



IAN MCFARLANE

*Ian Joy*

# Ian Dalrymple McFarlane

## 1915–2002

IAN MCFARLANE belonged to the generation of scholars whose early careers were interrupted by the outbreak of the Second World War. Drawing on the sense of a new start and a radical break with past habits and prejudices that characterised the post-1945 era, that generation brought about a major renewal of modern languages as a university discipline, ensuring that it would henceforth be regarded as equal in status to other arts subjects. The importance of this task in post-war Europe could hardly be over-estimated, and Ian was certainly conscious of its magnitude.<sup>1</sup> He spent the thirty-eight years of his academic career training the modern linguists of the next generation, many of whom are now themselves leaders in the subject, and he set an example of meticulously thorough yet enlightened scholarship in each of the several distinct areas in which he worked.

### I

The final paragraph of Ian's unpublished war memoir<sup>2</sup> emphasises how fortunate he and others like him felt to have survived five years of

<sup>1</sup> I have chosen to use Ian's first name only throughout this memoir because it reflects my own enduring memory of him as a teacher, colleague and friend. But it should be recorded here that his students, in my day at least, referred to him as 'Mac', and this may well be how he is still remembered by many.

<sup>2</sup> I am deeply grateful to Richard McFarlane, Ian's son, for sending me a copy of this important

captivity, given the fate of others at that time. ‘What kept us alive’, he says, was ‘a feeling that somehow a future lay before us, in which hope and at least elements would survive from a world we had known, a widening of our human awareness, and most of all faith and personal emotions of which I have not felt it right or desirable that I should write here.’ All those who knew Ian will recognise the refusal to complain, the optimism, and the sense of a common humanity. They will also recognise the reticence of the closing words. In the course of a life spent in many places and contexts, he built up an extraordinary network of friends and acquaintances; he enjoyed conversation and was never stiff or formal in manner; yet he rarely spoke about his own life or revealed his personal feelings. It has therefore not been possible to reconstruct anything other than a purely external account of his early years: there is no evidence, for example, of his relations with his parents.<sup>3</sup>

James Blair McFarlane, Ian’s father, came from Glasgow, but his career as a naval engineer and shipyard manager took him to various other dockside cities, including Newcastle, where Ian was born on 7 November 1915. His first memory was of being frightened by ‘the flapping of air-raid curtains in the darkened bathroom’.<sup>4</sup> His mother, Valérie Edith Liston Dalrymple, may have had French (or French-speaking) relatives, presumably on her mother’s side;<sup>5</sup> at all events, records at Westminster School show that, in 1929, both parents were living in Marseilles, where Ian attended the Lycée Saint-Charles. If my memory serves me correctly, Ian also mentioned once in passing that he had stayed with his aunt in Marseilles, and in the war memoir he goes so far as to say that he was ‘brought up in France’; his near-native command of French clearly dates from this period of his life.

However, at some point—perhaps in preparation for his Westminster scholarship examination—he also attended the Tormore School, a private preparatory school in Upper Deal, Kent, before going on to

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document and allowing me to use it here. I very much regret that, for reasons of balance and length, I have only been able to draw on it for information about the earlier part of Ian’s life and for some brief glimpses of his experiences as a prisoner of war.

<sup>3</sup> One small but perhaps significant exception: he once said to a colleague that he was distressed that his mother had died just too soon to see his edition of Scève’s *Délie* appear in print in 1966.

<sup>4</sup> According to a note in the war memoir, his mother insisted against plausibility that this episode occurred when he was only seventeen months old. Dockyards were a prime target for attack by Zeppelins, and later by fixed-wing aircraft (the earliest of these occurred at Sheerness in June 1917), but Ian’s memory could presumably refer to any period up to the end of the war.

<sup>5</sup> A passing reference in the war memoir indicates that he had an aunt who married a Belgian.

Westminster School as a King's Scholar. Like most brilliant schoolboys of that time, he was marked out to be a classicist, but he decided, somewhat belatedly and on his own initiative, that he wanted to become a modern linguist. His headmaster, it seems, was not pleased and tried to dissuade him; Ian persevered, however, and the headmaster reluctantly gave in: 'All right,' Ian reports him as saying, 'you can go over to languages, but you will come to no good.' He might perhaps have been mollified if he had known that Ian would later put his thorough grounding in Latin to excellent use.

In 1934, Ian won a Harkness Scholarship and went to St Andrews University. After his late start in modern languages at school, he needed to catch up in German, so he spent four successive summers in Germany during his time as a student. As a schoolboy, he had begun to form pacifist ideals; now, his first-hand experience of burgeoning Nazi propaganda—which he also encountered at St Andrews—and of the treatment of Jewish families with whom he came into contact led him to modify those views: some things were worse than war.

It was at St Andrews that he met and eventually became engaged to Marjory Nan Hamilton, the daughter of a Presbyterian minister, who was studying medicine at Dundee. Her version of the story was that she used regularly to see him cycling past her window on the way to play cricket, and decided that he was the man for her (how they actually met is not clear). There seems to have been some parental resistance to the match on one side or the other; at all events, after Ian graduated with a first class MA in 1938, he went off to Paris to begin research on the late nineteenth-century French novelist Paul Bourget while Marjory continued her medical course. By the summer of 1939, she was a year away from qualifying, and Ian had intended to return to Paris, but history soon overtook whatever plans they may have made for their personal life. The day after war broke out, Ian enlisted, not for reasons of patriotism but because he knew what Nazism meant; a few days later, on 12 September, he married Marjory. It was a quiet wedding, for more than one reason, and their honeymoon was to be deferred for a good deal longer than they expected.

After a short period of (apparently rather indifferent) training, Ian was sent to France as a Lieutenant with the First Battalion of the Black Watch. While awaiting its turn in the Dunkirk evacuation, his contingent became trapped near the coast by the rapidly advancing German troops under Rommel and on a cloudless day in June 1940 ('Hitler', said Ian,

‘ruined the best cricketing summer in a decade’),<sup>6</sup> all 8,000 men were obliged to surrender. Ian spent the next five years in captivity. During the first few months he found himself in an officers’ camp in the Archbishop’s palace in Laufen, but he was then sent to a tuberculosis hospital for prisoners of war at Königswartha in Saxony. Because of his linguistic skills, he was put to use as an interpreter and mediator: the cosmopolitan world of the prison camps was also something of a Tower of Babel, and Ian took the opportunity to broaden his linguistic competence, acquiring, for example, a good speaking knowledge of Russian from an American whose father spoke only Ukrainian.<sup>7</sup> Reading between the lines of his memoir, it is clear that he did admirable work, giving encouragement to the sick and the dying, and defending victims of injustice wherever possible. As he puts it at one point, with consummate modesty, ‘I was in nine different camps, having made myself in the politest fashion a nuisance to the Germans.’ He also acquired a determined dislike of the bureaucratic mentality, and the liberal views that had already begun to form in his university years underwent a marked reinforcement:

If liberalism is in its essentials the attempt to maintain the individual against the encroachment by the State, and by monolithic party rule, then Liberalism is my political creed. More than once I have wondered whether prisoner of war life with its rigid framework was not a training (in the wrong sense) for the post-war world and the welfare state.

It is characteristic that, in retrospect, he assessed in positive terms what for most of us would have seemed like a massive and even catastrophic disruption of our lives and careers: ‘I believe that these years were not a break in my life, nor in the lives of those around me, but that they were just as valuable a part of my existence as others spent in freedom.’

## II

After his liberation in 1945, Ian and Marjory had their deferred honeymoon. Having now been promoted to the rank of captain, he worked for

<sup>6</sup> This quotation and those that follow in this section are taken from an unpublished paper on Ian’s wartime experiences written, I think, while he was at Caius (I heard him deliver such a paper at an essay-reading society in 1959 or 1960). The war memoir proper was written in its final form ‘many decades later’, according to Ian’s own formula on the opening page.

<sup>7</sup> He had already acquired a basic knowledge of the language by attending voluntary classes at Westminster in 1931.

a few weeks in a British prisoner-of-war camp, again as an interpreter, but he also began to apply for academic posts. In August of that year, he was interviewed for a University Lectureship at Cambridge. The short list included several candidates who were destined to become leaders in their field. As Ian recounts in his war memoir, at least two of them ‘were in resplendent uniforms and gave the impression of running the British army. One came out of the interview very shaken, saying “Christ, do you know what they are doing in there?—talking French!”’ This was not a circumstance to alarm Ian, who was duly appointed and took up the post, after some delay in obtaining his demobilisation papers, in December 1945. Two years later, he was elected to a fellowship at Gonville and Caius College, thus becoming the first ever Fellow in French at the College.

In the post-war years, the prejudice illustrated by Ian’s encounter with his headmaster in the 1930s was still widespread. College teaching for the Cambridge Modern and Medieval Languages Tripos, founded in its modern form as late as 1919, was given in the main not by fellows but by college lecturers; many were also polyglots and polymaths rather than specialist scholars. Caius, however, had made a valuable contribution to the subject in the first half of the twentieth century, and at the time Ian arrived, there were two Germanists among the fellows, both distinguished: Francis Bennett, who had entered the College in 1914, and the young Eric Blackall, who became a fellow in 1944 and a college lecturer in 1949.<sup>8</sup>

Ian was soon to discover that the College fellowship was deeply divided.<sup>9</sup> The ‘Old Guard’, who had held the fort during the war and were accustomed to govern the College, were largely (although not entirely) good teachers, but they took little interest in research. In the aftermath of the war, an insurgent group of younger fellows set up what in College legend is known as the ‘Peasants’ Revolt’. Ian was critical of current tutorial arrangements and admissions practices and sympathetic to the aims of the Peasants. On the other hand, his closest colleague in the fellowship was Francis Bennett, College lecturer in German, Senior Tutor since 1931, President from 1948, and a leading figure in the Old Guard.

<sup>8</sup> On the history of modern language teaching at Caius, see Michael Moriarty, ‘Modern Languages in Caius’, *The Caius* (Nov. 1988), 87–93.

<sup>9</sup> On this period in the history of the College, see Christopher Brooke, *A History of Gonville and Caius College* (Woodbridge, 1985; reprinted 1996), especially pp. 271–4. I am grateful to Professor Brooke for kindly providing me with further details of Ian’s early years at Caius and his role in the renewal of the College; I have quoted some parts of his account verbatim.

Francis was greatly loved, but also much criticised: from this criticism Ian, an unflinching moderate, was able to stand somewhat aloof, and his relations with Francis remained genuinely cordial. In 1956, he himself became Senior Tutor, an office which it cannot have been entirely comfortable to hold given the continued tension between different factions. By that time, however, carefully targeted work in modern language admissions had enabled him, with the help of Eric Blackall, to build up a strong undergraduate cohort at the College: indeed, under his aegis Caius became one of the leading colleges for modern languages in Cambridge, a reputation it has maintained ever since.

Being convinced that a command of the spoken language was an essential aspect of an education in modern languages (a view not at all widely shared at that time), Ian also revived the lectorship in French which Caius had instituted as far back as 1904;<sup>10</sup> its most illustrious incumbent had been Henri Fluchère, an outstanding *angliciste*, later to become Director of the Maison Française in Oxford. For some reason, this post had been allowed to lapse after 1928, but from 1951 a new series of appointments began, and many Caius *lecteurs* have themselves become leaders in their generation.

One needs to bear in mind that, at the time of his first appointment, Ian had only had time for a single year of research, followed by a six-year break. Despite the demands of a new post, however, he took up the threads of his work on Paul Bourget in 1946 and completed a scholarly and well-documented thesis (written in French) on Bourget's relations with England and English literature under the direction of the distinguished comparatist Jean-Marie Carré;<sup>11</sup> he was awarded a doctorate of the University of Paris in 1950. The thesis remained unpublished, but a substantial two-part article on Bourget's critical writings appeared in the late 1950s,<sup>12</sup> and Ian's continued interest in the author is attested by another important article of 1969 on links between Bourget's writing and the aesthetics of symbolism.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See Moriarty, 'Modern Languages in Caius', 92.

<sup>11</sup> 'Paul Bourget et l'Angleterre', thesis for the *doctorat d'université* (Paris, 1950). A copy is held in the Library of the Taylor Institution, Oxford.

<sup>12</sup> 'La collaboration de Paul Bourget au *Parlement* et au *Journal des Débats* 1880–86', *Lettres Romanes*, 12 (1958), 413–35, and 13 (1959), 35–58.

<sup>13</sup> 'Paul Bourget: In Search of a Symbolist Aesthetic', *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 6 (1969), 376–409.

At Cambridge, Ian gave lectures and supervisions across a broad range, but those of us who were taught by him will remember him above all for his long-standing commitment to French Renaissance studies. This switch of intellectual focus seems to have taken place quite early, since a Caius colleague remembers him talking ‘with real, personal enthusiasm’ about sixteenth-century French poetry at High Table in the early 1950s. By the late 1950s, at all events, Ian’s work on the Renaissance was already bearing fruit: what is virtually a short monograph on the Neo-Latin poet Salmon Macrin appeared in three parts in a leading French Renaissance journal in 1959–60;<sup>14</sup> it provides a meticulously scholarly appraisal of Macrin’s life and works, together with a detailed bibliography, and remains a founding study and an essential point of reference for anyone working in this field.

At much the same time, Ian was gathering material for an edition of the dazzling and at times enigmatic cycle of love-poems known as the *Délie*, by the French vernacular poet Maurice Scève.<sup>15</sup> The preface begins thus: ‘This edition owes its origin to my discovery, in the course of teaching, that Scève was a poet who appealed to succeeding generations of students.’ Scève had certainly featured prominently in the supervisions he gave in the 1950s on sixteenth-century French literature, and one of his most brilliant doctoral students, the late Dorothy Coleman, was also working on Scève, no doubt at his instigation. It is characteristic of Ian that he saw teaching and research as complementary: if this ideal could hardly be achieved where his Neo-Latin interests were concerned, it was to be all the more evident, as we shall see, in his later publications. In fact, this edition is by no means merely a text for students. In addition to the 100-page introduction, it provides full variants, uses sixteenth-century orthography, copiously annotates Scève’s idiosyncratic vocabulary and syntax, and reproduces extracts, in the original Italian, from one of Scève’s major sources. It is also handsomely produced, and remains a monument to the revival of Scève studies that took place in the post-war years.

Meanwhile, the Buchanan chair of French at St Andrews had fallen vacant, and Ian applied, not only because it was his old university and a place of memories both for him and for Marjory, but also because the many duties of his Cambridge post were making it difficult for him to do

<sup>14</sup> ‘Jean Salmon Macrin (1490–1557)’, *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance*, 21 (1959), 55–84, 311–49, and 22 (1960), 73–89.

<sup>15</sup> Maurice Scève, *Délie*, ed. I. D. McFarlane (Cambridge, 1966).



as much research as he would have liked. He was, it seems, hesitant about his credentials for the job, but the electors thought otherwise, and Ian took up his post in 1961. Before we turn from Cambridge to St Andrews, however, one important episode needs to be recorded, in words inscribed on the plinth that stood on Ian's mantelpiece ever after, displaying a battle-scarred cricket ball:

With this ball Ian McFarlane concluded his regular playing career with Camden Cricket Club by taking six wickets for thirteen runs at Fulbourn, Cambridge, on Sept. 9<sup>th</sup> 1961. In the course of doing so, he clean-bowled the Fulbourn nos 2, 3 and 4 with successive balls.

### III

During almost a decade as head of the St Andrews French Department, Ian presided over a rapid increase in staff numbers (this was of course a time of expansion throughout the British university system) and the building of a new purpose-built home for the modern languages departments in Union Street: the building was appropriately named, like Ian's chair, after George Buchanan, the great sixteenth-century Scottish humanist, to whose life and works Ian was to devote much of his research time over the next two decades.

There is a certain irony in the fact that the arrival of new blood in the 1960s was soon to produce widespread changes in the running of university departments that threatened to turn Ian's own generation, despite its forward-looking ideals, into the 'Old Guard': the events of 1968 were only the culmination of a process that was already under way in the new universities and was soon to be echoed even in institutions conscious of their long traditions. Although Ian was by no means autocratic, he was thus one of the last representatives of an age when 'the Professor' was in charge of everything, assigning lecture schedules and administrative jobs to members of the department. In addition, his extraordinarily capacious memory became effectively the departmental filing system; this caused his successor some trouble when he found on his arrival in St Andrews that there were no departmental record cards. However, the French department prospered under his aegis: it benefited from his standing and example as a scholar, and it grew not only in size but also in range of interests and competence. Likewise, he was visibly devoted to St Andrews, as well as to French culture at the broadest level (he was known to play recordings of French music as a kind of intermission during his lectures to the

General Class), all of which made him a respected head of department and by and large a popular one.

Departmental politics aside, Ian's regime at St Andrews was characterised by his—and Marjory's—gift for easy, everyday relations with both staff and students. Hospitality at the house in Queen's Gardens, and later in North Street, was warm and open; there were some memorable trips to the Burn, the country house in the foothills of the Cairngorms which is used by the Scottish universities for reading parties; and inevitably there was cricket, including an impromptu game on the West Sands late on a midsummer evening, after an examiners' meeting.

It is clear from Ian's preface to his study of Buchanan that the origins of the book reach back to his earliest interest in Neo-Latin poetry.<sup>16</sup> The article on Salmon Macrin I have already referred to was apparently intended to be only the first instalment of a full-scale history of Neo-Latin poetry in Renaissance France, a project which Ian continued to work on throughout his career. But an intermittent preoccupation with Buchanan and his long and varied European career became an absorbing fascination when Ian discovered, on his return to St Andrews in 1961, the richness of the Buchanan material in the University Library. The study of the Scottish humanist took twenty years to complete, and the broader project was relegated to the sidelines, with consequences we shall return to later.

Written at the peak of Ian's career, and also at the peak of his intellectual and scholarly energies, *Buchanan* remains without any doubt his major contribution to Renaissance studies. It provides a comprehensive biography of a many-sided figure whose peripatetic life took him to England, France (chiefly Paris and Bordeaux), Coimbra, northern Italy, and home to Scotland, often crossing back and forth between countries. As Buchanan seems to have known, met or corresponded with almost everyone who was anyone in European humanist circles of the sixteenth century, together with an impressive list of statesmen and monarchs, the biography is complemented by a wide-ranging contextual study that attests to Ian's awesomely detailed knowledge of the field. Religious controversy is inevitably a central strand: inclined in his earlier career towards a non-schismatic Erasmian evangelism, Buchanan declared for Calvinism when compromise became impossible (but only when he had returned safely home to Scotland). Written in Ian's rugged, non-nonsense prose, the book thoroughly surveys Buchanan's writings—

<sup>16</sup> See *Buchanan* (London, 1981), p. ix.

psalm-paraphrases, secular Latin poetry, a cosmological treatise, a Biblical tragedy, a treatise on the limits of royal power, and a history of Scotland—and includes a wealth of bibliographical materials and other appendixes which remain an invaluable source for historians, intellectual historians and literary scholars. It is certainly an erudite work, but its aim, as the description of the book on the jacket puts it, ‘is to go beyond the sphere of narrow scholarly research and to make [Buchanan’s] life’s work known to a wider public interested in the Renaissance and the development of Scottish culture’. It is, in effect, a major work of cultural history.

In the 1960s, however, the publication of *Buchanan* was still a long way off, although a number of trailers appeared over the years: the most substantial of these was published in *The Library* in 1969;<sup>17</sup> two were given at major conferences and subsequently published in the proceedings;<sup>18</sup> another featured in a special issue of *Forum for Modern Language Studies* jointly edited by Ian and later published in the United States as a separate volume.<sup>19</sup> The broad interdisciplinary scope of these publications, which range from what we would now call history of the book via intellectual history to literary analysis, shows the importance that Ian attached from the outset to the integration of Neo-Latin studies into the context not only of humanism as a historical phenomenon, but also of the national literatures of the Renaissance.

As with the *Délie*, Ian’s own principal contribution to the understanding of French poetry during his years at St Andrews arose from his experience of teaching. Agrippa d’Aubigné’s *Les Tragiques* is a huge poetic work of partisan inspiration, rhetorical fervour and abrasive energy which tends to exceed the limits of any teaching programme aiming to give an overview of sixteenth-century French literature. In order to secure a place for it in undergraduate courses, Ian compiled a generous selection from the seven books, omitting only the fourth (a Protestant martyrology) and provided it with notes, a glossary of historical refer-

<sup>17</sup> ‘George Buchanan’s Latin Poems from Script to Print: A Preliminary Survey’, *The Library*, 5th ser., 24 (1969), 277–332.

<sup>18</sup> ‘George Buchanan and French Humanism’, in A. H. T. Levi (ed.), *Humanism in France at the End of the Middle Ages and in the Early Renaissance* (Manchester and New York, 1970), pp. 295–319; ‘The History of George Buchanan’s *Sphaera*’, in Peter Sharratt (ed.), *French Renaissance Studies 1540–70: Humanism and the Encyclopedia* (Edinburgh, University Press, 1976), 194–212.

<sup>19</sup> ‘Notes on the Composition and Reception of Buchanan’s Psalm Paraphrases’, in I. D. McFarlane, A. H. Ashe and D. D. R. Owen (eds.), *Renaissance Studies: Six Essays* (Towota, NJ, 1972) pp. 21–62; previously in *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 8 (1971), 319–60.

ences, and an ample introduction.<sup>20</sup> Thirty years later, I was still using this selection regularly in my undergraduate teaching.

It was likewise during his tenure of the Buchanan chair that Ian did the groundwork for *Renaissance France 1470–1589*, one of the most outstanding contributions to the ambitious multi-volume *Literary History of France* published under the general editorship of P. E. Charvet. Well over a hundred pages longer than either of the two volumes that follow it, which deal with periods traditionally regarded as representing the peak of French literary culture, it tangibly seeks to revise perceptions of Renaissance literature as barely more than a preparatory phase for the grandeurs of French ‘classicism’. The pages are also well filled, giving a densely packed account not only of the major figures and movements but also of innumerable *minores*, and Neo-Latin literature, predictably enough, is brought in from the margins: figures like Buchanan and Macrin, who wrote exclusively in Latin, are given a place alongside their vernacular colleagues, and the reader is reminded at frequent intervals that it was quite normal in that period to write in both languages. Because it is so thorough and so even-handed, *Renaissance France* is still enormously useful as a work of reference, but it is also much more than that. The historical and intellectual background is amply sketched in, and Pierre de La Ramée, Guillaume Postel, Jean Bodin, the Estienne family, Ambroise Paré, Bernard Palissy and many others who would not normally feature in a history of French literature are given more than a fleeting mention. In his preface, Ian suggests that the problems faced by Renaissance writers and thinkers are often analogous to those of our own times (there are perhaps echoes here of his wartime experiences): ‘Tower of Babel or think-tank, the Renaissance raises in acute form all sorts of vital questions, not least the two cardinal ones of the relations between authority (tradition) and self-realisation, and of those between commitment and detachment.’ Yet he is also aware, to an extent not shared by many of his contemporaries, of the otherness of Renaissance culture: ‘there are [no] easy short-cuts to understanding the mental structures and categories within which the Renaissance mind tackled those problems’.<sup>21</sup> Written before the full impact of Foucault and his disciples became apparent, these remarks may in retrospect look cautious, and most of Ian’s history is in fact written in a positivist vein, but one should not

<sup>20</sup> *Agrippa d’Aubigné: Les Tragiques*, ed. I. D. McFarlane (London, 1970).

<sup>21</sup> *Renaissance France 1470–1589* (London and Tonbridge/New York, 1974), pp. xv–xvi.

underestimate his desire to draw a new and more historically grounded map of French Renaissance culture.

Finally, it is important to mention the public service that Ian rendered during this busy period of his life. From 1966–7, he was a member of the Committee on Research and Development in Modern Languages set up by the Department of Education and Science and the Scottish Education Department. The chief concern of the Committee was with the practical teaching of modern languages at all levels, from primary school to university, and with the exploration of new pedagogical methods. Its report begins by affirming that ‘the war showed the importance of practical skills in languages (and, in particular, oral skill)’,<sup>22</sup> and by pointing to post-war developments that made this need still more urgent, such as the building of ‘the Concorde Airliner’ and Britain’s current application to join the European Economic Community. One paragraph speaks of universities themselves being critical of ‘the level of competency acquired by students in the use, in speech and in writing (and particularly the former), of the language they have studied’;<sup>23</sup> Ian would certainly have concurred with such criticism. Since 1967, modern language courses at university level have indeed made oral proficiency a central element of the syllabus, although the ambition of the Committee to renew and expand modern language teaching throughout the educational system has regrettably fallen short of full realisation. Ian also served on the Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board, and, from 1964–7, on the Academic Planning Board for the new University of Stirling. He was thus in the front rank of those who contributed to the transformation of the British university system in that decade; one might add that one of his former doctoral students, Donald Charlton, became the first Professor of French at the new University of Warwick in 1965.

#### IV

When a new chair of French Literature was created at Oxford in 1970, Ian applied for it, a decision his friends in Cambridge apparently found surprising; it was in fact typical of Ian to want to move on to new challenges. He was elected, and took up the chair, together with a professorial

<sup>22</sup> ‘Committee on Research and Development in Modern Languages: First Report’ (London: HMSO), 1968, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

fellowship at Wadham College, in January 1971. At that time, professorial posts at Oxford were regarded primarily as research positions. Professors were expected to give lectures, participate in examining, and supervise doctoral students, but they had no undergraduate tutorial duties. They were also entitled *ex officio* to a seat on the Faculty Board, although that did not imply any privileged position on the French sub-faculty—rather the reverse, since college tutors regarded professors as marginal creatures whose freedom from tutorial bondage disqualified them from any part in the running of the subject at the day-to-day level. For the same reason, some colleges were unwilling to provide a room for their professorial fellows, and this was the case at Wadham. Ian was taken aback, as other professors coming from outside Oxford have been, by this sudden and quite tangible loss of status and function, and I have the impression that a residue of disappointment remained even after his retirement (it hardly helped matters that the chair was then suspended *sine die*, only to be revived in 2002).

Ian none the less took such opportunities as he could to encourage good relations in the faculty. Many Oxford early modernists will remember with affection the informal lunch-time meetings he regularly held, not for political or administrative ends, but simply to give colleagues an opportunity to talk to one another about their work, to discuss French organ music or the latest cricketing news, or to enjoy some mild academic gossip. These meetings took place weekly during term in various public houses in central Oxford. One reason for this choice of venue was that Ian and Marjory had bought a house in Headington, just beyond the ringroad, which made it difficult for him to offer the personal hospitality for which they had both been renowned at St Andrews. Another was the lack of a college base. However, Ian's own preference was no doubt the predominant factor: he would have regarded the pub as fostering a more convivial, egalitarian dialogue (he was also known to meet his graduate students in pubs to discuss their work). Although these gatherings, as a manifestation of the faculty's 'research culture', would have earned few brownie points in today's Research Assessment Exercise regime, they were a positive innovation at a time when it was unusual for members of the French sub-faculty to meet informally except by private arrangement in their own colleges. Ian also used them from time to time to offer advice, which he did readily, sensitively and constructively; for example, it was his strong and consistently-held belief that colleagues should not spend their whole career in Oxford or Cambridge, but should move out and gain experience of other universities.

Ian was now at last able to devote himself full-time to his various projects with the ample resources of the Bodleian and Taylorian libraries at his disposal. *Renaissance France* was almost finished and would appear in 1974; *Buchanan* was already well advanced, and the comprehensive study of French Neo-Latin poetry he had conceived many years earlier now had a serious chance of being realised.<sup>24</sup>

Meanwhile, he had the opportunity to widen his contribution to French vernacular literature. He wrote a long essay for a volume of studies on Ronsard designed both as a marker for new developments in the understanding of French Renaissance poetry and as a broadly ranging introduction to the poet for the advanced student.<sup>25</sup> In focusing on Ronsard's *imaginaire*, he was responding in that essay to an important strand of Continental phenomenological criticism that reaches back to Bachelard but was arguably at its peak in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>26</sup> However, the closing sentence of the essay gives this mode of critical reflection a characteristically human and indeed personal twist: '[Ronsard] reaches us because he is so close to the sources of fruitful consciousness and gives shape to attitudes and intuitions from which any proper response to life must start.' Ian, as we have seen, did not wear his heart on his sleeve, but it is clear that he had a profound sense of the importance of literature, and especially poetry, not only for the reader's inner life, but also for his moral experience of the world. In this respect, as he himself claimed, he was closer to William Empson, whom he greatly admired, and to the 'Cambridge school' of critics.

It is characteristic of Ian's determination to foster the pedagogical value of his research interests that he found time during this decade to compile an anthology of Renaissance Latin poetry.<sup>27</sup> Designed principally for students of English literature, it gives priority to poets widely read in Renaissance England. It is therefore not meant to be a representative selection of Neo-Latin poetry as a whole, nor does it (as Ian rather ruefully says in the introduction) 'express the anthologist's personal preferences'. However, the very fact that he was able to adapt his perspective

<sup>24</sup> His important article 'Pierre de Ronsard and the Neo-Latin Poetry of his Time', *Res Publica Litterarum*, 1 (1978), 178–205, is a sign of his continued activity in this field.

<sup>25</sup> 'Aspects of Ronsard's Poetic Vision', in Terence Cave (ed.), *Ronsard the Poet* (London, 1973), pp. 13–78.

<sup>26</sup> A later piece on Ronsard written for a Festschrift in honour of his old friend and colleague Alan Steele (Keith Aspley, David Bellos and Peter Sharratt (eds.), *Myth and Legend in French Literature. Essays in Honour of A. J. Steele* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1982), 60–72) treats mythological themes in a similar way.

<sup>27</sup> *Renaissance Latin Poetry* (Manchester and New York, 1980).

in this way, trawling the vast field of European Latin poetry for the works that were popular and influential in England, shows that he remained faithful, in this domain also, to the comparatist ideal which is apparent in his work from his doctoral thesis onwards.

The final years of Ian's academic career were marked by a spate of publications. In addition to the Neo-Latin anthology, which appeared in 1980, and *Buchanan* (1981), two memorial volumes, jointly edited by Ian, were published in 1982: a Festschrift for the seventeenth-century scholar Harry Barnwell,<sup>28</sup> and an important collection of essays on Montaigne in memory of the distinguished Montaigne specialist Richard Sayce, whose premature death in 1977 had been a great loss not only to the sub-faculty of French at Oxford but also to the whole of the scholarly community.<sup>29</sup> Ian's prefatory *in memoriam* pays glowing tribute to Sayce's qualities as a scholar and a tutor, but it also includes a sentence which provides a characteristic glimpse of Ian himself as a young man: 'It may come as a surprise to some that Richard enjoyed games in his early days; I remember the last game of cricket we had before the War, when we played on a coconut matting at the Rugby Club de France in Paris against a team of anglophile Frenchmen.'<sup>30</sup> The subject Ian chose for his own essay in this volume was 'The Concept of Virtue in Montaigne'; drawing on his many years of familiarity with (and affection for) the *Essais*, he gives a detailed account of Montaigne's shifting ethical positions that owes less to the history of ideas and philosophical systems than to a close personal reading of the text.

Finally, in the same year, Ian contributed a volume to Margaret McGowan's new series 'Renaissance Triumphs and Magnificences'. This was a facsimile edition of the *livret* of Henri II's 1549 ceremonial entry into Paris,<sup>31</sup> for which Ian provided a long and thoroughly well-informed introduction. Such elaborately constructed cultural events have rightly attracted increasing attention in recent years as a point of access to a history which is once political, social and aesthetic—a small-scale cultural history, indeed. Ian handles this genre with a clarity and eye for

<sup>28</sup> William D. Howarth, Ian McFarlane and Margaret McGowan (eds.), *Form and Meaning: Aesthetic Coherence in Seventeenth-Century French Drama* (Amersham, 1982). In this volume, Ian's own paper was entitled 'Reflections on the Variants in *Andromaque*' (*ibid.*, pp. 99–114).

<sup>29</sup> I. D. McFarlane and Ian Maclean (eds.), *Montaigne. Essays in Memory of Richard Sayce* (Oxford, 1982).

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. viii.

<sup>31</sup> *The Entry of Henri II into Paris 16 June 1549* (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1982).



significant detail born of many years of experience in reading Renaissance texts and investigating their contexts. One imagines that he would have enjoyed and appreciated the new historical turn taken by Renaissance studies since the 1990s, especially as he was visibly somewhat uncomfortable with the theoretical, anti-historical mode that had become increasingly influential during the middle years of his career and was still in full flow in the early 1980s.

Perhaps this was one among many reasons why the long-planned study of French Neo-Latin poetry never appeared in print. By the time Ian retired in 1983, or soon thereafter, he had completed a 1200-page typescript fully equipped with footnotes and manuscript corrections on points of detail. It could have been sent to a publisher in that form, but it was not.<sup>32</sup> When the typescript was discovered among his papers in the last weeks of his life and Ian was asked about it, he simply said that he hadn't thought it was good enough. It is hard to see what he meant by this: it is primarily a compilation, but an enormously useful one, drawing on years of primary research in areas of scholarship few are equipped to explore. The style and approach are not chic or 'innovative'; they belong to someone educated in the 1930s. Yet this is hardly a drawback given the relatively austere nature of the subject and the aim of meticulous coverage. Ian may none the less have felt that his erudition was no longer relevant to a younger generation many of whom (even if they chose to study the Renaissance) appeared to have deserted the old philological skills for the blandishments of theory.

## V

Immediately after his retirement in 1983, Ian changed his horizons by spending a semester as Visiting Professor at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville, where he was lodged at the splendid Colonnade Club, designed by Thomas Jefferson. Reports suggest that both he and his hosts

<sup>32</sup> The typescript has since been deposited at the library of the Taylor Institution at the University of Oxford, where it is being catalogued and will thus become available to specialists. It is noteworthy that, in 1983, Ian published an article surveying the current state of studies in this field: 'La poésie néo-latine à l'époque de la Renaissance française—état présent des recherches', *Nouvelle revue du seizième siècle*, 1 (1983), 1–18. This retrospective view, in which his own work is barely mentioned, suggests that he had already renounced the idea of publishing his manuscript.

were delighted with this visit, which also included an excursion to give a lecture at Duke University.

Early in 1984, shortly after his return from the USA, he delivered the Zaharoff Lecture at Oxford, one of the most prestigious named lectures for French studies in Britain.<sup>33</sup> His choice of subject, the figure of the liar in the plays of Pierre Corneille, was perhaps surprising to some of his Oxford audience: was he not first and foremost a sixteenth-century scholar? Yet, while he was still at St Andrews, Ian had published *éditions scolaires* of two of Corneille's best-known plays,<sup>34</sup> and a central theme of the lecture, the relevance of Montaigne's *Essais* to Corneille's theatre, had equally interested him for many years. Behind Ian's deceptively good-natured critical style in this lecture lies an important revisionist argument: Corneille's plays are far more ambivalent about the ethics of heroism, and about the power-relations in which his heroes become engaged, than is often assumed. Equally, the connection with Montaigne is a fruitful one from which all the implications have by no means yet been drawn.

That same year, Ian received his own Festschrift, a volume honouring the major contribution he had made to Neo-Latin and French Renaissance studies.<sup>35</sup> It was presented to him at a dinner attended both by faculty colleagues and by most of the contributors, among whom were some distinguished European Neo-Latinists. However, in their foreword, the editors of this volume acknowledged that his versatility as a scholar could not be fully reflected in a collection devoted to a single topic and a single period of French culture, and in the following year, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, a further volume was dedicated to him. This was a special issue of *Forum for Modern Language Studies*,<sup>36</sup> a journal of whose editorial board he had been a founding member while at St Andrews; the contributors were 'present members of the French Department who had the pleasure of working with him during his tenure of the Chair there'; it was also the twenty-first anniversary of the founding of the journal.

In these years, he himself edited (jointly with Pauline Smith) yet another Festschrift, this time for his old friend Klaus Mayer, on the attractively and appropriately conceived subject *Literature and the Arts in*

<sup>33</sup> Published as an occasional paper: 'The Liar and the Lieutenant in the Plays of Pierre Corneille' (Oxford, 1984).

<sup>34</sup> *Cinna ou la clémence d'Auguste* (Paris, 1965); *Horace* (Paris, 1971). His article on variants in *Andromaque* (see above, n. 28) was also written in the early 1980s.

<sup>35</sup> Grahame Castor and Terence Cave (eds.), *Neo-Latin and the Vernacular in Renaissance France* (Oxford, 1984).

<sup>36</sup> *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 21:4 (1985).

*the Reign of Francis I*;<sup>37</sup> Ian's own paper returned to his Neo-Latin interests in relation to the poetry of Clément Marot. As early as 1971, Ian had been one of the moving spirits in the founding of a new learned society dedicated to Neo-Latin studies, the International Association of Neo-Latin Studies, and in 1976 he had been elected as its first Vice-President. He went on to hold the presidency of the Association from 1979–82; the last year of his term of office coincided happily with the quatercentenary of the death of George Buchanan, and the Fifth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies was held in St Andrews in that year. Ian edited the *Acta*,<sup>38</sup> the first section of which is devoted to the Scottish humanist, a tribute that implicitly embraces Ian also as the foremost Buchanan scholar of modern times.

From the late 1980s, the number of his publications began to decline. Some relatively brief Festschrift pieces and a few reviews continued to appear into the early 1990s,<sup>39</sup> but some of these were probably written a good deal earlier. One late piece deserves especial mention, however, since it provides—poignantly enough—an echo of his early interest in nineteenth-century comparative literature. In an elegant and by no means insubstantial article on the epigraph in the Romantic novel in France and England,<sup>40</sup> he displays his old command of French and his virtuoso range of literary reference. The opening sentence also offers what is no doubt a fragment of autobiography that likewise evokes a beginning: 'De nombreux lecteurs de ma génération furent initiés à la littérature par les romans de Walter Scott.'

For a few years, Ian continued to supervise the occasional graduate student in his field and to enjoy his lunchtime meetings with faculty colleagues. He also maintained his connections with the scholarly community at a national level: in 1986, he became President of the Modern Humanities Research Association, a position for which his exceptionally

<sup>37</sup> Lexington, Kentucky: French Forum, 1985.

<sup>38</sup> I. D. McFarlane (ed.), *Acta conventus neo-latini sanctandreami* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, vol. 38, 1986).

<sup>39</sup> See for example 'Translation in the French Renaissance with Special Reference to Neo-Latin Texts to and from the Vernacular', in Barbara C. Bowen and Jerry C. Nash (eds.), *Lapidary Inscriptions: Renaissance Essays for Donald A. Stone, Jr.* (Lexington, Kentucky: French Forum, 1991), pp. 139–46; 'Langage et vérité dans *Les Tragiques* d'Agrippa d'Aubigné', in Jean Céard (ed.), *Langage et vérité: études offertes à Jean-Claude Margolin* (Geneva, 1993), pp. 111–18.

<sup>40</sup> 'L'épigraphie dans le roman romantique en France et en Angleterre', in Georges Jacques and José Lambert (eds.), *Itinéraires et plaisirs textuels. Mélanges offerts au Professeur Raymond Pouillart* (Brussels, 1987; Université de Louvain: Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie, 6e Série, Fascicule 32), pp. 75–86.

broad range of literary interests and his knowledge of several European languages equipped him admirably. He was invited to edit the Renaissance volume in the Cambridge History of Literary Criticism and did some preliminary work on this, but his declining health sadly made it impossible for him to complete it.

Ian's public appearances also became progressively rarer from the late 1980s onwards. At an international conference on Montaigne in St Andrews in 1992 (the quatercentenary of Montaigne's death), he was invited to make the opening remarks; this he did, in French, but it was evident that he was no longer his old ebullient self. Marjory told me on that occasion that she thought he had had a very mild stroke, and this was consonant with his hesitant speech and slightly stiff walk. For the remaining ten years of his life, he lived quietly and privately, but he and Marjory received visits in their comfortable Headington house with their old warmth and hospitality. One sad event marred this period of tranquillity: their daughter Susan, who had suffered from recurrent health problems for many years, died suddenly in 1998 at the age of forty-nine, just at a time when she seemed to have found happiness in a late marriage.

Ian remained serene, clear-minded and communicative, albeit in a somewhat subdued mode, until the end. Marjory's sudden death, in December 2001, was a major and indeed a decisive blow. Unable to look after himself, Ian moved to St Andrews to be near his son Richard and his family. He was able to enjoy a few months of conversations and reminiscences with Richard, and to see something of his growing grandchildren, before his death on 17 August 2002.

## VI

It seems appropriate to gather together here the honours Ian received during his long and distinguished career. He was awarded the MBE in 1946 for his services while a prisoner of war. In 1971, the French Government appointed him *Officier des Palmes Académiques*, a decoration reserved for outstanding academics. He was elected to a Fellowship of the British Academy in 1978. In 1982, he received an honorary doctorate of the University of Tours and was also awarded an honorary D.Litt. at the University of St Andrews. Gonville and Caius College elected him to an Honorary Fellowship in 1990, an honour of which he was especially proud.

Ian was a man of stocky build whose somewhat craggy exterior was tempered by a genial and always courteous manner. His facial

expression and demeanour were mildly avuncular: a touch of diffidence, a ready smile and a sense of humour were likely to disarm any potentially awkward encounter (one is reminded of Montaigne's self-description in his essay *De la phisionomie*). He had what could be viewed either as a nervous tic or as a carefully calculated signal of self-irony: when he made a witticism or *bon mot* of some kind, he would insert a finger into his collar and pull on it while twisting his neck in the opposite direction, as if to relieve pressure; this mannerism was inevitably imitated in friendly caricature by his students and sometimes his colleagues, as was his tendency to repeat certain favourite words and phrases ('*Gleichschaltung*', '*vision du monde*', '*caisse de résonance*', 'a peg on which to hang . . .'). His manner was invariably low-key: he never sought to dominate or impress, although his students were sometimes liable to believe that he had a low opinion of their work because he was economical with expressions of approval, let alone praise. In his academic style as in his political and social views, he was an authentic liberal: those he taught were given plenty of encouragement but were allowed and expected to choose their own direction, and he supervised his graduates with genuine care but also with a light touch. Among his pastimes, cricket was his abiding favourite; he continued to play well into his retirement. But he also enjoyed music, especially French organ music of all periods from Couperin to the modern masters Messiaen and Dupré, whom he had heard playing at Trinité and Saint-Sulpice in Paris; he was also familiar with the brilliant younger generation of British organists in Cambridge and later in Oxford. In the last months of their life together, he and Marjory were enthusiastic about their recordings of French piano music, which they had recently discovered. He loved talking, especially about the astonishing number of people he knew and had known, but also of course about books and ideas: the bookshelves of his Headington home bore witness to an unusually broad range of reading and of intellectual interests. A historian who was at Caius in the later 1950s and who now holds an eminent academic position still recalls being interviewed by Ian for a place at the College: 'We talked about Croce's and Collingwood's theories of history, and I was entranced by his learning and his friendliness alike.' Above all, perhaps, Ian had a profound sense of the community of scholars and of the privilege of belonging to it. One of his former graduate students, now a distinguished Renaissance specialist and an Emeritus Professor, speaks of an occasion quite soon after she had embarked on her doctorate when, referring to a well-known scholar whom she greatly admired, Ian called

him simply 'your colleague'. She felt as if he had taken her across a threshold, as indeed he had. He would have been glad to be remembered thus.

TERENCE CAVE

*Fellow of the Academy*

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