent a deep engagement with English and European trends, several Welsh charms reflect a tradition that is completely unique and undocumented in the healing traditions of England and Europe.

A thorough analysis of the corpus provides insights into not only sociolinguistic developments, but also developments in popular culture, popular religious practice, book and manuscript production, and the dissemination of knowledge between Britain and Continental Europe in the late medieval and early modern periods. In an era of much heated political discussion about Britain's place within Europe—and about Wales's place within Britain—studies of the healing texts, including the charms, can shed light on the historic role Wales has always played in various intellectual spheres of Europe. The corpus of healing charms can help illuminate the rich network of information exchange and collaboration that has long existed between Wales (and wider Britain) and

Europe, and the healing texts can highlight the rich and varied linguistic and cultural history of Britain.

As a genre, charms are uniquely poised between a more formal medium (knowledge contained within manuscripts) and a practical, every-day practice, and they similarly occupy a space in and between the realms of medicine, popular ‘magic’ and religious piety. Kieckhefer observes that magic is an area where popular culture meets with learned culture, religion converges with science, and popular beliefs intersect with those of the educated classes. He describes magic as a “crossing point where religion converges with science, popular beliefs intersect with those of the educated classes, and the convention of fiction meets with the realities of daily life.”⁶⁷⁵ This sentiment is perhaps most clearly demonstrated within a healing charm, in which the herbal prescription encompasses the science or folk-medicine, the narration featuring a god or saint is the religion, and the adjuration or incantation is the magic. Our Welsh corpus of healing charms, which features very little in the way of herbal medicinal advice, might be said to be more clearly straddling the realms of religion and magic.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Dr. Edward Jorden, an English physician, wrote about the value of holy water, amulets, and charms in medicine. He concluded that their efficacy was not because of some inherent power or magic, but instead, came down to, “the confident persuasion which melancholic and passionate people may have in them.”⁶⁷⁶ Centuries before that, English theologian Thomas of Chobham wrote: “It is well known, however, that holy words have much effectiveness in natural matters. For the natural philosophers say that the force of nature is concentrated above all in three things: in words and herbs, and in stones. We know

⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid*

⁶⁷⁶ Edward Jorden, *A Briefe Discourse of a Disease called the Suffocation of the Mother* (1603), p. 25. As cited by Thomas, p. 249

something about the power of herbs and stones, but of the power of words we know little or nothing.”⁶⁷⁷

As Valerie Flint has noted, magic and religion seem, at first glance, to sit at opposite ends of the spectrum, but both “can be seen to be deeply and most intimately involved with human beings’ efforts to come to terms with that in their surroundings which they can never reduce to proportions rationally manageable, and, at their joint best, to rejoice in it.”⁶⁷⁸ The divide between religion and magic or prayer and charm is really not so vast, then, and each seeks the same outcome in the end. Ultimately, both charm and prayer share one vital component: they both, as was once pointed out to me, depend on faith.

⁶⁷⁷ Thomas of Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, ed. F. Broomfield (Louvain, 1968), p. 478. As quoted in Rider, 99.

⁶⁷⁸ Flint p. 8.

Appendix One: Selected Images

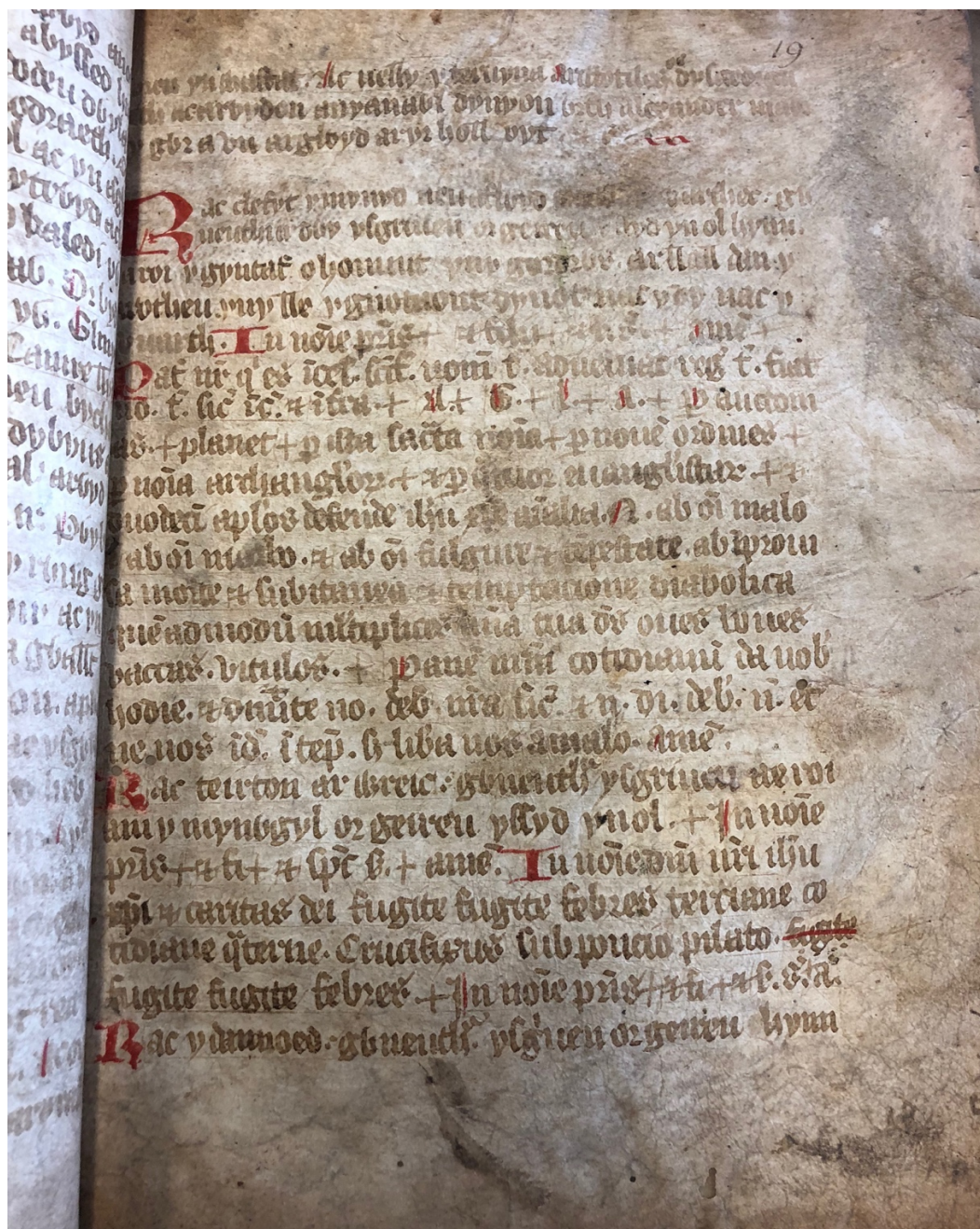


Image 1: Cardiff MS 3.242, page 19, with permission from Cardiff Central Library. A page of charms, including a charm for murrain or other illness in cattle; tertian ague in a woman; and a toothache. (ca. 1375)

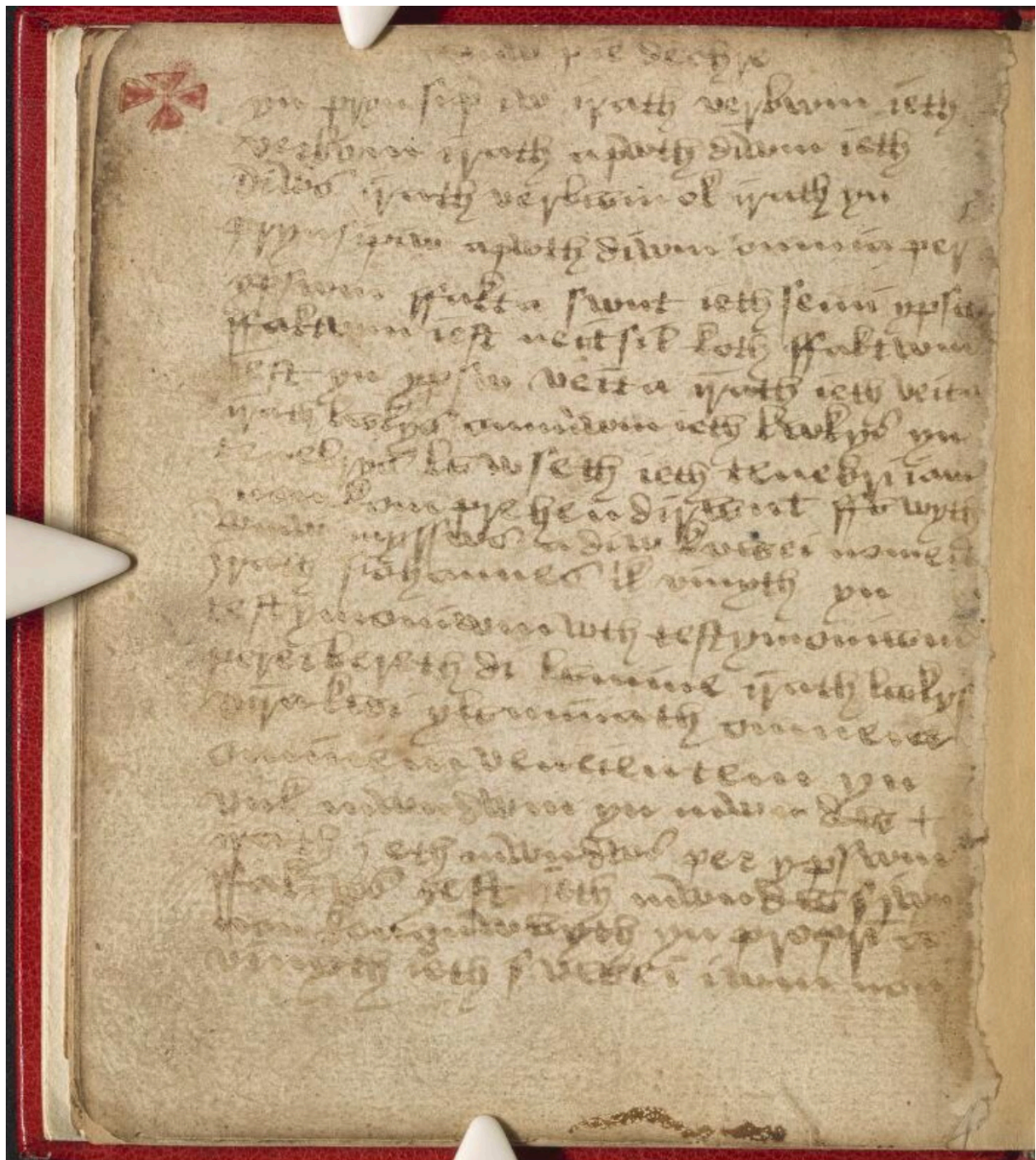


Image 2: NLW Pen. MS 204, p. 40 with permission of the National Library of Wales. The *In Principio*, in Latin but using Welsh orthographic conventions.

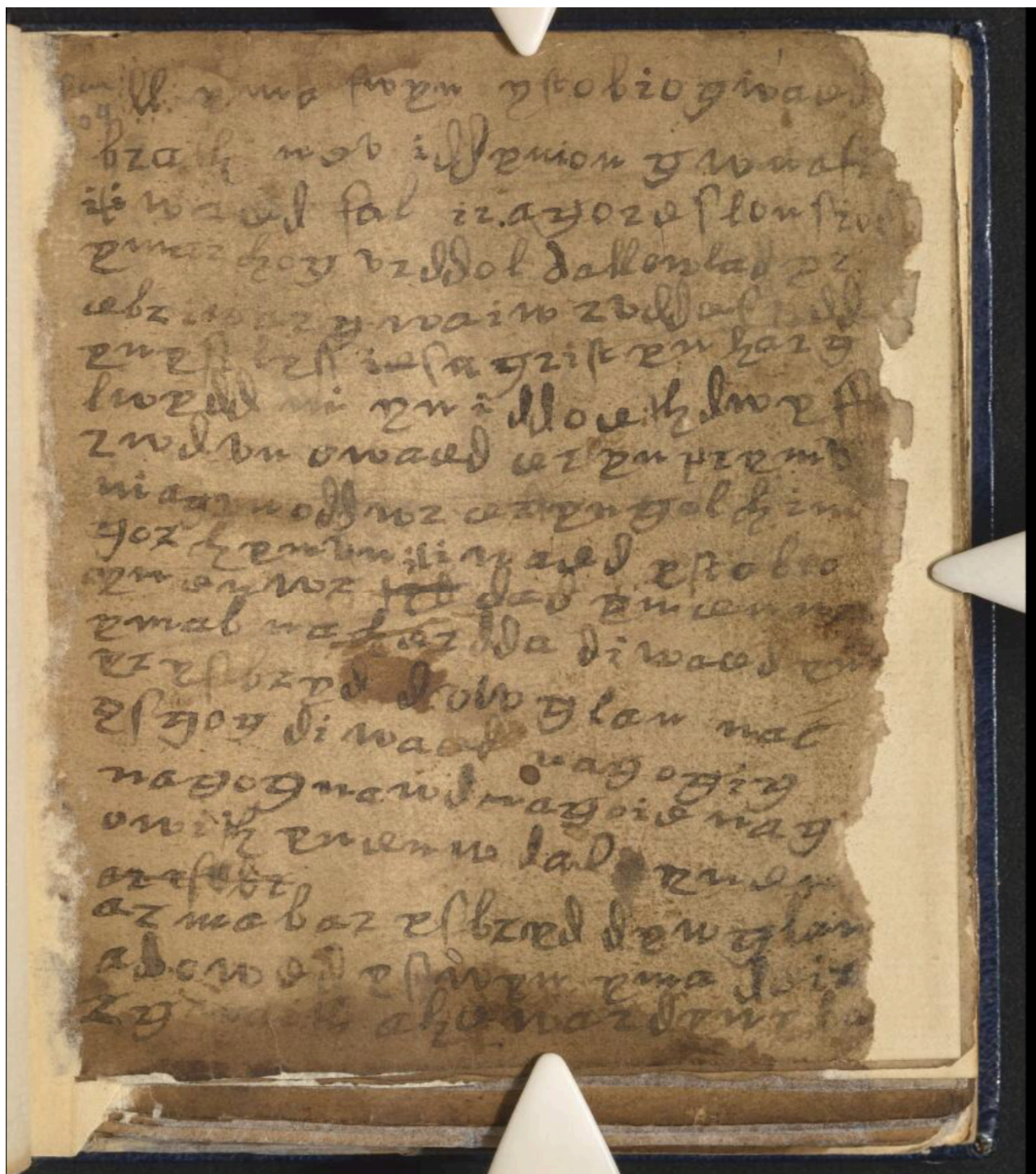


Image 3: NLW Peniarth MS 204, p. 1. With Permission from the National Library of Wales. A *Longinus* charm to staunch blood. (s. xvi)

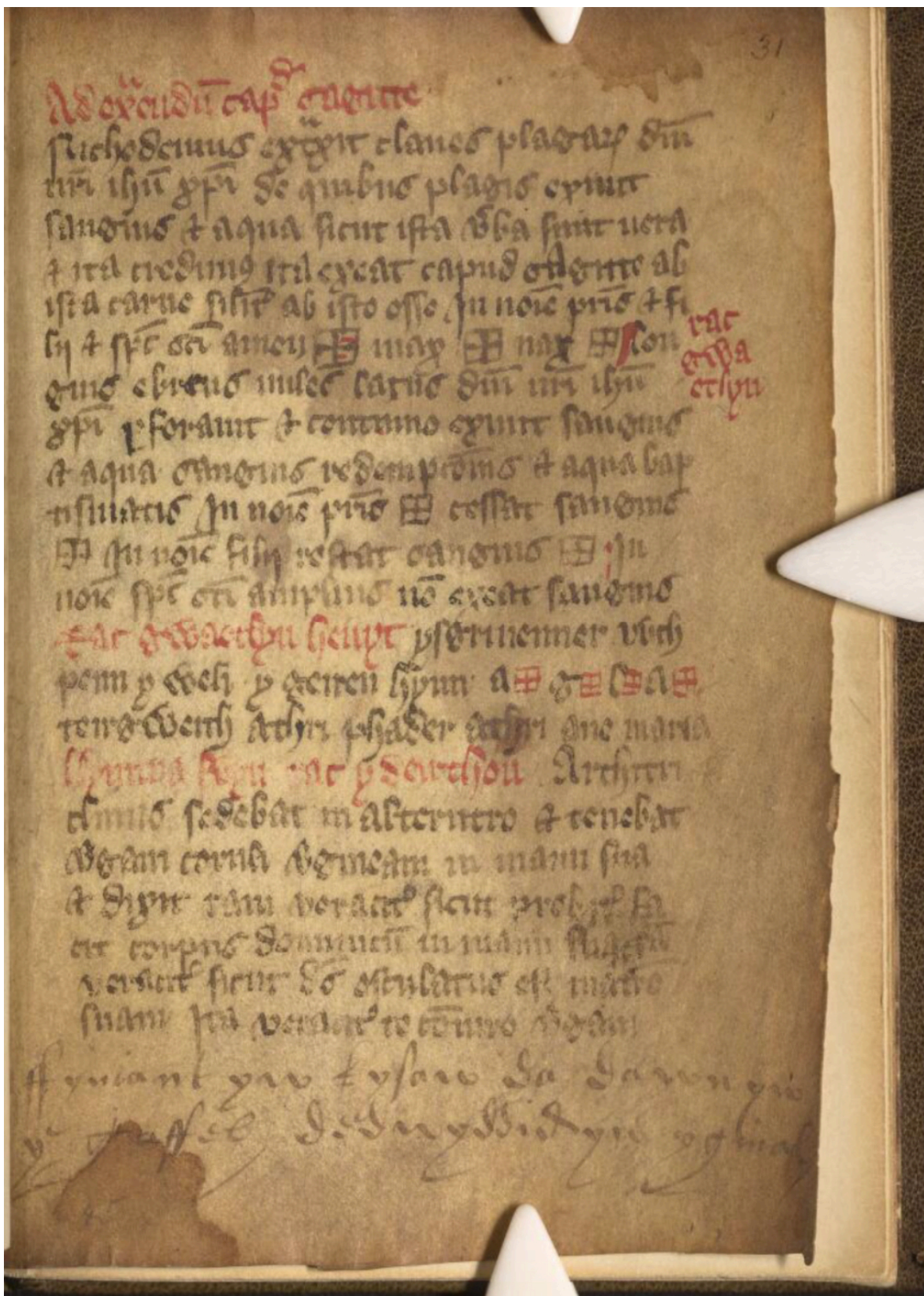
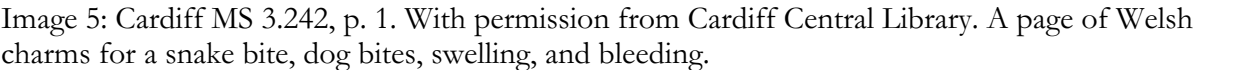


Image 4: NLW Peniarth MS 47, p. 31. With permission from the National Library of Wales.
Charms to remove an arrowhead; staunch bleeding; and against tertian ague. (s.xv)



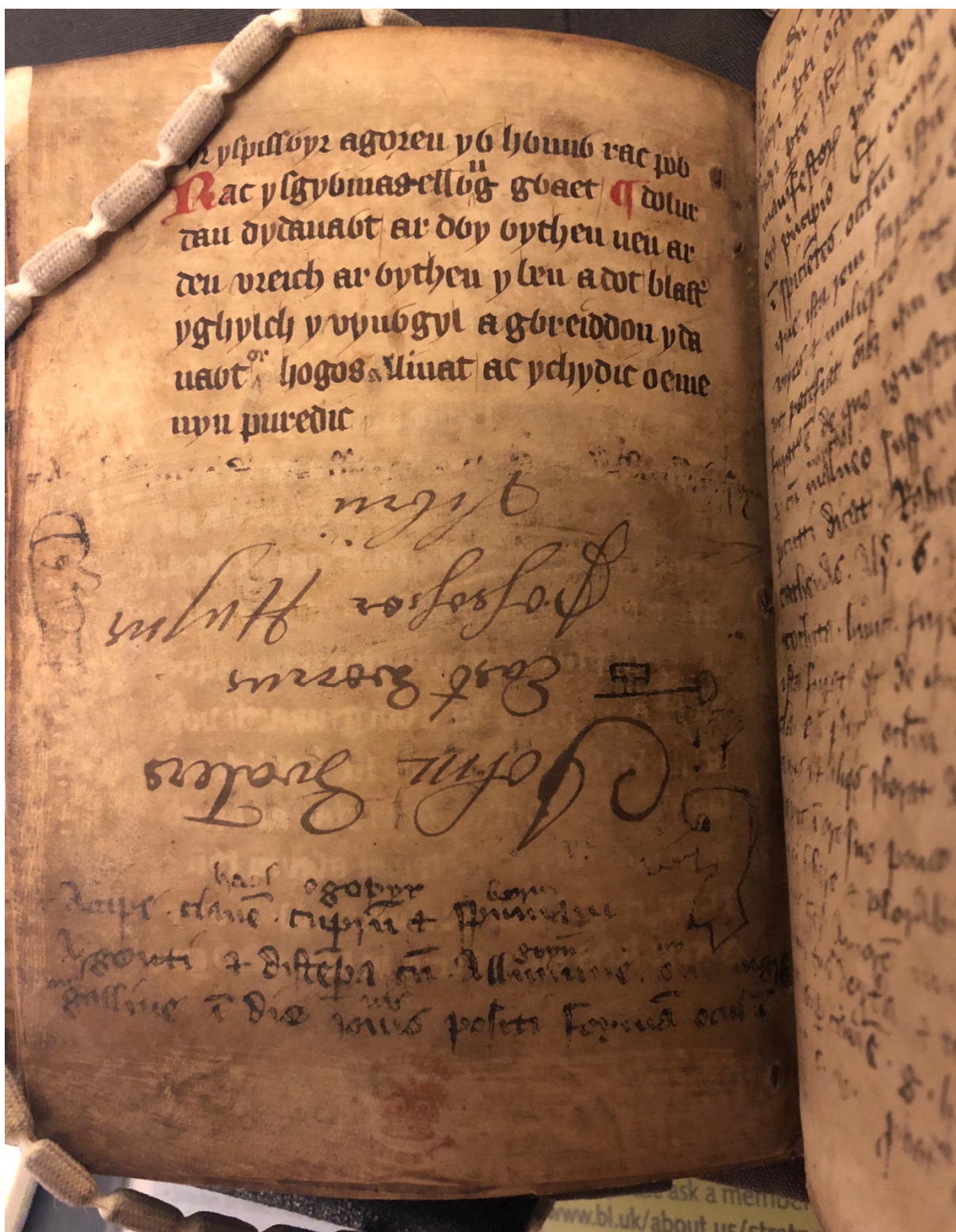


Image 6: © British Library Board (British Library Add. MS 14912, f. 35v). The beginning of the Eye of Abraham Charm for a thief, in Latin with some Welsh glossing, accompanied by doodles of faces and possibly a nail and mallet or a key.

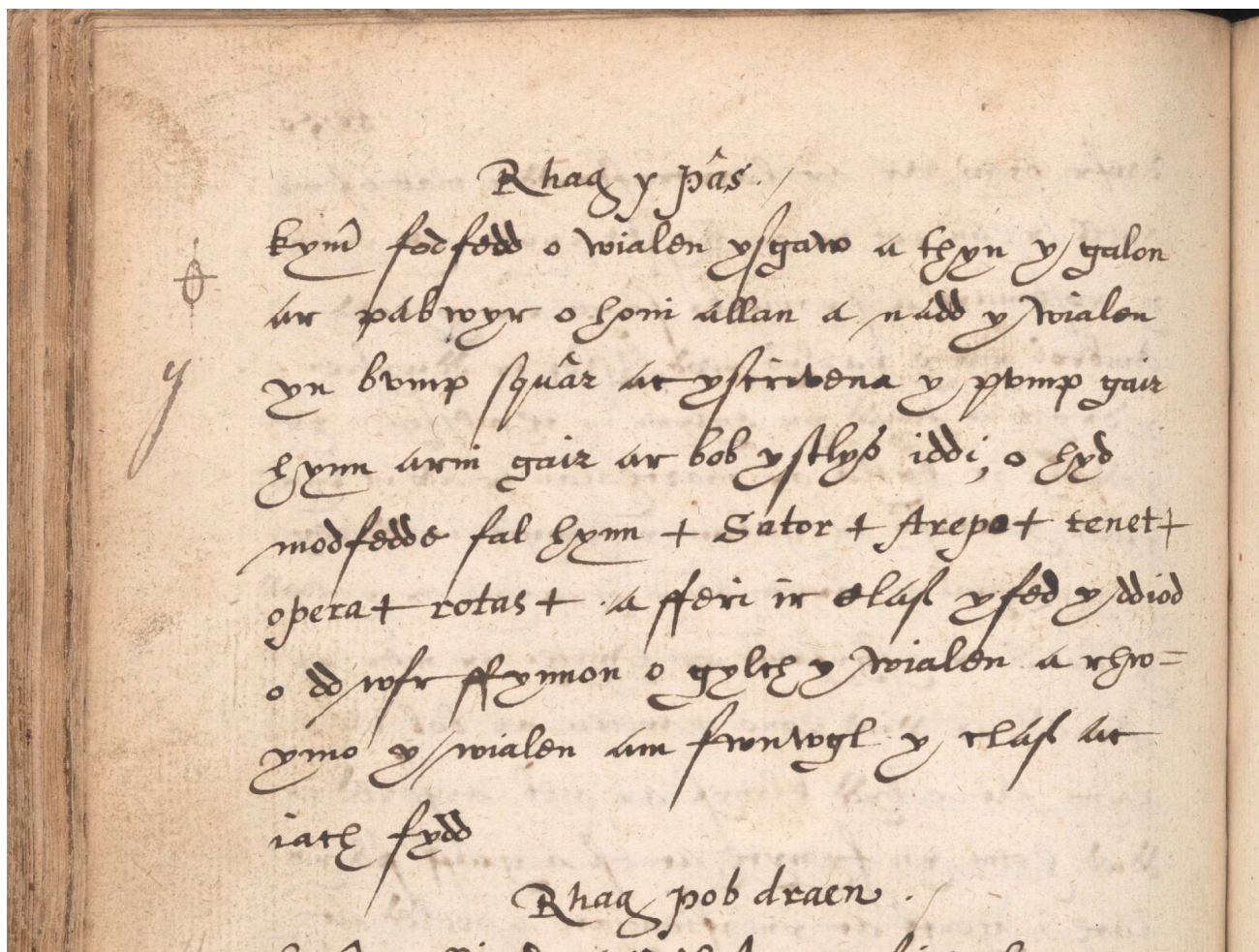


Image 7: Wellcome MS 417, f. 50v. A charm for a cough involving hollowing out an elder branch, carving efficacious words upon the branch, and drinking spring water from or through it.

This manuscript has been made available by the Wellcome Trust under the Creative Commons Public Domain Mark and is free of known restrictions under copyright law, including all related and neighboring rights.

Appendix Two: Charms by Ailment, with Key Type/Motif and Language Use⁶⁷⁹

A: Architrclinus	CV: Christus vincit...	HL: Heavenly Letter	MM: Mary Magdalene	TK: Three Kings
AC: Athanasian Creed	D: Diminishing	HM: Holy Mothers	N: Nicodemus	UW: Uncorrupted Wounds
AG: Agatha	DO: Dorothy	IA: Iesu Autem...	O: Other	VM: Virgin Mary
AP: Apollonia	E: Eloi/Eloy	IP: In Principio	P: Pilate	VW: Five Wounds
B: Bethlehem	EA: Eye of Abraham	LZ: Lazarus	S: Susannah	WP: Words of Power
BB: Bread (Write on)	FJ: Flum Jordan	LT: Lion of Tribe...	SP: Super Petram	
C: Cross (power of)	H: Herb Instruction	L: Longinus	SS: Seven Sleepers	
CC: Columcille	HA: Host/Apple	M: Martha	TBF: Tres Boni Fratres	

Ailment	Manuscript	Date	Language of instruction	WP Language	Speak or Write	Type/Motif
eye, cataract	NLW. Pen. MS 204	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	H
eye, spot	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Latin	Latin	write	N
toothache	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Welsh	Latin	n/a	AP
toothache	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	English	WP	speak	AP
toothache	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Welsh	Latin; WP	write	AP; CV
toothache	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Latin	Latin	n/a	SP; VM; CV
toothache	NLW Pen. MS 326, b.6	s. xv (late)	Welsh	Welsh	write, speak	WP; CV
toothache	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi (late)	Welsh	Welsh	speak; write	WP; CV
toothache	NLW Pen. MS 206	s. xvi/xvii	Welsh	WP	n/a	E; CV
toothache	NLW Sotheby MS C.2	ca. 1500	Welsh	WP	write	E; CV
toothache	NLW MS 572D	s. xv	n/a	Latin	n/a	SP
toothache	NLW Llanst. MS 173	s. xvi/xvii	Welsh	Latin	n/a	SP; CV
toothache	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi (late)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	H

⁶⁷⁹ Dates given privilege dates of the charms. Although most charms appear to be contemporary to the manuscript in which they are found, in the few cases a charm is earlier or later than the creation of the manuscript, the date of the charm is given. For the type and motif, I have included the common types, but this classification is certainly not exhaustive. It is only meant to give readers a brief overview of the various common types and which charms they were most likely to accompany.

fever	NLW Pen. MS 204	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	H
fever	NLW Pen. MS 204	s. xvi (mid)	Latin	Latin; WP	n/a	WP
fever	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi (late)	Welsh	Latin	write	HA
fever	Oxford, Jesus MS 111	ca. 1382- 1405	Welsh	Latin; WP	write	HA
fever	Oxford, Rawl. B467	s. xv	Welsh	WP	write	HA
fever	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Welsh	Latin	write	P
fever	NLW Llanst. MS 2	s. xiv (charm)	n/a	Latin	write	SP
fever	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	n/a	Latin; WP	write	SP; A; CV; IP
fever	NLW Pen. MS 47	s. xv (mid)	Welsh	Latin	n/a	A
fever	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	Welsh	Latin w/Welsh orth.	n/a	A
fever	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	na	Latin w/Welsh orth.	n/a	IP
fever	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	Welsh	Latin	write	HA
fever	NLW Sotheby MS C.2	ca. 1500	n/a	Latin w/Welsh orth.	n/a	IP
epilepsy	NLW Pen. MS 388	s. xv (mid)	English	English	speak	WP; VM
epilepsy	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Latin	Latin	write	TK
epilepsy	NLW Pen. MS 50	ca. 1445	English	Latin	write	TK
epilepsy	B.L. Add. MS 15045	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Latin; WP	write	TK
epilepsy	NLW Pen. MS 572D	s. xv	English	English; Latin	write; speak	TK
epilepsy	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi (late)	Welsh	Welsh; Latin	write; speak	TK
epilepsy	NLW Pen. MS 181	s. xvi (early)	Welsh	Latin	write	TK
earworm	NLW MS 572D	s. xv	English	Latin	speak	VM; N; VW
wound, weapon	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	Welsh	Welsh	n/a	VW
bleeding	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Welsh	Latin	write	L
extract arrowhead	NLW Pen. MS 47	s. xv (mid)	Latin	Latin; WP	n/a	N
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 47	s. xv (mid)	Welsh	Latin	n/a	L

bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 47	s. xv (mid)	Welsh	WP	write	WP
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	English	English	speak	L
bleeding	NLW Llanst. MS 10	ca. 1515	Welsh	Welsh	speak	L; H
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 204	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	L; VW
bleeding	NLW MS 873B	s. xvi (later)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	L; VW
bleeding	NLW MS 873B	s. xvi (later)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	L; VW
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	Welsh	Latin w/Welsh orth.	n/a	L; VM; FJ
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 88	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Welsh; WP	n/a	L; WP
bleeding	NLW Llanst. MS 181	ca. 1556- 58	Welsh	Welsh	n/a	L
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 206	s. xvi/xvii	Welsh	Welsh	n/a	L
bleeding	NLW MS 253A	ca. 1619	Welsh	Welsh	n/a	L; UW
wound	NLW Llanst. MS 2	s. xiv (charm)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	TBF; VM; UW
wound	NLW Llanst. MS 3	s. xv	Welsh	Welsh	speak	TBF; VM; UW
wound	NLW MS 5267B	ca. 1483	Welsh	Welsh	speak	TBF; VW; UW
wound	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi (late)	Welsh	Welsh	n/a	TBF (sub- variant)
wound	NLW Pen. MS 370B	ca. 1400	Latin	Latin	speak	TBF; UW; VM; L
wound	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	English	Latin	speak	TBF; VM; UW; L
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 388	s. xvi	English	English	speak	B; FJ; VW
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 53	s. xv/xvi	English	English; Latin	speak	B; FJ; VW
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 53	s. xv/xvi	Welsh	Welsh	speak	B; FJ; VW
bleeding	NLW MS 873B	s. xvi	Welsh	Welsh	<i>speak</i>	B; FJ; VW
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	English	Latin	speak	FJ
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 66	s. xvii (charm)	English	English	n/a	O
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 66	s. xvii (charm)	English	English	speak	O; WP
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 66	s. xvii (charm)	English	Latin	write	O; WP

bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 66	s. xvii (charm)	English	Latin	speak	O; WP
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	English	Latin	n/a	O; WP
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 360	s. xv/xvi	English	WP	n/a	O; WP
bleeding	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi (late)	Welsh	Latin	speak	O
bleeding	NLW Llanst. MS 117	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Latin w/Welsh orth.	speak	O; WP
constricted veins	NLW Llanst. MS 117	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	WP	write	WP
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	English	Latin	n/a	O; VM; WP
bleeding	NLW MS 572D	s. xv	English	Latin	write	O; WP; VM
bleeding	NLW Sotheby MS C.2	ca. 1500	Welsh	WP	write	WP
bleeding	B.L. Add. MS 15045	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	WP	write	WP
bleeding	NLW MS Pen. 368	s. xvi/xvii	English	WP	write	O; WP; V
bleeding	Oxford, Rawl. B 457	s. xv	Latin	WP	write	O; WP
bleeding	B.L. Add. MS 15045	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Latin w/Welsh orth.	write; speak	V
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 204	s. xv/xvi	English	WP	n/a	V; VW
bite, snake/dog	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Welsh	WP	write	O; WP
bite, rabid dog upon other dog	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Welsh	WP	write	BB; WP
bite, rabid dog	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Welsh	WP	write	BB; WP
bite, rabid dog	NLW Pen. MS 388	s. xiv/xv	English	WP	write	BB; WP
bite, rabid dog	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	WP	write	BB; WP
bite, rabid dog	B.L. Add. MS 15045	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	WP	write	O; WP
bite, rabid dog	B.L. Add. MS 15045	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	WP	write	BB; WP
bite, rabid dog	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	Welsh	WP	n/a	WP
bite, rabid dog	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	Welsh	WP	n/a	WP
whitlow/felon	NLW Llanst. MS 2	s. xiv (charm)	Welsh	Latin; WP	speak	WP; O; AC
whitlow/felon	NLW Llanst. MS 3	s. xv	Welsh	Latin; WP	speak	WP; O; AC
felon/fistula/festering	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi (late)	Welsh	Latin; Welsh	speak	O; VW

scrofula	NLW Pen. MS 204	s. xvi (early)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	VM; O
scrofula	NLW Pen. MS 873B	s. xvi (later)	Welsh	Welsh	<i>speak</i>	VM; O
scrofula	NLW MS 6735B	ca. 1695	Welsh	Welsh	<i>speak</i>	VM; O
shingles	B.L. Add. MS 15045	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Latin; WP	write	WP
<i>mamog (swelling?)</i>	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	Welsh	Latin w/Welsh orth.	n/a	WP; C
<i>mamog (swelling?)</i>	B.L. Add. MS 15045	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Latin w/Welsh orth.	n/a	WP;C
<i>mamog (swelling?)</i>	NLW Pen. MS 206	s. xvii (early; charm)	Welsh	WP	speak	WP; C
boil, swelling	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Welsh	Latin	write	H; LT; WP
gout	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Latin	Latin	n/a	VM; SS
cramp	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi (late)	Welsh	WP	speak	WP
cramp	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi (late)	n/a	WP	n/a	WP
cough	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi (late)	Welsh	WP	write	O; WP
childbirth	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	English	Latin	n/a	HM; CV; LT
childbirth	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	English	Latin	n/a	HM; VM
fertility	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi (late)	Welsh	WP	write	O; WP
sleeping	B.L. Add. 14912	s. xiv	Welsh	WP	write	O; SS
various	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	English	Latin	write	HL; CV; LT; AG; WP
various	NLW Pen. MS 39	s. xv (charm)	English	English	write	HL; O
various	NLW Llanst. MS 117	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Welsh; WP	write	HL; WP
various	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	English	English	speak	HL; VM; VW
various	NLW Llanst. MS 27	ca. 1400	Welsh	Latin; WP	speak; write	HL; WP; CV
various	NLW Sotheby MS C.2	ca. 1500	n/a	Latin; WP	n/a	HL; WP; CV; E
all pains	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Latin	latin	speak	C; LT; WP; CV
fire	NLW Pen. MS 370B	ca. 1400	Latin	Latin	write	AG; CC
fire	NLW Pen. MS 368	ca. 1583	English	Latin	write	AG; CC

mice and rats	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	Latin	Latin	write	O; WP
mice and rats	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	Latin	Latin; WP	write	O; WP
mice, rats, worms	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	Latin	Latin	write	O; WP
theft	NLW Pen. MS 368	ca. 1583	Latin	Latin; WP	speak	O
theft	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	English	Latin	speak; write	IA; O
theft	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	Latin	English	n/a	B; O
theft	NLW Llanst. MS 181	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Latin	speak	IA; O
theft	NLW Llanst. MS 181	s. xvi (mid)	English	Latin	speak	IA; O
theft	B.L. Add. MS 14912	s. xiv	Latin	Latin; WP	write; speak	EA; O
foot-rot, livestock	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi	Welsh	Welsh	speak	H
farcy	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi	Welsh	Latin; WP	speak	WP; IP
farcy	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	Welsh	Latin	write	WP
farcy	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	Latin	Latin; WP	na	WP
worms, people/animal	NLW Sotheby MS C.2	ca. 1500	Welsh	Latinate	n/a	WP
worms, people/animal	NLW Llanst. MS 10	s. xvi	English	Latinate	speak	WP
bewitchment	NLW Pen. MS 204	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	VM; O; H
bewitchment	B.L. Add. MS 14913	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Welsh	<i>speak</i>	VM; B; FJ; O
bewitchment	NLW Pen. MS 67	ca. 1483	Welsh	Welsh	n/a	VM; O
bewitchment	NLW Pen. MS 53	s. xvi/xvii	Welsh	Welsh	speak	VM; MM; LZ
bewitchment	NLW Pen. MS 88	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	VM; M; MM; LZ
bewitchment	NLW MS 873B	s. xvi (later)	Welsh	Welsh	<i>speak</i>	VM
bewitchment	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	Welsh	Welsh	speak	VM; MM; LZ
bewitchment	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	Welsh	Welsh; WP	<i>speak</i>	WP; VM; MM; LZ
bewitchment	B.L. Add. MS 15045	s. xvii (early)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	VM; MM; LZ
bewitchment	NLW Pen. MS 11990A	ca. 1675- 1725)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	VM; MM; LZ

murrain or other disease in cattle	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Welsh	Latin; WP	write	WP; O; AC
great disease' or another evil	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Welsh	Latin; WP	write	WP; VM; O
disease in livestock	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Latin	Latin	speak	AG; O

Appendix Three: Charms by Manuscript (alphabetically)

theft	B.L. Add. MS 14912	s. xiv	Latin	Latin; WP	write; speak	EA; O
sleeping	B.L. Add. 14912	s. xiv	Welsh	WP	write	O; SS
bewitchment	B.L. Add. MS 14913	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Welsh	<i>speak</i>	VM; B; FJ; O
epilepsy	B.L. Add. MS 15045	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Latin; WP	write	TK
bleeding	B.L. Add. MS 15045	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	WP	write	WP
bleeding	B.L. Add. MS 15045	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Latin w/Welsh orth.	write; speak	V
bite, rabid dog	B.L. Add. MS 15045	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	WP	write	O; WP
bite, rabid dog	B.L. Add. MS 15045	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	WP	write	BB; WP
shingles	B.L. Add. MS 15045	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Latin; WP	write	WP
<i>mamog (swelling?)</i>	B.L. Add. MS 15045	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Latin w/Welsh orth.	n/a	WP;C
bewitchment	B.L. Add. MS 15045	s. xvii (early)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	VM; MM; LZ
eye, spot	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Latin	Latin	write	N
toothache	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Welsh	Latin	n/a	AP
toothache	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Welsh	Latin; WP	write	AP; CV
toothache	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Latin	Latin	n/a	SP; VM; CV
fever	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Welsh	Latin	write	P
fever	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	n/a	Latin; WP	write	SP; A; CV; IP
epilepsy	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Latin	Latin	write	TK
bleeding	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Welsh	Latin	write	L
bite, snake/dog	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Welsh	WP	write	O; WP

bite, rabid dog upon other dog	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Welsh	WP	write	BB; WP
bite, rabid dog	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Welsh	WP	write	BB; WP
boil, swelling	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Welsh	Latin	write	H; LT; WP
gout	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Latin	Latin	n/a	VM; SS
all pains	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Latin	latin	speak	C; LT; WP; CV
murrain or other disease in cattle	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Welsh	Latin; WP	write	WP; O; AC
great disease' or another evil	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Welsh	Latin; WP	write	WP; VM; O
disease in livestock	Cardiff MS 3.242	ca. 1375	Latin	Latin	speak	AG; O
bleeding	NLW Llanst. MS 10	ca. 1515	Welsh	Welsh	speak	L; H
worms, people/animal	NLW Llanst. MS 10	s. xvi	English	Latinate	speak	WP
bleeding	NLW Llanst. MS 117	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Latin w/Welsh orth.	speak	O; WP
constricted veins	NLW Llanst. MS 117	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	WP	write	WP
various	NLW Llanst. MS 117	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Welsh; WP	write	HL; WP
toothache	NLW Llanst. MS 173	s. xvi/xvii	Welsh	Latin	n/a	SP; CV
bleeding	NLW Llanst. MS 181	ca. 1556-58	Welsh	Welsh	n/a	L
theft	NLW Llanst. MS 181	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Latin	speak	IA; O
theft	NLW Llanst. MS 181	s. xvi (mid)	English	Latin	speak	IA; O
fever	NLW Llanst. MS 2	s. xiv (charm)	n/a	Latin	write	SP
wound	NLW Llanst. MS 2	s. xiv (charm)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	TBF; VM; UW
whitlow/felon	NLW Llanst. MS 2	s. xiv (charm)	Welsh	Latin; WP	speak	WP; O; AC
various	NLW Llanst. MS 27	ca. 1400	Welsh	Latin; WP	speak; write	HL; WP; CV
wound	NLW Llanst. MS 3	s. xv	Welsh	Welsh	speak	TBF; VM; UW

whitlow/felon	NLW Llanst. MS 3	s. xv	Welsh	Latin; WP	speak	WP; O; AC
bleeding	NLW MS 253A	ca. 1619	Welsh	Welsh	n/a	L; UW
wound	NLW MS 5267B	ca. 1483	Welsh	Welsh	speak	TBF; VW; UW
toothache	NLW MS 572D	s. xv	n/a	Latin	n/a	SP
earworm	NLW MS 572D	s. xv	English	Latin	speak	VM; N; VW
bleeding	NLW MS 572D	s. xv	English	Latin	write	O; WP; VM
scrofula	NLW MS 6735B	ca. 1695	Welsh	Welsh	<i>speak</i>	VM; O
bleeding	NLW MS 873B	s. xvi (later)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	L; VW
bleeding	NLW MS 873B	s. xvi (later)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	L; VW
bleeding	NLW MS 873B	s. xvi	Welsh	Welsh	<i>speak</i>	B; FJ; VW
bewitchment	NLW MS 873B	s. xvi (later)	Welsh	Welsh	<i>speak</i>	VM
bewitchment	NLW Pen. MS 11990A	ca. 1675-1725)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	VM; MM; LZ
epilepsy	NLW Pen. MS 181	s. xvi (early)	Welsh	Latin	write	TK
fever	NLW Pen. MS 204	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	H
fever	NLW Pen. MS 204	s. xvi (mid)	Latin	Latin; WP	n/a	WP
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 204	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	L; VW
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 204	s. xv/xvi	English	WP	n/a	V; VW
scrofula	NLW Pen. MS 204	s. xvi (early)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	VM; O
bewitchment	NLW Pen. MS 204	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	VM; O; H
fever	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	Welsh	Latin w/Welsh orth.	n/a	A
fever	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	na	Latin w/Welsh orth.	n/a	IP
fever	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	Welsh	Latin	write	HA
wound, weapon	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	Welsh	Welsh	n/a	VW

bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	Welsh	Latin w/Welsh orth.	n/a	L; VM; FJ
bite, rabid dog	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	WP	write	BB; WP
bite, rabid dog	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	Welsh	WP	n/a	WP
bite, rabid dog	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	Welsh	WP	n/a	WP
<i>mamog (swelling?)</i>	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	Welsh	Latin w/Welsh orth.	n/a	WP; C
farcy	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	Welsh	Latin	write	WP
farcy	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	Latin	Latin; WP	na	WP
bewitchment	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	Welsh	Welsh	speak	VM; MM; LZ
bewitchment	NLW Pen. MS 205	s. xv/xvi	Welsh	Welsh; WP	<i>speak</i>	WP; VM; MM; LZ
toothache	NLW Pen. MS 206	s. xvi/xvii	Welsh	WP	n/a	E; CV
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 206	s. xvi/xvii	Welsh	Welsh	n/a	L
<i>mamog (swelling?)</i>	NLW Pen. MS 206	s. xvii (early; charm)	Welsh	WP	speak	WP; C
toothache	NLW Pen. MS 326, b.6	s. xv (late)	Welsh	Welsh	write, speak	WP; CV
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 360	s. xv/xvi	English	WP	n/a	O; WP
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 368	s. xvi/xvii	English	WP	write	O; WP; V
fire	NLW Pen. MS 368	ca. 1583	English	Latin	write	AG; CC
theft	NLW Pen. MS 368	ca. 1583	Latin	Latin; WP	speak	O
toothache	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	English	WP	speak	AP
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	English	English	speak	L
wound	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	English	Latin	speak	TBF; VM; UW; L
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	English	Latin	speak	FJ

bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	English	Latin	n/a	O; WP
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	English	Latin	n/a	O; VM; WP
childbirth	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	English	Latin	n/a	HM; CV; LT
childbirth	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	English	Latin	n/a	HM; VM
various	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	English	Latin	write	HL; CV; LT; AG; WP
various	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	English	English	speak	HL; VM; VW
mice and rats	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	Latin	Latin	write	O; WP
mice and rats	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	Latin	Latin; WP	write	O; WP
mice, rats, worms	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	Latin	Latin	write	O; WP
theft	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	English	Latin	speak; write	IA; O
theft	NLW Pen. MS 369	s. xv/xvi	Latin	English	n/a	B; O
wound	NLW Pen. MS 370B	ca. 1400	Latin	Latin	speak	TBF; UW; VM; L
fire	NLW Pen. MS 370B	ca. 1400	Latin	Latin	write	AG; CC
epilepsy	NLW Pen. MS 388	s. xv (mid)	English	English	speak	WP; VM
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 388	s. xvi	English	English	speak	B; FJ; VW
bite, rabid dog	NLW Pen. MS 388	s. xiv/xv	English	WP	write	BB; WP
various	NLW Pen. MS 39	s. xv (charm)	English	English	write	HL; O
fever	NLW Pen. MS 47	s. xv (mid)	Welsh	Latin	n/a	A
extract arrowhead	NLW Pen. MS 47	s. xv (mid)	Latin	Latin; WP	n/a	N
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 47	s. xv (mid)	Welsh	Latin	n/a	L
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 47	s. xv (mid)	Welsh	WP	write	WP
epilepsy	NLW Pen. MS 50	ca. 1445	English	Latin	write	TK

bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 53	s. xv/xvi	English	English; Latin	speak	B; FJ; VW
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 53	s. xv/xvi	Welsh	Welsh	speak	B; FJ; VW
bewitchment	NLW Pen. MS 53	s. xvi/xvii	Welsh	Welsh	speak	VM; MM; LZ
epilepsy	NLW Pen. MS 572D	s. xv	English	English; Latin	write; speak	TK
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 66	s. xvii (charm)	English	English	n/a	O
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 66	s. xvii (charm)	English	English	speak	O; WP
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 66	s. xvii (charm)	English	Latin	write	O; WP
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 66	s. xvii (charm)	English	Latin	speak	O; WP
bewitchment	NLW Pen. MS 67	ca. 1483	Welsh	Welsh	n/a	VM; O
scrofula	NLW Pen. MS 873B	s. xvi (later)	Welsh	Welsh	<i>speak</i>	VM; O
bleeding	NLW Pen. MS 88	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Welsh; WP	n/a	L; WP
bewitchment	NLW Pen. MS 88	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	VM; M; MM; LZ
toothache	NLW Sotheby MS C.2	ca. 1500	Welsh	WP	write	E; CV
fever	NLW Sotheby MS C.2	ca. 1500	n/a	Latin w/Welsh orth.	n/a	IP
bleeding	NLW Sotheby MS C.2	ca. 1500	Welsh	WP	write	WP
various	NLW Sotheby MS C.2	ca. 1500	n/a	Latin; WP	n/a	HL; WP; CV; E
worms, people/animal	NLW Sotheby MS C.2	ca. 1500	Welsh	Latinate	n/a	WP
eye, cataract	NLW. Pen. MS 204	s. xvi (mid)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	H
fever	Oxford, Jesus MS 111	ca. 1382-1405	Welsh	Latin; WP	write	HA
bleeding	Oxford, Rawl. B 457	s. xv	Latin	WP	write	O; WP
fever	Oxford, Rawl. B467	s. xv	Welsh	WP	write	HA
toothache	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi (late)	Welsh	Welsh	speak; write	WP; CV

toothache	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi (late)	Welsh	Welsh	speak	H
fever	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi (late)	Welsh	Latin	write	HA
epilepsy	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi (late)	Welsh	Welsh; Latin	write; speak	TK
wound	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi (late)	Welsh	Welsh	n/a	TBF (sub-variant)
bleeding	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi (late)	Welsh	Latin	speak	O
felon/fistula/festering	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi (late)	Welsh	Latin; Welsh	speak	O; VW
cramp	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi (late)	Welsh	WP	speak	WP
cramp	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi (late)	n/a	WP	n/a	WP
cough	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi (late)	Welsh	WP	write	O; WP
fertility	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi (late)	Welsh	WP	write	O; WP
foot-rot, livestock	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi	Welsh	Welsh	speak	H
farcy	Wellcome MS 417	s. xvi	Welsh	Latin; WP	speak	WP; IP

WORKS CONSULTED

- Arnovick, Leslie K. *Written reliquaries: the resonance of orality in medieval English texts*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 2006.
- Arthur, Ciaran. 'Charms', *Liturgies, and Secret Rites in Early Medieval England*, Anglo-Saxon Studies 32 Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018.
- Bachtold-Staubli, Hanns. *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*. 10 vols, Berlin 1927-42.
- Bächtold-Stäubli, H., ed. *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, 10 volumes. Berlin, 1927-42.
- Barb, A. A. "Animula Vagula Blandula." *Folklore* 61, no. 1 (1950): 15-30.
- Barkley, Heather. "Liturgical Influences on the Anglo-Saxon Charms against Cattle Theft." *Notes and Queries* 44, no. 4 (1997).
- Barlow, F. 'The King's Evil', *The English Historical Review*, 95/374 (January 1980) 3-27.
- Benati, Chiara, "Painted Eyes, Magical Sieves and Carved Runes," in Classen, Albrecht. *Magic and Magicians in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Time: The Occult in Pre-Modern Sciences, Medicine, Literature, Religion, and Astrology*. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture Ser. 2017.
- Betz, Hans Deiter ed. *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Bishop, Louise. *Words, Stones, & Herbes: The Healing Word in Medieval and Early Modern England*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007.
- Blom, Alderik. "'Linguae Sacrae' in Ancient and Medieval Sources : An Anthropological Approach to Ritual Language." In ed. Alex Mullen and Patrick James, *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 124-140.
- Boese, Richard. *Superstitiones Arelatenses E Caesario Collectae*. Typis Academicis I.A. Koch, 1909.
- Bonser, Winifried. "The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus in Anglo-Saxon and Later Recipes." *Folklore* 56, no. 2 (1945): 254-56.
- Borsje, Jacqueline. "Medieval Irish Spells: "Words of Power" as Performance." In *Words: Religious Language Matters*, 35. New York: Fordham University Press, 2016.
- "The Second Spell in the Stowe Missal," in eds. Cathinka Hambro and Lars Ivar Widerøe, *Lochlann – Festskrift til Jan Erik Rekdal på 60-årsdagen. Aistí in ómós do Jan Erik Rekdal ar a 60ú lá breithe*. (Oslo: Hermes Academic Publishing, 2013

- Bosse-Griffith, Kate. *Byd y Dyn Hysbys: Snyngyfaredd yng Nghymru*. Talybont: Y Lolfa, 1977.
- Bozoky, Edina. "Medieval Narrative Charms." In *The Power of Words: Studies on Charms and Charming in Europe*, 101. Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2013.
- Brevart, Francis B. "Between Medicine, Magic, and Religion: Wonder Drugs in German Medico-Pharmaceutical Treatises Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries." *Speculum* 83, no. 1 (2008): 1-57.
- Brogan, Stephen. *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin*. Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK; Rochester, NY, USA: Boydell & Brewer, 2015.
- Browe, Peter. "Die Eucharist als Zaubermittle in Mittelalter," in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*. 20.2: (1930), 134-154.
- *Die eucharistischen Wunder des Mittelalters*. (Breslau: Verlag Müller & Seiffert, 1938).
- Brown, Julian T. *The Stonyhurst Gospel of Saint John*. Oxford: Roxburghe Club Publications, 1969.
- Carey, John. "Charms in Medieval Irish Tales: Tradition, Adaptation, Innovation," in ed., John Carey et al, *Charms, Charmers and Charming in Ireland: From the Medieval to the Modern. New Approaches to Celtic Religion and Mythology*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019.
- "Lebor Gabála and the Legendary History of Ireland" in Helen Fulton, ed., *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society*, Dublin: Four Courts, 2005, 32–48.
- Cartwright, Jane "Abbess Annes and the Ape," in Janet Burton, Karen Stöber, eds., *Monastic Wales: New Approaches*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013.
- Chardonens, László Sándor, and Rosanne Hebing. "Two Charms in a Late Medieval English Manuscript at Nijmegen University Library." *The Review of English Studies* 62, no. 254 (2011): 181-92..
- Charles-Edwards, Thomas, Paul Russell, and Welsh Legal History Society. *Tair Colofn Cyfraith = the Three Columns of Law in Medieval Wales: Homicide, Theft and Fire*. Welsh Legal History Society (Series); v. 5. Bangor: Welsh Legal History Society, 2005.
- Charlesworth, James H., ed. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Vol. 1: *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*. Garden City and New York: Doubleday, 1983.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey. "The Knight's Tale," in ed. Larry Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Chipman, Leigh 'Recipes by Hippocrates, Galen and Hunayn' in Peter E. Pormann, ed, *Epidemics in Context: Greek Commentaries on Hippocrates in the Arabic Tradition*, Scientia Graeco-Arabica ; v. 8. Berlin ; Boston: De Gruyter, 2012.

- Chrétien De Troyes, ed. Ruth Harwood Cline, *Perceval*, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985.
- Cianci, Eleonora. *The German Tradition of the Three Good Brothers Charm*. Göppinger Arbeiten Zur Germanistik ; Nr. 774. Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 2013.
- Cianci, Eleonora. "Maria Lactans" and the Three Good Brothers.' in *Incantatio. An International Journal on Charms, Charmers and Charming*, 2. (2012), 55-70.
- Clancy, Joseph P. *The Earliest Welsh Poetry*. London: Macmillan, 1970.
- Classen, Albrecht. *Magic and Magicians in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Time: The Occult in Pre-Modern Sciences, Medicine, Literature, Religion, and Astrology*. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture Ser. 2017.
- Cule, John, ed. *Wales and Medicine: an Historical Survey from Papers Given at the Ninth British Congress on the History of Medicine*. British Society for the History of Medicine and Gomer Press: 1975.
- Davies, Owen. "Charmers and Charming in England and Wales from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century," *Folklore* 109 (1998): 1-2, 41-52
- "Cunning-folk in England and Wales during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Rural History* 8,1 (1997), 91-107.
- "Healing Charms in Use in England and Wales 1700-1950." *Folklore* 107 (1996): 19-32
- *Grimoires: A History of Magic Books*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- *Popular Magic: Cunning-folk in English History*. London and New York: Hambledon and London, 2003.
- Day, J.P. 'Arfau yn yr Hengerdd a cherddi Beirdd y Tywysogion.' Phd. Thesis, Aberystwyth, 2010.
- Demaitre, Luke E. *Medieval Medicine : The Art of Healing, from Head to Toe*. Praeger Series on the Middle Ages. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Praeger, 2013.
- Dilling, W. J. "Girdles: Their Origin and Development, Particularly with Regard to Their Use as Charms in Medicine, Marriage, and Midwifery," *Caledonian Med. J.* 9 (1912– 14).
- Diverres, Pierre. *Le plus ancien texte des Meddygon Myddven*. M. Le Dault: Paris, 1913.
- Dronke, Ursula. "Art and tradition in Skírnismál," in eds. Norman Davis and C.L. Wrenn, *English and medieval studies presented to J. R. R. Tolkien on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1962.
- *The Poetic Edda*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.

- Duffy, Eamon. *The Stripping of the Altars : Traditional Religion in England, C.1400-c.1580*. 2nd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Eamon, William. *Science and the secrets of nature: books of secrets in medieval and early modern culture*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Ebermann, Oskar. *Blut- und Wundsegen in ihrer Entwicklung dargestellt*, Berlin: Mayer, 1903.
- Elsackers, Marianne. "Medieval Prayers for a Safe Delivery," in Korte, Anna. *Women and Miracle Stories : A Multidisciplinary Exploration. Numen Book Series* ; v. 88. Leiden, Boston: BRILL, 2004.
- Elyot, Sir Thomas. *The Castel of Health*. London: Thomas Berthelet, 1580.
- Evans, Simon. *A Grammar of Middle Welsh*. Mediaeval and Modern Welsh Series. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1970
- Fanger, Claire. "Things Done Wisely By a Wise Enchanter: Negotiating the Power of Words in the Thirteenth Century," in *Esoterica* 1 (1999): 97-13.
- Faure, Pascaline . "From Accouchement to Agony: A Lexicological Analysis of Words of French Origin in the Modern English Language of Medicine." *Lexis: Journal in English Lexicology* 11, no. 11 (2018): Lexis: Journal in English Lexicology, 01 April 2018, Vol.11.
- Favreau, Robert. "Rex, Lex, Lux, Pax. Plays on Words and Letters in Medieval Inscriptions." *Bibliothèque De L'Ecole Des Chartes* 161, no. 2 (2003): 625-35.
- Flint, Valerie I. J. *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Flower, Robin. "Sator Arepo Tenet Opera Rotas." *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 2 (1925).
- Foscati, Alessandra "Healing with the Body of Christ. Religion, Medicine and Magic," in I. Andreani and A. Paravicini Bagliani, *Il Corpus Domini. Teologia, antropologia e politica*. Florence: SISMEL - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015, 209-226.
- Forbes, Thomas R. 'Verbal Charms in British Folk Medicine,' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 115 (1971), 293-316.
- Fox, Adam. *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Frankfurter, David. "Narrating Power: The Theory and Practice of the Magical *Historiola* in Ritual Spells," in Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki, eds. *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, RGRW 129. Leiden, 1995, 451-470.
- Franz, Adolf. *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*. Freiburg, 1909.

- Frazer, James George. *The Golden Bough : A Study in Magic and Religion*. 2nd Ed. London : New York: Macmillan, 1900.
- Frey, E.F. 'Saints in Medical History' *Clio Medica* 14 (1979) [35-70].
- Gerabek, W. E. "The Tooth-worm: Historical Aspects of a Popular Medical Belief." *Clinical Oral Investigations* 3, no. 1 (1999).
- Gertz, H. and Keith Thomas, "An Anthropology of Religion and Magic: Two Views." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 6 (1975-1976), 71-109.
- Goodare, Julian , Lauren Martin, and Joyce Miller. *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotland*. Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Green, Monica H. "The Development of the *Trotula*," *Women's Healthcare in the Medieval West: Texts and Contexts*. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1996.
- *The Trotula: A Medieval Compendium on Women's Medicine*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Grendon, Felix. "The Anglo-Saxon Charms." *Journal of American Folklore* 22, no. 82 (1909).
- Griffiths, J. Gwyn. 'Arepo' in the Magic 'Sator' Square," *The Classical Review*, New Series, Vol. 21, No. 1, March 1971, 6–8.
- Grigson, Caroline. *Menagerie, The history of exotic animals in England, 1100-1837*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Gross, Robert A. "A Brief History of Epilepsy and Its Therapy in the Western Hemisphere." *Epilepsy Research* 12, no. 2, 1992.
- Grzybowski, Stefan and Edward A. Allen,. "History and Importance of Scrofula." *The Lancet* 346, no. 8988 (1995): 1472-474.
- Harris, Joseph. "Cursing with the Thistle: 'Skírnismál' 31, 6-8, and OE Metrical Charm 9, 16-17," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 76, no 1 (1975): 26-33.
- Harrison, Sunny. *Jordanus Ruffus and the late-medieval hippiatric tradition: animal-care practitioners and the horse*. University of Leeds, Doctoral Dissertation, 2018.
- Haureau, B. 'Les Filles du Diable,' *Journal des Savants* (Janvier 1884) 225-228.
- Haycock, Marged, ed., trans. *Legendary poems from the Book of Taliesin*. 2nd ed. Aberystwyth: CMCS Publications, 2015.

- Hebing, Rosanne. "‘Allmygti god this lettyr sent’: English Heavenly Letter Charms in Late Medieval Books and Rolls,” *Studies in Philology* 114, no. 4 (2017): 720-47.
- "The Textual Tradition of Heavenly Letter Charms in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts." *Amsterdamer Beitrage Zur Alteren Germanistik* 69 (2012): 203-22.
- Henry, Lewis, Thomas Roberts, and Ifor Williams, *Cynyddau Iolo Goch Ac Eraill*. Arg. Newydd. ed. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1937.
- Hillers, Barbara. "Towards a Typology of European Narrative Charms in Irish Oral Tradition." in eds. John Care et al., *Charms, Charmers, and Charming in Ireland: From the Medieval to the Modern*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019.
- Hoffmann Hartmut , Rudolf Pokorný, and Burchard. *Das Dekret Des Bischofs Burchard Von Worms : Textstufen, Frühe Verbreitung, Vorlagen*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Hilfsmittel ; 12. München: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1991.
- Hoogland, Mark-Robin. *The Academic Sermons, The Fathers of the Church, Mediaeval Continuation, Volume 11, Fathers of the Church*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2010.
- Hull, Eleanor. "The Ancient Hymn-Charms of Ireland." *Folklore* 21 (1910): 417.
- Hunt, Tony. *Anglo-Norman Medicine. II : Shorter Treatises*. Woodbridge, Cahiers De Civilisation Médiévale 43, no. 171. Boydell & Brewer, 1998.
- *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-century England*. Cambridge ; Wolfeboro, N.H., USA: D.S. Brewer, 1990.
- Huws, Bleddyn Owen. "‘Llawer dyn.../ Â chywydd a iachawyd’: Guto’r Glyn yr Iachawr’ yn *Gwalch Cynyddau Gwŷr: Ysgrifau ar Guto’r Glyn a Chymru’r Bymthegfed Ganrif*/ *Essays on Guto’r Glyn and Fifteenth-Century Wales*, ed. Dylan Foster Evans, Barry J. Lewis and Ann Parry Owen. Aberystwyth, 2013, 283-303.
- "The Poet as a Healer’ yn *Transactions of the Physicians of Myddfai Society / Trafodion Cymdeithas Meddygon Myddfai*, ed. Robin Barlow. Llandybïe, 2018, 143-49.
- "Y Cywydd Iacháu ac Anthropoleg Feddygol”, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol*, 33 2014. 140-53.
- Huws, Daniel. *A Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes, c. 800-1800*, forthcoming.
- *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press : National Library of Wales, 2000.
- Jackson, R.. *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire*, London: British Museum Press, 1988.

- Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, 2 vols., trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).
- Jacques, Michaela. "The grammatical sources of the *Dwned*." In *Celtica*, eds. Barry J. Lewis, Ruairí Ó hUiginn. v. 41 (2019), p. 163-191.
- Jacquart, Danielle. "Medical Scholasticism", in *Western Medical Thought from Antiquity*, ed. Mirko D. Grmek. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA, 1998. 199-221.
- James, Peter J and J. Thorpe, *Ancient Inventions*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1994.
- Jolly, Karen Louise. "Anglo-Saxon Charms in the context of a Christian World View", *Journal of Medieval History*, 11 (1985).
- *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England : Elf Charms in Context*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
- "Tapping the Power of the Cross: Who and for Whom," in Karkov, Catherine E., Sarah Larratt Keefer, and Karen Louise Jolly. *The place of the cross in Anglo-Saxon England*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006.
- Johnson, George. *The Spirit-paraclete in the Gospel of John*. Monograph Series (Society for New Testament Studies), 12. Cambridge Eng.: University Press, 1970.
- Jones, Francis. *The Holy Wells of Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992.
- Jones, Ida B. "Hafod 16: A Mediaeval Welsh Medical Treatise.' In *Études Celtiques*, 7. 46-75, 270-339; 8. 66-97, 346-93.
- Jones, Peter Murray and Lea Olsan, "Performative Rituals for Conception and Childbirth in England, 900-1500." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 89, no. 3 (2015): 406-433.
- Jones, Peter Murray. "Thomas Fayreford: An English Fifteenth-Century Medical Practitioner" in eds. Roger French, Jon Arrizabalaga, Andrew Cunningham, and Luis Garcia-Ballester, *Medicine from the Black Death to the French Disease*. (Brookfield USA, Singapore, & Sydney: Ashgate, 1998), pp 156-183.
- Jones, W.R.. "The heavenly Letter in Medieval England,' *Medievalia et Humanistica* 6 (1975), 163-178.
- Keiser, George (ed), *A Manual of Writings in Middle English 1050-1500. Volume 10: Works of Science and Information*. (New Haven: The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1998) 3670-3671.
- Kieckhefer, Richard. *Magic in The Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Kittredge, George Lyman. *Witchcraft in Old and New England*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1929.

- Klaassen, Frank F., *Making Magic in Elizabethan England : Two Early Modern Vernacular Books of Magic*. Magic in History. University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019.
- Law, Robert. "In Principio," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. 37, no. 2, 1922.
- Lecouteux, Claude. trans. Jon E. Graham, *Traditional Magic Spells for Protection and Healing*. Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 2017.
- Leach, Edmund. 1964. "Magic." In *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences*. Ed. Julius Gould and William Lester Kolb. "Compiled under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization". New York: Free Press. (1964).
- Leffler, Christopher T. et al., "A medieval fallacy: the crystalline lens in the center of the eye." *Clinical ophthalmology (Auckland, N.Z.)* vol. 10 649-62. (8 Apr. 2016).
- Lehane, Shane. "The *Cailleach* and the Cosmic Hare," in John Carey et al. *Charms, Charmers and Charming in Ireland: From the Medieval to the Modern. New Approaches to Celtic Religion and Mythology*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019.
- Lonie, Iain M. "Fever Pathology in the Sixteenth Century: Tradition and Innovation" in W.F. Bynum and V. Nutton, eds., *Theories of Fever From Antiquity to the Enlightenment, Medical History*, Suppl. no. 1. London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1981.
- Luft, Diana. "*Ansoddau'r Trwn*: A Welsh uroscopic tract." In *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, Vol. 58 (2011): 55-86.
- "Locating the British Library Additional 14912 Calendar." in *Studia Celtica*, Vol. 53 (20019): 103-132.
- Mackenzie, William. *Gaelic Incantations, Charms, and Blessings of the Hebrides: With Translations, and Parallel Illustrations from Irish, Manx, Norse, and Other Superstitions*. Inverness: Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Pub., 1895.
- MacLeod, Mindy and Bernard Mees, *Runic Amulets and Magic Objects*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006.
- Malinowski, Bronisław. "Magic, Science, and Religion," in *Magic, Science, and Religion, and other Essays*; Boston: Beacon Press, 1948.
- Maskell, W.A. ed., *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 2nd ed. Oxford, 1882.
- Mauss, Marcel . *A General Theory of Magic*. Routledge Classics. Taylor and Francis, 2005.
- Mazzola, Isabella C. "History of Cosmetic Eyelid Surgery," in *International Textbook of Aesthetic Surgery*, Berlin; Heidelberg: Springer, 2016.

- McBryde, John M. "Some Mediæval Charms." *The Sewanee Review* 25, no. 3 (1917): 292-304.
- Melrose, Robin. *Magic in Britain: A History of Medieval and Earlier Practices*. Jefferson, North Carolina: Mcfarland & Company, 2018.
- Mitchell, Stephen. "Faith and Knowledge in Nordic Charm Magic," in Karoline Kjesrud and Mikael Males, eds., *Faith & Knowledge in Late Medieval & Early Modern Scandinavia*. Turnhout: Brepols, *forthcoming*.
- *Witchcraft and Magic in the Nordic Middle Ages*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.
- Mirk, John, Susan Powell, British Library, and Early English Text Society. *John Mirk's Festial : Edited from British Library MS Cotton Claudius A.II*. Early English Text Society (Series). Original Series No. 334-335. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Mone, Franz Joseph, ed. *Hymni Latini Medii Aevi: V.3, Hymni ad Sanctos Friburgi Brisgoviae*: Sumptibus Herder, 1855.
- Moussu, G, Gustave and John A. W. Dollar. *Diseases of Cattle, Sheep, Goats and Swine*. New York: W. R. Jenkins, 1905.
- Mowat, J.I., ed. *Sinonoma Bartholomei. A glossary from a fourteenth century ms in the library of Pembroke College*. Anecdota Oxoniensia. Medieval and Modern Series, I. 1, Oxford, 1882.
- Nicholson, Brinsley (ed), *The Discoverie of Witchcraft by Reginald Scot, Esquire*. London: Elliot Stock, 1584.
- Nöth, Winfried. 'Semiotics of the Old English Charm,' *Semiotica*. 19 (1977).
- Notte, Ludovic. "La Dévotion à saint Eloi dans les écuries princières (XIIIe-XVIe siècle)," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 81 (2003).
- Owen, Elias. *Welsh folk-lore: A collection of the folk-tales and legends of North Wales*. Norwood, Pa.: Norwood Editions, 1973.
- Olsan, Lea. "Charms and Prayers in Medieval Medical Theory and Practice." *Social History of Medicine* 16:3 (2003): 343-366.
- "Charms in Medieval Memory." In ed. Jonathan Roper. *Charms and Charming in Europe*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- "Latin Charms in British Library, MS Royal 12.B.XXV." *Manuscripta* 33, no. 2 (1989): 119-28.
- "Latin Charms of Medieval England. Verbal Healing in a Christian Oral Tradition" In *Oral Tradition* 7: 116-42.

- "The Arcus Charms and Christian Magic." *Neophilologus* 73, no. 3 (1989): 438-47.
- "The Corpus of Charms in the Middle English Leechcraft Remedy Books," in Jonathan Roper, ed. *Charms, Charmers and Charming*. Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. 214-237.
- "The Three Good Brothers Charm: Some Historical Points" in *Incantatio. An International Journal on Charms, Charmers and Charming* 1 (2011): 47-78.
- "Writing on the Hand in Ink: A Late Medieval Innovation in Fever Charms in England." *Incantatio. An International Journal on Charms, Charmers and Charming* 7 (2018): 9-45.
- O'Rahilly, T.F. *Early Irish History and Mythology*. Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 1946.
- Owen, Elias. *Welsh Folk-lore: A Collection of the Folk-tales and Legends of North Wales*. Norwood, Pa.: Norwood Editions, 1973.
- Owen, Morfydd. "Meddygon Myddfai: A Preliminary Survey of Some Medieval Medical Writing in Welsh." In *Studia Celtica*, volume X/XI (1975/76) 210-233.
- "Medics and Medicine." In *The Welsh King and His Court*, ed. Charles-Edwards, Owen, and Russell. University of Wales Press: Cardiff 2000, 116-141.
- "The Medical Books of Medieval Wales and the Physicians of Myddfai." In *The Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, volume 31 (1995) 34-44.
- Park, Kathryn. "Medicine and Society in Medieval Europe, 500-1500," in ed. Andrew Wear, *Medicine in Society*, Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Parks, Malcolm. *The Literacy of the Laity*. London: Aldus Books, 1973.
- Perkins, William. *A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft*. Cambridge, 1608.
- Pettit, Edward, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Remedies, Charms, and Prayers from British Library MS Harley 585, The Lacnunga*, Lewiston, Queenston and Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2001.
- Piper, Prydwyn. "Ystori Tri Brenin O Gwlen." *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 20/21 (2000): 130-40.
- Pócs, Éva. "Church Benedictions and Popular Charms in Hungary." In *The Power of Words: Studies on Charms and Charming in Europe*, 165. Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2013.
- "Miracles and Impossibilities in Magic Folk Poetry." In Roper J. (eds) *Charms, Charmers and Charming*. Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

- Porter, Roy. "The Popularisation of Medicine in Early Modern England," in *The Popularization of Medicine: 1650-1850*, ed. Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1992).
- Potts, Thomas. *Pott's Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster, Reprinted from the Original Edition of 1613 with an Introduction and notes by James Crossley, Esq.* Manchester: Charles Simms and Co, 1745.
- Pratt, Antoinette Marie. *The attitude of the Catholic church towards witchcraft and the allied practices of sorcery and magic*. Washington, D.C.: National capital Press, 1915.
- Price, Huw. *Native Law and the Church in Medieval Wales*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).
- Pughe, John and John ab Ithel Williams. *The Physicians of Myddvai; Meddygon Myddvai, or The Medical Practice of the Celebrated Riwallon and His Sons, of Myddvai, in Carmarthenshire, Physicians to Rhys Gryg, Lord of Dynevor and Ystrad Tony, about the Middle of the Thirteenth Century*. (D. J. Roderic; Longman & Co, 1861).
- Pujmanova, Olga 'Portraits of Kings depicted as Magi in Bohemian Painting,' in *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*, eds. Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monnas, and Caroline Elam. London: Harvey Miller, 1997.
- Rackham, H. *Natural History*. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA : London: Harvard University Press ; W. Heinemann, 1944.
- Rider, Catherine. "Medical Magic and the Church in Thirteenth-Century England." *Social History of Medicine* 24, no. 1 (2011): 92-107.
- Ritchey, Sara. "The Sacrificial Herb: Gathering Prayers in Medieval Pharmacy." *Postmedieval* 9, no. 4 (2018): 432-43.
- Rivard, Derek A. *Blessing the World : Ritual and Lay Piety in Medieval Religion*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2009.
- Roberts, Brynley. 'Rhai Swynion Cymraeg' *The Bulletin Board of Celtic Studies* 21 (1965) pp 197-213.
- Rodnan, Gerald P., and Thomas G. Benedek, "Ancient Therapeutic Arts in the Gout," *Arthritis and Rheumatism*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (August), 1963. pp. 317-340.
- Roper, Jonathan ed., *Charms and Charming in Europe*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- *English Verbal Charms*. FF Communications No. 288. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 2005.
- Ryan, W. F. *Bathhouse at Midnight: An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia*. Magic in History. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.

- Schire, Theodore. *Hebrew Amulets: Their Decipherment and Interpretation*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966.
- Schoot, Henk. *Christ the 'Name' of God, Thomas Aquinas on Naming Christ*. Leuven: Peeters Publications of the Thomas Instituut te Utrecht, vol. I 1993.
- Sheldon, Susan Eastman. *Middle English and Latin Charms, Amulets, and Talismans from Vernacular MSS* (Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, 1978).
- Sigerist, H.E. "Materia Medica in the Middle Ages," *Bulletin of History of Medicine*, vii, 417-423.
- Simek, Rudolf. "Elves and Exorcism:: Runic and Other Lead Amulets in Medieval Popular Religion." In *Myths, Legends, and Heroes: Essays on Old Norse and Old English Literature*, 25. Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 2011.
- Skemer, Don. *Binding Words and Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages: Magic in History*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006
- Smalley, Beryl. *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952.
- Smallwood, T.M. "A Charm-motif to Cure Wounds Shared By Middle Dutch and Middle English. C. de Backer (ed.), *Cultuurhistorische caleidoscoop: aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. Willy L. Braekman*. Gent: Stichting Mes en Kultuur, 1992.
- "God was born in Bethlehem...": The Tradition of a Middle English Charm. *Medium Aevum* 58 (2): 206-233.
- "The Transmission of Charms in English, Medieval and Modern." in Jonathan Roper (ed), *Charms and Charming in Europe* (London: Palgrave, 2004), 11-31.
- Stokes, Whitley, ed. "The Bodleian Amra Choluimb Chille", *Revue Celtique* 20 (1899).
- Stone, Lawrence. "The Educational Revolution in England 1560-1640," in *Past and Present*, 28 (1964). See also Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*. London: Methuen, 1981.
- Storms, G., and Springerlink. *Anglo-Saxon Magic*. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1948.
- Stoudt, Debra L. "Medieval German Women and the Power of Healing," in ed. Lilian R. Furst, *Women Healers and Physicians, Climbing a Long Hill*. Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1997.
- Suggett, Richard, *A History of Witchcraft and Magic in Wales*, History of Wales, Stroud: History Press 2008.
- *Welsh Witches: Narratives of Witchcraft and Magic in 16th and 17th Century Wales*, Atramentous Press, 2019

- Tallis, Lisa, ed. *Cas Gan Gytbraul: Demonology, Witchcraft, and Popular Magic in Eighteenth-Century Wales*. Newport: South Wales Records Society, 2015.
- Tambiah, S.J. "The Magical Power of Words." *Man* 3, no. 2 (1968): 175-207.
- Temkin, Owsei. *The Falling Sickness*, 2nd edn. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971.
- Thomas, Keith. *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971.
- Thorndike, Lynn. *A History of Magic and Experimental Science. Publications* (History of Science Society) ; New Ser., 4. New York: Macmillan, 1923.
- "Some Medieval Conceptions of Magic," *The Monist*, 25 (1915), 107-139.
- "The Attitude of Origen and Augustine Toward Magic," in *The Monist* 18, no. 1 (1908) 46-66.
- Tooker, William. *Charisma Sive Donum Sanationis, Seu Explicatio Totius Quaestionis De Mirabilium Sanitatum Gratia: In qua Praecipue Agitur De Solenni & Sacra Curatione Strumae, Cui Reges Angliae Rite Inaugurati, Divinitus Medicati Sunt*. Londini: Windet, 1597.
- Thurston, Herbert and Donald Attwater, eds. *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, vol. 3, New York: P.J. Kennedy and Sons, 1956.
- Townend, B.R. "The Narrative Charm with Special Reference to the Cure of Toothache," *British Dental Journal* 85 (1948), 29-34.
- Tuomi, Ilona. "'As I went up the hill of Mount Olive' The Irish Tradition of the Three Good Brothers Charm Revisited." *Studia Celtica Fennica* XIII (2016), 69-96.
- Turrell, James. "The Ritual of Royal Healing in Early Modern England: Scrofula, Liturgy, and Politics." *Anglican and Episcopal History* 68, no. 1 (1999): 3-36.
- Voigts, Linda. "What's the Word? Bilingualism in Late-medieval England." *Speculum* 71, no. 4 (1996): 813-26.
- Waller, Daniel James. "Echo and the Historiola: Theorizing Narrative Incantation," *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 16:1 (2015), 263-80.
- Walford, W. S, and Albert Way. "Examples of Mediæval Seals." *Archaeological Journal* 18, no. 1 (1861): 47-102.
- Wax, Murray and Rosalie. "The Notion of Magic," *Current Anthropology* 4, no. 5 (1963): 495-518.
- Wilde, W. R. *Ancient Legends, Mystic Charms, and Superstitions of Ireland*. Wicca and White Magic Anthology. Boston: Ticknor and, 1887.

Williams, Glanmor. *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1962.

Williamson, Eila. 'The Cult of the Three Kings of Cologne in Scotland,' found in eds. Steve Boardman, John Reuben Davies, and Eila Williamson, *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World, Studies in Celtic History* 25. Boydell Press, 2009.

Wilson, K. J. and Thomas Elyot. "The Letters of Sir Thomas Elyot." *Studies in Philology* 73, no. 5 (1976).

Yeo, In-Sok. "Hippocrates in the Context of Galen: Galen's Commentary on the Classification of Fevers in Epidemics VI." *Studies in Ancient Medicine* 31 (2005): 433-43.