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MARY DOMINICA LEGGE
1905-1986

DOMINICA LEGGE has been recognized as being 'for over half a century a major force in the development of Anglo-Norman studies'.¹ She was the first to show how central the French language and literature of medieval England were in the development of European culture. When her book on Anglo-Norman literature and its background appeared in 1963² its importance was recognized by French no less than by English scholars. Pierre Gallais acclaimed it as not only the first general work on Anglo-Norman literature to be published, but one of the most important books on the history of medieval literature in French to have appeared in the previous century.³

She came naturally to the field where she was to make such an impressive contribution from a family notable for intellectual achievement and tradition of service. Her grandfather, James Legge, was born of north Scottish parents at Huntly in Aberdeenshire. His schooling began when he was taught to read by a blind woman, who used as a school book the metrical psalms she herself knew by heart—a method of teaching which indeed went back to the middle ages, when similar use was made of the psalms of David. His more orthodox education was at Aberdeen Grammar School, where he carried off the First Bursary to King's College Aberdeen. After graduating from the University with a brilliant degree in Classics and the Huttonian prize, he refused the offer of a university post in order to enter the Independent Church. Within two years he had determined to make his career in the field of foreign missions, and was sent in 1840 to be Principal of the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca. Three years later he moved to Hong Kong, which was to be the centre of his activities until his retirement in 1865. He transferred the College from Malacca to Hong Kong, and set about establishing missionary schools which laid the foundations of the Colony's Department of Education. Besides this he himself travelled widely to preach in mission centres.

¹ Obituary notice in *Speculum*, 62 (1987).

² *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1963, reprinted 1971).

³ *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 9 (1966), pp. 82-3.

Throughout his missionary career he made it his aim to train Chinese students to be evangelists among their own people, and Western missionaries to understand the beliefs and way of life of the Chinese. As a first step he mastered the Chinese language and immersed himself in the study of the Chinese classics. Since these were still inaccessible to most European scholars he set about translating them himself 'I consider that it will greatly facilitate the labours of future missionaries,' he wrote, 'that the entire books of Confucius should be published with a translation and notes.'⁴ This mammoth task occupied him until some years after his return to England, but when he left China he had already published the first of five volumes, and had won the respect of Chinese scholars. In a tribute to his work one of these, Wang T'ao, praised his thoroughness, lucidity and accuracy, and wrote of him that he never shrank from difficulties but scrutinized, examined sources and analysed: 'He did not simply follow tradition but tried to reach a perfect comprehension.'

In England his reputation as a Chinese scholar stood so high that his retirement from the mission field meant the beginning of a new career. When a new Chair of Chinese was founded at Oxford in 1876 he was immediately invited to be its first occupant. 'Next to Hong Kong, Oxford is the most delightful place in the world', he wrote to a friend. It was there that he spent the last twenty-one years of his life, actively engaged in teaching, translating other Chinese works, and participating in the life of the University and Corpus Christi College, which elected him to a Fellowship.

Oxford became the family home, and his son James Granville Legge, who spent part of his boyhood there, grew up with the same interest in languages and education at all levels as his father. The career of the second James Legge took a somewhat different turn; he entered the civil service and went first to the Admiralty and then to the Home Office. In his daughter Dominica's words, 'He became Chief Inspector of Home Office Schools which, in the days when spades were spades, were known as Reformatory and Industrial Schools. His beat was not only England and Wales, but Scotland as well.' Then he was appointed the first Director of Education for Liverpool, where he remained until his retirement. But he never regarded himself as a Merseysider, and Oxford was his natural choice as a retirement

⁴ Biographical Note by Lindsay Ride, in *The Chinese Classics* by James Legge (Hong Kong University Press, 1960), pp. 1-25.

home. He revelled in the opportunities to pursue his varied interests there. His close friendship with Christopher Chavasse, the son of a former bishop of Liverpool, led to his participation in the founding of St Peter's Hall. To his earlier publications on educational policy he had already added a book on 'Rhyme and Revolution in Germany' and a Greek anthology; he now had time for a general account of French literature, 'Chanticleer: a study of the French muse', which included translations of French poems from all periods, and was intended 'not as a school book' but as the kind of book he would like to have had put into his hands as a boy, to help the reader to range over the whole field of a foreign literature and 'perhaps find some corner of it where he might like to browse on his own'. He enjoyed sport and spent many afternoons watching matches in the University Parks.

In 1899 he had married Josephine Makins, the daughter of Henry Makins, whose sister Constance married Hastings Rashdall and brought a medieval historian into the wider family circle. They had four children, a son and three daughters. Their second daughter was born in Liverpool in 1905. As her birth was expected on Lady Day they decided to call her Mary; when it occurred a day later, on 26 of March which was a Sunday, they added the name Dominica. This was the name by which she was known, and which led some to think wrongly that she must be connected with some religious order. It was a family where, as in many Edwardian households, the girls read the same books as the boys, from 'Ivanhoe' to the 'Last of the Mohicans'; but they were not isolated in the nursery and shared adult interests and conversation when visitors such as Hastings Rashdall came to stay. Dominica read voraciously all her life, and was sometimes shocked at discovering the thin background knowledge of undergraduates; she once complained to a colleague that the second-year students at Edinburgh didn't seem to read Bacon any more. Her brother and one sister grew up to be professional musicians, but though she played the violin and later took up the lute to illustrate medieval music she never seriously considered a musical career. She inclined more naturally towards the academic interests of her family.

Her schooldays were spent as a boarder at Liverpool College, Huyton. In 1923, after spending several months attending courses at the Sorbonne and the Guilde Internationale, she entered Somerville College to read for the Oxford Honour School of Modern Languages in French. Her choice of Somerville may have been determined by the fact that her grandfather

had been on the Council of the College; and she shared the family talent for languages. Her choice of French was decisive for her future career, as she came under the influence of Mildred K. Pope and began in her undergraduate years to take an interest in the problems that were to occupy her for many years. She followed the course in Elements of Romance Philology and took as her Special Subject 'Anglo-Norman language and literature'. At Somerville she enjoyed college life without dissipating her energies. She became treasurer of the Music Club and the SCM, and took part in college theatricals, punt parties, and normal sporting activities. A contemporary remembered her as 'a friendly, sweet-natured person, who was agreeable company', but not at that time a leader. Although a slight indisposition forced her to withdraw from the Special Subject paper in her Final Schools in 1926, so that she could not be awarded more than Second Class Honours, her tutors had no hesitation in allowing her to begin research in Anglo-Norman.

After working for two years under Professor Paul Studer and Professor E. G. R. Waters she obtained a B.Litt. with the thesis, 'Description of the MSS of *La Lumiere as Lais* by Pierre de Peckham, an Anglo-Norman poem of the thirteenth century, and a comparison of the poem with its Latin source.' This formed the basis of two of her earliest papers in the *Modern Language Review* in 1929. A number of possible subjects of study now opened out for her. At that date it was not considered necessary for girls to become self-supporting as soon as they had graduated, and with a home in Oxford she was surrounded by libraries and congenial colleagues. She continued her close study of literary and devotional MSS in the Bodleian and Oxford college libraries and in London; but her principal work for some years was to prepare, with Sir William Holdsworth, an edition of the Year Book of 10 Edward II for the Selden Society.⁵

Her introduction on the salient features of the language acknowledged a great debt to Maitland's masterly treatise on the subject in the first volume of the Year Book series; she saw herself as filling out the outlines he had sketched and bringing his work nearer to that of the philologists. 'It is essential to bear in mind', she wrote, 'that the Year Books of Edward II are written in Anglo-Norman, not Law French'. Law French emerged after the discontinuance of French as a vernacular and persisted into the

⁵ *Year Books of Edward II*, Vol. 20, 10 Edward II (Selden Society, no 52, 1934).

seventeenth century; it developed in accordance with its own special needs. 'Anglo-Norman . . . was the language of the Court, Parliament, the Universities, the grammar-schools, and of all people of consideration'; this remained true up to the reign of Edward II. It was 'not a patois, but a dialect spoken and written by men as cultured as any in Europe'. Here for the first time she voiced the view, to be developed fully later, that Law French was not, as some commentators maintained, a product of the thirteenth century due to the influx of foreign adventurers in the time of Henry III. The insight into English society gained through her close work on the lawsuits of the period fostered an interest in and understanding of medieval history that balanced in a unique way her appreciation of literature and her linguistic skills. The book appeared in 1934; and when the Somerville historian, Maud V. Clarke, looked for a linguistic expert to help her in editing a French formula book it was natural that she should approach Dominica.

Maud Clarke's plan was that they should edit jointly the text of the Anglo-Norman letters and petitions in All Souls MS 180, with a full historical introduction and notes from her own pen and a linguistic introduction from her colleague. Her tragically early death from cancer in 1935 left Dominica to complete the project. This task was made easier by her election in 1935 to the Mary Somerville Research Fellowship at Somerville College, one of the most important senior research fellowships then open to women. During her two-year tenure of the Fellowship she combined further work on the All Souls MS with an intensive exploration of Anglo-Norman and French texts in French, Italian and German libraries, and an arduous search in the Public Record Office and the British Museum. She was becoming interested in how far texts crossed the Channel in both directions and, though not expecting to find many new texts, was learning much about the migrations of manuscripts and the reasons for textual variants. As her knowledge increased she became acutely aware of the linguistic problems posed by the miscellaneous letters in the All Souls manuscript. When her edition finally appeared in 1941 it consisted of the text with a minimum of historical notes, an introduction on the MS itself, a glossary and an index.⁶ She decided to postpone a study of the language, for 'since each document presents problems of its own any treatment full enough to be of use would outweigh the edition'.

⁶ *Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions from All Souls MS 182* (Anglo-Norman Text Society, Oxford, 1941)

During the years at Somerville her teaching work began. She took classes and supervised pupils in philology, and in 1938 she delivered a course of University lectures on 'The Knowledge and Use of French in England from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries'. In these she broached publicly a subject which had interested her since her undergraduate days. She had touched on it in her Introduction to the Year Book, and it found fuller expression in her book, *Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters* some twelve years later. It was the problem of what languages were actually spoken in England after the Conquest, and in particular what kind of French was used, and by what groups of people. Like her grandfather when he embarked on his study of the Chinese classics, she was not prepared to take existing theories on trust, but went back to the roots by collecting, sifting and analysing the sources. She had plainly taken to heart a favourite saying of her mentor, Miss Pope, in tutorials, 'Of course I don't *know* this; I only read it in a book.'

Two events forced her to modify some at least of her early plans and to postpone others. In 1938 she was appointed Assistant Lecturer in French at Royal Holloway College in the University of London, where she remained for four years. Full time teaching, which involved taking sole charge of medieval and renaissance French literature and most of the philological work, and college administration would in any case have absorbed much of her time. The outbreak of war in 1939 added a full quota of voluntary work, including some work at the Board of Trade in the Long Vacation of 1942. In addition, at the request of Professor Vinaver, she produced an edition of the *Roman de Balain* jointly with him, for use as a textbook at Manchester and other Universities.⁷ Then, in 1942, she was invited to take up an Assistant Lectureship in University College, Dundee; a year later she accepted the offer of a Lectureship in the University of Edinburgh, where she remained until her retirement thirty years later.

The move north was decisive. Dominica loved Scotland, the country of her grandfather for whom she had a great admiration.⁸ With her historical interests, she began to explore Scottish history and the French language and literature in medieval Scotland more deeply. She lectured to local record societies and

⁷ *Le 'Roman de Balain', a prose romance of the thirteenth century* (Manchester University Press, 1942)

⁸ She read a paper about him to the Sino-Scottish Society of the University of Edinburgh on 4 February 1951.

in due course was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Her published papers at this time included an investigation into the inauguration of Alexander III, read to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and a paper on the *Roman de Fergus* for the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Archaeology Society. The first began characteristically by raising the question of the language used at the inauguration, and looking critically at the inadequate editions of the *Scottichronicon*, originally written by Fordun and recast by Bower in 1447. Then after considering the ceremonies of coronation elsewhere and the practice of knighthood to enable her to assess the intellectual presuppositions of Bower, she concluded with a plea for good texts and the critical interpretation of texts. It was never her intention to include an edition of the *Scottichronicon* in her own future projects, but she was extending her study of Anglo-Norman in its historical background north of the border. The second paper examined the social setting of the Old French *Roman de Fergus*, 'a poor poem, pillaging the works of Chrétien de Troyes on the Arthurian romances, but set in a real Scotland', and concluded that it was probably composed for the wedding of the great-grandson of the original Fergus of Galloway. It was in fact one element in the theory she was beginning to propound on the significance of the 'ancestral romance'. Even before her migration she had begun moving towards the much wider study of Anglo-Norman language and literature that was to be her main concern after the publication of her book on Anglo-Norman and the cloisters in 1950. Consequently she finally abandoned her earlier intention to undertake further work on Langtoft's *Chronicle* or the *Lumiere as Lais* of Peter of Peckham. Her research on Peter of Peckham was confined to a postscript in the 1951 *Modern Language Review*, in which with characteristic honesty she revised the views she had held in her 'salad days' in 1929 when, she declared, she had been a green beginner.

Anglo-Norman studies, neglected until the 1930s, were beginning to come into their own. One of the few attempts at synthesis had been made in 1935 by E. Walberg in three lectures at the *École des Chartes*. When Dominica reviewed them⁹ she noted that Anglo-Norman would be a controversial subject for a long time to come, and added appreciatively that they 'drew attention to the importance of this field, so often falsely supposed to be of limited appeal'. Since then the Anglo-Norman Text Society had

⁹ *Modern Language Review*, 30 (1936)

begun to bring out a series of texts, and work had started on an Anglo-Norman Glossary. She was at the centre of the various activities, serving on the editorial board of the ANTS and acting as one of the editors of the Glossary, as well as playing a leading part in promoting the subject in Edinburgh. She built on the foundations laid at Oxford by Professor M. K. Pope, always gratefully acknowledged as 'mon ancien maître'. Miss Pope was to say on a later occasion, 'I'm beginning to think that Anglo-Norman was only spoken French', and Dominica's early writings showed that she had been moving towards the same conclusion for a number of years. Her views were summed up in her book on *Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters*,¹⁰ and in a masterly chapter contributed to the *Essays presented to Rose Graham*, which amounted to a postscript to her book.¹¹ The book itself was mainly concerned with the clerical contribution to Anglo-Norman literature, a limited topic since so much was anonymous; some thirty writers only were examined in detail. But she looked also at such questions as the use of Anglo-Norman in preaching, insisting that the recent emphasis on preaching in English had not given enough weight to the use of the other vernacular for pastoral work and instruction; and at the influence of patronage on literature in the cloister no less than in the world outside.

One reviewer welcomed the book as an important chapter in the history of Anglo-Norman literature, a history still unwritten, but one that she was eminently qualified to write. This was indeed the work to which she now devoted herself. Her chapter in the Rose Graham volume already took a broader sweep. 'Anglo-Norman', she wrote, 'was a plant of slow growth; imperceptibly and by degrees it invaded the Court, the Church, the law, the schools and universities, even the municipalities. A hundred years after the Conquest literature was being written in French in England which challenges comparison with any produced on the Continent. A century later still, a vast quantity of legal and administrative treatises and documents is in being.' The advantage of French over the English vernaculars was that it was uniform and not split up into dialects as English was; and it was the lingua franca of Europe. It was not an artificial language. Law French, as she wrote elsewhere, was different; it was the product

¹⁰ *Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters: The influence of the orders upon Anglo-Norman Literature* (Edinburgh University Press, 1950)

¹¹ 'The French language and the English cloister', in Veronica Ruffer & A. J. Taylor (eds), *Medieval Studies presented to Rose Graham* (Oxford University Press, 1950), pp. 146-62.

of the law courts from the fourteenth century onwards and had its own independent development, so that in order to meet changing needs French legal terms were devised that had no equivalent in Latin.

The next two decades were a period of strenuous creative activity. She was promoted to a Readership at Edinburgh in 1953, and worked intensively on a comprehensive survey of Anglo-Norman literature and language. At the same time, in collaboration with Ruth Dean, an American friend and colleague of long standing, she was preparing an edition of a French translation of the Rule of St Benedict. A stream of papers prepared the way for her major book, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background*, published in 1963. The difficulties to be overcome were formidable, since many works were still unprinted, or existed only in inadequate and faulty editions. What she had undertaken was a survey of three hundred years of Anglo-Norman literature; and she treated the subject in its widest sense as including works which, although written in French by continental authors, were certainly composed north of the Channel for British patrons. This brought *Le mystère d'Adam, Bérout* and the *Roman de Fergus* within her net. She gave special attention to the social background and the interests of patrons and readers. In particular the theme of the 'ancestral romance' was fully developed. Many of the patrons were men and women of the younger branches of Norman families settled in England and anxious to put down roots there. In works such as *Boeve de Haumtone, Waldef, Gui de Warewic, Fergus, Fouke Fitzwarin*, the hero was the founder of a family, and historical and geographical material was interwoven with romances. Patronage too, as she saw it, had an influence on form; the alexandrine *laisse* was appropriate to epic, for chanting or recitation in the hall to a large assembly, composed mostly of men and a few married women. The octosyllabic couplet, favoured for romance, was appropriate for the smaller, predominantly feminine, company of the solar. A court with unmarried daughters meant more social life in the solar than a court kept by a bachelor, widower, or even by Henry II after the disgrace and imprisonment of Queen Eleanor.

She saw too the importance of monastic patronage and ecclesiastical legislation, and their value in dating works: the *Vie de St Alexis*, previously dated by most scholars in the middle years of the twelfth century, seemed to her certain to have been written before 1119 to be sung at the dedication of the St Alexis chapel at

St Albans abbey. The 1215 Lateran Council and 1222 Council of Oxford created the need for treatises and manuals of religious instruction for both laity and parish clergy, and these were written in Anglo-Norman.

The book was impressive for its comprehensiveness. It gave a survey of the present state of Anglo-Norman studies, ventured into many fields as yet unexplored, and pointed to numerous topics where further study was needed. Her translations were felicitous, and her style, 'personal, unpedantic, on occasion colloquial' made the book easily accessible to modern readers. Pierre Gallais wrote, 'C'est solide, équilibré, bien écrit—écrit avec beaucoup de clarté et de charme.' She realized that it was bound to excite controversy, but was prepared to defend her views or modify them if they were convincingly proved to be wrong. But almost without exception reviewers welcomed it as a work bursting with ideas and establishing a much-needed solid base for future study. It was in fact a landmark in Anglo-Norman studies, valuable too for the comparative study of medieval French and Middle English literature.

The following year saw the publication of the text she had been preparing in collaboration with Professor Ruth K. Dean: *The Rule of St Benedict: A Norman Version*.¹² The editors considered the language to be French rather than Anglo-Norman. Dominica was responsible for the linguistic study and the glossary. The edition was based on a single MS, written probably after the middle of the thirteenth century for the abbey of Montebourg: it could well have been a response to the 1234 Statutes of Pope Gregory IX, which directed that the Rule should be explained in French for the less learned members of the community. The text printed was an expanded interpretation of the Rule, examined in relation to numerous other translations from all over Europe. Professor D. J. A. Ross spoke for many when he described it as a model of what the edition of a medieval text should be.

From this time Dominica Legge's reputation as a leader in the field of Anglo-Norman studies was firmly established internationally. An assiduous attender at conferences all over Europe, she was already a well-known figure. As one colleague remarked, 'No conference seemed complete without Dominica.' At many she read papers; she was always ready with apt and incisive

¹² *The Rule of St Benedict: A Norman Prose Version* (Medium Aevum Monographs, no. 7, 1964).

comments. In March 1962 she lectured in Lisbon, Coimbra and Oporto at the invitation of the British Council and the Universities of Lisbon and Coimbra. Recognition of her achievement was widespread. She took a D.Litt. at Oxford on her published work in 1965. In 1968 she was promoted to a personal chair in Anglo-Norman Studies at Edinburgh; three years later she was appointed by the French government as an Officier des Palmes Académiques, and election as a Fellow of the British Academy came in 1974. Further recognition came through her election as a Corresponding Fellow of the Medieval Academy of America. Unusually for a linguist, she was also a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. The wide range of homage volumes to which she was invited to contribute are further testimony to the extent of her reputation abroad. When she retired from her chair in 1973 and was made Professor Emeritus, friends and colleagues held a medieval studies colloquium in her honour. The papers read there appeared in a special number of *Marche Romane* in 1979, together with a bibliography of her publications and a brief biographical note by Dr Graham A. Runnalls. Her researches continued without interruption after her retirement, when she returned to her former home in Oxford and settled into a flat in the Woodstock Road.

Some years previously Professor V. H. Galbraith had asked her to undertake an edition and translation of *La Vie de Guillaume le Maréchal* for Oxford Medieval Texts. She gladly assented because of the inadequacies of Paul Meyer's shortened translation. As she commented bluntly, 'he often abbreviated because he did not understand', and his version had been accepted without question by historians who went to the poem as a source and were misled by some unintelligible passages. Failing eyesight prevented her from advancing very far with the project; but her characteristically thorough research into the historical events behind the obscure and mistranslated passages led to the publication in 1982 of a paper on 'William the Marshal and Arthur of Brittany' in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*. This gave the best examination of the evidence for the mysterious disappearance of Arthur of Brittany available anywhere, even though she was forced to end with an open verdict: accident or suicide were just as possible as murder, and Arthur's body was never found. Though she had almost completed a translation, too much work remained to be done on the text of the poem at the time of her death for her edition to be published as originally

planned. The Anglo-Norman Text Society is at present seriously considering the publication of an edition using a new version of the text.

Oxford, where her mother had lived to the end of her life and her sister Pompilia was settled, had been her home base even when she spent the academic year in Edinburgh. After her return her association with Somerville College, where she had been elected an Honorary Fellow in 1968, became closer. But her friendships also extended throughout the academic community. With the opening of men's colleges to women, she was a welcome and lively dinner guest at many high tables. A staunch Presbyterian all her life, she became a regular attender at St Columba's church. It may have been through her closer contacts with historians engaged in the study of the archaeology and history of Oxford that she sometimes chose Oxford subjects when invited to contribute to homage volumes, and she used Oxford material to advantage. A paper on 'Beaumont-Palace' for the *Mélanges E. R. Labande* in 1974 looked at the history of the King's House in Oxford—the *nova aula* where Henry I celebrated Easter in 1133, where Stephen lodged when he was besieging the Empress Matilda in the castle, and where Richard I was born. A note on 'Master Geoffrey Arthur' for the *Essays in Memory of Lewis Thorpe* analysed the names of witnesses to charters for the church of St George-within-the-Castle and Godstow Abbey, and came to the conclusion that Geoffrey Arthur was probably Geoffrey of Monmouth. Substantial papers on more general topics were also read at the 1979 Battle Conference and the 1984 colloque on Eleanor of Aquitaine at Fontevraud.

An indomitable traveller with an unquenchable zest for life, she refused to allow poor eyesight or deteriorating health to do more than slightly restrict her mobility. In 1979 an invitation to give a keynote paper at the annual 'Sewanee Medieval Colloquium' at the University of the South in Sewanee, Tennessee, took her to the United States. The School of Theology in the University of the South was celebrating its centennial, and the theme chosen was 'Biblical Exegesis in the Middle Ages'. This was a subject in which she was adept: she had once described the prose translation of the four books of Kings as 'one of the glories of Anglo-Norman literature'.¹³ Her paper was on 'The Bible in Anglo-Norman'. She subsequently went on a short lecture tour to

¹³ 'La précocité de la littérature Anglo-Normande, *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 8 (1965), pp. 327-49.

the University of Tennessee in Knoxville, the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, and Columbia University in New York. She also gave a paper at the annual meeting of the Medieval Academy of America on 'Anglo-Norman as a spoken language'.

Towards the end of her life a successful operation for cataract promised to improve her sight. Unfortunately she fell while attending a conference in Liverpool and injured her eye, leaving her sight permanently damaged. She also had trouble with her knees, but she remained in her flat, treasuring her independence and resolutely refusing to move to a home for the elderly. Meals on wheels, home-helps, and various gadgets for the partially sighted enabled her to continue living and working slowly in her familiar surroundings among all her books. One volunteer helper who arrived was a university undergraduate reading mathematics, who had put his name on a list of those willing to read to old people and help them with their shopping. It was something of a surprise to him to discover that the old lady to whom he had been assigned was one whose intellect remained undimmed by age and whose reading-matter consisted of articles in the latest learned journals. Moreover she came to the conclusion that mathematics left young people with little or no knowledge of their cultural heritage, and took to providing him with weekly reading-lists. He became devoted to her; at their last meeting in the Michaelmas Term of 1986 he took away a volume of Plato for vacation reading, and was deeply distressed to learn of her death when he returned in January. He attended her Memorial Service, the last of the many young people who had found her demanding standards an encouragement, not a deterrent, and had given her their lasting loyalty.

Although she resisted all attempts to persuade her into sheltered accommodation, she must have realized that the time might come when a move would be unavoidable. Practical as ever, she decided to give Somerville her collection of reprints and any books that would be useful to the library. The Librarian was invited to her flat to make the arrangements. Only a few weeks later she had a fall which caused a multiple fracture of the femur, and had to be rushed to hospital. The operation seemed to be successful, and she was moved to St Luke's Nursing Home. But on 10 December 1986, shortly after having a friend to tea, she died quietly and peacefully, independent to the last.

She will be remembered by those who knew her for her cheerful, forthright and enterprising personality: learned in

many subjects outside her own special disciplines but never pedantic, generous in helping colleagues with their problems even when she was struggling to read with the aid of a magnifying glass. Outgoing and sociable, she was remembered in the city of Edinburgh as a chairman of the Soroptimists, and throughout her professional life she was active in the British Federation of University women. In her seventies she appeared to be perennially young. Participants in the Battle Conferences recall the enthusiasm with which she tried on replicas of Norman hauberks and helmets, and tested the balance of swords and lances. Her criticisms were outspoken, but they were forthright, never devious or malicious, and her friends and colleagues for the most part took them in the spirit in which they were offered.

She accepted the discomforts of travel cheerfully as long as she had congenial company. There could be no better travelling companion with whom to cross the Channel in a very small, very old aeroplane, in a thick fog. Of a journey home from a conference in Normandy she wrote, 'The only drawback was that the advertised buffet was not manned, and I arrived at Waterloo completely dehydrated. The time passed pleasantly otherwise as Wormald got in at Winchester and we had many questions to discuss.' In the last years of her life, when others of her sex arrived in taxis for the British Academy dinners, she invariably travelled by Underground, pinning up her long skirts to avoid catching them on the escalators.

Many of the conferences she attended were interdisciplinary. Though her initial training was in philology she approached the subject as a historian, and had at all times a historian's no less than a philologist's window on the world. She was keenly aware of the changes of words and phrases through usage and the emergence of new needs, as well as of the force and vigour of occasional archaisms. One of her last short published notes in 1985 was to point out that 'mouru' was not simply a schoolboy's howler: it was still used in patois and by children, and a Polish statesman had deliberately used it at the end of the First World War to say, 'La Pologne a mouru trois fois, et chaque fois elle s'est ressuscitée.'

She brought her immensely wide knowledge of Norman history, society, buildings and craftsmanship to bear on her studies of Anglo-Norman language and literature. Like many of the greatest innovators, she was generous in giving credit to those who had opened the way for further advance. She constantly referred to her debt to Miss Pope for an appreciation of the nature and importance of Anglo-Norman, and also acknowl-

edged a debt to Vinaver in literary studies and to Maitland in the language and process of law. Paul Studer was another to whom she felt lifelong gratitude. But it is not too much to say that she herself transformed the study of Anglo-Norman language and literature. A very great deal remained for future scholars to undertake, and some of her conclusions were soon to be challenged. But thanks to her work the foundations were more firmly laid, future needs were more clearly indicated, and she had done more than anyone to bridge the gap between historians and philologists, to the lasting profit of both.

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Supplementary Bibliography

A Bibliography of books and papers published up to 1976 was compiled by Dr G. A. Runnalls, *Marche Romane*, Vol. 29 (1979), pp. 115-17. A list of Reviews is among Professor Legge's papers at Somerville College, Oxford. The following papers were published after 1976.

- 1978 'Les chansons de geste et la Grande Bretagne', *Marche Romane, Mélanges ... offerts à Jeanne Wathelet Willem*, Vol. 20 (1978).
- 'La "courtoisie" en anglo-normand' in G. Güntert, M.-R. Jung & K. Ringer (eds), *Orbis Medievalis, Mélanges ... offerts à R. R. Bezzola* (Berne, 1978), pp. 235-9.
- 'La problème des *Folies* d'aujourd'hui', *Mélanges ... offerts à Jeanne Lods par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis*. Collection de l'École Normale Supérieure de jeunes filles, Vol. 10 (Paris, 1978), pp. 371-7.
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- 1985 'More about *mouru*', *French Studies, Bulletin* no. 16 (1985), p. 10.
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