

Fallen Branches: Reconstructing the Lost Saga of Caswallawn ap Beli Mawr

Introduction

Though a sizable body of literature has survived the aeons since the first Bards regaled us with tales of heroes and gods, it's also sadly apparent that many of these grand narratives are now lost, with only the faintest fragments for us to gather. And of these lost sagas, perhaps none are quite as complex, enticing, or mysterious as the Story of Caswallawn ap Beli.

Appearing late in the second branch, Caswallawn emerges from obscurity to cast a dark and torturous shadow over the Mabinogi's tales. Its pages portray him as a murderer and usurper, a man who kills without honour or remorse... but there is more to Caswallawn's story than first meets the eye. Beyond the pages of the Mabinogion rests the ghost of a grand narrative weaving together history, mythology, truth, and lies, waiting to be told once more.

Through careful study of surviving references in literature and explorations of themes and motifs present in other lore that survives intact, I believe that we can build a tentative picture of the Caswallawn Saga and its place in the complex and fragmented narrative of Welsh mythology.

Gathering Sources

While scholars once believed that Caswallawn was a later addition to Welsh literature, inspired by the pseudohistorian Geoffrey of Monmouth's twelfth-century manuscript *Historia Regum Britanniae*, there is substantial evidence to suggest Caswallawn was a well-established part of the Welsh mythic cycle from its conception.

A vast body of lore relating to the King and his exploits was well known to Welsh Bards and writers until the twelfth century and most likely served in large part as the inspiration for Geoffrey's character of Cassibellaunos.¹

The Caswallawn saga was seemingly lost sometime after this point. However, references and allusions to the series of events still survive in several key sources, namely the second and third branches of the Mabinogion, the *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, and the Jesus College MS.20 manuscript. Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniae* also

¹Bromwich, Rachel - *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* - Pg306

references the lost saga and borrows heavily from both the historic King Cassivellaunus and the Mythological Caswallawn to render his pseudo-historical Cassibellaunos.

Below I will list the surviving references to Caswallawn before attempting to assemble them in a coherent narrative, using the structure and symbolic motif of the surviving Welsh mythic cycle as a reference.

Caswallawns Role In the Mabinogion - The Second and Third Branch

Caswallawn plays a fleeting yet pivotal role in the second and third branches of the Mabinogion, serving as a secondary antagonist to the house of Llyr after that of the Irish King Matholwch.

During the siege of Ireland in the second branch, Caswallawn takes advantage of Bran's absence to usurp the throne, using a cloak of invisibility to assassinate six of the seven defenders of the kingdom. Caswallawn did not intend to kill the seventh man, Caradog ap Bran, who was his great-nephew, but Caradog died of "consternation" after seeing his friends murdered by an unseen force. The lone survivor of this massacre was a young squire called Pendaran Dyfed, who fled into the woods to escape the slaughter.²

In the third branch, Caswallawn is established as King of Prydain. Manawydan, the last surviving child of Llyr, is deeply fearful of Caswallawn, despite being his nephew. When the time comes to pay homage to the new king, Pryderi goes in Manawydan's stead and is greeted warmly by Caswallawn, who is either unaware or unconcerned Pryderi is harbouring the last true heir to the House of Llyr. Manawydan is so wary of earning Caswallawn's ire that he refuses to defend himself or his new family when they are attacked by villagers, instead choosing to flee to keep news of any skirmishes reaching the new king.³

This is the remaining extent of Caswallawns role in the Mabinogion; by the fourth branch's events, he has disappeared from the narrative. During the various native tales, Caswallawn's brother Lludd controls the throne until Helen and Maccsen Wledig's Coup.⁴

The Caswallawn Saga in the Trioedd Ynys Prydein

The Triads of the Island of Britain contain eight passages that directly refer to Caswallawn; these have been transcribed from the Rachel Bromwich text *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, considered the definitive compilation of the surviving Welsh Triad text:

² Davies, Sioned - *The Mabinogion* - Pg 33

³ Davies, Sioned - *The Mabinogion* - Pg 33

⁴ Davies, Sioned - *The Mabinogion* - Pg 38

TYP 35: *When a host Went to Llynchlyn. An army (of assistance) went with Yrp of the Hosts to Llynchlyn, and that man came here in the time of Cadyal of the Blows to ask for a levy from this Island. And nobody came with him but Mathuthafar his servant. This is what he asked from the ten-and-twenty Chief Fortresses that there are in the island: that twice as many men as went with him to each of them should come away with him (from it). And to the first Fortress there came only himself and his servant. (and they proved grievous to the men of the Island) And they granted it to him. And that was the most complete levy that ever departed from this island. And with those men he conquered wherever he went. Those men remained in the two islands close to the greek sea: namely Clas and Avena.*

And the second (army) went with (H)elen of the Hosts and Maxen Wledig to Llynchlyn: and they never returned to this Island.

And the third (army) went with Caswallawn son of Beli, and Gwennwynwyn and Gwanar, sons of Lliaw(s) son of Nwyfre, and Arianrhod daughter of Beli their mother. And (it was) from Erch and Heledd that those men came. And they went with Caswallawn, their uncle, in pursuit of the men of Caesar from this Island. The place where those men are is in Gascony.

The number that went with each of (those armies) was twenty-one thousand men. And those were the Three Silver Hosts of the Island of Britain.⁵

TYP 38: *Three Bestowed Horses of the Island of Britain:*

Meinlas, horse of Caswallawn son of Beli,

Melyngan Mangre, horse of Lleu Llaw Gryffes,

And Lluagor, horse of Caradawg Wreichuras⁶

TYP51: *Three Men Of Shame Were in the Island of Britain:*

One of them: Afarwy son of Lludd son of Beli. He first summoned Julius Caesar and the men of Rome to this Island, and he caused the payment of three thousand pounds in money as tribute from this Island every year, because of a quarrel with Caswallawn, his uncle...

And the second is Gwrtheyrn the Meagre.....

And the third and worst was Medrawd.....⁷

TYP67: *Three Golden Shoemakers of the Island of Britain*

Caswallawn son of Beli, when he went to Rome to seek Fflur;

And Manawydan son of Llyr, when the Enchantment was on Dyfed;

⁵ Bromwich, Rachel - *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* - Pg 82-83

⁶ Bromwich, Rachel - *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* - Pg 103

⁷ Bromwich, Rachel - *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* - Pg 138-139

*And Lleu Llaw Gyffes, when he and Gwydion were seeking a name and arms from his mother, Aranrhod.*⁸

*TYP71: Three Lovers of the Island of Britain:
Cynon son of Clydno (for Morfudd, daughter of Urien);
and Caswallawn son of Beli (for Fflur daughter of Mugnach Gorr);
and Drystan (son of Tallwch, for Essyllt, the wife of his uncle March).*⁹

*TYP94: Three Immense Feasts that were in the Island of Britain:
One of them was the Feast which Caswallawn son of Beli made in London, where
twenty thousand cattle were slain, and a hundred thousand sheep, and fifty thousand
geese and capons, and of wild and domesticated birds more than anyone can
remember.
Was Arthur's Feast in Caerleon-on-Usk the second, and what Feast was the third?*¹⁰

Triads 59 does not refer to Caswallawn by name but does reiterate events connected to Caswallawn's horse Meinlas:

*TYP59: Three Unfortunate Counsels of the Island of Britain:
To give place for their horses' fore-feet on the land to Julius Caesar and the men of
Rome, in requital for Meinlas;
and the second: to allow Horsa and Hengist and Rhonwen into this Island;
and the third: the threefold division by Arthur of his men with Medrawd at Camlan.*¹¹

Finally, there is TYP36, which refers to the arrival of the Corryanyeit, a strange supernatural race that can hear any conversation carried on the wind.¹² while many believe the reference to Caswallawn was a scribal error and should instead reference Lludd ap Beli, I have included it here for later analyses.

*TYP36: Three Oppressions that came to this Island and not one of them went back:
One of them (was) the people of the Cor(y)aniad, who came here in the time of
Caswallawn son of Beli: and not one of them went back. They came from Arabia.
The second oppression: the Gwyddyl Ffichti. And not one of them went back.
The third Oppression: the Saxons, with Horsa and Hengist as their leaders.*¹³

⁸ Bromwich, Rachel - *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* - Pg 185

⁹ Bromwich, Rachel - *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* - Pg 199

¹⁰ Bromwich, Rachel - *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* - Pg 239

¹¹ Bromwich, Rachel - *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* - Pg 166

¹² Davies, Sioned - *The Mabinogion* - Pg 112

¹³ Bromwich, Rachel - *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* - Pg 90

Caswallawn in the Iolo Morganwg Triads

Caswallawn is referenced in several Triads compiled by the Welsh antiquarian and prolific forger, Iolo Morganwg (birth name Edward Williams), and published in the three-volume journal *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*. The provenance of these "Third Series" Triads are nigh impossible to confirm but have been included here for reference and comparison:

TOB:8 There were three invading tribes that came to the Island of Britain and who subsequently left it. The first was the Scandinavians, who came here after Urb of the Mighty Host had taken away from the Island the flower of the tribe of the Cambrians. He took away with him 63,000 effective men, and steeds for war. At the end of the third age the Cambrians drove the Scandinavians over the sea into Germany.

The second were the troops of Ganval the Irishman, who came into Gwynedd and settled there for twenty nine years, until they were driven into the sea by Caswallawn son of Beli, son of Mynogan.

The third were the Caesareans, who continued by violence on this Island more than four hundred years, when they returned to Italy to oppose the fierce contention of the black invasion; and they did not return again to the Island of Britain. Because the Cambrians marched with them, none were left in the Island but women and little children under nine years of age.¹⁴

TOB14: There were three combined expeditions that went from the Isle of Britain. The first was that which went with Ur, the son of Erin...

The second combined expedition was conducted by Caswallawn the son of Beli, and grandson of Manogan, and Gwenwynwyn and Gwanar, the sons of Lliaws, the son of Nwyvre and Arianrhod the daughter of Beli, their mother. Their origin was from the border declivity of Galedin and Siluria, and from the combined tribes of the Boulognese; and their numbers were three score and one thousand. They marched, with their Uncle Caswallawn, after the Caesareans, unto the land of the Gauls of Armorica, who were descended from the primitive stock of the Cambrians. And none of them, nor of their progeny, returned to this Island, for they settled in Gascony among the Caesareans, where they are at present; and it was in revenge of this expedition that the Caesareans came first into this Island.

The third combined expedition was marched out of this Island by Elen Bellipotent and Cynan her brother, lord of Meiriadog, to Armorica.....¹⁵

¹⁴ The Gwyneddigion Society - *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* - Pg 58

¹⁵ The Gwyneddigion Society - *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* - Pg 59-60

TOB17: *There were three monarchs by the verdict of the Isle of Britain. The first was Caswallawn, the son of Lludd, son of Beli, son of Mynogan; the second was Caradog, son of Bran, son of Llyr Llediaith; and the third was Owain, the son of Maximus. That is, sovereignty was conferred upon them by the verdict of the country and the nation, when they were not elders.*¹⁶

TOB24: *The three primary battle princes of the Isle of Britain: Caswallawn, the son of Beli, Gweirydd, the son of Cynfelyn Wledig, and Caradog, the son of Bran, son of Llyr Llediaith.*¹⁷

TOB102: *The three amorous ones of the Isle of Britain. The first was Caswallawn son of Beli, for Flur, ab Mygnach the dwarf, and he went for her as far as the land of Gascony against the Romans, and he brought her away, and killed 6,000 Caesarians; and in revenge the Romans invaded this Island. The second was Trystan son of Tallwch, for Essyllt daughter of March son of Meirchion his uncle. The third was Cynon, for Morvydd, daughter of Urien Rheged.*¹⁸

TOB124: *The three golden shoe-wearers of the Isle of Britain: Caswallawn son of Beli, when he went into Gascony to obtain Flur the daughter of Mygnach the Dwarf, who had been taken there clandestinely to the emperor Caesar by the person called Mwrchan the Thief, king of that country, and the friend of Julius Caesar; and Caswallawn brought her back again to the Isle of Britain. Second, Manawydan son of Llyr Llediaith, when he went as far as Dyfed imposing restrictions. Third, Llew Llaw Gyfes, when he went with Gwydion son of Dôn, seeking a name and purpose of Riannon his mother.*¹⁹

Caswallawn in the *Historia Regum Britanniae*

Written by Geoffrey of Monmouth around 1136, the *Historia Regum Britanniae* borrowed heavily from both the historic King Cassivellaunus and the Mythological Caswallawn to render his pseudo-historical Cassibellaunos. The tale blends both the historical and the fantastical and almost certainly owes its more fanciful elements to

¹⁶ The Gwyneddigion Society - *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* - Pg 61

¹⁷ The Gwyneddigion Society - *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* - Pg 62

¹⁸ The Gwyneddigion Society - *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* - Pg 73

¹⁹ The Gwyneddigion Society - *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* - Pg 75

the Welsh Caswallawn saga. I have included a summary of the events concerning Cassibellaun below, taken from the Aaron Thompson translation of Geoffrey's work:

Cassibellaun ascends to the throne after his brother Lud's death, as the two sons of the king, Androgeus and Tenuantius, were considered too young to rule competently.

Cassibellaun proved to be a generous and fair-handed ruler, renowned to the degree that stories of his grandeur reached distant lands, and the nobility of the kingdom came to support his continued rule of Prydein. Cassibellaun maintained the throne of the Kingdom but offered each of his nephews their own protectorates: Androgeus is given Kent, while Tenuantius is given Cornwall to rule, with the King maintaining authority over them both.

Eventually word of the new King reached the Roman Emperor Caesar, who at that point had just conquered Gaul, and now set his sights on Britain. Caesar wrote a letter to Cassibellaun demanding surrender, which Cassibellaun indignantly refuses.

The two Kingdoms went to war, and Caesar sailed to Britain with a large army, arriving and at the mouth of the River Thames. Cassibellaun devised a plan to ambush Caesar before he could make camp, and the King's forces quickly descended on the Roman fleet, killing scores of enemy soldiers. During the battle Nennius and Androgeus engage Caesar himself in combat, the Emperor is armed with Crocea Mors, an enchanted sword with the power to decapitate anyone struck with it with a single swing, or else render them so injured that death was inevitable. Caesar struck Nennius with a vicious blow to the head with his sword, but as he swings a second time, it becomes lodged in Nennius's shield, and Nennius, somehow miraculously still alive, casts his weapons aside and takes Crocea Mors for himself, slaughtering hundreds of enemy men with the enchanted weapon, including the tribune Labienus. His forces routed, Caesar retreats back to Gaul, while Nennius dies 15 days later from his head wound and is buried alongside the sword that claimed his life.

After two years had passed, Caesar makes a second attempt to conquer Britain but is once again forced to retreat, this time due to a trap laid by Cassibellaun involving wooden stakes hidden under the surface of the Thames estuary that pierced enemy ships. Caesar returned to Gaul, taking shelter in a "certain tower" located in Odnea, to protect himself from further attacks.

Cassibellaun arranges a huge feast in celebration of his triumph over Rome, with many thousands of animals slaughtered for the banquet and many days of feasting, plays, games, and sports. It was during one of these sporting events that two youths Hirelglas, nephew of Cassibellaun, and Evelinus, nephew of Androgeus, got into a vicious argument, resulting in Evelinus decapitating Hirelglas. Incensed by this pointless

murder, Cassibellaun demanded Evelinus's trial and execution, but Androgeus refused to hand over his nephew, and so the two went to war.

Knowing that he would be unable to defend himself or his men from Cassibellaun's wrath, Androgeus allied himself with Caesar, going so far as to send his son Scaeva along with thirty noblemen as collateral in the case of a ruse.

The combined forces of Caesar and Androgeus descend on Cassibellaun's troops, and a bloodbath ensues. [30] outmaneuvered and overwhelmed, Cassibellaun retreats to a hill fort but is forced to surrender after several days due to lack of supplies.

Cassibellaun beseeches Androgeus to make peace on his behalf, and reluctantly Androgeus does so, negotiating peace with Caesar in exchange for severe reparations for Britain. Caesar and Androgeus leave for Rome, and Cassibellaun rules Britain for seven years until his death, at which point Tenuantius becomes the new king.²⁰

Caswallawn in Wider Welsh Lore

Caswallawn is mentioned in the "native tale" *Lludd and Llefey's*, where he is named as the brother of Lludd, Llefey's, and Nynniaw through their father, Beli Mawr.²¹

The twelfth-century poet Cynddelw was seemingly aware of a version of the Caswallawn saga, as he writes, "Julius Caesar existed; he had sought Fflur from the lord of Britain, dearly he claimed her"²²

Bryn Seith Marchawg is supposedly the site of Caswallawn's usurpation and the death of the Seven Horsemen left to guard the throne, hence its name "Hill of The Seven Horsemen".²³

A passage in Jesus College MS.20 (JC 4 in EWGT p.44) states that Caswallawn had a son called Meirchion, whose name translates as "Horses"; he is an ancestor of Ceindrech, wife of Macsen Wledig.²⁴

The Historical Cassivellaunus and the Roman Conquest

Cassivellaunus was a Celtic Chieftain who was charged with Britain's defense against the Roman forces; while his tribe is not mentioned, it is noted that his territory was

²⁰ of Monmouth, Geoffrey - *History of the Kings Britain* (Aaron Thompson translation) - Pg 52-64

²¹ Davies, Sioned - *The Mabinogion* - Pg 112

²² Padel, O J - *Arthur in Medieval Welsh Literature* - Pg 41

²³ Ford, Patrick K. - *The Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales* - Pg 63

²⁴ Bartrum, Peter Clement - *A Welsh Classical Dictionary* - Pg 123

north of the River Thames, which was the homeland of the Catuvellauni tribe at the time of Caesar's invasion.

Before this point, Cassivellaunus had been launching several raids on neighbouring tribes in the area, including the Trinobanties; this eventually caused their young Chieftain Mandubratius to surrender to Rome in exchange for protection from the Catuvellauni. His ranks now bolstered Caesar prepared for war but underestimated Cassivellaunus. They utilised several guerrilla warfare techniques such as chariot attacks, ambushes, and harrying maneuvers to prevent the Romans from successfully gathering supplies or building camps. Despite his efforts, he was eventually laid siege to after five Celtic tribes defected to Caesar and revealed his stronghold's location.

Out of options, Cassivellaunus was forced to sue for peace, paying tribute to Rome every year in exchange for an end to the combat. Caesar, whose forces were depleted and deeply anxious to return to Rome, where a poor harvest had caused unrest, agreed to the terms on the grounds that the Catuvellauni tribe were forbidden from waging war on the Trinobanties, and Mandubratius was restored as its leader.²⁵²⁶

There can be no doubt that the historical figure of Cassivellaunus, mythologised as Caswallawn, was the key inspiration for later depictions of Geoffrey's King Cassibellaun. Several scholars such as Rachel Bromwich²⁷ and Peter Clement Bartrum²⁸ believed that there is sufficient evidence to state Cassivellaunus, mythologised as Caswallawn, had an independent body of lore associated with him before *Historia Regum Britanniae*. Geoffrey stitched together the scraps of his associated legends and accounts of the historical Cassivellaunus to render *Historia Regum Britanniae*'s Cassibellaunos.²⁹

The Etymology of Caswallawn

Caswallawn, Cassivellaunus, and Cassibellaun all derive from the same etymological root, the Common Brittonic **Cassiuellaunos*, which can be broken down into the Proto-Celtic components **Kassi* "love, hate, passion" or "long-haired" or "bronze," while the second element **uelna-mon* can be translated as "sovereign, chief,

²⁵ Caesar, Julius (Translated by W. A. McDevitte and W. S. Bohn) - *The Gallic Wars* - Book 5, Chapter 11

²⁶ Caesar, Julius (Translated by W. A. McDevitte and W. S. Bohn) - *The Gallic Wars* - Book 5, Chapter 20

²⁷ Bromwich, Rachel - *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* - Pg 305

²⁸ Bartrum, Peter Clement - *A Welsh Classical Dictionary* - Pg 123

²⁹ Bromwich, Rachel - *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* - Pg 306

commander." We can see this root in several Celtic names, including the Deities Vellaunus and Icovellauna.³⁰

Part 2 - Exploration of Themes in Surviving Material

The key sources above can generally be divided into two categories: those relating to the historical King Cassivellaunus and those relating to the mythological Caswallawn-Fflur romance. This Mabinogion section will explore each source in turn and how it relates to the mythic narrative of Caswallawn.

Branch Two and Three of The Mabinogion

There have been multiple attempts by various scholars to try and reconcile Caswallawn's depiction in the Mabinogion with the Historical Cassivellaunus, such as suggesting the use of an invisibility cloak is a metaphor for Cassivellaunus's ambush attacks against the Romans, or going as far as to claim that one of Caswallawn's victims, Caradog ap Bran, is, in fact, a folk memory of the historical Caractus. This association is shaky at best because a span of over a century separated Caractus and Cassivellaunus. The association of Caradog ap Bran with Caractus was not made in literary analysis until the eighteenth century, as a suspected fabrication of Iolo Morganwg to incorporate the legend of Caractus bringing Christianity to Britain into the narrative of the Mabinogion.³¹ A similar attempt to disenchant the Caswallawn of the Mabinogi is applied to the Third Branch, where some try to associate Manawydan with the Historical Mandubratius. However, this is even more tenuous. It is now generally accepted that Manawydan ap Llyr's character instead derives from an earlier Brythonic sea god from which both he and the Irish Manannan mac Lir take inspiration.³²

If we look at this narrative with knowledge of wider Celtic mythology, we can begin to see multiple elements of the tale that provide a compelling case towards Caswallawn's story being part of the much older body of Welsh lore.

Llen Arthur in the Second Branch

Caswallawn uses a cloak of invisibility to kill the seven stewards; how he managed to come into possession of such a powerful artefact is never mentioned in the surviving material. A mantle with very similar properties is mentioned among the Thirteen

³⁰ Dalamarre, Xavier - *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise : Une approche linguistique du vieux-celtique continental, 2^e édition* - Pg310

³¹ Bromwich, Rachel - *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* - Pg 303-304

³² Bartrum, Peter Clement - *A Welsh Classical Dictionary* - Pg 512-513

Treasures of Britain as being in possession of King Arthur,³³ the *Llen Arthur*, named Gwenn in *Rhonabwy's Dream*³⁴ was one of Arthur's greatest possessions. There are no other references to cloaks of invisibility within the surviving texts other than Arthur and Caswallawn. Indeed It's likely a unique artefact passed between the two Kings, though the specifics of how and when it changed hands between Caswallawn and Arthur are lost.

The Seven Horsemen

Caswallawn kills six men during the assault on Bran's camp: Unic Glew Yscwydd, Idic son of Anarawc Walltgrwn, Ffodor son of Eruyll, Wlch Minasgwrn, Heffeyd Hir, and Llassar fab Llasar Llaes Gyfnewid.³⁵ Of these, only the latter two have any meaningful surviving lore:

Llassar fab Llasar Llaes Gyfnewid is the son of the lake giants Cymidei Cymeinfol and Llasar Llaes Gyfnewid; they are named in the second branch as the original owners of the Cauldron of Rebirth. *Llassar's* name can be translated to "Azure," while his patronymic *Llasar Llaes Gyfnewid* can be interpreted as "Free-Flowing Flame." Taken in its entirety, a more coherent interpretation of "Free-Flowing Azure Falls" can be rendered, perhaps as a reference to the enameling process, indicating that Llassar is a spirit of craftsmanship. In the third branch, Manawyddan reveals he learned how to decorate saddles in this manner through watching Llassar work his craft.³⁶

Heffeyd Hir makes several potential appearances throughout the four branches. As Heffeyd Hen, Rhiannon's father in branch one, Heffeyd Hir in branch two, and Eufeydd ap Don in branch four. The link between these three names is through naming conventions; Heffeyd and Eufeydd are both corruptions of a common name, believed by many to stem from the Celtic deity Ogmios, a psychopompic god associated with time and eloquence.³⁷

Both Heffeyd Hen and Heffeyd Hir have epithets relating to time. *Hen* can be translated as "Old" while *Hir* denotes length, both in the physical sense and to denote length of time. The link between the three is further reinforced when we consider Heffeyd Hen's daughter Rhiannon, who carries the unique naming convention of the house of Don. The suffix *-on* is cognate with the Gaulish *-nus/nos*,

³³ Bromwich, Rachel - *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* - 263-264

³⁴ Davies, Sioned - *The Mabinogion* - Pg 220

³⁵ Davies, Sioned - *The Mabinogion* - Pg 28

³⁶ Franken, Christel - *What's in a name? Names, their meaning and function in the Four Branches of the Mabinogion* - Pg 28

³⁷ Koch, John C. - *Celtic Culture - A-Celti* - Pg 96

denoting a Deity. We can see this naming convention in multiple descendants of Don such as Gwydion, Armatheon, Goffanon, and Elastron; if Heffeyd is the same entity as Eufeydd, then it makes logical sense that Rhiannon inherited the naming convention from here.

The Seventh Steward of Britain survived the slaughter. Pendaran Dyfed fled into the woods to escape Caswallawn, who could not hunt down the young squire.

Like Heffeyd Hir Pendaran seems unstuck from the chronology of the Mabinogion, in Branch one he is a mature and steadfast noble of Pyll's Court, becoming the young Pryderi's foster father, while branch two depicts him as a young squire, possibly denoting an otherworldly origin for the character.³⁸

The name Pendaran is a compound stemming from Pen "Chief, Head, Point, Apex" and either taran "Thunder" or dar "Oak Tree," providing possible translations of "Point of Thunder" or "Chief of the Oak."³⁹

Once Pendaran flees into the forest he seems to be safe from Caswallawn's Pursuit, seemingly indicating that he has an intimate knowledge of the woods or an affinity for the woodland that shielded him from Caswallawn's grasp.

The Commander of the Seven Stewards is Caradawg ap Bran, the son of Bran. He is related to Caswallawn through his Grandmother, Penardunn, who is most consistently referred to as Caswallawn's sister and Bran's Uncle.⁴⁰ Due to this familial association, Caswallawn intended to spare Caradog's life, but the shock of seeing his friends killed caused Caradog's heart to break from "consternation," similarly to his aunt Branwen earlier in the same story.

Caradog's death sets in motion a chain of events that eventually leads to his granddaughter Elen and her Paramore Maxen Wledig overthrowing The House of Beli Mawr and reinstating the bloodline of Llyr to the throne.⁴¹

The second branch and the legendary figures it contains are a well-established part of Welsh mythology and can be safely claimed to have a similar pedigree to the other three branches. Caswallawn is an integral part of this narrative, existing before Geoffrey's supposed introduction of the character via the *Historia Regum Britanniae*. The second branch's characters are almost universally supernatural, and Caswallawn's role is distinctly in keeping with the more fantastical nature of the Second branch.

³⁸ Davies, Sioned - *The Mabinogion* - Pg 234

³⁹ Franken, Christel - *What's in a name? Names, their meaning and function in the Four Branches of the Mabinogion* - Pg 12

⁴⁰ Davies, Sioned - *The Mabinogion* - Pg 35

⁴¹ Davies, Sioned - *The Mabinogion* - Pg 107

The Triads

The Triads are where we can begin to gain a core complex picture of the Caswallawn myth as it existed before the influence of the *Historia Regum Britanniae*.

Eight Triads reference Caswallawn within the TYP, Triads 51 and 94 directly reference the *Historia Regum Britanniae* and appear to be later additions to the Triads inspired by this source. This elimination process leaves us with six distinct Triads referencing events in the lost story.

Fflur fearch Mugnach Gor

Mentioned in TYP67 and TYP71, Fflur ferch Mugnach Gor is an obscure character whose name directly translates as "flower."⁴² She is the key point of contention between Caswallawn and Caesar. In this role, she is highly reminiscent of several other female fecundity or sovereignty figures in Welsh mythology, such as Creiddylad and Rhiannon. Her relationship with Caswallawn fulfills the new King's symbolic act of marrying the land, while her subsequent abduction by an invading ruler embodies the metaphor of war and invasion. We can see a clear parallel in Branch Four of the Mabinogion, wherein, to give Gilfaethwy a window of opportunity to rape the maiden Goewin, Gwydion must fabricate a war with Pryderi to distract his Uncle Math. Here a physical rape of a Goddess figure can only happen in conjunction with a symbolic rape of the land through the act of war.

The conflict between Caswallawn and Caesar is also very reminiscent of another theme running through the Mabinogion, that of rivalries and disputes between the Spirits of our world and the Otherworldly domain of Annwn, with Fflur herself seemingly the daughter of an Otherworldly entity.

Fflur's father is named Mugnarch Gor, a compound name that contains several elements. Gor can be interpreted as a corruption of either *Corrach* "Dwarf" or *Cawr* "Giant," while his first name, which is variously spelt as Mugnach, Mygnach, or Ugnach, contains the suffix *-ach*, denoting his nature as a supernatural being or phantom, as can be seen in the names of other mythological figures such as the Gwrach-y-Rhibyn or "Hag Of The Mist." His primary appearance is in the poem *The Conversation of Taliesin and Ugnarch*, in which he appears as a sinister figure surrounded by white hunting hounds and bearing "great horns." He attempts to entice the prophet Taliesin back to his fortress with offers of gold, food, and drink, which Taliesin uneasily refuses, stating he must make haste to the Court of Lleu and

⁴² Bromwich, Rachel - *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* - Pg 354

Gwydion.⁴³ The encounter is sufficient to scare Taliesin. The implication is that Ugnach is an Otherworldly being whose offer of hospitality is a trap intended to bind a victim to the Otherworld. The belief that consuming food offered by the Fay somehow “binds” a person to the Otherworld is a relatively well-known occurrence in Welsh folklore, as demonstrated by St Collen's refusal to eat the food offered to him by Gwyn ap Nudd.⁴⁴ Ugnach himself appears as a spirit of the Otherworld in a similar vein to Gwyn and Arawn, huntsmen who shepherd lost souls to their fortress in Annwn, though serving in a seemingly more sinister capacity. Fflur, like Rhiannon, Gwenhwyfar, and Creiddylad, exists as otherworldly royalty, intimately tied to the sovereignty of the land and its King. With this in mind, it seems likely that she was a reflex of a much older Goddess figure incorporated into the Caswallawn narrative.

Meinlas

Named in TYP38 and TYP59, Meinlas's name translates as “Slender Gray.” He is named in the Triads as one of the “Three Bestowed Horses” of the Island of Britain, and it was the agreement between Caswallawn to allow Caesar landfall in exchange for the horse that leads to Fflur's abduction. In Celtic mythology, Celtic culture intimately tied horses to the health of the land; in this capacity, Meinlas could be interpreted as symbolic of the accord struck between Caswallawn and Caesar.⁴⁵ It seems likely that Meinlas is an Otherworldly animal. a “gray” horse has a light, pale coat that ranges from pure white to silver but tends to have dark skin underneath that usually shows through the ears and snout where the hair is thinner, as opposed to a “white” horse which would have pale skin beneath their coat and therefore a more uniform appearance. This colouration is a common designator of an otherworld animal, as can be seen with the hounds of Arawn in Branch One of the Mabinogion.⁴⁶ When taken in its entirety, Meinlas can be seen as a literal “gift horse,” part of an accord between Caesar and Caswallawn that the former breaks when he kidnaps Fflur.

Caesar and the Romans

⁴³ “Greg” - 2017 - The Conversation Between Taliesin and Ugnach - November 7th - <https://barddos.wordpress.com/2017/11/07/the-conversation-between-taliesin-and-ugnach/> - Accessed 17/04/2020

⁴⁴ Bartrum, Peter Clement - A Welsh Classical Dictionary - Pg 400

⁴⁵ Bromwich, Rachel - Trioedd Ynys Prydein - Pg 103

⁴⁶ Davies, Sioned - The Mabinogion - Pg 3

Gaius Julius Caesar first invaded Britain in 43ad, instigating a conflict that took over 40 years and resulted in the deaths of between 100,000 and 250,000 people. It was a brutal and protracted conflict, one that forever changed the face of Britain.⁴⁷

With this in mind, it seems only natural that the Welsh would remember Caesar and his empire in the stories and legends of thier literature. However, if anything, the Romans are conspicuous by their absence; they are never named or alluded to in the four branches of the Mabinogion and are mentioned once Pen. 16 version of the Triads.⁴⁸

Rachel Bromwich suggests that TYP36 may hold a translation error; the triad lists three oppressions that came to the Island, one of which is the Corryanyeit, a race of supernatural beings that can hear any conversation carried by the wind. Rachel Bromwich suggests that the original translation was Cesaraid referring to the Romans, explaining why the triad claims they arrived in the time of Caswallawn as opposed to that of his brother Lludd, as latter is more intimately associated with the Corryanyeit.⁴⁹

However, I would argue that the reverse is more likely the case; Corryanyeit was the intentional focus of this triad, their role in the larger body of Welsh literature replaced by the Romans to shore up the need for historical validity post HRB. This theory can be supported by looking at the Welsh mythic Caesar's specific characteristics and how they parallel existing supernatural entities in Welsh lore.

TYP59 records that Caesar requests his horses' fore-hooves to touch Britain's ground in exchange for the horse Meinlas. It's interesting to note here that Caesar does not ask for safe harbor or the ability to make camp, merely his cavalry's permission to stand on British soil, implying that the king's permission was required even to step foot on the island itself. A similar quality is apparent in another supernatural being in the Four Branches, Math ap Mathonwy, who cannot place his feet on the ground except in times of war. Otherwise, he must place them in the lap of a virgin. Math also shares the peculiar ability of the Corryanyeit to hear any conversation carried on the wind.⁵⁰ If indeed the Corryanyeit played a more prominent role in wider Welsh mythology, it seems likely that both Math and the "Caesar" of the Caswallawn saga were members of this race.

Caesar's abduction of Fflur also contains a common motif throughout Welsh mythology, namely that of the Otherworld kidnapping. The kidnapping of a sovereignty figure is a cycle that repeats multiple times throughout the Mabinogion

⁴⁷ Wikiproject Military History Et AL. - 2019 - Roman Conquest of Britain - September 1st - https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roman_conquest_of_Britain - Accessed 18/04/2020

⁴⁸ Bromwich, Rachel - Trioedd Ynys Prydein - Pg 87

⁴⁹ Bromwich, Rachel - Trioedd Ynys Prydein - Pg 92

⁵⁰ Davies, Sioned - The Mabinogion - Pg 47

narrative and can be seen in the entrapment of Rhiannon and Pryderi in the third branch and the snatching of Creiddylad in Culhwch and Olwen. In many of these tales, a Sovereignty figure is kidnapped by an otherworldly suitor, forcing the kidnapped rightful lover to stage a rescue.

The HRB, while primarily a quasi-historical record of the Roman Conquest, contains several elements drawn from Welsh mythology. In the case of Caesar, the most evident ahistorical addition to the story is that of his sword Angau Coch or “Red Death” (the Latin translation instead renders it Crocea Mors “Yellow Death”). The blade can decapitate anyone struck by it in a single blow or else leave them mortally wounded. During the events of the HRB, Caesar enters single combat with Nynniaw ap Beli, a mythic character named as Caswallawn’s brother, and strikes a fatal blow against him. Despite the power of Angau Coch, Nynniaw does not instantly die; instead, he snatches the sword and begins to slaughter the opposing forces with reckless abandon, only succumbing to his lethal wounds fifteen days after The Celts won the battle.⁵¹ The sword’s strange enchantment can be symbolically tied to the head’s cultural significance as a seat of power, remnants of which can be seen in the second branch of the Mabinogion and the story of Pryder in the native tales.

It seems likely that after Geoffrey’s *Historia Regum Britanniae*, the Otherworldly King of the Corryanyeit armed with a death-dealing sword was written out of the Caswallawn saga and instead renamed Caesar in an attempt to ground the tale in a historical context.

Aranrot and the White Palace

In TYP67, Caswallawn dons the disguise of a lowly shoemaker to pass unnoticed by his enemies during his search for Fflur. Caswallawn, Lleu, and Manawydan are the three characters mentioned in the triads. Each belongs to the three central households of Beli, Don, and Llyr, respectively, either holding the title of or becoming the Chief of their family line.

This interpretation could tie into Rachel Bromwich’s translation of Eirgrid as “splendid” rather than “golden,” referring not to the materials used in the craft but also to the craftsmen’s rank and nobility.⁵²

⁵¹ of Monmouth, Geoffrey - History of the Kings Britain (Aaron Thompson translation) - Pg 56-57

⁵² Bromwich, Rachel - Trioedd Ynys Prydein - Pg 186

Triad 35 refers to the combined army of Caswallawn and his Sister Aranrot as three of the "Silver Hosts" that left the Island of Prydein never to return. Aranrot is a deeply complex and often misunderstood figure. Her name is commonly translated from Arianrhod as "Silver Wheel." However, a more accurate translation would be based on the spelling most commonly used throughout Welsh literature *Aranrot*, derived from *Aran* "giant, great, huge," and -rota "wheel or disc."⁵³ She most notably appears as an antagonist in the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogion. Still, it appears that like her brother, there was a much larger body of lore associated with her that has become lost over the decades, remnants of which can still be found in the poetry of Taliesin and folk tales of the Anglesey area.⁵⁴⁵⁵ She is a powerful enchantress, and we can theorize that her role in the Caswallawn Saga was that of a magical advisor to her brother.

Her two sons, Gwanar and Gwennwynwyn, also accompany Caswallawn on his voyage. Both are obscure characters; Gwennwynwyn can be translated as "Thrice Blessed," or alternatively a corruption of Gwanwyngwyn "White Spring"⁵⁶, while Gwanar can be interpreted as "Forward Moving, Battle or Leader."⁵⁷ Their role seems largely forgotten, though if Rachel Bromwich is correct in her assumption that the Gwennwynwyn mab Naf of TYP14 is the same person as the Gwennwynwyn of TYP35, then they could be seen as spirits of seafaring. This interpretation would tie neatly into their role of accompanying Caswallawn on his voyage to Gwasgwyn in search of Fflur.⁵⁸

Several translations render the "Gwasgwyn" mentioned in TYP35 as Gascony; however, Gascony would not become familiar to Britain until after Eleanor of Aquitaine's marriage in 1152. The literal translation of the word from Welsh renders it as "White Palace." It's interesting to note here that this location also appears in the Legend of Merlin and Vortigern, in which the latter is banished to the northern land of the dead, called Gwynnwesi "The White Abode."⁵⁹ It seems plausible then that the original myth served as an iteration of the "Otherworld raid" motif featured throughout Welsh literature, in which a daring invasion of Annwn is staged to steal a treasure or hostage back to our realm (we can see this in a number of myths and features as the centerpiece of both the Second Branch of the Mabinogion, Culhwch and Olwen and the Spoils of Annwn).⁶⁰

⁵³ Bromwich, Rachel - *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* - Pg 284

⁵⁴ Manwaring, Kevan - *The Way of Awen* - Pg 31

⁵⁵ Tunnel, Micheal O. - *The Prydain Companion* - Pg 38

⁵⁶ Davies, Trefor Rendall - *A Book of Welsh Names*

⁵⁷ Bromwich, Rachel - *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* - Pg 373

⁵⁸ Bromwich, Rachel - *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* - Pg 28

⁵⁹ Rhys, John - *Celtic Heathendom* - Pg 153-154

⁶⁰ Edt by Norris J, Lacy & James J. Wilhelm - *The Romance of Arthur: An Anthology of Medieval Texts in Translation* - Pg 17

Final Clarifications

Suppose we are to speculate that the bulk of the Caswallawn Saga existed before Geoffery. In that case, we can use the Second branch of the Mabinogion to establish Lludd's succession from Caswallawn rather than vice-versa. We can then deduce that the Caswallawn Saga existed in the Chronology of Welsh lore between the Fourth Branch and *The Tale of Lludd and Lleffys*, with its events causing the eventual downfall of the House of Beli Mawr in the *Dream of Maxen*.

When placed in this context, the saga charts the House of Beli Mawr's rise and fall on a keen narrative trajectory. It follows their ascent to the prominent family of Welsh myth and the challenges they faced, culminating in their Court being driven into the sea by the descendants of Llyr and subsequently settling in Annwn, the Celtic Otherworld.

The character of Afarwy featured in the *Historia Regum Britanniae* and triads is most certainly a later addition to the narrative and is solely based on the Androgeus of Geoffrey's work and has been omitted from the following narrative.

Meirchion ap Caswallawn, named in the Jesus College MS.20 (JC 4 in EWGT p.44), is most definitely a part of the mythic body of lore related to Caswallawn but exists only as a name in that manuscript. While it is possible he existed in the narrative as the Son of Caswallawn and Fflur⁶¹, he has been omitted from the following tale due to the lack of context surrounding his role

With these final elements in mind, we can tentatively piece together the fragments of a tale that has lain fragmented since the twelfth century:

Part 3 - The Tale of Caswallon

Upon hearing of the ill-treatment of Branwen at the hands of Matholwch, King Bendigeidfran ap Llyr was overcome with concern for her and hastily assembled a rescue party to head for Ireland. He left his Son Caradog ap Bran and seven of his most trusted men to protect the throne in his absence.

Word of the King's departure soon reached his Uncle Caswallawn ap Beli, a skilled magician who secretly carried a deep-seated longing to usurp the crown for himself. Having sensed his moment had arrived, Caswallawn used his enchanted cloak to render himself invisible to the stewards protecting Bran's camp, striking six of them down before they could even react to their unseen assailant. Only the youngest of the

⁶¹ Bartrum, Peter Clement - A Welsh Classical Dictionary - Pg123

seven, a squire named Pendaran, survived the slaughter, fleeing into the woods to avoid Caswallawn's blade. He had hoped to spare their commander's life, Caradog ap Bran, as he was the grandson of his Sister Penarddun. Alas, tragically, after seeing the slaughter of his dear friends and the eerie spectacle of the disembodied sword that claimed their lives, Caradog's heart broke from consternation, and he died amongst the bodies of his fallen friends.

With Bendigeidfran's death in Ireland, Caswallawn's usurpation went unopposed, and with great fanfare, he announced himself the new King of Prydein, Commencing a grand tour of his Kingdom. Many feasts were held, and nobility throughout the land came to pay homage to their new King, including Pryderi, who was secretly hiding his foster father Manawydan, the last surviving child of Llyr. During his tour of the Kingdom, Caswallawn first met the beautiful flower maiden Fflur and fell deeply in love with her, intending to make her his new Queen. For a time, the kingdom flourished under its new monarch and was at peace.

However, it was never meant to last, and soon Caswallawn's men relaid a troubling report back to Caswallawn of a fleet of warships approaching the Isle of the Mighty. Caswallawn sent his most trusted men to intercept the fleet and report back their findings, and soon they returned with an astonishing tale.

The fleet leader had welcomed the men aboard his ship; he had introduced himself as "Caesar," the King of a powerful race called the Corryanyeit who hailed from the land of Gwas Gwyn beyond the sea. He requested that the men return Caswallawn a strange offer: that he be able to rest the feet of his horses upon the shore of the land of Prydain, and in exchange, he would give Caswallawn the most prized horse from his homeland, the majestic stud Meinlas.

Caswallawn was concerned about letting this strange army set foot on the Island, but after seeking his advisors' counsel, begrudgingly agreed to Caesar's terms.

Caswallawn prepared a feast to welcome the arrival of the foreign king, and he, his beloved Fflur, and their entourage made haste for the shore where Caesar's horses were stabled, in the hopes that alliance, rather than war, could be made between the realms.

But the moment Caesar laid eyes on Fflur; he was overcome with lust for her and began to plan a way to steal her for himself, no matter how costly the repercussions of his transgression.

Under cover of night, Caesar and his men raided Caswallawn's camp and snatched Fflur, a vicious battle soon ensued between the two groups, and many were killed on both sides, including Caswallawn's brother Nyniaw ap Beli. He engaged Caesar himself in mortal combat and was wounded by Caesar's magic sword Angau Coch, which

doomed any man struck by it. But Nyniaw resisted death's embrace and, before he succumbed to his wound, managed to wrestle the blade from Caesar's grasp and killed many hundreds of the Corryanyeit. Caesar retreated from the battle in the chaos, dragging Fflur back to his ship and setting sail to his homeland, far away from the Isle of the Mighty.

Fflur was gone, and Nyniaw, for all his strength, could not withstand the enchantment of Caesar's blade, dying fifteen days after the attack. Caswallawn was heartbroken and furious, his mind clouded by grief for his brother and concern for his beloved. Ignoring the pleas of his Court, he headed out alone to search for Fflur.

Using his powers of illusion, he disguised himself as a humble shoemaker and traveled for many months searching for any news of Caesar or Fflur until he heard that they were at Gwas Gwyn, the White Abode far beyond the northern sea. Returning to Prydein, he traveled to the Court of his Sister Aranrot in Anglesey to ask for assistance. She was a powerful enchantress, knowledgeable in the ways of magic and the Otherworld. Arianrhod was fond of Fflur and still grieving deeply for her brother Nynniaw; she gladly accepted Caswallawn's offer to hunt down the scoundrel Caesar. Caswallawn and Aranrot combined their resources to muster an army, one of the greatest Prydein had seen, and they called on Aranrot's sons Gwaner and Gwenwynwyn. They were experienced seafarers to navigate the treacherous northern sea.

The great fleet of ships set sail for Gwas Gwyn, never to be seen again by the Isle of the Mighty. Some say that Caswallawn was finally reunited with his beloved Fflur after the harrowing of Gwas Gwyn, and he and his army decided to settle down in that beautiful, otherworldly place. Others still hold hope that when the hour is upon the Isle of the Mighty, the ships will once again be seen on the horizon as Caswallawn and Aranrot return to defend their homeland.

After Caswallawn's departure, his brother Lludd ap Beli ascended to the throne, and with the wise counsel of his brother Llefelys drove the last of the Corryanyeit from Prydein. For a short time, there was peace in the land until Elen of the Hosts, the last granddaughter of Caradog ap Bran, rose an army with her beloved Maxen to reclaim the throne for the House of Llyr. She drove the Children of Beli Mawr from every corner of the island and into the sea, expelling them from Prydein. Banished and defeated, the Children of Beli settled in Annwn, and in time would become the royalty of that Otherworldly place, while the House of Llyr would rule Prydein for many hundreds of years until their last great King, Arthur Pendragon, fell at Camlen.

And thus ends the Tale of the rise and fall of Caswallawn ap Beli Mawr and His lost branch of the Mabinogion.

While this rendition of the tale is highly speculative, I hope it will provide insight into Welsh medieval literature's intricacy and interconnectedness and hopefully assist others in their attempt to piece together the whimsical, fragmented, and beautiful stories of our past.

Thank you for reading.

Bibliography

Bromwich, Rachel. *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*. University of Wales Press. 2006.

Davies, Sioned. *The Mabinogion*. OUP Oxford. 2008.

The Gwyneddigion Society. *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*. The Gwyneddigion Society. 1801.

of Monmouth, Geoffrey. *History of the Kings Britain* (Aaron Thompson translation). In Parentheses Publications Medieval Latin Series. 1999.

Padel, O J. *Arthur in Medieval Welsh Literature*. University of Wales Press. 2013

Ford, Patrick K. *The Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales*. University of California Press. 2008

Bartrum, Peter Clement. *A Welsh Classical Dictionary*. National Library of Wales. 1993

Caesar, Julius (Translated by W. A. McDevitte and W. S. Bohn). *The Gallic Wars*. Harper & Brothers. 1869.

Dalamarre, Xavier - *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise : Une approche linguistique du vieux-celtique continental, 2^e édition*. Errance. 2003

Franken, Christel - *What's in a name? Names, their meaning and function in the Four Branches of the Mabinogion*. Master Keltische Talen en Cultuur. 2006.

Koch, John C. - *Celtic Culture - A-Celti*. ABC-Clio. 2005

"Greg" - 2017 - The Conversation Between Taliesin and Ugnach - November 7th - <https://barddos.wordpress.com/2017/11/07/the-conversation-between-taliesin-and-ugnach/> - Accessed 17/04/2020

Wikiproject Military History Et Al. - 2019 - Roman Conquest of Britain - September 1st - https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roman_conquest_of_Britain - Accessed 18/04/2020

Manwaring, Kevan. *The Way of Awen*. O Books. 2010

Tunnel, Micheal O. *The Prydain Companion*. Henry Holt Books For Young Readers. 2014

Rhys. John - *Celtic Heathendom*. Williams and Norgate. 1888

Edt by Norris J, Lacy & James J. Wilhelm - *The Romance of Arthur: An Anthology of Medieval Texts in Translation*. Taylor & Francis. 2015