

PLATE XXII



JOHN AND FRANCIS



P.S.A., 1967



FRANCIS WORMALD

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1904-1972

### I

**F**RANCIS WORMALD was born at Dewsbury in the West Riding of Yorkshire on 1 June 1904, a few minutes after his twin John. They were the first surviving children of Thomas Marmaduke Wormald, J.P., and his wife Frances Mary Walker-Brook. Their father was chairman of Wormalds and Walker Ltd., blanket manufacturers at the Dewsbury Mill, and their mother's family owned a woollen mill at Huddersfield.

'The surname has its chief habitat in W. Rid. Yorks where I find the personal name Wormbald at an early period'.<sup>1</sup> One John Wormald became a clerk in Child and Company's bank in Fleet Street in 1763 and then a partner from 1786 until shortly before his death at his house at Gomersal in 1797. Another John Wormald, nephew of the first, joined the partnership in the following year and died in 1835; and two more John Wormalds continued the line of partners in Child's until the early years of this century. Thomas Wormald (1802-73), son of the second John, achieved distinction as a teacher and practitioner of surgery: John Abernethy's last apprentice in 1818; Assistant Surgeon and Demonstrator in Anatomy and eventually, 1861, Surgeon to St. Bartholomew's Hospital; Surgeon to the Foundling Hospital 1843-64; President of the Royal College of Surgeons 1865. Though born at Pentonville, he was educated at Batley Grammar School and by the Rector of Birstal; and though he had a house in Hertfordshire, he too died at Gomersal, during a visit.<sup>2</sup> John Wormald, one of his eight children, entered the woollen trade as a result of his marriage into the Haig-Cooke family; and Francis's father was his only son by this marriage. After his first wife's death in a carriage accident, this John married again and eventually moved away from Ravens Lodge at Dewsbury to Denton Park, an estate a few miles east of Ilkley, between the north bank of the Wharfe and Denton Moor. The five sons of this second

<sup>1</sup> C. W. Bardsley, *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames* (London, 1901), p. 821.

<sup>2</sup> F. G. H. Price, *The Marygold by Temple Bar* (London, 1902), pp. 31-5; *DNB*, vol. lxiii, pp. 30-1.

marriage all followed their half-brother to Harrow and three of them, unlike him, went on to Cambridge. Two of them became cavalry officers, one a maltster at Wakefield, and the other two directors of the family business at Dewsbury.

Francis and John were born in the mill house at Dewsbury; but their twin sisters Ellen and Ann were born, some five years later, at Field Head, a Georgian house at Mirfield, half way between Dewsbury and Huddersfield, which 'Marmi' had bought from his father-in-law. There was at least as much fighting as usual within each pair of twins, and when the boys and girls were able to go for walks together they went in two separate pairs: Ann was adopted by John and Ellen by Francis. John would not buy sweets on their walks, but Francis would; and both his sisters remember that his kindness to them did not end with childhood. Their father discouraged friends outside the family and the children had to entertain themselves. Francis alone enjoyed being with grown-ups, finding among other things that you got a better tea in the drawing room. Their games were home-made and Francis usually devised them. 'The Tibetan house game', which ended with all four in a pile of furniture, presumably derived from a book, *The Case of the Stolen Grand Lama*, which he remembered with pleasure all his life. A peculiar version of croquet played with one hoop, one mallet and one ball, in which Francis took the leading part of the Mother Superior, was inspired by the behaviour of nuns as witnessed from the summer house during a holiday at Scarborough. In a Sunday game Francis climbed on to a pulpit-like chair and preached eloquent sermons against the morals of his sisters. In another, he would show them 'how sailors beat their wives'. He sometimes went with his father to watch Huddersfield playing at home but his only conventional game was croquet, which he played all his life with venom and great skill. His father's sport was shooting, and in August the family used to migrate to the north of Scotland. His uncle John, then of Spofforth Hall between Wetherby and Harrogate, published *How to Improve a Stock of Partridges*, 1912, 2nd edn., 1914. Francis went shooting once and is reputed to have shot a snipe with his first cartridge and a brace of pheasants with the next two; but he disappointed his father's hopes of another good shot in the family by refusing to go out again on the grounds that shooting hurt his hands, which were in fact slightly abnormal. John was asthmatic in childhood, but became the athlete of the family; and a friend who knew them both said that while

John suggested some stronger fabric, Francis suggested porcelain. After running to see a fire Francis once had an attack of croup, for which his mother called him Puffing Billy; and he was 'Puff' to his family thereafter. His general health was good as a child, but he was not above claiming illness in order to avoid going somewhere he disliked: once—since the divorced were particularly excluded from social grace—so that he could stay at home and catch sight of a *divorcé* for whom his father had the misfortune to be trustee.

Francis's mother died in her forties in 1920, her death being partly attributable to the former state of the leaden water-pipes at Field Head. She was a very lively, energetic woman and, unlike her husband, she was not in the least shy; and she was an Anglo-Catholic. Field Head, where she had grown up, was opposite the gates of Hall Croft, the house to which the incipient Community of the Resurrection moved from Radley in 1898. She kept open house for the Community, especially at tea-time on Sundays; and Francis was attached to them all, but particularly to Walter Howard Frere, who as Superior from 1902 to 1913 and again from 1916 to 1922, when he was appointed Bishop of Truro, presided over the transformation of the Community of the small, private society founded by Bishop Gore into a fully fledged religious order. Hall Croft had been built by one of Marmaduke Wormald's uncles; but it was Francis Wormald's mother who had become a great friend of the Community on their arrival in 1898. She was a generous benefactor to the training college for ordinands, the College of the Resurrection, which Frere inspired and created; and in 1903 she laid its foundation stone. She was a good pianist and used to accompany Frere, whose love of secular singing is said to have outrun his accomplishment. Many of Francis's friends believed that Frere was his godfather. He was not, but the mistake is doubtless significant. Francis was deeply interested in the liturgy by the time he reached Eton; and there are phrases in E. K. Talbot's account of Frere at Mirfield which suggest that Francis found in Frere an intellectual and spiritual exemplar: 'Frere would touch a subject with swift and pointed comment and with an economy of words. . . . He was incapable of wasting time. . . his swift readiness to help, the pungency and gaiety of his spirit . . . the lightness with which he carried his learning . . . his religious fidelity, and, penetrating all, his selflessness—these were the gifts which were the secret of his authority . . .'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In C. R. Phillips and others, *Walter Howard Frere*, London, 1947, pp. 44,

Francis's father disapproved of the Community as 'socialists'—many of the early members were indeed committed to Christian Socialism, and they had entertained Keir Hardie voluntarily and Mrs. Pankhurst willy-nilly; and when he decided that the Anglo-Catholic incumbent of Christ Church, Battyeford, was another 'socialist', his family had to give up a church which had meant a great deal to them, and to the Community in its early days, in favour of the parish church of Mirfield. The latter was a three-mile walk from Field Head; and on the three miles back Francis used to argue the case for Anglo-Catholicism against his father.

Francis kept all his life one or two pieces of porcelain which he had acquired as a child. He spent hours in cottages round Mirfield angling for things he liked; and once, when he ran out of money at an auction room, he stood by the auctioneer urging others to bid for the lots he approved of. When his maternal grandmother died, the children were told they could each take something from her house. Francis came back across the fields with either a bass bag or a toy wheelbarrow (the tradition is divided) well filled with objects which he had 'saved'. Finished collector that he was, he then went to work on his sisters: one of them parted with her share in return for some wooden animals from Interlaken; the other sensed that Francis's interest was a good reason for holding on. Books were another passion, and his regular disappearances during family visits to Huddersfield caused no anxiety, since it was known in advance that he would be safe in one of the second-hand bookshops.

The children's education was started by a governess who came out from Huddersfield. The girls would never have gone to school if one of their godmothers had not insisted on it after their mother's death. Francis and John were sent at the usual age to Stanmore Park, a preparatory school which was presumably meant to prepare them for Harrow. When the time came, however, their father decided that Harrow had gone down since his own day and sent them to Eton. They entered Chitty's house in 1918. After Eton and Cambridge, John went back to the north and in due course succeeded his father as chairman of Wormalds and Walker. He enjoyed wearing old clothes and talking to his work people in their own dialect over beer in the pubs and clubs of Dewsbury. He died in 1956, leaving a widow and two daughters, and his more or less sudden

50 and 60. The phrases on p. 60 which I omit are only less striking, not less applicable.

death was a severe shock to Francis. Their father had continued to work at the mill until his death at the age of seventy-nine in 1939, when his daughters had left Field Head for a house they had inherited in Devon. The idea of retiring to Yorkshire struck Francis as absurd—‘What would one do if one wanted to look something up in Migne?’; but in moments of tension he spoke with the voice of the West Riding—the opening words of his first lecture to the British Academy were: ‘I’ll have that light out for a start’.

There is no evidence that the teaching at Eton contributed anything to the intellectual development of the rather eccentric Francis who entered the school with a ready-made vocation for two subjects which most of his contemporaries had never even heard of. Indeed, he did no Latin during his last two years in the school; and in the 1930’s he advised his sister Ann to do as he had once done and follow the lessons in church in the Vulgate. A teen-age liturgist would have interested M. R. James; but although Collegers like Roger Mynors saw much of the Provost, Oppidans like Francis and Neil Ker saw very little of him; and whatever influence there may have been was apparently exercised at a distance. Francis had already decided for himself, after a sight of the illuminated manuscripts in the British Museum, that he wished to work there in the appropriate department; and when he left the Museum he told a friend that for as long as he had been there he had felt like a boy who had grown up to *be* an engine driver.

Neither John nor Francis was at all ‘brilliant’ at Eton, and both had to be coached in mathematics for their entrance to Magdalene College, Cambridge in 1922. What Francis did get from Eton and then from Cambridge were friends, many of whom are now remembered as typically, and a few as notoriously, symptomatic of the social and intellectual life of England in the 1920s. His Cambridge nickname of ‘Auntie’ seems to imply in the users not only affection but a certain respect and a certain sense of incongruity. Much of his life in Cambridge revolved round acting, and his remarkable talent for comic parts earned him at least one description as ‘the best-known undergraduate in the university’. It could very probably have earned him a living. Introduced to the learned person in the British Museum with whom she had been corresponding about calendars, Dorothy Whitelock was astonished to find that he was the pink-faced young man whom she had seen in *The Duchess of*

*Malfi* at Cambridge; and when she asked him, some years later, whether he had been in the Marlow Society, he replied, 'Are you remembering my brilliant performance as Cariola?'. Francis was awarded a second class in the History Tripos in 1925 and proceeded Litt.D. in 1950. He went to palaeography classes given by Sir Ellis Minns, who later wrote to him: 'I have always felt that I ought to have been more useful to you. But of course I had to give my first attention to the Classics.' Sir Owen Morshead, Pepys Librarian at Magdalene, met Francis as an undergraduate and 'marvelled at the depth of his knowledge even then'. Later on, his reply to a question often took the form of 'Have you read Wilmart's paper on the library of Clairvaux?', or 'Have you looked at Royal 2.A.XX?'; and one suspects that these brief and pointed hints sometimes led one to retrace, for days and even months, paths which he had formerly discovered for himself.

In the interval after the Tripos Francis worked for a short time in the Pepys Library; but the long-awaited chance to compete for a vacancy in the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum came conveniently soon. He was appointed an Assistant Keeper in 1927. Julius Gilson, who had been Keeper of Manuscripts since 1911, died suddenly in 1928 and was succeeded by Harold Idris Bell. Francis's first publication was apparently a note on a documentary papyrus (I, 1929)<sup>1</sup> written at Bell's suggestion. This inoculation with papyrus dust did not take; but Francis was recognized during the 1930s as the Department's expert on Byzantine illuminated manuscripts, in which he always took a deep interest, although he was never widely read in Byzantine texts. Latin illuminated manuscripts were the preserve of Eric Millar. In A. J. Collins, who had entered the Department in 1919, Francis had a senior colleague who was also interested in liturgical manuscripts. Nobody was entirely excused from contributing miscellaneous descriptions to the five-yearly *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum*. Francis did his share and always thought it right that a scholar should turn his hand to anything within reason. He himself learned some Portuguese so as to deal with a group of papers relating to India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and he was proud of his work on the Francis Papers for the light it had thrown on the Letters of Junius.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For references like this, see 'Publications by Francis Wormald mentioned in the text', Appendix I, pp. 556-8 below.

<sup>2</sup> The Francis Papers are Add. MSS. 40756-65 and those relating to the Portuguese in India and Ceylon are Add. MSS. 41996Q and 42056.

The five senior members of the Department had entered it before 1914—Harold Idris Bell, Robin Flower, G. T. Hales, Herbert Milne, and Eric Millar. Milne, who was probably Francis's closest friend in the Department, remembered that a colleague who was killed in the First World War always used to greet visitors to his desk in the Working Room with the words, 'Is it official?'; and in the 1930s the Assistant Keepers still worked very much in watertight compartments. Theodore Skeat, who joined the Department in 1931, only got to know Francis well years later, when Francis was a Trustee and he himself was Keeper. There were those in the Working Room who thought Francis had too many outside interests. He had no sooner reached the Museum than he began to make closer friends outside the Department than in it, notably with Willie King, then of Ceramics and Ethnography, and with Roger Hinks, of Greek and Roman, both of whom were as unlike the average member of the Manuscripts Department as they could possibly be. This trio lunched together in Soho two or three times a week—excellent lunches costing something like 3s. 6d. each—and were the nucleus of a slightly larger interdepartmental group of which Thomas Kendrick, of British and Medieval, and Basil Gray, of Oriental Antiquities, were leading members. Gray, whom the trio rescued from the less congenial society of Printed Books, to which he originally belonged, remembers that all three were consistently witty, and that while two of them could be cruel as well, Francis's wit was never malicious. Francis learned much from each of these friends. King was an expert on porcelain; Gray already knew about an extremely wide range of Oriental art; Hinks's knowledge of European art extended to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance; Kendrick was the leading authority on the arts in Anglo-Saxon England, and he and Francis used to swap knowledge about sculpture and metalwork for knowledge about manuscripts in the neutral territory of the first-floor landing which separated the working rooms of their two departments.

To these friends within the Museum Francis soon added an eminent circle of friends from abroad. To some he was introduced by Millar; others he collected for himself when on duty in the Students' Room; and he in turn took pains to introduce them to his younger friends of twenty and thirty years later. The following names must suffice as a small sample; Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, Bernhard Bischoff, Paul Grosjean, S.J., Wilhelm Koehler, Millard Meiss, Dorothy Miner, Carl Nordenfalk,

Erwin Panofsky, Jean Porcher, Margaret Rickert, Meyer Schapiro, Kurt Weitzmann. All were entertained at his flat in Mecklenburgh Square (with housekeeper), as well as advised and amused. A number of them remember him with affection as not only their best but their first English friend; and when he died many of them felt that they had lost the leading member of their circle. The welcome they had received from Francis at the Museum encouraged his friends Jean Porcher and Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny to put relations between the Cabinet des Manuscrits and its readers on a new footing, when they took charge after 1945. Francis naturally made many friends among manuscripts scholars: Sir Sydney Cockerell, E. A. Lowe, Sir Roger Mynors, James Wardrop, Neil Ker, Richard Hunt. And he was always just as willing, partly because he liked doing it and partly on principle, to help beginners and amateurs. He thus acquired a large number of regular and devoted 'clients', from some of whom he learned much himself and through all of whom he acquired useful experience in the arts of teaching.

In January 1934 the Warburg Institute, having withdrawn in good time and in good order from its original home in Hamburg, opened its new doors at Thames House on Millbank. At its head was Fritz Saxl, and his colleagues included Otto Kurz, Hans Meier, Edgar Wind, and Rudolf Wittkower. They were joined before long by Hugo Buchthal and Ernst Gombrich. With Buchthal and with Otto Pächt, who was in Oxford, Francis was later to collaborate closely in books on illuminated manuscripts. To begin with, some of the Warburg's staff could lecture only in German, and the building of a linguistic bridge was one of various ways in which the Institute's English friends were able to help it. In 1934-5 the courses given in English included one by Roger Hinks on 'Allegorical representations in ancient art' and one by Robin Flower on 'Methods of research in medieval manuscripts'. On 12, 19, and 26 February 1936 Francis gave classes, which had probably been postponed because of his illness, on 'English medieval calendars as liturgical documents'; he belonged to the 'Medieval Group' which was personally rather than formally attached to the Institute and met there under the chairmanship of Beryl Smalley; he gave valued help with the Warburg *Journal* in its early days (6 and 7, 1937-8); and by 1937 he was one of the Institute's most frequent visitors. In fact, he and Hinks played a major part in acclimatizing the Institute in London. In return, Francis came under the influence of Saxl, whom he loved and revered thereafter.

Carl Nordenfalk, who knew them both in the 1930s, has written: 'Were anyone to be called his teacher, or rather mentor, it was Fritz Saxl whose unique talents as a Socratic midwife provided Wormald's scholarship with an essential injection of self-confidence and creative spirit.' Francis in any case saw the past in terms of the actions, thoughts, and feelings of individual men and women rather than in terms of mass movements and abstractions; and Wittkower once spoke of 'Saxl's constant desire to penetrate the human significance of images . . . he had a single historical purpose—to see the spirit of man working in the images he made to express himself'. The mixture of these two complementary attitudes ensured that in his work on illuminated manuscripts Francis transcended the tradition of acute but none too imaginative connoisseurship which he had inherited from English scholars like Sir George Warner, Sir Sydney Cockerell, Eric Millar, and even—though he was a good deal more humane than the others—M. R. James.

Two other groups of scholars with whom Francis was already much involved in the 1930s were the Henry Bradshaw Society and the Society of Antiquaries. Elected to the Council of the H.B.S. in 1931, he served as Assistant Secretary 1936–8, as Chairman 1938–45, as Secretary 1945–50, and as Chairman again from 1954 until his death. His first major work, on calendars, was published by the Society in 1934. At the Antiquaries he was elected a Fellow in 1935 and he served on the Council 1938–9. His first important paper on illuminated manuscripts was delivered to the Society on 30 January 1941. It was about then that Alfred Clapham, the President, told the Secretary, Mortimer Wheeler, that he expected Francis to become President in due course.

In 1935 Francis married Honoria Mary Rosamund Yeo, who was a cousin on her mother's side. She was one of the four children of Gerald Yeo, barrister at law, of Aldsworth House at Emsworth in Hampshire, and his wife Mabel Leighton. Honoria was reading Medicine and had just taken her first M.B. at University College when Francis went to have a medical examination for life insurance. To their utter amazement he was found to have 'Bright's disease' and given only a few months to live. The condition, which must have been well on the way to becoming acute, soon subsided into latency, to return only in 1970 and in the end to take his life. Some of his friends knew of this serious illness, but few of them knew the diagnosis. From 1935 onwards he lived and worked under a suspended sentence

which might have been executed from one month to the next; but he did so with undiminished energy and liveliness and made no concessions to it of any kind. Francis and Honoria, themselves simply ignored the danger and got on with their life together as if nothing had happened. They were a singularly unanimous husband and wife who shared each other's interests and shared a common Faith. Their friends were innumerable; some were academic and some were not; but the Wormald's unforgettable gift for hospitality was equally at the disposal of both kinds, and they knew how to impart style and gaiety even to supper-parties given among the steely book-shelves of the Institute of Historical Research. From 1935 to 1941 they lived in Francis's flat in Mecklenburgh Square and soon acquired the habit, when at home, of taking it in turns to snooze after dinner: particularly disconcerting to any new friend who was the only guest. But they both rose early—Francis sometimes started work before six o'clock.

The removal of manuscripts and printed books from the Museum to the National Library of Wales at Aberystwith began on 24 August 1939, and three weeks later many of the staff began to disperse into Departments in the Civil Service. Francis went to the Ministry of Home Security, where his work included the making of Civil Defence training films. He became a member of St. Paul's Watch, the band of volunteers who undertook the hazardous task of protecting St. Paul's Cathedral from fire. Honoria, who had joined the Red Cross, had the misfortune to lose her brother, Edmund Leighton Yeo, in an accident in wartime London. The flat in Mecklenburgh Square was given up and for much of the war years they lived for alternate weeks with friends in Essex and in Hertfordshire, except for odd nights in London. In 1941 they took a small flat in Beatty House, Dolphin Square, in Grosvenor Road, Pimlico; and Francis joined the Reform Club, to whose lunches he was devoted after the war.

When Francis returned to the Department of Manuscripts after the war, his double reputation as a liturgist and art historian was securely established, and only an accident could have prevented him from succeeding to the Keepership soon after 1960. Millar had followed Bell as Keeper in 1944 and was himself followed by Collins in 1947, when the full responsibility for work on illuminated manuscripts devolved on Francis for the first time. He also played a major part in the training of the new Assistant Keepers who joined the Department

after the war: they remember him as an unfailing source of instruction and inspiration alike. He was as earnest, and as little pompous, in his belief in the importance of the Museum's work after his resignation as he had been in the 1930s; and in both periods he took good care to see that new recruits to the Department understood his own revised, ecumenical version of a fine but often grimly parochial Victorian and Edwardian tradition. With his wide interests and sympathies, his loving respect for the Museum and its work, and his capacity for business he would have made a great Director; but the chance never came.

There had existed in the University of London since 1936 a Board of Studies in Palaeography charged with planning for a Chair of Palaeography, to be established in place of the Readership in Greek and Latin Palaeography at King's College which had been temporarily suspended in the previous year. The financial support for the Chair was eventually granted in 1949. The appointment was the subject of some brisk fighting on and off the Board, the details of which are probably not recoverable. For one thing, the Board itself included powerful representatives of the British Museum and of the Public Record Office: book-hand men *versus* charter-hand men. For another, it included the Head of the English Department at University College and the Head of the History Department at King's College: not only U.C.L. *versus* K.C.L. but philology *versus* history. The latter conflict had already attended E. A. Lowe's appointment as Lecturer in Palaeography at Oxford in 1913.<sup>1</sup> To the dismay of University College, the Chair was advertised as a post in the History or the English Department at King's College. King's had in fact conferred Readerships in Palaeography on Hubert Hall in 1920 and on Claude Jenkins in 1925, and a Readership in Diplomatic on Hilary Jenkinson in 1926. In the end, Sir Harold Idris Bell was deputed to suggest a name; and in spite of deep reluctance to leave the Museum, Francis eventually accepted the responsibility for which his former Keeper had singled him out. He was already teaching at the Institute of Historical Research in the Michaelmas term of 1949; but he formally took up his appointment at King's, as head of an independent, one-man Department, on 1 January 1950. In the Michaelmas term of that year he delivered an unpublished inaugural lecture on 'Manuscripts of lives of

<sup>1</sup> In Traube's words, 'Die Paläographie will lesen lehren'; but of the 2,247 pages of main text in Giry's and Bresslau's manuals of diplomatic only fifty-five (2.44 per cent) are about handwriting.

English Saints'. He was given the front room on the first floor at 33 Surrey Street and made good use of it as a study, but his teaching was mostly done for and at the Institute of Historical Research. During his decade at King's Francis travelled widely, to work in libraries and museums, to visit the many great national and international exhibitions which were held during the 1950s, and to lecture both at home and abroad. In 1965-6 he and Honoria spent two terms at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, where they were much in the company of their great friends Erwin and Dora Panofsky. His teaching at King's brought Francis into closer contact with the Department of English than with other departments and his reputation for pointed criticism would have caused less apprehension if he had been better known in the College. His greatest personal attachment was to the Theological Department, in which he had many friends, who saw to it that he was elected in 1954 to the appropriate governing body, the Council, of which he remained a greatly valued member for the rest of his life.

In the University at large Francis served on many boards and committees. He was chairman of the Board of Studies in Palaeography 1951-62 and was particularly interested in the work of the Athlone Press Board of Management, the University Library Committee, and—naturally—the Committee of Management of the Warburg Institute, where he served on the Finance and Establishment Sub-Committee and as Trustee of the Saxl Fund. The Warburg had become a Senate Institute in the University of London in 1944. At the University Library he and Jack Pafford, the Goldsmiths' Librarian, created the Palaeography Room, for which new quarters were opened in 1956. They realized that the University Library already possessed a formidable stock of palaeographical works which, to be effective, only needed to be brought together on open shelves, and that if the Schools and Institutes could be persuaded not to compete for funds, it would be reasonable for the University Library to undertake the costly business of keeping up with the new publications. The result of their energy and diplomacy is a specialized reading room which is a serious contender for the title of the most comprehensive and accessible library of Latin and vernacular palaeography in the world,<sup>1</sup> and which

<sup>1</sup> See *University of London Library: The Palaeography Collection*, 2 vols. (Boston, Mass., 1968), edited by Joan Gibbs, who has been responsible since 1956 for acquisitions, cataloguing, and service to readers, and with whom Francis and his successor have worked in the closest collaboration.

has served as an exemplar both for the reorganization of the whole University Library as a series of open access subject libraries and for the rationalizing activities of the University's new Library Resources Co-ordinating Committee.

By 1960 his historical colleagues in the University at large thought so highly of Francis that they invited him to become Director of the Institute of Historical Research in succession to Sir Goronwy Edwards. The institute acts as a centre for most of the postgraduate teaching and research done under the aegis of the huge intercollegiate school of History in the University of London, and as a London base for a large population of students and teachers from other British and foreign universities. Although he complained a little, later on, about the amount of time he had to spend reading other people's work, Francis welcomed the appointment because it brought him into daily touch with a large and various body of students and with a group of colleagues working at the *Victoria History of the Counties of England* and similar enterprises, much as he himself had worked in the Department of Manuscripts. His continuous personal interest in staff and students alike was warmly appreciated; and Honoria participated enthusiastically in a joint campaign to make the Institute look as agreeable as the architecture of the Senate House permitted, and to devise lively and amusing variations on the social occasions to which it gave rise. The catholicity of Francis's training in the Museum and of his experience at the Antiquaries—he believed that Fellows should not confine their attendance to papers in which they had a personal interest—served him well at the Institute: he could interest himself in any subject that came up and his intelligence and common sense enabled him to contribute usefully to almost any discussion. He supported with more enthusiasm than mere fairness to the modernists required of him the Institute's projects for a third section, 1541–1857, of the new Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, and for lists of *Office Holders in Modern Britain*, from 1660. For eleven years he served as Honorary Secretary and then Chairman of the British National Committee of Historians. The Director of the I.H.R. is required to take at least one seminar, and Francis continued to give his introductory class on English handwriting down to the sixteenth century, and an 'advanced class', as he liked to call it, for postgraduates and colleagues particularly concerned with manuscripts. The latter's one collective enterprise was an edition of the fourteenth century catalogue of the Augustinian

priory of Lanthony, as yet unpublished. As a rule, the class discussed topics which had arisen in the course of their own researches or of Francis's, and his part was invariably to guide, not to control, the course of a meeting. Its members agree that the 'advanced class' served as a particularly good framework for his kind of teaching.

Francis's directorship of the Institute, from which he retired in 1968, was an unqualified success, academically and administratively; but it was hard work, and the sequel suggests that although he showed no sign of flagging at the time, his work may have been taking an unsuspected toll of his physical reserves. His output of papers was undiminished; and on top of everything else he was now engaged in a round of committee work whose full extent was unknown to anybody but Honoria and his secretary at the Institute, Cynthia Hawker. It is already too late to give an exhaustive account of it; but not to record what *is* known would be to do less than justice to responsibilities which some public servants would think of as a full-time job. Francis's three most particular concerns will be left to the end; and it must be remembered that all the activities listed here were added to the administration of the Institute and to full participation in the elaborate gavotte of committees in which the existence of the federal University of London finds expression. Most but not all of the bodies referred to enlisted his services between 1950 and 1960 and retained them until his death. In the public sector he served on the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) and the National Monuments Record Committee; on the Advisory Council on Public Records; on the Advisory Committee on the Export of Works of Art; on the Advisory Committee of the Victoria and Albert Museum; as a Trustee of the London Museum and the Museum of London; on the Council of the British School at Rome; on the Wall-paintings Sub-committee of the Council for Places of Worship. In the field of charities he served on the Executive Committee and then on the General Council of the Friends of the National Libraries; on the Advisory Panel of the National Art-Collections Fund; as a Trustee of the William Blake Trust; on the Council of the Marc Fitch Fund; as Chairman of the Twenty-Seven Foundation Awards Committee; on the U.K. and British Commonwealth Branch of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. As Secretaries of the Pilgrim Trust, Lord Kilmaine and Sir Edward Ford were in the habit of consulting Francis on all aspects of medieval art, on manuscripts and public

records, and on historical monuments; and he played an important part in two of the Trust's major enterprises. As a means of dealing systematically with the steady stream of requests that was reaching them from the Council for the Care of Churches (as it was then known) for grants for the treatment of wall-paintings, the Trust set up a Wall-paintings Committee to survey all the surviving paintings and draw up an order of priority which would take account both of quality and of the urgency of treatment. Of this Committee, chaired by Lord Bridges, Francis was an invaluable member. In 1967 the Trust appointed him a Trustee of the York Glaziers' Trust, the body which, on completion of the post-war reinstatement of the stained glass in York Minster, converted the Minster Glass Workshop into a national glass repair shop: the work dovetailed into his chief responsibility at the British Academy.

Learned societies in which he played an active part included the British Records Association, the Canterbury and York Society, the Royal Archaeological Institute, the Royal Historical Society (Honorary Vice-President in the centenary year, 1967), 1967), the Winchester Excavations Committee. He was elected to the Roxburghe Club and its Printing Committee in 1953, and after Eric Millar's death in 1966 he took his place as the Club's authority on illuminated manuscripts. The volume which he intended to present to the Club was a facsimile of his own leaves of twelfth- or thirteenth-century Italian drawings of illuminated initials, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum.<sup>1</sup> Another member of the Club is completing the introduction which Francis left unfinished. To the Dilettanti Society, another grand and very English institution, he was elected in 1966. For the Walpole Society he did work for which his fellow members were deeply grateful as a member of the Council 1937-42 and 1946-50 and of the Executive and Editorial Sub-Committee 1946-50, and in particular as Chairman of the Council 1958-62 and 1966-70. He was made an Honorary Vice-President in 1970. His long connection with the Henry Bradshaw Society has been recorded above.

Francis gave his first lecture to the British Academy on 14 June 1944 (13, 1946), and was elected a Fellow in 1948. He belonged to Sections 2 (Medieval History), 10 (Archaeology), and 11 (History of Art), of the last of which he was Chairman from 1959 to 1967. He was on the Council 1960-3, and on the Advisory Committee 1961-2; and he was a Vice-President in

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II, pp. 558-9 below.

1960–1. He joined the Medieval Latin Dictionary Committee in 1967 and was an original member of the following: the Sylloge of British Coins Committee (1956), the Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Committee (1961), the Anglo-Saxon Charters Committee (1966), and the Repertory of the Sources of Medieval History Committee (1971). Of the Corpus Vitrearum Committee he was Chairman from the beginning until 1970, and a dramatic account of its work has been written by the then Secretary, Sir Mortimer Wheeler.<sup>1</sup> Francis also represented the Academy at the annual meetings of the Union Académique Internationale in 1964 and in 1965. The beginnings of his career as an Antiquary have been described above. After service on the Council and various committees he became a Vice-President 1956–60, Director 1964–6, President 1965–70, and an Honorary Vice-President from 1970. His time as Director was curtailed by the sudden death in office as President of Sir Ian Richmond. Francis loved the Antiquaries as he loved that other eighteenth-century institution the British Museum, and he was a very generous friend and adviser to its library. As in Bloomsbury, so in Piccadilly, his standards were high. Dame Joan Evans's prediction that from him as President 'the members will receive kindness, if without sentimentality' was precise. In his Anniversary Address for 1972 Nowell Myres ended an admiring and affectionate tribute with words that Francis's friends and colleagues wholeheartedly endorse: 'He was never one to seek the limelight, and he never received the public recognition which his distinction deserved.' Francis was a member for over twenty years of the Cocked Hats, one of the two dining clubs to which some Fellows belong as an excuse for conviviality and as a means of watching the development of the Society from the wings. The flavour of his presidency can be recaptured from his Anniversary Addresses (38, 1966–70). Each of them included a report on some research of his own, as if to say that for a scholar administrative responsibility was no excuse for neglecting his real work. The party with which on 12 October 1967 the Society celebrated the 250th Anniversary of its continuous existence is described in the Address of 1968. Francis admits that 'there were excellent things to eat and plenty of champagne', but not that he and Honoria had somehow communicated to everyone in the densely crowded Library the very sense of happiness and wellbeing that they communicated to guests in their own home. It was through the Antiquaries that Francis was, after all,

<sup>1</sup> *The British Academy 1949–1968* (London, 1970), pp. 108–16.

finally able to return to the Museum. When the Executive had to appoint a Trustee in 1967, their President made it quite clear he wanted the appointment for himself. He was the first old Servant to the Trustees of the British Museum to become a Trustee himself, and he was to be succeeded by another in Derek Allen. Although he could be surprisingly diffident at meetings of the Board, he was an excellent adviser on all aspects of acquisitions, having been a collector himself for nearly sixty years; and to Theodore Skeat, who was then Keeper of Manuscripts, 'it was indeed an inestimable benefit to be able to discuss the problems of the Department with someone who had such intimate knowledge of them'.

Of Francis's many honours the chief was the C.B.E., conferred on him in the Birthday Honours of 1969 'for services to palaeography'. He received an Honorary Doctorate from the University of York in 1969, and a month before his death he had accepted the offer of a Doctorate of Law of the University of Cambridge. He was elected an Honorary Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1961 and a Fellow of King's College London in 1964. He was 'membre adhérent' of the Society of Bollandists (1960); Honorary Fellow for Life of the Pierpont Morgan Library (1960); Corresponding Fellow of the German Archaeological Institute (1900); Honorary Foreign Correspondent of the National Society of Antiquaries of France (1964).

To anybody whose health is overtly or covertly precarious the moment of retirement can be dangerous. Francis's retirement began in effect after his last Anniversary Address to the Antiquaries on 23 April 1970. Three months later he was already showing signs of illness; and in September he underwent emergency treatment for kidney-failure in St. Thomas's Hospital. When he went home, the specialists were anything but hopeful, but his own doctor thought otherwise; and in spite of a strict regime and diminished energy, he was able to go on working for more than a year. Among other things, he completed—with the help and encouragement of its publisher, Mrs. Elly Miller—his posthumous book on the Winchester Psalter (45, 1973). In December 1972 he had to return to St. Thomas's, but at Christmas he was at home again and writing to friends. Francis was taken back to St. Thomas's on 10 January and died there in the early hours of 11 January 1973. The funeral was private and no memorial service was held; but at 7.00 p.m. on 20 January a very large congregation of all ages, sorts, and conditions met

in the fine Victorian church of St. Stephen's, Rochester Row, which had been the Wormalds' parish church since their move to Dolphin Square, for a celebration of Holy Communion 'in thanksgiving for the life of Francis Wormald'. Nothing else would have been appropriate. The Archbishop of Canterbury, a friend who had been devoted to Francis since their time at Magdalene together, postponed a journey abroad and came to give the Blessing. Other friends had crossed the Channel to be there.

## II

Francis Wormald published some sixty books and articles on what seems at first sight to be a confusing variety of subjects. Closer examination shows that two main interests inspired all his work: about one-third of it was devoted to the liturgy, and above all to calendars; the rest was more or less equally divided between English illuminated manuscripts of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, and illuminated manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with iconography. Only a quarter of his publication appeared before 1950; but that quarter established his reputation and remains the most impressive part of his work. Excepting his three books on calendars, he never wrote anything longer than an average paper in *Archaeologia*. He liked to be brief, and he wrote in the same *sermo humilis* in which he lectured—lucid, direct, unaffected. His lectures were always clear and sharp and he exacted attention with a minimum of artifice; but the written version, without the support of his strongly stressed intonation, sometimes lapsed into flatness: he sincerely admired the ease and elegance of Bell's writing. The publications touched on in this brief review of Francis's work are listed in Appendix I and cited by their number in that list, with the date of publication. A complete bibliography is being prepared by Joan Gibbs, of the University of London Library.

Palaeography in the strict sense of the close study of handwriting was for Francis only a means to other ends. He was perfectly satisfied with the simple terminology of the Palaeographical and New Palaeographical Societies; and even in the period which he knew best he never gave to handwriting the kind of attention which Neil Ker has given to the Anglo-Saxon minuscule or Alan Bishop to the English Caroline minuscule. One of his first publications was the indices to the second series of the New Palaeographical Society's facsimiles (3, 1932). After

that, he only wrote notes on insular script in Latin manuscripts of the late tenth century (23, 1955) and on the inscriptions in the Bayeux Tapestry (24, 1957), and longer discussions of handwriting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (26, 1957) and of the scripts of the St. Albans Psalter (29, 1960).

Francis's first major work was an edition of nineteen of the twenty-two liturgical calendars which survive from pre-Conquest England (4, 1934). Notes and indices were to follow in a second volume, which was never completed. The mere texts of the calendars were a remarkable achievement in themselves. Even more impressive were his texts of the post-Conquest calendars from English Benedictine houses, of which he published eighteen in two volumes (9, 1939 and 1946): they involved not only the recording of additions and alterations to the basic manuscript but the collation of any earlier and later manuscripts from the same house. The simplicity to which he was able to reduce records of changing liturgical practice over as much as four centuries is astonishing; and the post-Conquest volumes include explanatory notes on the distinctive usages of each house. The materials for a third post-Conquest volume are in the hands of the Henry Bradshaw Society, which intends to attach it to a reprint of the three published volumes. Calendars discussed in separate papers included examples from Holyrood Abbey (5, 1934–35), Launceston Priory (8, 1938), a Carmelite house in England (37, 1966), and Glastonbury Abbey (43, 1971). The calendar of the Winchester Psalter is dealt with in his own book (45, 1973); and he contributed important commentaries to Buchthal's book on illumination in the Latin Kingdom (26, 1957), to the Warburg Institute's edition of the St. Albans Psalter (29, 1957) and to the colloquium on *Liber floridus* (46, 1973). Three other papers were an explanation of the liturgical aspect of the Sherborne Chartulary, dedicated to the memory of Saxl (25, 1957), and accounts of two manuscripts in his own collection: the twelfth-century Pontifical of Apamea (21, 1954), of which—to his great pleasure—he was the first to write since Dom Martène in the seventeenth century, and a late fourteenth-century Processional with diagrams, unique in a manuscript, from St. Giles's Hospital at Norwich (44, 1972).<sup>1</sup> Francis kept the letters of thanks which he received for copies of the H.B.S. volumes on calendars; and no wonder. Victor Leroquais, 1935: 'Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire avec quel bonheur le vieux

<sup>1</sup> British Library, Add. MSS. 57528 and 57334. See Appendix II, pp. 558–9 below, for a list of Francis's MSS.

collectionneur de calendriers que je suis a acceuilli cette belle publication si soignée et si solide.' Paul Grosjean, 1939: 'Votre ouvrage me semble vraiment parfait, surtout les notes et remarques, qui sont admirables.' Fritz Saxl, 1935: 'It must be a wonderful feeling having laid the solid basis of a great structure and to have years of quiet work before you to erect it.' Sir Sydney Cockerell, 1935: 'I see that you are busy on another volume. After that I hope that you will leave liturgical publications to specialists created for the purpose and devote yourself to the artistic matters for which you (but not they) are specially qualified.' Saxl's vision of a lifelong *travail de moine* on one subject was not fulfilled; Cockerell evidently knew that Francis was already at work, in a programme which included weekly visits to the Bodleian, on a second structure. It was to outgrow the first and led Francis to postpone the completion of his work on calendars until the retirement of which he was in the end deprived. The final touches might well have been given in a new version of the Warburg classes of 1936 on calendars as liturgical documents. As it is, the best way to understand liturgical calendars is to follow Francis step by step through his editions and commentaries.

The earliest public expressions of Francis's concern with illuminated manuscripts seem to have been the competent eight-page introduction on Queen Mary's Psalter in an *édition de luxe* of the Psalms, in the Authorized Version, illustrated by coloured plates from that manuscript (2, 1930), and his membership of the committee of the five who organized an exhibition of Gothic art for the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1936.<sup>1</sup> Since the days of John Ruskin and William Morris, illuminated manuscripts had inspired the devotion of collectors like Yates Thompson, Dyson Perrins, and Chester Beatty, and of scholars like Sir George Warner, M. R. James, Sir Sydney Cockerell, and Eric Millar. Cockerell and Millar were collectors themselves. The standard of connoisseurship was extremely high, and the results of their combined research and experience were mainly recorded in the catalogues of the three great collections named above, and in the introductions to the facsimiles published by the Roxburghe Club from about 1900 onwards. Warner, James, Cockerell, and Millar were between them responsible for most of these publications. In the catalogue of the great exhibition held by the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1908, which drew on

<sup>1</sup> See Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Gothic Art in Europe (c. 1200-c. 1500)* (London, 1936).

the collection of J. P. Morgan as well as on English collections and libraries other than the British Museum and the Bodleian, Cockerell had produced a survey of knowledge at that date.<sup>1</sup> Francis entered the Museum in the year between the publication of the first and second volumes of Millar's *catalogue raisonné* of English illuminated manuscripts from *c.* 1000 to *c.* 1500.<sup>2</sup> The first part of a six-volume successor to Millar, called 'A survey of Manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles', appeared only in 1975, although the medieval volumes of the 'Oxford History of English Art', published in the 1950s, and Margaret Rickert's fine book of 1954,<sup>3</sup> which was dedicated to Francis, marked an intermediate stage already deeply in debt to Francis's own researches. 'In manuscript illumination the course of present studies has been redirected by Professor Francis Wormald in a series of brilliant and stimulating articles.'<sup>4</sup> When Francis entered this field, Millar's work was so new, and relations between the two colleagues in the Museum were so close,<sup>5</sup> that there could have been no question of writing or even planning a new *summa*. The only continuous account of English illumination that Francis ever produced was a lecture on continental influences given in 1965 (39, 1967); but his papers only have to be read in the right order for it to be obvious that each of them has its place in what could have been a grand design. As it is, the collected edition of them which will no doubt appear as soon as the present economic crisis is over, will be exempt from the *longueurs* which even the best-written surveys cannot avoid; and here too his readers will have the pleasure of following his researches step by step, in their first and freshest form. Francis's true subject was what Traube called *kunstgeschichtliche Paläographie*, the study of illuminated manuscripts as manuscripts and not simply as collections of miniatures. He had a strong sense of the individual and complex personalities of the books he worked on, combined with a general sense of history, and an understanding of the history of art in particular,

<sup>1</sup> Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1908).

<sup>2</sup> E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century* and *English Illuminated Manuscripts of the XIVth and XVth centuries* (Paris and Brussels, 1926 and 1928).

<sup>3</sup> Margaret Rickert, *Painting in Britain, the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1954); 2nd edn. 1965.

<sup>4</sup> T. S. R. Boase, *English Art 1100-1216* (Oxford, 1953), p. vi.

<sup>5</sup> Millar gave some leaves of a Missal, now B.L. Add. MS. 57530, to Francis in about 1929.

which was a world away from the attitude of his predecessors. No wonder that in 1941, after the first of the three great lectures in which the quality of this side of Francis's work was made apparent, Saxl should have written to him as follows: 'I really think that this lecture marks the beginning of a better history of English miniature in the future, and I was glad to hear that Pächt is of exactly the same opinion.'

The first-hand knowledge of manuscripts on which those three lectures were based must have been acquired before the war, and their delivery as well as their publication may well have been delayed by its outbreak. In the January 1941 lecture to the Antiquaries (12, 1945) Francis presented the history of the decorated initial in England from the revival of book production under Alfred to the generation after the Conquest, that difficult period in which native Anglo-Saxon and imported Norman, but under strong Anglo-Saxon influence, can be difficult to distinguish. The development of the initials is important for the whole history of Late Saxon art; and Sir Thomas Kendrick's first acknowledgements in his pioneering book are to 'Francis Wormald, who has instructed me in the matter of manuscripts', to Saxl, and to Clapham.<sup>1</sup> The second lecture, given for the British Archaeological Association in May 1943 (11, 1943), was an exposition of the stages by which Anglo-Norman illumination of *circa* 1100 evolved to the point at which late Romanesque was entering the difficult period—another difficult period!—during which it was gradually transformed into early Gothic. The main conclusions can be regarded as definitive. The third lecture, given to the British Academy in June 1944, discussed a theme which linked the first with the second and carried over into the fourteenth century, namely the long survival in English illumination of elements which had been typical of it in the Late Saxon period, the most important of which was a passion for pattern and line, both for their own sakes and as a means of heightening the expressive quality of a miniature. This continuity in art is compared with the continuity which R. W. Chambers found in the development of English prose on either side of the Conquest;<sup>2</sup> and the attitude of the miniature-painters to the scenes they depict, and especially to the Crucifixion, is compared to passages from devotional

<sup>1</sup> T. D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (London, 1949), p. vii.

<sup>2</sup> 'The continuity of English prose from Alfred to More', in Nicholas Harnsfield, *The Life and Death of Sir Thomas More*, ed. R. W. Chambers and E. V. Hitchcock, Early English Text Society, 1932, pp. xc-c.

works in Middle English, in which Francis was well read and which he used effectively on other occasions. To Romanesque art—a subject round which art historians swarmed like wasps round a jam pot in the twenty years after 1945—Francis returned only in the last year of his life, to write his book on the Winchester Psalter (45, 1973), in which he was able for the first time to enjoy the luxury of lavish illustration. The text achieves its dual aim, of revealing the personality of the book and of placing it in its artistic context, with typical brevity and modesty. Still in the twelfth century, Francis contributed important liturgical and palaeographical sections to Buchthal's study of illumination in the Kingdom of Jerusalem (26, 1957); and he did the same, *plus* a general description, for the Warburg Institute's publication of the St. Albans Psalter at Hildesheim (29, 1960), of which he was general editor, holding the ring between the two men of decided views, Otto Pächt and Reginald Dodwell, who described the miniatures and the historiated initials respectively. Another twelfth-century subject to which Francis devoted much attention was the encyclopedic work which Lambert of St. Omer completed *circa* 1120 under the title of *Liber floridus*. In 1962 he gave a seminar on it at the Warburg Institute with Harry Bober and Hanns Swarzenski, and they were hoping to collaborate in an Institute publication on the same lines as the book on the St. Albans Psalter; but their interest in the Ghent manuscript led in the end to a colloquium at Ghent in September 1967, at which Francis described the calendar (46, 1973), and to the publication of a facsimile in 1968,<sup>1</sup> in the course of which the original scheme had to be dropped, to the great regret of Francis and his two original collaborators. He characteristically gave his own copy of the facsimile to the Institute, which could not have afforded it. An editorial enterprise of a rather different kind, shared with his former colleague in the Department of Manuscripts, Cyril Wright, was the publication of a set of lectures on the early history of libraries in England, to which Francis himself contributed one on monastic libraries (27, 1958).

From 1950 onwards Francis wrote another dozen important studies of Late Saxon illumination. This total includes a lecture published as a pamphlet on the Utrecht Psalter (18, 1953), and the expanded version of his Sandars Lectures at Cambridge in 1948 (20, 1954), which were on the miniatures in the sixth-century Gospel book at Corpus Christi College which is known—

<sup>1</sup> *Lamberti Liber floridus*, ed. A. Derolez (Ghent, 1968).

with a reasonable possibility of truth—as ‘St. Augustine’s Gospels’. The Gospels were at Canterbury from at least the eighth century, the Psalter from at least the end of the tenth century; and their significance as sources of style and iconography in England is immense. The most important of his books (15, 1952) did for the unique Late Saxon technique of outline drawing, often in various colours, what his lecture of 1941 had done for the Late Saxon initials. The essay in which he explains the various phases of style and their different Carolingian sources is as clear as it is brief. It is followed by a catalogue of the fifty-nine manuscripts illustrated in the technique which, although the two longest entries occupy no more than a page, conveys a mass of strictly relevant detail. Since manuscripts with drawings far outnumber contemporary English manuscripts with miniatures in body colour, this little book is of much greater weight than the title suggests. Ten years later (31, 1962) Francis wrote a miniature monograph of thirteen pages on the superb set of full-page introductory drawings—the oldest known example of a method of illustration used all over Europe in later centuries—in a mid-eleventh century Psalter now recognized as written by a scribe who worked for the Old Minster at Winchester.<sup>1</sup> Of similar length and importance is the book on the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold (28, 1959), to be read with a paper on a fragmentary Gospel Lectionary (34, 1965). Both manuscripts are from the Old Minster and both were, as we now know, written by the same hand.<sup>2</sup> A very short paper delivered in 1961 (32, 1963) is particularly important for its criticism of the received dating of King Edgar’s charter for the New Minster at Winchester. In his essay on the style and design of the Bayeux Tapestry (24, 1957), Francis used contemporary manuscripts to explain a difficult, because unique, work of art in another medium. His next-to-last, and one of his best, papers in this field was on illumination between King Alfred and St. Æthelwold (42, 1971), in which he used new material to show that the period from Alfred to Athelstan actively prepared the way for ‘the much more spectacular changes . . . which are rightly associated with the reforms of St. Dunstan and St. Æthelwold’. The essay on English illumination of the tenth and eleventh centuries published posthumously in France (47, 1973), with its splendid illustrations, heightens one’s regret that the book with which he hoped

<sup>1</sup> T. A. M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (Oxford, 1971), p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

to complete this side of his work remained unwritten. In 1970 he decided to take the Winchester Psalter first, knowing that it would not take very long to finish (45, 1973).

English calendars and English illumination from Alfred to Henry III were Francis's two great intellectual passions. The remaining one-third of his work is less concentrated and must be dealt with here in fewer words. Its quality is as high as the quality of the rest, and in it he makes more frequent use of his knowledge of media other than illumination. It was almost as great as his knowledge of books, and it was always at the disposal of colleagues and students; but his belief that a writer should stick to his last meant that it was never paraded in print; and its extent can only be guessed at by anyone who never heard Francis in a discussion after a paper at the Antiquaries. Here too three comparatively early papers give the best idea of his achievement. To take them in 'historical' order, the first links the most important remains of English wall- and panel-painting with contemporary illumination and it is based on a lecture to the Academy in 1949 (17, 1952). In the second (10, 1943), he formed round the Fitzwarin Psalter in Paris, of the third quarter of the fourteenth century, a group of illuminated manuscripts close to the Bohun group, published by James and Millar, and to others whose Italianate aspects were discussed by Pächt in the same number of the *Warburg and Courtauld Journal*.<sup>1</sup> Another subject on which Francis and Otto Pächt worked harmoniously side by side was that of Normandy and England in the generation after the Conquest.<sup>2</sup> This is as good a place as any to say that with Pächt and with another distinguished refugee scholar in the field of illuminated manuscripts, Hugo Buchthal, Francis collaborated on terms of mutual confidence and affection which meant a great deal to them during their years in England. The third important paper in this section (22, 1954) was on that battlefield of learning, the Wilton Diptych. To an outsider Francis would seem to have ignored some of his predecessors in a rather pointed way; and the explanation may perhaps be that much of his work was done some time before it was published. Using manuscripts again, Francis vindicates the claim of the panels to be English, but shows that both the naturalism of the white hart on the reverse and the whole iconography of the obverse have close parallels

<sup>1</sup> O. Pächt, 'A Giottesque Episode in English Medieval Art', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vi (1943), pp. 51-70.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, 'Hugo Pictor', *Bodleian Library Record*, iii (1950), pp. 96-103.

in Lombard manuscripts of *circa* 1400. The iconographical comparison with a memorial miniature of Gian Galeazzo Visconti (d. 1402) makes complete sense of the obverse, for the first time. The iconography of the throne of Solomon was the subject of Francis's paper in the Panofsky Festschrift (30, 1961), which gave particular pleasure to the recipient; and in the Festschrift for Hermann Schnitzler he uncovered the sources of the illustrations—amateur in style but conscientious in iconography—in a fifteenth-century collection of devotional texts in Middle English compiled in some Carthusian house in the North of England (33, 1965). Two important classes of manuscripts were reviewed in papers on illustrated lives of saints (16, 1952) and on the major subject of illustrations of the Bible (41, 1969).

Numerous though they are, Francis's publications on liturgical and illuminated manuscripts still cannot convey the combination of wide interests with excellent memory that made him an all but infallible source of information and stimulation. When he retired from the Institute of Historical Research he left peremptory instructions that nobody should be allowed to edit a Festschrift for him. The choice of contributors would have been very difficult: a list of books dedicated to him or containing major acknowledgements would be a long one. His skill as a general practitioner, acquired in the Museum and carefully maintained ever afterwards, shows up well in his work for the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, which made him Honorary Keeper of Manuscripts in 1950. With the Librarian, Phyllis Giles, he produced a handlist of additions (14, 1951-4) and the catalogue of the exhibition of illuminated manuscripts which commemorated the death of the Museum's founder (35, 1966). His reviews of the Copenhagen/Stockholm exhibition organized by Nordenfalk (19, 1953) and of his own exhibition at the Fitzwilliam (36, 1966) display the same versatility. So do his book reviews, which are mostly of books on illuminated manuscripts. He produced between seventy-five and a hundred of them, almost all after 1950 and usually for the *Burlington Magazine* or the *Times Literary Supplement*; and however concise they were, he generally managed to contribute some new piece of knowledge of his own finding.

The reviews, and a brisk exchange of offprints, contributed greatly to the excellent private library which Francis began to need after he left the Museum. After his death, Honoria and her co-executors in compliance with his wishes gave the collection

of about 1,000 offprints to the Warburg Institute, and the books—about 1,800 titles, overwhelmingly on illumination and art history—to the University of York, where they form the nucleus of the Wormald Library, kept as a special collection at the Centre for Medieval Studies in King's Manor. To this the Warburg Institute added such offprints as it already possessed and Xerox copies of the rest. With the books are the remains of the incoming side of Francis's huge correspondence, comprising about 1,000 items. Letters which he decided to keep were inserted in appropriate volumes in his library, and most of the letters date, like most of the books, from the years after 1950. The few photographs in his *Nachlass* are also at York; but his notebooks, the contents of which have almost invariably been used in publications, are in the Palaeography Room of the University of London Library.<sup>1</sup> Francis's own collection of twenty manuscripts, many of which shared a drawer with his shirts, was also given away by the executors in accordance with his verbal instructions to Honoria. The mere list of them in Appendix II is ample evidence of their interest. Francis presented other manuscripts and fragments of manuscripts to the British Museum and to the Fitzwilliam Museum, at least, during his lifetime.

Francis may have been denied the opportunity to put the roofs on his two structures, but his unfailing interest and his daily hard work raised them both very high, and their incompleteness enhances their power to stimulate: what we have prompts us to wonder about what was still to come. He was well aware of his own place in the history of his two subjects. In his assessment of Frere as a liturgist, Dom Gregory Dix places him not with the Mabillons and the Wilmarts, 'to whom one turns . . . for their *aperçus*, their general judgements', but with the Martènes and the Brightmans, 'to whom their successors turn naturally for texts and "information"'.<sup>2</sup> Francis, of course, had his insights—a case in point is his grasp of the importance of relics in the story depicted on the Bayeux Tapestry (24, 1957, pp. 33-4); but it is with Frere and his like that he will be gratefully remembered. Francis paid two tributes to Eric Millar, one in his first Anniversary Address to the Antiquaries (38, 1966) and one in the commemorative volume issued by the British Museum (40, 1968), in both of which he praises him as a scholarly connoisseur, not as an art historian. His own task was to

<sup>1</sup> U.L.L., MS. 809, circa 1925-1971 (twelve boxes).

<sup>2</sup> In *Walter Howard Frere* (p. 525 n. 1 above), p. 146.

go over the same ground and consider it from new, more 'historical' points of view, seeing the wood for the trees.

If, since about 1950, it has been possible to take this attitude to English illumination for granted and to ask for more, it is because Francis showed the way, in association with others—mostly from abroad—whose idea of art history took them beyond the placid admiration of beautiful things to the critical analysis of style and iconography. Francis's last public act as President of the Antiquaries was to present the Gold Medal to his friend Sirarpie der Nersessian, as a result of whose work on Armenian illumination 'a completely new culture has been brought before us of a diverse and fascinating richness' (38, 1970). A few moments before, he had said: 'In the study of illuminated manuscripts there have been signs of change which in my opinion are changes for the better . . . a good deal of new ground is being broken. There are two very recent books which illustrate this . . . Mont-Saint-Michel and Saint Martial are the subjects. . . . The first is by Jonathan Alexander of the Bodleian Library at Oxford<sup>1</sup> and the second about Saint Martial is by Madame Gaborit-Chopin of the Louvre.<sup>2</sup> . . . In these two books new facts have been brought to light not only for the history of art but also for the history of medieval civilization. There are a number of abbeys needing the same careful treatment.' What was new here was the exhaustive study of all aspects of a sharply defined body of material from a particular scriptorium. Jonathan Alexander's research was supervised by Otto Pächt. Francis mentions as earlier examples of the *genre* Dodwell's work on the two great Canterbury scriptoria<sup>3</sup> and Elizabeth Parker McLachlan's on Bury St. Edmunds,<sup>4</sup> but without saying that he himself had been the supervisor. A similar project which he supervised and approved of was Marie Montpetit's on the eleventh- to twelfth-

<sup>1</sup> J. J. G. Alexander, *Norman Illumination at Mont-Saint-Michel 966-1100* (Oxford, 1970).

<sup>2</sup> D. Gaborit-Chopin, *La Décoration des manuscrits à Saint-Martial de Limoges et en Limousin du IXe au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1969).

<sup>3</sup> C. R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066-1200* (Cambridge, 1954).

<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth Parker, 'The Scriptorium of Bury St. Edmunds in the Twelfth Century', Ph.D. thesis of the University of London, 1965; 'A Twelfth-Century Cycle of New Testament Drawings from Bury St. Edmunds Abbey', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, xxxi (1968-9), pp. 263-302; 'The Pembroke College New Testament and a group of unusual English Evangelist-symbols. In memoriam Francis Wormald', *Gesta* xiv (1975), pp. 3-18.

century manuscripts of Rheims.<sup>1</sup> Francis's own work on English illuminated manuscripts is the colonnade through which the subject passed from the Victorian Gothic mansion designed by Ruskin and Morris and finished by Millar to the new, more functional building for which Francis himself acted as consultant.

### III

Long though it has had to be, this account of Francis Wormald's life and works has done less than justice to their complexity, and none at all to the complexity of his character. The complexities, however, rested on simple foundations. He was born with many advantages, and the consequences of his portion of ill luck were so long delayed, and he achieved so much in the interval, that it is easy to overlook them; but he died with both his great scholarly projects unfinished. He was deeply modest and nobody could have been less 'ambitious'; but he loved hard work, and he thought it his duty to do his best in everything. Like Lord Curzon, another north-countryman who was still recognizable as such at the end of a metropolitan career, Francis saw himself as a self-made man. He had not been born into the academic purple. If he wore his learning very lightly on the surface, he was deeply serious about the subjects of it; and if he was a fox in the variety of his publications, he was very much a hedgehog in the intensity and durability of the two intellectual passions which inspired them.

Hard work and seriousness were the twin bases of his success in public life. Their immediate expressions were shrewdness and common sense; and they gave him an authority which could be formidable. He hated injustice and arrogance; complacency and thoughtlessness he despised; and when he rebuked them, he did it shortly and sometimes sharply—the more so because a very real diffidence had to be overcome before he could express his disapproval. Although they admit that he sometimes gave way to the waspishness of exasperation when among friends, Francis's contemporaries failed to understand how younger people could find him in the least frightening; but it took time to realize that if one did get bitten, it was only for what one had done or left undone, not for what one was or was not. If, as occasionally happened, he did entertain an antipathy,

<sup>1</sup> Margery Marie Farquar, 'A Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts of the Romanesque period from Rheims, 1050–1130', Ph.D. thesis of the University of London, 1968.

he was careful to control it. Since he had much to give, to be out of favour with Francis could be wounding. He himself was always much relieved to find that an adverse opinion could be revised; and he would take great pains to cancel out his previous censure by emphasizing his new-found approval.

When Francis died his friends and colleagues felt that they had lost a wholly dependable leader whom they loved and respected. Hard work and integrity alone would not have given him such influence. Once disagreement was out of the way, he was invariably considerate and kind, seeing people as individuals, whoever they were and whatever his relationship with them might be. The essence of this kindness and consideration was Francis's personal interest in anybody he met; and it made him friends wherever he went. Although he concealed the fact with the utmost care, he habitually used his considerable private means to make timely and often substantial gifts to institutions and to individuals, outside the academic world as much as within it. His benefactions to the Society of Antiquaries, the Warburg Institute, and the Fitzwilliam Museum—mostly but not all to their libraries—have been publicly acknowledged and so can be mentioned here. Another aspect of his kindness—and one that is remembered with particular gratitude by many—was the way in which he befriended as well as taught students and young colleagues on the threshold of their careers, showing a discreetly but seriously paternal concern for their lives as well as for their work.

The friend who wrote a brief obituary of Francis in *Le Monde* of 18 January 1972 called him 'une personnalité dont le charme, le sérieux et la parfaite gentillesse était connus dans le monde entier'. The words are as exact as they are lapidary. Seriousness and kindness are more easily described than charm and grace; but the attempt must be made. Anyone who knew Francis as a boy or as a young man agrees that he never changed. The original, extravagantly playful child whose foibles and virtues evidently determined the quality of life in the nursery at Field Head simply went on with whatever he had always meant to do. Childish enthusiasm turned into adult realism—if Francis felt like the boy who grew up to *be* an engine driver, the important words are 'grew up'; but the lively imagination and the high spirits of his childhood also survived, as a sense of humour that not even the most serious occasions could overbear and as a capacity to make other people burn more brightly than usual. This excerpt from a letter to his sister Ann, written

from the Hôtel des Anglais at Monte Carlo on 26 March 1923, amply justifies her statement that 'we suffered acutely from Puff's experiments in handwriting':

*S Parts,*

*My Sykes went to the end of her vice last night. She has got 150 francs, which in English money is about £2. Some things are very cheap here in exchange. I shall get something for my 1000 at Cambridge. The things cost about 3 francs per yard. My Sykes has just won another 10 francs, which is a little more than £1. The photo of the Madonna has cost 10 francs too perfectly still in it. I hope that you will get the 10 francs out of the shop. I have to apologise in paper. The flowers here are perfectly perfect such lovely carnations and silhouettes. They would be a good deal better than anything I have seen. I think that I shall be able to get some good things here. I have seen them in England, where French history books are wonderfully expensive.*

But other letters of the same period are already in a handwriting that foreshadows the mature and elegant script of the following excerpt from another letter to Ann, written from the Blue Boar at Cambridge on 22 May 1938:

*We are going to have lunch with Frank Salter and his wife to-day, and I believe that he has got his learned sister there. She is an authority on the Francis - cans. I expect that we shall go to King's Chapel this afternoon, which I never think is much of a treat. They look so, and everything is very precious, affected and a spiritual desert anyway.*

Years afterwards he returned to London after a visit to Cambridge and reported: 'I dined at King's last night. They were like a lot of nuns without the consolations of religion.' It was remarks like these, delivered with an intonation combining the manner of the 1920s with something trenchant that he and his sisters apparently inherited from their father, that made Francis 'amusing' in the best sense of a word that used to mean a great deal. He knew how to entertain, and he loved doing it, each 'act' being brief and pointed. Although he was quite short in stature, 5' 10", and on the stout side, Francis's physical presence was impossible to overlook. His movements and gestures were like his speech, brisk and pointed; and his manner was always precisely adapted to the occasion, whether dignified or informal. He radiated an impression not indeed of great strength but of great energy—his strength, perhaps, was being used at a deeper level, in the maintenance of his health. He was loved by his friends not only for the gaiety of his conversation, but for his power to give them a sense of security.

This is an obituary of Francis, and readers of it who never had the good fortune to know him and Honoria together may fail to understand that what he achieved was achieved with her, and that he participated to the full in her own very active life. Since his death, she has devoted much time and energy to objects which were dear to him; and to their friends the thought of him is inseparable from the thought of her. To those friends, the obvious expression of husband and wife's unanimity was their joint genius for entertaining, whether at home or in official surroundings. They conspired to convey to each of their guests a feeling of ease somehow united with the sense that he or she was an indispensable element in the success of the occasion. Hard work in the kitchen, which Francis enjoyed just as much as Honoria did, was followed by a close but unobtrusive watch on the progress of each guest through the evening.<sup>1</sup> After the

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Richard Hunt has kindly shown me a letter of 25 October 1964 which typifies Francis's concern for the (more or less) simple pleasures of life:

'Dear Mrs. Hunt, You will think me very rude for not thanking you for a delightful lunch on Wednesday. I enjoyed the delicious food and a good laugh very much. I hope that the Anglo-Saxon attitudes were amusing too. I must say I was rather glad to snooze in the train.

'Here is the recipe for Pork Périgourdine which I promised you. It is made from either leg or the fillet of pork and *in either case the skin is removed*, the piece is boned and cooked slowly. Here is the recipe:

"Take a piece of pork about six pounds in weight, bone it and flatten it

attaching and keeping of their very numerous friends, two other activities in which they loved to collaborate were collecting and travelling. Francis collected porcelain all his life and had some excellent pieces; and their joint efforts were mostly devoted to furniture and *objets de vertu* for their spacious flat on the top floors of two adjacent houses in Warwick Square, from which they looked out into the tops of magnificent plane trees. Higher up still, Honoria made a garden in tubs on the roof, which bears remarkable testimony to her skill as a gardener and to the cleanness of Pimlico air. Francis was an accomplished traveller, in whom an essential gift was highly developed: in whatever city of Europe, he could find the best meal at the cheapest price. Conferences and exhibitions were always reunions of the international circle founded before the War, with the addition of new members who had joined it since, notably Marie-Madeleine Gauthier and Florentine Mütterich.

Of those who became friends of Francis and Honoria through Francis's work, only the oldest and most intimate could convey with adequacy the character of two other circles of friends who were as important to them both as the academic circle. The circle of relations, family friends, school friends, Cambridge friends was large, and devoted; and a few of its members, like Sir Charles Clay, who used to go to tea at Field Head when Francis was a child, or Sir Trenchard Cox, who was at Eton with him, belonged to the other circle as well. Again, the Wormalds played an energetic part in the life of their parish church, St. Stephen's, Rochester Row; and in that circle 'the Professor' was cherished by many friends who neither knew nor cared what it was that he professed. Christian worship and

on the board. It should be well seasoned on both sides with lots of pepper (I use a pepper mill) and salt. Add two or three small pieces of garlic. (I stick these well into the meat and at least one piece should be inserted in the fat). Roll the meat and tie it well with string all round, sprinkle again with salt and pepper and put it in a fire-proof dish with half a tumblerful of water. Cook in a very moderate oven for about 2 hours, basting occasionally. Remove the string and serve in the same dish, cutting thin slices. When served cold spread on each slice a little of the fat and gravy produced during the cooking."

'We nearly always have it cold. It is rather too rich when hot, but it is a wonderful thing for Sunday lunch if you like to have a cold one occasionally. The fat becomes deliciously impregnated with the garlic and the gravy becomes a succulent jelly. I hope you enjoy it. By the way it is quite unnecessary to do such a big piece, though the piece should not be too small.

'Again many thanks and all good wishes, Yours very sincerely, Francis Wormald.'

Christian devotion were not only the grounds of Francis's intellectual passions, but the grounds of his life. One good answer to 'What was Francis Wormald like?' is to say that with his baldness, his round steel-rimmed spectacles, his generally dark clothes, and his very quiet but very intent manner of going about his work, he was extremely like a learned Benedictine. There was one moment when he certainly felt like one, comparing his own fate in having to exchange his Assistant Keepership in the British Museum for a Chair in London University to the fate of a monk who had to exchange the discipline of the cloister for the exposed responsibilities of a bishopric. It is impossible to believe that a man for whom life in the world was the occasion of giving and receiving so much enjoyment, and who possessed such a mastery of so many sides of the world's business, can ever have thought of growing up to *be* a monk; indeed, he chose his exact place in the world deliberately and decisively at a very early age. And yet, when he quoted a literary text to illustrate some point of iconography it was generally from his wide reading of devotional literature in Middle English, and he was always deeply interested in the English mystics. ('What do you mean, it's "only a bit of papist theology"? For all you know, it may be an unknown treatise by Father Augustine Baker. Let me see it!') Francis was too much of a moralist and far too little of a sentimentalist to be invariably mild; but his natural goodness was profound and he supported it by his observance of 'relygyoun of the herte, that is of the Abbey of the Holy Goost, [where] all tho that mow nout been in bodylyche relygyon mow been in gostly.' Francis's life was what Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny has called it: 'une existence sage, laborieuse et féconde.'

APPENDIX I. *Publications by Francis Wormald mentioned in the text*

- 1 'A Fragment of Accounts Dealing with Religious Festivals', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xv (1929), 239-42. 2 *The Book of Psalms . . . and facsimile reproductions of eight . . . folios from . . . Queen Mary's Psalter* (London, 1930). 3 *New Palaeographical Society, Indices to facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts, etc. 2nd ser., 1923-1930* (London, 1932). 4 *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100, vol. I—Texts*, Henry Bradshaw Society LXXII (London, 1934). 5 'A Fragment of a Thirteenth Century

Calendar from Holyrood Abbey', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, lxxix (1934-5), 471-9. **6** 'The Rood of Bromholm', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, i (1937-8), 31-5. **7** 'The Crucifix and the Balance', *ibid.* 276-80. **8** 'The Calendar of the Augustinian Priory of Launceston in Cornwall', *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxxix (1938), 1-21. **9** *English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100, vols. I and II*, Henry Bradshaw Society LXXVII and LXXXI (London, 1939 and 1946). **10** 'The Fitzwarin Psalter and its Allies', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vi (1943), 71-9. **11** 'The Development of English Illumination in the Twelfth Century', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., viii (1943), 31-49. **12** 'Decorated Initials in English Manuscripts from A.D. 900 to 1100', *Archaeologia*, xci (1945), 107-35. **13** 'The survival of Anglo-Saxon illumination after the Norman Conquest', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxx (1944), 127-45. **14** With Phyllis M. Giles, 'A Handlist of the Additional Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum', parts I-IV, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, i (1949-53), 197-207, 297-309, 365-75; ii (1954-8), 1-13. **15** *English drawings of the tenth and eleventh centuries* (London, 1952). **16** 'Some Illustrated Manuscripts of the Lives of the Saints', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxxv (1952) pp. 248-66. **17** 'Paintings in Westminster Abbey and contemporary paintings', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxxv (1949), 161-76. **18** *The Utrecht Psalter* (Utrecht, 1953). **19** 'Afterthoughts on the Stockholm Exhibition', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, xxii (1953), 75-84. **20** *The Miniatures in the Gospels of St. Augustine, Corpus Christi College MS 286* (Cambridge, 1954). **21** 'The Pontifical Apamea', *Het Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, v (1954), 271-9. **22** 'The Wilton Diptych', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xvii (1954), 191-203. **23** 'The Insular Script in Late Tenth-Century English Latin Manuscripts', *X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche, Riassunti delle comunicazioni* (Rome, 1955), vol. vii, p. 98. **24** 'Style and Design', pp. 25-36, and 'The Inscriptions', pp. 177-80, in Sir Frank Stenton ed., *The Bayeux Tapestry* (London, 1957); 2nd edn. (London, 1965). **25** 'The Sherborne "Chartulary"', pp. 101-19, in A. J. Gordon, ed., *Fritz Saxl, 1890-1948. A Volume of Memorial Essays from his Friends in England* (London, 1957). **26** 'Liturgical Notes', pp. 107-34, and 'Palaeographical Notes', pp. 135-7, in Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957). **27** 'The Monastic Library', pp. 15-31, in Francis Wormald and C. E. Wright ed., *The English Library before 1700* (London, 1958); reprinted, pp. 93-109, in Ursula E. McCracken, Lilian M. C. Randall, and Richard H. Randall, Jr., ed., *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner* (Baltimore, 1974). **28** *The Benedictional of St. Ethelwold* (London, 1959). **29** 'Description of the Manuscript', pp. 3-22, 'The Calendar and Litany of the St. Albans Psalter', pp. 23-45, and 'The Palaeography of the St. Albans Psalter', pp. 275-7, in Otto Pächt, C. R. Dodwell, and Francis Wormald, *The St. Albans Psalter (Albani Psalter)*, Studies of the Warburg

Institute, 25 (London, 1960). 30 'The Throne of Solomon and St. Edward's Chair', pp. 532-9, in Millard Meiss, ed., *De Artibus opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* (New York, 1961). 31 'An English Eleventh-Century Psalter with Pictures, British Museum, Cotton MS. Tiberius C. vi', *The Walpole Society*, xxxviii (1962), 1-13. 32 'Late Anglo-Saxon Art: Some Questions and Suggestions', vol. i, pp. 19-26, in Millard Meiss ed., *Studies in Western Art. Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art* (Princeton, 1963). 33 'Some Popular Miniatures and Their Rich Relations', pp. 279-85, in Joseph Hoster and Peter Bloch ed., *Miscellanea pro arte, Hermann Schnitzler zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres . . .* (Düsseldorf, 1965). 34 'A Fragment of a Tenth-Century English Gospel Lectionary', pp. 43-6, in A. S. Osley ed., *Calligraphy and Palaeography, Essays Presented to Alfred Fairbank* (London, 1965). 35 With Phyllis M. Giles, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, an Exhibition to Commemorate the 150th Anniversary of the Death of the Founder . . .* (Cambridge, 1966). 36 'Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum', *Apollo*, lxxxiii (1966), 104-11. 37 'An Early Carmelite Liturgical Calendar from England', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxxix (1966), 174-80. 38 'Anniversary Addresses', *The Antiquaries Journal*, xlvi (1966), 173-7; xlvii (1967), 159-65; xlviii (1968), 157-62; xlix (1969), 197-201; l (1970), 181-5. 39 'Continental Influence on English Medieval Illumination', pp. 4-16, in A. R. A. Hobson ed., *Transactions of the Fourth International Congress of Bibliophiles* (London, 1967). 40 'Eric George Millar', pp. 3-6, in British Museum, *The Eric George Millar Bequest of Manuscripts and Drawings 1967: a Commemorative Volume* (London, 1968). 41 'Bible Illustration in Medieval Manuscripts', pp. 309-37, in G. W. H. Lampe ed., *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. ii (Cambridge, 1969). 42 'The "Winchester School" before St. Æthelwold', pp. 305-13, in Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes ed., *England before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock* (Cambridge, 1971). 43 'The Liturgical Calendar of Glastonbury Abbey', pp. 325-45, in Johanne Autenreith and Franz Brunhölzl ed., *Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff zu seinem 65. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart, 1971). 44 'A Medieval Processional and its Diagrams', pp. 129-34, in Artur Rosenauer and Gerald Weber ed., *Kunsthistorische Forschungen: Otto Paecht zu seinem 70. Geburtstag* (Salzburg, 1972). 45 *The Winchester Psalter* (London, 1973). 46 'The Calendar of the Liber Floridus', pp. 13-17, in Albert Derolez ed., *Liber Floridus Colloquium* (Ghent, 1973). 47 'L'Angleterre', pp. 226-55, in L. Grodecki, F. Mutherich, J. Taralon, and F. Wormald, *Le Siècle de l'an mil* (Paris, 1973).

## APPENDIX II. *Medieval manuscripts owned by Francis Wormald*

THE collection of twenty manuscripts owned by Francis Wormald at the time of his death has been distributed as follows, in accordance with

his wishes, by Mrs. H. M. R. Wormald with Miss E. D. Yeo, and the Reverend D. J. Williams as co-executors:

**Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MSS. 83-9-1972**, viz: **83-1972**, Three leaves containing drawings of illuminated initials, Italy, s. xii or s. xiii;—**84-1972**, Missal of Paris use, from Notre Dame, s. xiii<sup>1</sup> and s. xiii-xiv. Belonged to Sir Sydney Cockerell;—**85-1972**, Forty-eight leaves of a Bible, probably from York, s. xiii;—**86-1972**, Five leaves of the *Notitia dignitatum*, signed by Antonius Angeli de Aquila and dated 13 July 1427. The oldest known manuscript, of which the remainder was once in the Cathedral Library at Speyer and is now lost. Belonged to Sir Thomas Phillipps, MS. 16397;—**87-1972**, Gospels in Greek, s. x;—**88-1972**, Lectionary, with list of relics, from Shrewsbury Abbey, c. 1100. Belonged to Sir Thomas Phillipps, MS. 3624;—**89-1972**, Hours of Paris use, s. xiv. These manuscripts are described by Phyllis M. Giles, 'A Handlist . . . , part vi. Accessions 1966-1974', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, vi, pt. 4 (1975), 246-8.

**London, British Library, Add. MSS. 57528-34**, Wormald Manuscripts I-VII, viz: **57528** (I), The Pontifical of Apamea, Jerusalem, 1229-44;—**57529** (II), *Genealogia deorum*, Italy, s. xiv. Belonged to Sir Thomas Phillipps, MS. 10417;—**57530** (III), Leaves of a missal, with musical notation, southern France, s. xiii ex. A gift from E. G. Millar in (?) 1929;—**57531** (IV), Bible, preceded by a Cistercian missal, France, s. xiii. Bequeathed by E. G. Millar, 1966;—**57532** (V), Dionysius Pseudo-Areopagita, *Hierarchiae*, the Latin translation by Robert Grosseteste, England, c. 1260-70, with the medieval pressmark of Waltham Abbey. Bequeathed by E. G. Millar, 1966;—**57533** (VI), Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita Sancti Edwardi*; Geoffrey Abbot of Bardonia, *Vita Sancte Modwenne*; etc. England, s. xiii. From the Gloddaeth Library (Mostyn MS. 260);—**57534** (VII), Processional of Sarum use, with diagrams, from St. Giles's Hospital, Norwich, s. xiv ex.

**London, London University Library, MSS. 814-15**, viz: **814**, Eighty charters, c. 1162-1659, in a bound volume;—**815**, Breviary of Premonstratensian use, s. xiv, with medieval pressmark of St. Parc, Louvain.

**Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. Lat. liturgy. d. 43 and Lat. liturgy. e. 43**, viz: **Lat. liturgy. d. 43**, Rule of St. Benedict, lectionary, martyrology, statutes of the chapter of Aachen, etc., s. xii-xiii;—**Lat. liturgy. e. 43**, Usuardus, Martyrology, here ascribed to Bede, England, c. 1440.

**Private collections**, viz: **Professor Otto Paecht**, Missal, (?) Southern Germany, s. xv;—**Miss E. D. Yeo**, Psalter, England, c. 1300. Belonged to E. G. Millar.

APPENDIX III. *Sources and acknowledgements*

TRIBUTES to Francis Wormald in print include:—anon., *The Times*, 12 January 1972, p. 12;—Sir Trenchard Cox, *ibid.*, 14 January 1972, p. 14;—B. J. C., *ibid.*, 17 January 1972, p. 12;—A. C., *Le Monde*, 18 January 1972, p. 9;—J. N. L. Myres, *The Antiquaries Journal*, lii (1972), 1;—Annual reports of the Fitzwilliam Museum and of the Friends of the Fitzwilliam for the year ending 31 December 1971, pp. 1–2;—T. J. Brown and D. H. Turner, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xlv (1972), 1–6;—*Magdalene College Magazine and Record*, new ser. xvi (1971–2), 6;—Annual report of the Warburg Institute 1971–2, pp. 1 and 7;—M.-T. d’Alverny, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, xv (1972), 347–8;—Carl Nordenfalk, *Burlington Magazine*, cxiv (1972), p. 245;—André Parrot, *Le siècle de l’an mil* (App. I above, No. 47, 1973), p. vii;—J. C. Dickinson and M.-M. Gauthier, p. 243 in Raymond Foreville, ed., *Thomas Becket: Actes du Colloque international de Sédieres 19–24 Août 1973* (Paris, 1975).

I am sincerely grateful to the many relations and friends of Francis Wormald’s who have given much time and care to answering my letters and telephone calls and to talking about Francis in interviews. Their devotion to him and their kindness to me have made this tribute a joint enterprise, in which I hope I have been a faithful reporter of what they told me. I am particularly grateful to Honoria Wormald; to his niece, Elspeth Yeo; to his school-friend, Sir Trenchard Cox; to his colleagues in the British Museum, Bentley Bridgewater, Basil Gray, Bertram Schofield, and Theodore Skeat; to Lord Kilmaine, formerly Secretary of the Pilgrim Trust; to Anne Marie Meyer, of the Warburg Institute; to Cynthia Hawker and William Kelloway, of the Institute of Historical Research; and to Joan Gibbs, of the University of London Library.

JULIAN BROWN