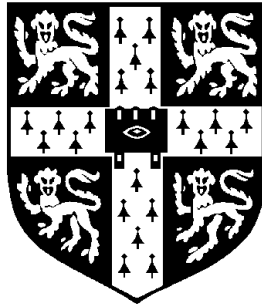


H.M. CHADWICK MEMORIAL LECTURES 23

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

H.M. Chadwick: A Centennial  
Commemoration



DEPARTMENT OF ANGLO-SAXON, NORSE, AND CELTIC

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

Hector Munro Chadwick (1870-1947) was Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge from 1912 to 1941. Through the immense range of his scholarly publications, and through the vigorous enthusiasm which he brought to all aspects of Anglo-Saxon studies — philological and literary, historical and archaeological — he helped to define the field and to give it the interdisciplinary orientation which characterises it still. The Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, which owes its existence and its own interdisciplinary outlook to H.M. Chadwick, has wished to commemorate his enduring contribution to Anglo-Saxon studies by establishing an annual series of lectures in his name.

H.M Chadwick: A Centennial Commemoration

© Michael Lapidge 2012

First published 2013 by the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic,  
9 West Road, Cambridge, CB3 9DP, England.

ISBN 978-0-9571862-5-5

ISSN 0962-0702

Reprinted by the Reprographics Centre, University of Cambridge.

H. M. CHADWICK MEMORIAL LECTURES 23

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

H. M. Chadwick: A Centennial Commemoration

DEPARTMENT OF ANGLO-SAXON, NORSE AND CELTIC

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE



# H. M. Chadwick: A Centennial Commemoration<sup>1</sup>

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

The first holder of the Elrington-Bosworth Professorship of Anglo-Saxon in this University, Walter William Skeat, died on 6 October 1912, still in post and relatively active, at the age of 76.<sup>2</sup> The Board of Electors to the Chair met on 21 November 1912,<sup>3</sup> and appointed to the Professorship Hector Munro Chadwick,<sup>4</sup> then Lecturer in Scandinavian in the Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages, and Fellow of Clare College. This appointment had immense consequences for the ways in which Anglo-Saxon and related disciplines have been studied here in Cambridge (and to some extent in the wider scholarly world) for the past century. In this twenty-third H. M. Chadwick Memorial Lecture, which marks the centennial of that momentous appointment, I shall try to say something about H. M. Chadwick's own intellectual achievement, but shall be equally concerned with exploring the institutional ways in which he succeeded in implementing his vision of the subject, not least through his own teaching and the students he inspired; and I shall conclude by asking what the present-day study of Anglo-Saxon in this University owes to Chadwick's vision.

Hector Munro Chadwick was born on 22 October 1870 at Thornhill Lees in the West Riding of Yorkshire (about 5 miles east of Huddersfield).<sup>5</sup> After attending Bradford Grammar School and Wakefield Grammar School,<sup>6</sup> he came up to Clare as Cave Exhibitioner in 1889; was awarded a College Scholarship in 1890; took a First

---

<sup>1</sup> I use the following abbreviations: *Interpreters* = *Interpreters of Early Medieval Britain*, ed. M. Lapidge (Oxford, 2002); *ODNB* = *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, 60 vols. (Oxford, 2004); *PBA* = *Proceedings of the British Academy*; *Reporter* = *The Cambridge University Reporter* [cited by academic year]. And note that throughout my discussion 'Tripos' refers to the Anglo-Saxon Tripos (whether housed in MML, English or Arch & Anth), and HMC = Hector Munro Chadwick, and NKC = Nora Kershaw Chadwick.

<sup>2</sup> No obituary of Skeat was published in *PBA*; see, instead, M. Lapidge, 'Walter William Skeat, 1835–1912', in *Interpreters*, pp. 37–47.

<sup>3</sup> *Reporter* 1912–1913, p. 283. The Board of Electors to the Chair consisted of: the Vice-Chancellor (S. A. Donaldson), the Regius Professor of Greek (H. Jackson), the Regius Professor of Modern History (J. B. Bury); and the Professor of Sanskrit (E. J. Rapson).

<sup>4</sup> The most important obituary notice of Chadwick is that by his colleague and former student, J. M. de Navarro, 'Hector Munro Chadwick, 1870–1947', *PBA* 33 (1947), 307–30 [repr. *Interpreters*, pp. 195–218]; but see also W. Telfer, 'Chadwick, Hector Munro (1870–1947), Literary Scholar', rev. J. D. Haigh, *ODNB* X, p. 840; Telfer's brief (and unilluminating) obituary was based on his earlier notice, 'Hector Munro Chadwick, 1871[*sic!*]–1947', *The Cambridge Review* 68 (1946–7), 248–50. Telfer had been Dean of Clare and a colleague of Chadwick at that college; at the time of Chadwick's death he was Master of Selwyn.

<sup>5</sup> Chadwick's family background is best treated by de Navarro (*PBA* 33 (1947) 307–9 = *Interpreters*, pp. 195–7). Although a Yorkshireman by birth, Chadwick had a lifelong love of Scotland, and his Christian names raise the suspicion that he was a descendant (on the side of his mother, Sarah Murray) of General Sir Hector Munro of Novar, the hero of the battles of Buxar (1764), and Pondicherry (against the French in 1778), both in India. Unfortunately, the papers held by the present Munro family (of Ross-shire) contain no verification of the suspected link between Sir Hector and Sarah Murray, daughter of Margaret Munro, who *may* have been the sister of Sir Hector. I am extremely grateful to Isabel Henderson for writing to the current head of the Munro clan, Hector W. Munro, on my behalf.

<sup>6</sup> A warm appreciation of Chadwick's days at Wakefield Grammar School is contained in *The Savilian* [the Wakefield Grammar School Magazine] for Easter Term, 1947, pp. 4–8 (Elaine Merckx, Archivist of the Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, Wakefield, very kindly sent me photocopies of the relevant pages). The article contains reminiscences by fellow students A. H. Webster and G. W. Dyson (who, like Chadwick, was later a member of Clare), and by Dorothy Whitelock, whose brief account of Chadwick's teaching was reprinted from *The Savilian* in *Antiquity* 44 (1970), 256.

in Part I of the Classics Tripos in 1892, and a Starred First in Part II in 1893. After this tripos performance he was elected into a Clare Fellowship (what we would now call a Research Fellowship) in 1893, a post which he held for six years (until 1899), at which time he was elected into a permanent (or ‘Official’) Fellowship.

In Part II of the Classics Tripos Chadwick had taken Section E (Philology), by which was meant Indo-European philology. In the early years of his Clare Fellowship, he continued to work in this highly technical field. This work resulted in his first two publications, two hard-core, industrial-strength philological papers in Indo-European journals. The first of these, on the origin of a form of the preterite in certain second-conjugation Latin verbs, was his Part II dissertation;<sup>7</sup> the second concerned problems with the ablaut in Indo-European verbs.<sup>8</sup> These two publications reveal an astonishingly detailed grasp of Indo-European languages — not just Latin and Greek, but Iranian and Sanskrit (both of which he had studied with the then-Professor of Sanskrit, E. B. Cowell), Baltic, Slavic and Celtic, and, above all, Germanic (Gothic, Old English and Old Norse). From early on Chadwick had what his obituarist was later to call a ‘pentecostal knowledge of tongues’.<sup>9</sup> Had he continued in this vein, he might well have become Cambridge’s first Professor of Comparative Philology (the chair was not established until 1938); but by chance he happened to read a two-volume work by one Paul Du Chaillu (an amateur explorer/archaeologist) entitled *The Viking Age*.<sup>10</sup> Chadwick was overwhelmed with excitement at the prospect of exploring the early (i.e. pre-Christian) Germanic peoples and their languages and literatures. With the zeal of a new convert, he abandoned the study of classical antiquity and henceforth turned his entire attention to the Teutonic peoples of northern Europe (‘Teutonic’ was Chadwick’s preferred word; we should today probably say ‘Germanic’).

Through his command of Greek and Latin he had immediate access to what classical historians had written about the Teutonic peoples; but he now supplemented this knowledge by a comprehensive programme of reading in northern sources, beginning with the Old Norse sagas (in the last decade of the nineteenth century, by the way, much Old Norse literature was available only in German editions). These studies resulted a few years later in the publication of his first monograph, *The Cult of Othin* (1899),<sup>11</sup> a brief but brilliant little book of 82 pages in which he explored the evidence for human sacrifice to the god Othin/Woden by hanging men on the eve of battle. In the same year (1899) he published his massive ‘Studies in Old English’,<sup>12</sup> in which he established philological criteria for dating the earliest specimens of Old

<sup>7</sup> ‘The Origin of the Latin Perfect in *-ui*’, *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 20 (1894), 270–303.

<sup>8</sup> ‘Ablaut Problems in the idg. Verb’, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 11 (1899), 145–97.

<sup>9</sup> De Navarro, ‘Hector Munro Chadwick’, p. 323 [repr. *Interpreters*, p. 211].

<sup>10</sup> P. B. Du Chaillu, *The Viking Age: The Early History, Manners and Customs of the Ancestors of the English-Speaking Nations*, 2 vols. (London, 1889). In his reminiscences of Chadwick, Glyn Daniel states that ‘late one evening in the Clare College Library [he] had found a copy of Du Chaillu’s *The Viking Age*, and on reading it his life was changed’ (*Some Small Harvest* [cited below, n. 32], p. 82); a substantially different report is given by de Navarro (‘Hector Munro Chadwick’, p. 310 [= *Interpreters*, p. 198]), who says that HMC discovered the book while visiting his brother Murray (in Athelney, presumably). I cannot discover that there was ever a copy of Du Chaillu in the Clare Library; there is, however, a copy in the Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic Departmental Library (shelf-mark: E132 DUC); and since many of the earlier volumes in this Library came from the Chadwicks’ libraries after the death of Nora in 1972, it is possible that the ASNC copy was once Chadwick’s own, and may have been the very copy responsible for his Damascene conversion.

<sup>11</sup> *The Cult of Othin* (Cambridge, 1899).

<sup>12</sup> ‘Studies in Old English’, *Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society* 4 (1899), 85–265.

English, and showed *inter alia* that the Old English glosses to the ‘Epinal-Erfurt Glossary’ — a work which we now attribute to the labours of Aldhelm<sup>13</sup> — can confidently be assigned to the period 670 × 720. The dating criteria which he enunciated have not been superseded, and underlie much later work on the earliest period of Old English by such scholars as Alistair Campbell and J. D. Pfeifer.<sup>14</sup> In any case, these two publications immediately placed H. M. Chadwick at the forefront of Old English and Old Norse studies.

The creation in 1894 of Section B of the Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos privileged the study of early English language (as taught by W. W. Skeat and his younger colleague at Christ’s, A. J. Wyatt)<sup>15</sup> and was, as Chadwick later observed, ‘purely linguistic’ in orientation. From 1895 onwards, Chadwick began to offer teaching — also ‘purely linguistic’ — for papers in Section B, at first on ‘Comparative Grammar of the Germanic Languages’ (with the verb and the noun treated in alternate years) and subsequently, in 1897–8, on ‘Anglo-Saxon: Early and Dialect Texts with Historical Grammar’, where it is clear that his teaching was a reflex of the research which resulted in his ‘Studies in Old English’. Thereafter he offered teaching entitled simply ‘Subjects for Section B’. In 1907, the linguistic scope of Section B was broadened so as to include a paper on ‘Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic, and Viking Age History’, and this broadening to embrace history as well as language is reflected once again in Chadwick’s publications at this time. His *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, published in 1905, is — to me — the most remarkable of all his writings.<sup>16</sup> In it Chadwick worked through various classes of evidence — coinage, law-codes, charters, and administrative documents such as the ‘Burghal Hidage’ — in order to work out how the various classes of Anglo-Saxon society were related to each other. By analyzing witness-lists to charters, for example, he attempted to work out when and where the various ealdordoms had been established, and how their jurisdiction related to that of the king on one hand, and of smaller administrative units (the ‘hundreds’) on the other. This work was truly pioneering; and although its discussion of the ealdordom-ries has been superseded by more recent work (for example by Simon Keynes’s massive *Atlas of Attestations*,<sup>17</sup> which accomplishes in a comprehensive way what Chadwick had only begun to sketch out), there is still much of permanent value in Chadwick’s analysis. As recently as last year, for example, Martin Carver could write: ‘it is very likely, as H. M. Chadwick suggested 100 years ago, that *burhs* were sited in places which were already tribute-collecting points; in fact it is most probably the collecting of tribute and storage of food rent that is to be protected by the *burh*’.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> M. Lapidge, ‘Aldhelm and the “Epinal-Erfurt Glossary”’, in *Aldhelm and Sherborne. Essays to Celebrate the Founding of the Bishopric*, ed. K. Barker and N. Brooks (Oxford and Oakville, 2010), pp. 129–63.

<sup>14</sup> A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959), *passim*; J. D. Pfeifer, *Old English Glosses in the Epinal-Erfurt Glossary* (Oxford, 1974), pp. lxxxix–xc.

<sup>15</sup> In fact Skeat devoted himself mostly to the edition of Middle English texts and left the teaching to others; cf. the remarks of A. J. Wyatt in his obituary notice of Skeat: ‘He was not a great teacher ... he left the teaching to those who had learnt from him; his teaching was episodic’ (*The Cambridge Review* 34 (1912), 15).

<sup>16</sup> *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions* (Cambridge, 1905).

<sup>17</sup> S. Keynes, *An Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters, c. 670–1066* (Cambridge, 1998).

<sup>18</sup> M. O. H. Carver, ‘What were they Thinking? Intellectual Territories in Anglo-Saxon England’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*, ed. H. Hamerow, D. A. Hinton and S. Crawford (Oxford, 2011), pp. 914–47, at 932.

Two years later came another blockbuster: *The Origin of the English Nation*, in which Chadwick attempted to trace the origins of the Anglo-Saxons among continental Germanic peoples, combining the testimony of historical texts and what he called ‘antiquities’ (what we would call ‘archaeological evidence’).<sup>19</sup> His treatment of archaeological evidence is of course hopelessly out of date; but he had first-hand knowledge of classical historians such as Ptolemy, Tacitus, Velleius Paterculus, Cassiodorus, Procopius, and others, and his analysis of these classical historians has not been superseded. One suspects that there are very few archaeologists today who could emulate Chadwick’s control of these Greek and Latin sources.

By the first decade of the twentieth century, as I have mentioned, Chadwick was doing all the teaching for Section B of the Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos (by now Skeat was well into his 70s, and his editorial activities were being devoted to Middle English texts such as *Havelok the Dane*). It is gratifying to record that Chadwick’s efforts were recognized by the University. In 1910 the Faculty Board of Medieval and Modern Languages recommended that (I quote) ‘it would be of advantage to the University and a fit recognition of the contributions to scholarship and learning of Mr H. M. Chadwick ... if the General Board were authorized to appoint ... Mr Chadwick a University Lecturer in Scandinavian’.<sup>20</sup> The General Board duly endorsed this recommendation, adding that Mr Chadwick has (again I quote) ‘for the past fifteen years borne the brunt of the teaching for Section B of the Tripos which includes Icelandic’ and ‘attributing the popularity of this advanced section to the stimulus of Mr Chadwick’s teaching’.<sup>21</sup> So Chadwick was appointed University Lecturer with the princely stipend of £100 p.a.

Two years later, in 1912, the Cambridge University Press published what many regard as Chadwick’s greatest work: *The Heroic Age*.<sup>22</sup> The work is essentially a comparative study of Germanic and Greek (that is, Homeric) poetry, in the attempt to demonstrate that, as Iron Age societies passed through broadly similar phases of social and military development, the oral poetry which they produced — largely for the entertainment of their warrior classes and for the gratification of their leaders — took broadly similar forms of expression. One distinguished Greek scholar, the then Regius Professor, Geoffrey Kirk, in his *The Songs of Homer* (1962), described Chadwick’s book as a pioneering work, and stated that Chadwick had done ‘wonders in identifying the idea of the heroic age’.<sup>23</sup> But here, too, much of what Chadwick wrote, particularly about Homeric Greece, has been superseded by later discoveries, such as Milman Parry’s elucidation of the oral-formulaic nature of Homeric verse, or the decipherment of Linear B. Nevertheless, *The Heroic Age* remains a landmark in comparative literature.

Later in the year in which *The Heroic Age* was published, W. W. Skeat died. Given Chadwick’s high reputation in the University, it is not surprising that he was rapidly appointed to succeed Skeat as Elrington-Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon (even less surprising, given that several members of the Board of Electors had been members of the General Board which two years previously had recommended in such glowing terms the creation of the Lectureship in Scandinavian for Chadwick). The case for his election was supported by a powerful dossier of testimonials (now

<sup>19</sup> *The Origin of the English Nation* (Cambridge, 1907).

<sup>20</sup> *Reporter 1909–1910*, p. 1135.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *The Heroic Age* (Cambridge, 1912).

<sup>23</sup> G. S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer* (Cambridge, 1962), p. 136.



preserved in the University Archives),<sup>24</sup> including several from his former students. (It was characteristic of Chadwick's modesty that he should have asked his students to write in his support.) Dr Anna Paues (1867–1945),<sup>25</sup> then Fellow of Newnham, wrote, 'Apart from the profound scholarship and extensive learning which make Mr Chadwick's lectures of lasting value, he possesses that rarest of gifts, the power of inspiring enthusiasm in his pupils. I think this depends not only on his single-hearted devotion to his subject, but also on the more human qualities of sympathy, understanding and self-forgetfulness in the carrying out of his duties as a teacher. Mr Chadwick gives his time and his interest unstintingly without thought of return and he has always stimulating suggestions for such students as wish to take up independent lines of research.'<sup>26</sup> In another testimonial, Allen (later Sir Allen) Mawer (1879–1942),<sup>27</sup> then Professor in Durham, wrote: 'The stimulus was due not so much to the wealth of knowledge which he put at the disposal of his pupils as to his attitude of mind which refused, without independent criticism, to accept the conclusions of those who had dealt with the same subject before. Never was he satisfied with a second-hand opinion either for himself or for his pupils.'<sup>28</sup> These qualities were to characterize Chadwick's teaching for the twenty-nine years of his tenure of the Chair, and for some more years beyond that.

As soon as he took up the chair, Chadwick threw his huge energies into teaching, with the corollary that he ceased entirely to publish the results of his research. The fact is that for twenty years, from 1912 until 1932 (when the first volume of *The Growth of Literature* came out), Chadwick published nothing whatsoever.<sup>29</sup> (These were the blissful days before REF assessments ...) The abandonment of publication will not have been a problem for Chadwick personally, because he was an utterly dedicated teacher. Up until 1922, Chadwick's small-group teaching took place in his first-floor rooms in D-staircase in Clare (overlooking King's College chapel and lawn), and, from 1922 until his retirement from the Chair in 1941, at the large house known as The Paper Mills which he and his wife Nora had purchased just off Newmarket Road adjacent to the Leper Chapel (also adjacent to the Globe public house, now an Indian take-away).

Chadwick's seminars in Clare (until 1922) took place after dinner (the daytime was given over to University classes and lectures) around a large table, fuelled by

<sup>24</sup> University of Cambridge, University Archives, ASNC 1 [nos. 1–46], nos. 1–2.

<sup>25</sup> Anna Paues was born at Acklinga, Sweden and educated in Stockholm. She came to Cambridge and took the Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos, Section B, in 1897, and between 1898 and 1900 she was the Marion Kennedy Student at Newnham, when she attended Chadwick's classes. She subsequently took her Ph.D. at Uppsala ('A Fourteenth-Century English Biblical Version') in 1904, while she was a Research Student at Newnham (1902–6), thereafter becoming Lecturer in English at Newnham (1906–27); from 1917 onwards she was one of three women English dons who were resolutely opposed to HMC's proposed reform of the English Tripos (see E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Muse Unchained. An Intimate Account of the Revolution in English Studies at Cambridge* (London, 1958), pp. 46–7). She latterly became University Lecturer in Swedish (1927–36), and then returned to Sweden in retirement. See the *Newnham College Register, 1871–1971*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1990), I, p. 11, as well as the obituary by Dorothy Whitelock in the *Newnham College Roll 1945*, pp. 43–5 [with an excellent photograph].

<sup>26</sup> University of Cambridge, University Archives, ASNC 1 [nos. 1–46], no. 6.

<sup>27</sup> On Sir Allen Mawer, see F. M. Stenton, 'Sir Allen Mawer, 1879–1942', *PBA* 29 (1943), 433–9 [repr. *Interpreters*, pp. 237–43].

<sup>28</sup> University of Cambridge, University Archives, ASNC 1 [nos. 1–46], no. 8.

<sup>29</sup> A minor exception is apparently his article on the Celtic element in continental river-names, 'Some German River-Names', in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway*, ed. E. C. Quiggin (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 315–22; but the research for this article had been done before he took up the Chair in 1912.

much tea-drinking, with male and female students together (at this period women were not formally part of the University: but Chadwick made no distinction whatsoever between the sexes), and the discussion was text-based, at least in the early years, and was focussed on problems arising from the interpretation of works in Old English, Old Norse, Old High German, as well as Old Irish and Medieval Welsh.<sup>30</sup> (In later years attention was increasingly given to problems of archaeological interpretation, but I'll come back to this.) Chadwick's approach was gentle — he was known by all his students as 'Chadders' — and no one who attended these seminars ever forgot them. Two of these students — J. M. (Toty) de Navarro and Glyn Daniel — have left indelible impressions of these seminars. Toty de Navarro wrote, 'Few who had the privilege of these long evening sessions ... can fail to look back on them as the most formative experience in their education'.<sup>31</sup> Glyn Daniel wrote: 'To be taught by and to get to know well Hector Munro Chadwick was one of the most wonderful experiences in my life. He was the greatest scholar I ever met, and one of the most remarkable characters. The stories about him are legion, and surprisingly enough, true. He was to me a scholar-father figure'.<sup>32</sup> The only possible criticism of these seminars is a point made by de Navarro, that 'he treated young post-graduates working under him as his intellectual peers'.<sup>33</sup> There is a splendid illustration of this in a story concerning Dorothy Whitelock, who, when recommended by Chadwick to read a particular book, said, 'But Professor Chadwick, this book is in Danish', to which he replied, 'I don't think the Danish language will give you much trouble'.<sup>34</sup>

It was a cardinal tenet of Chadwick's teaching that all interpretation must be based on first-hand knowledge of the primary sources. As he began to extend the framework of Anglo-Saxon studies to include cultural, political and social history, he quickly realized that such subjects could not be taught effectively without the provision of satisfactory editions with English translation and commentary. (Up until 1912 many of the set texts for the Tripos were German editions, with glossaries and apparatus in German, such as Kluge's *Angelsächsisches Lesebuch* or Holthausen's *Altisländisches Lesebuch*.) Accordingly Chadwick devised a programme for supplying English editions of set texts, and he put his postgraduate students to work at producing accessible new editions of the texts in question, all overseen by Chadwick himself. Although, as I have said, he himself published nothing between 1912 and 1932, the scholarly production of these students is a matter of some astonishment. It has been estimated that forty books are in question; I obviously can't review them all here, but in order to give some idea of how Chadwick developed the field, I shall — very briefly — survey the editions of primary texts which were published by his students during those years, beginning with what can crudely be called 'literary' texts:

<sup>30</sup> Cf. the remarks of Enid Welsford (Starred First at Tripos in 1914): 'Those were the days when women still held an unpleasantly isolated position in the intellectual life of the university; but distinctions of sex and status were non-existent round the large table in the Professor's rooms in Clare and to our genial host (for such he seemed) we were just human beings, ready to explore with him new fields of interest' ('In Memory: Nora Chadwick', p. 43, cited in full below, n. 36).

<sup>31</sup> De Navarro, 'Hector Munro Chadwick', p. 319 [repr. *Interpreters*, p. 207].

<sup>32</sup> G. E. Daniel, *Some Small Harvest: The Memoirs of Glyn Daniel* (London, 1986), p. 83.

<sup>33</sup> De Navarro, 'Hector Munro Chadwick', p. 319 [repr. *Interpreters*, p. 207].

<sup>34</sup> This is Glyn Daniel's report of the incident: *Some Small Harvest*, p. 82. In Dorothy Whitelock's own words (as printed in her obituary notice of HMC in *The Savilian* (as cited above, n. 6)), Chadwick replied, 'I don't think you will find Danish very difficult' (*Antiquity* 44 (1970), 256). Since it was Daniels himself who, as editor of *Antiquity*, reprinted the excerpt from *The Savilian*, the minor discrepancy of wording is probably due to Daniels's misremembering what Dorothy Whitelock had written.

Bruce Dickins, *Runic and Heroic Poems of the Old Teutonic Peoples* (1915), including editions of the Old English and Old Icelandic *Rune Poems*, as well as *Waldere, Deor, Finnsburh*, and the Old High German *Hildebrandslied*;<sup>35</sup> Nora Kershaw, *Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems* (1922), including editions of (in Old English) *The Wanderer, The Seafarer, The Wife's Lament, The Husband's Message, and The Ruin* and (in Old Norse) *Hrafnsmál, Eiríksmál, Hákonarmál, Darraðarljóð*, and others;<sup>36</sup> Daisy Martin Clarke, *Hávamál* (1923), which also included editions of *Reginismál* and *Sigrdrífumál*;<sup>37</sup> Bertram Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (1927);<sup>38</sup> Nora Kershaw again, *An Early Irish Reader* (1927), principally an annotated edition of the *Scéla Muicce Meic Da Thó*;<sup>39</sup> and G. N. Garmonsway, *An Early Norse Reader* (1928).<sup>40</sup> In terms of 'documentary' sources — and the distinction is mine, not Chadwick's, who would have regarded all these texts as witnesses of equal merit to early Insular society — the following editions were published: Florence Harmer, *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and*

<sup>35</sup> B. Dickins, *Runic and Heroic Poems of the Old Teutonic Peoples* (Cambridge, 1915). Bruce Dickins (1889–1978) had taken a Starred First in the Tripos in 1913; he subsequently became Lecturer at Edinburgh (1919–31), Professor of English at Leeds (1931–46), and then Chadwick's successor as Elrington-Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon (1946–57). See R. I. Page, 'Bruce Dickins, 1889–1978', *PBA* 64 (1978), 341–57 [repr. *Interpreters*, pp. 351–66]. A list of his publications to 1959 is contained in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. P. Clemoes (London, 1959), pp. 316–22.

<sup>36</sup> N. Kershaw, *Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems* (Cambridge, 1922). Nora Kershaw Chadwick (1891–1972) had obtained Second Class Honours at Tripos in 1913; she was subsequently Assistant Lecturer in English at St Andrews (1914–19), but when this temporary appointment came to an end, she returned to Cambridge in order to devote herself to full-time research. She married Chadwick in 1922. Although she participated actively in teaching for the Department, she was not appointed to a University Lectureship in Cambridge until 1950, three years after Chadwick's death. See K. H. Jackson, 'Nora Kershaw Chadwick, 1891–1972', *PBA* 58 (1972), 537–49 [repr. *Interpreters*, pp. 383–95]; M. E. Owen, 'Nora Kershaw Chadwick, 1891–1972', *Studia Celtica* 8–9 (1973–4), 319–24; H. Ellis Davidson, 'Nora Kershaw Chadwick, 1891–1972', in *Cambridge Women: Twelve Portraits*, ed. E. Shils and C. Blacker (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 183–201; and the warm memoir by her friend Enid Welsford, 'In Memoriam: Nora Chadwick', in the *Newnham College Roll 1973*, pp. 43–50.

<sup>37</sup> D. Martin Clarke, *The Hávamál, with Selections from Other Poems of the Edda, Illustrating the Wisdom of the North in Heathen Times* (Cambridge, 1923). Daisy Martin Clarke (1891–1955), who was born in India as Daisy Emily Keatch, obtained a First in Tripos in 1913; before going down from Cambridge, she married Harold Martin Clarke, who was killed during the First World War. After the war she returned to Cambridge to do research with HMC; she was subsequently Assistant Lecturer at the University of Exeter (1924–30) and then Tutor in English Language at St Hugh's College, Oxford (1930–50). Inspired by HMC's teaching, she became increasingly interested in Anglo-Saxon archaeology, and lectured on this subject (including Sutton Hoo) at various universities in the United States, including Johns Hopkins; these lectures were published as *Culture in Early Anglo-Saxon England: A Study with Illustrations* (Baltimore, MD, 1947). See the brief obituary notice in *The Chronicle (St Hugh's College Magazine)* for 1955, pp. 22–3.

<sup>38</sup> B. Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1927). Bertram Colgrave (1888–1968) obtained a First at Tripos in 1920; he subsequently became Lecturer and then Reader in the University of Durham. He is known for his editions of Anglo-Latin saints' Lives, which include (in addition to the Life of Wilfrid): *Two Lives of St Cuthbert* (Cambridge, 1940); *Felix's Life of St Guthlac* (Cambridge, 1956); *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great* (Lawrence, KA, 1968); and, with Sir Roger Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969).

<sup>39</sup> N. Kershaw Chadwick, *An Early Irish Reader* (Cambridge, 1927).

<sup>40</sup> G. N. Garmonsway, *An Early Norse Reader* (Cambridge, 1928). George Norman Garmonsway (1898–1967) obtained a First at Tripos in 1921; he subsequently became Lecturer in English at Aberystwyth (1921–30), and then successively Lecturer, Reader and Professor (from 1965) of English Language and Medieval Literature at King's College, London. There is a brief account of his career and writings in *Medieval Literature and Civilization. Studies in Memory of G. N. Garmonsway*, ed. D. A. Pearsall and R. A. Waldron (London, 1969), pp. vii–ix.

*Tenth Centuries* (1914), including editions of many tenth-century Anglo-Saxon wills, manumissions and foundation charters;<sup>41</sup> Frederick Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (1922), including law-codes from Æthelberht to Æthelstan,<sup>42</sup> complemented by A. J. (Jane) Robertson, *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I* (1925), containing the law-codes of Edmund, Edgar, Æthelred and Cnut (as well as William I and Henry I);<sup>43</sup> Dorothy Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (1930);<sup>44</sup> Margaret Ashdown, *English and Norse Documents relating to the Reign of Ethelred the Unready* (1930), including editions of *The Battle of Maldon* and early eleventh-century portions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, as well as Old Norse poems such as *Óláfsdrápa* and *Knútsdrápa*, and excerpts from (*inter alia*) the *Jómsvíkinga Saga*;<sup>45</sup> and, once again, Jane Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (1939).<sup>46</sup> All these books were published by the Cambridge University Press; in each of them the edited texts are accompanied by modern English translation and detailed commentary, both philological and historical.

---

<sup>41</sup> F. E. Harmer, *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1914). Florence Elizabeth Harmer (1890–1967) obtained a First at Tripos in 1912; she subsequently taught English at the University of Manchester (from 1920 until her retirement in 1957, being first Lecturer, then Senior Lecturer in 1949 and Reader in 1955). See D. Whitelock, 'Florence Elizabeth Harmer, 1890–1967', *PBA* 54 (1968), 301–14 [repr. *Interpreters*, pp. 369–80], and esp. p. 302 [*Interpreters*, p. 370]: '[HMC] had realized that one of the big gaps in Anglo-Saxon studies was the lack of good editions of the vernacular charters, and Florence Harmer was the first of his students whom he set to the task of supplying this need.' Florence Harmer's major contribution to Anglo-Saxon studies is her massive edition of *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952).

<sup>42</sup> F. L. Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (Cambridge, 1922). Frederick Levi Attenborough (1887–1973) obtained a Starred First at Tripos in 1918; he subsequently became Principal of University College, Leicester (1932–51), where he was instrumental in establishing the renowned Centre for English Local History. He is the father of two illustrious sons, Richard, Lord Attenborough, and Sir David Attenborough, O.M. There is a brief account of Attenborough in Tillyard, *The Muse Unchained*, pp. 74–5, whose recollections help to explain why Attenborough did not seek to pursue an academic career in Cambridge.

<sup>43</sup> A. J. Robertson, *Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I* (Cambridge, 1925). Agnes Jane Robertson (1893–1959) did not take the Anglo-Saxon Tripos in Cambridge (she had obtained First Class Honours at the University of St Andrews in 1916), but came to Cambridge in 1920–1 as a research student at Girton College, working under the supervision first of Nora, and then of H. M. Chadwick. From 1922 to 1928 she was Lecturer in English at Royal Holloway, and then from 1928 to 1931 Pfeiffer Research Fellow at Girton. She became Probationary Lecturer in Cambridge (1932–5), then Lecturer in English Language at the University of Birmingham (1935–46), then Lecturer and ultimately Reader (from 1949) in English Language at the University of Aberdeen, a post she held until her retirement (for reasons of ill health) in 1957; she died two years later. See the warm account of her career, written on the occasion of her retirement, by J. A. Michie, 'Dr A. Jane Robertson', *Aberdeen University Review* 37 (1957–8), 408–10, and the obituary notice by Nora Chadwick in *The Girton Review* (Michaelmas Term, 1959), pp. 29–30.

<sup>44</sup> D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge, 1930). Dorothy Whitelock (1901–82) obtained a Starred First at Tripos in 1923, which led to several successive research fellowships and ultimately, in 1930, an appointment at St Hilda's College, Oxford, where she remained (becoming Vice-Principal from 1941 to 1956) until she was appointed to the Elrington-Bosworth Professorship of Anglo-Saxon in Cambridge in 1957, which chair she held until retirement in 1969. See H. Loyn, 'Dorothy Whitelock, 1901–1982', *PBA* 70 (1984), 543–54 [repr. *Interpreters*, pp. 427–37].

<sup>45</sup> M. Ashdown, *English and Norse Documents relating to the Reign of Ethelred the Unready* (Cambridge, 1930). Margaret Ashdown (1892–1962) obtained a Starred First at Tripos in 1913; she held a lectureship in English at Westfield College until 1928, when she abandoned Anglo-Saxon studies and re-trained as a psychiatric social worker, whence she taught and trained students at the Maudsley Hospital in south London, a noted centre for psychiatric research. With Sibyl Clement Brown she published *Social Services and Mental Health* (London, 1953; repr. 1998). See *Newnham College Register, 1871–1971*, I, p. 218, and *Newnham College Roll 1963*, pp. 45–7 (obituary).

<sup>46</sup> A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge, 1939; repr. 1956).

In all these books acknowledgement is made to H. M. Chadwick for having devised the project and having helped at every stage. I quote a few examples. Florence Harmer expresses ‘indebtedness to Prof. Chadwick, to whose suggestion this work owes its inception and without whose help and guidance it could never have been completed’;<sup>47</sup> Margaret Ashdown expresses ‘My indebtedness to Prof. Chadwick, who taught me to love Norse literature and history and gave me a glimpse of the austerity and beauty of true scholarship’;<sup>48</sup> Frederick Attenborough: ‘But most of all my thanks are due to Professor Chadwick. How great my obligations are to him only those who have had the privilege of working under him can form any idea’;<sup>49</sup> and Bruce Dickins: ‘most of all I have to thank Mr H. M. Chadwick ... who has rescued me from countless pits which I had digged for myself. Anyone who has had the good fortune to work with him will appreciate my debt; no one else can estimate it.’<sup>50</sup>

This small library of books was to provide the staple of set texts and supplementary reading for the Tripos throughout the 1920s and 1930s and beyond. But let me go back a bit, to the years of World War I, when Chadwick, in collaboration with Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch (the King Edward the Seventh Professor of English) and Dr H. F. Stewart of Trinity, were busy drafting new regulations for the Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages (including the English tripos).<sup>51</sup> These new regulations, published in 1917, came into effect in 1919: they accomplished the separation of English from MML (now renamed the Faculty of Modern and Medieval Languages). Chadwick’s domain of Anglo-Saxon studies — of which he was then the sole proponent — came under the aegis of English, where it retained the title Section B (English studies proper, from 1066 to the present, became Section A). At this time Chadwick took the opportunity of remodelling Section B, so as further to broaden its scope to embrace the culture of the early British Isles, with papers now being offered on ‘England before 1066’, ‘The Viking Age’, ‘The Teutonic Peoples’, and then two papers on ‘The Celtic Peoples’ (one Brittonic, one Irish). And from about 1920 onwards, archaeology came to play an ever greater part in Chadwick’s teaching for his Tripos.

Chadwick was never a field archaeologist; but he had a consuming interest in the archaeology of the British Isles, from the Neolithic period (beginning, let’s say, about 4000 B.C.) through the Bronze and (Celtic) Iron ages, then Britain’s position as a diocese of the Roman empire, to that of the Anglo-Saxons themselves. By all accounts he was thoroughly well versed in archaeological publication. His amateur attempts at field survey and excavation gave rise to a number of engaging stories.

<sup>47</sup> Harmer, *Select English Historical Documents*, p. viii. She continues: ‘She has especially to thank Prof. Chadwick for help with translations, for much information embodied in the notes, and for extensive criticism and suggestions; also for reading the manuscript and the proofs, and for supplying the Preface’.

<sup>48</sup> Ashdown, *English and Norse Documents*, p. x.

<sup>49</sup> Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, p. vii. He continues: ‘I have turned to him [HMC] continually for help in the innumerable difficulties I have met with, and but for his constant and generous assistance I could hardly have completed my task.’

<sup>50</sup> Dickins, *Runic and Heroic Poems*, p. vii.

<sup>51</sup> Chadwick’s decisive role in the creation of the (present) English Faculty is well described by Tillyard, *The Muse Unchained*, esp. pp. 41–7, 54–61, 69–76, 111–16 *et passim*. Cf. also the remarks of H. F. Stewart (replying to the obituary of W. Telfer in *The Cambridge Review*, cited above, n. 4): ‘All through 1916 and 1917 he [HMC] was busy drafting regulations ... it is safe to affirm that both these triposes [*viz.* English and MML] are his creation; and students of the modern humanities are as deeply indebted to him as students of antiquity, though for different cause and in different degree’ (*The Cambridge Review* 68 (1946–7), 308).

Nora Kershaw, who had been Chadwick's student from 1910 to 1914 and had subsequently been appointed to an Assistant Lectureship at St Andrews, missed Cambridge badly and in 1919, after the termination of her Assistant Lectureship, returned to Cambridge in order to devote herself to independent, full-time research. (She was a woman of substantial private means, whose father had been a cotton manufacturer and mill-owner at Great Lever near Bolton.) She moved her household, including two cooks, to Cambridge. More importantly, she had a motor car. Soon Chadwick was frequently to be seen in the company of Nora and her motor car. One anecdote in the Chadwick repertory has it that, when the Master of Clare asked Chadwick why he was so often to be seen in the company of a beautiful young woman with corn-coloured hair, Chadwick replied, 'Archaeologizing, Master, archaeologizing'. There is a darker side to this story, however, and also a humorous one. The darker side I learned from Professor N. G. L. (Nick) Hammond,<sup>52</sup> who was a distinguished Honorary Fellow of the college when I first came to Clare, and who had been a young Fellow here in the 1930s (the first volume of the Chadwicks' *Growth of Literature* contains a handsome acknowledgement to N. G. L. Hammond for help with certain passages of Greek).<sup>53</sup> Hammond told me that Chadwick had been so outraged by the Master's imputations about him and Nora — the Master in question was William Mollison — that he vacated his college rooms, left the college, and refused to set foot in the place until Mollison had been succeeded as Master by G. H. A. Wilson in 1929. Meanwhile, after a courtship of the most utter probity (their one trip to Italy was chaperoned by Enid Welsford, Nora's best friend and a former student of Hector),<sup>54</sup> Nora and Hector had got married in 1922,<sup>55</sup> and set up home in The Paper Mills off Newmarket Road, as I mentioned earlier.

The humorous side is that Chadwick and Nora did indeed go 'archaeologizing' in Nora's car. I report a story told me by the late Peter Hunter Blair, who had been Chadwick's student in the 1930s (he obtained a First at Tripos in 1934). It is that, on one occasion, the two Chadwicks motored down to Great Chesterford (near Duxford), where HMC knew there to be an Anglo-Saxon cemetery. (He presumably knew this from Cyril Fox, about whom more in a moment.<sup>56</sup>) While Nora sat under a tree with the picnic basket, Chadders took a spade, dug up an Anglo-Saxon grave, and extracted a burial urn; whereupon they brought the urn in triumph back to The Paper Mills. Ever afterwards it was kept in a cardboard box. Hunter Blair related that, during supervisions, Chadders would say, with a twinkle in his eye, 'Shall we tak him oot?', whereupon the urn was removed from the box and placed on Chadders' desk. And so the supervision was visited by a genuine Anglo-Saxon presence.

One reliable index of Chadwick's interest in the archaeology of the early British Isles is the number of eminent archaeologists who claimed him as their

<sup>52</sup> A. Snodgrass, 'Nicholas Geoffrey Lemprière Hammond, 1907–2001', *PBA* 120 (2003), 243–59.

<sup>53</sup> H. M. Chadwick and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, I (cited in full below, n. 78), p. xx.

<sup>54</sup> Enid Welsford was indeed a student of HMC: she obtained a Starred First at Tripos in 1914; see E. Duncan-Jones, 'Enid Welsford, 1892–1981', in *Cambridge Women*, ed. Shils and Blacker, pp. 203–19.

<sup>55</sup> See the account of the marriage ceremony, attended only by the bride and groom, Nora's mother and father, and Enid Welsford; during the hour's interval between the ceremony in St Benet's Church and the formalities at the Registry Office, 'the Professor took us to the Museum of Archaeology and gave us an illustrated talk on funerary urns' (Enid Welsford, 'In Memoriam: Nora Chadwick', p. 45).

<sup>56</sup> See C. Fox, *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region: A Topographical Study of the Bronze, Early Iron, Roman and Anglo-Saxon Ages* (Cambridge, 1923), pp. 265, 276 and 278; for the sort of Anglo-Saxon cremation urn recovered by Chadwick, see V. Evison, *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Great Chesterford, Essex* (York, 1994), pp. 178–83. What happened to Chadwick's urn after his death is unknown.

inspiration. (Approximately one-third of the essays in *Memorial Studies*, the Gedenkschrift for Chadwick published in 1950, are on archaeological subjects.<sup>57</sup>) The eminent archaeologists included Sir Cyril Fox, sometime Director of the National Museum of Wales, and a formidable authority on Bronze Age archaeology;<sup>58</sup> Hugh O'Neill Hencken, Curator of European Archaeology at the Peabody Museum at Harvard, and an authority on the European Iron Age, particularly the Etruscans;<sup>59</sup> Terence Powell, sometime Professor of Archaeology in the University of Liverpool, and one of the pioneers of Celtic archaeology;<sup>60</sup> J. M. de Navarro, best known today for his massive catalogue of metalwork (esp. swords and scabbards) from La Tène sites in Switzerland;<sup>61</sup> and Glyn Daniel, a pioneer in the study of European megaliths and later Disney Professor of Archaeology here.<sup>62</sup> No doubt there are more. I mention these names simply to stress that Chadwick took early British archaeology (i.e. from the Neolithic period to the Anglo-Saxon) very seriously, even if he was not himself a field archaeologist,<sup>63</sup> and through his teaching had some considerable impact on the field.

Chadwick's sensitive and inspired supervision of young archaeologists is brilliantly illustrated by the case of Cyril Fox. During the First World War, while engaged in training young cadets, Fox had been appointed Superintendent of the

---

<sup>57</sup> *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe (H. M. Chadwick Memorial Studies)*, ed. C. Fox and B. Dickins (Cambridge, 1950).

<sup>58</sup> Sir Cyril Fox (1882–1967). For reasons which are explained below, Fox did not take the Anglo-Saxon Tripos, but went directly from admission as an undergraduate to a Ph.D. He was Director of the National Museum of Wales from 1926 to 1948, and was knighted in 1935. See S. Piggott, 'Sir Cyril Fox, 1882–1967', *PBA* 53 (1967), 399–407, and C. Scott-Fox, *Cyril Fox: Archaeologist Extraordinary* (Oxford, 2002).

<sup>59</sup> Hugh Hencken (1902–81) obtained a First at Tripos in 1926; he was Curator of European Archaeology at the Peabody Museum from 1932 until 1972. His major publication on the Etruscans is *Tarquinius, Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1968); but he also published a substantial number of articles on Neolithic Britain, especially sites in Cornwall and the Scilly Isles, before moving to the States.

<sup>60</sup> Thomas George Eyre (Terence) Powell (1916–75) took the Tripos in 1936 (Class II, Division 2), but went on to a distinguished career as a Celtic archaeologist, excavating many sites especially in Ireland; he is more widely known for his book *The Celts* (London, 1958).

<sup>61</sup> José Maria (Toty) de Navarro (1896–1979) obtained a Starred First at Tripos in 1920, following which he was elected to a Research Fellowship at Trinity (1923–9); he was Lecturer in the Department of Anglo-Saxon from 1927 until he took early retirement (aged 60) in 1956. Although he was born in England (at Wimbledon), he was the son of wealthy American parents (his father, of Basque descent, owned several blocks of apartments in Manhattan). He was elected to the British Academy in 1974, but no Academy obituary was ever published, and the best sources for his life are: the preface to a volume of his *Collected Poems* (Cambridge, 1980), written by his wife, Dorothy Hoare (on whom see below); recollections of his teaching by Glyn Daniel (*Some Small Harvest*, pp. 71–5); and reminiscences of life with Toty and Dorothy by Gertrude Caton Thompson (1888–1985), the great pioneer of African archaeology, who shared a house in Cambridge (on Conduit Head Road) with the de Navarros until their retirement in 1956, and then lived with them at Toty's ancestral home, Court Farm, at Broadway in the Cotswolds, in her *Mixed Memoirs* (Gateshead, 1983), pp. 210–13, 224–5, 289–91 *et passim*. De Navarro's book on La Tène metalwork is *The Finds from the Site of La Tène*, 2 vols. (London, 1972) [only two of an intended four volumes were ever published].

<sup>62</sup> Glyn Daniel (1914–86) obtained a Starred First at Tripos in 1935; from 1948 he was Lecturer, and then, from 1974–81, Disney Professor of Archaeology in the University of Cambridge. See S. Piggott, 'Glyn Edmund Daniel, 1914–1986', *PBA* 74 (1988), 351–9, and Daniels's own account of his life in *Some Small Harvest*.

<sup>63</sup> The practicalities of archaeology (excavation techniques, etc.) were taught in classes at the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (Downing Street) by Maureen O'Reilly, who had taken the Tripos in 1923 (Class II) and T. C. Lethbridge, who had read Natural Sciences at Trinity; on T. C. (Tom) Lethbridge, see the reminiscences of Glyn Daniel, *Some Small Harvest*, pp. 399–405.

University Field Laboratories (Milton Road), employed in surveying the Cambridgeshire region. This work involved *inter alia* the identification of prehistoric, Roman and Anglo-Saxon sites. After the war he came up to Cambridge (to Magdalene) to read for a degree. Through friends in the Cambridge Antiquarian Society he was put in touch with Chadwick, who welcomed him to his Tripos (then Section B of the newly-established English Tripos), and obtained permission for Fox to submit a dissertation on the archaeology of the Cambridge region in lieu of the compulsory language paper (Old English *and* Old Norse). After obtaining a First in 1920 in 'Mays' (what we would now call Prelims), Fox presented a draft of his dissertation to Chadwick, who reportedly said to him, 'Oh, this is much bigger than a paper for tripos, my dear boy, it ought to be a Ph.D.' Whereupon Chadwick, who as a result of his work in drafting regulations for the new English Tripos, knew *Statutes and Ordinances* back to front, invoked 'Regulation One', under which candidates who had not taken any other degree could, under special circumstances, take a Ph.D. In 1922 Fox submitted his dissertation and was awarded the degree, having gone straight from Prelims to Ph.D. in two years.<sup>64</sup> His dissertation on *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* was published by the C.U.P. the following year, and was immediately recognized as a pioneering work of archaeological method; in Stuart Piggott's words, 'the thesis must surely rank as one of the most remarkable ever submitted in the archaeological school of any university.'<sup>65</sup>

In 1926 the Royal Commission on Universities recommended *inter alia* an increase in the number of university posts in Cambridge; with the result that the General Board established two University Lectureships to assist Chadwick in the teaching of Anglo-Saxon and the related subjects which then made up Section B of the English Tripos. In that same year, therefore, Chadwick was able to appoint Bertha Phillpotts, who had recently resigned her post as Mistress of Girton and was a well-known authority on Old Norse literature,<sup>66</sup> and J. M. de Navarro — always known as Toty because of his childhood inability to pronounce properly his Christian name José — who had been Chadwick's pupil, had obtained a Starred First in Tripos (1920), and had already begun publishing on European archaeology of the Bronze and Iron Ages.<sup>67</sup> With these two appointments in place, Chadwick was able to implement his broader vision of Anglo-Saxon studies, embracing cultural history from the Neolithic

<sup>64</sup> The story is told in Scott-Fox, *Cyril Fox*, pp. 38–9.

<sup>65</sup> Piggott, 'Sir Cyril Fox', p. 400.

<sup>66</sup> See T. Gunnell, 'Dame Bertha Newall [*née* Phillpotts], Educationist and Scandinavian Scholar', *ODNB* XL, pp. 560–2. Bertha Phillpotts was an undergraduate at Girton (1898–1901); she obtained a First in the Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos (Section A) in 1901, and attended many of Chadwick's classes (her notes on his lectures on runes given in 1901 are preserved in the Girton College Archives, GCPP Phillpotts 1/3/1); she also had private tuition in Icelandic with Eiríkr Magnússon (1833–1913), who was then Under-Librarian at the University Library, Cambridge, and a well-known authority on Icelandic literature. She held the Pfeiffer Studentship at Girton (1903–4, 1905–6), which enabled her to travel many times to Iceland. Her best-known work in this field is her book, *The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama* (Cambridge, 1920). She was Mistress of Girton from 1922 until shortly before she took up the teaching post in Chadwick's department. She was appointed D.B.E. in 1929, married H. F. Newall in 1931, and died of cancer on 20 Jan. 1932. In his obituary of Chadwick, de Navarro wrote of her: 'The premature death of that rare and enchanting being in 1932 was felt keenly by her colleagues and robbed England of one of its outstanding Norse scholars' ('Hector Munro Chadwick', p. 318 = *Interpreters*, p. 206).

<sup>67</sup> Glyn Daniel gives a vivid description of Toty de Navarro's teaching: he 'was an exciting, inspiring, but very exacting teacher ... We sat round a table piled high with books and he read out to us, at slightly faster than dictation speed, a wonderful account of the Bronze and Iron Age in Europe distilled from his notes and brought up to date by his constant reading' (*Some Small Harvest*, p. 71).



period onwards and focussed particularly on Old English and Old Norse literature (Celtic was very much part of his design, but it would be some years before he was able to make an appointment in the field; in the meantime, he taught Medieval Welsh and Nora taught Old Irish). In the newly-constituted department of three, Bertha Phillpotts principally taught Old Norse, and Toty de Navarro taught (what they called) ‘Teutonic’ archaeology; and Chadwick himself became increasingly involved in teaching early British archaeology. Not every student, presumably, will have welcomed the obligation to sit a compulsory paper on Old English and Old Norse (combined) *and* at least one paper on early British archaeology; but those who did found the combination of philology and archaeology incredibly exhilarating. One such student, Kenneth Jackson, who took a Starred First in Tripos in 1932, recalled forty years later ‘the excitement of cycling the dark and windy miles down the Newmarket Road to the Paper Mills ... and listening entranced for an hour while Chadders gave his lectures on Early Britain and Mrs Chadders sat at the epidiascope projecting pictures of Bronze Age leaf swords.’<sup>68</sup> Awareness of the Bronze and Iron Age backgrounds of Celtic literature comes across powerfully in Jackson’s 1964 Rede Lecture, *The Oldest Irish Tradition: A Window on the Iron Age*.<sup>69</sup>

His concern with British archaeology soon took Chadwick and his department in an unforeseen direction. In 1927 he addressed a long letter to the General Board in which he emphasized the unique nature of the course of studies he had designed (I quote): ‘the essential feature of our present scheme is the combined study of language, literature, history and civilisation — by which we mean both Institutions and Archaeology’; he went on to emphasize that this programme of study was wholly incompatible with the aims of Section A [i.e. the English Tripos proper], stressing that ‘Our studies as a whole appeal to a different type of mind and require a different type of training ... The association between the two subjects is not natural’.<sup>70</sup> In his letter Chadwick simply stated this case, and made no recommendation; but the General Board evidently divined his deeper purpose, with the result that, in their report of 10 May 1927, they stated that ‘they think that great weight should be attached to Professor Chadwick’s arguments and are anxious that the needs of his subject, so brilliantly furthered by both his teaching and his writing, should be fully met.’<sup>71</sup> (From personal experience of dealings with the General Board I can say that, for a General Board report, these are very strong words indeed.) The Board therefore recommended that Chadwick’s Department (Section B) should be detached from the English Faculty and that a new ‘Department of Anglo-Saxon and kindred studies’ should be established and included in the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology as Section B of that Faculty’s Tripos. The Department of Anglo-Saxon and kindred studies remained under the aegis of Arch & Anth until Chadwick’s death in 1947, and for some years thereafter; but without Chadwick’s own inspirational personality to drive the studies, it is perhaps not surprising that the enthusiasm for archaeology

<sup>68</sup> Quoted by J. E. Caerwyn Williams in his obituary of Jackson (cited in full below, n. 73), p. 322 [repr. *Interpreters*, p. 506].

<sup>69</sup> *The Oldest Irish Tradition: A Window on the Iron Age* (Cambridge, 1964).

<sup>70</sup> *The Reporter 1926–1927*, p. 1070. There is an account of Chadwick’s letter, and its impact, in Tillyard, *The Muse Unchained*, pp. 112–16. As Tillyard makes clear, Chadwick’s reasons for relocating his department were as much personal as practical: he feared that, in a larger body such as the newly-constituted Faculty Board of English, he would lose much of his personal authority, whereas in the Board of Archaeology and Anthropology, the archaeologists and anthropologists would show such little interest in the affairs of the Anglo-Saxon department that he could retain his personal authority in his own subject; which proved to be the case.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.* p. 1068.

evaporated and was eventually suppressed under his two successors in the Chair, Bruce Dickins and Dorothy Whitelock.

However, from 1927 onwards, the Anglo-Saxon Tripos consisted of seven papers (before 1993, the Tripos consisted of one part only, which needed to be combined with a part of another Tripos in order for a candidate to complete an Honours degree). The papers were: 1 (Anglo-Saxon and Early Norse); 2 (England before 1066); 3 (The Viking Age); 4 (The Teutonic Peoples); 5 (Early Britain: Bronze Age and Roman Britain); 6 (Celtic Peoples I: Brittonic); and 7 (Celtic Peoples II: Goidelic). Paper 1 (Anglo-Saxon and Early Norse) was compulsory for every candidate; every candidate was also required to offer at least one of the archaeological papers (Papers 3–5). There was also a required three-hour essay question on some aspect of the Tripos, and a Dissertation could be substituted for one of the non-compulsory papers (Papers 2–7).

Once it had found a permanent home in Arch & Anth, Chadwick set about to enlarge his meagre department of three (himself, Bertha Phillpotts, and Toty de Navarro). In his letter to the General Board of 1927 (quoted above), Chadwick had put down a marker for a post in Celtic (I quote that letter once again): ‘So far we have been able to carry out only the part of our scheme which relates to early Teutonic studies ... and to Early Britain. We hope to do the same for Celtic studies as soon as we can get a good Celtic scholar.’<sup>72</sup> The opportunity came in 1934, when Kenneth Jackson, who (as I mentioned) had taken a Starred First at Tripos in 1932, was appointed to a Probationary Lectureship in the Faculty of Modern and Medieval Languages (he did in fact teach Modern Irish for MML, but the bulk of his university teaching was devoted to the two Celtic papers in Chadwick’s Department of Anglo-Saxon and kindred studies).<sup>73</sup> Meanwhile, at the beginning of 1932, Dame Bertha Phillpotts (who had been appointed D.B.E. in 1929 in recognition of her diplomatic work in Sweden during the First World War) died unexpectedly of cancer, aged only 54. Because of his high standing in the University, and no doubt through sympathy for the unfortunate circumstances caused by Bertha Phillpotts’s death, Chadwick was able to get her post filled almost immediately, by the appointment of Dorothy Hoare,<sup>74</sup> a Fellow of Newnham who had come to Cambridge from Aberdeen and had done a Ph.D. degree here on the role of early saga — Norse, but above all Irish — in the poetry of Yeats and William Morris (later published as a book by the C.U.P. in

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.* p. 1071.

<sup>73</sup> Kenneth Hurlstone Jackson (1909–1991) read Classics and then Anglo-Saxon (Starred First at Tripos in 1932) at St John’s; he was appointed to the Probationary Lectureship in 1934; and although this temporary post was made permanent in 1939, Jackson resigned in order to take up a position in Harvard, where in due course he became Full Professor in 1949; but in 1950 he returned to the UK to become Professor of Celtic Languages, Literature, History and Antiquities in the University of Edinburgh, a post which he held until retirement in 1979. See J. E. Caerwyn Williams, ‘Kenneth Hurlstone Jackson, 1909–1991’, *PBA* 80 (1991), 319–32 [repr. *Interpreters*, pp. 503–15].

<sup>74</sup> Agnes Dorothy Mackenzie Hoare (1901–87) was born in Inverness; she obtained a First Class degree and was a Gold Medallist at the University of Aberdeen in 1923. From 1924 until 1929, while holding a Carnegie Fellowship from Aberdeen, she did a Cambridge doctoral dissertation (under the direction of Nora Chadwick). She was appointed Probationary Lecturer in Anglo-Saxon and kindred studies in 1932, and permanent Lecturer in 1936; she married Toty de Navarro in 1940, and resigned her Lectureship when he took early retirement in 1956. See *The Newnham College Register, 1871–1971*, I, p. 17, as well as the obituary in the *Newnham College Roll 1988*, pp. 71–2. There is much affectionate reminiscence of Dorothy Hoare by her good friend Gertrude Caton Thompson, in the latter’s *Mixed Memoirs* (cited above, n. 61), esp. pp. 179, 198–201, 208–11, 224–5, 289–90, *et passim*.

1937).<sup>75</sup> For good measure Chadwick at the same time persuaded the General Board to create an additional new post in Anglo-Saxon and early British history, and this new post was filled by A. J. (Jane) Robertson (1893–1959), mentioned earlier as the editor of volumes of the later English law-codes and of Anglo-Saxon charters, who was then a Research Fellow (holding the Pfeiffer Research Studentship) at Girton.<sup>76</sup> Both Dorothy Hoare and Jane Robertson were appointed to (what were then called) Probationary Lectureships, that is, they were to be held for four years in the first instance, to 1936. In 1936 Dorothy Hoare was appointed to a permanent Lectureship; but, in 1935, Jane Robertson left Cambridge for a Lectureship in English Language at the University of Birmingham. Robertson's post was filled in 1937 by Peter Hunter Blair, who had taken a First in the Tripos in 1934, and who was still a pillar of the Department when I joined it, forty years later, in 1974.<sup>77</sup> The result of these various appointments was that, on the eve of World War II, Chadwick had built up a Department consisting of five University posts: himself in the Chair, Toty de Navarro, Dorothy Hoare, Kenneth Jackson, and Peter Hunter Blair.

Once his Department was safely ensconced in the Faculty of Arch & Anth, and, through the efforts of his postgraduate students, he had seen to the provision of an essential core of set texts and supplementary reading materials for the instruction of an ever-growing number of undergraduates, Chadwick was in a position to return to the campaign of scholarly research which he had set aside in 1912. In *The Heroic Age*, published in that year, he had carried out a meticulously detailed analysis of Old English and Homeric verse in order to illustrate the ways in which the poetry reflected the ideals and social conditions of a warrior society. But he realized early on that the analysis could profitably be expanded so as to embrace the other literatures of his Tripos (Old Norse, Old Irish, Medieval Welsh), as well as — for purposes of comparison — literatures well outside the Tripos: Sanskrit, Old Testament narrative, Serbo-Croat epic, and so on. He set about collecting materials and through the 1920s, with Nora's active assistance, the collections grew so as to encompass the literature of medieval Russia and the oral literatures of modern-day peoples of Polynesia (e.g. the Sea-Dyaks of Borneo) and Africa (Bantu, Tuareg, etc.). (The research on Russia and on Polynesia and Africa was the contribution of Nora Chadwick.) The results of these wide-ranging researches were published under their joint names as *The Growth of Literature*, consisting of three massive volumes issued at four-yearly intervals between 1932 and 1940.<sup>78</sup> The final work amounts to some 2,400 pages and is one of

---

<sup>75</sup> A. D. M. Hoare, *The Works of Morris and Yeats in Relation to Early Saga Literature* (Cambridge, 1937); appended to the book are translations of three Irish sagas: *Tochmarc Etaine*, *Aislinge Oengusso*, and *Echtra Nerai*.

<sup>76</sup> See above, n. 43. From 1922 to 1928 she taught at Royal Holloway College; but in 1928 she was awarded a Pfeiffer Research Fellowship at Girton, and during the tenure of her Research Fellowship produced her doctorate on Anglo-Saxon charters (subsequently published as a book of that title in 1939).

<sup>77</sup> Peter Hunter Blair (1912–82) was Assistant Lecturer in the Department from 1937 until 1945 (although he was away from Cambridge on war work, 1939–45), and Lecturer from 1945 to 1974, when he was appointed *ad hominem* Reader in Anglo-Saxon History, a post from which he retired in 1978. See P. Clemons, 'Peter Hunter Blair, 1912–1982', *PBA* 70 (1984), 451–61 [repr. *Interpreters*, pp. 519–29].

<sup>78</sup> H. Munro Chadwick and N. Kershaw Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, I. *The Ancient Literatures of Europe* (Cambridge, 1932); II (Part I: Russian Oral Literature; Part II: Yugoslav Oral Poetry; Part III: Early Indian Literature; Part IV: Early Hebrew Literature) (Cambridge, 1936); III (Part I: The Oral Literature of the Tatars; Part II: The Oral Literature of Polynesia; Part III: Notes on the Oral Literature of Some African Peoples; Part IV: A General Survey) (Cambridge, 1940). In the Preface to vol. I, HMC wrote: 'Nearly all the material for the Irish sections has been supplied by my

the great milestones of comparative literature.<sup>79</sup> The Chadwicks' method was to identify five principal literary categories (e.g. Type A: narrative poetry/prose saga intended for entertainment, etc.), and then to work through the various corpora of literature, indicating how each of these categories is represented. The procedure is much given to cross-reference to the Insular literatures, and one of the most fascinating aspects of the work is the way in which (say) discussion of a royal genealogy in the Old Testament will suddenly be illuminated by reference to the *Historia Brittonum*.

Reviewers hailed the three-volume work as a monumental achievement, and, during the first few decades after its publication, the work was widely influential. Its influence is seen, for example, in works such as Maurice Bowra's *Heroic Poetry* (1952) — Bowra was able to say of the Chadwicks' 'great work' that 'I owe more than I can say [to it]', and 'its influence may be discerned in most parts of my book'<sup>80</sup> — and in Geoffrey Kirk's *The Songs of Homer* (1962), which I mentioned earlier.<sup>81</sup> Another author who was much influenced by *The Growth of Literature* was Jan de Vries, whose *Heroic Song and Heroic Legend* was first published in an English version in 1963.<sup>82</sup> But thereafter the influence began to wane, to the point where the book is seldom if ever read or quoted today.<sup>83</sup> There are no doubt plausible reasons for this neglect: for example, the shift of interest caused by the explosion of enthusiasm for oral-formulaic theory which infected the study of Old English poetry from the 1950s onwards, or the ever-increasing attention being given by students of Old English literature to its Christian patristic background.

The last volume of *The Growth of Literature* was published in 1940. The following year Chadwick was obliged to retire from the Professorship, and the Chadwicks moved from The Paper Mills back to Cambridge, to a house at 1 Adams Road. But due to wartime exigencies the chair was not filled; and for the next four years Chadwick was obliged to carry on his teaching duties for the Tripos — these duties being increased by the fact that he had to take on the additional burden of Peter Hunter Blair's teaching while Hunter Blair was away doing war-work in London with the European News Service. It has been estimated that during these war years Chadwick gave on average 140 hours per annum of university teaching. Now well

---

wife; and she has also contributed largely to the other sections. But I am responsible for its form' (p. xx). In vol. II, Part I was written by NKC, Parts II–IV by HMC. In vol. III, Parts I–III were written by NKC, and Part IV by HMC.

<sup>79</sup> See M. Lapidge, 'The Comparative Approach', in *Reading Old English Texts*, ed. K. O'Brien O'Keefe (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 20–38, at 25–6.

<sup>80</sup> C. M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry* (London, 1952), p. v: 'This belief [*viz.* that study of the Homeric poems might be illuminated by comparative material] was greatly strengthened when, in 1932, H. M. and N. K. Chadwick published the first volume of their great work *The Growth of Literature*. To it, and its two subsequent volumes, I owe more than I can say, and its influence may be discerned in most parts of my book. Though heroic poetry is only one of several subjects treated by the Chadwicks, their analytical examination of it shows what it is in a number of countries and establishes some of its main characteristics.'

<sup>81</sup> See above, n. 23; and cf. also Kirk's appreciative comments in his later work, *Homer and the Oral Tradition* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 10, 35 and 45.

<sup>82</sup> J. de Vries, *Heroic Song and Heroic Legend*, trans. B. J. Timmer (London, 1963); see, *inter alia*, pp. 60, 104–7, 110 *et passim*. De Vries was especially appreciative of HMC's work on Sanskrit epic in vol. II of *The Growth of Literature*.

<sup>83</sup> It should be put on record, for example, that the notion that a 'heroic' age is reflected in its literature has been criticized (respectfully) by a modern student of oral literature: R. Finnegan, *Oral Poetry: its Nature, Significance and Social Context* (Cambridge, 1977), esp. pp. 247–50.

into his 70s, he carried on this teaching until 1945, when permission was finally given to fill the Professorship.

With his teaching responsibilities finally at an end, Chadwick was able to return to his research, in particular to two long-cherished projects: a book on early Scotland, and another on *Early Wales and the Saxon Penetration of the West*. But it was not granted to him to finish either of these. After a brief illness at the beginning of 1946, he was able to continue working through the summer, but then fell ill in December of that year, and died at the very beginning of January 1947 (2 Jan.). Nora managed to bring what was salvageable of his last years of scholarly activity into print: a monograph on Early Scotland was published by the C.U.P. in 1949,<sup>84</sup> and three essays from the projected book on early Wales formed the nucleus of a volume entitled *Studies in Early British History* edited by Nora and published by the C.U.P. in 1954.<sup>85</sup>

The Chair of Anglo-Saxon, which had been vacant since 1941, was filled by Bruce Dickins, a former student of Chadwick and then Professor of English in Leeds, who took up the post in January 1946;<sup>86</sup> and the Lectureship in Celtic, vacated by Kenneth Jackson when he went to Harvard in 1939, was filled in 1945 by Rachel Bromwich, who as Rachel Amos had taken a Starred First at Tripos in 1938.<sup>87</sup> For some years, teaching in the Department continued more or less as it had under Chadwick (although Dickins himself made no contribution to the teaching for the historical and archaeological papers). Peter Hunter Blair returned to Cambridge after his war work, and he and Toty de Navarro shared teaching for the historical and archaeological papers. But all this was to change forever in 1956 when Dorothy Hoare and Toty de Navarro (who had been a married couple since 1940) resigned their University Lectureships in order to retire to Toty's family home, Court Farm, at Broadway, near Evesham in Worcestershire. To his credit, Dickins was able to appoint two University Assistant Lecturers to carry on the Department's teaching programme. Frank Bullivant, who had taken a Starred First at Tripos in 1953, was appointed in place of Dorothy Hoare and took on the teaching of Old Norse. Audrey Evelyn Furness, subsequently Mrs. Ozanne, who had obtained a First at Tripos in 1948 and then done a Ph.D. (under the direction of F. H. Stubbings, on Neolithic pottery of the Aegean; degree awarded 1953), replaced Toty de Navarro, and took on teaching for the archaeology papers. To his even greater credit, Dickins had succeeded in creating a University Lectureship for Nora Chadwick, who from 1950 became Lecturer in the Early History and Culture of the British Isles (she retired in 1958). This appointment increased the permanent establishment of the Department to six posts. Dickins also made an eloquent case to the General Board for the establishment of a Professorship of Celtic in his Department, so as to put Cambridge on an equal footing with Oxford in this respect. But Dickins's plans were scotched by

---

<sup>84</sup> H. M. Chadwick, *Early Scotland: The Picts, the Scots & the Welsh of Southern Scotland* (Cambridge, 1949).

<sup>85</sup> *Studies in Early British History*, ed. N. K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1954); the following chapters appear under H. M. Chadwick's name: 'The End of Roman Britain' (pp. 9–20), 'Vortigern' (pp. 21–33), and 'The Foundation of the Early British Kingdoms' (pp. 47–56).

<sup>86</sup> Bruce Dickins (1889–1978) was Elrington-Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon from 1946 until 1957; see the obituary by R. I. Page (cited above, n. 35).

<sup>87</sup> Rachel Bromwich (1915–2010) was Lecturer in Celtic from 1945 until 1973, when she was appointed *ad hominem* Reader in Celtic Languages and Literatures; she took early retirement in 1976. Unlike the lectureship of Kenneth Jackson, which had been assigned to the Faculty of Modern and Medieval Languages, that held by Rachel Bromwich was assigned to the Department of Anglo-Saxon and kindred studies.

his successor, Dorothy Whitelock, who conducted a vitriolic campaign against it on the grounds that Celtic had nothing whatsoever to do with Anglo-Saxon, and that, in any case, she did not wish to have such a chair in *her* Department.<sup>88</sup> In face of such aggressive opposition, the General Board quickly abandoned the proposal.

Dorothy Whitelock, who held the Chair from 1957 to 1969, was also resolutely opposed to the teaching of archaeology within her Department. Soon after her arrival here in 1957, she had given notice that, on the expiry in 1961 of the five-year Assistant Lectureship held by Dr Audrey Ozanne, she would move to appoint a Lecturer whose mainline teaching and research would lie squarely in the field of Old English literature.<sup>89</sup> (Accordingly, in 1961, the temporary posts held by Frank Bullivant and Dr Ozanne were terminated and replaced by the permanent Lectureships to which R. I. Page<sup>90</sup> and Peter Clemoes<sup>91</sup> were appointed.) Dorothy Whitelock then set about dismantling the structure of the Tripos which Chadwick had created: the archaeology papers were suppressed (not surprisingly, given that there was no longer anyone to teach them) and replaced by literary papers. And then, as a final stroke of demolition, in 1967 she engineered the removal of the Department of Anglo-Saxon and kindred studies from the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology, where it had been since 1927, back to the Faculty of English, where it had been from 1919 to 1926, and where it has remained ever since.<sup>92</sup>

What, after this campaign of apparently wilful demolition, was left of Chadwick's original vision for his Department, and what is his legacy to Anglo-Saxon studies in general and to our present-day Department in particular? The answers to these questions are complex. First, it is important to stress that one of Chadwick's most important legacies to the subject is the large number of his students — at least thirty — who obtained positions teaching aspects of the subject in universities in Britain and overseas. Many of these scholars were leaders in the field, and many of them were extremely distinguished (ten of Chadwick's former students were elected Fellows of the British Academy: surely some kind of record).<sup>93</sup> As far as the structure of his Department is concerned: over the course of half a century and more, subjects

<sup>88</sup> The depressing correspondence generated by the proposal to create a Chair of Celtic can be read in University of Cambridge, University Archives, ASNC 2 [nos. 1–67], nos. 4, 7–9, 11–12.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.* ASNC 2, no. 7 [letter from Dorothy Whitelock to the Secretary General, H. M. Taylor, dated 22 Oct. 1959]: 'I shall be obliged to recommend that we replace Dr Ozanne, whose appointment comes to an end in 1961, by a specialist in English language and literature.'

<sup>90</sup> Raymond Ian Page (1924–2012) was an undergraduate at Sheffield, but came to Cambridge from the University of Nottingham, where he had been Lecturer in English since 1951; he was Lecturer here from 1961, with primary responsibility for teaching Old Norse, until in 1978 he became *ad hominem* Reader in Old English and Old Norse Philology, and then, from 1984 until 1991, Elrington-Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon.

<sup>91</sup> Peter Alan Martin Clemoes (1920–96) was an undergraduate at Queen Mary College, London, but did his doctorate here, under the supervision of Bruce Dickins, on Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* (1956); he was Lecturer in English at Reading (1955–1961), and then, from 1961 to 1969, Lecturer in Anglo-Saxon, when he was appointed to the Elrington-Bosworth Professorship of Anglo-Saxon, from which he took early retirement in 1982.

<sup>92</sup> The General Board Report, and the Senate House discussion which accompanied it, may be read in the *Reporter 1966–1967*, pp. 1042–3 [Report], 1172–5 [discussion].

<sup>93</sup> These include: Sir Allen Mawer (elected 1930); Sir Cyril Fox (1940); Florence Harmer (1955); Nora Kershaw Chadwick (1956); Dorothy Whitelock (1956); Kenneth Hurlstone Jackson (1957); Bruce Dickins (1959); J. M. de Navarro (1974); Peter Hunter Blair (1980); and Glyn Daniel (1982). The significance of this figure of ten can be put into perspective by considering the numbers achieved by Chadwick's successors in the Chair: Bruce Dickins, none; Dorothy Whitelock, two (N. P. Brooks and S. D. Keynes); Peter Clemoes, one (M. R. Godden); R. I. Page, none; M. Lapidge, one (V. A. Law); S. D. Keynes, none.

inevitably change and develop. This has been particularly true of archaeology. When Chadwick first mooted the removal of his tiny Department to the Faculty of Arch & Anth, he was able to state, with some justification, that ‘our course is the only one in the University in which provision is made for the study of Roman and pre-Roman archaeology. This subject ... has been left by most English universities, including our own, to local archaeological societies and museum officials’.<sup>94</sup> Half a century later this statement was no longer true: following the end of World War II, there had been an explosion in archaeology, and this University’s Faculty of Arch & Anth had in 1961 appointed its own dedicated specialist in Anglo-Saxon archaeology, Brian Hope-Taylor.<sup>95</sup> Posts in Romano-British archaeology were now being established in a number of English universities. In these circumstances, there was no longer any role for teaching by enthusiastic amateurs who lacked training in fieldwork and excavation techniques — as Dorothy Whitelock perhaps realized. So the archaeology papers were dropped from the Department’s curriculum and the subject left to Arch & Anth. The Department itself was removed from Arch & Anth to the English Faculty in 1967, and two years later, in 1969, Chadwick’s chosen name for his Department — ‘Anglo-Saxon and kindred studies’ — was replaced by the more prosaic title, ‘Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic’.

Chadwick’s primary interest in the subject, first nurtured by his reading of Du Chaillu’s *The Viking Age*, was in pre-Christian Teutonic societies — their religion, institutions, literature and culture. One suspects that he would have been appalled to see the slot once occupied by his beloved compulsory paper on Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse taken over by a paper on Insular Latin literature. And yet these changes are in some sense merely cosmetic. The fundamental conception, which animates our Department today as it animated Chadwick’s in 1927, and which distinguishes us from any other Department of Anglo-Saxon anywhere in the world, is that the British Isles, from the departure of the Romans to the Norman Conquest, can most profitably be studied as a single entity, across the different languages and cultures which constitute them. Chadwick’s principal interest, as I have said, was in the Teutonic peoples and their literatures; but from the very beginning of his career, he was wholly committed to the study of Celtic languages and peoples, and never relinquished this commitment. The core of the present-day curriculum — embracing historical papers on ‘England before the Conquest’ and ‘The Viking Age’ and ‘The Celtic-speaking Peoples’, as well as literary/linguistic papers on Old English, Old Norse, Medieval Welsh and Irish — would have been entirely familiar to Chadwick, although the titles and set texts have inevitably changed since his day. It is no exaggeration to say that the study of the early British Isles, as taught uniquely here in Cambridge, is the legacy of Chadwick’s great vision. A student who today offers papers on Anglo-Saxon history and Old English, or on Scandinavian history and Old Norse, should realize that s/he is following a path first marked out by H. M. Chadwick.

It could have been so different. Chadwick came to Anglo-Saxon studies by way of Classics and Indo-European philology, rather than from the pure English philology taught by Skeat (he was in no sense Skeat’s student). If, in 1912, the electors to the Elrington-Bosworth chair had chosen (say) Israel Gollancz, a student of Skeat whom many people assumed would be his successor, the subject would no

<sup>94</sup> *Reporter 1926–1927*, p. 1071.

<sup>95</sup> Brian Hope-Taylor (1923–2001) is principally known for his brilliant excavation of Yeavinger: *Yeavinger: an Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London, 1977). See the warm account of his life and work, by various colleagues, in *Yeavinger: People, Power & Place*, ed. P. Frodsham and C. O’Brien (Stroud, 2009), pp. 201–34.

doubt have developed along the lines followed in Oxford, London, and elsewhere — with Anglo-Saxon being studied as propaedeutic to Middle English and to later periods of English literature. In such a scheme, there would be no place for Celtic languages and the Celtic-speaking peoples, nor for Scandinavian history of the Viking Age, nor even for Anglo-Saxon history. That these subjects flourish in Cambridge, and have done so for a century, is entirely due to the vision of H. M. Chadwick. Chadwick was an extraordinary scholar, memorably described by a distinguished archaeologist as a ‘loveable polymath’,<sup>96</sup> who conceived a coherent curriculum of studies and went about single-mindedly building up a Department to teach it. There have inevitably been modifications and changes over a century, but he would, I think, have been proud to see that the curriculum of studies which he designed now flourishes in a Department which numbers over a hundred members, and enjoys a world-wide reputation as a centre of excellence. No scholar in our field has ever achieved more.<sup>97</sup>

---

<sup>96</sup> Stuart Piggott, ‘Sir Cyril Fox’, p. 400. It should be mentioned, however, that not everyone found Chadwick ‘loveable’, particularly not those who were resolutely opposed to his proposed reform of the English Tripos, notably A. J. Wyatt (1858–1935) of Christ’s, Hilda Murray (Girton), and Mina Steele Smith and Anna Paues (both Newnham). See Tillyard, *The Muse Unchained*, pp. 46–7, esp. 47: ‘It need hardly be said that Chadwick had as little regard for the parts and the scholarship of these three women dons as he had for Wyatt’s. But he kept his acutest hostility for Miss Murray’. Chadwick had an uncanny knack of getting his own way in university matters, and this knack, and his way of going about things, evidently did not endear him to everyone. Tillyard, who loved and admired Chadwick, describes this aspect of his character well. As plans for the teaching of English poetry emerged from discussions by interested persons in 1917, Mansfield Forbes (Clare) said that Tillyard must see Chadwick at once. ‘To my surprised query why it should be Chadwick and not Q [Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, King Edward VII Professor of English], since criticism belonged to the modern section, he answered that in a case of this kind it was Chadwick alone who counted. So it was arranged that I should see Chadwick next evening. It was the first time I had met this extraordinary man, who combined extreme shyness with an uncanny power of getting his own way’ (*ibid.* p. 17).

<sup>97</sup> While composing his obituary of HMC in 1947, Toty de Navarro was able to draw on HMC’s personal papers, presumably made available to him by NKC (see ‘Hector Munro Chadwick’, p. 309 = *Interpreters*, p. 197); but no such papers have survived, either in the archives of Clare College, or among the tiny collection of Nora’s papers (mostly concerned with dining rights) in the Newnham College archives. The presumption must be that Nora systematically destroyed all her and her husband’s personal papers sometime before her death in 1972. The historian of Chadwick’s department is therefore obliged to rely for the most part on printed notices, given that none of HMC’s students is still living; but I should like to record my warmest thanks to Isabel Henderson, who, although she did not know HMC, was a student in the department in the 1950s and was Nora’s doctoral student; Isabel helped me with advice and information at every turn. I am also very grateful to a number of college archivists in Cambridge and Oxford for help with the careers of some of Chadwick’s students, especially Anne Thomson (Newnham) and Hannah Westall (Girton), but also Jonathan Smith (Trinity) and Amanda Ingram (St Hugh’s, Oxford), as well as Elaine Merckx, Archivist of the Queen Elizabeth Grammar School (Wakefield). Members of the present Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic — especially Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, Richard Dance and Fiona Edmonds — have been unfailingly supportive. But I should like to end with a note of personal regret: that, although I knew Bruce Dickins and Dorothy Whitelock moderately well, and taught alongside Peter Hunter Blair and Rachel Bromwich, day in day out, for four years and more, I never imagined that I would one day be concerned with HMC and the history of his department, and therefore never thought to interrogate them in detail about the great and loveable polymath who had been their mentor. By the same token, I never thought to interrogate Hilda Ellis Davidson (First in Tripos in 1936), who was a friend and neighbour in Owlstone Road, who supervised students in the Department into the 1980s, and even attended the first three H. M. Chadwick Memorial Lectures (which I had founded in 1990). And so a priceless opportunity, sadly, has been lost forever.



The Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic offers programmes of study, at both undergraduate and graduate level, on the pre-Norman culture of the British Isles in its various aspects: historical, literary, linguistic, palaeographical, archaeological. The Department also serves as a focal point for scholars visiting Cambridge from various parts of the world, who are attracted to Cambridge by the University Library (one of the largest in the world), the collections of Anglo-Saxon and Celtic manuscripts in the University and various college libraries, the collection of Anglo-Saxon, Celtic and Scandinavian coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, or the rich collection of Anglo-Saxon artefacts in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. It is possible for the Department to host a small number of Visiting Scholars each year.

Information on any aspect of the Department's activities can be obtained by writing to: The Head, Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, Faculty of English, 9 West Road, Cambridge, CB3 9DP, England.

Further information on the Department, on the Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic Tripos, and on opportunities for postgraduate study, is available on the internet at [www.asnc.cam.ac.uk](http://www.asnc.cam.ac.uk).

## H.M. CHADWICK MEMORIAL LECTURES

ISSN 0962-0702

1. D.A. Bullough, *Friends, Neighbours and Fellow-drinkers: Aspects of Community and Conflict in the Early Medieval West* (1991)  
ISBN 978-0-9517339-0-5 / 0 9517339 0 7
2. Bruce Mitchell, *H.M. Chadwick, The Study of Anglo-Saxon: Fifty Years On* (1992)  
ISBN 978-0-9517339-1-2 / 0 9517339 1 5
3. Pádraig Ó Riain, *Anglo-Saxon Ireland: the Evidence of the Martyrology of Tallaght* (1993)  
ISBN 978-0-9517339-2-9 / 0 9517339 2 3
4. Gad Rausing, *Emperors and Popes, Kings and Bishops: Scandinavian History in the 'Dark Ages'* (1994)  
ISBN 978-0-9517339-3-6 / 0 9517339 3 1
5. Peter Sawyer, *Scandinavians and the English in the Viking Age* (1995)  
ISBN 978-0-9517339-4-3 / 0 9517339 4 X
6. Daniel Huws, *Five Ancient Books of Wales* (1996)  
ISBN 978-0-9517339-5-0 / 0 9517339 5 8
7. Isabel Henderson, *Pictish Monsters: Symbol, Text and Image* (1997)  
ISBN 978-0-9517339-6-7 / 0 9517339 6 6
8. Peter and Ursula Dronke, *Growth of Literature: the Sea and the God of the Sea* (1998)  
ISBN 978-0-9532697-0-9 / 0 9532697 0 1
9. Donald Scragg, *Dating and Style in Old English Composite Homilies* (1999)  
ISBN 978-0-9532697-1-6 / 0 9532697 1 X
10. Marged Haycock, *'Where Cider Ends, There Ale Begins to Reign': Drink in Medieval Welsh Poetry* (2000)  
ISBN 978-0-9532697-2-3 / 0 9532697 2 8
11. Andrew Wawn, *'Fast er drukki og fátt lært': Eiríkur Magnússon, Old Northern Philology, and Victorian Cambridge* (2001)  
ISBN 978-0-9532172-3-6 / 0 9532172 3 X
12. Richard Gameson, *The scribe speaks? Colophons in early English manuscripts* (2002)  
ISBN 978-0-9532172-7-4 / 0 9532172 7 2
13. James Graham-Campbell, *Pictish Silver: Status and Symbol* (2002)  
ISBN 978-0-9532697-5-4 / 0 9532697 5 2
14. Malcolm Godden, *The translations of Alfred and his circle, and the misappropriation of the past* (2003)  
ISBN 978-1-904708-02-5 / 1 904708 02 1

15. Peter Foote, *The Early Christian Laws of Iceland: Some Observations* (2004)  
ISBN 978-1-904708-12-4 / 1 904708 12 9
16. Patrick Sims-Williams, *The Iron House in Ireland* (2005)  
ISBN 978-0-9532172-6-7 / 0 9532172 6 4
17. Dennis Green, *A room of their own? Women readers in the Middle Ages* (2006)  
ISBN 978-0-9554568-1-7 / 0-9554568-2-7
18. Sverre Bagge, *Order, Disorder and Disordered Order: Interpretations of the World and Society from the Pagan to the Christian Period in Scandinavia* (2008)  
ISBN 978-09554568-4-8
19. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Stealing Obedience: Narratives of Agency in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (2009)  
ISBN 978-9554568-9-3
20. Joseph Falaky Nagy, *Mercantile Myth in Medieval Celtic Traditions* (2010)  
ISBN 978-0-9562353-6-7
21. Wendy Davies, *Water Mill and Cattle Standards: Probing the Economic Comparison between Ireland and Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (2011)  
ISBN 978-0-9571862-0-0
23. Michael Lapidge, *H.M. Chadwick: A Centennial Commemoration* (2012)  
ISBN 978-0-9571862-5-5

Copies of the lectures may be obtained from the External Affairs Secretary, Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, Faculty of English, 9 West Road, Cambridge, CB3 9DP; telephone 01223-335197. For a complete list of all available publications, please see our website: [www.asnc.cam.ac.uk](http://www.asnc.cam.ac.uk)