

The Veneration of St Dwynwen

“Dydd Santes Dwynwen”, the feast day of St Dwynwen, is celebrated in Wales on the 25th of January each year and is considered to be the Welsh equivalent of St Valentine’s Day (Ifans, 2019). However, despite this day’s increasing popularity, there is a lack of scholarly discourse surrounding St Dwynwen and why she is considered to be the patron saint of lovers. I posit that St Dwynwen is seen as the patron saint of lovers because that is the part of her story that resonates the most with modern audiences. Evidence of the traditions associated with St Dwynwen will be shown through the analysis of the accounts found in the Iolo Morganwy manuscripts, and comparing these with other literary and archaeological sources to work towards piecing together a timeline of how she was celebrated. From this, it will be seen that the veneration of St Dwynwen has developed through the centuries from role model of the ideal Welsh woman to representing love in all of its forms. Finally, I will discuss the possible reasons as to why the worship of St Dwynwen has evolved over time, showing this to likely be a byproduct of the changing sociopolitical landscape of Wales over the last millennia.

Iolo Morganwg’s St Dwynwen

There exists no evidence of a medieval vitae describing St Dwynwen’s life. This is an unfortunate truth for many Welsh female saints, and this has been proposed as one cause of the lack of attention given to these figures in previous hagiological study (Cartwright, 2002). Despite this lack of extant medieval sources, there are other forms of evidence that we can use to build up the story of Dwynwen, and in turn uncover the traditions associated with her sainthood and veneration throughout the ages. There are poems and prayers dedicated to the saint, and one surviving account of her tale found within the Iolo manuscripts, a collection of works owned by Edward Williams, also known by his bardic name Iolo Morganwg, which were compiled by his son Taliesin Williams and published in 1848

(Williams, 1848). The following section of this work will be dedicated to detailing what this source details about St Dwynwen's story, how it can be used to uncover how the saint was venerated, and which time period we can attribute these attitudes towards St Dwynwen to.

Dwynwen's story, as detailed in the Iolo manuscripts, begins by stating that she and a man named Maelon Dafodrill were in love, but that he had broken her heart when he "*sought her in unappropriated union*" and "*left her in animosity and aspersed her*" upon rejecting his proposition (Williams, 1848, p. 474). The exact nature of this 'unappropriated union' is debated between different retellings; The Oxford Dictionary of Saints suggests that this makes reference to Maelon wanting to marry Dwynwen against her father's wishes (Farmer, 2011), whilst other sources contend that Maelon propositioned her with, or forced her into, an act of pre-marital sex (Nash, 2020). Distraught with how Maelon had treated her, it is said that Dwynwen fled to the woods, where she prayed to God to "*cure her of her love*". Her prayers were answered when she was visited in her sleep and given a draught to rid her of her love for Maelon. She received a vision of Maelon drinking the same potion, except instead of it metaphorically 'cooling his desires' it physically turned him to ice. Dwynwen was also granted with three wishes, with which she asked for Maelon to be unfrozen, that all "*true hearted lovers*" were either granted the ability to be with their beloved or to be cured of their longing, and that she should never wish to marry again and live the rest of her life in service of God.

It is important to note that the aim of the analysis of this story is not to establish whether Dwynwen existed as a historical figure. It is an established view within current academic discourse on hagiography that the most value can be found within the Lives of the saints when interrogating them for evidence of how that particular saint was viewed and venerated during the time of the account's writing (Cartwright, 2002). Looking at the Iolo Morganwg manuscripts' account through this lens, we are confronted with two separate questions to answer: What exactly is this story telling us about the veneration of Dwynwen, and when can we attribute this story to?

To uncover what this story tells us about the veneration of St Dwywnwen, we must first uncover the parts of her character that she was celebrated for within it. There are several key themes found in the above tale which align with those commonly found in medieval hagiographies, one such concept being voluntary religious seclusion from society. This practice was seen as a holy sacrifice, with these people withdrawing from society to dedicate themselves completely to God, and extant Anglo-Saxon poetry and hagiography respected and often revered these figures for their piety and dedication (Licence, 2011). An example of another female Welsh saint being praised for their chosen religious exile is St Melangell (Herbert McAvoy, 2010). As such, St Dwywnwen asking God to facilitate her to live a life such as this by granting her wish of never marrying again shows the piety of her character and is an aspect of her character that this account celebrates.

We can also see from the story in the Iolo manuscripts that Dwywnwen is rewarded for maintaining her 'purity' by rejecting Maelon Daffodril's proposal of "*unappropriated union*". In this story both Dwywnwen and Maelon receive the same potion, but whilst Dwywnwen's draught only rids her of her love for Maelon, Maelon himself suffers a physical transformation into a block of ice. This is a stark difference in treatment of the pair, considering that their love for one another was mutual. It therefore seems that their difference in treatment comes from their attitudes towards obedience and purity, with Dwywnwen being rewarded for resisting Maelon's forbidden advances. The notion of God rewarding the pure and punishing those who would seek to corrupt them is common within hagiography, as argued by historian Jane Cartwright (Cartwright, 2002). The image of Dwywnwen's grace and purity is then further amplified by her forgiveness of Maelon, with Dwywnwen dedicating one of only three wishes granted from God to thawing Maelon despite his poor treatment of her. The sentiment that St Dwywnwen's demeanour is pleasing to those around her is echoed once again much later in the Iolo manuscripts, where she has the phrase "*None [are] so amiable as the cheerful*" attributed to her, once again showing despite her experiences she is viewed as full of grace (Williams, 1848, p. 653). Moreover, this implies that this is what she ought to be doing rather

than a peculiarity of her character, thus cementing her as the kind of women you should strive to be. Therefore, through demonstrating her fair and forgiving nature alongside her chastity and extreme loyalty to God, the story in the Iolo manuscript celebrates Dwynwen as a role-model for the ideal woman.

It can be concluded, then, that this story paints St Dwynwen as the ideal religious woman. She is rewarded within the story for her chastity and obedience, remaining full of forgiveness and grace despite her foul treatment, and fully devoted to God in a most respected way. As such, the reader is encouraged to celebrate St Dwynwen as a role-model for Welsh women to strive towards. Whilst Dwynwen directly beseeches God to save true-hearted lovers from heartache, I argue that that is a tool to further highlight her graceful character because she is not shown as bitter as to what she went through, but rather loving and wanting to heal other's pain. Therefore, I do not believe that this story paints Dwynwen as the patron saint of lovers depicted by modern interpretations. However, I do believe that this story did shape the modern understanding of St Dwynwen as a figure that represents love.

Other instances of St Dwynwen appearing within the Iolo manuscripts outside of her self-titled section, however brief, provide further insight into the aspects of her character that were celebrated and revered. One such crucial aspect is that of her lineage; Dwynwen is said to be one of many daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog, the semi-legendary saint-king of Brycheiniog (Breconshire) (Baring-Gould & Fisher, 1903), all of whose children became saints themselves (Williams, 1848, p. 473). This fact is repeated in every instance that St Dwynwen is mentioned within the Iolo manuscripts (Williams, 1848, pp. 59, 473, 653). This notion is also repeated in other sources, such as 11th century manuscript 'De Situ Brecheniauc' which lists her as one of King Brychan's twenty-four daughters (Baring-Gould & Fisher, 1903). It was commonplace that saints and other important figures would have reported heritage from one of these holy families to bolster their importance in the public eye (Lewis, 2022). Therefore, it would be reasonable to assume that Dwynwen was considered

at least a somewhat important figure, given that she was widely attributed as having such a pious lineage.

The Iolo manuscripts also provide insights into where St Dwynwen was worshiped. The section in the short notices dedicated to St Dwynwen ends with a note detailing that Dwynwen withdrew to an island off the coast of Anglesey to spend the rest of her days as a religious hermit. (Williams, 1848, p. 474). Mention of her church is also made earlier in the manuscript, citing that she had a church in Anglesey, and another in Ceredigion. (Williams, 1848, p. 59). Whilst we have no extant evidence of a church dedicated to St Dwynwen in Ceredigion, there is archaeological evidence that speaks to their being a late-medieval church located on Ynys Llandwyn, a small tidal island off the southwest coast of Anglesey. A recent archaeological evaluation was undertaken on the medieval church ruin on Ynys Llanddwyn, which concluded that the original church was likely built in the late 12th or 13th century (Nash, 2020). This church is widely accepted as having been dedicated to St Dwynwen. Evidence from the evaluation showed that the church was in use until the 18th century, with evidence of stone robbing and re-use indicating the church's abandonment after this time. The report concluded that a decline in parishioner numbers alongside harsh weather conditions destroying the infrastructure of the church as reasons for its abandonment. Despite its abandonment, this site provides evidence of centuries long veneration of St Dwynwen on Anglesey.

To summarise thus far, the image of Dwynwen put forward in the Iolo manuscripts is that of the 'perfect' female saint, and a role model for women to strive towards. The remainder of this section will be dedicated to investigating when the story detailed in the manuscripts was created, thus figuring out what time period we can attribute its commentary on the veneration of St Dwynwen to.

When considering what time we can attribute the manuscripts' account of St Dwynwen's life as being from, it may seem logical to assume that it is around as old as the poem that it is grouped with. However, the leap to this conclusion is unfounded. The section of the short

notices that they both appear in, titled 'Dwynwen', is the only portion of the manuscripts that mentions the saint in more detail than a sentence or two, making it logical to keep them together in their own section. Furthermore, other characters seem to have the bulk of their mentions confined to their own self-titled sections within the manuscript, such as Brynach Wyddel and Don, King of Lochlyn (Williams, 1848, pp. 471, 474). From this we can assume that Taliesin Williams, when ordering his father's collections, grouped sources into sections by whom they referenced rather than the time frame that they were purportedly written in. So, we cannot conclude how old this account of St Dwynwen's life is simply by its proximity to Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetry within the Iolo manuscript.

A further complication to the dating of this story is the fact that Iolo Morganwg was a known prolific and extremely adept literary forger (Evans, 2009). Mary-Ann Constantine, an expert in romantic-era Welsh literature, contends that Iolo took advantage of his knowledge of the Welsh oral tradition in order to mask his forgeries (Constantine, 2007). The rich history of oral transmission of knowledge and stories within Welsh culture allows stories to become altered throughout generations, whilst maintaining their familiarity and original themes. Iolo Morganwg would have understood this, Constantine argues, and used this fact to introduce works he had written himself containing different levels of fabrication into his collection of true medieval works in such a way as to avoid his forgeries being detected. We cannot know for certain how much of St Dwynwen's story is fabricated, but the fact that it was not immediately thrown out as fiction upon its publication suggests that the themes presented within it aligned with the 18th century view and veneration of St Dwynwen. Whilst we cannot in good faith use this story alone as proof of earlier attitudes towards St Dwynwen, we can argue that it gives us a picture of how the saint was viewed in the romantic period. As such, whilst we can be certain that Iolo Morganwg did not invent St Dwynwen, her story found within his manuscripts may be a well written fabrication designed to relay 18th century attitudes towards the Saint with an engaging narrative.

Dafydd ap Gwilym's St Dwynwen

Alongside the account of St Dwynwen's life, the Iolo manuscript contains an excerpt of a poem about the saint that is credited as being authored by Dafydd ap Gwilym. Dafydd ap Gwilym was a 14th century Welsh poet, whose work is often cited in terms of quality and innovation as rivalling that of Chaucer (Fulton, 1978). The extract in question was taken from the poem 'Galw ar Ddwynwen', which translates to "Appeal to Dwynwen". The complete version of this poem survives in several other manuscripts documenting Dafydd ap Gwilym's works (Digital Humanities at Swansea University, n.d.), so we know that this poem was not one of Iolo Morganwg's forgeries and is indeed dated to the 14th century. In this poem the author beseeches St Dwynwen to act as a love-guide (Bromwich, 1982) and he, whilst acknowledging that St Dwynwen represents purity and chastity, sets to persuade her to unite him with his lover Morfudd. He goes as far as to assure Dwynwen that *"God does not undo what he has done....you will not fall from heaven"* if the Saint grants him a tryst with his lover. The audacity of his plea becomes further apparent in reading other works by this poet that mention Morfudd, as from these we learn that his beloved was in fact a married woman that he had been having an affair with (Bromwich, 1982). Despite his sentiments being sacrilegious in nature, it grants valuable insight into what Dwynwen was celebrated for and how she was worshipped during the 14th century.

The most explicit reference to the practice of worshipping St Dwynwen come from Dafydd ap Gwilym's mention of pilgrimage to her church. The poet states that her golden image inside the church was said to *'assuage the griefs of wretched men'* and when they leave *"there is no sickness nor heart's sorrow which he would carry with him thence from Llanddwyn"*.

There survives also an engraving from the 18th century by the Buck Brothers showcasing the popularity of St Dwynwen's Church as a place of pilgrimage (Nash, 2020). As such, we can safely conclude that St Dwynwen was worshipped by pilgrims and locals alike on Ynys Llandwyn.

As for why St Dwynwen was venerated during this time, Daffyd ap Gwilym's poem praises the saint repeatedly for her piety, religious dedication, and virginity in the same vein as with the Iolo Morganwy conception of St Dwynwen. Examples of this includes the line *"because of your worthiness no one will suspect you, virgin of a great host"*, which directly conflates St Dwynwen's purity with her worthiness and station. This consolidates the image of St Dwynwen put forth by the Iolo Morganwy manuscripts as grounded in at least some truth, and further underscores the notion that St Dwynwen was revered as the rolemodel for the perfect Welsh woman.

Daffyd Ap Gwilym also mentions that St Dwynwen is prayed to for healing from 'infirmity and feebleness'. Whilst some may argue that this is a metaphor for the experience of longing and heartache, which would fall more in line with the modern conception of her character, I believe that it is in fact a reference towards the practice of praying to St Dwynwen for miraculous healing. The latter notion is strengthened when we look at other sources, such as the poem by Syr Dafydd Trefor which states that *"Sick people, cripples and the weak intermingle between [St Dwynwen's] wells"* (Huws, 2002). As such, it is more appropriate to take this sentiment at face value, rather than force it into a metaphor which compliments the more modern version of St Dwynwen's character.

Furthermore, despite David ap Gwilym making abundantly clear that this poem is, amongst other things, a love poem to Morfudd, I don't believe that that itself is definitive proof of St Dwynwen being seen as the patron saint of lovers in his time. David ap Gwilym was known for writing poems of a provocative nature, sometimes utilising religious iconography to underscore the salaciousness of his words. One such example beings his poem "Merched Llanbadarn", in which he proclaims that he visits a church to look upon the beautiful women who pray there (Bromwich, 1982). As a result of this, I believe that his act of invoking St Dwynwen as his love guide within the poem was not because he considered her as a patron of lovers, but rather to capitalise on the juxtaposition between asking a pious and chaste saint to facilitate an extra-marital affair. Therefore, I do not believe it can be argued based

solely on this poem that St Dwynwen was worshipped as the patron saint of love in David ap Gwilym's time.

To conclude, the analysis of Dafydd ap Gwilym's poem 'Galw ar Ddwynwen' provides valuable insights into the worship of St Dwynwen during the 14th century. While the poet beseeches the saint for assistance in matters of love, it is clear that St Dwynwen's actual veneration was more grounded in traditional saintly duties, such as miraculous healing. The references to pilgrimage to her church for healing from infirmity and feebleness indicate that she was seen as a powerful figure capable of interceding on behalf of her devotees.

Furthermore, despite the provocative nature of Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetry, it is evident that he revered St Dwynwen for her piety, religious dedication, and purity, and considered her as a role model for Welsh women of the time. While the notion of her as a patron saint of lovers may have been acknowledged in the text, it is likely that this was done for poetic effect rather than reflecting a popular belief of the time. Overall, the poem depicts St Dwynwen as a healer, a guide, and a symbol of purity.

Towards a Timeline of Dwynwen's Veneration

The remainder of this piece will be dedicated to mapping a preliminary timeline of how Dwynwen was worshipped over the centuries. This will be achieved by drawing on the analysis conducted on the extant sources available, alongside looking at the socio-political climate of Wales in each period to reach an informed conclusion as to how St Dwynwen was likely venerated.

It could conceivably be argued that the lack of extant medieval sources about St Dwynwen in comparison to other Welsh saints, such as St Beuno or St David (Cartwright, 2002), shows that St Dwynwen was not revered between c.5th century and c. 14th century in Wales. However, this argument relies heavily on an 'appeal to ignorance', which in this case is

fallacious reasoning. An appeal to ignorance is an argument that can come in one of two forms (Dowden, n.d.):

1. X must be true, as there is no evidence that it is false.
2. X must be false, as there is no evidence that it is true.

If we rearrange the above argument about the importance and reverence of Dwywnwen, we can more clearly see that it is an appeal to ignorance:

The notion that St Dwywnwen was revered between c.5th century and c. 14th century in Wales must be false, as there is no evidence that it is true.

An appeal to ignorance itself is not always a logical fallacy, but the argument can only be considered valid reasoning if further conditions are met (Cummings, 2020). One of the conditions that must be satisfied is the acceptance of the 'closed world assumption', which stipulates that our knowledge base contains all information that is relevant to the premise we are arguing for. In the case of the above argument, to hold it to be valid reasoning would be to also assert that the extant medieval manuscripts that we presently have available are the only ones to have ever existed. We know this is not the case, as it would be absurd to assert that nothing that has ever been written has subsequently been lost or destroyed. Thus, knowing that we cannot accept the closed world assumption in this instance, we cannot take the above argument to be logically valid.

Of course, we cannot argue the opposite to be true on the grounds that we find its negation to be invalid; simply stating that 'St Dwywnwen must have been revered between c.5th century and c. 14th century in Wales because there is no evidence that she wasn't' succumbs to the same logical fallacy previously described. The truth of the matter is that we cannot know for certain, without access to a time machine. We can, however, speculate as to the likelihood of whether such evidence of Dwywnwen's early veneration did exist and why it may have been lost.

As seen within the previous analysis, Daffyd ap Gwilym's work indicates that there was an established practice of pilgrimage to Llandwyn in honour of St Dwynwen during his lifetime in the late 14th and early 15th centuries, which continued until the protestant reformation had taken hold of the area and the church was left to ruin. If this is the case, we still must contend with the lack of extant sources from before 'Galw ar Ddwynwen' was written. One reason that such sources may have been lost is that they were not deemed important to preserve due to St Dwynwen's status as a more localised saint and a woman. Whilst both men and women could be venerated as saints in medieval Wales, women were in general held in less prestige than men (Patterson, 1988). Therefore, it is conceivable that when faced with the choice of what to dedicate resources and effort to preserving for future generations, the choice was made to prioritise writings pertaining to more widely revered male saints, such as St David.

A second justification for the lack of extant evidence of St Dwynwen's veneration may be due to a lack of written records being created in the first place. The rich history of oral tradition within Wales, and the illiteracy of most lay people, would have made written sources less popular. It would have also taken lots of time and effort to hand copy each of these accounts, meaning inherently less of them would have been made. Once again, the patriarchal views of the medieval Welsh church could also have led to the decision to prioritise the writing down of stories and traditions of widely known male saints, leaving the accounts of more localised female saints such as St Dwynwen to be transmitted through the oral tradition alone. Thus, this would account for the lack of extant medieval sources regarding St Dwynwen's veneration.

Both of the above arguments provide compelling reasons as to why more complete sources speaking to St Dwynwen's veneration could have been lost over time. As things stand, we cannot conclude when worship of St Dwynwen began. Further research into references to the saint in placenames, such as locating the earliest instances of "Llandwyn" may help to narrow the most likely timeframe, but with the incomplete sources available to us it is

possible that we may never be able to pinpoint a more specific beginning for our timeline of St Dwynwen's veneration.

By the time Iolo Morganwg's manuscripts are published during the romantic era, the dust had settled from the turmoil of the protestant reformation, and there was a revived interest in local medieval saints (Pryce, 2011). This renewed interest caused Iolo Morganwg to most likely take 'artistic liberties' with his account of St Dwynwen's story, leading to the story analysed in detail earlier in this work. However faithful to the true story that was told amongst the Welsh populus, this is the account that seeded the transformation of St Dwynwen's character into what we would recognise today.

Arriving in the present, the modern worship of St Dwynwen has seen her popularity take hold of two different groups. On the one hand, the St Dwynwen is still revered in the modern day for her religiosity. Whilst not formally canonized in the roman catholic church, the eastern orthodox church recognises St Dwynwen as the patroness of love and marriage (Lapa, 2019). On the other hand, the more 'folk icon' based conception that aligns more with St Dwynwen's Welsh identity, as opposed to her religiosity, focuses heavily on the notion that she represents the concept of love for the Welsh people. This is the St Dwynwen that is shared within local tourist materials, children's books, and represented on greetings cards. That is not to say that St Dwynwen cannot be celebrated for both aspects concurrently, as identifying with someone's religious convictions and cultural identity are certainly not mutually exclusive notions. I would argue that the intersectionality of St Dwynwen's character is what makes her such an attractive figure for study and veneration in the current era, contributing to her increase in popularity despite shifting away from the older notions of her character.

The reason, I argue, for the shift from viewing St Dwynwen as the ideal role model of a woman to a patron saint of lovers, is due to the shifting attitudes within modern society as what constitutes the ideal woman. In modern times, advances in gender equality have led to more opportunities for women to speak their mind, such as the surge in women being at the

forefront of policy making in Wales today (Chaney, 2004). A woman's value to society is now a more complex notion than simply stating whether she is cheerful, fair, and pious, so the idea of using St Dwynwen as a role-model for the perfect woman no longer resonates with the modern audience. Instead, the Welsh public is more taken by the idea that she represents and protects love and view her as a complex and nuanced character rather than a tick-list of qualities for all women to emulate.

Concluding thoughts

The veneration of St Dwynwen has evolved over the centuries to the extent that the medieval and modern counterparts of the character would be unrecognisable to each other. The image of Dwynwen as the 'Welsh Cupid', or a divine patron of hopeless romantics, may seem wholly detached from that of a 5th century religious hermit, or that of the 'perfect Welsh woman', yet it has been shown that this shift in conception of this saint has been as natural as the changing of the tide. The ever-changing sociopolitical landscape of Wales has led to a repeated cycle of renewed interest in St Dwynwen, with each resurgence venerating the saint for the different aspects of her tale that resonates the most with people at the time. As such, we must conclude that St Dwynwen is currently regarded as the patron saint of lovers as that is the aspect of her tradition that resonates the most with the current audience of her story.

Word Count: 4693 words

Bibliography

- Baring-Gould, S., & Fisher, J. (1903). ST. BRYCHAN, KING, CONFESSOR. *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 345-370. Retrieved April 2024, from <https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/st-brychan-king-confessor/docview/6714822/se-2>
- Bromwich, R. (1982). *Dafydd Ap Gwilym: A Selection of Poems*. Gomer Press.
- Cartwright, J. (2002). Dead Virgins: Feminine Sanctity in Medieval Wales. *MEDIUM ÆVUM*, 71(1), 1-28.
- Chaney, P. (2004). Women and constitutional change in Wales. *Regional & Federal Studies*, 14(2), 281-303.
- Constantine, M.-A. (2007). *The Truth against the World: Iolo Morganwg and Romantic Forgery*. University of Wales Press.
- Cummings, L. (2020). Arguing from Ignorance. In L. Cummings, *Fallacies in Medicine and Health: Critical Thinking, Argumentation and Communication* (pp. 29-64).
- Davis, W. (1992). The Myth of the Celtic Church. In N. Edwards, & A. Lane (Eds.), *The Early Church in Wales and the West* (pp. 12-21). Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Digital Humanities at Swansea University. (n.d.). *Poem in manuscript texts: #48 'Galw ar Ddwynwen' (Dwynwen deigr arien degwch)*. Retrieved April 2024, from Dafydd ap Gwilym.net: <https://dafyddapgwilym.net/eng/3win.php>
- Dowden, B. (n.d.). *Fallacies*. Retrieved April 2024, from Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy: <https://iep.utm.edu/fallacy/>
- Evans, R. (2009). The Manuscripts: The Culture and Politics of Forgery. In G. Jenkins (Ed.), *A Rattleskull Genius: The Many Faces of Iolo Morganwg*.
- Farmer, D. (2011). The Oxford Dictionary of Saints. *Dwyn (Donwen, Donwenna, Dunwen, Dwywnwen)*(5th). Oxford University Press. Retrieved April 2024, from

<https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/acref/9780199596607.001.0001/acref-9780199596607-e-488?rskey=Sdf40I&result=494>

- Fulton, H. (1978). THE LOVE POETRY OF DAFYDD AP GWILYM. *Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association*, 49(1), 22-37.
- Herbert McAvoy, L. (2010). 9. Anchorites and medieval Wales. In M. A.-B.-E.-L. McAvoy L (Ed.), *Anchoritic Traditions of Medieval Europe* (pp. 195-216). Boydell and Brewer.
- Huws, H. (2002). Crysau'n llawn brychau gerbron / shirts full of stains presented: Welsh rag-wells. *Folk Life: Journal of Ethnological Studies* , 99-114.
- Ifans, R. (2019). *Red Hearts and Roses?: Welsh Valentine Songs and Poems*. University of Wales Press.
- Lapa, D. (2019). VENERABLE DWYNWEN OF LLANDDWYN ISLAND, PATRONESS OF LOVE AND MARRIAGE. *Orthodox Christianity*. Retrieved April 2024, from <https://orthochristian.com/100835.html>
- Lewis, B. J. (2022). Approaching the genealogies of the Welsh saints. *Seintiau Cymru/Sancti Cambrenses: Astudiaethau ar Seintiau Cymru/Studies in the Saints of Wales*, 65-100.
- Licence, T. (2011). The Anglo-Saxon and European background. In T. Licence, *Hermits and Recluses in English Society, 950-1200* (pp. 22-42).
- Nash, G. (2020). ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVALUATION FOR ST DWYNWEN'S CHURCH, YNYS MON. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/profile/George-Nash-2/publication/350772345_ARCHAEOLOGICAL_EVALUATION_FOR_ST_DWYNWEN'S_CHURCH_YNYS_MON/links/6070d9b7a6fdcc5f7794ba1a/ARCHAEOLOGICAL-EVALUATION-FOR-ST-DWYNWEN'S-CHURCH-YNYS-MON.pdf
- Patterson, N. (1988). Woman as Vassal: Gender Symmetry in Medieval Wales. *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 8, 31-45.

Pryce, H. (2011). Culture, Identity, and the Medieval Revival in Victorian Wales. *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 31, 1-40.

Williams, T. (Ed.). (1848). Iolo manuscripts. A selection of ancient Welsh manuscripts, in prose and verse, from the collection made by the late Edward Williams, Iolo Morganwg, for the purpose of forming a continuation of the Myfyrian archaeology; and subsequently proposed as materi. (T. Williams, Trans., & I. Morganwg, Compiler)
Retrieved April 2024, from
<https://archive.org/details/iolomanuscriptss00willuoft/page/n3/mode/2up>