

Egerton Phillimore (1856–1937) and the Study of Welsh Historical Texts

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The moral of all which is that we should take the trouble to *read* our texts before we either translate or comment on them, and, before writing on the ancient topography of a country, should master the rudiments of that topography.¹

So spoke an exasperated Egerton Phillimore about the various mistakes of Joseph Loth in his edition of the *Mabinogion*. It must have been frustrating for a scholar as concerned with textual accuracy and academic integrity as Phillimore to see the works of some of his most highly esteemed contemporaries so riddled with what he memorably refers to as ‘mere flatulent dilatation of emptiness’.² Phillimore himself was a man who seldom let his standards slip to such levels. Consequently, his work remains enormously valuable even today, and deserves to be recognized as such. The present paper is intended to highlight Phillimore’s contribution to scholarship, and to facilitate modern access to his work.

The idea for the paper was born from my experience in recent years of studying the copious genealogical record left by medieval and early modern Wales. Peter Bartrum would come first into the minds of most when considering the work done on this material, and this is not unjustified. His tireless labours, published over a period of more than sixty years,³ undoubtedly produced the greatest contribution of any individual to the study of the Welsh genealogical material, particularly with regard to our understanding of extant Welsh genealogical manuscripts and our knowledge of what those manuscripts can tell us about the relationships between people who lived prior to *c.* 1500.⁴ Bartrum’s work may be best known through his *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, a collection of Welsh genealogical texts, accompanied by notes and

1 Egerton Phillimore, ‘Additional Notes’ to J. E. Lloyd, ‘Welsh Place-Names: A Study of Some Common Name Elements’, *Y Cymmrodor*, 11 (1890–91), 15–60 (pp. 56–57, n. 6). Full references to Phillimore’s publications are given in the bibliography appended to this article.

2 Phillimore, ‘The Publication of Welsh Historical Records’, *Y Cymmrodor*, 11 (1890–91), 133–75 (p. 151).

3 Cf. P. C. Bartrum, ‘Noë, king of Powys’, *Y Cymmrodor*, 43 (1932), 53–61; *idem*, *A Welsh Classical Dictionary: People in History and Legend up to about A.D. 1000* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1993).

4 P. C. Bartrum, ‘Notes on the Welsh Genealogical Manuscripts’, *THSC* (1968), 63–98; (1976), 102–18; (1988), 37–46; *idem*, *Welsh Genealogies AD 300–1400*, 8 vols (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1974); *idem*, *Welsh Genealogies AD 1400–1500*, 18 vols (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1983).

commentary.⁵ A comparable monograph is largely responsible for modern appreciation of the work of another giant in this field, Arthur Wade-Evans, who was almost single-handedly responsible for bringing the medieval Welsh genealogical tracts dedicated to saints to the attention of the modern world.⁶ No equivalent monograph exists, however, by Egerton Phillimore, the founding father of modern scholarly study of medieval Welsh genealogy. For this reason, Phillimore is much less widely cited and discussed in modern academic work, despite that fact that his work underlies so much of what Bartrum and Wade-Evans would later achieve.

The problem goes further than the lack of an easily citable monograph. Phillimore had a habit of publishing his extraordinary work in the most obscure and inaccessible places. For example, his earliest article, 'Welsh Ædæology', was published in *Kryptadia*, a French journal dedicated to obscene folklore that appeared between 1883 and 1911, of which not even the British Library possesses a single volume.⁷ Very many more of Phillimore's academic contributions may be found in the pages of *Bye-Gones relating to Wales and the Border Counties*, a journal consisting mostly of reprinted submissions to the *Bye-Gones* column of the weekly *Oswestry and Border Counties Advertiser*, but which also included more substantial contributions prepared for other occasions, such as Phillimore's lectures on the Welsh Triads, delivered to the Cymmrodorion Society in 1886.⁸ In circumstances such as these one can easily appreciate how B. G. Charles could conclude his entry on Phillimore in the Cymmrodorion Society's *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* by saying that 'his literary output was disappointingly small, and a store of learning was lost when

5 P. C. Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1966). Also note *idem*, 'Corrections to *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* (hereafter *BBCS*), 40 (1993), 171–72. For example, this book is the main point of reference for Welsh genealogy in Léopold Genicot's survey of genealogy in medieval Europe: *Les Généalogies*, *Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental*, 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975), pp. 11, n. 1, 12, n. 3, and 21, n. 39. Welsh Academic Press has been promising a re-edition of Bartrum's *Tracts* as part of their 'Studies in Medieval Wales' series for some years now, but it has yet to appear. See the inside cover of their re-edition of A. W. Wade-Evans, *Vitae sanctorum Britanniae et genealogiae: The Lives and Genealogies of the Welsh Saints*, new ed. by Scott Lloyd (Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press, 2013).

6 Wade-Evans, *Vitae sanctorum Britanniae et genealogiae*. For lists of Wade-Evans's published versions of *Bonedd y Saint*, see Bartrum, *Tracts*, p. 53; *idem*, 'Late Additions to "Bonedd y Saint"', *THSC* (1959), 76–98 (p. 76).

7 For 'Welsh Ædæology', including a reprint of the first part of the article, see [Anon.], 'Egerton Phillimore's "Book"', *Studia Celtica*, 6 (1971), 99–102. For the journal *Kryptadia*, see Maria Tatar, *Off with Their Heads! Fairy Tales and the Culture of Childhood* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 114. Conveniently, the number of *Kryptadia* in which Phillimore's article appeared is now accessible online <http://www.hornip.com/html/books_%26_MSS/1880s/1883-1912_kryptadia_%28HCs%29/1884_kryptadia_vol_02/index.htm> [accessed 18 April 2015].

8 Phillimore, 'The Welsh Triads', *Bye-Gones*, 1st ser., 8 (1886–87), p. 71; 'Report of the Council [...] 1886', *Y Cymmrodor*, 8 (1887), xiii–xxxiii (pp. xiii–xiv).

this rather eccentric scholar d. at Corris on 5 June 1937'.⁹

The present contribution is intended as a correction to this view by providing a comprehensive list of all of Egerton Phillimore's publications, insofar as they are currently known to me. It may be seen from the bibliography in the appendix that, far from 'disappointingly small', Phillimore's literary output was actually fairly substantial, if fragmentary. The main reason for the failure to appreciate this is his method of publication. Much of his academic work was published as footnotes or endnotes to the work of others. This is particularly true of the four volumes of *Y Cymmrodor* that he edited or part-edited (volumes 9–12, for 1888–97) and the four parts of *The Description of Penbrokshire* [sic]. I have endeavoured to include his most substantial and self-contained endnotes in the bibliography as individual items, including the notes that essentially form discrete articles within both parts of volume 2 of *The Description of Penbrokshire*, the existence of which can otherwise be easily overlooked. In order to facilitate this process, three of the endnote articles in the third volume of *The Description of Penbrokshire* have been given invented titles, in accordance with their contents.¹⁰ Another reason for the difficulty in estimating his contribution is the lack of a proper authorial index to *Bye-Gones*, Phillimore's favoured venue for publication. For this reason, I have undertaken the laborious process of manually checking through every volume of *Bye-Gones* for Phillimore's articles (*Bye-Gones* ran from 1878 to 1939, which by chance roughly coincides with Phillimore's publishing career, 1884–1936). The result was an enriching combination of tedium and discovery.

In addition to the publication of a bibliography, Phillimore's work is contextualized below by a discussion of his career and his contribution to Welsh scholarship.¹¹ I have attempted to set out his academic relationships, his editorial work, and the life events that most notably affected his academic work. I have been greatly aided in this by the collection of Phillimore's own correspondence kept in the National Library of Wales.¹² In addition, some comment is provided on his valuable studies on Welsh place-names and Welsh historical texts. It is useful to revisit Phillimore's views on these subjects in order to inform an assessment of the progress of work in these areas since Phillimore's death in 1937.

9 Bertie George Charles, 'Phillimore, Egerton Grenville Bagot', in *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940, under the auspices of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, ed. by John Edward Lloyd, R. T. Jenkins *et al.* (London: Cymmrodorion Society, 1959), pp. 755–56 (p. 756). This article is now available online through the *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* website <<http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-PHIL-BAG-1856.html>> [accessed 13 November 2015].

10 These titles appear in square brackets.

11 For general biographical details, see Charles, 'Phillimore', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, pp. 755–56; *Who's Who in Wales*, 2nd ed. (London: A. G. Reynolds & Co Ltd, 1933), p. 179; *Bye-Gones relating to Wales and the Border Counties*, n.s., 7 (1938–39), p. 47 (obituary); Deborah C. Fisher, *Who's Who in Welsh History* (Swansea: Christopher Daves Ltd., 1997), p. 111. A biographical summary is also provided on the Archives Wales webpage for the Egerton Phillimore Papers in the National Library of Wales: <http://www.archiveswales.org.uk/anw/get_collection.php?inst_id=1&coll_id=78434&expand> [accessed 13 November 2015]. For details about his family, see Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain & Ireland*, 5th edn, 2 vols (London: Harrison, 1871), II, 1089–90, s. 'Phillimore of Shiplake House'.

12 Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales (hereafter NLW), Egerton Phillimore Papers.

As a Celtic scholar, Egerton Phillimore was very much a product of the milieu of Oxford University in the 1870s and 80s. He matriculated at Christ Church on 28 May 1874 and graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree five years later in 1879, having also enrolled as a student in the Middle Temple in 1877.¹³ It was during his time in Oxford that his interest in Welsh philology and history was first kindled. It was there that he met the likes of Sir John Rhŷs and J. Gwenogvryn Evans, whom he respected greatly and with whom he had frequent cause to work closely in succeeding decades. In a letter by Phillimore to an unknown correspondent, dated 27 August 1931, he recalled fondly being much in Oxford again in the years after he graduated, particularly in 1889–94, during which time he would often stay with John Rhŷs and his wife.¹⁴ Oxford was probably where Phillimore first encountered the great Welsh historian J. E. Lloyd who was a student in the university during the early 1880s (BA 1881–85).¹⁵ Lloyd, in the preface to his *History of Wales*, names Phillimore, along with John Rhŷs, Alfred Palmer, and Hugh Williams, as one of the four scholars primarily responsible ‘for the pioneer work which has so greatly facilitated the scientific study of Welsh history’.¹⁶

The decade and a half or so following Phillimore’s BA graduation in 1879 was to be the most productive in his life. Most of his best-known and most frequently cited publications were issued during this period. He joined a number of learned societies. In 1880, he joined the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion and by 1882 he was a member of the Society’s council.¹⁷ In 1885, he was elected to the Cambrian Archaeological Association.¹⁸ In the same year, the Cymmrodorion Society, on the recommendation of John Rhŷs, appointed Phillimore as editor of

- 13 *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1715–1886*, ed. by Joseph Foster, 2 vols (Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1891–92), II, 1105. The MA degree was conferred on him in 1883.
- 14 NLW, Egerton Phillimore Papers, C6/6: ‘Copy letters, 1886–1935’. In a letter written to Gwilym Cowlyd in 1884, Phillimore recalled being at ‘Prof. Rhys’ during the summer, where he first met Joseph Loth, the recipient of the invective quoted at the beginning of the present article: G. Gerallt Davies, *Gwilym Cowlyd 1828–1904* (Caernarfon: Llyfyrfa’r Methodistiaid Calfinaidd, 1976), p. 189. On Gwilym Cowlyd, see below, n. 34.
- 15 Huw Pryce, *J. E. Lloyd and the Creation of Welsh History: Renewing a Nation’s Past* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2011), pp. 35–45.
- 16 J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, 1st edn, 2 vols (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1911), I, vi; cf. Pryce, *J. E. Lloyd*, p. 96.
- 17 ‘Report of the Council [...] 1880’, *Y Cymmrodor*, 3 (1880), i–xvi (p. xiv); cf. ‘Report of the Council [...] 1879’, *Y Cymmrodor*, 2 (1878), i–xi (p. ix); ‘Report of the Council [...] 1882’, *Y Cymmrodor*, 5 (1882), i–xxiv (pp. xi and xx). Note that the list of ‘officers and council of the society’ appended to this last report erroneously contains the date ‘1883’. Cf. ‘Report of the Council [...] 1883’, *Y Cymmrodor*, 6 (1883), i–xxvi, where the list differs.
- 18 *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 5th ser., 2 (1885), p. 326.

the Society's publications, following the retirement of Professor Thomas Powel.¹⁹ Volume 8, for 1887, should have been the first number of the journal edited by Phillimore, had an illness not forced him to leave the job to Dr Isambard Owen.²⁰ Owen continued to work alongside Phillimore on volumes 9–10, but by 1890 Phillimore had been re-appointed as editor-in-chief and produced volume 11 without Owen's assistance.²¹ As the Society's general editor, Phillimore assisted with the publication, in 1892, of part 1 of the first volume in the *Cymmrodorion Record Series*, *The Description of Penbrokshire*, edited by Henry Owen.²² Volume 1, part 2 of *The Description of Penbrokshire* was already in the press by this time, as were both parts of volume 12 of *Y Cymmrodor*.

Unfortunately, the personal difficulties that Phillimore had experienced while editing volume 8 of *Y Cymmrodor* persisted and accumulated. The annual report of the Cymmrodorion Society for 1894 gives the following terse comments:

The Council regret that they are not in a position to report more favourably on the work of publication during the past year. Mr. Egerton Phillimore, owing to various difficulties, has not yet been able to bring out Vol. xii of *Y Cymmrodor*.²³

The report for the following year elaborates:

Early in the year, Mr. Egerton Phillimore, whose contributions to Celtic literature have done so much to enhance the value of the Society's publications, tendered his resignation as Editor of *Y Cymmrodor*, which the Council with much regret accepted. The Secretary [E. Vincent Evans] was requested to see through the press and to issue vol. xii of *Y Cymmrodor*, the sheets of which have been for some time in type.²⁴

- 19 'Report of the Council [...] 1885', *Y Cymmrodor*, 8 (1887), i–xi (pp. v–vi); R. T. Jenkins and Helen M. Ramage, 'A History of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion and of the Gwyneddigion and Cymreigyddion Societies (1751–1951)', *Y Cymmrodor*, 50 (1951), *passim*. (p. 221). Note that Deborah Fisher is incorrect to say that Phillimore was a 'founder' of *Y Cymmrodor*, the first volume of which was published in 1877, three years before Phillimore joined the Society: Fisher, *Who's Who in Welsh History*, p. 111. For the beginnings of *Y Cymmrodor*, see *A Sketch of the History of the Cymmrodorion* (London: T. Richards, 1877), pp. xxviii–xxix; Jenkins and Ramage, 'History of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion', pp. 219–22.
- 20 'Report of the Council [...] 1887', *Y Cymmrodor*, 9 (1888), i–viii (pp. ii–iii).
- 21 'Report of the Council [...] 1888', *Y Cymmrodor*, 10 (1889), i–xii (pp. iii–iv); 'Report of the Council [...] 1889', *Y Cymmrodor*, 10 (1889), xiii–xxxvi (pp. xv–xvi); 'Report of the Council [...] 1889–1890', *Y Cymmrodor*, 11 (1890–91), i–ix (p. ii).
- 22 'Report of the Council [...] 1892', *THSC* (1892–3), v–xii (p. x); cf. 'Report of the Council [...] 1893', *THSC* (1893–94), v–x (p. viii). From 1892 onwards the Society's annual report was published in the *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, rather than in *Y Cymmrodor*.
- 23 'Report of the Council [...] 1894', *THSC* (1893–94), xi–xx (pp. xii–xiii).
- 24 'Report of the Council [...] 1895', *THSC* (1894–95), v–xxviii (p. vii).

It may be seen that much of the editorial work for volume 12 of *Y Cymmrodor* had already been undertaken by Phillimore, despite his inability to guide the volume through the final stages of publication. Due to his difficulties in completing the volume, he is not nowadays given credit for his contribution.²⁵ Nevertheless, when the volume was finally ready for publication in 1897, six years after the previous volume was issued, the annual report of the Cymmrodorion Society was quite clear on this point:

The Council desire to acknowledge their deep indebtedness to their late Editor, Mr. Phillimore, who edited and annotated all the contents of this volume, and prepared it for the press. All the longer and many of the shorter notes to the late Judge David Lewis' paper were written by Mr. Phillimore, though through inadvertence the word Ed. has not been appended to them. He is also the author of the notes signed Ed. in Mr. T. H. Thomas' paper.²⁶

Thereafter, *Y Cymmrodor* was entrusted to an editorial committee consisting of John Rhŷs, Alfred Nutt, Henry Owen, Edward Owen, J. W. Willis-Bund, and E. Vincent Evans, though most of the work fell upon the last named.²⁷ Phillimore was not forgotten, however; although in 1895 he was obliged to stand down from his position on the Society's council, due to the ordinary rules of term, in 1897 he was elected an honorary member of the Society 'in recognition of his most eminent services to Welsh Literature'.²⁸

What were the 'various difficulties' encountered by Phillimore in these years? They are most clearly elaborated in a letter sent by Phillimore to A. W. Wade-Evans, dated 14 November 1902.²⁹ Three days previously, Wade-Evans had initiated the correspondence between them when he sent a letter to Phillimore asking about certain unfulfilled promises made by Phillimore in the pages of *Y Cymmrodor* at least a decade beforehand.³⁰ Wade-Evans's letter was a model of courtesy, but Phillimore was not best pleased. He exclaimed that 'Prof. Rhys w^d never think of admonishing me as you do, nor could even M'

25 He is usually said to have edited only volumes 9–11, e.g. Jenkins and Ramage, 'History of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion', p. 221; Charles, 'Phillimore', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, p. 756; Fisher, *Who's Who in Welsh History*, p. 111; 'Report of the Council [...]' 1937', *THSC* (1937), 1–18 (p. 13).

26 'Report of the Council [...] 1897', *THSC* (1896–97), v–xxxiv (p. viii).

27 'Report [...] 1897', p. x; Jenkins and Ramage, 'History of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion', p. 221. The original intention was for J. H. Silvan Evans to be a member of this committee, instead of E. Vincent Evans: 'Report [...] 1894', p. viii.

28 'Report [...] 1895', p. x; 'Report [...] 1897', p. vi.

29 NLW, Egerton Phillimore Papers, C6/6: 'Copy letters, 1886–1935'. The letter consists of seven numbered bifolia, paper-clipped together. Phillimore's address, 'Fron Wen, Corris, Merioneth', is written in type at the top of the first page, adjacent to a stamp that says 'Railway Station: Garnedd-wen'. The letter is addressed 'Dear Sir'.

30 NLW, Egerton Phillimore Papers, C1/19: 'A. W. Wade-Evans – D. Emlyn Evans, 1886–1932'. The letter is dated Tuesday 11 November 1902 and is signed off, 'A. W. Wade-Evans, assistant curate at St Mary's Paddington Green W.'

Gwenogvryn Evans, who has less tact than others.³¹ He then enumerated all of the reasons for his having been unable to continue his academic work as he had done before. His main reasons were isolation, ill health, and lack of money. His troubles began in February 1893 with the death of his first wife, Susan Eliza, and the severe domestic uncertainty that this brought with it.³² After a number of enforced moves, he eventually ended up in the remote location of Corris, near Machynlleth. He was there by the time he wrote to Wade-Evans in 1902, and there he would remain until his death.

His financial troubles had also been acute.³³ He mentions in the letter to Wade-Evans the dismissive attitude of the Cymmrodorion Society, who assumed he was a ‘man of means’, and had ‘no idea about the reality’. He had been forced to sell much of his extensive library in 1893–94 and 1896–97, an action which later caused him to express dismay about his lack of access to academic works.³⁴ In 1894, Sir John Williams had bought many of the manuscripts accumulated by Phillimore, at least forty of which were later donated by Williams to the National Library of Wales.³⁵ Much of Phillimore’s time was consequently taken up by doing ‘the work which pays’. This included the assistant editing of *Bye-Gones*, which he took up again in 1899.³⁶ He had previously assisted with the editing of the volumes for 1891–92 and 1893–94, as shown by the footnotes he added to those volumes, but his footnotes end abruptly in February 1893, when his first wife died.³⁷ Phillimore worked on

- 31 The extant version of this letter is evidently a draft, as the words ‘who has less tact than others’ is written interlineally above Gwenogvryn Evans’s name.
- 32 Phillimore describes this period of his life in ‘The Last of the Welsh Princes of Upper Powys: A Personal Explanation’, *Bye-Gones*, n.s. [i.e. 2nd ser.], 10 (1907–8), 239–41. Phillimore married his first wife, Susan Eliza, in 1880, and she died in 1893. His second wife, Marion Catherine, he married in 1897, and she died in 1904. See Fisher, *Who’s Who in Wales*, p. 179.
- 33 Phillimore explains some of the causes of his financial hardship in a letter written to J. E. Lloyd on 22nd June 1900; namely, that he no longer had a moneyed wife and was not a supporter of Welsh radicalism: Bangor University Archives, J. E. Lloyd Papers 314, no. 383. My thanks to Huw Pryce for bringing this letter to my attention.
- 34 Phillimore was an avid book collector. For example, see the letters by Henry Vaughan in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 5th ser., 3 (1886), pp. 75–79 and 234, where he describes how he had given the ‘Wynne of Leeswood Family Bible’ to Phillimore. Many of Phillimore’s books and manuscripts were acquired from Gwilym Cowlyd (a.k.a. William John Roberts, 1827–1904), the eccentric poet, book collector, and druidic enthusiast: see Davies, *Gwilym Cowlyd*, pp. 50, 188–90 and 194–96.
- 35 John Humphreys Davies, *The National Library of Wales: Catalogue of Manuscripts. Volume I: Additional Manuscripts in the Collections of Sir John Williams, Bart., G.C.V.O.* (Aberystwyth, 1921), pp. vii–viii. For a concordance of Phillimore’s manuscript numbers with modern manuscript numbers, see *ibid.*, p. xi. Phillimore’s manuscripts now form parts of NLW’s Llanstephan and Additional collections.
- 36 This accounts for the footnotes added by Phillimore to *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 6 (1899–1900), pp. 26, 37, 50, 63–65, 120 and 295. Phillimore did not add his own footnotes in later volumes, although he continued to act in the capacity of assistant editor. His editorial involvement is not directly mentioned in this or subsequent volumes of *Bye-Gones*, although his obituary in the *Bye-Gones* for 1938–39 (n.s., 7, p. 47) mentions that he had worked with Edward Woodall in the revision of proofs for the journal while the latter was editor.
- 37 *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 2 (1891–92), pp. 412, 427, 431, 434, 439, 452 and 457–58; 2nd ser., 3 (1893–94), pp. 4, 11, 16, 23–24 and 28. The first footnote is for 19 October 1892, and the last is for 15 February 1893.

other projects for the editor of *Bye-Gones*, Edward Woodall, including a guide to Llandrindod Wells and the annually-issued *Gossiping Guide to Wales*, which Phillimore revised thoroughly in 1899–1900.³⁸ From 1900 onwards, the preface to the *Gossiping Guide* contained a special note of thanks to Phillimore:

Recent editors have had the especial advantage of the help of Mr. Egerton Phillimore, who revised the proofs, and made valuable additions out of his stores of knowledge of Welsh philology and historic and legendary lore; and the publishers wish to express their great indebtedness to him.³⁹

As is so often the case with Phillimore's publications, it is impossible to tell which parts of the text in the annual editions of the *Gossiping Guide* were Phillimore's responsibility.

Despite such difficulties, Phillimore did continue to produce original academic work. At the time when he wrote to Wade-Evans, he was working on volume 2, part 1 of *The Description of Penbrokshire*, which was published in 1906. Both parts of volume 2 contain far more original input from Phillimore than the first volume, as should be evident from the bibliography appended to this article. Much of his work on the second part of volume 2 was undertaken in 1907–09, and by 1913 the text and notes of the second part, in the form eventually published, were in print.⁴⁰ As it transpired, however, volume 2, part 2 was not published until 1936, on account of its text of *The Description of Wales* remaining in an incomplete state, lacking, as it still does in its printed form, the three counties of Anglesey, Carnarvonshire, and Merionethshire.

Phillimore was first and foremost a philologist, and it is perhaps through his study of place-names that his work is best known to modern scholars. Phillimore's notes on place-names appear throughout his academic publications, most notably in his footnotes and endnotes to *The Description of Penbrokshire*. The value of the latter has been recognized in recent decades by Nerys Ann Jones, who published a useful index of all of the place-names discussed therein by Phillimore and

38 *Guide to Llandrindod Wells, illustrated with Maps and Views* (Oswestry and Wrexham: Woodall, Minshall, Thomas & Co., 1902). Phillimore mentions having worked on Edward Woodall's *Llandrindod Guide* in his 1902 letter to Wade-Evans. For the *Gossiping Guide*, see the following footnote.

39 Taken from *Gossiping Guide to Wales (North Wales and Aberystwyth)*, ed. by Askew Roberts and Edward Woodall (Oswestry and Wrexham: Woodall, Minshall, Thomas & Co., 1904), p. vii.

40 Phillimore, 'homo planus and Leprosy in Wales', *Arch. Camb.*, 6th ser., 20 (1920), 224–50 (pp. 243–44, n. 8); preface to *The Description of Penbrokshire [sic] by George Owen of Henllys, Lord of Kemes*, ed. Henry Owen, Cymmrodorion Record Series, 1, 2 vols in 4 parts (London: Chas. J. Clark, 1892–1936), II.ii.

Henry Owen.⁴¹ Phillimore also helped to identify Welsh place-names in historical documents edited by others. Many of the place-names in the supremely useful index to the edition of the Book of Llandaf by J. Gwenogvryn Evans and John Rhŷs were identified by Phillimore, who read the proofs for the book.⁴² The preface to the first volume of the Close Rolls of Edward II, published in 1892, also contains a note of thanks to Phillimore for helping to identify Welsh and Cornish proper names.⁴³ However, as Phillimore himself made clear many years later to a critic of the volume, his assistance on this occasion was only of the most casual kind, given informally while he was working in the Public Record Office during 1892–93.⁴⁴ Phillimore explained to the critic that he would have liked to have given more substantial assistance to the editors of the Close Rolls, had not the disasters of 1893 rendered this impossible.

Phillimore's studies on Welsh historical texts of various kinds are among his most significant contributions to scholarship. He was the first to study medieval Welsh genealogy as a historian and philologist, rather than as an antiquarian. One of his early contributions to *Bye-Gones* provides a startlingly accurate list of dated medieval Welsh genealogical manuscripts.⁴⁵ He produced a flawless edition of the Harleian genealogies, edited the Jesus College 20 genealogies with the assistance of Gwenogvryn Evans, and edited the text of *Bonedd y Saint* from the White Book of Rhydderch.⁴⁶ Perhaps most importantly, he was the first to emphasize the importance of the lost manuscript Hengwrt 33, the *Hanesyn Hên*, which he dated to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries.⁴⁷ He realised that Hengwrt 33 had been transcribed by John Jones of Gellilyfdy in 1640 into the manuscript now known

41 Nerys Ann Jones, 'An Index to the Discussions on Place-Names by Henry Owen and Egerton Phillimore in *The Description of Penbrokshire* by George Owen of Henllys', *Nomina*, 15 (1991–92), 107–24. A bilingual version was published in *Studia Celtica* in the same year: *eadem*, 'Mynegai i'r Trafodaethau ar Enwau Lleoedd gan Henry Owen ac E. J. [sic] Phillimore yn *The Description of Penbrokshire* gan George Owen, Henllys / An Index to the Discussions on Place-Names by Henry Owen and E. J. [sic] Phillimore in *The Description of Penbrokshire* by George Owen of Henllys', *Studia Celtica*, 26/27 (1991/92), 214–25.

42 J. Gwenogvryn Evans and John Rhŷs (eds), *The Text of the Book of Llan Dav: Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript*, Series of Old Welsh Texts, 4 (Oxford: John Bellows, 1893), p. xl.

43 *Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. Edward II A.D. 1307–1313*, Public Record Office (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1892), p. x.

44 Phillimore, 'The Last of the Welsh Princes of Upper Powys', p. 239.

45 'Welsh Pedigrees', *Bye-Gones*, 1st ser., 8 (1886–87), 474–75.

46 'The *Annales Cambriae* and the Old-Welsh Genealogies from Harleian MS. 3859', *Y Cymmrodor*, 9 (1888), 141–83; 'Pedigrees from Jesus College MS. 20', *Y Cymmrodor*, 8 (1887), 83–92; 'Fragment from Hengwrt MS. No. 202', *Y Cymmrodor*, 7 (1886), 89–154 (pp. 133–34). I have collated Phillimore's edition of the Harleian genealogies against the manuscript and found it to be faultless. A few errors crept into his edition of the Jesus College 20 genealogies, undoubtedly because his illness at the time prevented him from revising the proofs, but his edition still contains fewer errors than Bartrum's edition in *Tracts*, pp. 42–50. I am currently preparing a new edition of the text.

47 Additional note to 'p. 178' in *Y Cymmrodor*, 10 (1889), p. 248; 'Additional Notes' to J. W. Willis-Bund, 'The True Objects of Welsh Archæology', *Y Cymmrodor*, 11 (1890–91), 103–32 (p. 126). For this manuscript, see Ben Guy, 'A Lost Medieval Manuscript from North Wales: Hengwrt 33, the *Hanesyn Hên*' (forthcoming).

as Cardiff Central Library 3.77.⁴⁸ He thought that pages 1–100 of the Cardiff manuscript were transcribed from Hengwrt 33, although, as Bartrum would later show, only pages 1–22 were taken from that source.⁴⁹ An example of the fruitful results of Phillimore's study of genealogical texts may be seen in his contribution to John Rhys's article, 'The Irish Invasions of Wales and Dumnonia', where he sets out in parallel columns the versions of the pedigree of Dyfed from the Harleian genealogies, the Jesus College 20 genealogies, the 'Cardiff Copy of the Hanesyn Hên', and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B. 466.⁵⁰

Phillimore set the study of early Welsh chronicles on an equally firm footing. His edition of the Harleian chronicle, known usually as the 'A-text' of the *Annales Cambriae*, is the best edition of a Welsh Latin chronicle that has ever been produced.⁵¹ In his polemical article 'The Publication of Welsh Historical Records', he pointed out the many failings of John William ab Ithel's conflated edition of the Welsh Latin chronicles, emphasizing that the only decent parts of the work were those plagiarized from the edition of the chronicles that Aneurin Owen was preparing at his death in 1851. He recommended that Owen's original preface be made available:

Tardy justice would thus be done to the memory of one of the greatest of Welsh historical scholars; and those who take interest in Welsh History would have the satisfaction of drinking from the pure stream of Welsh scholarship before the influx into it of the frothy drivel of dishonest charlatanism.⁵²

For over 120 years after the publication of Phillimore's comments on this matter, ab Ithel's edition of the *Annales Cambriae* remained the primary edition of considerable sections of the Breviate and Cottonian chronicles, the *Annales*

48 Phillimore *apud* J. Rhys, 'The Irish Invasions of Wales and Dumnonia', *Arch. Camb.*, 5th ser., 9 (1892), 56–73 (p. 64). Phillimore's transcript of Cardiff Central Library 3.77 is kept in the National Library of Wales: NLW, Egerton Phillimore Papers, N3/3: 'Pedigrees of British Kings and Saints'. The transcript was made in March and April 1889.

49 Phillimore *apud* H. F. J. Vaughan, 'Welsh Pedigrees', *Y Cymmrodor*, 10 (1889), 72–156 (pp. 91, n. 8, and 152–53, n. 8); P. C. Bartrum, 'Bonedd yr Arwyr', *BBCS*, 18 (1959), 229–52 (pp. 230–31); *idem*, *Tracts*, pp. 75–77.

50 Phillimore *apud* Rhys, 'The Irish Invasions of Wales and Dumnonia', pp. 63–65. The pedigree quoted from '*Hanesyn Hên*' is actually taken from the part of Cardiff 3.77 that had been copied from the lost manuscript named 'Y' by Bartrum: *Tracts*, pp. 76–78. The genealogies in Rawlinson B. 466 (an early seventeenth-century manuscript) derive from a collection by Gutun Owain, most fully preserved in Gutun Owain's own manuscript, Manchester, John Rylands Library, Welsh 1. Tipped into the front of Rawlinson B. 466 is a note in Phillimore's hand.

51 Another good, but more basic, edition is Thomas Jones' edition of *Cronicon de Wallia*, "'Cronica de Wallia" and Other Documents from Exeter Cathedral Library MS. 3514', *BBCS*, 12 (1946), 27–44.

52 Phillimore, 'Publication of Welsh Historical Records', p. 152.

Cambriae ‘B’ and ‘C’ texts.⁵³ This situation has only recently been remedied by the publication of Henry Gough-Cooper’s fine transcriptions of the texts.⁵⁴

Finally, something should be said of Phillimore’s study of the Triads. So far as I am aware, Phillimore was the first to distinguish between an ‘oldest known version’ of *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* (‘The Triads of the Island of Britain’) and a ‘Red Book version’ (Bromwich’s ‘early version’ and ‘WR version’ respectively).⁵⁵ Phillimore knew these versions through Skene’s edition of the Hengwrt 536 (i.e. Peniarth 45) text, Rhŷs’s edition of the Red Book text, and his own edition of the White Book text.⁵⁶ Remarkably, Bromwich does not appear to have been aware of Phillimore’s work when she published her *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*.⁵⁷ This is most probably due to the lack of an effective index to *Bye-Gones*.

After a stormy beginning in 1902, Egerton Phillimore and Arthur Wade-Evans went on to enjoy more than thirty years of congenial correspondence, the benefits of which are occasionally evident from remarks made in Wade-Evans’s published work.⁵⁸ In a letter written by Wade-Evans dated 13 January 1931, he expresses his gratitude for Phillimore’s help and attention over the years, saying that ‘hardly a day passes in my life but I have cause to be grateful to you – + to bless you’.⁵⁹ These words must have been gratefully received by a man whose brilliant career had been so shaken by events beyond his control almost forty years earlier, and they are words that ring no less true eighty-four years later.⁶⁰

53 For the terminology, see Ben Guy, ‘The Origins of the Compilation of Welsh Historical Texts in Harley 3859’, *Studia Celtica*, 49 (2015), 21–56, on pp. 25–26. Parallel texts for the sections covering the years 438–682, 682–954 and 1035–1093 have been produced by Henry Gough-Cooper, David Dumville, and J. E. Lloyd respectively: Henry Gough-Cooper, ‘Annales Cambriae, from Saint Patrick to AD 682: Texts A, B & C in Parallel’, *The Heroic Age: A Journal of Early Medieval Northwest Europe*, 15 (October, 2012) <<http://www.heroicage.org/issues/15/gough-cooper.php>> [accessed 13 November 2015]; D. N. Dumville, *Annales Cambriae, A.D. 682–954: Texts A–C in Parallel* (Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, 2002); J. E. Lloyd, ‘The Text of MSS. B and C, of “Annales Cambriae” for the Period 1035–1093, in Parallel Columns’, *THSC* (1899–1900), 165–69.

54 Both of Gough-Cooper’s transcriptions have been published online on the website of the Welsh Chronicles Research Group: <<http://croniclau.bangor.ac.uk/editions.php.en>> [accessed 13 November 2015]. The online publication of Gough-Cooper’s transcription of the Cottonian chronicle was undertaken following the withdrawal of Welsh Academic Press’s commitment to publishing his edition of that chronicle (promised publically on the inside cover of the 2013 re-edition of Wade-Evans, *Vitae sanctorum*).

55 Phillimore, ‘The Welsh Triads’, *Bye-Gones*, 1st ser., 8 (1886–87), pp. 71–72 and 97–98; Rachel Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein. The Welsh Triads*, 1st edn (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1961), pp. xi–xii.

56 W. F. Skene, *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1868), II, 456–64; John Rhŷs, ‘The Welsh Triads, as they are given in the “Red Book of Hergest” in the Library of Jesus College, Oxford’, *Y Cymmrodor*, 3 (1880), 52–63; Phillimore, ‘Fragment’, pp. 123–54.

57 Nor is Phillimore’s article mentioned in Bromwich’s earlier work: Rachel Bromwich, ‘The Historical Triads: with Special Reference to Peniarth MS. 16’, *BBCS*, 12 (1946–48), 1–15.

58 E.g. A. W. Wade-Evans, ‘Brychan Brycheiniog’, *The Transactions of the Brecknock Society*, 1 (1930), 7–24 (p. 8).

59 NLW, Egerton Phillimore Papers, C1/19: ‘A. W. Wade-Evans – D. Emlyn Evans, 1886–1932’.

60 My thanks to Professor Paul Russell, University of Cambridge, for commenting on a draft of this paper.

Appendix: A Bibliography of the Works of Egerton G. B. Phillimore

Abbreviations:

Arch. Camb.: *Archaeologia Cambrensis*.

Bye-Gones: *Bye-Gones relating to Wales and the Border Counties*.

Cy: *Y Cymmrodor*.

DP: *The Description of Penbrokshire [sic] by George Owen of Henllys, Lord of Kemes*, ed. Henry Owen, Cymmrodorion Record Series, 1, 2 vols in 4 parts (London: Chas. J. Clark, 1892–1936).

‘Welsh Ædæology’, *Kryptadia*, 2 (1884), 323–97.

‘A Fragment from Hengwrt MS. No. 202’, *Cy* 7 (1886), 89–154; corrections and additions at pp. 204–6.

‘Historical Poems by Iorwerth Vynaglwyd’, *Cy* 7 (1886), 172–94.

‘Facsimiles of Classical Welsh Manuscripts’, *Cy* 7 (1886), 199–203.

Review of Ernest Sattler, *Y Gomerydd, das ist Grammatick des Kymraeg oder der Kelto-Wälischen Sprache* (Zurich, Leipzig and London, 1886), *Cy* 7 (1886), 224–25.

‘The Welsh Triads’, *Bye-Gones*, 1st ser., 8 (1886–87), 71–73, 97–98, 111–14, 219–20, 259–62 and 480–84.

‘Berwyn, meaning of’, *Bye-Gones*, 1st ser., 8 (1886–87), 471.

‘Welsh Pedigrees’, *Bye-Gones*, 1st ser., 8 (1886–87), 474–75.

‘Pedigrees from Jesus College MS. 20’, *Cy* 8 (1887), 83–92 (with J. Gwenogvryn Evans); *erratum* and additional note in *Cy* 10 (1889), p. 245.

‘Ancient Territorial Names’, *Bye-Gones*, 1st ser., 9 (1888), 96–98.

Contributed footnotes to *Cy* 9–12 (publ. 1888–97).

‘The *Annales Cambriae* and the Old-Welsh Genealogies from *Harleian MS. 3859*’, *Cy* 9 (1888), 141–83; *errata* and additional notes in *Cy* 10 (1889), p. 248 and *Cy* 11 (1890–91), p. 102.

‘Index and Abbreviations, etc.’ to Max Nettlau, ‘Observations on Welsh Nouns, Adjectives, and Adverbs’, *Cy* 9 (1888), 259–303 (pp. 287–303).

‘An Unpublished Welsh Fragment’, *Cy* 9 (1888), 364–65.

‘Place Names – The Devil’s Gallery’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 1 (1889–90), 388 and 408–9.

‘The Red Book of Hergest’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 1 (1889–90), 421.

‘Place-Names – Llyncllys’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 1 (1889–90), 441.

‘Llanforda’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 1 (1889–90), 448–49.

‘Notes on Place-Names in English Maelor’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 1 (1889–90), 478–85 and 532–37.

- ‘Additional Notes’ to J. E. Lloyd, ‘Welsh Place-Names: A Study of Some Common Name Elements’, *Cy 11* (1890–91), 15–60 (pp. 36–60); *errata* and additional notes at p. 246.
- ‘Note (a)’ to W. M. Edwards, ‘The Settlement of Brittany’, *Cy 11* (1890–91), 61–102 (pp. 97–101); *errata* and additional notes at p. 246.
- ‘Additional Notes’ to J. W. Willis-Bund, ‘The True Objects of Welsh Archæology’, *Cy 11* (1890–91), 103–32 (pp. 125–32).
- ‘The Publication of Welsh Historical Records’, *Cy 11* (1890–91), 133–75.
- Contributed footnotes to *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 2 (1891–92); 3 (1893–94); 6 (1899–1900).
- ‘The Liber Landavensis’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 2 (1891–92), 119–21.
- ‘Tantrabobus’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 2 (1891–92), 265–66.
- ‘Ball-Playing on Sunday’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 2 (1891–92), 273.
- ‘Crannocum’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 2 (1891–92), 276–77 and 282.
- ‘The Ghost of Goronwy ap Ednyfed Fychan’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 2 (1891–92), 278.
- ‘The Reliquary (“*Sanctuarium*”) called Engletheu at St. Asaph’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 2 (1891–92), 294–95.
- ‘Old Devonshire Folk-Lore’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 2 (1891–92), 337–40.
- ‘Nursery Rhymes’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 2 (1891–92), 364.
- Contributed footnotes to *DP* I.i – II.ii.
- Contribution to John Rhŷs, ‘The Irish Invasions of Wales and Dumnonia’, *Arch. Camb.*, 5th ser., 9 (1892), 56–73 (pp. 63–65).
- Contribution to J. Gwenogvryn Evans and John Rhŷs, *The Text of the Book of Llan Dav: Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript*, Series of Old Welsh Texts, 4 (Oxford: John Bellows, 1893).
- ‘Doubtful Place-Names – “The Rural Parish of Llandenis”, “Llanwrda” or “Llanworda”, “Llandrysilio”, &c’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 3 (1893–94), 347–48.
- ‘A Battle near Machynlleth in the Civil War Period’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 3 (1893–94), 351.
- ‘Breconshire Antiquities’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 3 (1893–94), 504–6.
- ‘The Rev. Moses Williams F.R.S.’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 5 (1897–98), 138–39.
- ‘Friars School, Bangor’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 5 (1897–98), 166.
- ‘The Shrewsbury School Welsh MS.’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 5 (1897–98), 487–88.
- ‘Dim ond Deilen’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 6 (1899–1900), 18.
- ‘Missing Welsh and Border MSS’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 6 (1899–1900), 106–7.
- ‘The Red Roll of Wigmore and Richard Broughton’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 6 (1899–1900), 166.
- ‘The Stedman Family’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 6 (1899–1900), 427.

- ‘Plas Warren’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 6 (1899–1900), 454–55.
- Contribution to *Gossiping Guide to Wales (North Wales and Aberystwyth)*, ed. by Askew Roberts and Edward Woodall (Oswestry and Wrexham: Woodall, Minshall, Thomas & Co., 1900).
- ‘Whiff’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 7 (1901–2), 116–17.
- ‘King Griffin’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 7 (1901–2), 385.
- ‘The Bells of Aberdovey’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 7 (1901–2), 416.
- ‘Oteley, Ellesmere’, *Bye-Gones*, 2nd ser., 7 (1901–2), 501.
- ‘The Boat of Commera, or Camerar’, *Bye-Gones*, n.s. [i.e. 2nd ser.], 8 (1903–4), 2–3.
- ‘Caors, Salop’, *Bye-Gones*, n.s. [i.e. 2nd ser.], 8 (1903–4), 163.
- ‘Welsh-Nut’, *Bye-Gones*, n.s. [i.e. 2nd ser.], 8 (1903–4), 283.
- ‘[The Dynasty of Rhodri Mawr]’, *DP II.i* (1906), pp. 207–10.
- ‘[Rhodri/Roderic, Bledri/Blederic(us)]’, *DP II.i* (1906), pp. 210–15.
- ‘The Lists of the Cantreds and Commots of Wales’, *DP II.i* (1906), pp. 215–31.
- ‘[Notes on Place-Names]’, *DP II.i* (1906), pp. 231–56.
- ‘Offa: His Dyke and Conquests’, *DP II.i* (1906), pp. 257–64.
- ‘The English Conquests of West Herefordshire’, *DP II.i* (1906), pp. 264–76.
- ‘Deheubarth and Early Dyfed’, *DP II.i* (1906), 276–86.
- ‘The Last of the Welsh Princes of Upper Powys: A Personal Explanation’, *Bye-Gones*, n.s. [i.e. 2nd ser.], 10 (1907–8), 239–41.
- ‘Who last spoke Cornish?’, *Bye-Gones*, n.s. [i.e. 2nd ser.], 11 (1909–10), 125.
- ‘An Inscription in Anglesey’, *Bye-Gones*, n.s. [i.e. 2nd ser.], 11 (1909–10), 163–64.
- ‘Epitaph on Major William Cadogan’, *Bye-Gones*, n.s. [i.e. 2nd ser.], 11 (1909–10), 295–97.
- ‘A Cardiganshire Rhyme’, *Bye-Gones*, n.s. [i.e. 2nd ser.], 13 (1913–15), 13.
- ‘Cotton in Merionethshire’, *Bye-Gones*, n.s. [i.e. 2nd ser.], 13 (1913–15), 15–16.
- ‘Llanfihangel yng Ngwynfa and the Ancient District of Gwynfa’, *Bye-Gones*, n.s. [i.e. 2nd ser.], 14 (1916–18), 30–31.
- ‘Gray’s Verses Cut on a Rock at Ganllwyd, near Dolgelley’, *Bye-Gones*, n.s. [i.e. 2nd ser.], 15 (1919), 28–29; repr., with a few slight corrections, as ‘Gray’s Latin Verses Cut on a Rock at Ganllwyd, near Dolgellau’, *Arch. Camb.*, 6th ser., 19 (1919), 526–28.
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- ‘*homo planus* and Leprosy in Wales’, *Arch. Camb.*, 6th ser., 20 (1920), 224–50.
- ‘Hugh “Lupus”’, *Bye-Gones*, n.s., 1 (1925–27), 22–23.
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- ‘Whitland, Paulinus, and St. David’, *DP II.ii* (1936), pp. 425–27.
- ‘On a Ninth-Century Dyfed Charter, etc.’, *DP II.ii* (1936), pp. 428–30.
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- ‘The Ancient and Modern Divisions of the County [of Cardiganshire]’, *DP II.ii* (1936), pp. 480–86.
- ‘The Medieval Castles of Cardiganshire’, *DP II.ii* (1936), pp. 486–96.
- ‘On the Castles of Denbighshire’, *DP II.ii* (1936), pp. 552–57.