Walter Pater's Influence on Modern Fiction:
Henry James and James Joyce

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Abstract

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As a result of various "negative" aspects of his life and works, Walter Pater was a largely forgotten figure from the years following his death to the middle of the present century. The revival of interest in Pater which began in the late 1940s has revealed, among other things, that his influence goes beyond his role in the works of fin-de-siècle writers, and manifests itself in the works of many modern poets and novelists, among them, T.S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, Joseph Conrad, Virginia Woolf, Marcel Proust, Henry James, and James Joyce.

The development of modern fictional techniques was highly influenced by Pater's rare brand of "imaginary portraiture." His unique movement from criticism to fiction was duplicated in his own century by Henry James, and in the twentieth century by James Joyce. Both Pater's criticism and his fiction influenced the literary and art criticism and the fiction of James and Joyce. In the works of James and Joyce we encounter frequent verbal echoes of Pater's Studies in the History of the Renaissance, Paterian stylistic mannerisms, and a number of Pater's critical theories and ideas. More importantly, however, the fictional technique in modern works such as James' The Ambassadors, and Joyce's Dubliners and A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, may be traced directly to Pater's methods and techniques in "The Child in the House" and Marius the Epicurean.
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The history of Walter Pater criticism, like his reputation, has been a rather up and down affair. During his lifetime, Pater moved repeatedly in and out of favour with his contemporary scholars and critics, although the overall status of his reputation rose, albeit at times almost imperceptibly, over the course of his short literary career. The lowest point came early, amid the public outcry against his "hedonistic" aestheticism, with the publication of his first volume, Studies in the History of the Renaissance, in March 1873; the most favourable critical acclaim he enjoyed came with the publication of his only completed novel, Marius the Epicurean, in March 1885, and, more importantly for his reputation at Oxford, with the completion of Plato and Platonism in February of 1893. At the time of his sudden and premature death in July 1894, Pater, then working on essays on Pascal and Dr. Johnson, and a number of fictional works including two novels, was at the height of his literary career and was admired and respected by artists and scholars alike. His posthumous reputation, however, declined steadily from the time of his death until the middle of the present century. Fortunately, and very importantly for our understanding of much modern literature, an
interest in and appreciation of Pater was revived in the late 1940s and the 1950s, largely through the scholarship of Graham Hough and Iain Fletcher, two of Pater's more perceptive critics. Hough's perspicacious chapter on Pater in *The Last Romantics* (1947) and Fletcher's excellent monograph *Walter Pater* (1959) have proved to be seminal works for recent Pater criticism.

The reason for the sharp decline in Pater's popularity in the years following his death is essentially threefold; even during his lifetime Pater was mistakenly identified with and counted as one of the fin-de-siècle aesthetes who, from the publication of *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* on, misread and misunderstood his meaning when he spoke of "burning with a hard gem-like flame" and cultivating high passions and a quick, multiplied consciousness. The most famous of Pater's disciples at the time of his death, Oscar Wilde, did perhaps more than any other to tarnish his master's image when he implicitly and explicitly identified Pater as the source of his own radical doctrines on art, including that which held that art had nothing to do with life. When Wilde reached the nadir of his career and was tried, convicted and incarcerated in 1895 for "gross indecencies" Pater's theory and influence, in the minds of most onlookers, and they were many, were also tried and found guilty. The homosexuality of both men also contributed largely to the disfavour with which late Victorian society looked upon Pater and his works.
Secondly, with the exception of Edmund Gosse, who wrote a short, but appreciative and insightful essay on Pater in the months immediately following his death,\(^1\) and A.C. Benson, whose 1906 biography of Pater still stands as one of the most reliable, though flawed, the task of documenting Pater's life and evaluating his work fell, in the years after his death, into hands curiously ill-prepared and inadequate for carrying it out. The biographies by Ferris Greenslet (1903) and Edward Thomas (1913) are slight and unrewarding, and Thomas Wright's two volume *The Life of Walter Pater* (1907) is a travesty of the biographer's art; it officiously paints an enormously distorted portrait of Pater that may never be totally rectified. During the first two decades of this century Pater's apparently uninterested critics and biographers successfully transferred their dispassion to their subject, and Pater slowly fell into the shadows. Few students of literature would have been inspired by the view of Pater that was offered in the early criticism.

Thirdly, what was perhaps the greatest single blow to Pater's already slipping reputation, the blow which almost annihilated Pater to the modern view, was delivered by T.S. Eliot in his disparaging essay, "The Place of Pater," in 1930. Attacking Pater primarily on religious grounds, Eliot refers to him as "absurd," and judges him "incapable of sustained

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1. Pater died on July 30, 1894; Gosse finished his essay in September of the same year. It is reprinted in *Critical Kit-Kats* (London: Heinemann, 1896).
reasoning: "he could not take philosophy or theology seriously," he continues, and "knew almost nothing" of "the essence of Christian faith." Eliot claims that "his intellect was not powerful enough to grasp ... the essence of Platonism or Aristotelianism or NeoPlatonism." Of Pater's novel Eliot says, "Marius itself is incoherent; its method a number of fresh starts; its content is a hodge-podge of the learning of the classical don, the impressions of the sensitive holiday visitor to Italy." 2

These three factors taken together, Pater's supposed allegiance to hedonistic aestheticism, the distortions and general inadequacy of the early biographies and criticism, and Eliot's adverse judgment in his 1930 essay, overshadowed the few isolated attempts made in the first four decades of this century to re-establish Pater's reputation as a profound writer and thinker.

One of the most substantial of these attempts was John Smith Harrison's study of Pater's treatment of Heinrich Heine's "gods-in-exile" myth, "Pater, Heine, and the Old Gods of Greece" (1924). This essay retains its importance for contemporary Pater scholars; Pater's use of Heine's myth informs a good deal of both his criticism and his fiction. One of the few early books on Pater, A.J. Symonds' A Study of Walter Pater (1932), is appreciative and occasionally insightful when its author turns his attention to the subject of his study, but

Symons spends about half of his time discussing his own views of the artists and art-works that Pater had treated. For the most part, Symons' is a self-indulgent and unhelpful study. Two more studies appeared in 1933, J. Gordon Eaker's Walter Pater: A Study in Methods and Effects, and Helen Hawthorne Young's The Writings of Walter Pater: A Reflection of British Philosophical Opinion from 1860-1890. Neither of these books had much effect in instigating an interest in Pater's works although Young's is an admirable analysis, valuable in placing Pater in the philosophical background of the nineteenth century. Eaker's study is overly appreciative and not very enlightening. A later work, Ruth C. Child's The Aesthetic of Walter Pater (1940), is also valuable for placing Pater among other nineteenth-century writers and establishing some of the French and German influences on his thought. This is also one of the first works to argue that Pater's art criticism involved a good deal more than a proclamation of art-for-art's-sake aestheticism. With Child's book Pater began to emerge from the shadows.

A new critical light seemed to break upon him in the late 1940s. It was in 1948 that Richard Aldington edited and intelligently introduced what is probably still the best single volume of Pater's selected works. The same year Herbert Read began his article on Pater by judging him to be "the Victorian writer most in need of rehabilitation;" just such a process

was then beginning in earnest. John Pick in "Divergent Disciples of Walter Pater" (1946) made the long overdue point that the young aesthetes of the 1880s and 1890s who claimed Pater as their mentor, for the most part, had misinterpreted his works and were particularly blind to Pater's mature philosophy. We have already noted the importance of Graham Hough's *The Last Romantics*, which contains perhaps the best general study of Pater in a single essay. Hough, perhaps in partial response to Eliot's essay, offers a very perceptive reading of Pater's criticism and some of his fiction, suggesting that Pater's ideas on art and religion were partly a continuation of and partly an alternative to Ruskin's. Another carefully considered and measured essay appeared in 1949, C.M. Bowra's "Walter Pater." Bowra tries to establish Pater as an important nineteenth-century thinker and calls for a reconsideration of the significance of his art criticism.

The 1950s ushered in the modern era of Pater criticism. A number of significant articles and a few books were completed in this decade which further established Pater's importance. Geoffrey Tillotson's *Criticism and the Nineteenth Century* (1951) includes an illuminating essay on Arnold and Pater which discusses both the high quality and the shortcomings of Pater's critical works. Not quite as rewarding, but equally important for Pater criticism is René Wellek's chapter on Pater in *A History of Modern Criticism 1750-1950: IV The*
Later Nineteenth Century (1955). Wellek takes a rather unsympathetic view of Pater's criticism, concluding that "none of Pater's work has escaped the limitations of 19th-century aestheticism." 4 Lord David Cecil's Walter Pater: The Scholar Artist (1955) is a rather unflattering and shallow study, although it does offer some insights into the nature of Pater's religious beliefs. One of the first specialized studies of Pater's works, Edmund Chandler's "Pater on Style" (1958), includes an analysis of the style and textual history of Marius. Its relative rarity in Pater criticism indicates an area in which more scholarship is immediately required.

The 1950s also saw the first studies of a hitherto neglected area of Pater's works, his fiction. 5 R.V. Osbourn's seminal study in 1951 of "Marius the Epicurean" refutes Eliot's claim that the novel is incoherent and its subject-matter a hodge-podge, while offering the first defense of the novel's structure. Osbourn sees in Marius "the skilful handling of the detail of an ambitious and finely organized structure, an intelligent and complex plan in which the parts are related to a unifying total effect." 6 Eugene J. Brzeznik in three articles which appeared in 1958 reveals the modernism of Pater's

5. Pater's fiction received its first modern criticism, however, from Italian critic Mario Praz in his introduction to a translation of Imaginary Portraits published in 1944. R.V. Osbourn had clearly read Praz' introduction when he wrote his article.
fictional techniques and suggests his influence on modern fiction. Another important study, Jean Sudrann's "Victorian Compromise and Modern Revolution" (1959), hails Marius as one of the first "psychological novels" in its emphasis on the depiction of the inner experience of the protagonist.

Interest in Pater, instilled by these engaging studies, continued to grow throughout the 1960s. In 1961 Germain D'Hangeot published his large and diffuse two-volume critical biography of Pater, Walter Pater: l'Homme et l'Oeuvre, an important work that has yet to be translated into English. This is perhaps the best study of Pater's life and his personality, though it too suffers from an overly appreciative view. D'Hangeot's analysis of Pater's works, however, is not satisfyingly penetrating. A much shorter work, also to appear in 1961, which does offer some penetrating insights, especially into Pater's limitations as a literary critic, is R.V. Johnson's Walter Pater: A Study of his Critical Outlook and Achievement. Another of the more perceptive single essays on Pater appeared in Solomon Fishman's The Interpretation of Art in 1963. Fishman traces the relation between Ruskin and Pater and offers an excellent discussion of Pater's sources and contribution to art criticism. The depths of Pater's religious beliefs are sounded by David A. Downes in his study of Hopkins' relation to Pater, in Victorian Portraits: Hopkins and Pater (1965), while one of the most important studies of the 1960s, Anthony Ward's Walter Pater: The Idea in Nature (1966), analyzes
Pater's philosophical thought and its relation to Hegel's. A less erudite but valuable work is Gordon McKenzie's *The Literary Character of Walter Pater* (1967), which traces the relationship between Pater's life and his works. David J. DeLaura's *Hebrew and Hellene in Victorian England: Newman, Arnold, Pater* (1969) is another study of Pater's relation to his contemporaries, particularly in terms of their influence on him. These larger works were supplemented throughout the 1960s by a number of articles and essays dealing with various aspects of Pater's life and critical writings.

Pater's fiction also received a good deal of attention in the 1960s. R.T Lenaghan's "Pattern in Walter Pater's Fiction" (1961) traces Pater's use of the Apollo/Dionysus duality throughout almost all of his fictional works. This anticipated Gerald C. Monsman's larger study *Pater's Portraits: Mythic Pattern in the Fiction of Walter Pater* (1967) which is perhaps the most important critical analysis of Pater's fiction. Two more studies appeared in 1962, Billie Andrew Inman's "The Organic Structure of Marius the Epicurean" and Louise M. Rosenblatt's "The Genesis of Pater Marius the Epicurean." The first offers an intelligent defense of the structure of the novel, stressing the importance of the portrayal of Marius' temperament, while the second suggests possible influences on the novel in the works of Jules Lemaitre and Ernest Renan. Martha Salmon Vogeler's "The Religious Meaning of Marius the Epicurean" (1964) stresses the psychology as well as the
theology of the novel. Eugene J. Brzenk continues his investigation into Pater's fictional technique in his introduction to an enlarged edition of the "imaginary portraits" (1964). This edition collects all of the short portraits together into a single volume. Pater's technique of portraiture receives treatment of varying quality in four articles by Jan B. Gordon published in 1968 and 1969, while the religious and philosophical themes of Marius are discussed by U.C. Knoepflmacher in Religious Humanism and the Victorian Novel: George Eliot, Walter Pater, and Samuel Butler (1965). Studies of single short portraits are quite rare, the most elaborate being Catherine Cox's "Pater's 'Apollo in Picardy' and Mann's Death in Venice" (1968) which is a study of parallels and not influences. Of all Pater's fiction, Marius, quite naturally, has received most attention. There are a number of contemporary reviews of the novel (most of them favourable) and various articles have been written primarily on its religious and philosophical questions at regular intervals over the past thirty years. Pater's fictional technique in Marius and in the short portraits has received relatively little attention.

The revival of interest in Pater has continued into the 1970s. Two new biographies have appeared in the past four years, one an excellent critical biography by Pater's most comprehensive critic, Gerald C. Monsman, and the other a less rewarding effort by art historian Michael Levey. This most recent biography by Levey (The Case of Walter Pater) is

The revival of interest in Pater's works has given rise to a widening investigation into his influence upon contemporary and later critical and creative writers. Pater has always been regarded as an "influential" figure, but the type of influence most associated with him is an undesirable, negative one. It has been long thought that he exerted a corrupting influence upon the young minds of his own day, and that he and
his works had a large role in the Decadence of the 1890s. The new light shed on his works, however, has also uncovered a more significant, positive influence on modern literature, not only in respect to aesthetic theory, but in the themes and techniques of a good deal of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century poetry and fiction.

The first significant study of Pater's literary influence appeared in 1914 in Ernst Bendz's monograph, *The Influence of Pater and Matthew Arnold in the Prose-Writings of Oscar Wilde*. This remained the only work in this area until Robert Porter Sechler undertook an analysis of another important relationship in *George Moore: A Disciple of Walter Pater* in 1931. The first discussion of Pater's influence on modern literature appeared in 1948 in M. Osawa's "Woolf and Pater," and was soon followed by a number of studies investigating similar relationships; among them were William Blissett's "Pater and Eliot" (1953), Joseph E. Baker's "Ivory Tower as Laboratory: Pater and Proust" (1959), and Betty Miller's "Proust and Pater" (1957). General studies of Pater's influence appeared in 1957 in James Hafley's seminal article, "Walter Pater's 'Marius' and the Technique of Modern Fiction," and one year later in Ruth Z. Temple's "The Ivory Tower as Lighthouse." A third important analysis of Pater's pervasive influence in various areas of modern literature, Wendell V. Harris' "Pater as Prophet," appeared in 1964.

In 1969 Richard Ellmann continued the investigation of Pater's influence on Wilde in "Overtures to Wilde's *Salome*,"
while Pater's role in the works of George Moore, Arthur Symons, Yeats, and Lionel Johnson was the subject of a dissertation by Charles Edmund L'Homme in 1965. That same year David J. DeLauré supplemented Blissett's study with his article on "Pater and Eliot: The Origin of the 'Objective Correlative'." In 1966 Robert F. Fleissner discussed Pater's role in a specific Eliot poem in "'Prufrock', Pater, and Richard II: Retracing a Denial of Princeship."

A regrettably short study of the strong echoes of The Renaissance and "Sebastian van Storck" in Conrad's novels was offered in 1968 by John J. Duffy, while Harold Bloom's chapter on Pater in Yeats (1970) discusses some areas of Pater's pervasive influence on Yeats and the poetry of the 1890s. Bloom supplemented this chapter with an introduction to his edition of Selected Writings of Walter Pater (1974) in which he argues for Pater's "influence not only on Stevens and Yeats, but on Joyce, Eliot, Pound, and many other writers of our century.

Pater's influence on James Joyce receives a line or two from almost all of the major Joyce critics, but Robert M. Scotto and Alan D. Perlis have been the only critics, until now, to offer article-length studies on their relationship. Scotto's work, "'Visions' and 'Epiphanies': Fictional Technique in Pater's Marius and Joyce's Portrait," is the more substantial of the two; Perlis' "Beyond Epiphany: Pater's Aesthetic

Hero in the Works of Joyce" (1980), although most suggestive, is rather general and inconclusive.

Pater's relation to Virginia Woolf is the subject of a recent book by Perry Meisel, who traces Pater's role through Woolf's criticism into her fiction. Gerald Monsman, in his critical biography of Pater, includes a chapter on "Pater and the Modern Temper" in which he briefly discusses Pater's influence on a host of nineteenth and twentieth-century poets and novelists, including James, Conrad, Woolf, and Joyce. In his most recent study, Walter Pater's Art of Autobiography (1980), Monsman sees "Pater as a figure impressively bridging the gap between romanticism and postmodernism, between nineteenth-century fictional models and those ultrareflexive writers whose fictional worlds invariably lead back to the generative activity of art itself: Borges, Beckett, Robbe-Grillet, Leiris, Nabokov, Fowles, Barth, Bartheleme, to name several." Finally, Pater's relation to another modern author, not noted by any other critic, has been discussed by Robert K. Martin in "The Paterian Mode in Forster's Fiction: The Longest Journey to Pharos and Pharillon."

Pater's relation to Henry James has been commented upon only en passant by critics discussing other aspects of the works of both. Eugene J. Brzenk and Gerald Monsman are the only two critics to argue that Pater's fictional technique had a substantial effect upon James' method and his development.

of the "psychological novel."

This study will examine Pater's relation to Henry James and James Joyce primarily in respect to fictional technique. James and Joyce (and Woolf) are considered to be great innovators in fictional form; it is part of my argument that some of the techniques which they developed and perfected had been experimented with previously by Pater in his "imaginary portraits," particularly in "The Child in the House" (1878) and Marius the Epicurean (1885).

As Pater's fictional techniques in these two works derived largely from his critical theories and techniques, those aspects of Pater's criticism and aesthetic which are pertinent to his fictional technique will be discussed. An interesting aspect of the relation of Pater to James and Joyce (and, as Meisel has shown, to Virginia Woolf) is the parallel literary movement, by each of them, from criticism to fiction. Like Pater, James, Joyce, and Woolf first approached literature from the critical standpoint; it was only after each had spent a number of years in critical apprenticeship that they began to produce great works of fiction. It has become obvious that their early experiences in criticism had a large effect on their subsequent fiction. This, certainly, was the case for Pater, as I will show in the first chapter. I will also argue that it was the case for Henry James and James Joyce.

My discussion, then, will require a brief examination of the early critical writings not only of Pater, but of James and Joyce. The criticism and aesthetic of James and Joyce
will be discussed both in terms of Pater's role therein, and their effect upon the fiction of these two modern authors. The first chapter will be devoted to a discussion of Pater's works, both critical and fictional, to establish those aspects of his writing which had most effect on the works of James and Joyce. My discussion of his fiction will center on "The Child in the House" and Marius, partly because they represent, respectively, his first experiment in fiction and his only completed novel, and in part because they seem to me to be the works which best exemplify the methods and techniques which Pater bequeathed to modern fiction. In this sense, they, together with The Renaissance, are Pater's most influential works.
Chapter One
Walter Pater
Few writers have had to contend with a more adverse public image than Walter Pater. Both during his life and after his death Pater's writings have been viewed, for the most part, as if behind a distorting glass or opaque film; his works come to the modern reader, as it were, through the filter of his reputation. In a letter to Edmund Gosse congratulating him on his commemorative study of Pater, Henry James marvelled at Pater's seeming ability to keep separate his life and his works:

I think he has had--will have had--the most exquisite literary fortune: i.e. to have taken it all out, wholly, exclusively, with the pen (the style, the genius) and absolutely not at all with the person. He is the mask without the face and there isn't in his total superficialities a tiny point of vantage for the newspaper to flap his wings on.¹

Strangely, however, Pater has been judged with what is now irritating persistency largely by his person and neither wholly nor exclusively by his pen. Moreover, and stranger still, the private life which Pater meticulously kept so neat was endowed, perhaps as a result of its unfailing privateness, especially during the early years of his career, with some rather unseemly, even tainted, characteristics. Pater was suspected by his contemporary scholars and members of the public of personally cultivating and indeed thriving upon certain "hedonistic" passions which had been described, they felt, in his largely "immoral" book, Studies in the History of the Renaissance.

In addition, he was accused both overtly and by implication of willfully exerting a corrupting influence upon the minds of the young men of Oxford, and in this relation he and his works were denigrated and discouraged. He was denied positions at the university that he might have had had his character and morals been judged acceptable; he was prevented from taking religious orders; he was singled out to young students by many, including his one-time friend, William Sharp, as a man whose acquaintance should be avoided; he was distrusted and ridiculed for harbouring certain "disturbed" and "demented" preoccupations with physical corruption, disease, and death, and "unusual" sexual preferences; and he was accused by T.S. Eliot, as late as 1930, of propagating "some confusion between life and art which is not wholly irresponsible for some untidy lives." in the 1890s.

Few of Pater's biographers have noted, as Solomon Fishman does, the rather obvious "irony . . . in the fact that the era of abandon should have lent itself to one whose personal life was so circumspect, so retiring." On the contrary, all of the major biographies (with the exception of Gerald Monsman's Walter Pater, which is more concerned with the works than the man) encourage this view of Pater as an outcast, a gifted but disturbed mind, a recluse from society and normal relations. Most unfortunately, the biography most guilty of perpetuating

2. Eliot, p.388.
this view, after Thomas Wright's forgettable Life, is the recent work by Michael Levey, The Case of Walter Pater. Despite his own judgment that he is stating "the case for Pater," the book never finally releases Pater from Levey's first-sentence summation of him as "a peculiar or unusual person." So it is with all of the biographies; in isolated passages they portray Pater as active, engaging, and exciting, as a great thinker, a fastidious writer and critic, an enthusiastic scholar, a man of warm charm and lively wit. Yet the image which remains when the life-records have closed is inevitably like that which Henry James beheld even after reading Gosse's "lively" study: "Faint, pale, embarrassed; exquisite Pater... he shines in the uneasy gloom--vaguely, and has a phosphorescence, not a flame." Even such a fair-minded and observant critic as Solomon Fishman talks, ridiculously, of Pater's "inability after childhood to experience an intimate relationship." There is every indication in Pater's letters and in various published reminiscences of his friends that Pater experienced a number of intimate relationships to the moment of his death.

Few writers of the nineteenth century have been subject to more mistaken judgments than Pater has. As we noted in the introduction, Pater's words in Studies in the History of the Renaissance were misinterpreted from the moment they were first read. When one considers the work in its historical context,

5. Ibid.
7. Fishman, p.55.
one can better understand why so many of Pater's readers misunderstood his suggestive sentences. In his chapter on Ruskin in *The Last Romantics*, Graham Hough argues that the importance of his early work lies in "opening the eyes of an age by whom the sense of sight was left uncultivated as it had probably never been before." Ruskin had opened the Victorian public's eyes to the power and beauty of art; he had whetted its appetite for artistic beauty, but had not shown it how to acquire and cultivate a taste, how to bring art and beauty to itself, how to personalize it. Particularly in the Preface and "Conclusion" to *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*, Pater's words, if taken literally, embrace precisely these questions: "What is this song or picture, this engaging personality presented in life or in a book, to me?" (*Renaissance*, viii; xix-xx). Pater's stress on "the individual in his isolation" and the "thick wall of personality through which no real voice has ever pierced" (235; 187-88) is an essential element of his overall theory of the subjective perception of objects and phenomena. That his written statements reflect a philosophical (and scientific) theory rather than personal preferences was not generally accepted in 1873 (nor is it

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9. Parenthetical citations made within the text are to the Library Edition of *The Works of Walter Pater*, 10 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1910); these citations are shortened to only the page number if they follow a previous reference to the identical work. The second page number in citations to *The Renaissance* refer to the critical edition edited by Donald L. Hill (Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1980).
today). The less-quoted sentence which immediately precedes that presenting the "thick wall of personality" is essential to a proper understanding of Pater's meaning:

And if we continue to dwell in thought on this world, not of objects in the solidity with which language invests them, but of impressions, unstable, flickering, inconsistent, which burn and are extinguished with our consciousness of them, it contracts still further: the whole scope of observation is dwarfed into the narrow chamber of the individual mind. (235;187)

Pater's emphasis on isolation is based on the scientific observations of the day, not upon his own personality. As James Hafley has perceptively pointed out, "the notorious 'Conclusion' to The Renaissance ... is, as a matter of fact, Einsteinian in its scientific relativism, and its famous flame is a scientific, not an esthetic, image. Pater's view of the individual man isolated within the prison of his imperfect means for apprehension, ... the view that determined his fictive techniques--is almost word-for-word that of the new physicists."¹⁰ But selected statements of Pater were taken literally by those to whom they sounded daring and a trifle decadent. In many impressionable and rebellious young men, perhaps dissatisfied with the moralizing and didacticism of Ruskin's later writings, Pater's wonderful words seemed to strike a sympathetic chord. For them, the literal meaning and value was enough; they went no deeper than the surface of Pater's words. A.C. Benson's

depiction of the atmosphere of the times is helpful:

The spirit of artistic revolt was in the air. The writings of Ruskin, the work of the Pre-Raphaelites may be taken as two salient instances in very different regions of the rising tendency. What underlay the whole movement was a desire to treat art seriously, and to give it its place in the economy of human influences. Side by side with this was a strong vein of discontent with established theories of religion, of education, of mental cultivation. The younger generation was thrilled with a sense of high artistic possibilities. ... It became aware that it was existing under cramped conditions, in a comfortable barbarism, encompassed by strict and respectable traditions, living a bourgeois kind of life, fettered by a certain stupid grossness, a life that checked the free development of the soul.

Pater's suggestive and poetical treatment of medieval art fired a train, and tended to liberate an explosive revolutionary force of artistic feeling which manifested itself in intemperate extravagances for which he was indeed in no sense responsible, but which could to a certain extent be referred to his principles. Young men with vehement impulses, with no experience of the world, no idea of the solid and impenetrable weight of social traditions and prejudices, found in the principles enunciated by Pater with so much recondite beauty, so much magical charm, a new equation of values. 11

The misplaced labels of "decadent" and "immoral" were soon firmly attached to the unassuming work which Oscar Wilde would later call "my golden book," and Pater's reputation as a

hedonist, backed by the professional distrust and dislike of his ideas by his fellow scholars, and finally capped in 1877 by his portrayal as the effete Mr. Rose in W.H. Mallock's The New Republic, was irrevocably established.

Though his public image pained Pater very much, his temperament was such that he did not publicly or vociferously denounce his misinterpreters or openly try to explain his position more clearly. As Benson reveals, a "consciousness of antagonism irritated him so intensely, that he often preferred to withdraw both what he had said and written, rather than provoke contradiction and argument." His pacific temperament prompted him to suppress the "Conclusion" in the second edition of his first volume (issued in 1878), although he must have realized that a good deal of his meaning and interpretation of art would be lost with it. He also changed the title of the work to The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry, largely in response to Mrs. Mark Pattison's criticism that the original title was "misleading" because "the historical element is precisely that which is wanting, and its absence makes the weak place of the whole book." Despite a life-long

12. Pater once complained to Edmund Gosse; "I wish they wouldn't call me a 'hedonist,' it produces such a bad effect on the minds of people who don't know Greek." (Critical Kit-Kats, p.258). He clarified his philosophy and meaning, and freed himself from "the charge of 'hedonism'" in the "New Cyrenaicism" chapter of Marius, particularly in vol. I, pp. 149-152.


attempt to restate, in more subtle terms, his real meanings and intentions in his subsequent critical and fictional works,\(^\text{15}\) and despite the general acceptance and intelligent appreciation of most of his works, Pater, perhaps because of his unantagonistic temperament, did not manage to change the public image which was cast in the 1870s. To those who did not know him he remained as Mr. Rose. As we saw in the introduction, it is an image that his biographers and critics, with a small number of recent exceptions, have chosen inexplicably to perpetuate rather than rectify.

No small contribution, of course, to the prevailing shaded view of Pater up until the new critical light of the 1940s and 50s was the unintentionally harmful sponsorship of two major literary figures at the turn of the century, Oscar Wilde and W.B. Yeats.\(^\text{16}\) We have already touched upon Wilde's role in creating Pater's image; we should allow here that it was not all negative. Had it not been for Wilde's patronage of Pater, he probably would be even more in the shadows than he now is. Wilde did succeed in "popularizing" Pater to some extent, but, as I have noted, the circumstances of the close of Wilde's career, when he was convicted on charges related to his homosexuality, were detrimental to Pater also, even although Pater's homosexuality was infinitely more discreet than Wilde's. Even in his deliberate attempts to pronounce

15. In replacing the "Conclusion" in the third edition of The Renaissance (1888) Pater revealed that he had "dealt more fully in Marius the Epicurean with the thoughts suggested by it" (Renaissance, 233; 186).
16. Another particularly misguided and even malicious treat-
on Pater's behalf, however, Wilde was often misguided. As Harold Bloom notes in *Yeats*, "Wilde had the unitary tendency to reduce Pater to literalism whenever he read him."\(^7\) Bloom's chapter on "Pater and the Poetry of the 90s" is a welcome attempt to free Pater of the misconceptions of his early readers and critics and see his work, and his influence, for what it actually was then and is now.\(^8\) In this connection he discusses Yeats' role in originating and perpetuating some myths about Pater's works:

Yeats did Pater a notorious disservice when he began the *Oxford Book of Modern Verse* by printing in *vers libre* the famous purple passage on the Mona Lisa. . . . To Yeats this was a vision of the flux, where the individual was nothing. . . . This seems a paradoxical reading of Pater, who was interested in the assertion of personality against the flux of sensations.\(^9\)

Yeats' reading epitomizes the kind of misunderstanding that Pater's early works in particular have been subject to from the time of their publication to the present day. Pater's method of indirect expression of ideas in an often involuted and circumlocuted prose style allows his less attentive readers to interpret his words in a number of ways. Most choose the most obvious, or literal, reading. It is ironic that although

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\(^8\) In the area of Pater's influence, Bloom's Introduction to *Selected Writings of Walter Pater* (New York: New American Library, 1974) is highly perceptive and suggestive.
Pater would probably have been less misunderstood had he presented his ideas and theories in a less complex, more incisive prose, his indirect, highly qualified and guarded style is largely a consequence of the antagonism that met the more direct expression of his ideas as they were presented in a series of essays he delivered as a member of the "Old Mortality" society before he undertook most of the essays which were to comprise Studies in the History of the Renaissance. Yeats, like a good many of Pater's readers, preferred "surface to substance," and paid more attention and adulation to the poetry of his prose than to the significance of his philosophical ideas. For Pater's literary image it was unfortunate that a poet of Yeats' stature should make so public his own misguided appreciation and interpretation of Pater's words. In Bloom's estimation, "That Yeats himself came to misrepresent Pater has provided part of our difficulty in seeing Pater plain, for Yeats is perhaps the most eloquent misinterpreter in the language."  

Bloom here uncovers the difficulty that modern Pater criticism must face, simply, seeing Pater plain. It is only recently and sporadically that critics have peered through the distorting film of Pater's image and reputation to view the man, and much more importantly, the works, "as in themselves

20. Pater's membership in this society and some of the essays he delivered there are discussed by Gerald Monsman in "Old Mortality at Oxford," Studies in Philology, LXVII, no. 3 (July 1970).
they really are." Until recently, Pater was seen much as James saw him in the year of his death, "vaguely, in an uneasy gloom."

Before the recent "renaissance" of Pater criticism, to the modern literary sensibility Pater's works had, for the most part, died with him. The posthumous image of Pater was Mallock's languorous Mr. Rose, Wilde's art-for-art's-sake aesthete, Yeats' decadent prose poet, Eliot's intellectual and religious cripple. In the company of Ruskin, Newman, Arnold, Mill, Carlyle, and other eminent Victorians, Pater was eminently forgettable, and his works were largely forgotten. Recent criticism and a few modern biographical studies have begun a process of revaluation by which Pater's works have become significant to the modern literary consciousness. General studies like that by C.M. Bowra have attempted to repaint the portrait of Pater more accurately. Notwithstanding the initial hostility towards Pater's first volume, he maintained a central and vital position in the literary circles of his day:

Despite its self-confidence and its self-righteousness, despite its noble devotions and its admirable seriousness, the Victorian age had lost its great creative impetus and needed new hope and new vigour. For some men Pater ... brought a message of revival and almost of salvation. ... Pater answered some urgent need in his time. It was he, and not Jowett or Mark Pattison, whom clever young men from London, like Edmund Gosse and William Rothenstein, visited when they came to Oxford; it was he to whom aspiring writers sent their work for criticism. In a period of doubt and anxiety he seemed
to have something to say which was worth hearing.23

The new image of Pater projected by such biographical studies as those by Iain Fletcher and Gerald Monsman has been complemented by more objective and fair-minded analyses of his works. Pater is emerging from these modern studies as a profound thinker trying to come to terms with the new scientific discoveries and intellectual questions of his era, and as an innovative writer of imaginative criticism and fiction, unique among his Victorian contemporaries as a harbinger of twentieth-century attitudes, themes, and techniques.

II

An in-depth discussion of Pater's critical writings is not germane to the main focus of this thesis, which is primarily concerned with fictional technique. However, those aspects of Pater's criticism which affected his fictional techniques, and which influenced both the critical and fictional works of Henry James and James Joyce will be discussed, along with related fields of Pater's criticism. As we noted in the introduction, a movement from criticism to fiction is common to all three of these writers, and a brief discussion of each of their critical works is essential to an analysis of their fictional techniques.

Preliminary to a discussion of Pater's importance as an influential nineteenth-century writer is a view of him in

relation to the other great writers of his day. Part of the failing of a good deal of Pater criticism lies in the repeated tendency to present him as an isolated writer, out of touch with the main literary and philosophical movements of his age. To this end Pater's own statements regarding the impenetrable isolation of the individual have been ruthlessly and uncritically applied. On the other hand, it is no accident that some of the best studies of Pater's critical works may be found within larger studies of art criticism in the nineteenth century. The single essays on Pater by Graham Hough in The Last Romantics and Solomon Fishman in The Interpretation of Art are two examples. Both of these works include essays on Ruskin and both authors explicitly state their intention of tracing the development of a critical theory of art through Ruskin to Pater, and from Pater through writers and critics such as Yeats, Clive Bell, and Roger Fry.

Fishman's essay offers the most elaborate discussion of Pater's close relation to Ruskin. Suggesting that "the tone of the essays which constitute the body of The Renaissance was to some extent determined by Ruskin's presence at Oxford as Slade Professor," Fishman argues that "Ruskin was the involuntary progenitor of the aestheticism with which the name of Pater is associated." While allowing for "a fundamental disagreement concerning the ethical import of art," Fishman maintains that "Pater's visual response to painting was deter-

24. Fishman, p.48
mined by Ruskin. . . . [His] art criticism is a direct continuation of Ruskin's. 26 Although the fundamental disagreement between Pater and Ruskin on questions of art and morality is manifested in almost all of Pater's essays on art, Fishman's observations on their relationship are significant: Pater probably owed more to Ruskin than is generally conceded.

Monsman too detects in Ruskin's dogmas a negative influence on Pater which had some effect on the composition of The Renaissance: "Whereas Ruskin had celebrated the Middle Ages and denounced the Renaissance as a 'foul torrent' corrupting pure Christian faith with pagan sentiments, Pater protests the criticism of art by moral standards and aspires to reverse Ruskin's condemnation of the Renaissance as immoral and therefore unartistic." 27

Pater's relation to Matthew Arnold has also been commented upon, but as with his relation to Ruskin, more investigation into this area would be conducive to a better understanding of Pater's works as they concern themselves with contemporary critical issues. The most comprehensive analysis of Pater's relation to Arnold (and to Newman) may be found in David J. Delaura's Hebrew and Hellenic in Victorian England; Newman, Arnold, Pater. This excellent study takes up Eliot's purpose of indicating "a direction from Arnold, through Pater, to the 'nineties, with . . . the solitary figure of Newman in the background." 28 It is invaluable in establishing the pervasive

influence of Arnold and Newman on Pater; particularly in his chapter on "Winckelmann" and Pagan Religious Sentiment" De-Laura argues that Pater's treatment of Hellenism (and its opposition to Hebraism) owes a great deal to Arnold's essays and lectures.

Arnold's effect on the composition of Studies in the History of the Renaissance has also been noted. Richmond Crinkley argues that "it was always with Arnold's ideas in the background that Pater applied himself to the essays that make up The Renaissance." More specifically, Geoffrey Tilotson sees in Arnold's objectivity and particularly his dismissal of the role of personal impressions in criticism and appreciation a negative influence on Pater and a stimulus for his emphasis on subjective impressions:

Arnold's phrase "the object as in itself it really is" was for rescuing the object from the clutches of the individual. Pater was for clutching it closer. . . . For Arnold the object lay in the external world sharply clear for anybody who had not blinded himself with some insular or provincial zeal or other. For Pater the object as it really is lay in the privacy of the individual impression of it.

Two of Pater's most central precepts then, seem to have their origin in his reactions to the theories of his two famous contemporaries; Ruskin's dogmatic moralizing and Arnold's stress on objectivity did not go unchallenged by Pater, his

own views reflect his response and opposition to theirs. Clearly, Pater's views on the relation of art and morality, and his theory of personal impressions stemmed primarily not from his personality, but from his intellectual involvement in the artistic and philosophical debates of his age. The theories and ideas Pater expresses in Studies in the History of the Renaissance represent his response to such earlier works as The Stones of Venice (1851, 1853), Modern Painters (1843-60), and Culture and Anarchy (1869).

Pater's more fair-minded critics have noted that, far from taking the fin-de-siècle view that art is divorced from life and morality, his 'ultimate concern was ethical, growing out of his personal predicament with respect to the religious crisis of his age.' 31 Graham Hough notes that Pater is "insistent on the close connection between ethics and aesthetics," 32 while Ruth C. Child suggests that his mature philosophy reflects an attitude directly opposed to that which he has repeatedly been accused of adopting and encouraging:

Some of Pater's latest utterances seem definitely hostile to the idea of art for art's sake...". Though he may still believe in art for art's sake in a certain sense, his view is no longer a one-sided, narrowly "aesthetic" one. It has become wisely balanced, soundly proportioned. While he still rightly denies that art "as such" has any external moral or religious aim, he recognizes also that it does indeed accomplish an important ethical result in enlarging and orienting the soul. 33

Pater's early theories did not arise in defense of anarchic aesthetic-radicalism or the separation of art from life and morals. Rather they represent his exhortation to cultivate more meaningful values based on relativism, instead of the absolutist values of Arnold and Ruskin. It is not a sweeping generalization to say that all of Pater's critical theories, his fiction, and even his fictional method, are based upon his early and persistent view of the relative nature of the universe and all things in it. In one of Pater's first essays, his paper on Coleridge (1865), he establishes, at the very beginning, his sympathy for modern thought:

Modern thought is distinguished from ancient by its cultivation of the "relative" spirit in place of the "absolute." Ancient philosophy sought to arrest every object in an eternal outline, to fix thought in a necessary formula, and the varieties of life in a classification by "kinds," or genera. To the modern spirit nothing is, or can be rightly known, except relatively and under conditions. The philosophical conception of the relative has been developed in modern times through the influence of the sciences of observation. (Appreciations, 66)

As Hough has noted, Pater "quite complacently identifies himself with modernity." 34 His philosophical views reflect his understanding of contemporary theories of science and philosophy; his own work, as we have noted, is very much a continuation and a response to the contemporary work of others. Pater's adoption of the relative spirit was influenced by his preoccupation with the perpetual flux of the universe, his knowledge

34. Hough, p.137.
of Greek philosophy, particularly Heraclitus, and his reading of the English and German philosophers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, among them, Hume, Mill, Hegel, and Swedenborg. Relativism formed the background for all of his critical and fictional writing. It was not a phenomenon that troubled Pater; rather he found relativism exciting and inspirational. In Hough's view, "he shows considerable willingness to involve himself in the flux."35 His works exhibit his disapproval of accepted moral codes; "Pater's aim is not to defend a threatened set of moral values, but to release the sensibilities, to set them free to form new ones."36

Studies in the History of the Renaissance is a monument to this aim. Here we again find a stress on relativism, and what relativism means for aesthetic criticism:

Beauty, like all other qualities presented to human experience, is relative; and the definition of it becomes unmeaning and useless in proportion to its abstractness. To define beauty, not in the most abstract but in the most concrete terms possible, to find not its universal formula, but the formula which expresses most adequately this or that special manifestation of it, is the aim of the true student of aesthetics. (Renaissance, vii-viii:xix)

Pater's next sentence is the one which stands Arnold's absolutist axiom "to see the object as in itself it really is" on its head by introducing the relative, subjective, personal impression as the more meaningful standard of judgment: "in aesthetic criticism the first step towards seeing one's object

35. Hough, p.137.
36. Ibid., p.138.
as it really is, is to know one's impression as it really is, to discriminate it, to realise it distinctly" (viii; xix).

In all of his studies of the art and poetry of the Renaissance Pater maintains his focus on relative values. The estimation of art on strict moral grounds is, of course, anathema to Pater's view. Thus Botticelli, whose "morality is all sympathy," "sets for himself the limits within which art, undisturbed by any moral ambition, does its most sincere and surest work" (55-56; 43). In the Leonardo essay Pater makes the following distinction: "Other artists have . . . set moral or political ends above the ends of art; but in him this solitary culture of beauty seems to have hung upon a kind of self-love, and a carelessness in the work of art of all but art itself. . . . for him, the novel impression conveyed, the exquisite effect woven, counted as an end in itself—a perfect end" (117; 92). Twenty years later he describes Plato as an early precursor "of the modern notion that art as such has no end but its own perfection,—'art for its own sake'" (Plato, 266).

Though the last paragraph of the essay on "Style" (1888) has been regarded by some critics as a concession by a more mature Pater, it really does not reverse anything he had said before. It merely makes, as Pater had always done, the rather nice distinction that although art can be, for some, spiritually or religiously uplifting, it should not be expressly created for these ends:

Given the conditions I have tried to explain as constituting good art;—then, if it be devoted further
to the increase of men's happiness, to the redemption of the oppressed, or the enlargement of our sympathies with each other, or to such presentment of new or old truth about ourselves and our relation to the world as may ennoble and fortify us in our sojourn here, or immediately, as with Dante, to the glory of God, it will also be great art; if, over and above those qualities I summed up as mind and soul—that colour and mystic perfume, and that reasonable structure, it has something of the soul of humanity in it, and finds its logical, its architectural place, in the great structure of human life. (Appreciations, 38)

Furthermore, while noting Pater's qualification in the first sentence of the paragraph, "the distinction between great art and good art depending immediately, as regards literature at all events, not on its form, but on its matter" (38; italics added), Solomon Fishman argues that the conclusion of "Style" "is not necessarily to be viewed as concession to his detractors nor as a renunciation of his former views; since it largely exempts the non-literary arts." 37 Pater's views on the relation of art to morality, particularly as they are expressed in The Renaissance, arise from his sympathy towards the relative spirit of modern thought rather than from a decadent aestheticism.

Relativism is also the source, as we have seen, of his theories of subjective perception and personal impressions. In the Preface and, of course, in the "Conclusion" Pater expounds and develops his theories on subjectivity and impress-

37. Fishman, p.66.
ions, but throughout the work subjectivity and understanding are largely a function of impressions. The famous passage on La Gioconda, as has been pointed out, has intrinsically little to do with the actual painting; it is essentially a verbal transcription, in the manner of symbolist poetry, of the impression that is felt (by Pater) when the painting is beheld. "The School of Giorgione" opens with a discussion of the untranslatable elements of each art form; "untranslatable into the forms of any other, an order of impressions distinct in kind," and how art addresses "the 'imaginative reason' through the senses" (Renaissance, 130:102). Pater's discussion itself of the works of the "School of Giorgione" is a series of impressions:

In sketch or finished picture, in various collections, we may follow it [the influence of music] through many intricate variations—mem. fainting at music; music at the pool-side while people fish, or mingled with the sound of the pitcher in the well, or heard across running water, or among the flocks; the tuning of instruments; people with intent faces as if listening, like those described by Plato in an ingenious passage of the Republic, to detect the smallest interval of musical sound, the smallest undulation in the air, or feeling for music in the thought on a stringless instrument, ear and finger refining themselves, infinitely, in the appetite for sweet sound; a momentary touch of an instrument in the twilight, as one passes through some unfamiliar room, in a chance company. (151:119)

His treatment of Du Bellay's poetry is also rendered in such impressionistic terms; in "D'un Vanneur de Blé aux Vents"
One seems to hear the measured motion of the fans, with a child’s pleasure in coming across the incident for the first time, in one of those great barns of Du Bellay’s own country, Le Beauce, the granary of France. A sudden light transfigures some trivial thing, a weather-vane, a windmill, a winnowing fan, the dust in the barn door. A moment—and the thing has vanished, because it was pure effect; but it leaves a relish behind it, a longing, that the accident may happen again. (176;140)

It is, of course, in the “Conclusion” that Pater offers his fullest treatment of perception through impressions. Beginning with the sciences of observation he describes how

At first sight experience seems to bury us under a flood of external objects, pressing upon us with a sharp and importunate reality, calling us out of ourselves in a thousand forms of action. But when reflexion begins to play upon those objects they are dissipated under its influence; the cohesive force seems suspended like some trick of magic; each object is loosed into a group of impressions—colour, odour, texture—in the mind of the observer. (234-35;187)

Through subjective perception and reflection, “the narrow chamber of the individual mind,” experience is “reduced to a group of impressions”(235;187). This rather solipsistic view of reality was not intended by Pater to be taken too literally; he merely wished to present his view of the relativistic world, and the consequences of relativism, and later, how we may deal with the phenomenon and its consequences.
The emphasis placed on the individual mind and the isolation of the individual is essentially the same as that placed on the individual impression in the Preface and on individual judgment in Marius: "the individual is to himself the measure of all things... [he must] rely on the exclusive certainty to himself of his own impressions" (I, 133).

Pater goes on in the "Conclusion" to introduce another of his central precepts, the "moment" of impression:

Analysis goes a step farther still, and assures us that those impressions of the individual mind to which, for each one of us, experience dwindles down, are in perpetual flight; that each of them is limited by time, and that as time is infinitely divisible, each of them is infinitely divisible also; all that is actual in it being a single moment, gone while we try to apprehend it, of which it may ever be more truly said that it has ceased to be than that it is. (Renaissance, 235; 188)

The privileged moment of impression is treated elsewhere by Pater in more detail. In "The School of Giorgione" he describes it as the privileged moment of perception, a phenomenon about which a good deal of his critical and fictional work revolves:

Now it is part of the ideality of the highest sort of dramatic poetry, that it presents us with a kind of profoundly significant and animated instants, a mere gesture, a look, a smile, perhaps--some brief and wholly concrete moment--into which, however, all the motives, all the interests and effects of a long history, have condensed themselves, and which seem to absorb past and future in an intense consciousness of the present.
Such ideal instants ... [are] exquisite pauses in time, in which, arrested thus, we seem to be spectators of all the fulness of existence, and which are like some consummate extract or quintessence of life. (150;118)

These are "perfect moments" in which acute understanding and perception are crystallized at once. It is by discriminating "every moment some passionate attitude," by "for ever curiously testing new opinions and courting new impressions" (237;189) that we may find some pattern of continuity in the relativistic flux. Success, for Pater, is maintaining the ecstasy of ever-renewed impressions. As Harold Bloom has noted, "Pater did not press for finalities in life or in art; his doctrine implies that all finalities are disasters."

Pater's perception of the flux and of the impossibility of an absolutist view, and the relative spirit which this perception gave rise to within him are largely responsible for three of his most central critical theories: those concerning the relation of art to morality, the personal impression, and the privileged moment. His critical preoccupation with the identification of matter and form, and his diligent attention to style and form in his own work may also have arisen in part out of his relative spirit. As we shall later investigate, if form and order are not to be discovered in the actual universe, than they are at least possible in the world of art; artistic form and the harmonious blend of form and matter are desirable effects in a world so unorderly and changing.

38. Bloom, Yeats, p.32.
Pater even connects his preferred literary form, the imaginative essay, "that characteristic literary type of our own time," with the relative spirit: "Strictly appropriate form of our modern philosophic literature, the essay came into use at what was really the invention of the relative, or 'modern' spirit, in the Renaissance of the sixteenth century" (Plato, 174-75). In a preparatory paragraph for his chapter on "Pater and the 'Relative' Spirit" Anthony Ward sees Pater's temperament and his chosen literary form as a direct manifestation of his preoccupation with relativism:

The habit of mind Pater attempts to create in himself in response to the discoveries of the scientists, he calls the 'relative spirit'. This is the temperamental response to the 'perpetual flux'. . . . It is a part of the fundamental streben (as he would 'say') in his mind. The literary forms which gradually evolve in the course of the work grow out of a view of consciousness which is based on evolutionism. They serve to express it as much as they serve to shape and control it, or, to use another characteristic Paterian expression, to 'lay it to rest'.

Those aspects of Pater's aesthetic which grew out of his relative spirit are largely the aspects which influenced modern literature. His views on the relation of art to morality helped to form those of many modern critics and novelists alike, including Henry James and James Joyce; his preoccupation with literary form and the identification of form and matter has had a parallel in both modern and post-modern literature; and

Wendell V. Harris has suggested that "three closely linked elements of Pater's critical theory—the interests in the brief moment, in the singularity of individual experience, and in the unusual experience—could almost constitute the theoretical basis for the most marked innovations in twentieth-century fiction." Pater's relative spirit, then, is important for an understanding not only of his critical theories, but of his fiction, and much of the literature of this century.

II

Iain Fletcher begins his monograph on Pater with a brief discussion of the "prejudice and fashion" that he feels are to blame for the significant lapse in Pater studies between the years following his death and the 1940s:

The modern critic is often suspicious of any work which falls outside fairly strict categories: how can he compare such work with others and 'place' them with suitable conviction? This difficulty applies to Pater with peculiar force. His work seems to lie in a twilight of categories between criticism and creation; between art and literary criticism, belles lettres, classical scholarship, the journal intime and the philosophical novel. This is an aspect of Pater's writing that has been commented upon by a number of critics; it is also one that is important, as we shall see, for his influence on modern fiction.

A.C. Benson was the first to note that Pater's work "indeed is only critical in form, but essentially creative in spirit." Pater must have felt that the rejection of Studies in the History of the Renaissance on the grounds that it fails badly in offering historical or technical critiques and judgments was misdirected and shallow, especially as he had so meticulously defined his own views on the duties of a critic in his Preface:

the function of the aesthetic critic is to distinguish, to analyse, and separate from its adjuncts, the virtue by which a picture, a landscape, a fair personality in life or in a book, produces this special impression of beauty or pleasure, to indicate what the source of that impression is, and under what conditions it is experienced. His end is reached when he has disengaged that virtue, and noted it, as a chemist notes some natural element, for himself and others. . . . What is important then, is not that the critic should possess a correct abstract definition of beauty for the intellect, but a certain kind of temperament, the power of being deeply moved by the presence of beautiful objects. (Renaissance, ix-x; xx-xxi)

Indeed, Pater's personal definition of the Renaissance, "giving it a much wider scope than was intended by those who originally used it to denote that revival of classical antiquity in the fifteenth century" (xii;xxii), should have been enough for the early reviewers to realise his intent and interests. It is the "general excitement and enlightening of the human mind. . . .

42. Benson, p.66.
The outbreak of the human spirit"(xii;xxii), that Pater understands by the Renaissance, and he is prepared to note and discuss it wherever and whenever it occurs. In the individual essays Pater is more concerned with isolating and discriminating the central quality or virtue of the artist's work which makes an impression upon him, and with relating that impression to the reader, than with methodical or conventional analyses of historical or technical aspects of the art-works. As Gerald Monsman notes while discussing the theme of rebirth in Pater's work, "Pater's real subject was not the history of the Renaissance, but the renascence of history—the continuous rebirth of culture." 43

Pater was a naturally imaginative and creative writer and thinker, who, like a number of other creative writers, made his literary debut as a critic. With some early experiments in verse he proved to himself that poetry could not be his métier, and chose instead imaginative prose. In an 1888 letter to an aspiring Arthur Symons he offers some insight into his thoughts on this matter:

I think the present age an unfavourable one to poets, at least in England. The young poet comes into a generation which has produced a large amount of first-rate poetry, and an enormous amount of good secondary poetry. You know I give a high place to the literature of prose as a fine art, and therefore hope you won't think me brutal in saying that the admirable qualities of your verse are those also of imaginative prose; as

43. Monsman, Walter Pater, p.54.
I think is the case also with much of Browning's finest verse. 44

There is little indication that Pater was ever enthusiastic about conventional fictional forms. The only novels he reviewed throughout his career were Mary Augusta Ward's Robert Elsmere and Oscar Wilde's The Picture of Dorian Gray, two works whose subject-matter had a special significance for him. In 1891 he wrote in a letter to Frank Harris, "I read almost no English fiction." 45 The major sources of influence on his work are French criticism and fiction, English poetry, and German philosophy. By the time Pater began his literary career in the 1860s, the essay had become an important literary form in France, while De Quincey had fathered the modern English tradition. We have already noted that Pater felt that the essay was, given his relativistic views, the literary form best suited to his purposes. Imaginative prose in essay form, then, became the medium of his creative expression. His subject-matter was determined by his interest in cultural rebirth; this led him to the Renaissance.

His formally critical studies, however, were never meant to be anything but imaginative and creative in spirit, as Benson suggests. Indeed there is often little to distinguish his historical portraits from his imaginary portraits, and this is as Pater would have it. In his review of Mary Augusta

45. Ibid., p.118.
Ward's translation of Amiel's *Journal Intime* he speaks of "the best sort of criticism, the imaginative criticism; that criticism which is itself a kind of construction, or creation, as it penetrates, through the given literary or artistic product, into the mental and inner constitution of the producer, shaping his work" (*Essays from 'The Guardian',* 29). All of Pater's criticism was of this type of imaginative criticism. The formal and thematic differences between the essay on Pico, for example, and "A Prince of Court Painters" are minimal. In both works Pater is very much concerned with the circumstances and conditions which produced the artist, and with determining the central aesthetic qualities of the artists' work. The half dramatic and half discursive portraits of the artists reflect a similar technique in both works: The close relation of the historical and imaginary portraits has been probed most perceptively by Gerald Monsman in his book on Pater's fiction:

His early apprenticeship at writing *The Renaissance* proved a fine prelude to the art of imaginary portraiture, and by a natural and almost imperceptible progress Pater moves from a fictionalized criticism to a critical fiction, from the historical portrait to the imaginary portrait. The subject matter and technique remain essentially identical, for Pater's concern in the fiction is the same as it was in *The Renaissance*—culture, its birth and flowering—and all of his Dionysian heroes are represented as bringers of artistic and cultural enlightenment to their ages. 46

46. *Pater's Portraits* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), Monsman notes the frequent crossing of lines in Pater's
Just as Pater's subject-matter in his first volume is the Renaissance, that is, the rebirth of the human spirit, his form is a relatively new kind of prose (at least in England), an imaginative prose that can admirably express the imaginative spirit of the art-works under study. Pater's aim is to ré-create the spirit of the age by verbally re-presenting (as was noted, in the manner of symbolist poetry) the impressions both felt and created by the artists in their work. In this sense the book itself consists largely of a group of impressions, a judgment which is confirmed by at least two of Pater's critics. Richmond Crinkley notes that "the essays themselves stand as Pater's body of impressions gathered from the works of a particular period;" while Graham Hough argues that "Pater's critical writing then must be regarded mainly as a series of impressions." As we shall see, this is a technical aspect of Pater's first two fictional works also.

Just as Pater's critical works adopt many of the techniques of imaginative prose, his fictional work, to some extent, retains some of the aspects of critical writing. For those who view Pater as primarily a critic, among them C. M.

47. Crinkley, p. 5.
Bowra, Pater never really discarded the form and themes of the critical essay: "In Pater the creative artist was hampered by the critic and the thinker. His characters and his situations have a static quality, as if they were works of art on which he exercises his imaginative understanding." Although this offers a perspicacious glimpse of Pater's fiction, it makes a negative value judgment and tends to oversimplify the complex relation between Pater's critical and fictional works.

Some aspects of this relation and Pater's first step out of criticism into fiction have been taken up by a number of critics. The most simplistic theories suggest that Pater simply outgrew the critical essay as a means of expressing an ever increasing wealth of imaginative and creative ideas. His own innovation, the imaginary portrait, was the result, according to this view, of a search for a medium with more scope and more form for his creative powers. Benson suggests that after spending the five years following the publication of Studies in the History of the Renaissance working on more critical works, among them the Wordsworth essay, two of the Greek studies, and the essays on Romanticism and Giorgione, Pater "began to feel the impulse to produce original creative work, and to use his own impressions, his experiences, his speculations as material for imaginative treatment." This impulse resulted in "The Child in the House" (1878). Bowra

49. Bowra, p.212.
50. Benson, p.78.
sees Pater's fiction as the result of a kind of osmotic process he underwent while writing *The Renaissance*: "through his study of the fine art of other men he discovered many interesting things in himself which could not be easily expressed in the narrow scope of the critical essay. He felt the need to express more freely and on a more generous scale the imaginative perceptions and far-ranging thoughts which came to him through his studies." Finally, Fishman sees the move from historical to imaginary portrait as a necessary antidote for Pater's too subjective and autobiographical criticism, specifically for its surrendering "too readily the possibility of objectivity. . . . The essays on Leonardo, Botticelli, and Michelangelo are primarily studies of personality as reflected in works of art. It is not Pater's inclination to locate the source of the specific aesthetic 'virtue' of the artist's work in his personality, nor the fact that he is drawn toward certain artists by temperamental affinity, that is at fault, but his tendency to identify himself with his subjects, to view them as extensions of his own personality. Pater did eventually hit upon a literary form, the imaginary portrait, which suited his gifts more perfectly than the critical essay."  

The views offered by these three judgments of the development of Pater's fiction suggest that there is really not much relation between the fictional and critical works; that,

51. Bowra, p.211.
52. Fishman, pp.54-55.
in fact, the critical essay and the imaginary portrait reflect two separate aspects of Pater's temperament, the critical and the creative, respectively.\(^{53}\) This, it seems to me, is not so. From his first extant essay, "Diaphaneité" (1864), Pater was, primarily, a creative writer, though the critical essay was his first preferred literary form, largely for philosophical reasons. Pater was not radically more creative in the imaginary portraits and Marius than he was in The Renaissance and Greek Studies\(^{54}\) (Plato and Platonism was his most purely critical work), just a little more dramatic. Pater's imaginary portraits and Marius represent a direct continuation of the theories and ideas, and to some degree, the techniques of The Renaissance and Pater's other critical essays.

The approach taken by Monsman and a few other critics which holds that Pater's fiction is, among other things, a restatement in more dramatic terms, of the central precepts of The Renaissance seems more appropriate. If such a theory is accepted, it may be supported by the plausible assumption that Pater's decision to write fictional works was encouraged, if not induced, by the misreading and negative reaction to Studies in the History of the Renaissance. The effect that the hostile reception of his first volume had on Pater has been well doc-

\(^{53}\) Although Benson maintains elsewhere that The Renaissance "is to be ranked with creative rather than critical art" (36).

\(^{54}\) Witness the disagreement on the placing of "Hippolytus Veiled" (1889), Charles L. Shadwell, Pater's life-long friend and literary executor, and Eugene J. Brzenk feeling that it should be included in Greek Studies, while Gerald Monsman counts it as an imaginary portrait.
umented by his biographers and critics. It will suffice here to say that it was considerable and that it remained with him for the duration of his life. As we have seen, the negative reviews were strong enough to have him incorporate substantial changes in his carefully constructed work. In his appraisal of *The Renaissance* Benson suggests that it reveals "the sincerest emotions of a mind at its freshest and strongest. No considerations of prudence or discretion influenced his thought." With the severe criticism and public outrage prompted by the book in mind, Benson continues, "yet in his later writings one feels that criticism and even misrepresentation had an effect upon him." Benson does not actually argue that the negative reaction to Pater's first book induced the switch to fiction, though he does suggest that Pater realized "that the frank enunciation of principles evoked impatience and even suspicion."55 in the English mind. Hough notes what is perhaps a manifestation of this realization in Pater's prose style: "There is a sense of constraint, too, in the more highly wrought passages, as of a man determined on sincerity, yet afraid of saying too much."56 There seems little doubt that Pater was a changed man after the publication of *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*. If the public reaction to this work did make him afraid of saying too much, then besides adopting a more cautionary, involuted prose style, he may have found it

55. Benson, pp.36-37.
56. Hough, p.172,
reassuring to mask what he did say in the relatively safe confines of the fictional imaginary portrait, regardless of how transparent his portraits would be. One of Pater's Italian critics, Mario Praz, in an introduction to his translation of *Imaginary Portraits*, places Pater's move to fiction in an historical context and views it as a not unusual Victorian practice:

Il problema artistico che si presentava a Pater era in un certo senso alfine a quello che dovette risolvere il Browning, la cui represa vena lirica s'effuse in monologhi drammatici messi in bocca ai personaggi più vari: il clima vittoriano era ostile alle confessioni dirette, ai denudamente dell'anima. Quella proiezione di se stesso che in Browning riuscì a un abbagliante "fregolismo" di travestimenti, le *dramatis personae*, in Pater si adagiò nella più riposata ed elegiaca forma del "ritratto immaginario".

In utilizing the mask of fiction Pater was merely reacting to a facet of Victorian repression: its distrust of avant-garde ideas and attitudes.

Graham Hough is one of those critics who adhere to the theory that Pater's fiction continues and restates the philosophy of *The Renaissance*; in his discussion of "why Marius does not die a Christian" he explains that in order to embrace Christianity "a renunciation is required, and to this Pater

57. Certainly the only extant comment of Pater's on the relation of his fiction to his criticism stems out of the controversy over the "Conclusion" to *The Renaissance* (see p. 25 above).

never commits himself; the whole development described in Marius after all takes place within the framework of the ethic of the Renaissance." 59 As we have seen, Monsman, too, subscribes to this theory. He reads "The Child in the House" as a "transitional work between The Renaissance and Marius" and argues that in it "Pater's main aim is to defend the morality of aesthetic ecstasy itself by dealing in a semi-autobiographical way with the philosophy of his first volume." 60 Another recent critic, Richard L. Stein, concurs. He begins his discussion of Pater's fiction with the observation that "The problems and achievements of The Renaissance reverberated through the remaining twenty years of Pater's brief literary career," and maintains that "his fiction can be read as a series of thinly disguised revisions of his first elegant version of history." 61 Arguing that each of the Imaginary Portraits "examines the relation of a particular civilization and a single figure, as if to test the proposition that under the right conditions culture can produce a harmonious temperament," Stein suggests that "Pater's fiction is the laboratory for the assumptions of The Renaissance." 62 More specifically he proposes that Marius "was planned as an extended fictional elaboration on the aesthetic principles of The Renaissance." 63

59. Hough, p.158.
60. Monsman, Walter Pater, pp.75,80.
62. Ibid., p.267.
63. " p.281.
These and other critics have established that Pater's fiction takes up and develops the philosophy and themes of *The Renaissance*, that Pater's thematic emphases remain constant throughout his literary career, and in both of his chosen genres. The formal relation between Pater's critical essays and some of his imaginary portraits has also been treated, though less than the thematic relation. As was suggested above, Pater's method of portraiture underwent only minor changes in the switch from criticism to fiction; the basic technique is the same in both the historical and imaginary portraits.

One aspect of the relation between the criticism and the fiction (particularly between *The Renaissance* and "The Child in the House" and *Marius*) which has not received critical attention, however, is Pater's technique in both the essay and the portrait of the expression and development of subject by means of the privileged moment of impression and revelation. This philosophical concept encountered in a number of the essays in *The Renaissance* becomes, in an expert blending of matter and form, a technical link between Pater's criticism and fiction. Just as *The Renaissance* is essentially a series of impressions, so too are "The Child in the House" and *Marius* (and to some extent, some of the other portraits). At least it is as such that the portraits are developed and conveyed to the reader. Pater moves deliberately, though at first a little cautiously, from a discussion and limited use of moments of impression in his crit-

64. The only rewarding study of this relation so far is Monsman's in *Pater's Portraits*. 
icism, to a further discussion and much more elaborate use of them in "The Child in the House" and *Marius*. Monsman has suggested that in the essays of *The Renaissance* Pater "found the materials of fiction; and one may say that the title of his first slim volume will serve as the metaphor of his future thought, for it involves an attitude toward life fundamental to his art, and each of his portraits will recount anew the myth of renaissance." 65 In the following section we shall try to establish that this "first slim volume" provided Pater with not only the subject-matter of his fiction, but also with the method of expression and development for at least his first two experiments in fictional form.

**IV**

In his discussion of Pater's modernity in 1957 James Hafley noted the total absence of any account of *Marius* "that deals with anything but its 'ideas'. It has lived [he continued] . . . almost entirely because it can be quoted from by scholars interested in Pater's 'philosophy' . . . . We examine what Pater called 'the mere matter', and ignore the form completely. 66 All of the early reviews and criticisms of *Marius* (and most of the modern) deal entirely with the novel's subject-matter; that is, its treatment of religion and Christianity. The most crucial question which has emanated from most studies

of the novel is whether or not Marius dies a Christian. Indeed some of the more obtuse analyses hardly treat Marius as a novel at all, or do so only arbitrarily, reading the chapters rather as a series of essays. Pater's fictional techniques and the novelistic form of the work have been for the most part uncommented upon, and the critical response that they have elicited has been largely negative. The work has been criticized for being plotless and undramatic, its characterization unrealistic and inadequate; also, Pater's inclusion of a number of translations from classical literature has been singled out as particularly inartistic.

Although the contemporary reviews of Marius were almost all favourable, twentieth-century criticism of the novel was, at first, rather harsh. T.S. Eliot was the first modern critic to dismiss both the novel's subject-matter and form; his disparagement of the novel's content as "incoherent hodgepodge" and its method as "a number of fresh starts" was significant in shaping the general early twentieth-century estimation of Pater's fiction. Another prominent critic, Percy Lubbock, was hardly more enthusiastic about the novel; dis-


68. Pater's biographers have recorded the early success of Marius; Benson notes that "the reception of Marius had been both respectful and enthusiastic" (118), while Michael Levey adds that "Marius had been a success from the first. The reviews were long, very friendly and respectful" (168). Levey also notes that a second edition of the work was printed within four months of the first.
cussing the "scenic presentation" of Henry James' novels in The Craft of Fiction, he contrasts it to the "visionary fiction" of Pater:

In Marius probably, if it is to be called a novel, the art of drama is renounced as thoroughly as it has ever occurred to a novelist to dispense with it. I scarcely think that Marius ever speaks or is spoken to audibly in the whole course of the book; such at least is the impression that it leaves. The scenes of the story reach the reader by refraction, as it were, through the medium of Pater's harmonious murmur. 69

One recent critic argues that Marius "lacks forward movement and external incident;" 70 another finds "its defect" in that "Pater found it difficult to fill the larger canvas, and had therefore to incorporate a good deal of translated and extraneous matter." 71 Most of Pater's fiction has received a similar critical fate; "the lack of action in the 'portraits' [argues another] is not to be denied and is Pater's failure." 72

Given Pater's own fascination with and treatment of artistic form, and the importance he placed on "the divination of . . . new forms of art" (Renaissance, 2; 2), the almost exclusive emphasis of the early accounts of Marius on "the mere matter" of the novel betokens "the vulgarity which is dead to form" in works of art. It seems to me that, given Pater's meticulous craftsmanship and the four years which he

71. Hough, p.145.
devoted almost exclusively to the composition of his novel, the form of Marius should be given as much consideration as its subject-matter; assuredly Pater himself was as much concerned with the "sensible vehicle" of his expression as with the more abstract philosophy expressed.

Perhaps in response to Hafley's comments, some modern critics, most notably Eugene Brzenk, Billie Inman, and Jean Sudrann, have given the form of Pater's fiction the intelligent consideration it deserves. These critics have offered capable defenses of precisely those areas of Pater's fiction that were previously labelled as seriously flawed. Most importantly, in their analyses of the form, more specifically the structure, imagery, and techniques, of Marius and the short portraits, they have shed new light on Pater's thematic emphases. They, and others, have revealed that Pater is primarily interested, as most modern novelists are, in psychological action; Pater's fictional works trace not the forward movement of action or plot, but the development of character and consciousness. His decision to call his fictional works "portraits" is enough to suggest that he is interested in the depiction of character over story or plot; Pater himself indicated where his interests lay when in the margin of the Gaston de Latour manuscript he wrote, "Imaginary--and portraits: they present not an action, a story; but a character, personality, revealed especially in outward detail."73

Arthur Symons was one of the first few critics of Pater to realize that his portraits offer "the story of a soul, or rather of a consciousness."74 From time to time Symons' judgment has been echoed by Pater's more perceptive critics; Martha Vogeler reflects that "Marius is psychological, not theological in its investigation,"75 while A.J. Ward concurs that "Marius's journey is a purely intellectual one."76 More recently, Richard L. Stein has reiterated that "Marius is not so much the story of a life as the story of a consciousness."77 Eugene Brzenk and Billie Inman share this view and examine some aspects of Pater's fiction in relation to it. Inman argues that the translation of the Cupid and Psyche myth, the Roman detail, and the selections from classical literature "instead of being extraneous . . . are integral to the portrayal of Marius's temperament, and therefore to the representation of the modern mind."78 In a number of articles Brzenk stresses that Pater "is not interested in stirring events or colorful backgrounds for their own sake. . . . [He] passes over such potentially 'big' scenes as the games in the amphi theatre, the effects of the plague, and Aurelius' triumphal processions, in order to concentrate upon the reflections which these scenes

76. Ward, p.117.
77. Stein, p.282.
arouse in the mind of his protagonist." Brzenk also argues that Pater's "settings are almost always used as an aid in characterization;" that his device of having "his protagonist take long trips . . . provides him with a means of crystallizing changes in the inner experience of his leading characters; the changes in scene which are described objectify the growth of new attitudes and changes in philosophical outlook;" and that the "long sections of translated materials not only delineate the historical personages who appear, but serve also as a means for conveying the sense of the intellectual and philosophical atmosphere of the period depicted. Most importantly, however, they objectify changes in the outlook of the principal characters." Jean Sudrann, in a study of the imagery patterns in Marius, links the work with the modern "psychological novel" having the "inner experience of the protagonist as its subject-matter, the depiction of the apprehending sensibility itself rather than the world which it apprehends as its chief concern."31

These and some other recent views have succeeded in presenting Marius as a "modern" psychological novel; a novel in which the focus is not on action or plot, not on events themselves, but of the effect of events upon a developing consciousness. Pater's central concern in Marius is not with any

one of the philosophical or religious schools which his protagonist confronts; he is not primarily interested in defending Paganism, Epicureanism, Stoicism, or Christianity, nor is he primarily interested in making Marius a Christian. He is not essentially concerned with Marius' actual journey to Rome, his life there, or the people and places he encounters on the way. All of these are only of secondary interest to Pater. His primary interest, and hence, the foremost subject of the novel, lies, as the subtitle of the work indicates, in his protagonist's mind, in his "sensations and ideas"; Pater's concern is with the revelation and development of Marius' consciousness.

Pater's primary concern in his novel is not that different, then, from his chief concern in his previous work. In Studies in the History of the Renaissance he had tried, above all, to represent the "special and prominent personalities" (Renaissance, xiii; xxiii) that produced great works of art. The subjects he chose to study are primarily actual embodiments of his "ideal aesthetic type"82 the diaphanous hero capable of bringing about "the regeneration of the world" (Miscellaneous Studies, 254).

The Renaissance itself is not so much an age, as an "outbreak of the human spirit" perceptible in certain individuals and their work from Pico to Winckelmann. As Monsman has noted, Pater's "primary interest as a critic had always been the realization of the living personality behind the philosophic idea

82. The special characteristics of this "type" are discussed by Derek Stanford in "Pater's Ideal Aesthetic Type," Cambridge Journal, 7 (1954), pp. 488-94.
or the work of art. For Pater the universal was manifested in the particular; personality became the standard of all judgment. As we have seen, the hero of his novel learns while young that "the individual is to himself the measure of all things."

Pater, in fact, was the most likely candidate among nineteenth-century English writers to be one of the first to experiment with what has come to be known as the modern psychological novel. For he was the writer most concerned among his contemporaries with the flux, with the establishment of personality, or consciousness, against an ever-changing universe, with the subjective personal impression as the only possible connection with the universe, and with the equation of experience with a series of isolated moments of impression. He had been better prepared by his own experience and beliefs to write a "psychological" novel than even Henry James. Pater, too, had learned while young that the individual was the measure of all things and that one must rely only on his own personal impressions; we could not ask for more proof of this than the Preface and "Conclusion" to The Renaissance. Here, individualistic, subjective perception is established as the only true avenue to understanding, and the momentary, personal impression is cited as the only true vehicle for perception.

In actuality, then, the development of consciousness is stimulated by subjective perception arising from momentary

impressions; this is Pater's view of how we experience the world. In fiction, following the same principles, the development of consciousness may be conveyed by the perceptions and revelations afforded by momentary impressions. If in his fiction Pater is to render his characters' experience of the world, he may do so by reconstructing the actual process: consciousness is heightened and developed through perception and revelation, which are themselves the response to impressions.

When Pater came, amid the alarm and public outcry occasioned by his first volume, to re-present the philosophy of the "Conclusion" in his first fictional piece, "The Child in the House," it had not lost any of its original veracity or import for him; one still lived and learned through one's subjective perception of reality, one still perceived through impressions made upon the senses. The importance of "The Child in the House" in the Pater oeuvre has been noted by many critics, among them Gerald Monsman, who describes it as "Pater's first and perhaps his finest piece of prose fiction." We have seen that part of Pater's intention in "The Child" is to offer a defence of the philosophy of The Renaissance; part of this defence is

84. Some critics have related it to Marius as well as to The Renaissance, especially in terms of the early chapters of the novel. The first of these was Mary Augusta Ward who, in her 1885 review of Marius, regarded "The Child" as a preliminary study for the later novel. There is indeed a close resemblance between the young Florian Deleal and the young Marius.
85. Monsman, Pater's Portraits, p.31.
the restatement, in a more dramatic fashion, of his theories of subjective perception and personal impressions. Pater wants literally to show in his first imaginary portrait that "that process of brain-building by which we are, each one of us, what we are" (Miscellaneous Studies, 173) is activated by a steady flow of impressions that lead to perception and revelation; that the "gradual expansion of the soul" (173) is stimulated by the sensory perception of natural and aesthetic objects and phenomena. As Monsman notes, "Pater's portrait consists almost entirely in a series of vivid childhood impressions that shape the faculty of imagination, the artistic sensibility of the adult mind."86

The subject-matter of the portrait, what Pater wants to present, is this shaping process, the gradual expansion of the soul, and how certain objects, events, and phenomena each play their part. The portrait traces the development of the child's mind, his consciousness, through a series of significant moments of impression. Understanding comes through perception, perception comes through impressions. Pater, in accordance with his preoccupation with the identification of matter and form, tries to obliterate the distinction in his fiction between the subject-matter and his method of presenting it. The portrait, being about the accumulation of impressions, is presented, in part at least, as a series of impressions, each one revealing something more significant to the child's expanding consciousness.

86. Monsman, Walter Pater, p. 75.
The house itself is described as a group of impressions upon the child's mind; we see it not objectively, but subjectively through the child's eyes. The physical aspects of the house and the events which occur there become the "sensible analogues" for the developing traits in Florian's personality and consciousness.

Florian found that he owed to the place many tones of sentiment afterwards customary with him, certain inward lights under which things most naturally presented themselves to him. The coming and going of travellers to the town along the way, the shadow of the streets, the sudden breath of the neighbouring gardens, the singular brightness of bright weather there, its singular darknesses which linked themselves in his mind to certain engraved illustrations in the big old Bible at home, the coolness of the dark, cavernous shops round the great church, with its giddy winding stair up to the pigeons and the bells—a citadel of peace in the heart of the trouble—all this acted on his childish fancy, so that ever afterwards the like aspects and incidents never failed to throw him into a well-recognised imaginative mood, seeming actually to have become a part of the texture of his mind. (176)

The consciousness of the young Florian is like "white paper" and "smooth wax," and the impressions he receives are stamped on it indelibly:

The realities and passions, the rumours of the greater world without, steal in upon us, each by its own special

87. In order to ensure the subjectivity of this first portrait, Pater makes use of the dream-vision as a framing device. The return to the world of the child is actually encased within the older Florian's recollection of his early youth. Everything we see in the portrait we see twice through Florian's eyes. We will discuss this device further later in the chapter.
little passage-way, through the wall of custom about us; and never afterwards quite detach themselves from this or that accident, or trick, in the mode of their first entrance to us. Our susceptibilities, the discovery of our powers, manifold experiences—our various experiences of the coming and going of bodily pain, for instance—belong to this or the other well-remembered place in the material habitation—that little white room with the window across which the heavy blossoms could beat so peevishly in the wind, with just that particular catch or throb, such a sense of teasing in it, on gusty mornings; and the early habitation thus gradually becomes a sort of material shrine or sanctuary of sentiment: a system of visible symbolism interweaves itself through all our thoughts and passions; and irresistibly, little shapes, voices, accidents—the angle at which the sun in the morning fell on the pillow—become parts of the great chain wherewith we are bound. (177-78)

In tracing the development of Florian's consciousness, then, Pater simply presents the series of significant "accidents" of perception, or moments of impression, which give "form and feature" to the smooth wax of his "ingenious soul" (177). These impressions are intrinsically subjective and can only be rendered as such; Pater's technique necessarily is to present the events of the portrait as they are perceived by the child. Their significance lies only in the effect they have upon his expanding soul, or consciousness.

After explaining the process of brain-building, Pater begins to recount the "two streams of impressions, the sentiments of beauty and pain," which "came floating in from the larger world without" (181) to impress upon Florian's soul.
He notes first "some of the occasions of his recognition of the element of pain in things;" there was "one picture—a woman sitting with hands bound behind her, the dress, the cap, the hair, folded with a simplicity which touched him strangely... Queen Marie Antoinette, on her way to execution... The face... seemed now to call on men to have pity, and forbear; and he took note of that, as he closed the book, as a thing to look at again, if he should at any time find himself tempted to be cruel." There was "the appeal in the small sister's face... terrified at a spider lighted on her sleeve," to which he could trace "a certain mercy he conceived always for people in fear." There was "the cry on the stair," announcing his father's death, "struck into his soul forever." There were "the little sorrows of the dumb animals too—of the white angora," suffering at length, and dying "after one wild morning of pain;" of the captured starling, released after one night during which "its young ones could be heard crying after it, and the responsive cry of the mother-bird towards them." All of these incidents, creating impressions upon the mind of Florian, serve to instill and develop a sense of pity and of remorse within him, the sense that "he too was become an accomplice in moving, to the limit of his small power, the springs and handles of that great machine in things, constructed so ingeniously to play pain-fugues on the delicate nerve-work of living creatures"(182-84).

Parallel with this sense of pity is the growth of Florian's aesthetic sensibility, also marked by a stream of impressions,
the most significant of which is the child's vision of the red hawthorn. This central vision offers the best illustration of Pater's technique of revealing and developing consciousness in his portrait:

I have remarked how, in the process of our brain-building, . . . little accidents have their consequence; and thus it happened that, as he walked one evening, a garden gate, usually closed, stood open; and lo! within, a great red hawthorn in full flower, embossing heavily the bleached and twisted trunk and branches, so aged that there were but few green leaves the season—a plumage of tender, crimson fire out of the heart of the dry wood. . . . Was it some periodic moment in the expansion of soul within him, or mere trick of heat in the heavily-laden summer air? But the beauty of the thing struck home to him feverishly; and in dreams all night he loitered along a magic roadway of crimson flowers, which seemed to open ruddily in thick, fresh masses about his feet, and fill softly all the little hollows in the banks on either side. Always afterwards, summer by summer, as the flowers came on, the blossom of the red hawthorn still seemed to him absolutely the reddest of all things; and the goodly crimson, still alive in the works of old Venetian masters or old Flemish tapestries, called out always from afar the recollection of the flame in those perishing little petals, as it pulsed gradually out of them, kept long in the drawers of an old cabinet. Also then, for the first time, he seemed to experience a passionateness in his relation to fair outward objects, an inexplicable excitement in their presence, which disturbed him, and from which he half longed to be free. A touch of regret or desire mingled all night with the remembered presence of the red flowers, and their perfume in the darkness about
him; and the longing for some undivined, entire possession of them was the beginning of a revelation to him, growing ever clearer, ... of a certain, at times seemingly exclusive, predominance in his interests, of beautiful physical things, a kind of tyranny of the senses over him. (185-86)

I have reproduced the episode at length to examine Pater's method of expressing his subject by the dramatization of single moments of impression. Pater's subject, as we have noted, is the development, or expansion, of Florian's soul. From the momentary impression of the red hawthorn Florian develops a taste for "fair outward objects." This description of a particular segment of his soul's expansion, this expression of subject, is inseparable, is, in fact, almost indistinguishable, from the depiction of the vision of the hawthorn; there is no definite point at which the impression ends and the expansion of soul begins. Pater carefully describes the development of an aesthetic sensibility in Florian strictly in terms of the vision of the hawthorn; his subject is expressed, in this and other episodes, almost exclusively through the impressions that his protagonist receives.

Eugene Brzech has noted the same technique of description dissolving into the mind of the protagonist in the opening paragraph of "Sebastian van Storck" (1886):

It was a winter-scene, by Adrian van de Velde, or by Isaac van Ostade. All the delicate poetry together with all the delicate comfort of the frosty season was in the leafless branches turned to silver, the furred
dresses of the skaters, the warmth of the red-brick house fronts under the gauze of the white fog, the gleams of pale sunlight on the cuirasses of the mounted soldiers as they receded into the distance. Sebastian van Storck, confessedly the most graceful performer in all that skating multitude, moving in endless maze over the vast surface of the frozen water-meadow, liked best this season of the year for its expression of a perfect impassivity, or at least of a perfect repose. (Imaginary Portraits, 81)

Brzenk comments, "The sharply defined details of the first two sentences orient the reader and keep the protagonist's thoughts from occurring in a vacuum, but almost imperceptibly the reader is introduced into the mind of the title character. So subtle is this transition that it is often difficult to determine where description leaves off and the thoughts of the protagonists begin." 88 Pater made much use of this technique in a number of his portraits, including Marius.

Pater's habit of working on critical essays and imaginary portraits at the same time often resulted in a thematic inter-relationship of concurrent works. Immediately prior to writing "The Child in the House" Pater had published in the Fortnightly Review "The School of Giorgione," the essay in which he announces his famous dictum that "all art constantly aspires towards the condition of music;" hails music as the highest art because it "most completely realizes . . . [the] perfect identification of matter and form;" and suggests that "every thought and feel-

ing is twin-born with its sensible analogue or symbol" (Renaissance, 135-39; 106-09). In Benson's view "The Child in the House" is "the sweetest and tenderest of Pater's fancies, the work, we may say, where his art approached most nearly to a kind of music." Pater's prose in this portrait is at its most musical. We have noted Pater's concern in his first portrait with the identification of matter and form; impressions are both the subject and the technical means by which the subject is expressed. And Pater's other theory, that every thought and feeling has a sensible analogue or symbol, may be used as a guide to his fictional technique in a number of the imaginary portraits. Certainly the technique in "The Child" is based on just such a theory. Every one of Florian's thoughts and feelings, every personal trait that is illustrated, has its sensible analogue in one of his sensory impressions. "In later years," Florian assigned "very little to the abstract thought, and much to its sensible vehicle or occasion" (Miscellaneous Studies, 186).

The education of Florian's sensibility continues after the vision of the hawthorn, always prompted by isolated impressions. His abstract horror of death is "twin-born" with the sudden sight of "an open grave for a child" (190), while religious sentiment is translated into "church lights, holy days . . . white linen, and holy vessels, and fonts of pure water" (193). Finally, a slightly older Florian's realization

89. Benson, p. 79.
that his early youth has gone forever, and the "agony of home-sickness" are expressed, with brilliant economy, simply by Florian's unanticipated return to the empty house of his early days; they are expressed, above all, by his impressions: as he passed in search of it [a pet bird] from room to room, lying so pale, with a look of meekness in their denudation, and at last through that little, stripped white room, the aspect of the place touched him like the face of one dead; and a clinging back towards it came over him, so intense that he knew it would last long (196)

"The Child in the House" is a beautifully wrought stream of such impressions designed to trace the development of a mind, or consciousness, through their own effect. The impressions are the actions of the story and the formal vehicles by which the subject is expressed. Pater has not changed at all the philosophical stance assumed in the "Conclusion" to The Renaissance that experience, when analytically broken down, is merely a series of subjective impressions. Rather, in moving from critical essay to imaginary portrait, he has maintained his thematic emphasis on the individual and his impressions, and, in welding together matter and form, has developed his technique, used sparingly in The Renaissance, of the expression of his subject through a series of such impressions themselves.

When we turn to Marius we note a similar and extended use of this technique. Understandably, Marius has received more critical attention than any of Pater's works except The Renaissance. Although most of the critical studies of Marius
treat its subject-matter and ignore its form, Pater's innovative method of tracing his protagonist's development by means of his impressions has been noted, if only in passing, by a number of critics. The first to remark upon the technique, or an aspect of it, was Graham Hough. Though not speaking explicitly of Pater's fictional method, Hough notes that "Marius' first experience of a Christian society is felt as a series of impressions."90 Discussing more specifically the formal aspects of Marius, R.V. Osbourn sees the novel "as a record of the impressions, sensations and reflections of a sensitive individual,"91 while Eugene Brzenk offers the following brief summation of "Pater's characteristic plot pattern"—"an experience is rendered impressionistically, followed by reflections upon that experience."92 While listing Pater's shortcomings as a writer of fiction, Louise M. Rosenblatt allows that he "creates a cumulative effect through seemingly disconnected and static moments of insight,"93 and while admiring Pater's "often unrivalled power of suggestion," U.C. Knoepflmacher notes that "he punctuates his fiction with moments of imaginative vision which unite, albeit for an instant, the random impressions of his characters."94

90. Hough, p.151.
91. Osbourn, p.401.
93. Rosenblatt, p.256.
More recently, Gerald Monsman has suggested of *Marius* that "if one looks not for a plot line, but for a cumulative pattern of successively ever more significant moments of perception, the novel will not disappoint."\(^{95}\) Perhaps the most interesting discussion of this aspect of Pater's method is offered by R.T. Lenaghan. Pater's technique, he suggests, is "something like an art lecture: the lecturer presents his slides in sequence and develops a general argument by a more or less running commentary on them." Noting that the privileged hours of Pater's fiction, the hours of impressions and perceptions, are "dense with sensory imagery," Lenaghan argues that "though the whole discourse is progressive, the movement occurs in the abstract argument and is interrupted by the static concrete imagery. . . . By virtue of its unmistakable emphasis on the essential function of the imagery, Pater's technique should have the happy effect of focusing attention on the thematic significance of that imagery. . . . The imagery is at once the subject of the discourse and the discourse itself. The slides cannot be relegated to the secondary function of illustration; they are primary vehicles of meaning."\(^{96}\) That is to say, the privileged hours of impressions and perceptions are both the subject of the novel and the formal means of expression.

*Marius*, as we have seen, is a psychological novel concerned with the revelation and development of consciousness; and the

\(^{95}\) Monsman, Walter Pater, p. 84

development of consciousness is most accurately depicted, for Pater, through the perception stimulated by subjective impressions. Marius, like "The Child in the House," consists of a steady stream of impressions, the personal impressions of the protagonist. It is through his impressions that he perceives, and through his sensory perception that his consciousness develops. Just as the incidents and events in "The Child" have their real significance in the effect they produce upon Florian's mind, so the incidents, places, events, characters, discourses, and translations in Marius have their primary significance in the effect they produce upon Marius' consciousness. Everything in the novel is a function of Marius' central consciousness. Pater makes this clear from the very beginning; describing Marius' childhood and the various customs and rites of the religion of Numa, we note Pater moving, as he had done in "The Child," from narrative description into the mind of his protagonist.

But the dead genii were satisfied with little—a few violets, a cake dipped in wine, or a morsel of honeycomb. Daily, from the time when his childish footsteps were still uncertain, had Marius taken them their portion of the family meal, at the second course, amidst the silence of the company. They loved them who brought them their sustenance; but, deprived of these services, would be heard wandering through the house, crying sorrowfully in the stillness of the night. (Marius, I, 10-11)

Though this passage begins with an objective view of Marius, it ends clearly with the child's subjective view of what would
happen if he did not deliver to the dead their sustenance. Pater’s use of the conditional in the last sentence suggests the unuttered "if" in Marius’ mind. This movement is repeated throughout Marius; Pater begins with a description of outward events, objects, or people, then focuses on their effect upon Marius. Above all, it is his protagonist’s impression of the events and other elements that is important.

One of Marius’ first significant impressions comes when he suddenly sees some snakes breeding (I, 23), an incident insignificant in itself, but revealing of Marius’s temperament in his reaction to it: "Long afterwards, when it happened that at Rome he saw, a second time, a showman with his serpents . . . with a sudden gratitude . . . he reflected how richly possessed his life had actually been by beautiful aspects and imageries, seeing how greatly what was repugnant to the eye disturbed his peace" (I, 24).

Essentially,” the first two chapters of Marius are expository; they serve to describe, in some detail, the temperament of the hero. With the third chapter Marius’ journey, both physical and intellectual, begins. The temple of Aesculapius and all Marius witnesses there implant within him the seeds of his Epicureanism. The first of the novel’s discourses, delivered by a young priest of the temple, encourages "a diligent promotion of the capacity of the eye" (I, 32). This discourse, like all of the others, has its significance in its effect upon Marius, and indeed, it proves substantial. Marius never forgets these words of the Aesculapian priest, for the rest of
his life he places his trust in the power of the eye, in what he actually sees. The entire temple of Aesculapian experience, culminating in the vision of Pisa ("Or Rome, was it?") "served, as he understood afterwards in retrospect, at once to strengthen and to purify a certain vein of character in him" (I, 40-41).

Throughout the novel Pater places this emphasis on Marius' perception of the world. Thus, the death of his mother has its importance in the effect on Marius; it "turned seriousness of feeling into a matter of the intelligence; it made him a questioner; and by bringing into full evidence to him the force of his affections and the probable importance of their place in his future, developed in him generally the more human and earthly elements of character" (I, 43).

The sights and sounds of Pisa add "to the thickly gathering crowd of impressions, out of which his notion of the world was then forming" (I, 44-45). Apuleius' myth of Cupid and Psyche "served to combine many lines of meditation, already familiar to Marius, into the ideal of a perfect imaginative love" (I, 92). The Metamorphoses of Apuleius is always recalled by Marius as a "glowing impression" (I, 94). The sudden death of his friend Flavian, which "came like a final revelation of nothing less than the soul's extinction" (I, 123), is pivotal in that it leads Marius to the study of those philosophers who wrote on the fate of the soul after death. In turn he comes to believe that "the individual is to himself the measure of all things, and [learns] to rely on the exclusive certainty to himself of his own impressions" (I, 133). He learns the importance of impressions for
accurate perception: "How reassuring, after so long a debate about the rival criteria of truth, to fall back upon direct sensation, to limit one's aspirations after knowledge to that... how natural the determination to rely exclusively upon the phenomena of the senses, which certainly never deceive us about themselves, about which alone we can never deceive ourselves!" (I,138-39). Marius' impressions are both the actual phenomena which have brought him to this level of understanding, and the technical vehicle of expression by which Pater has depicted that development; the subject and its expression are the same.

From this point on Marius surrenders himself, "a willing subject... to the impressions of the road" (I,160), and "the motion of the journey... brings his thoughts to systematic form" (I,164). Both his actual and his intellectual journey are presented as a series of impressions, or moments of revelation. Another of the outward "accidents" which signals an inward development is the incident of the falling mass of stone in "On the Way":

From the steep slope a heavy mass of stone was detached, after some whisperings among the trees above his head, and rushing down through the stillness fell to pieces in a cloud of dust across the road just behind him, so that he felt the touch upon his heel. That was sufficient, just then, to rouse out of its hiding-place his old vague fear of evil—of one's "enemies"—a distress, so much a matter of constitution with him, that at times it would seem that the best pleasures of life could but be snatched, as it were hastily, in one moment's forgetfulness of its
dark, besetting influence. A sudden suspicion of hatred against him, of the nearness of "enemies," seemed all at once to alter the visible form of things, as with the child's hero, when he found the footprint on the sand of his peaceful, dreamy island. His elaborate philosphy had not put beneath his feet the terror of mere bodily evil; much less of "inexorable fate, and the noise of greedy Acheron." (I,165-66)

Marius' journey is a series of observations followed by rumination and revelation. Rome itself is presented impressionistically as it appears to Marius in all of its colour and form, as he goes "forth with a heat in the town sunshine (like a mist of fine gold-dust spread through the air)"(I,174). He notes in Marcus Aurelius' "outward form" symbols of his "inward religious serenity" and aspects of the emperor's character and personality:

The nostrils and the mouth seemed capable almost of peevishness; and Marius noted in them, as in the hands, and in the spare body generally, what was new to his experience—something of asceticism, as we say, of a bodily gymnastic, by which, although it told pleasantly in the clear-blue humours of the eyes, the flesh had scarcely been an equal gainer with the spirit. (I,191)

Here, too, Pater makes it clear that Aurelius' discourse has its real significance not in the ideas themselves, presented, but in their effect upon Marius' developing consciousness: "the curious interest of the discourse lay in this, that Marius, for one, as he listened, seemed to foresee a grass-grown Forum, the broken ways of the Capitol, and the Palatine hill itself in humble occupation. That impression connected
itself with what he had already noted of an actual change, even then coming over Italian scenery" (I,200). Later, as Marius listens to Cornelius Fronto speaking, we are told that "this general discourse to a general audience had the effect of an utterance adroitly designed for him" (II,6).

The development of Marius' relationship with the Christian knight Cornelius is highly dependent upon the former's visual impressions:

And yet it was still to the eye, through visible movement and aspect, that the character, or genius of Cornelius made itself felt by Marius; even as on that afternoon when he had girt on his armour, among the expressive lights and shades of the dim old villa at the roadside, and every object of his knightly array had seemed to be but sign or symbol of some other thing far beyond it. For, consistently with his really poetic temper, all influence reached Marius, even more exclusively than he was aware, through the medium of sense. (I,233)

And it is thus that he is influenced by the slaughter in Aurelius' amphitheatre, and the emperor's indifference to it. The depraved behavior that Marius is a witness to effects a further change and development in his philosophic outlook. The Stoical outlook which could remain detached and unmoved in the face of such cruel savagery was surely inferior to his own, which, if it could do nothing to halt or prevent the slaughter, at least protested that "This, and this, is what you may not look upon!" (I,243).

Marius' development continues through moments that are "high-pitched, passionately coloured, intent with sensation,
and a kind of knowledge which, in its vivid clearness, was like sensation"(II,21-22). "His natural [aesthetic] susceptibility ... seems to demand of him an almost exclusive pre-occupation with the aspects of things ... their revelations to the eye and the imagination; not so much because those aspects of them yield him the largest amount of enjoyment, as because to be occupied in this way ... is to be in real contact with those elements of his own nature, and of theirs, which, for him at least, are matter of the most real kind of apprehension"(II,25-26).

His greatest single privileged hour, when his powers of apprehension are at their height, comes when certain aspects of his surroundings become particularly portentous for him. During a day of riding over the Roman Campagna Marius experiences an hour of acute perception and revelation "with which, as he conceived, the aspects of the place he was then visiting had something to do"(II,65). Marius has a vision of an ideal "unfailing companion" which affects him deeply and shapes a good deal of the remainder of his life and his way of perceiving and assessing it. The way in which Pater presents such a crucial episode in the novel is indicative of his dependence upon the method of thematic expression which I have been examining. During the entire episode nothing actually "happens"; the only action which Pater does include only adds to the sense of silence and motionlessness: "A bird came and sang among the wattled hedge-roses; an animal feeding crept nearer; the child
who kept it was gazing quietly" (II, 67). All other movement in the episode is purely psychological, spurred by the influences of the particular place reaching Marius through the medium of sense. Action is in the form of impressions, perceptions, and revelations successively breaking upon Marius' consciousness:

He sat down in an olive garden and, all around him and within still turning to reverie, the course of his own life hitherto seemed to withdraw itself into some other world, parted from this spectacular point where he was now placed to survey it, like that distant road below, along which he had travelled this morning across the Campagna. Through a dreamy land he could see himself moving, as if in another life, and like another person, through all his fortunes and misfortunes, passing from point to point, weeping, delighted, escaping from various dangers. That prospect brought him, first of all, an impulse of lively gratitude: it was as if he must look round for someone else to share his joy with: for someone to whom he might tell the thing, for his own relief. Companionship, indeed, familiarity with others, gifted in this way or that, or at least pleasant to him, had been, through one or another long span of it, the chief delight of the journey. And was it only the resultant general sense of such familiarity, diffused through his memory, that in a while suggested the question whether there had not been—besides Flavian, besides Cornelius even, and amid the solitude which in spite of ardent friendship he had perhaps loved best of all things—some other companion, an unfailing companion, ever at his side throughout, doubling his pleasure in the roses by the way, patient of his peevishness or depression, sympathetic above all with his grateful recognition, onward from his earliest days, of the fact that he was there at all? . . . . .
In this peculiar and privileged hour, his bodily frame, as he could recognise, although just then, in the whole sum of its capacities, so entirely possessed by him—Nay! actually his very self—was yet determined by a far-reaching system of material forces external to it, a thousand combining currents from earth and sky. Its seemingly active powers of apprehension were, in fact, but susceptibilities to influence. The perfection of its capacity might be said to depend on its passive surrender, as of a leaf on the wind, to the motions of the great system of physical energy without it.

Himself—his sensations and ideas—never fell again precisely into focus as on that day, yet he was the richer by its experience. (II,66-71)

It is in this fashion, through a "train of reflections" prompted by sensory perception, more than any other, that Marius progresses and develops; "the experience of that fortunate hour, seeming to gather into one central act of vision all the deeper impressions his mind had ever received, did not leave him quite as he had been"(II,75).

All of the great changes in Marius' philosophic outlook, which represent the significant movement of the novel, are stimulated by his various impressions and perceptions. The successive experiences of "Two Curious Houses" mark the development from the abstract beliefs of Apuleius to the visually apprehensible faith of Cecilia's house (this is not to conclude, as some have, that Marius is drawn to Christianity by its aesthetically pleasing outward form and ceremony)

97. As Graham Hough has pointed out, "he had found that as a boy in the religion of Numai" Marius was drawn to Christianity.
Christianity initially reaches Marius, as all influences do, through the medium of sense. Cecilia herself first appears to Marius as though in a vision:

Half above, half below the level white mist, dividing the light from the darkness, came now the mistress of this place, the wealthy Roman matron, left early a widow a few years before, by Cecilius "Confessor and Saint." With a certain antique severity in the gathering of the long white mantle, and with coif or veil folded decorously below the chin, "gray within gray," to the mind of Marius her temperate beauty brought reminiscences of the serious and virile character of the best female statuary of Greece. . . . That visionary scene was the close, the fitting close, of the afternoon's strange experiences. (II,105)

And like all of Marius' visionary scenes, it effects a change in his character and consciousness: "he suspected that, after the beholding of it, he could never again be altogether as he had been before"(II,108).

It is in another "accident," his coming upon the "Divine Service" of communion in Cecilia's house, that Marius finds "all his new impressions set forth"(II,128). Wandering through the house in search of Cornelius, Marius sees "for the first time the wonderful spectacle--wonderful, especially, in its evidential power over himself, over his own thoughts--of those who believe"(II,130). Again Pater stresses "the influence upon him"(II,128) of the solemn and beautiful ceremony.

he suggests, "by the sense of a community bound together in charity." The Last Romantics, p.154.
Given what we have seen as the identification of matter and form in Marius, we may take Pater’s own estimation of the matter of the work as a comment also upon its form: “Actually, as circumstances had determined, all its movement had been inward; movement of observation only, or even of pure meditation” (II, 208-09). The formal movement also is from observation to observation, each followed first by meditation upon the element observed, then by revelation and the development of consciousness. In his final chapter Pater also stresses the importance of “seeing”:

Revelation, vision, the discovery of a vision, the seeing of a perfect humanity, in a perfect world—through all his alterations of mind, by some dominant instinct, determined by the original necessities of his own nature and character, he had always set that above the having, or even the doing, of anything. For, such vision, if received with due attitude on his part, was, in reality, the being something. (II, 218)

Formally, as well as thematically, Pater maintains this emphasis on seeing; the novel itself consists of a series of momentary visions. It is neither through his having or doing anything that Marius’ story is presented; this is achieved solely by what he sees. Not much is actually done in the novel, but a good deal is seen, and this, given the thematic emphases of the above passage, far from being a defect of the novel, represents a technical achievement in English fiction which surpasses any other of the same period.
Form and theme blend once again at the much discussed conclusion of the novel. It seems to me that Pater makes it clear what Marius' philosophical position and achievement are, and neither involves his becoming a Christian. The placing of the "mystic bread" between Marius' lips is not the climax of the final chapter; we should not take the final meaning of the novel from this action; partly because it is only an action, and events are not the most significant or meaningful elements of the novel. It is an action uncontrolled by Marius (Pater's sudden switch into the passive voice to describe this action only, and his hero's "extreme helplessness" stress Marius' passivity), and more importantly, it is an action unmeditated upon by Marius. We have seen that it is only in the effect of events upon Marius, and his perception of them that the meaning or significance of the novel lies.\(^\text{98}\)

The climax of the final chapter comes before the end while Marius is still conscious (which seems appropriate in a novel of consciousness). Marius' last days are very rich in vision and revelation. In the concluding pages of the novel, as in the second half of "The Will as Vision," very little actually happens, but there is a tremendous amount of psychological movement. While on his death-bed Marius moves quickly

\(^{98}\) Robert K. Martin has noted Pater's ironic treatment of Marius' communion, suggesting that his Christianity is established only in the minds of the Christians who bury him; he points to the significance, in a novel which pays so much attention to point of view, of Marius' death being held as a Christian martyrdom "according to their generous view in this matter" (II,224; italics added).
from one vision to another, and here again form and theme come together, for it is the visions themselves which form the substance of Marius' thoughts and shape his final per-
ceptions of both life and death:

And yet it was the fact, again, that the vision of men and things, actually revealed to him on his way through the world, had developed, with a wonderful largeness, the faculties to which it addressed itself, his general capacity of vision; and in that too was a success, in view of certain, very definite, well-considered, undeniable possibilities. Throughout that elaborate and lifelong education of his receptive powers, he had ever kept in view the purpose of preparing himself towards possible further revelation some day—towards some ampler vision, which should take up into itself and explain this world's delightful shows, as the scattered fragments of a poetry, till then but half-understood, might be taken up into the text of a lost epic; recovered at last. At this moment, his unclouded receptivity of soul, grown so steadily through all those years, from experience to experience, was at its height. . . . Surely, the aim of a true philosophy must lie, not in futile efforts towards the complete accommodation of a man to the circumstances in which he chances to find himself, but in the mainte-
nance of a kind of candid discontent, in the face of the very highest achievement; the unclouded and receptive soul quitting the world finally, with the same fresh wonder with which it had entered the world still un-
impairied, and going on its blind way at last with the consciousness of some profound enigma in things, as but a pledge of something further to come. (II, 219-20)

While allowing for the importance of the theme of com-
paionship and the significance of Marius' self-sacrifice for
Cornelius, the subject that I have emphasized, that is, the development of Marius' consciousness (it seems to me that the former is subsumed in the latter), has its final expression in this passage. Marius' unclouded receptivity of soul seems to have been the thematic end of Pater's formal means from the opening paragraph of the novel. General capacity of vision is, in Pater's view, synonymous with consciousness. Consciousness is receptive power, and one "receives," or apprehends, through vision. Finally, then, the privileged moment of impression and vision is more than a technical means for the expression of theme; it is part of the theme itself. Marius' successive visions expand his capacity to have visions; his high susceptibility to influence through the medium of sense, to impressions and visionary experiences, manifests itself in the development of a large receptive faculty within his consciousness, and this last achievement represents a desired end to a psychological journey.

V.

In moving from critical essay to imaginary portrait Pater retained his central thematic emphasis on subjective perception through isolated moments of impression and vision. "The individual is to himself the measure of all things" may be established as the key-phrase for The Renaissance: "The Child in the House," and Marius. The only real thematic changes that Pater made in the switch to imaginary portraiture involved
the study of fictional personalities instead of actual ones, and an alteration in focus from art to life. Although life and experience are certainly discussed in the "Conclusion" (and throughout *The Renaissance*), the primary focus is on art, whereas in "The Child" and *Marius* Pâtre is more concerned with the nature of existence. But the phenomenon of apprehension or perception, whether it be of art or of life, is central to both Pater's critical and early fictional work; the term "impression" is central to both his subject-matter and his technique in his criticism and fiction. *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* is presented, in part, as a series of Pater's own impressions of the artists and works under discussion. In moving from the essay to his own innovative imaginary portrait, Pater had much more technical leeway. The form of "The Child" alternates between moments of impression and expository passages, but the fundamental mechanics of Pater's method are here established. *Marius* represents the furthest development of this method; it depends almost entirely for thematic expression upon successive moments of impression and vision. Pater's privileged moment is the technical vehicle which carries the abstract thought of the novel from the first chapter to the last.

Gerald Monsman has noted examples of the same technique in some of Pater's other imaginary portraits. In "A Prince of Court Painters" the journal form is a variation of the technique in its "series of successive present moments."

While two episodes in Marius have their technical counterparts in Gaston de Latour, Flavian's death is paralleled by the death of Gaston's grandmother: "That broken link with life seemed to end some other things for him. As one puts away the toys of childhood, so now he seemed to discard what had been the central influence of his earlier youth, what more than anything else had stirred the imagination and brought the consciousness of his own life warm and full" (Gaston de Latour, 47); and the episode of the falling rock in "On the Way" is matched in Gaston by the sudden collapse of a church.

Gaston, the last lingerer, halting to let others proceed quietly before him, turned himself about to gaze upon the deserted church, half tempted to remain, ere he too stepped forth lightly and leisurely, when under a shower of massy stones from the couleuvrines or great cannon of the besiegers, the entire roof of the place sank into the empty space behind him. But it was otherwise in a neighbouring church, crushed, in a similar way, with all its good people, not long afterwards. (46)

Generally, however, Pater did not maintain the method of "The Child" and Marius in his subsequent fiction. In most of the portraits written after Marius Pater returns to the form of "Sebastian van Storck," the use of a representative figure to epitomize a period or a place. Portraits such as "Duke Carl of Rosenhold" and "Emerald Uthwart" depend more upon narrative events, while in "Denys L'Auxerrois" and "Apollo in Picardy"

100. Monsman, Pater's Portraits, pp.141-42.
Pater experiments with modernizing old mythic patterns. Pater clearly wished to experiment with various fictional forms, and his brief literary career and small output meant unfortunately that each form would have but a few representatives. *Marius* stands as Pater's greatest and last work employing the fictional method that we have examined.

VI

Earlier in our discussion of fictional technique in *Marius* we noted that the novel is psychological and "modern" in its treatment of its protagonist as a central consciousness whose perception and interpretation of outward events outlines and informs the real core of the work, over and above the events themselves. Everything in the novel, we suggested, is a function of this central consciousness; elements of the novel are significant only in the effect they produce upon the protagonist's consciousness. The central consciousness, in fact, becomes an interpretive and organizing agent, lending significance and form to seemingly random and intrinsically meaningless events occurring in the actual world. This aspect of *Marius* may be related, like most others, to the "Conclusion" of *The Renaissance*.

In Pater's Portraits Gerald Monsman discusses Pater's attempt to deal with the flux:

101. As Robert K. Martin has suggested, the mythic hero is also a "modern" characteristic and is not irrelevant to Joyce.
That the Conclusion should culminate in a discussion of art is of prime significance, for here, in the aesthetic realm, we can find the ideal reality denied us by the Heraclitean, scientific world view which the Conclusion portrayed in its opening paragraphs. Art gives to the ideal its necessary concrete expression; for the aesthetic object, anchored in the world of sensuous perception, within the fabric of the veil of immediate experience, becomes the visible and empirical locus of the Absolute. The presence of the "flux" need not rule out the existence of fixed form.  

Despite the last sentence of the "Conclusion," art offered more to Pater than the highest quality to moments as they pass. In the face of the flux, while all melts under one's feet, artistic form is a finite, stable, and accessible phenomenon, and together with individual perception, offers a means of ordering a fleeting universe. Pater's technique in his novel of presenting a changing universe through the stable medium of Marius' mind, the central consciousness technique, to impose a modern phrase, offers a way to combine individual perception with artistic form, and to embrace, in art, the Absolute.

Eugene Brzenk has noted, more than anyone else, Pater's handling of the central consciousness technique. In one discussion he suggests that "Pater's interest in the mental processes of a centrally placed intelligence, his unique use of historical materials and his impressionistic delineation of setting and character do not fit into the pattern of the.

102. Pater's Portraits, p.16.
nineteenth-century historical novel." In another study he continues his discussion: "the central personality always remains the focus of all that takes place in the narrative work, and the close identification between author and central characters creates the impression that everything is being recorded through the consciousness of the protagonist." Brzenk hints suggestively at an area of influence that I will look at in the second chapter when he notes that "Pater's use of a controlled third-person point of view, which concentrates upon the thoughts and sensations of a centrally placed leading character, anticipates the single point of view which Henry James perfected as a result of the same desire to give unity to his fiction." 

In her discussion of central metaphors in Marius Jean Sudrann links the work with the modern psychological novel in the "depiction of the apprehending sensibility itself rather than the world which it apprehends as its chief concern." Louise Rosenblatt, meanwhile, notes "the presentation of even the more violent and dramatic events mainly by refraction, as it were, through the meditative personality of Marius." 

Pater's technique of relating his story and expressing his themes by means of moments of impression, and the concept

104 Brzenk, "The Unique Fictional World of Walter Pater," p.225. The only other critic to note this relationship is Jean Sudrann, in suggesting that "Marius has an exquisite sensibility worthy of a Jamesian hero"(436).
105 Sudrann, p.425.
106 Rosenblatt, p.258.
of the central consciousness are, of course, closely related. The key terms in our previous discussion, "impression," "vision," "perception," and "revelation" naturally imply a centrally placed intelligence, or consciousness, that is impressed upon; the "smooth wax" of "The Child," the "tablet of the mind white and smooth" (II, 220) of Marius. But the central intelligences of the first two portraits are more than simply receptive mechanisms passively recording impressions. The central consciousness technique and subjective perception (brought together artistically) offered Pater a means by which he could create a fixed and ordered form amid the confusion of the flux.

We noted earlier that "The Child" is doubly subjective: the life of the child is itself but the reminiscence or dream of the adult Florian; it is framed by the reaches of his memory;

that night, like a reward for his pity, a dream of that place came to Florian, a dream which did for him the office of the finer sort of memory, bringing its object to mind with a great clearness, yet, as sometimes happens in dreams, raised a little above itself, and above ordinary retrospect. . . . And it happened that this accident of his dream was just the thing needed for the beginning of a certain design he then had in view, the noting, namely, of some things in the story of his spirit—in that process of brain-building by which we are, each one of us, what we are. (Miscellaneous Studies, 172-73)

Within this subjective framework the child's own perception of reality is a function of his personal impressions of outward objects, events, and phenomena. The actual world is
refracted first through the adult's memory, then through the child's mind. In his first imaginary portrait Pater clearly wanted to ensure that the relation between the central perceiving intelligence and the form of the work was complete. Literally nothing happens in the portrait outside of Florian's vision; the portrait is his dream-vision.

In Marius Pater, perhaps more confident of his literary method (that is, the use of impressions as a technical vehicle), discarded the larger frame of the memory used in "The Child." Wishing to retain the close relation between the central intelligence and the form of the work, he depended completely upon his method of attaching significance to events only in their effect upon his protagonist's consciousness. Marius' consciousness is an active controlling force and organizing agent: it perceives a pattern in a seemingly unordered universe, and by doing so, and by virtue of its position at the center of the novel, it creates a fixed artistic form. The artistic form of Marius does not reflect a systematic, ontological universe, but an ordered pattern traced by the protagonist's individual perception. Marius' role as a reflector, or translator into order, is commented upon by the author himself:

Had he not come to Rome partly under poetic vocation, to receive all those things, the very impress of life itself, upon the visual, the imaginative organ, as upon a mirror; to reflect them, to transmute them into golden words? (I; 180-81)
The novel itself consists of this very transmutation of impressions into golden words. Marius' visions and perceptions have taken on artistic form in Pater's expression of them.

We may see an example of this process in a passage closely following the one above. It is a scene describing the religious ceremonies of the superstitious Roman public; in it we find the familiar movement in the novel from narrative description to internal perception:

In one street Marius witnessed an incident of the festival of the patron deity of that neighborhood, the way being strewn with box, the houses tricked out gaily in such poor finery as they possessed, while the ancient idol was borne through it in procession, arrayed in gaudy attire the worse for wear. . . . Black with the perpetual smoke of lamps and incense, oftenest old and ugly, perhaps on that account the more likely to listen to the desires of the suffering—had not those sacred effigies sometimes given sensible tokens that they were aware? The image of the Fortune of Women—Fortuna Muliebris, in the Latin Way, had spoken (not once only) and declared: Bene me, Matronae! vidistis riteque dedicatis! The Apollo of Cumae had wept during three whole nights and days. The images in the temple of Juno Sospita had been seen to sweat. Nay! there was blood—divine blood—in the hearts of some of them; the images in the Grove of Feronia had sweated blood: (I, 185-86)

The last sentences depict not outward reality, but Marius' imaginative perception of it; from first to last, it is his perception which informs the real subject-matter and form of the novel.
In what is perhaps the most crucial chapter of the novel, "The Will as Vision," and during Marius' most privileged hour of revelation, he contemplates the philosophical idea which forms the basis for his role as controlling central intelligence:

Might not this entire material world, the very scene around him, the immemorial rocks, the firm marble, the olive-gardens, the falling water, be themselves but reflections in, or a creation of that one indestructible mind, wherein he too became conscious, for an hour, a day, for so many years? Upon what other hypothesis could he so well understand the persistence of all these things for his own intermittent consciousness of them, for the intermittent consciousness of so many generations, fleeting away one after another? It was easier to conceive of the material fabric of things as but an element in a world of thought—as a thought in a mind, than of mind as an element, or accident, or passing condition in a world of matter, because mind was really nearer to himself; it was an explanation of what was less known by what was known better. (II, 69-70)

Pater's formal presentation mirrors his thematic suggestion that the entire material world is but a reflection in his protagonist's mind; all of the elements of his novel are, essentially, but reflections in Marius' consciousness. Marius is not, like "The Child," simply the dream-vision of its central character. Pater's method in his second portrait is much more elaborate and refined than that in the first. Marius' role as the controlling and creative central consciousness is conveyed by much more subtle touches throughout the novel. The
almost imperceptible movement from narrative description of outward elements into the internal reflections of Marius' mind is one of the most effective means of establishing his as a controlling consciousness. Pater's clear emphasis on the importance of events, discourses, and translations lying not in themselves, but in their effect upon Marius, is another. The technique of thematic expression through moments of impression is, of course, another important aspect of the central consciousness concept. Lastly, Pater's emphasis on the importance not of what Marius has or does, but of what he sees, and more importantly, what he feels about what he sees, is perhaps a final comment on the dependence of his novel upon Marius' visions; it is these, above all, which outline, control, and in effect, create the novel's subject-matter and its form.

VII

It hardly needs repeating, then, that there is a direct link between Pater's critical works (in particular Studies in the History of the Renaissance) and his early fiction; the form and much of the subject-matter of "The Child in the House" and Marius may be directly traced to the theories and techniques of Pater's first volume. In many ways Pater's fictional technique is a practical application of his early philosophical and aesthetic theories. Just as the theories themselves anticipated much of the aestheticism and philosophy of the twentieth century, so Pater's application of them to the form of
his own fiction influenced the development of fictional techniques in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Pater's unique movement from criticism to fiction was duplicated by Henry James in his own century, and by James Joyce at the beginning of the present century. Like Pater, both of these great novelists began their literary careers writing critical essays and reviews. Also like Pater, their apprenticeship in criticism had much effect on their later, more creative fiction. This similar movement from criticism to fiction on the part of James and Joyce, and the effect upon their fiction of the innovative technical results of the relation of Pater's criticism to his fiction, together will form the focal points of the next two chapters.
Chapter Two
Pater and Henry James
Though Henry James' place in the front ranks of English literature is due to his long list of great novels, particularly those of his "major phase," *The Ambassadors* (1901), *The Wings of the Dove* (1902), and *The Golden Bowl* (1904), he is also the author of a good deal of formidable criticism. The time of his literary apprenticeship was spent writing reviews and critiques of literature and the arts, and travel sketches describing, for the most part, places in Europe. The essays, reviews, and sketches collected into *Transatlantic Sketches* (1875), *Portraits of Places* (1883), *Partial Portraits* (1888), and *The Painter's Eye* (1956; comprised of essays and reviews written between 1868 and 1897) form the critical complement to James' more widely known novels and tales. As a critic of literature and the arts in the latter half of the nineteenth century James had few famous American colleagues, but he found himself a contemporary of three, more established, Englishmen: Ruskin, Arnold, and Pater. Like most other young students of the arts (including Arnold and Pater), James was deeply affected by Ruskin's comprehensive works. Any aspiring critic of that time who wished to deal with the visual arts had first to deal with Ruskin, and James was no exception. In James' early essays on painting and architecture (especially Venetian) we encounter frequent allusions to Ruskin's works and the repeated revered mention of his name, couched often

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in a readily perceptible Ruskinian style and manner.\(^2\)

However highly the young James thought of Ruskin, however, his admiration was tempered, as he developed intellectually, by a skepticism and mistrust of some of the great critic's more extreme views. It would seem that sometime between 1873 and 1877 James's estimation of Ruskin changed rather drastically. In "Italy Revisited" (1877) James writes that Ruskin's pages on Florence and its artists "seemed invidious and insane" ([Portraits of Places, 66])\(^3\) that "it is very dry and pedantic to say that the happy vision [of the city] depends upon our squaring our toes with a certain particular chalkmark" (67). James facetiously muses on the comicality of "the familiar asperity of the author's style and the pedagogic fashion in which he pushes and pulls his unhappy pupils about, jerking their heads towards this, rapping their knuckles for

2. James' allusions to Ruskin's works and his genius, too numerous to list, may be found in almost any of his early essays on the visual arts collected into [Transatlantic Sketches]. Ruskin's influence on James' early theory and style may be seen most clearly in "From Chambéry to Milan" (1872) and "From Venice to Strasburg" (1872). In his discussion of the Cathedral of Milan James argues that "beauty in great architecture is almost a secondary merit, and that the main point is mass--such mass as may make it a supreme embodiment of sustained effort." A great building is the greatest conceivable work of art. More than any other it represents difficulties annihilated, resources combined, labour, courage, and patience. And there are people who tell us that art has nothing to do with morality." Similarly, he suggests of Tintoretto that "the great source of his impressiveness is that his indefatigable hand never drew a line that was not, as one may say, a moral line." ([Transatlantic Sketches (1875), rpt. New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1972, pp.78,91. All further quotations from this work are taken from this edition;]

3. [Portraits of Places (1883), rpt. New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1972]. All further quotations from this work are taken from this edition.
that, sending them to stand in corners, and giving them Scripture texts to copy" (67). He berates Ruskin for his dogmatism, his opinionated, uncompromising tone, his insistence on the moral responsibilities of art:

And as for Mr. Ruskin's world of art being a place where we may take life easily, woe to the luckless mortal who enters it with any such disposition. Instead of a garden of delight, he finds a sort of assize-court, in perpetual session. Instead of a place in which human responsibilities are lightened and suspended, he finds a region governed by a kind of Draconic legislation. His responsibilities, indeed, are tenfold increased. (68-69)

As an alternative to Ruskin's world of art, James offers a view that is closer to Pater's:

Art is the one corner of human life in which we may take our ease. To justify our presence there the only thing that is demanded of us is that we shall have a passion for representation. In other places our passions are conditioned and embarrassed; we are allowed to have only so many as are consistent with those of our neighbours; with their convenience and well-being, with their convictions and prejudices, their rules and regulations. Art means an escape from all this. Whatever her brilliant standard, floats the need for apologies and exoneration is over, there it is enough simply that we please or that we are pleased. There the tree is judged only by its fruits. If these are sweet, one is welcome to pluck them. (68)

Here James implicitly repeats Pater's emphasis (in which he offers the antithesis of Ruskin's view) that art comes to you
proposing frankly to give nothing but the highest quality to your moments as they pass" (*Renaissance*, 239:190).

In James' early essays, those written in the 1870s and early 1880s, we find an odd mixture of light travel sketch and considered criticism, so that within two or three pages of the same essay, "A Chain of Cities" (1873), James offers very practical advice on "just how a week at Perugia may be spent" (*Transatlantic Sketches*, 222) along with a discriminating and enlightened discussion of Perugino's paintings. Perhaps in partial consequence of this unusual balance, James' emphasis in his criticism is on art appreciation for its own sake—one of the diversions a tourist might enjoy while vacationing in Europe is a pleasant stroll through the art galleries. If indeed art has a function, it is to entertain rather than to edify or offer moral judgment. His main quarrel with Ruskin stems from their differing views on the role of art: "One may read a great many pages of Mr. Ruskin without getting a hint... of the not unimportant fact that art, after all, is made for us, and not we for art" (*Portraits of Places*, 68).

James' critical position, however, is not directly opposed to Ruskin's; it merely tempers Ruskin's positon with a more subjectivist approach. James' concurs with Pater's argument that though art may serve a moral or religious purpose for those who seek to find one there, it should not be created to serve only moral, political, or religious ends; the question of morality and art depends upon the observer's
subjective perception. James declares that he regards pictorial art "more as an entertainment and less as a solemnity" (Transatlantic Sketches, 290), and suggests that "it is the privilege of art to make us relish the human mind, and not to make us patronize it" (290). Emphasizing the subjectivist approach, he stresses that the meaning one may or may not discover in a painting "depends vastly upon one's mood—as a traveller's impressions do... On some days we ask to be entertained; on others, Ruskin-haunted, to be edified" (290-91).

Such statements coming, as they do, in the spring of 1874, and in the same essay ("Florentine Notes") in which James alludes to Studies in the History of the Renaissance and reveres Pater as an "accomplished" and "fastidious" critic, must surely have been influenced by Pater's emphasis on the importance of subjective perceptions and impressions in aesthetic criticism. Indeed the word "impression," or a variant of it occurs frequently in sections III, IV, and V of "Florentine Notes." James repeats his stress on the subjective perception of a painting or scene: "my imagination... refused to project into the dark old town and upon the yellow hills that sympathetic glow which forms half the substance of our genial

4. James read Studies in the History of the Renaissance within a few months of its publication; he wrote to his brother William from Florence on May 31, 1873: "I saw Pater's Studies just after getting your letter, in the English bookseller's window; and was inflamed to think of buying it and trying a notice. But I see it treats of several things I know nothing about." (Henry James Letters, ed. Leon Edel, (London: Macmillan, 1974), Vol. I, p.391.) That James could call Pater an accomplished and fastidious critic after having read only his first
impressions"(291). As Viola Hopkins Winner notes, James' criticisms of Botticelli (at that time a relatively unknown painter in England and America) are virtual paraphrases of Pater's essay in *The Renaissance*: "a Madonna, chilled with tragic prescience, laying a pale cheek against that of a blighted Infant. Such a melancholy mother as this of Botticelli would have strangled her baby in its cradle to rescue it from the future"(288-89). Both James and Pater linger on Botticelli's active imagination and his individual spirit. Pater calls him a "visionary painter;" his type of genius "usurps the data before it as the exponent of ideas, moods, visions of its own; in this interest it plays fast and loose with those data, rejecting some and isolating others, and always combining them anew"(*Renaissance*, 53-54;41-42). James suggests that "his fancy was audacious and adventurous. . . . [He] had a faculty which loved to play tricks with the actual, to sport and wander and explore on its own account"(300). Pater talks of "an inventive force" in his work (53;41); he seems to James "to possess invention"(300). Even James' style in this section of "Florentine Notes" is reminiscent of Pater's: "Only add to this illimitable grace of design that his adventurous fancy goes a-Maying, not on wanton errands of its own, but on those of some mystic superstition which trembles forever in his heart"(300-01).

book indicates that it must have had a substantial effect on him. Pater was not famous as a critic before the publication of *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*; the judgment by James, in Italy, is his own.

5. Winner, p.45.
Winner, in discussing James' reaction to aestheticism notes that he shared with Pater "basic similarities--a sensitivity to the visible and concrete, a concomitant distaste for the abstract and theoretical, an emphasis on the personal impression, a belief in the relativity of beauty, and a concentration on style." Although James' critical stance in his essays and reviews on painting cannot be said to be pre-eminently, or even largely "Paterian" (or "Ruskinian"; James clearly made a conscious and successful effort from the beginning to make his critical approach and its expression "Jamesian"), his criticisms of the visual arts are highlighted from time to time by distinctly Paterian ideas and expressions. James' early mention of "a swarm of fine conflicting impressions" (Painter's Eye, 57) has its obvious source in the Pater canon, and his sentences on Reynolds' "Nelly O'Brien," written in January of 1873, are clearly modelled on Pater's compelling passage on La Gioconda:

As she sits there smiling in wholesome archness, a toast at old-time heavy suppers we may be sure, his model seems to us the immortal image of a perfect temper.

6. Winner, p.45. Winner dismisses James' relation to Pater almost as soon as she considers it. That Pater "did not strike a deep responsive chord in James" she attributes "to the lack of energy, robustness, 'manliness' in Pater and to the strength of Ruskin's moral influence on James."(55) We have seen, however, that it may have been that very morality which limited James' affinity with Ruskin and strengthened his relation to Pater.

She melted many hearts, we conjecture, but she broke none; though a downright beauty, she was not a cruel one, and on her path through life she stirred more hope than despair. All this we read in the full ripe countenance she presents to us, slightly flattened and suffused by the shadow in which she sits. Her arms are folded in her lap; she bends forward and looks up, smiling, from her book. (Painter’s Eye, 70)

James' discussion of Greek sculpture in February 1873 (in "From a Roman Note-Book") suggests that he had read Pater's essay on Winckelmann when it was first published in the Westminster Review in January 1867. James mentions Winckelmann in his article and echoes Pater's claim for the superiority of Greek sculpture: "One sees something every now and then which makes one declare that the Greek manner, even for purely romantic and imaginative effects, surpasses any that has since been invented" (Transatlantic Sketches, 204). James agrees with Pater on the expressive capacity of sculpture: "It is not for sculpture to confess to an inability to produce any emotion that painting can" (204). In his article on Sargent in 1893 James recalls Pater's preoccupation in his 1888 essay on "Style" with the perfect identification of the "vision within" and its artistic expression; James says, "Those who have appreciated his work most up to the present time articulate no wish for a change, so completely does that work seem to them, in its kind, the exact translation of his thought, in the Westminster Review in June 1868; he must also have read "Notes on Léonardo da Vinci" as it appeared in the Fortnightly Review in November 1869.
the exact 'fit' of his artistic temperament" (Painter's Eye, 217).

James' pervasive and often expressed repugnance to the moralistic and "Philistine" nature of English painting (notably in "The Royal Academy," 1878, and "The Royal Academy and the Grosvenor Gallery," 1879) also reflects Pater's role in his development as a critic of the visual arts. Lastly, James' long essay on "The Letters of Eugène Delacroix" (1880) is perhaps partially indebted for its form to the essays in The Renaissance. James places a similar emphasis on the relation of the life to the works; he traces the significant events of Delacroix's life, particularly his travels abroad, and suggests how they might have affected his painting.

Delacroix's short visit to England in his youth left its mark upon his mind and his work; it helped to initiate him still further into the possibilities of the "romanticism" which in France was about to become a great movement. We may doubt whether, without the impressions that he gathered on English soil, he would have conceived that admiration for Shakespeare, or even for another foreign genius, Goethe, which he subsequently expressed with so much pictorial power. . . . He must have returned to the land of classic art on the stage and on canvas with a rich store of impressions and intuitions. (192-93)

Here again we see James' stress on "impressions," which may be related (as we shall later discuss) to one of the cen-

8. Pater's influence in this area may have reached to James' Partial Portraits, in which the vivid and animated studies of literary artists are very much like Pater's historical portraits; James may also have been influenced in his choice of a title for his volume.
entral precepts of *The Renaissance*, that concerning the importance of subjective perception: "in aesthetic criticism the first step towards seeing one's object as it really is, is to know one's impression as it really is." Pater's emphasis on personal impressions throughout his work from his 1868 review of William Morris' poetry to *Plato and Platonism* was one of his most distinctive contributions to nineteenth-century art criticism, including that of James. Winner, in recognizing this affinity between James and Pater, notes that "James explicitly made a point of the importance of individual observation in his reviews of Howells's *Italian Journeys* [1868]... and Taine's *Notes on England* [1872]... both reviews appearing before the publication of Pater's *Renaissance*." 9

As we have seen, however, James probably read Pater's essays when they were originally published in the *Westminster Review* and the *Fortnightly Review*. Though James' review of *Italian Journeys* appeared in January of 1868 while Pater's "Poems by William Morris" did not appear until June, by the publication date of the review of *Notes on England* Pater had published a number of articles.


and The Golden Bowl. He suggests that The Portrait "became"
his first impressionist work,"\textsuperscript{11} and that "James would cer-
tainly not have thought of himself as an impressionist writer
in, say, 1874," although even at that time "the roots [of his
impressionism] already had taken hold."\textsuperscript{12} Unfortunately, there
is little discussion in Stowell's book of precisely how James'
impressionist roots originally took shape. The development of
James' literary impressionism receives little attention; his
practice as an impressionist writer, particularly in his late
novels, is clearly Stowell's main interest. Consequently,
James' early travel sketches and critical papers are completely
ignored in favour of a discussion of his fictional works from
1881 on.

Stowell considers the main factors in the formation of
James' impressionism to be his interest (shared with his
brother William) in phenomenological philosophy;\textsuperscript{13} his "intim-
ate knowledge of painting and his late embrace of impression-
ist painting;"\textsuperscript{14} "James's use of the term impression is usually
grounded in a visual, painterly sensibility. It is often equated

\textsuperscript{11} Stowell, p.7.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., p.172.
\textsuperscript{13} The question of the influence that William James' theories
of philosophy and psychology had on Henry's fiction is a rather
involved one. Stowell talks of their "major philosophic agree-
ments reached quite probably without the force of direct influence"(173). In discussing their intellectual relationship and
its possible effect on Henry's impressionism, Stowell quotes
from William's theories as they are expressed in Principles of
Psychology. As this work was not published until 1890, it
could have had no bearing on the early development of Henry's
impressionism.
\textsuperscript{14} The "lateness" of this embrace (Winner notes that James
with 'a picture.' James had an 'intense and lifelong' relationship with the visual arts, particularly painting.\textsuperscript{15} As we have seen, however, James had become acquainted with some examples of critical impressionism as early as the mid 1860s in Pater's early essays (and, very probably, with fictional impressionism, before he wrote \textit{The Portrait} in Pater's "The Child in the House"). If, as Stowell suggests, James would not have considered himself an "impressionist writer" in 1874, he was at least a writer with a keen interest in impressions.\textsuperscript{16}

There is no doubt that James was interested in impressions even before he read Pater, but Pater's works and his discussion of impressions and subjective perception seem to have influenced James immensely. In the last three pages of the Morris review (later to become the "Conclusion" to \textit{The Renaissance}; the rest of the review was reworked and published separately

did not fully accept impressionist painting until about 1897) is significant; his late interest in impressionist painting could not have influenced his own early literary impressionism.

\textsuperscript{15} Stowell, p.171.

\textsuperscript{16} What is also unfortunate about Stowell's otherwise interesting study is the absence of a single mention of Pater's name, or his literary impressionism. Especially in his discussion of James' impressionism, it seems almost an oversight not to have mentioned Pater's critical or fictional technique, particularly when Stowell's discussion of literary impressionism involves so many "Paterisms"; in his chapter on "Literary Impressionism" Stowell repeatedly uses the term (and actually discusses the concept) "privileged moment"; he also uses this term to describe the scene in \textit{The Portrait} in which Isabel discovers Madame Merle and Osmond alone together in his house (for a discussion of this scene see pp.121-23 below); he points to the centrality and importance in impressionist fiction of a perceiving consciousness, "the actual act of perception,\textsuperscript{(9)} and "the shift from a description of concrete and tangible reality to a rendering of apperception\textsuperscript{(17)}; and he notes, as we noted in chapter one, in our discussion of Marius as a
as "Aesthetic Poetry". in 1889) Pater gives his most eloquent treatment of his theory of personal impressions. We have seen that Jame's, in 1872, was intrigued by Pater's "swarm of impressions," in 1880 he reiterated that "a person whose sole relation to pictures is a disposition to enjoy them can rest upon his personal impressions"(Painter's Eye, 183-84). Indeed in all of James' articles and reviews on painting collected into Transatlantic Sketches, Portraits of Places, and The Painter's Eye the emphasis is unremittingly placed on the impression he received while looking at pictures.

II

It is an emphasis which James carried over into his fiction. His characters' impressions, not only of paintings, but of anything, were for James of some importance even before his "first impressionist work," The Portrait of a Lady. The narrator of "A Landscape Painter" (1866) is particularly fond of the term:

Two or three times I looked at Miss Quarterman to see what impression his sallies were making upon her. They seemed to produce none whatsoever. But I know better, moi. Not one of them escaped her. But I suppose she said

controlling central consciousness, that "Impressionism does not simply record the impact of pure, raw sensations on a passive receptor. . . . [it] is the process by which impressions are absorbed by a perceiver and synthesized by consciousness into a gestalt that may lead to action or thought" (25).

17. For the second edition of The Renaissance Pater altered this phrase to "a group of impressions."
to herself that her impressions on this point were no business of mine. 18

When the word is used in James' early tales it usually bears, the conventional connotation—one's impressions are simply one's feelings about what one perceives. Occasionally James makes a slightly unorthodox use of the word, as in "The Story of a Masterpiece" (1868): "'Go and look [at the painting] at your ease. I'll come to-morrow and hear your impressions.'" 19 Traditionally one is more apt to hear "opinions" or "judgments"; James' choice of the word here reflects his special interest in impressions. It seems, however, that the term took on an even larger significance for James during the years in which, as we have seen from our study of James' critical papers, he must have read Studies in the History of the Renaissance. In Roderick Hudson, which "was begun in Florence in the spring of 1874," 20 we encounter, for the first time in James' fiction, the Paterian connection between swarming impressions and fleeting moments. Early in the novel Roderick remarks upon the high intensity of life in Europe:

What becomes of all our emotions, our impressions ... all the material of thought that life pours into us at such a rate during such a memorable three months as these? There are twenty moments a week--a day, for that

20. The Art of the Novel, ed. Richard P. Blackmur (New York: Scribner, 1934), p.3. All further quotations from James' Prefaces to his works are taken from this edition.
matter, some days—-that seem supreme, twenty impressions that seem ultimate, that appear to form an intellectual era. But others come treading on their heels and sweeping them along, and they all melt like water into water and settle the question of precedence among themselves. Later Rowland, growing "intimately, passionately fond of all Roman sights and sensations," feels "a large, vague, idle, half-profitless emotion, of which perhaps the most pertinent thing that might be said was that it brought with it a relaxed acceptance of the present, the actual, the sensuous—of existence on the terms of the moment"(171). It would seem that in the last pages of Pater's "Conclusion" James found a sympathetic and expanded treatment of his own interest in perception through personal impressions. Before he read Pater, James felt that personal impressions were as significant and valuable as critical opinions and judgments; after reading Pater, he could see impressions as "moments that appeared to form an intellectual era."

Pater's influence on Roderick Hudson, most clearly reflected in the above passages, informs a good deal of the atmosphere of the novel. James' characters inhabit a world similar to the one which Pater ostensibly describes in The Renaissance, where art and reality exist only in one's subjective perception of them, and only in the "moments as they pass." Pater's

21. Parenthetical citations made within the text are to the New York Edition of the works of Henry James (New York: Scribner, 1907); these citations are shortened to only the page number if they follow a previous reference to the identical work. Passages quoted from Roderick Hudson, The Portrait of a Lady, and The Princess Casamassima are identical in the first editions and the New York Edition.
eloquent exhortation to cultivate exquisite and high passions which yield fruit of a "quickened and multiplied consciousness" is similar in kind to the implicit force which fuels the intensity of Roderick's European experience. If only erratically and briefly, Roderick does burn with a hard, gemlike flame. The suggestion in Roderick Hudson that maintaining a Paterian ecstasy leads not to success, but to ruin (the same force which makes Roderick a Paterian hero drives him to his death) might indicate that James, too, misunderstood Pater's "Conclusion": that he took Pater's words too literally. Or it may mean merely that he wished to portray Roderick as an ardent young man who, like many actual young men of that time, pursued passion in art and life too forcefully.

In either case, the philosophy of the "Conclusion" is one with which the James of the 1880s must have been to some degree sympathetic, for he repeatedly has his subsequent characters echo it, in word and gesture. Ralph Touchett fits well Pater's view of all mankind as he expresses it in the "Conclusion":

we are all under sentence of death but with a sort of indefinite reprieve . . . we have an interval, and then our place knows us no more. . . . For our one chance lies in expanding that interval, in getting as many pulsations as possible into the given time. (Renaissance, 238; 190)

Ralph is aware that his reprieve will be shorter than most, and that he must expand his interval as best he can. As it had for Florian Deleal, for Ralph "the desire of physical
beauty mingled itself with... the fear of death (Miscellaneous Studies, 189):

At present... the fragrance of forbidden fruit seemed occasionally to float past him and remind him that the finest of pleasures is the rush of action. (Portrait, 52-53)

A close brush with death intensifies his carpe diem philosophy.

His convalescence was a miracle, but the first use he made of it was to assure himself that such miracles happen but once. He said to himself that his hour was in sight and that it behoved him to keep his eyes upon it, yet that it was also open to him to spend the interval as agreeably as might be consistent with such a preoccupation. With the prospect of losing them the simple use of his faculties became an exquisite pleasure; it seemed to him the joys of contemplation had never been sounded. (53)

Ralph's physical infirmity prevents him from doing much other than watching Isabel, but he is contented with this. His motivation in any action he does take is the prospect of seeing what Isabel will make of herself. Indeed his interest in his cousin is expressed early in aesthetic terms.

It was very probably this sweet-tasting property of the observed thing in itself that was mainly concerned in Ralph's quickly-stirred interest in the advent of a young lady who was evidently not insipid. (54)

Morally, Ralph is like Pater's Botticelli, who accepts "that middle world in which men take no side in great conflicts, and decide no great causes, and make great refusals" (Renaissance, 55; 43). He maintains one key characteristic of an aesthete; he makes no moral judgments and remains "absolutely passive" (170).
Another condamné in another novel, Hyacinth Robinson (The Princess Casamassima, 1886), the young revolutionary "destined to perish in his flower" (II, 125), makes "a dash at the beautiful horrible world" (II, 125) and experiences its brilliance in an exuberant rush of passion and sensation:

A hundred confused reverberations of the recent past crowded on him and he saw that he had lived more intensely in the previous six months than in all the rest of his time. The succession of events finally straightened itself and he tasted over some of those rarest, strangest moments. (II, 126)

Hyacinth's desperate attempt to experience as much as possible of the beauty of civilization is replete with the immediacy and intensity of Pater's "Conclusion."

The philosophy of the "Conclusion" found its way also into The Ambassadors. In his discussion of the novel F.O. Matthiessen attests that "both Strether and James could have subscribed to much of Pater's famous exhortation for fullness of life, particularly to the sentence which urges that one's passion should yield 'this fruit of a quickened, multiplied consciousness.'" 22 We will return to The Ambassadors later to discuss Pater's role in the climactic scene of Strether's own exhortation in Gloriani's garden, and his larger influence on the novel as a whole.

Adam Verver is another of James' characters who is subject, if only slightly, to Pater's impress: "It was all at

bottom in him, [we are told] the aesthetic principle, planted
where it could burn with a cold still flame" (The Golden Bowl,
I, 197). James' transformation of Pater's phrase here is an
ironic comment on Adam's aestheticism -- it is actually very
shallow. 23

The philosophy of the "Conclusion" clearly had a great
effect on James; he shared a number of Pater's views, partic-
ularly those concerning impressions, and expressed them in
his early criticism and fiction. More importantly though,
James' fictional technique, in its early stages of develop-
ment, was also influenced by Pater's ideas on impressions,
particularly as they are expressed, and how they are expressed,
in Pater's first imaginary portrait, "The Child in the House."

We have seen that James shared Pater's theories of the elemental
structure of experience and of the potential for revelation,
knowledge, and understanding within one's momentary impres-
sions. Impressions are important in Roderick Hudson, though
they are not the subject of the novel. Nor are they the sub-
ject of The Portrait of a Lady, yet they are much more closely
related to this novel's subject than they are to that of

23. James deals, rather satirically, with the misdirected
fin-de-siècle disciples of Pater in "A Bundle of Letters" (1879):
That is the great thing -- to be free, to be frank,
to be naïf. Doesn't Matthew Arnold say that some-
where -- or is it Swinburne, or Pater?

When I was with the Johnsons everything was super-
ficial; and, as regards life, everything was brought
down to the question of right and wrong. They were
too didactic; art should never be didactic; and what
is life but an art? Pater has said that so well some-
Roderick Hudson. If we may term the development of Isabel Archer's character and consciousness one of the subjects of The Portrait, we may assuredly say that her impressions are essential to it. And if James' portrait does not consist, as Pater's does, "almost entirely in a series of vivid impressions," it does have at its heart, as Pater's portrait does, a particularly portentous impression which marks the greatest single development of the protagonist's consciousness.

The scene is, of course, that of Isabel coming upon her husband and Madame Merle alone together in a room in her husband's house. In its unexpectedness and suddenness Isabel's vision resembles very much Florian's impression of the red hawthorn. We have discussed in chapter one Pater's technique in this episode of expressing the development of his protagonist's consciousness strictly in terms of his impressions. In The Portrait James, for the first time, uses a similar technique, if but once in the novel. The pivotal scene in which he does so, however, is a direct prelude to the most crucial episode in the novel, Isabel's fireside vigil.

Isabel passed into the drawing-room, the one she herself usually occupied, the second in order from the large antechamber which was entered from the staircase and in which even Gilbert Osmond's rich devices had not been able to correct a look of rather grand nudity. Just beyond the threshold of the drawing-room she stopped short, the reason for her doing so being that she had received an impression. The impression had, in strictness, nothing unprecedented; but she felt it as something new,
and the soundlessness of her step gave her time to take
in the scene before she interrupted it. Madame Merle
was there in her bonnet, and Gilbert Osmond was talking
to her; for a minute they were unaware that she had come
in. Isabel had often seen that before, certainly; but
what she had not seen, or at least had not noticed, was
that their colloquy had for the moment converted itself
into a sort of familiar silence from which she instantly
perceived that her entrance would startle them. Madame
Merle was standing on the rug; a little way from the fire;
Osmond was in a deep chair, leaning back and looking at
her. Her head was erect, as usual, but her eyes were bent
on his. What struck Isabel first was that he was sitting
while Madame Merle stood; there was an anomaly in this
that arrested her. Then she perceived that they had
arrived at a desultory pause in their exchange of ideas
and were musing, face to face, with the freedom of old
friends who sometimes exchange ideas without uttering
them. There was nothing to stock in this; they were old
friends in fact. But the thing made an image, lasting
only a moment, like a sudden flicker of light. Their
relative positions, their absorbed mutual gaze, struck
her as something detected. But it was all over by the
time she had fairly seen it. (II, 164-65)

We note throughout the above passage language and sentiments
that clearly recall The Renaissance. Unlike Florian's revelations,
which come almost immediately as objects and phenomena
are perceived, Isabel's full understanding of her impression
does not come until shortly afterwards, when she has time,
in front of the fire, to interpret it. The process of brain-
building, or understanding, however, is the same for both
protagonists; momentary impressions of even familiar objects,
or people, in slightly altered attitudes, lead to the expansion of soul and a deeper understanding of truth and reality. As Pater had moved from a discussion of the moments of impression in *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* to a dramatic presentation of them in "The Child in the House," so James moved from a similar discussion of impressions in his criticism, his early tales, and *Roderick Hudson* to the dramatization of an impression and the ensuing revelation in *The Portrait*. In *The Portrait* too, as in "The Child," the significance of the impressions is in the part they play in the development of the protagonist's character and consciousness. This was a method of developing and revealing character and consciousness which would later become essential to James' fiction. As we shall see, Pater's role in James' development of this method is considerable.

III

In her study of James' early development, Cornelia Pulsifer Kelley reveals that the young James' approach to fiction was very different from what it would later become. Of James' critical stance in an 1865 review, Kelley says:

"Action is the main thing, the "soul" of the novel; characters are but puppets secondary to it. James had failed to grasp the interdependence of character and action, the fact that action may illustrate character, and thus become secondary to it, a means
rather than an end. 24
Kelley traces the development of James' interest away from action and towards character, a movement which she attributes to James' reading of Goethe's Wilhelm Meister (in Carlyle's translation in 1865) and especially the novels of George Eliot. As early as 1871, Kelley suggests, James was as much interested in the revelation of character as the progression of action, and certainly by the time of his first successful novel, Roderick Hudson, the revelation of character was, much more than action, plot, or incident, James' preferred subject.

Roderick Hudson, though, does present a problem of interpretation which finds expression in the question of whose character James is most interested in revealing and developing. For James himself, in 1906 at least, the answer is, quite simply, Rowland Mallet's. In the Preface to the New York Edition of the novel James writes:

The centre of interest throughout "Roderick" is in Rowland Mallet's consciousness, and the drama is the very drama of that consciousness. . . . This whole was to be the sum of what "happened" to him, or in other words his total adventure; but as what happened to him was above all to feel certain things happening to others, . . . so the beauty of the constructive game was to preserve in everything its especial value for him. (Art of the Novel, 16)

Some critics of James, including Joseph Warren Beach and Leon Edel, have ignored or discredited his later claim for the central importance of Rowland. Beach cites the "unhappy choice"

of Rowland as an interpreter as a "main reason for the failure of the book to make its point." He goes on to tell us why:

It may be that Rowland Mallet regards himself as the person in whom we are most interested. But in that case he is quite mistaken. He is an estimable gentleman, with whom we sympathize, and whom we should like to meet in the flesh—he is indeed an immature forerunner of Lambert Strether—but he cannot divert our attention from his more vivid and naughty comrade. And we naturally resent being cheated of the experience of Roderick by having it shown us through the judicial optics of Rowland.  

Professor Edel has repeatedly offered his view that the centre of interest of the novel is, in fact, Roderick. As recently as his 1977 Introduction to the Houghton Mifflin edition of the novel, he reads it as "a Künstlerroman—a novel of the artist—in the high romantic tradition." He here suggests a possible sub-title, "Portrait of the Artist as a Young American," and writes that the "moral of James's story, after Roderick falls in love with an unattainable beauty, is that a great physical passion is fatal to art." In his only significant mention of Rowland in the Introduction Edel says that he "completes him [Roderick] because he is his conscience. Roderick cannot live in peace with his conscience, and Rowland has the difficult job in the novel of acting as a kind of policeman for the tempestuous young sculptor."  

27. Ibid., p.viii.  
Although these comments by Beach and Edel reflect a totally inadequate reading of the novel (seeing Roderick as the primary subject of Roderick Hudson is almost as misguided as seeing Chad Newsome as the primary subject of The Ambassadors), it would be a mistake, I feel, to assume the opposite critical stance and, taking James at his word in the 1906 Preface, see Rowland's as the controlling consciousness which actually forms the drama and "constructional game" of the novel. It seems to me that there is, in fact, more than one subject of Roderick Hudson, but that the most important subject is, as James would later recognize, the development and revelation of Rowland's character and consciousness.

The question for James, in 1875 and throughout his career, was not his choice of subject, a choice, for example, between

He often leaves a curious ambiguity in his own description of the "subject." He will begin, as in the Preface to Roderick Hudson, defining the subject as a particular adventure, in this case the degeneration of Roderick himself. Soon, however, it defines itself "as not directly, in the least, my young sculptor's adventure. This it had been but indirectly, being all the while in essence and in final effect another man's, his friend's and patron's, view and experience of him"(p.15). A moment later he is describing this other man, Rowland Mallet, not as the subject, but again as the "centre" from which "the subject has been treated"; but immediately he describes the totality of the work as "the sum of what happened" to Rowland, "or in other words his total adventure; but as what happened to him was above all to feel certain things happening to others . . . so the beauty of the constructional game was to preserve in everything its especial value for him"(p.16). (345)
"the degeneration of a genius" or the development of a consciousness; the primary subject in all of James' major novels, from *Roderick Hudson* on, is the development of consciousness. The question, rather, for James, was how to present the development of consciousness. The answer, in 1875, lay in the rather conventional element of plot. *Roderick Hudson*, in some ways, is a rather conventional Victorian novel. Its centre of interest lies indeed in Rowland Mallet, but the development of his consciousness is highly dependent upon the plot of the novel, which, in turn, is highly dependent upon the actions of Roderick Hudson. Although James begins with Rowland (and eventually ends with him) and at regular intervals involves the reader with the pattern and development of his thoughts, he also spends a good deal of time in weaving and unwrapping the lives of a handful of fascinating and captivating characters. Our attention is drawn by these characters and the

Meanwhile Kelley notes, perceptively, that James, in 1906, "recognized" aspects of his novel that he had not, at the time of writing, intended. She allows that "Rowland is the first of those characters through whose consciousness the situation and the action are revealed, which were to be James's contribution to the novel. However, [she adds] the whole thing was in the beginning not quite as intentional as James's later words indicate." (190) Though most critics, she argues, have noticed the result of Rowland's presence (that his consciousness is the centre of interest of the novel, as pointed out by James), none, bar herself, had discovered the reason for it in the first place: "Rowland Mallet's place is the direct outgrowth of the use of a narrator, furthered by James's interest in the thoughts of his characters." (190)


30. Beach, p.196.
plot in which they are involved in spite of our interest in the effect they will have on Rowland, (We get the impression that they attracted James himself more than he had intended.)

The problem James faced in hinging the development of his central consciousness upon other vastly interesting characters and a plot is that these latter elements predominate over the former. Given the method of presentation in Roderick Hudson, it seems to readers (without the benefit of James' Preface) that the plight of Roderick and Christina Light is as important to the author as the development of Rowland's character and consciousness; hence the almost predictable misreading by normally perceptive critics.

One of the things which Roderick Hudson must have taught James was that it is dangerous to place the centre of interest in a character who is less dynamic and attractive than others in the novel. It probably also triggered his search for a method of presenting the development of consciousness which was not so dependent upon plot. James' method in The Portrait of a Lady bears out these assumptions. Isabel Archer, who is to The Portrait what Rowland, not Roderick, should be to Roderick Hudson, is by far the most engaging character of the novel in which she appears. And although The Portrait, too, depends to a large degree upon plot, the development of Isabel's consciousness (one of the subjects of The Portrait) is less dependent upon plot than that of Rowland's had been. 31

31. Actually, however, in a sense, Isabel is even less of a controlling central consciousness than Rowland had been; consider, for example, the number of scenes in the novel which Isabel does not witness.
As we have seen, the single most important revelation which comes to Isabel is the result of a momentary impression unlike anything in Roderick Hudson, but very much like a moment of vision experienced by the protagonist of Pater's "The Child in the House." James must have read Pater's portrait while he was occupied with his search for a method of presenting the development and revelation of character. Pater's technique and his discussion of experience and the gradual expansion of the soul must indeed have struck a deep responsive chord in James.

Beach discusses James' preoccupation with the revelation of character and consciousness and suggests that his developed techniques almost "bring about a reversal of the essential method of fiction" which, he reminds us, had been narrative.

Beach argues that James had begun by writing largely conventional novels; novels, that is, which were based upon narrative events. Although even James' early novels had less conventional aspects, Beach continues, those such as Roderick Hudson and The American (serialized from June, 1876 to May 1877) show traces of the "usual practice" and "procedure of the earlier English novelists." Beach detects in The Portrait "a strong tendency towards the author's distinctive method of gradual revelation." Although we believe that James, even in Roderick Hudson, had been concerned with the gradual revelation of Rowland's consciousness, Beach is accurate in tracing

32. Beach, p.38.
33. Ibid., pp.41-42.
34. Ibid., p.42.
a movement in James' early fiction from conventional (or narrative) to unconventional technique. With *The Portrait* James had begun, but had not yet completed the switch. It is as if the lesson of *Roderick Hudson* had convinced him that another, less conventional method was required, yet he was not yet ready to break completely with the traditional elements of plot, or narrative events.

Beach plausibly argues that although *The Portrait* is rather traditional technically, in subject and intent it is a precursor of James' later novels:

He was still far from his technical goal. In mechanical ways the work is still very different from that, for example, of "The Golden Bowl," to which it bears a considerable likeness in theme. "The Portrait" is a novel like other novels, taking us through successive stages in the history of its characters. It is the biography of Isabel Archer, and has the general character of a chronicle. It covers a number of years, and includes a number of substantial events. Nearly the whole first volume is taken up with material which would have been excluded from the more distinctive work of the later years...

But the early manner is found in points more technical and superficial than essential and organic. Essentially "The Portrait" is the development of an idea by the method of "revelation"... The adventures of Isabel Archer are more spiritual than material.  

*The Portrait* offers a blend of conventional and unconventional fictional techniques. For the treatment of his subject James

35. Beach, pp. 205, 208.
still depends to a large degree on plot; he also makes use, however, for the first time, and to a limited extent, of a method of developing and revealing character and consciousness which is dependent upon the perception or impression of isolated incidents or phenomena, rather than a narrative sequence of the incidents itself.

As for the subject for which James so diligently sought a method to express, his comments in the Preface indicate clearly whence it stemmed and where it remained:

Trying to recover here, for recognition, the germ of my idea, I see that it must have consisted not at all in any conceit of a "plot," nefarious name, in any flash, upon the fancy, of a set of relations... but altogether in the sense of a single character, the character and aspect of a particular engaging young woman, to which all the usual elements of a "subject," certainly of a setting, were to need to be super-added. (Art of the Novel, 42)

The difficulty of "organizing an ado about Isabel Archer," that is, making her the centre of interest, over and above anything else in the novel, was solved by a more intricate method of making the other characters and the plot important only in their relation to Isabel. Echoing the Preface to Roderick Hudson, James recalls his approach: "Place the centre of the subject in the young woman's own consciousness, I said to myself, 'and you get as interesting and as beautiful a difficulty as you could wish.'"(51). James' subject is once again the development and revelation of consciousness; about
this there is no question. The question, as ever, is how to present the subject; something must happen, Isabel must "do" something. James recalls the question: "What will she 'do'? Why, the first thing she'll do will be to come to Europe; which in fact will form, and all inevitably, no small part of her principal adventure"(56). But Isabel's adventures are not significant in themselves, what is important is her "sense" of them: "Without her sense of them, her sense for them, as one may say, they are next to nothing at all"(56).

James develops his subject, develops, in fact, Isabel's consciousness, by showing the "mystic conversion [of her adventures] by that sense, conversion into the stuff of drama, or, even more delightful word still, of 'story'"(56). Not the incidents or plot then, but the protagonist's perception or impression of them, "mystically converted" into revelation and understanding is the instrument by which the novel's subject is expressed. This was James' view in 1906, and his idea, at this later date, of "two very good instances . . . of the rare chemistry" of conversion (56) are the scene we discussed earlier, of Isabel coming in upon Madame Merle and Osmond, and her ensuing "extraordinary meditative vigil [by the fireside] on the occasion that was to become for her such a landmark"(57).

We have already noted the relation of the first scene to a similar one in Pater's "The Child in the House"; the second, though it is formally more elaborate than the meditative episodes in Pater's short portrait, surely owes something to
Pater's discussion of the potential for revelation in momentary impressions, both in *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* and "The Child." In James' own description, the episode may be seen as a technical enactment of Pater's emphases in both his early criticism and fiction:

Reduced to its essence, it is but the vigil of searching criticism; but it throws the action further forward than twenty "incidents" might have done. It was designed to have all the vivacity of incident and all the economy of picture. She sits up, by her dying fire, far into the night, under the spell of recognitions on which she finds the last sharpness suddenly wait. It is a representation simply of her motionlessly seeing, and an attempt withal to make the mere still lucidity of her act as "interesting" as the surprise of a caravan or the identification of a pirate. (57)

James' emphasis on recognitions, or revelations, throwing the action further forward than incidents can, and on "seeing," by which, of course, he means "understanding," had also been placed by Pater in "The Child." Florian's development depends almost exclusively on his series of visions—of outward reality and, consequently, of his inner self and the nature of his being. The process of brain-building which he undergoes depends not upon a narrative sequence of events, but upon "little accidents" (not unlike Isabel coming upon Madame Merle and Osmond). For both Pater and James the subject is expressed most significantly and successfully by chance impressions and perceptions and the revelations which proceed from them.
For James, in 1906, Isabel's chance impression and her fireside vigil represent "the best thing in the book" (57). We can well understand this appreciation coming from James at this later date, when he had fully developed his method of subject expression, when plot had become "nefarious" to his literary sensibility. But this sensibility in 1906 was not what it had been in 1881, when James depended largely on plot to express his subject. In James' Notebooks, which were compiled as his novels and tales were being written, there is no mention of the scene being "the best thing in the book." In fact, James' entries in his Notebooks concerned with The Portrait tend to belie some of his later sentiments; they show his apprehension about relegating plot to a position of secondary importance: "The weakness of the whole story is that it is too exclusively psychological—that it depends too little on incident." From James' own judgments in his Preface the inevitable questions follow: If Isabel's impression and vigil offer "a supreme illustration of the general plan" of the novel (57), then why are there only "two good instances" of such a method? If "the best thing in the book" is not plot, or plot-related, then why does the novel, as a whole, depend so largely upon plot? The answers to these questions may lie in the following assumptions: first, that James was not so thoroughly convinced in 1881 as he was in 1906 that the method of revelation through impression was

the best thing in the book; that, in fact, he was still rather uncertain of the technique when he wrote the novel; and, second, that the technique had been tried elsewhere (by Pater) only in a short work. "It is one thing," James may have felt, "to sustain such a method throughout a twenty-five page story, but quite another to sustain it throughout a six hundred page novel." James was not ready in 1881 to dispense completely with plot; to prepare for this he would need fifteen years of experimentation.

It seems clear to me that Pater’s technique in "The Child in the House" influenced James' attempt in The Portrait to express his subject, to represent the development of consciousness, through the unconventional method of revelation prompted by chance impressions. James must have been intrigued by Pater's technique, but Pater had not developed it enough in "The Child" to encourage James to more than a single experiment with it in The Portrait. Later, when James had mastered the technique, he saw his initial experiment as the most successful and greatest part of the novel of which it was a part.

IV

In any analysis of the development of James' fictional technique his 1884 essay "The Art of Fiction" proves invaluable as an insight into his technical approach to method and form. One of the primary axioms of the essay is that
"The only reason for the existence of a novel is that it does attempt to represent life."\textsuperscript{37} The essay seems to unfold from this statement, as James first attempts to say what life is, and then how it may be represented. James defines the novels as "a personal, a direct impression of life\textsuperscript{(384)}, and then, with further echoes from The Renaissance, in a marvellous passage defines life, or experience, itself:

Experience is never limited, and it is never complete; it is an immense sensibility, a kind of huge spider-web of the finest silken threads suspended in the chamber of consciousness, and catching every airborne particle in its tissue. It is the very atmosphere of the mind; and when the mind is imaginative \ldots{} it takes to itself the faintest hints of life, it converts the very pulses of the air into revelations. \ldots{} If experience consists of impressions, it may be said that impressions are experience, just as (have we not seen it?) they are the very air we breathe.\textsuperscript{38} (388-89)


\textsuperscript{38} A case could be made, using passages from this essay, for James' influence on Pater; Pater's 1888 essay on "Style" in particular recalls a number of James' emphases and premises in this essay. Indeed Pater and James seemed to have had a mutual influence on one another throughout their careers. (In a letter of November 1878 Pater informs Alexander Macmillan that he is reading James' The Europeans "slowly, as it deserves, with immense enjoyment of its delicate beauty.") That James' statements in "The Art of Fiction" influenced Pater's methods and themes in Marius is not possible; Pater had finished writing his novel by the time the essay was published in September 1884.

Other passages in the essay illustrate the ideas and theories which James and Pater shared: James' belief that "the ana-
We may see quite clearly here that James shared Pater's view of experience as a "group of impressions," and of the possibility of revelation therein. James had defined experience for himself in Pater's terms, and he had determined that his novels should represent experience as it existed in his definition. His dilemma, as a novelist, was to uncover the best method of representing experience as a series of impressions. Traditional fictional methods (that is, narrative methods) had, in Roderick Hudson and The Portrait, only partially expressed his subject—the "atmosphere" of Rowland's and Isabel's minds, and their development. In 1884 he found himself still without a satisfactory method of expressing his subject without drawing attention away from it (and towards the plot and other characters). To an imaginary pupil James writes: "It goes without saying that you will not write a good novel unless you possess the sense of reality; but it will be difficult to give you a recipe for calling that sense into being"(387).

alogy between the art of the painter and the art of the novelist is . . . complete"(378) has an affinity with Pater's view of his fictional works as "portraits"; James discussion of "a moment of impression"—"The glimpse made a picture; it lasted only a moment, but that moment was experience"(389) recalls The Renaissance, while his ideas on character and incident—"What is character but the determination of incident? What is incident but the illustration of character? What is either a picture or a novel that is not of character?"(392)—and form and idea—"in proportion as the work is successful the idea permeates and penetrates it, informs and animates it, so that every word and every punctuation point contribute directly to the expression. . . . The story and the novel, the idea and the form, are the needle and the thread"(400)—are precursory of Pater's emphases in his own fiction and in his discussion, in "Style," of the novels of Flaubert.
If Pater faced the same dilemma of representing experience as he had defined it, we can only assume that the only possible solution came more quickly and easily to him than to James. Quite simply, if experience consists of impressions, i.e., in fact, impressions, and nothing more, and if fiction should represent experience as it is, then the method of fictional representation must be, as well, a series of impressions. This method will render experience and call that sense of reality into being more successfully than any other. The form and content will blend completely, the idea and its expression will be one.

A theoretical approach such as this may have guided Pater in his rather unorthodox fictional technique in "The Child in the House," and in his development of his technique in Marius. James must have read Marius with a good deal of interest, with the novel reaching publication in the middle of his search for a fictional method of representing experience as a group of impressions. For, as we saw in chapter one, while restating some of the theories of The Renaissance, this is precisely what Pater achieves in his novel. Developing and expanding the technique of "The Child," Pater, in Marius, produces a full-length novel the centre of interest of which is placed, quite unmistakably, in the hero's consciousness and in his perception, developing through a series of significant impressions, of experience and reality.

39. In his study of Marius R.V. Osbourn tells us that James "in conversation, commented that the first volume of Marius was given over to paganism, and a large part of the second
In *Marius* the plot line is faint and often disconnected, an aspect which does not, in the least, affect the success of the novel, or its ability to express its subject. All of the characters are subordinate to Marius, although their relation to him has a large role in the development of his consciousness. Neither the plot, nor the other characters detract attention from Marius; his is the controlling consciousness. Most importantly, for James, the development of Marius' consciousness, his widening perception of experience, is expressed, remarkably, only by ever more significant moments of perception. Chance impressions, similar to Isabel's of Madame Merle and Osmond, and privileged hours of revelatory meditation, similar to Miss Archer's fire-side vigil, are what fill the pages of *Marius* and develop its subject from the first chapter to the last. 40

If Pater's technique in "The Child in the House" had prompted James to experiment with a similar method in *The Portrait*, but, in its relatively small scope, had left him with doubts about the capabilities of such a method to sustain a full-length novel, then surely *Marius* would have helped to dissipate those doubts. Pater's novel would have been con-

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40. The *Portrait*, in fact, may have had some influence on *Marius*, but the fundamental technique of expression through moments of impression is not part of it; this was Pater's own innovation, used for the first time in "The Child in the House."
sidered by the mature James (the James of 1906) a stunning technical achievement. The novel's form, throughout, is a perfect expression of its subject; Pater sustains his method of expression throughout the book's twenty-eight chapters. It is unimaginable, with our knowledge of James' final novels, to assume that he did not read Marius with relish and store away the experience for future reference. Yet it is also understandable that the novels James wrote in the years after he read Marius can hardly be compared, technically, to Pater's novel. 41 By 1885 James was a serious theorist of fictional technique, and, as his work from the mid 1880s to 1900 shows, he had his own very definite concepts of what a novel should be and how it should function. The period from 1886 to 1900 saw many experiments by James in novelistic writing.

Particularly pressing upon him during the late 1880s and throughout the 1890s was his long-harboured fascination with the theatre. As F.O. Matthiessen notes, James "had long wanted to work for the stage. Indeed, in his 'summing-up,' he had described such work as 'the most cherished of all my projects.' "42 The disastrous outcome of James' flirtation with the theatre has been well documented; what has also been generally recognized is that James was able to use the

41. I am speaking of the novels written after The Princess Casamassima (Oct. 1886); this and The Bostonians (Feb. 1886) were first published serially, and were both presumably finished before James read Marius.
42. Matthiessen, p.7.
experience, catastrophic as it was to his ego, to the advantage of his fiction.\textsuperscript{43} Matthiessen suggests that James himself viewed the experience, retrospectively, as cathartic; that its abrupt termination allowed him to dip his pen "into the other ink--the sacred fluid of fiction".\textsuperscript{44} He confronted himself with his play's catastrophic reception, at the opening of the new year, in characteristic fashion: 'I take up my old pen again--the pen of all my old unforgettable efforts and struggles. To myself--to-day--I need say no more. Large and full and high the future still opens. It is now indeed that I may do the work of my life. And I will.'\textsuperscript{45}

James' experience in theatre writing manifested itself in his subsequent fiction primarily in an emphasis on the dramatic, or scenic presentation of action, and a larger dependence on dialogue. James early envisioned The Spoils of Poynton (1897) "in three chapters, like 3 little acts";\textsuperscript{46} technically, it is his most dramatic novel. What Beach calls James' "technical exercises," What Maisie Knew (1897), The Awkward Age (1899), and The Sacred Fount (1901), offer experiments in the dramatic technique and, especially in the case of The Awkward Age, the roman-drame.

\textsuperscript{44} The Notebooks of Henry James, p.193.
\textsuperscript{45} Matthiessen, p.11.
\textsuperscript{46} The Notebooks of Henry James, p.198.
All of these efforts, from his theatrical experience to his experimental novels and tales of the late 1880s and the 1890s, may plausibly be seen as part of James' attempt to find the best method for the expression of his subject. All of James' literary experiences (particularly in the experimental years from 1886 to 1900), including his reading of Marius and subsequent fictional works by Pater, formed the development of the method which culminated in the great novels of the "major phase." In Beach's judgment, James' "was an art that had to be learned":

It is in the first decade of the present century that we reach the period of his richest self-expression. Having mastered his technique, having done with experiments, he launches at last upon that series of novels which are but the natural and seemingly unstudied application of his method, and the best demonstration of its possibilities for art.

Beach's analysis of James' method, like most other studies of his technique, focuses primarily on his development of the central consciousness technique. The Ambassadors (along with The Wings of the Dove and The Golden Bowl) is rightly proclaimed by Beach to be James' consummate achievement in this technique. The Ambassadors, though, is also


48. Beach, p. 255.
James' greatest achievement in another method: that of the expression of his subject (the growth of Strether's consciousness) not through plot, or action, but through a series of significant impressions. The technique that he had tried with trepidation in The Portrait is developed and perfected in The Ambassadors, which in H. Peter Stowell's judgment is one of James' "two great impressionist novels". Like Marius, The Ambassadors is presented as a series of impressions; the element of plot is reduced to its minimum. The actual circumstances and incidents of plot are important only in the visions and impressions they produce; the significant action is psychological. As Percy Lubbock notes, "the events take place in the man's [Strether's] mind;" he elaborates:

Just as the writer of a play embodies his subject in visible action and audible speech, so the novelist, dealing with a situation like Strether's, represents it by means of the movement that flickers over the surface of his mind.

Lubbock's discussion is primarily one of point of view; he does not reveal precisely how James represents the movement that flickers over the surface of Strether's mind, a question of the mechanics of expression which, as we have seen, troubled James greatly.

Matthiessen offers some insight into the mechanics of expression in The Ambassadors in his view of the novel's structure as a "series of small climaxes [which] articulate

49. Stowell, p.197.
this hero's successive discoveries." He alludes to one of Strether's early visions to illustrate his view:

as he [Strether] stands in the Boulevard Malesherbes looking up at the balcony of Chad's apartment, he recognizes in a flash, in the essence of Jamesian revelation, that the life which goes on in such balanced and measured surroundings cannot possibly be the crude dissipation that Woollett, Massachusetts, believes. His initiation has reached its crucial stage.

Matthiessen also reminds us that "Strether keeps emphasizing the importance of seeing," and notes the significance of the ambassador's aesthetic experience of Paris for the development of his consciousness. James is repeating Pater's emphasis that sight is conducive to insight; first the hero must "see," he must observe and perceive, then he may "understand" as his impressions lead to revelations. Matthiessen speaks of James' mastery of "the art of reflection' in both senses of that phrase--both as a projector of the luminous surfaces of life, and as an interpreter of their significance." Such a mastery surely owes something to James' reading of Pater, and his stresses on "seeing" and "knowing one's impressions" in The Renaissance, Marius, and his other works.

Certainly, Strether's first vision, or revelation, which comes in the opening scene of Book Second, is prompted by his sensory perception of the "new experience" of Europe. Much as

52. Ibid., p.20.
54. " p.35.
in both "The Child in the House" and *Marius*, wherein perception is always psychologically associated, ineradicably, with the objects or phenomena which gave rise to it, Strether's small but significant revelation, his first understanding, while dining with Maria Gostrey, arises from his impression of the "lighted candles ... and the rose-coloured shades and the small table and the soft fragrance of the lady"(I,50), and especially from "a broad red velvet band with an antique jewel"(I,50) which his friend wore round her throat. These and other observed elements "carry on and complicate ... his vision"(I,50) and give him over to "uncontrolled perceptions":

What was it but an uncontrolled perception that his friend's velvet band somehow added, in her appearance, to the value of every other item—to that of her smile and of the way she carried her head, to that of her complexion, of her lips, her teeth, her eyes, her hair? What, certainly, had a man conscious of a man's work in the world to do with red velvet bands? He wouldn't for anything have so exposed himself as to tell Miss Gostrey how much he liked hers, yet he had none the less not only caught himself in the act—frivolous, no doubt, idiotic, and above all unexpected—of liking it: he had in addition taken it as a starting point for fresh backward, fresh forward, fresh lateral flights. (I,50-51)

These flights offer him his first understanding of the differences between the shallowness of Woollett and the depths of Europe. As he "let his imagination roam"(I,51) in the presence of Miss Gostrey and the sensuous delights of their dinner,
"All sorts of things . . . seemed to come over him" (I, 52); things mainly concerning his own past and "the business he had come out on." Strether's first revelation is not earth-shaking; it is significant essentially as an indication of the larger process of greater and greater revelation that is to follow. It is important formally; it arises from Strether's impressions of his environment. His "uncontrolled perceptions" and impressions are the original source of all his understanding. They are the exponents of his expansion of consciousness, and are therefore, technically, the means by which James' subject is conveyed, the mechanical devices of his expression.

We have traced James' interest in impressions from his early critical appreciations to The Portrait of a Lady, noting that it was in this novel, his "first impressionist work," that James, following Pater's lead, first appropriated them for the actual mechanics of his method. In The Ambassadors James' fascination with impressions reaches its peak. In fact, "impression" is the single most important conceptual word in the novel. Even a cursory reading will reveal the repeated reference and discussion of the characters', particularly, of course, Strether's, impressions. 55 And in Strether's case they are inevitably followed if not by revelation, then by rumination, both of which further his development.

55. I recall, from my reading, meeting the word consistently, it seemed once, at least, every two or three pages throughout the novel.
On the morning after his dinner with Maria Gostrey, and after receiving his first correspondence from Woollett, Strether takes a leisurely walk in "the wonderful Paris spring" (I, 79). Again his sensory perceptions seem to overwhelm him as the prompt Paris morning struck its cheerful notes—in a soft breeze and a sprinkled smell, in the light flit, over the garden floor, of bareheaded girls with the buckled strap of oblong boxes, in the type of ancient thrifty persons basking betimes where terrace-walls were warm, in the blue-frocked, brass-labelled officialism of humble rakers and scrapers, in the deep references of a straight-pacing priest or the sharp ones of a white-gaitered, red-legged soldier. (I, 79)

As he watches, the wealth of European history and culture unfolds before him in the images of "the tick of the great Paris clock" (I, 79) and "nature as a white-capped master-chef" (I, 79), and "the historic sense in him" (I, 79) moves freely into play. In the Luxembourg Gardens he passes, like Marius in "The Will as Vision," "an hour in which the cup of his impressions seemed truly to overflow" (I, 80). Only at this early point Strether has not yet attained the unclouded receptivity of soul that he, like Marius, eventually does. His impressions of the brilliance of Paris and Parisian life instigate remonstrations within a still guilty conscience:

More than once, during the time, he had regarded himself as admonished; but the admonition, this morning was formidably sharp. It took as it hadn't done yet the form of a question—the question of what he was doing with such an extraordinary sense of escape. (I, 80)
Partly this is due to the letters from Woollett, but the letters arouse guilt only because of Strether's impression of Paris as a beautiful and brilliant city. Without such an impression there can be no guilt, and no subsequent development away from guilt.

Strether's next privileged hour comes during the party in Gloriani's garden, which is itself a stream of impressions and perceptions that swarm over him in true Paterian fashion: "It was the general sense of them that had overwhelmed him with its long slow rush" (I, 217). James' description of the garden episode begins with a short phrase suggestive of his philosophy that reality exists only in one's impressions: "The place itself was a great impression" (I, 195). That Strether, by the time of Gloriani's party, has changed and developed so much that he can exhort little Bilham to "'Live all you can.'" (I, 217) is due largely to his impressions, as he states himself:

This place and these impressions—mild as you may find them to wind a man up so; all my impressions of Chad and of people I've seen at his place—well, have had their abundant message for me; have dropped that into my mind. (I, 217)

"That" is his realization that one must live all one can. Even this early in the novel, Strether's consciousness, having been affected by his impressions, has considerably widened in scope. It is a rapidly continuing process; immediately after his cele-

56. Even Strether's philosophy at this point recalls Pater's.
brated speech to little Bilham, Strether is subject to "absurdities of the stirred sense, fruits of suggestion ripening on the instant" (I, 219). Each moment brings a new revelation to Strether's heightened consciousness; in the form of Jeanne de Vionnet, Strether feels "another impression ... superimposed" (I, 220). During these privileged moments Strether feels more and more obscurities becoming clear, and what "was clearest of all indeed was something ... at the single stroke of which--and wasn't it simply juxtaposition?--all vagueness vanished. It was the click of a spring--he saw the truth" (I, 220). Like Marius, Strether moves through various levels of "truth" with each successive impression. Marius' moments of revelation offer him more and more insight into the nature of his own and all existence and develop his "general capacity of vision." He does not achieve unclouded receptivity of soul until his last moment of vision, when he is on his death-bed. All of his previous perceptions and visions had been preludes to his final state of heightened and multiplied consciousness. Similarly, Strether's revelations, though they seem to offer final truths when they occur, actually, as he slowly realizes, offer only partial truths. It is as though each impression, each revelation, is only one part of the overall plan, or picture, and Strether arrives at his final view only by piecing each one together with its predecessors. Beach discusses this aspect in James' overall method in his chapter on "Revelation":

But in the most distinctive work of James the sense of progress, of story, is almost altogether lost.
You have rather the sense of being present at the gradual unveiling of a picture, or the gradual uncovering of a wall-painting which had been white-washed over and is now being restored to view. The stages are merely those by which the exhibitor or the restorer of the picture uncovers now one, now another portion of the wall or canvas, until finally the whole appears in its intelligible completeness. Or, once more to vary the figure, it is as if a landscape were gradually coming into view by the drawing off of veil after veil of mist. You become aware first of a certain mountain form looming vaguely defined. Little by little the mountains take on more definite shape, and something can be made out of the conformation of the valleys. And very slowly, at length, comes out clear one detail after another, until in the end you command the whole prospect, in all its related forms and hues. 57

Though Strether, at Gloriani's party, feels he knows the truth about Chad's relation to Jeanne de Vionnet, he (and the reader with him) will later realize the error of his judgment at this time. It will take a good many more impressions for Strether to see the overall picture in all its forms and hues.

Like Marius' pivotal revelation in "The Will as Vision," Strether's reveries often come in privileged hours of solitude; such a one occurs towards the end of the novel, in Book Eleventh, part I, when Strether goes alone to Chad's apartment to wait for his friend:

Strether spent an hour in waiting for him— an hour full of strange suggestions, persuasions, recognitions; one of those that he was to recall, at the end of his

57. Beach, p.39.
adventure, as the particular handful that most had counted. The mellowest lamplight and the easiest chair had been placed at his disposal by Baptiste, subtlest of servants; the novel half-uncut, the novel lemon-coloured and tender, with the ivory knife athwart it like the dagger in a contadina's hair, had been pushed within the soft circle. . . . The night was hot and heavy and the single lamp sufficient; the great flare of the lighted city, rising high, spending itself afar, played up from the Boulevard and, through the vague vista of the successive rooms, brought objects into view and added to their dignity. Strether found himself in possession as he never yet had been. (II, 209-10)

In this passage we encounter the same kind of "peculiar and privileged hour" that Marius experiences in the olive-garden. James repeats Pater's emphasis on the role that material objects and phenomena have to play in the process of revelation. For both, in such privileged hours more is involved than the idea that sensory perception, particularly sight, leads to insight. In the scene in Chad's apartment, and particularly later, in Strether's visit to the French countryside which forms the prelude to the recognition scene on the river, James repeats Pater's suggestion in "The Child in the House" and "The Will as Vision" that material objects have an active role in the protagonist's revelation. For Marius "the aspects of the place he was then visiting had something to do" with his ensuing vision. In the olive-garden his "seemingly active powers of apprehension were, in fact, but susceptibilities to influence." They depend upon his "passive surrender, as of a leaf on the
wind, to the motions of the great stream of physical energy without." Similarly, the development of Strether's consciousness depends largely upon the influence of Paris; "the great flare of the lighted city," glowing around him: Standing on Chad's balcony and thinking regretfully of the now lost years of his youth, Strether gauges the effect of Paris upon him:

He could have explained little enough to-day either why he had missed it [his youth] or why, after years and years, he should care that he had; the main truth of the actual appeal of everything was none the less that everything represented the substance of his loss, put it within reach, within touch, made it, to a degree it had never been, an affair of the senses. That was what it became for him at this singular time, the youth he had long ago missed--a queer concrete presence, full of mystery, yet full of reality, which he could handle, taste, smell, the deep breathing of which he could positively hear. It was in the outside air as well as within; it was in the long watch, from the balcony, in the summer night, of the wide late life of Paris, the unceasing soft quick rumble, below, of the little lighted carriages that, in the press, always suggested the gamblers he had seen of old at Monte Carlo pushing up to the tables: (II,211)

There is a similar emphasis on Strether's acute awareness and perception of the natural world in the episode immediately preceding the recognition scene on the river. Strether's sensuous experience of the delightful countryside, what Stowell calls his "Proustian privileged moment," reveals his susceptibility to the influence of the material world. He spends there further privileged hours of revelation and rumination

and develops a sense "of a finer harmony in things"(II,248). Then he receives his most portentous impression, the last adjustment of the lens, as it were, which brings the whole picture finally into focus. The sudden accidental sight of Chad and Madame Vionnet in the boat offers Strether the greatest in a series of revelations by which his consciousness and understanding develop and deepen.

The incident in itself (that is, their actually being in the boat together), like all of the incidents of plot in the novel, has no real significance; it only takes on significance within Strether's interpretation of it. It is important not as an action which advances plot but as an impression upon Strether's consciousness; the actual sudden recognition itself is described as "the very moment of the impression"(II,256). Functionally, it has the same role in the novel as Maria Gostrey's bejewelled velvet band: it serves to advance the growth of Strether's consciousness. Structurally, it resembles in James' own work Isabel Archer's discovery of Madame Merle and Gilbert Osmond, and in Pater's works Florian Deleal's vision of the red hawthorn, and a number of Marius' experiences. It is perhaps the best example in The Ambassadors of the kind of experience by which Strether develops. The novel is, of course, a record of his experience more than anyone else's; more properly, it is a record of his impressions, his interpretations of experience. Both in The Ambassadors and Marius the reader follows the protagonists through a series of impress-
ions and privileged hours of revelation which bring them to a final state of heightened consciousness and unclouded receptivity of soul. Their visions have increased their receptive powers, their ability to perceive and to "see." In both works the conclusion is reached when the protagonists have attained enlarged capacities of vision. James, like Pater, dispenses almost completely with plot line or narrative events for the expression and development of subject; if it is true, as Beach argues, that of "'The Ambassadors'-we may say that there is no story except that a man goes to Paris on an errand and returns home without being able to carry it out," 59 it is also true that in Marius the only story is that the hero, as a boy, travels to Pisa, to study, and as a young man travels to Rome, returns home briefly, and dies of the plague on his return journey to Rome as a Christian prisoner. Neither of these plot lines expresses anything in itself; in both novels the primary subject, the development of the protagonist's consciousness while on his journey, is expressed and developed through his interpretation of the impressions and perceptions gathered along the way.

As we have seen, for James "the only reason for the existence of a novel is that it does attempt to represent life," and in his view, life, or experience, "consists of impressions; impressions are experience." In The Ambassadors James succeeds in representing experience simply by recording

59. Beach, p.46.
Strether's impressions and revelations. This is a method, moreover, as Beach points out, which he utilizes in the other novels of the major phase, *The Wings of the Dove* and *The Golden Bowl*. It is the culmination of many developments and influences from his first critical writings on through his career. Pater's role in the development of this technique is significant. His technique in "The Child in the House" and *Marius* is, with some modification, James' technique in *The Ambassadors*. The expression of subject, which for both writers is the development of consciousness, through a series of more and more significant impressions and ensuing revelations is integral to both Pater and the later James.

Another aspect of *The Ambassadors* (and much of James' later fiction) which may have been influenced by *Marius* is the central consciousness technique, what Matthiessen considers "his principal contribution to the art of the novel." 60 This concept has been copiously commented upon in James criticism; I will not undertake a general discussion of it here. I would only suggest that James' development of the concept, or technique, may have been affected, to some extent, by Pater's preoccupation with the "relative spirit" and his suggestion, explicit in his critical writings and implicit in his fiction, that the individual's subjective perception and interpretation of experience is the only possible ordering agent upon the flux.

60. Matthiessen, p.22.
In her study of consciousness in James' novels Dorothea Krock traces a line from his relativism to the basis for his concept of the central consciousness; pointing out that James views reality as a set of appearances, she discloses "the elements of James's theory of art":

That art concerns itself to render the world of appearances; that these appearances exist only in the consciousness, indeed are the content of the consciousness, of human observers; that the world of art therefore is a beautiful representation of the appearances present to a particular consciousness under particular conditions, and the artist's overriding task is accordingly to exhibit in the concrete, with the greatest possible completeness and consistency, as well as vividness and intensity, the particular world of appearances accessible to a particular consciousness under the specific conditions created for it by the artist. 61

The development of a particular consciousness under specific conditions is, as we have seen, the subject of The Ambassadors and all of James' major novels. James' development of the central consciousness technique, like Pater's, is related to his method of expression through impressions; there must be, in the novels, a perceiving consciousness that is impressed upon. But, as we have seen, the concept goes beyond this; the central consciousness in James' and Pater's fiction is more than simply a passive receptive mechanism recording and ruminating upon impressions. As one James critic argues,

"The central intelligence of his novels controls, and indeed creates, the very substance and form of the narrative," while another suggests that "In many of James's novels and tales the structure derives not from the external action, but from the developing awareness of the central consciousness." As has been sufficiently noted, this, indeed, is the distinguishing characteristic of James' fiction. In this light, Matthiessen's following comment on The Ambassadors is significant: "What Strether sees is the entire content, and thus James perfected a device both for framing and for interpreting experience." Strether's perception of experience imposes order upon an unordered external reality, and provides form in the novel; the two are achieved at once in Strether's consciousness. Novelistic form, provided by the central consciousness, is the only way that James, as an artist, can impose order upon the flux. So it had been for Pater.

As we saw in chapter one, Pater had been preoccupied as much if not more than any other nineteenth-century writer with the flux and the relative nature of the universe. Like James he was also preeminently interested in artistic form, and the identification of form and matter in artistic works.

64. Matthiessen, p.22.
Artistic form was for Pater, even more than for James, an ordering agent upon an unordered universe. Pater, before James, saw a way to a harmonious pattern in the changing universe, and to form in his fiction, in the subjective perception of a central consciousness. Pater did not use James' terminology, nor did he publicly express his own view of his fiction; without the benefit of the author's guide to his own work in a preface, however, we may observe that Florian's and Marius' consciousness is the centre of interest in the work of which it is a part. Indeed, we may, without strain, apply the various judgments of James' central consciousness technique to Pater's work. First, as we have seen, Pater in his first work defined experience as the impact, or impression, that objects and phenomena make upon an intelligence; second, in his fiction, Pater is concerned with events only as they make an impact or impression upon an intelligence; and third, in Pater's most polished fiction, the central intelligence, or consciousness, actually controls, and creates, the flow of action, as in Marius.

As we have seen, Pater's novel is a record of his hero's experience, that is, a record of his impressions, perceptions, and interpretations. The significant action and events of the novel are psychological, they occur within Marius' consciousness. The linear progression and order in the novel is a reflection of Marius' developing consciousness, not of external reality or action. Nothing "happens" in the novel outside of
Marius' ken, indeed, it is his perception of what is happening which informs the subject-matter of the novel, and which creates and controls the narrative. In these aspects we see the close similarity between Marius and The Ambassadors (and much of James' later fiction). In his major phase James perfected the techniques that Pater had first experimented with; he developed them much further than Pater had. But James clearly learned a good deal from his reading of Pater's fiction; particularly in the basic method of the expression and development of subject through impressions, and in the use of a controlling central consciousness.
Chapter Three

Pater and James Joyce
In his critical biography of Pater, Gerald Monsman suggests that "T.S. Eliot was closer to the truth than he probably had a right to be when in a discussion of Ulysses with Virginia Woolf he called Joyce 'a purely literary writer . . . founded upon Walter Pater with a dash of Newman.'" ¹ We may surmise, given Eliot's above classification of Joyce, that he was implying a stylistic influence of Pater's and Newman's. Certainly, those critics of Joyce who mention Pater (among the most notable, Richard Ellmann, Harry Levin, William York Tindall, Richard Kain, Robert Scholes, and Marvin Magalaner²) do so, for the most part, in relation to a definite stylistic Paterian influence apparent in Joyce's early works of fiction (that is, those before Ulysses), and earlier in his undergraduate essay on James Clarence Mangan. A Paterian influence beyond that of prose style is suggested by a number of Joyce critics, including Stuart Gilbert, Richard Cross, and Frank Kermode, when they briefly relate Joyce's concept of the epiphany to some of the theories advanced by Pater in the "Conclusion" to The Renaissance. The relation of Joyce's epiphanies to Pater's privileged moments is discussed in more detail by Robert M. Scotto in "'Visions' and 'Epiphanies': Fictional Technique in Pater's Marius and Joyce's Portrait".

². Almost all of the major and some of the minor works on Joyce devote a line or two to Pater's influence. Other critics who mention him in passing include A. Walton Litz, David Hayman, Maurice Beebe, Robert M. Adams, Stanislaus Joyce, Hélène Cixous, and William M. Schutte.
I will return to the concept of the epiphany later in the chapter; in beginning a discussion of Pater's influence on Joyce we must deal with prose style, for this is its most obvious aspect. We cannot read, for example, the fourth and fifth chapters of A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man and fail to feel Pater's presence; exactly what his presence means in terms of our understanding and interpretation of chapter four in particular, but also of the novel as a whole, is a little harder to define. This, too, will be discussed in turn.

As I have noted, the first traces of Pater's influence on Joyce's prose style can be found in Joyce's undergraduate essays, particularly in his paper on Mangan which he read to the Literary and Historical Society at University College of Dublin on February 1, 1902, his graduating year. Joyce's term at the university was from September 1898 to June 1902. It would have been in the university library during these years that the young Joyce, like hundreds of other undergraduates in this and other universities, read Pater's works. Although often out of favour with his colleagues and contemporaries, Pater, during his lifetime and immediately after his death, was always very popular with his own and other students, especially, it seems, with the brighter, more creative and more unorthodox students, like Oscar Wilde, W.B. Yeats, Gerard Manley Hopkins, and Arthur Symons. It was partly in consideration of these students and aspiring artists, and others like them, that Pater excluded the "Conclusion"
from the second edition of *The Renaissance*, feeling that "it might possibly mislead some of those young men into whose hands it might fall" (*Renaissance*, 232n, 186n).

Pater was aware of the extent of his influence on the young minds of his day. His lectures on art, literature and aesthetics drew standing-room crowds into large auditoriums. Despite the serial publication of his works, his books, written not for the taste of the general public, sold well, some, including *The Renaissance* and *Marius*, going quickly into second and third editions. When Joyce was an undergraduate, in the years before the decline of Pater's reputation, Pater was one of the most important figures of modern literature and aesthetics, especially literary aesthetics. Although University College of Dublin was a strictly Catholic school and while there Joyce studied English mostly with Father Joseph Darlington and Father George O'Neill, Ellmann tells us that during his undergraduate years Joyce "read so widely that it is hard to say definitely of any important creative work published in the late nineteenth century that Joyce had not read it." 3 One cannot imagine him not reading *The Renaissance* and *Marius* at this time.

Ellmann seems quite sure that Joyce, in or before his eighteenth year, then "eager to find a style," 4 would have read Arthur Symons' *The Symbolist Movement in Literature* (1899).

4. Ibid., p. 79.
Although this is a study of nineteenth-century French fiction and poetry, Symons frequently discusses Pater's remarkable style and its similarity to that of the Goncourts and Gautier. Whether or not Symons' book led Joyce to Pater, as a student with a keen "interest in esthetics"\textsuperscript{5} he would certainly have read Pater's essays on art and literature which had all been collected and published in book form by 1895. We suspect that Joyce might have been particularly interested in \textit{The Renaissance}, \textit{Marius}, and \textit{Appreciations with an Essay on Style}, the 1899 edition of which included Pater's early essay on "Aesthetic Poetry".

The aesthetic value of Mangan's verse is certainly one of the elements that Joyce wishes to assess in his early study of that Irish poet. In a previous essay, "Drama and Life" (1900), Joyce had touched upon what had been a major interest of Pater's, the role of ethics in art. In speaking of the aims of drama Joyce says,

\begin{quote}
It is in most cases claimed by the votaries of the antique school that the drama should have special ethical claims, to use their stock phrase, that it should instruct, elevate, and amuse. Here is yet another gyve that the jailers have bestowed. I do not say that drama may not fulfil any or all of these functions, but I deny that it is essential that it should fulfil them. Art, elevated into the overhigh sphere of religion, generally loses its \\
\textsuperscript{5} Ellmann, p.61.
\end{quote}
true soul in stagnant quietism. (Critical Writings, 43)6

Throughout his writings, from Studies in the History of the Renaissance to Plato and Platonism, Pater repeatedly denounces the belief that the aim or function of art is to instruct, elevate, or to offer moral judgments. His mature thought on the matter, notably expressed in the final paragraph of "Style," involves the distinction that although art, for some, may offer moral instruction or be spiritually or religiously uplifting, it should not be created explicitly for these ends. It is precisely this distinction that Joyce makes in the previously quoted passage from "Drama and Life".

In the Mangan essay Joyce, like Pater before him, shifts the emphasis from the morality of the content to the aesthetics of the form. The music of Mangan's poetry "is tremulous with all the changing harmonies of Shelley's verse;" Mangan "is more cunning in his use of the musical echo than is Poe;" and in "Kathaleen-Ny- Houlanah" "the refrain changes the trochaic scheme abruptly for a line of firm, marching iamb" (Critical Writings, 79-80). The entire essay is written in such an ornate, rhythmical, and romantic style that Ellmann suggests that "With it [Joyce] tries to outdo Pater, summoning up 'Vittoria Colonna and Laura and Beatrice-- even she upon whose face many lives have cast that shadowy delicacy, as of one who broods upon distant terrors and riotous dreams,

and that strange stillness before which love is silent, Mona Lisa," 7 Monsman notes further parallels between Joyce's essay and Pater's writings:

not only does Joyce, in comparing Mangan's brooding lady to the Mona Lisa . . . utilize Pater's intuitions (a figure of "many lives"), words ("presence," "delicacy," "lust," "weariness"), and phrases (Joyce: "distant terrors and riotous dreams, and that strange stillness," Pater: "strange thoughts and fantastic reveries and exquisite passions"; Joyce: "embodiment of that idea," Pater: "embodiment of the . . . idea"), but he also explicitly describes the Irish poet himself as a questing Paterian hero: "he seems to seek in the world . . . 'what is there in no satisfying measure or not at all.'" 8

Joyce took this last quotation from Pater's imaginary portrait of Watteau, "A Prince of Court Painters".

The form of the essay, in which Joyce purports to have discovered Mangan, seems to be based upon the essay form Pater uses in The Renaissance. The air of introducing the little-known Mangan is reminiscent particularly of Pater's essays on Pico, Botticelli, and Winckelmann. The approach Joyce takes to his subject, the tone he adopts in writing, and the cadences and rhythmic flow of his sentences are clearly modelled on Pater's essay on Pico. Joyce begins his essay, as Pater had, with broader questions of art. He opens on "the dispute of the classical and romantic schools" (Critical

7. Ellmann, p.99. Stuart Gilbert, in James Joyce's Ulysses, notes that Joyce did not go to Paris until a few months after the publication of the essay; he had not seen the "Mona Lisa" when he wrote on Mangan.
Writings, 73), an analysis, as Haskell M. Block notes, that is very suggestive of Pater's "Postscript" to Appreciations. Joyce's proposal that the classical and romantic tempers are "constant states of mind" (74) had been forwarded much more explicitly by Pater: "the romantic spirit is, in reality, an ever-present, an enduring principle, in the artistic temper-ament" (Appreciations, 243). Joyce, too, is concerned with temperament, his characterization of the romantic school by its "impatient temper" probably owes something to Pater's theory that one of the essential elements of the romantic spirit is "curiosity, a thirst for a curious beauty and . . . intellectual excitement, after a long ennui" (250). Also, Joyce's conclusion that "the highest praise must be withheld from the romantic school . . . and the cause of the impatient temper must be sought in the artist and in his theme" (74-75) may have been prompted by Pater's statement that "Romanticism . . . is in its essential characteristics rather a spirit which shows itself at all times, in various degrees, in individual workmen and their work . . . than the peculiarity of a time or a school" (256-57).

As I have noted, Pater begins his essay on Pico with a similar discussion of larger issues: "the attempt made by certain Italian scholars of the fifteenth century to reconcile Christianity with the religion of ancient Greece" (Ren-

10. Compare this also with Joyce's "Classicism is not the manner of any fixed age or of any fixed country; it is a constant state of the artistic mind." (Stephen Hero, 73)
aissance, 30;23). After short general discussions by both essayists, their focal points change and sharpen to outline single figures, Mangan and Pico, for whom, it seems, the broader discussions had been undertaken. For Joyce the dispute between the classical and romantic schools had illustrated the error of "the" judgment of a man of letters by the supreme laws of poetry" (75). Mangan, he will argue, should be judged not by these, but by other laws. For Pater, "the counterpart... of that practical truce and reconciliation of the gods of Greece with the Christian religion... is seen in the art of the time. And it is for his share in this work, and because his own story is a sort of analogue or visible equivalent to the expression of this purpose in his writings, that something of a general interest still belongs to the name of Pico della Mirandola" (35;27). Though the areas of discussion which open the essays are different, the formal movement from general trends to specific artists is the same in both essays.

After the person of Mangan has been introduced as the subject of his essay, Joyce, following the Paterian model, briefly recounts some of the circumstances of the poet's life. Pater had followed this process in all but two of the essays that make up The Renaissance. It is here that Joyce first borrows Pater's imaginary portrait technique, a technique not limited to Pater's fiction. We have noted that there is often little to distinguish Pater's historical portraits from his imaginary portraits. By means of vivid por-
trayal, a careful handling of detail and the passage of time, Pater achieves a dramatic effect in his historical portraits which lends to them, on occasion, a definite fictional air. We feel that the subjects of the Renaissance portraits are, to varying extents, created. This is what we sense, too, of Joyce's portrait of Mangan. There is, to begin, a similar handling of visual recreation. Pater describes Pico as "a young man fresh from a journey, 'of feature and shape seemly and beauteous ... his eyes grey, and quick of look, his teeth white and even, his hair yellow and abundant,' and trimmed with more than the usual artifice of the time" (37:28). Joyce says of Mangan, "His manner is such that none can say if it be pride or humility that looks out of that vague face, which seems to live only because of those light shining eyes and of the fair silken hair above it, of which he is a little vain" (77). Pater's allusion to Pico's vanity apparently did not go unnoticed by Joyce.

Joyce also strives for the dramatic effect in sentences that bear a recognizably Paterian ring:

Mangan has been a stranger in his country, a rare and unsympathetic figure in the streets, where he is seen going forward alone like one who does penance for some ancient sin. . . . . . . . . . . . . .

. . . . Something has been written of an affair of the heart between him and a pupil of his, to whom he gave lessons in German, and, it seems, he was an actor afterwards in a love-comedy of three, but if he is reserved with men, he is shy with women, and he is too self-conscious, too critical, knows too little of the soft parts of conversation, for a gallant. (76-77)
The notable presence of the qualifying or modifying word or phrase in these sentences, and the slightly euphemistic and unassuming manner of expression are reminiscent of Pater's highly guarded and circumlocutory writing style. The balanced phrasing of the last part of the quotation also bears the impress of Pater's style. Compare the passage above to the following from Pater's essay on Leonardo:

We see him in his boyhood fascinating all men by his beauty, improvising music and songs, buying the caged birds and setting them free, as he walked the streets of Florence, fond of odd bright dresses and spirited horses. (100;79)

and his study of Winckelmann:

At first he was perplexed with the sense of being a stranger on what was to him, spiritually, native soil. "Unhappily," he cries in French, often selected by him as the vehicle for strong feeling, "I am one of those whom the Greeks call ῥωμαῖοι. I have come into the world and into Italy too late." . . . Winckelmann's Roman life was simple, primeval, Greek. His delicate constitution permitted him only the use of bread and wine. Condemned by many as a renegade, he had no desire for places of honour, but only to see his merits acknowledged, and existence assured to him. He was simple without being niggardly; he desired to be neither poor nor rich. (189;150-51)

Joyce's writing style, his manner of presenting his subject, and his desire for the dramatic or fictional element in his essay, are all modelled on Pater's unique brand of portraiture in The Renaissance studies.
Pater's preoccupation with the identity of form and content in art led him to argue that "transparency in language . . . [is] the secret of all genuine style" (Appreciations, 206-07), that the form should be the perfect expression of the content. In the essay on Pico there is a simultaneous adaptation of subject to style, and style to subject. I have suggested that the subjects of Pater's historical portraits are, to varying degrees, created, as characters in fictions are. The style of the Pico essay is romantic and sympathetic and finally, so is the subject. This is precisely what Joyce attempts in his essay on Mangan. He wants to do for Mangan what Pater had done for Pico: to represent him, in a sympathetic light, as a grossly overlooked, yet vastly gifted artist.

Pater's influence on Joyce's early essays goes beyond formal or stylistic elements. In his university years, Joyce's theory of aesthetics was in its embryonic stage. His comments on art and aesthetics in his early critical writings tend to be a little naive, and the assured tone of his writing in an essay like "Royal Hibernian Academy 'Ecce Homo'" (1899) helps to disguise the tentativeness of his aesthetic system. Still, the rudiments of the system that culminates in the theories which Stephen Dedalus announces in Stephen Hero, A Portrait, and Ulysses are interspersed throughout Joyce's several undergraduate papers. Since there is no mention yet of the Thomistic influence on his theory of aesthetics, we may freely look elsewhere for possible sources.
In "Royal Hibernian Academy 'Ecce Homo'" Joyce discusses the relation of sculpture to painting in terms of their dramatic capacities.

It follows naturally from the fact that the sculptor aims at producing a bronze or stone model of man, that his impulse should lead him to the portrayal of an instantaneous passion. Consequently although he has the advantage of the painter, in at first glance deceiving the eye, his capability to be a dramatist is less broad than the painter's. His power of moulding can be equalized by the painter's backgrounds and skilful disposition of shades... the colours, which add another life, help its theme to its expression in a very much completer and clearer whole.... It is a mistake to limit drama to the stage; a drama can be painted as well as sung or acted, and 'Ecce Homo' is a drama. (Critical Writings, 32-33)

That "drama can be painted" Pater suggested clearly and often in The Renaissance. Of Botticelli he says, "He is before all things a poetical painter, blending the charm of story and sentiment, the medium of the art of poetry, with the charm of line and colour, the medium of abstract painting" (52;40). He says of Giotto, Masaccio and Ghirladajo that "they are dramatic, not visionary painters" (53;42). It is a characteristic, in fact, of Pater's art criticism to seek a story behind the scene on the canvas; his paragraphs on Botticelli's Madonnas and La Gioconda offer clear examples of this.

In his essay on Winckelmann Pater had discussed Greek sculpture and its relation to the other arts:

[Sculpture] renounces the power of expression by lower or heightened tones.... it has no backgrounds; no sky
or atmosphere, to suggest and interpret a train of feeling: ... And it gains more than it loses by this limitation to its own distinguishing motives; it unveils man in the repose of his unchanging characteristics. (212-13;169-70)

Sculpture cannot command the resources of painting, "with its power of indirect expression, of subordinate but significant detail, its atmosphere, its foregrounds and backgrounds," nor the resources of poetry. As a result, "In poetry and painting, the situation predominates over the character; in sculpture, the character over the situation" (215;172).

Although Joyce, in "Ecce Homo," is illustrating the greater dramatic capability that painting has over sculpture, while Pater, in "Winckelmann," is admiring the expressive powers of sculpture despite and to some extent because of its limitations (sculpture is freed from narration and "realism"), there is a clear parallel in the contrasts they draw between the two art forms. Witness, too, the similarity in terminology: Joyce's "portrayal of instantaneous passion," and Pater's "a single moment of passion"; Joyce's "at first glance deceiving the eye," and Pater's "at first sight sculpture ... seems a thing more real"; Joyce's "the painter's backgrounds and skilful disposition of shades," and Pater's "no backgrounds" in sculpture, and the "gradations of shade" in painting. Finally, Joyce's critical attitude in his essay on a painting with a religious subject-matter may owe something to Pater's "irreverent" approach to the religious
paintings of Botticelli, and more particularly his Madonnas, "who are neither for Jehovah, nor for His enemies," and "shrink from the pressure of the divine child, and plead in unmistakable undertones for a warmer, lower humanity" (56, 57, 60: 44, 47). In "Ecce Homo" Joyce, like Pater, is less moved by the religiosity of art than by its aesthetic beauty and its portrayal of humanity. In discussing Botticelli's freedom from moral ambition Pater suggests that "His morality is all sympathy, and it is this sympathy, conveying into his work somewhat more than is usual of the true complexion of humanity, which makes him, visionary as he is, so forcible a realist" (56: 43-44). Of "Ecce Homo" Joyce says, "it is a frightfully real presentment of all the baser passions of humanity, in both sexes, in every gradation, raised and lashed into a demoniac carnival. So far praise must be given, but it is plain through all this, that the aspect of the artist is human, intensely, powerfully human" (35).

As I have suggested, the influence of Pater's aesthetic on the young Joyce found voice also in the Mangan essay. In his discussion of the proper criteria for the judgment of art and artists Joyce says,

Finally, it must be asked concerning every artist how he is in relation to the highest knowledge and to those

11. In their introduction to the essay Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellmann note Joyce's "approach to the subject of a religious painting from a purely aesthetic point of view" (31).
laws which do not take holiday because men and times forget them. This is not to look for a message but to approach the temper which has made the work, an old woman praying, or a young man fastening his shoe, and to see what is there well done and how much it signifies. A song by Shakespeare or Verlaine, which seems so free and living and as remote from any conscious purpose as rain that falls in a garden or the lights of evening, is discovered to be the rhythmic speech of an emotion otherwise incommunicable, at least so fitly. (75, italics added)

Though the italicized words themselves might sum up, in a phrase, Pater's stated intention, in the Preface of The Renaissance, not simply to describe "that revival of classical antiquity in the fifteenth century," but "a general excitement and enlightening of the human mind . . . [and] outbreak of the human spirit," a number of particular passages, in "Sandro Botticelli," "The School of Giorgione," and the "Postscript" to Appreciations, might have provided the sources for Joyce's wording. Towards the end of his essay on Botticelli Pater reflects, the object of this brief study has been attained, if I have defined aright the temper in which he worked" (61, 47). In the "Postscript" Pater talks of distinguishing "between what is admirably done, and what is done not quite so well, in the writings . . . of Jean Paul" (Appreciations, 246).

In "The School of Giorgione" he notes the following:

In its primary aspect, a great picture has no more definite message for us than an accidental play of sunlight and shadow for a few moments on the wall or floor. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
And the very perfection of such [lyrical] poetry often appears to depend, in part, on a certain suppression or vagueness of mere subject, so that the meaning reaches us through ways not distinctly traceable by the understanding, as . . . often in Shakespeare's songs.

(Renaissance, 133, 137, 104, 108)

Joyce's "rhythmic speech of an emotion otherwise incommunicable" in particular, bears a close resemblance, I feel, to Pater's suggestion that "meaning reaches us through ways not distinctly traceable by the understanding"; for both, any communication of emotion or meaning is by unconventional means.

Other passages in the Mangan essay bear Paterian echoes. Joyce's comment, late in his paper, that poetry "sets store by every time less than the pulsation of an artery" (81), recalls Pater's fleeting moment of impression, "gone while we try to apprehend it." Joyce's allusion to "the ancient gods, who . . . die and come to life many times" indicates an interest, not then uncommon, in the cyclical theory of regeneration: "though there is dusk about their feet and darkness in their indifferent eyes, the miracle of light is renewed eternally in the imaginative soul" (82-83). It might have been prompted, though, by Pater's discussion and use, in the Pico essay, of Heine's myth of the "Gods in Exile" in which the fate of the old gods and their existence in the modern world are described, and by Pater's treatment of cultural rebirth throughout his work, both critical and fictional. In Pater's Portraits
Gerald Monsman discusses the centrality of Heine's idea to The Renaissance and Pater's imaginary portraits. References are made to Heine's essay in "Two Early French Stories," "Sandro Botticelli," "Leonardo Da Vinci," and "Winckelmann". Joyce mentions the "Gods in Exile" theme in relation to the intense life of the poet, "taking into its centre the life that surrounds it and flinging it abroad again amid planetary music," and the voices of poetry "heard singing, a little faintly at first, of a serene spirit which enters woods and cities and the hearts of men, and of the life of the earth" (82-83). Here again he is following Pater's precedent in relating Heine's theme to the regenerative process on a physical, as well as a spiritual and cultural level.

Joyce's insistence, in the last paragraph of the Mangan essay, on beauty and truth might have its seed in Pater's treatment of the two concepts in "Style". In Joyce's words, "Beauty, the splendour of truth, is a gracious presence when the imagination contemplates intensely the truth of its own being or the visible world, and the spirit which proceeds out of truth and beauty is the holy spirit of joy" (83). Earlier, Pater had written, "In the highest, as in the lowliest literature, then, the one indispensable beauty is, after all, truth—truth to bare fact in the latter, as to some personal sense of fact, diverted somewhat from men's ordinary sense of it, in the former; truth there as accuracy, truth here as expression, that finest and most intimate form of truth, the vraie

vérité" (Appreciations, 34).

It may not be presumptuous to consider that Joyce's odd suggestion that "death is the most beautiful form of life" (83) owes something to Pater's generally positive treatment of death in all of his work, and particularly in Marius and the Leonardo essay. Mona Lisa "has been dead many times, and learned the secrets of the grave," and Leonardo himself, at the time of his death, "looked forward . . . into the vague land, and experienced the last curiosity" (Renaissance, 125, 129; 99, 101).

Finally, Joyce's conclusion that art exemplifies "the continual affirmation of the spirit"(83) reflects a stance which Pater took repeatedly in The Renaissance, from his reference to the "outbreak of the human spirit" in the Preface, to his discussion of the "roused and startled human spirit" in the "Conclusion".

I have spent much time discussing Paterian echoes in Joyce's early essays to prove not simply that Joyce knew Pater's works well, but that they provided him with a theory of art and aesthetics from which he could draw in developing his own system. Much has been said, by Joyce and by others, of the large role played by Aquinas and Aristotle in the development of Joyce's aesthetic theories. That Joyce would term his system "applied Aquinas" shows his conviction (or his desire to convince others) that St. Thomas' works provided the base for his aesthetic theories. I do not deny Aquinas' large role; much of Joyce's terminology and a good
deal of his theory can be traced directly to Aquinas. What I suggest is that the Thomistic system was not Joyce’s only source; that there are aspects of Joyce’s system which could not have come from Aquinas or Aristotle, but have their roots, instead, in other areas of Joyce’s early reading. The similarity of the aesthetic theory expressed in Joyce’s early essays to Pater’s theories in The Renaissance and Appreciations, together with the strong verbal echoes of Pater’s writing, indicate that his works provided one of these secondary sources.

Joyce’s debt to Pater in the realm of aesthetics goes far beyond his early critical writings; it is manifested in his later, more significant fictional works, most notably in Stephen Hero and A Portrait. Joyce’s use of epiphanies in Dubliners was also influenced by his knowledge of Pater. It has been necessary to show this strong Paterian influence on Joyce’s early writings in order to argue an influence on the later fiction, especially in those sections of the novels which deal with aesthetics.

I will discuss Joyce’s works in order of their composition, and trace Pater’s role in Stephen Hero, Dubliners, and finally A Portrait, at which time the discussion of Joyce’s aesthetics, and Pater’s influence on them, will be resumed and completed.

13. In the last section of this chapter I will discuss this in some detail.
14. My discussion will not include Ulysses and Finnegans Wake as Pater’s role in these works is less significant than in the earlier works.
II

In Stanislaus Joyce's diary we are told that by his twenty-second birthday, February 2, 1904, James Joyce had "decided to turn his paper into a novel." 15 The paper was a short autobiographical piece entitled "A Portrait of the Artist," written by Joyce in one day (January 7, 1904); the novel would be Stephen Hero. Ellmann tells us that Joyce "finished the first chapter of his book by February 10, 1904, and by midsummer he had written already a large volume." 16 By the end of the next year he had written over five hundred pages but had become entrenched in what seemed an interminable work. Throughout 1906 and most of 1907 he worked partly on Stephen Hero but mostly on a new endeavor, Dubliners. Finally, on September 8, 1907, "he informed Stanislaus that as soon as he had completed the story ['"The Dead"] he would rewrite Stephen Hero completely." 17

Stephen Hero was Joyce's first major creative work and was written, as we have seen, in the years immediately following those in which he had written his first critical essays, "Ecce Homo" (1899), "Drama and Life" (1900), and "James Clarence Mangan" (1902). Those ideas of Pater's which he borrowed for his critical arguments must still have been relatively fresh in his mind when he began his first novel. Joyce's aesthetic theories were developed further in Stephen Hero

15. Quoted in Ellmann, p.152.
and I will refer to those passages in the novel which deal with aesthetics when I come to A Portrait. First, I will look at other aspects of Stephen Hero which suggest a continuing Paterian influence on Joyce.

By way of introduction to one of these aspects, I will digress, briefly, to look at how Joyce dealt with the "anxiety of influence," to borrow Harold Bloom's phrase. In his book of that title Bloom discusses the moment at which a poet "first discovers poetry as being both external and internal to himself."

Though all such discovery is a self-recognition, indeed a second birth, and ought, in the pure good of theory, to be accomplished in a perfect solipsism, it is an act never complete in itself. Poetic influence is the sense -- amazing, agonizing, delighting--of other poets, as felt in the depths of the all-but-perfect solipsist, the potentially strong poet. For the poet is condemned to learn his profoundest yearnings through an awareness of other selves. The poem is within him, yet he experiences the shame and splendor of being found by poems--great poems--outside him. To lose freedom in this center is never to forgive, and to learn the dread of threatened autonomy forever. 18

Given the young Joyce's (and Stephen's) solipsistic and egocentric nature, might we not explain, with the aid of Bloom's statements, a curious aspect of Joyce's early critical and fictional writing, that is, the notable absence (with one

exception of the mention of Pater's name amid the frequent mention of his contemporaries; in *Stephen Hero* it is suggested, though not by Stephen, that "Byron and Shelley and Wordsworth and Coleridge and Keats and Tennyson" wrote beautiful poetry, and that "Ruskin and Newman and Carlyle and Macaulay were the greatest modern English prose stylists" (*Stephen Hero*, 134). In *A Portrait* the literary influences on Stephen that are mentioned include Gerhart Hauptmann, Newman, Ibsen, and Ben Jonson. It is not begging the question to suggest that Pater was an "other poet" or "other self" sensed by Joyce, as he was discovering his own artistic potential, whose influence, and even existence, was consciously or unconsciously denied by Joyce. Neither is it unreasonable to assume that Joyce "never forgave" Pater (at least not until later) in his fear of being assimilated by such a precursor, and, again either consciously or not, avoided even the mention of his name to prevent the connection from being made.

This interpretation may be taken a step further with the use of another passage from Bloom's study of influence. In speaking of "the other" he says:

No modern poet is unitary, whatever his stated beliefs. Modern poets are necessarily miserable dualists, because

19. Joyce makes a brief, not very significant reference to Pater while talking of George Moore in "The Day of the Rabblement" (1901): "But however frankly Mr. Moore may misquote Pater and Turgeneff to defend himself, his new impulse has no kind of relation to the future of art." (71)

20. All references to *Stephen Hero* are to the edition edited by Théodore Spencer, (St.Albans, Herts., Triad-Panther, 1977).

21. Not until *Ulysses* perhaps, when Joyce makes a lighthearted confession of his debt to Pater (see below, p.230).
this misery, this poverty is the starting point of their art. . . . Poetry may or may not work out its own salvation in a man, but it comes only to those in dire imaginative need of it, though it may come then as terror. And this need is learned first through the young poet's or ephebe's experience of another poet, or of the Other whose baleful greatness is enhanced by the ephebe's seeing him as a burning brightness against a framing darkness, rather as Blake's Bard of Experience sees the Tyger, or Job the Leviathan and Behemoth, or Ahab the White Whale, or Ezekiel the Covering-Cherub, for all these are visions of the creation gone malevolent and entrapping, of a splendor menacing the Promethean Quester every ephebe is about to become.\textsuperscript{22}

I have discussed in the first chapter Pater's reputation among some as a decadent, immoral and atheistic writer; indeed he was thought by his most severe and misunderstanding critics to be depraved, guilty of abnormal sexual tendencies and an abhorrent fascination with corruption and death. The young Joyce probably did not take such prejudiced views of Pater, but he would certainly have been aware that others did. Despite his early protestations against morality in art and against the Church, Joyce remained a decidedly moralistic writer, and is clearly concerned in \textit{Stephen Hero}, \textit{Dubliners}, and \textit{A Portrait} with religious and spiritual purity. It is possible that for the young Joyce Pater represented at least the possibility of creation, or the creative artist, gone malevolent, and personified the same menacing tendencies that Joyce, as an artist, might have to face in himself.

\textsuperscript{22} Bloom, \textit{The Anxiety of Influence}, p.35.
The aspect of *Stephen Hero* that this discussion leads to and will perhaps help to explain is Stephen's insistence that St. Thomas is his mentor, and that his aesthetic system is, in the main, "applied Aquinas". As we shall see later, a good deal of Stephen's theory goes beyond anything in Aquinas; so this insistence that it was largely St. Thomas' works whence his theory stemmed is interesting and perhaps a little revealing.

The first mention of St. Thomas in *Stephen Hero* comes early in chapter XIX, "His Esthetic was in the main 'applied Aquinas'" (72). The slight hint here of another source is never elaborated upon; Stephen would have everyone believe that St. Thomas provided the germ for all of his ideas and theories. Other references to Aquinas are frequent in the novel, but three allusions bear particular significance. The first of these comes later in chapter XIX, after Stephen has read his essay, "Art and Life,"23 to his mother. Impressed by the essay, but a little concerned about its attitudes and morality, Mrs. Dedalus "was relieved to find that the excesses of this new worship were supervised by a recognized saintly authority" (78). That his mother, and many others, should be thus reassured was quite conceivably a considered and calculated measure taken by Stephen when writing his paper. Without the "saintly authority" as his solid base, Stephen's morally and religiously questionable theories would have suffered much more severe criticism.

23. This is basically a reworking of the Mangan essay.
It would have been subjected to more criticism like that offered by the president of Stephen's college to justify his censoring of Stephen's essay. The president suggests that Stephen's paper "represents the sum-total of modern unrest and modern freethinking." He is surprised at Stephen's admiration of writers "who openly profess their atheistic doctrines and fill the minds of their readers with all the garbage of modern society" (85). As the president is speaking, Stephen interrupts to suggest that Aquinas is an author whom he admires. He insists repeatedly on Aquinas as the source of his theory despite the president's equally determined attempt to shift the conversation in a different direction. If Stephen comes away from the interview with a sense of victory (and a sense that the victory has been a very important one), we feel that his dependable weapon has been his interpretation, at least, of Aquinas' words. Certainly, it is a victory he could not have won without mention of Aquinas.

The third and perhaps most revealing reference to St. Thomas comes very late in the novel fragment, in chapter XXV. Brooding over Emma Clery's refusal to "live one night together" with him, Stephen, turning inward, sees there the soul of an artist. And as Stephen, like Joyce, lives always in the shadow of the Church, "During the train of these reflections the Church sent an embassy of nimble pleaders into his ears" (182). Clearly, Stephen sees the Church and art as opposite poles, each exercising a great power over him. To yield to the pull of art, he must first overcome the pull of religion, but he
must do so on the Jesuits' terms, otherwise they can call him an atheist and outcast of the Church, and he will have proved nothing to them. In this light, the following passage is significant:

He desired for himself the life of an artist. Well! And he feared that the Church would obstruct this desire. But, during the formulation of his artistic creed, had he not found item after item upheld for him in advance by the greatest and most orthodox doctors of the Church and was it anything but vanity which urged him to seek out the thorny crown of the heretic while the entire theory, in accordance with which his entire artistic life was shaped, arose most conveniently for his purpose out of the mass of Catholic theology? (183)

There is a definite suggestion here, made consciously or not, that the real importance of Aquinas for Stephen lies not in his ideas or theories themselves, but in his exalted position in the eyes of all Catholics, and more particularly, Stephen's Jesuit masters. Joyce's awkward phrase "upheld for him in advance" suggests that Stephen went to Aquinas more for support of his own theories than for inspiration for new ones; that Stephen's theories were applied to Aquinas, and not the other way around.

Had Joyce, or Stephen, given even the least credit to Pater for having provided a source for his aesthetic theories, neither Mrs. Dedalus nor any other reader of Stephen's essay would have had the assurance of Aquinas' supervision; the president of Stephen's college would not have "lost" his interview with Stephen; and Stephen would not have won in
his pull against the Church on their own ground. Pater, we may safely assume, would have been considered by all of Stephen's adversaries as blasphemous and corrupt—an atheistic writer and self-declared outcast of religion and the Church. With Pater, and not Aquinas, as his model, it would have been easy to dismiss Stephen's theory on the grounds that "it represents the sum-total of modern unrest and modern freethinking." Aquinas and Aristotle provided Stephen with revered examples from authority, from the very texts that his Jesuit masters used daily in their classrooms. The added significance and irony of having Stephen rebel via these texts was, for Joyce, almost essential.

III

A good deal has been said about Joyce's early fiction and about his concept of the epiphany. Most critics would agree with Homer Obed Brown that "Stephen's epiphanies are... mostly revelations of the paralysis that is one of the themes of 'Dubliners.'"24 Indeed, in discussions of 'Dubliners' epiphany has almost come to be equated with paralysis, there apparently being little else that Dubliners can realize about themselves. Marvin Magalaner, however, defines the epiphanies in broader terms: "Every story in 'Dubliners' deals with the supreme moment of comprehension, of spiritual insight or

lack of it, in the life of the principal character."25 Whether it is spiritual or moral paralysis, or something greater, that is epiphanized, the consensus is that the epiphany is essential to the subject-matter, or theme, of Dubliners.

Stephen's well-known definition of an epiphany in Stephen Hero as "a sudden spiritual manifestation, whether in the vulgarity of speech or of gesture or in a memorable phase of the mind itself" that must be recorded "with extreme care, seeing that they themselves are the most delicate and evanescent of moments" (188), is most suggestive of Pater's "Conclusion" to The Renaissance and his discussion of experience as "a group of impressions... each one of them... limited by time... all that is actual in it being a single moment, gone while we try to apprehend it" (235; 187-88). Just as an epiphany for Stephen is a sudden moment of insight or artistic vision of which he can say "all at once I see [an object] and I know at once what it is" (189), and which offers him a more profound view of the world, for Pater "Every moment some form grows perfect in hand or face; some tone on the hills or the sea is choicer than the rest; some mood of passion or insight or intellectual excitement is irresistibly real and attractive to us" (236; 188).

The similarity of Stephen's epiphany to Pater's visionary moment represents another borrowing by Joyce of an aspect of Pater's aesthetic to formulate his own. However, Pater's in-

fluence does not stop here. We have traced Pater's movement from Studies in the History of the Renaissance and some other early critical essays to "The Child in the House" and Marius, and his adaption of his theory to his fictional technique; the visionary moments which Pater discusses in his first volume become the formal means by which Florian Deleal's and Marius' stories are presented. Joyce, in abandoning Stephen Hero to work on Dubliners (and to go on, later, to A Portrait), repeats Pater's movement from theory to practice; the theoretical epiphanies of Stephen Hero become the subject-matter, and, to a large extent, the form of Dubliners. Just as the distinguishing characteristic technically of Pater's fiction is "its emphasis not on action, but on significant acts of perception," so one of the technical aspects which distinguishes Dubliners from Stephen Hero is the disregard of plot and story, and the use of moments of insight or vision, Joyce's epiphanies, to convey the meaning. Harry Levin notes Joyce's emphasis, in Dubliners, on "the single word that tells the whole story . . . the simple gesture that reveals a complex set of relationships." Discussing Joyce's technique he says, "the author deliberately avoids anything like an event. . . . He merely watches, the characters are merely revealed, and the emphasis is on the technique of exposure." The epiphany "has become a matter of literary technique. It has become Joyce's contribution to that series of developments which

supplant plot with style. This is a development in which Pater surely has a large role; he was not the first writer of fiction to shift the emphasis from plot to style, but he certainly provided a model for Joyce, Henry James, and others, of thematic expression through isolated moments of vision.

Robert Scholes and Richard Kain offer an interesting suggestion in their discussion of the development of A Portrait. In probing the reasons for Joyce's shift from Stephen Hero to A Portrait they say,

Joyce habitually referred to Stephen Hero, in his letters to Stanislaus Joyce of 1904 and 1905, as "my novel". And his ultimate objection to this work which had cost so much of his time may well have been that it was too much of a novel. The conventions of the novel form had been too powerful for him; characters and incidents had proliferated; the "individuating rhythm" and the "curve of an emotion" had become enmeshed in irrelevant material. The novel form itself had become a net which the artist would try to fly by.

In doing so, Joyce might have gone the way of Pater. I do not suggest that Pater's Marius and his short imaginary portraits offered Joyce the only unconventional fictional form of the

27. James Joyce (Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions, 1941), pp. 38-39. Levin sees Joyce's development and uses of the epiphany as "attempts to create a literary substitute for the revelations of religion." (p. 38) In making such attempts, Joyce is once again following Pater's lead, particularly in Marius.
28. In writing the original paper, "A Portrait of the Artist," Joyce had wanted to describe the "curve of an emotion."
nineteenth century. As we know, Joyce was very well read even at an early age and undoubtedly looked to many authors in his search for unconventional novelistic form. That Pater's fiction was one of his significant "finds" is indicated by the nature of Joyce's formal unconventionality; it resembles Pater's very much. 30

Marvin Magalaner and Richard Kain have discussed possible influences on *Dubliners*; Chekhov and Maupassant are cited as the most probable models, 31 others suggested are Gogol, Turgenev, George Moore, Flaubert and Dante. These writers have influenced Joyce in various ways, but Joyce's use of the epiphany for the expression of meaning is not traced to any of them. This, it is argued, is Joyce's own handling and development of symbolism: "In essence, it may be put thus: radiance equals epiphany equals symbol." He sees epiphany as a device of expression that, perfect in its wholeness and harmony, will show forth in an instant of illumination a meaning and significance greater than the words in another combination would carry. 32

It seems plausible to me, however, that Joyce's unconventional technique in *Dubliners*, his expression of theme through sudden instants of significant illumination or vision, would not have developed quite the way it did had he not read Pater's

30. Not only in the technical use of the moment of vision, but even in Joyce's title; his "Portrait" of character may owe part of its title to Pater's "imaginary portraits." Stanislaus Joyce claimed to have suggested the title to his brother; he also uses the term "imaginary portrait" in his diary (see The Workshop of Dedalus, p.75).

31. The authors, however, rightly question the much-suggested influence of Maupassant, whose short stories, unlike Joyce's, are almost totally dependent upon plot for thematic expression.

fiction. In *Dubliners* we find no verbal echoes of Pater's words as we do in some of Joyce's other works. Joyce's "style of scrupulous meanness" does not allow him to couch his moments of vision in the same mannered and involuted sentences that Pater does. Stylistically, in fact, with one or two brief passages excepted, *Dubliners* offers the antithesis of Pater's writing style. But the particular concept of epiphany and its use, and the technique of thematic expression in *Dubliners* is the same as that in "The Child in the House" and *Marius*. Each of Joyce's stories climaxes with a moment in which something is unexpectedly revealed; it may be an aspect of character, the true nature of a relationship, or a particular mode of the Dublin consciousness. Unlike the moments of vision in Pater's fiction, though, Joyce's epiphanies do not always affect or change his principal characters. Eveline and the two gallants experience no revelations; the showing forth in these two stories is for the readers' eyes only. Throughout *Dubliners*, in fact, this is usually the case. That such moments of potential insight are lost on the Dubliners is part of Joyce's theme; that is, their emotional, moral, or spiritual paralysis prevents them from "seeing." Only a few characters experience the same kind of perception and revelation that Florian and Marius do on occasions such as the discovery of the hawthorn, the deaths of Marius' mother and Flavian, the incident of the falling rock, the slaughter in Marcus Aurelius' arena, and,

33. Marvin Magalaner, in *Time of Apprenticeship*, talks of "Joyce resisting the influence of Pater's hypnotically gushing sentences" (pp. 92-93).
most importantly for Marius, that at the inn in "The Will as Vision." It is essential to Pater's technique that Florian and Marius gain some deeper insight from every new vision they experience; this is what carries his narratives along. Joyce, on the other hand, uses the same technique to reveal how his characters, as a result of a general psychological paralysis, are incapable of insight.

A few, however, are not. A scene in "A Little Cloud" is reminiscent of the many visionary scenes in "The Child in the House" and Marius, although it is clearly an ironic treatment by Joyce of Pater's "privileged hour." Little Chandler, on his way to meet Gallaher, is contemplating "his own sober-inartistic life" when he feels within him "many different moods and impressions that he wished to express in verse,"

Little Chandler quickened his pace. For the first time in his life he felt himself superior to the people he passed. For the first time his soul revolted against the dull inelegance of Capel Street. There was no doubt about it; if you wanted to succeed you had to go away. You could do nothing in Dublin. As he crossed Grattan Bridge he looked down the river towards the lower quays and pitied the poor stunted houses. They seemed to him a band of tramps, huddled together along the river-banks, their old coats covered with dust and soot, stupified by the panorama of sunset and waiting for the first chill of night to bid them arise, shake themselves and be gone. He wondered whether he could write a poem to express his idea. Perhaps Gallaher might be able to get it into some London paper for him. Could he write something original? He was not sure what idea he wished to express but the
thought that a poetic moment had touched him took life within him like an infant hope. He stepped on bravely. (Dubliners, 23) 34

Later, in his home, he recalls his moment of vision. "There were so many things he wanted to describe: his sensation of a few hours before on Grattan Bridge, for example. 'If he could get back again into that mood' (84).

In the long passage quoted we note a further parallel. In both "The Child in the House" and Marius moments of vision are almost always precipitated by the sight of common, natural objects which suddenly take on different attitudes and meanings; sight leads to insight. Likewise, Little Chandler's epiphany is occasioned by "the dull inelegance of Capel Street" and "the poor stunted houses" of the quays. We may assume that Little Chandler had crossed Grattan Bridge many times before, had seen the same street and houses, and had been unmoved by them. Epiphanies and visionary moments are rare and isolated instants that cannot be duplicated (hence Little Chandler's frustration at the conclusion of the story). Pater had made this point in the "Conclusion": "Every moment ... some mood of passion or insight or intellectual excitement is irresistibly real and attractive to us,—for that moment only" (Renaissance, 236-188). Nevertheless, Little Chandler, however ironically he is treated, experiences a revelation, and like Florian and Marius, is changed by it. In this respect he differs from most of Joyce's Dubliners, who are incapable of even the

34. All quotations from Dubliners are from the text edited by Robert Scholes and A. Walton Litz (New York: Viking, 1969).
slightest revelation or vision. One other who is affected by his visionary moments, much more than Little Chandler, is Gabriel Conroy.

"The Dead," as has been sufficiently pointed out, is the most considered and considerable story of Dubliners. With it Joyce soars to new heights as a literary artist. Ellmann stresses the centrality of the story in the Joyce œuvre, both stylistically and thematically, calling it "a linchpin in Joyce's work."35 It is also the story in Dubliners most influenced by Pater's work, particularly Marius.

Gabriel, like Marius, is a reflective soul. "The Dead" is more a series of reflections than a series of actions, despite Joyce's emphasis on naturalist detail. Certainly the theme of the story is expressed not by its action or plot, the events of the evening, but in the reveries of the principal character. Just as Pater's concern, in Marius, is with his hero's "sensations and ideas," and the growth of his awareness, Joyce's concern in "The Dead" is with Gabriel's developing consciousness. The action and events of both novel and story serve as aids to the expression of theme through the analysis of consciousness. The events force the principal characters to reflect on themselves and their relationships with others, both living and dead.

Gabriel experiences not one or two, but a series of epiphanies; the first occurs "while Mary Jane was playing her Academy piece."

Gabriel's eyes, irritated by the floor, which glittered with beeswax under the heavy chandelier, wandered to the wall above the piano. A picture of the balcony scene in *Romeo and Juliet* hung there, and beside it was a picture of the two murdered princes in the Tower which Aunt Julia had worked in red, blue and brown wools when she was a girl. (186)

Besides symbolically foreshadowing the end of the story and the themes of love and death, this scene, which ends with Gabriel contemplating his wife's true benevolent nature ("It was Gretta who had nursed her during all her last long illness in their house at Monkstown," p.187), shows how for Gabriel, too, the sight of physical objects (the paintings) leads to insight (Gretta's goodness) via a ruminative process.

The second of Gabriel's brief moments of reverie comes when he leaves the company of Freddy Malins' mother to retire "into the embrasure of the window."

Gabriel's warm trembling fingers tapped the cold pane of the window. How cool it must be outside! How pleasant it would be to walk out alone, first along by the river and then through the park! The snow would be lying on the branches of the trees and forming a bright cap on the top of the Wellington Monument. (192)

Again we have a foreshadowing of the end of the story when the snow represents the oneness of all the living and the dead, the ineradicable bond between the two. In this passage the snow falls both on living trees and the inanimate statue, this latter itself being a kind of link between the world of the living and the dead—a token to remind the living of the dead.
What is essential to this passage, however, is Gabriel's tendency to be moved by sensory perception (his warm fingers touching the cold window-pane) to a reverie which contributes to the development of his consciousness, either symbolically or otherwise.

It is a tendency he shares with Florian and Marius. Immediately before Marius' most significant reverie in the olive garden, he becomes acutely aware of the material world around him and its influence on his mental processes. His consciousness of the sights, sounds, and odours of the surrounding garden acts as a prelude to the revelatory sense of an "unfailing companion" which becomes so essential to Marius's development. As we have seen, Marius feels that "the aspects of the place he was then visiting had something to do" with his ensuing revelation.

The air there, air supposed to possess the singular property of restoring the whiteness of ivory, was pure and thin. An even veil of lawn-like white cloud had now drawn over the sky; and under its broad, shadowless light every hue and tone of time came out upon the yellow old temples, the elegant pillared circle of the shrine of the patronal Sibyl, the houses seemingly of a piece with the ancient fundamental rock. Some half-conscious motive of poetic grace would appear to have determined their grouping; in part resisting, partly going along with the natural wildness of the place, its floods and precipices. An air of immense age possessed, above all, the vegetation around—a world of evergreen trees—the olives especially, older than how many generations of men's lives; fretted and twisted by the combining forces of life and
death, into every conceivable caprice of form. In the windless weather all seemed to be listening to the roar of the immemorial waterfall, plunging down so unassocially among these human habitations, and with a motion so unchanging from age to age as to count, even in this time-worn place, as an image of unalterable rest. Yet the clear sky all but broke to let through the ray which was silently quickening everything in the late February afternoon, and the unseen violet refined itself through the air. It was as if the spirit of life in nature were but withholding any too precipitate revelation of itself, in its slow, wise, maturing work. (Marius, II, 65-66)

For Marius, as well as Gabriel, sensory perception is conducive to revelation.

Gabriel lapses into reflection again when he sees his wife on the stairs, listening to Barcell D'Arcy's song:

He stood in the gloom of the hall, trying to catch the air that the voice was singing and gazing up at his wife. There was a grace and mystery in her attitude as if she were a symbol of something. He asked himself what is a woman standing on the stairs in the shadow, listening to distant music, a symbol of. If he were a painter he would paint her in that attitude. . . . Distant Music he would call the picture if he were a painter. (209-10)

Gabriel, as I have suggested, is the Dubliner who is most capable of insight, the one who, if you will, suffers least from paralysis. It is not until the end of the story, however, that his really significant moment of vision comes. Up to and including the point at which he sees his wife on the stairs, his vision is still clouded. His reveries are epiphanies in form, but little is revealed to him. Joyce shows, symbolically,
that, moment by moment, Gabriel is getting closer to his final revelation. The image in Gabriel's first reverie of Gretta nursing his mother hints at the role that Gabriel will discover she played in her relationship with the ill Michael Furey. The snow in his second reverie foreshadows Gabriel's later vision of the universal snowfall over the living and the dead. When he sees his wife standing on the stairs he feels that she is a symbol of something, but he cannot yet determine of what. Distant Music, of course, will become the music of Michael Furey's song, heard from the world of the past and the dead. As in Marius the successive moments of vision in "The Dead" lead the principal character on to his final state of heightened consciousness. Gradually, his reveries bring him closer and closer to the truth, or, in Marius' case, to an expanded capacity of vision and unclouded receptivity of soul.

Gabriel's final and most meaningful epiphany comes in the last few pages of the story. Not so much a moment of vision, it is, like Marius' last reverie, more a series of reflections which recapitulates the work's thematic elements and brings all to a conclusion. "The Dead" ends not with action or plot-resolution, but with a state of consciousness—Gabriel's intellectual apprehension of the nature of his own and all existence. Similarly, the ending of Marius, although it is occasioned by the hero's death, is important, above all, for the level and nature of consciousness which it depicts.
In the concluding scenes of "The Dead" the importance of sight for insight is stressed once again. As Gabriel looks at his sleeping wife, her features send his imagination off into another reverie:

Gabriel, leaning on his elbow, looked for a few moments unresentfully on her tangled hair and half-open mouth, listening to her deep-drawn breath. So she had had that romance in her life: a man had died for her sake. It hardly pained him now to think how poor a part he, her husband, had played in her life. He watched her while she slept as though he and she had never lived together as man and wife. His curious eyes rested long upon her face and on her hair; and, as he thought of what she must have been then, in that time of her first girlish beauty, a strange friendly pity for her entered his soul. (222)

Then his thoughts drift to death itself, and he sees himself, in the future, at his Aunt Julia's deathbed. Moving from the particular to the general, in true visionary fashion, he sees the death of all around him, including himself: "One by one they were all becoming shades." The visionary appearance of Michael Furey, "the form of a young man standing under a dripping tree," directs his thoughts to the "vast hosts of the dead," and the oneness of the worlds of the living and the dead. His final subjective vision, "he heard the snow falling faintly through the universe . . . upon all the living and the dead" (223-24) symbolizes that oneness.

Visionary experiences then, isolated but successive .moments of significant reflection, are what bring Gabriel's
consciousness, like Marius', to a final state of "unclouded receptivity" and both men to a higher understanding of the nature of existence. Both Joyce and Pater develop their themes by leading their principal characters through successive moments of more and more significant apprehension, each of which reflects and builds upon the one previous to it, and conclude with a final sequence of revelation. In both works plot becomes secondary to these moments of vision for the development of character and the expression of theme; moreover, the influence of Marius on "The Dead" goes beyond technique.

I have suggested that some of Pater's ideas about death might have influenced Joyce's odd early belief that "death is the highest form of life." I pointed particularly to the conclusion of Pater's essay on Leonardo, who at death, "looked forward ... into the vague land, and experienced the last curiosity." This nebulous suggestion of the existence of an afterlife is stated again, though in clearer terms, in the concluding chapter of Marius. Pater even uses some of the same words: "for a moment [Marius] experienced a singular curiosity, almost an ardent desire to enter upon a future, the possibilities of which seemed so large" (II, 221). Pater's much criticized preoccupation with death has a parallel in the works of Joyce. Both writers, however, are more concerned with the interrelationship and, in Ellmann's words, "mutual dependency of living and dead,"36 than with death, or dying.

36. Ellmann, p.262.
itself. Ellmann points to the recurrence of this theme throughout Joyce's works:

He had expressed it first in his essay on Mangan in 1902, when he spoke already of the union in the great memory of death along with life.

In *Dubliners* he developed this idea. The interrelationship of dead and living is the theme of the first story in *Dubliners* as well as of the last; it is also the theme of "A Painful Case" and "Ivy Day in the Committee Room". In *Ulysses* the climactic episode, *Circe*, whirls to a sepulchral close in the juxtaposition of living and dead, the ghost of his mother confronting Stephen, and the ghost of his son confronting Bloom. But Joyce's greatest triumph in asserting the intimacy of living and dead was to be the close of *Finnegans Wake*.

It is a popular theme also in the fiction of Pater, notably in the imaginary portraits, "Denys l'Auxerrois," "Sebastian van Storck," "Duke Carl of Rosenmold," and "Emerald Uthwart." Gérard Monsman, in reading all of Pater's works in terms of an Apollo/Dionysus pattern, notes the importance of the interrelationship of life and death for Pater's recurring theme of cultural and spiritual reawakening or rebirth:

Just as the original myth of Dionysus saw the birth of the new year already implicit in the destruction of the summer Dionysus, so in Pater's thought it is specifically the sacrificial death of the hero which quickens humanity. Certainly this sacrifice is not an unalleviated tragedy, for his death is his final awakening from mortality, and the blaze of cultural renewal that follows is an echo.

37. We have already seen the extent of Pater's influence on this essay.
38. Ellmann, p. 262.
within the human community of the renewal which has taken place within the soul itself. The dying hero, as the highest expression and representative of humanity, becomes the means by which civilization is purified of its mortality and initiated into the dawning light of Apollo.  

The interrelationship of living and dead is also the theme upon which Marius ends. Marius' final moments of vision offer him "certain considerations by which he seemed to link himself to the generations to come in the world he was leaving" (Marius, II, 221). Through his friendship with Cornelius Marius "seemed to touch, to ally himself to, actually to become a possessor of the coming world" (II, 209-10). Life and death become two parts of a single entity: "Marius seemed to understand how one might look back upon life here, and its excellent visions, as but the portion of a racecourse left behind him by a runner still swift of foot" (II, 220-21).

In the concluding pages of both works, Marius and Gabriel, who is facing death of the self, or of the spirit, share many visions, ideas, and attitudes. Just as "Dead, yet sentient and caressing hands seemed to reach out of the ground and to be clinging about [Marius]" (II, 208), Gabriel imagines that he sees the form of Michael Furey "standing under a dripping tree. Other forms were near. His soul had approached that region where dwell the vast hosts of the dead. He was conscious of, but could not apprehend, their wayward and flickering existence" (223). Just before death Marius is struck by

"a blind, outraged, angry feeling of wasted power, such as he might have experienced himself standing by the deathbed of another"(II, 219). Similarly, Gabriel sees himself sitting at his Aunt Julia's deathbed: "He would cast about in his mind for some words that might console her, and would find only lame and useless ones"(222). There is a sense of self-sacrifice, or self-effacement felt, to some extent, by both protagonists; Marius pays with his life for the future happiness of Cornelius and Cecilia, while Gabriel concedes that his passion pales drastically beside the intense love of Michael Furey for Gretta.

Gabriel, feeling that one would "Better pass boldly into that other world, in the full glory of some passion, than fade and wither dismayfully with age"(223), bemoans his lack of the kind of love which Marius feels he has experienced: "he would try to fix his mind . . . on all the persons he had loved in life. . . . In the bare sense of having loved he seemed to find . . . that on which his soul might 'assuredly rest and depend'"(II, 222-23). Pater's final view of Marius might also describe Joyce's implied but unstated view of Gabriel at the end of "The Dead": "And yet it was the fact, again, that the vision of men and things . . . had developed, with a wonderful largeness . . . his general capacity of vision. . . . At this moment, his unclouded receptivity of soul, grown so steadily through all those years, from experience to experience, was at its height"(II, 219-20).
Finally, the repeated allusions to Christian death and martyrdom in "Anima Naturaler Christiana" may have had some influence on Joyce's use of the imagery of Calvary, pointed out by Ellmann.\(^\text{40}\) Gabriel imagines the snow in the cemetery at Cugherard lying "thickly drifted on the crooked crosses and headstones, on the spears of the little gate, on the barren thorns"(223). Perhaps in Gabriel's mind Michael Furey is a man like Marius, who had died for the love of another. Indeed, Pater's wonderful image of Marius' communion, "their mystic bread . . . had descended like a snow-flake from the sky, between his lips"(II, 224), may have remained in Joyce's mind, to germinate, later, into a larger structure of imagery.

That the state of Gabriel's consciousness should so resemble that of Marius', and that one of the themes of both works, the mutual dependency of living and dead, should be so alike and handled in such a similar fashion, indicates to me something more than a literary coincidence. That Marius was foremost in Joyce's mind when he wrote "The Dead" I would not argue, but I would suggest that the story, and the others in the collection, would not be quite the same had Marius, and some of Pater's other works, not been in Joyce's mind at all.

\(^{40}\) Ellmann, p.259.
So far I have dealt with a Paterian influence on Joyce of which he may or may not have been conscious. Certainly, there is no indication in the works we have looked at that Joyce wished his readers to note Pater's presence in his work (the contrary is more likely). In Joyce's early works we see Pater's influence working just below the surface of the words; there is little that is overt or deliberate about Joyce's use of the Paterian model. When we come to A Portrait, however, we note a change in the nature of Pater's role. His presence in the novel is both slightly submerged (as in the early critical essays, Stephen Hero, and Dubliners) and deliberately and carefully manipulated by Joyce to comment on and characterize Stephen.

It would seem that both The Renaissance and Marius had some influence on A Portrait. Harry Levin has classified A Portrait as a Künstlerroman—a Bildungsroman in which the development is that of an artist. Joyce's concern is primarily with the development of character, or more precisely, as in "The Dead," with the development of the consciousness of his principal character. A Portrait, says Levin, "is distinguished from [other autobiographies]... by its emotional and intellectual adventures of its protagonist." I have referred to the possible debt that Joyce's title may owe

41. Levin, pp.41-42.
42. Levin, p.45.
to Pater's imaginary portraits; just as Pater's primary concern in all of his portraits (and especially in "The Child" and *Marius*) lies with the depiction of the development of character and consciousness, Joyce in this novel attempts to create a portrait of his hero, Stephen Dedalus, not as he stands at the conclusion of the work, but as he develops from the beginning to the end. The novel tries to show why Stephen is what he is in the closing episodes of the book. Rather than a portrait of Stephen at a given point in time, the novel is a record of his development from birth to early manhood. It is, like *Marius*, a portrait moving through time and stages of development. It is also like *Marius* in its autobiographical nature; both novels are *Künstlerromans*. As the growth of Marius' reflective powers mirrors that of Pater's, the development of Stephen as an artist closely follows Joyce's own. 43

The relation of Joyce's technique in *A Portrait* to Pater's technique in *Marius* has been traced by Robert M. Scotto. He says,

> Since Joyce's very definition of the epiphany [see p. above] is Paterian, it should not be surprising that one of the epiphanies has the same source. 44... Nor is it surprising, moreover, that the "epiphanies" in *A Portrait* are, in theme and technique, reminiscent of Marius' "visions". 45

43. The relation of the two works to each other in this respect has been dealt with by Robert M. Scotto in "Self-Portraits of the Apprentice Artist: Pater's *Marius*, Moore's *Confessions*, and Joyce's *Portrait*," Diss. CUNY 1970.

44. Epiphany number 39 in Scholes' and Kain's *The Workshop of Dedalus*, p.49.

Just as "all the crucial moments in Marius . . . are heightened by 'visions'," the novel itself being "a series of chapters charting the course of Marius's heightened moments," the technical key of A Portrait is Joyce's use of the epiphany, a sudden visual manifestation, to further the development of Stephen's character and consciousness. Scotto surveys the technical use of epiphanies in A Portrait remarking most notably that "Sight for both Pater and Joyce is antecedent to 'vision'; the one sense more capable than any other of affording 'insight,' and the one sense most clearly capable of 'seeing,' metaphorically, into the future of the young aesthete. Both authors promote 'the capacity of the eye'." This, we have seen, is true also of Pater's "The Child in the House" and Joyce's "The Dead".

Also like Marius, A Portrait begins with the hero as a young child and stresses his early idealization of home and his relationship with his mother. When Stephen first goes to school away from home his thoughts and reveries are often punctuated with images of his home and mother:

That was not a nice expression. His mother had told him not to speak with the rough boys in the college. Nice mother! . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

All the boys seemed to him very strange. They had all fathers and mothers and different clothes and voices.

46. Scotto, "'Visions' and 'Epiphanies'," p.42.
47. Ibid., p.47.
48. In this respect it may owe something, as Marius does, to "The Child in the House".
He longed to be at home and lay his head on his mother's lap. (A Portrait, 9, 13)

Stephen's imagined letter home during his sickness expresses his desires in no uncertain terms:

Dear Mother,

I am sick. I want to go home. Please come and take me home. I am in the infirmary.

Your fond son,

Stephen

(24)

Similarly, Marius perceives his childhood as an ideal state:

And as his mother became to him the very type of maternity in things, its unfailing pity and protectiveness, and maternity itself the central type of all love; -- so, that beautiful dwelling-place lent the reality of concrete outline to a peculiar ideal of home, which throughout the rest of his life he seemed, amid many distractions of spirit, to be ever seeking to regain. (I, 22)

The theme of the hero's relationship with his home and mother recurs throughout both novels and is integral to the development of both protagonists, though they ultimately harbour opposite feelings for them; Marius retains his desire to regain the ideality of home and mother-love, while Stephen, as an adult, sees home and the memory of his mother as two of the nets that he must escape from if he is to be an artist.

A further similarity in the way that Marius and Stephen perceive things may be seen in one of Stephen's epiphanies which Scotto does not deal with. It occurs when he is still in his early childhood; alone on an evening rove, Stephen has

49. All quotations from A Portrait are from the Modern Library edition (New York, 1916).
a vision of his soul's companion, or the "other," not unlike
Marius' vision in the olive garden:

The peace of the gardens and the kindly lights in the
windows poured a tender influence into his restless
heart. The noise of children at play annoyed him and
their silly voices made him feel, even more keenly
than he had felt at Clongowes, that he was different
from others. He did not want to play. He wanted to
meet in the real world the unsubstantial image which
his soul so constantly beheld. He did not know where
to seek it or how but a premonition which led him on
told him that this image would, without any overt act
of his, encounter him. They would meet quietly as if
they had known each other and had made their tryst,
perhaps at one of the gates or in some more secret place.
They would be alone, surrounded by darkness and silence;
and in that moment of supreme tenderness he would be
transfigured. He would fade into something impalpable
under her eyes and then in a moment, he would be trans-
figured. Weakness and timidity and inexperience would
fall from him in that magic moment. (70-71)

During his most crucial privileged hour in "The Will as Vision"
Marius has a similar premonition of the existence of an "other"
(see above pp. 83-84). Stephen never has a real friend; he
consciously rejects friendship, believing that loneliness, or
solitariness, is a necessary condition of the artist's life.
A good part of Marius' life-long search is for a friend, for
companionship, and to a large degree he finds what he is look-
ing for in his relationship with Cornelius. There is a sugges-
tion, however, in the passage cited from "The Will as Vision"
and at the conclusion of the novel, that the greatest solace
for Marius (as for Stephen) lies in the notion of the soul's companion, the subjective, ideal "other" who is at one's side constantly.

There is a ring of familiarity, too, in Stephen's communion at the end of chapter three of A Portrait, especially in the implied passivity of the communicant in the sentence, "The ciborium had come to him" (169), and the ironic treatment of Stephen's communion. The episode recalls the last scene of Marius, wherein Marius passively accepts the eucharistic bread: "In the moments of his extreme helplessness their mystic bread had been placed . . . between his lips" (II, 224). Although the Christians who attend to Marius at his death thus make him a Christian in their eyes, his Christianity is not at all like theirs (see above p. 87). The irony of Marius' martyrdom is that he died not for Christian belief, but for earthly companionship—for Cornelius. Likewise, Stephen's communion is ironic, for, despite his confession, the ecstasy of the communion, and his rigorous penance and devotional zeal, Stephen soon realizes that a deeply religious life will not fulfill the longings of his soul:

A restless feeling of guilt would always be present with him; he would confess and repent and be absolved, confess and repent again and be absolved again, fruitlessly. Perhaps that first hasty confession wrung from him by the fear of hell had not been good? Perhaps, concerned only for his imminent doom, he had not had sincere sorrow for his sin? But the surest sign that his confession had been good and that he had had sincere sorrow for his sin was,
he knew, the amendment of his life.

-- I have amended my life, have I not? he asked himself.--

(177-78)

It is immediately after this that Stephen rejects the director's suggestion that he join the order of the Jesuits, and a short time later he experiences the first awakening of his artistic soul with the bird-girl epiphany on the beach.

Pater takes Marius to adulthood quicker than Joyce does Stephen, the latter author's focus being on his hero "as a young man." Essentially, though, both Marius, as an adult, and Stephen, as a youth, are on quests, spurned on by their dissatisfaction with the exponents forming the guidelines and boundaries of their emotional, spiritual, and intellectual development. Marius moves from one school of philosophy to another, gleaning what he finds valuable and meaningful in each, in search of a philosophy, or simply an understanding of things, which will lend real significance to his being. Stephen's struggle is to free himself of the suffocating strictures of family, country, and religion; to fly by the nets flung over his escape to spiritual and artistic freedom, and to express himself "in some mode of life or art as freely as he can and as wholly as he can, using for defence silence, exile and cunning" (291). Both novels record these individual quests for a meaningful philosophy and artistic freedom, and, in so doing, depict the development of the protagonists' characters and consciousnesses.
Joyce's structural technique of developing Stephen's character and consciousness by having him witness conversations and events which ostensibly do not involve him, may owe something to a similar, and controversial, technique used by Pater in *Marius*. Pater's inclusion of translated passages from classical literature and sections taken verbatim from various philosophical discourses perhaps influenced Joyce's decision to include the hell-fire sermon, and make Stephen a terrified witness to the Christmas-dinner argument. As we have seen, the translations and discourses in *Marius* are explained and justified by the role they play in the development of Marius' character and consciousness. Similarly, the real significance of the Christmas-dinner episode and the hell-fire sermon lies not in the action or depiction itself, but in the effect that these episodes have on Stephen's acutely receptive consciousness. Both Marius and Stephen develop primarily through their intense perception of experience, either in visions or epiphanies, or by witnessing significant events.

The role of *The Renaissance* in *A Portrait* is most notable in chapter four, especially the last section, dealing with the awakening of Stephen's artistic soul. Some of the famous purple passages of this chapter are as stylistically Paterian as the early essay on Mangan. The whole final section of the chapter is couched in the familiar rhythms, cadences, and vocabulary of Pater's prose in *The Renaissance*, and is highlighted by the central images of flame and ecstasy which are the keynotes of Pater's "Conclusion".
Also integral to both this chapter and The Renaissance is the tendency to unfold from a single isolated thought, epiphany, or vision, a whole world of natural and sensual elements and images. Joyce gives to Stephen a power of imagination that is as extensive and active as Pater's. At the beginning of the final section of chapter four, Stephen, all at once, hears "an elfin prelude, endless and formless; and, as it grew wilder and faster, the flames leaping out of time, he seemed to hear from under the boughs and grasses wild creatures racing, their feet pattering like rain upon the leaves" (192). In his chapter on Michelangelo Pater says, "he penetrates us with a feeling of that power . . . which brings into one's thoughts a swarm of birds and flowers and insects. The brooding spirit of life itself is there; and the summer may burst out in a moment" (Renaissance, 77, 60).

Of central importance to Stephen's development as an artist is his fascination, like Pater's, with the medium of his chosen art, words themselves. We note this fascination at the very beginning of the book when, as a small boy, Stephen ruminates on the sounds and meanings of words: "Suck was a queer word. . . . And when [the water] had all gone down slowly the hole in the basin had made a sound like that; suck. Only louder" (6). Earlier, Stephen had thought, "That was a belt round his pocket. And belt was also to give a fellow a belt" (3). Although Stephen's interest in words wanes as we watch him grow older, it is rekindled again at the moment of the surfacing of his artistic soul.
--A day of dappled seaborne clouds.

The phrase and the day and the scene harmonized in a chord. Words. Was it their colours? He allowed them to glow and fade, hue after hue: sunrise gold, the russet and green of apple orchards, azure of waves, the grey-fringed fleece of clouds. No, it was not their colours: it was the poise and balance of the period itself. (193)

We have seen that Pater's preoccupation with "the perfect identification of matter and form" in works of art led him to suggest that "all art constantly aspires towards the condition of music." Stephen's phrase, "A day of dappled seaborne clouds," is, in his own mind, a perfect blend of form and matter. Like Pater, he is thinking in terms of music, for the phrase itself and the scene it describes are "harmonized in a chord."

It is not, as we learn, that Stephen loves "the rhythmic rise and fall of words better than their associations of legend and colour" (193); it is not the words only that he loves, but "the contemplation of an inner world of individual emotions mirrored perfectly in a lucid supple periodic prose" (194). In other words it is the possibility of the "perfect identification" of the words with the inner emotions that they describe which so elates Stephen. Pater, in his essay on "Style," had been fascinated by the same possibility:

The one word for the one thing, the one thought, amid the multitude of words, terms, that might just do: the problem of style was there!—the unique word, phrase, sentence, paragraph, essay, or song, absolutely proper to the single mental presentation or vision within.

(Appreciations, 29)
Pater's idea "of some pre-existent adaptation, between a relative, somewhere in the world of thought, and its correlative, somewhere in the world of language . . . meeting each other with the readiness of 'soul and body reunited'" (30) is a clear precursor of Stephen's "inner world of individual emotions mirrored perfectly in a lucid supple periodic prose."

There is an uncommon amount of verbal echoes in the closing paragraphs of chapter four of _A Portrait_ of the "Conclusion" of _The Renaissance_. The end of the chapter is a dramatization of Stephen's epiphanies which signify the birth of his artistic soul; as we shall see, it might well be termed a dramatization of Pater's "Conclusion". The flame-like and ecstatic imagery which is central to Joyce's chapter recalls the "gem-like flame" and "ecstasy" of the "Conclusion". During Stephen's first epiphany in chapter four, when he hears the swimmers call his name, "his heart trembled in an ecstasy of fear," and an "ecstasy of flight made radiant his eyes" (196). Immediately afterwards there is a "flame in his blood" and his cheeks are aflame." At his second epiphany, at the sight of the wading girl, "no word breaks the holy silence of his ecstasy," and "in an instant of ecstasy" an angel appears to him. This time his "cheeks were aflame; his body was aglow" (200). Later, in chapter five, Stephen wakes one morning inspired from a dream he has had during the night in which "he had known the ecstasy of seraphic life." Once again
Joyce uses flame imagery and speaks of the "instant of enchantment" and the "instant of inspiration" (255).

There are more correspondences that should be listed to show the extent of the similarity between Pater's work and Joyce's. Joyce's "flight" imagery although pertaining primarily to his use of the Daedalus myth, may owe something to Pater's observation that the momentary impressions are in "perpetual flight;" Joyce notes that Stephen's soul "had arisen" and that he "started up nervously" (197). Pater says that the service of philosophy is "to rouse, to startle [the human spirit] to a life of constant and eager observation" (Renaissance, 236; 188); Stephen has always felt isolated and before his first epiphany he is "apart from" the swimmers, and after the epiphanies "He was alone" (196, 198), Pater talks of "the individual in his isolation"; after the epiphanies Stephen greets "the advent of the life that had cried to him" (200), the overall mood of the scene is of his awakening artistic spirit, Pater, to illustrate his theories, talks of Rousseau and "the awakening in him of the literary sense" (238; 190); lastly, Pater's references to "great passions" and to a "quickened, multiplied consciousness" can readily be applied to Stephen at his spiritual and artistic rebirth.

Monsman notes further significant parallels:

Pertinent to Joyce's description of Stephen's epiphany is Pater's definition of aesthetic passion as the only escape from the prison of one's experience of time and history; the mind, isolated like "a solitary prisoner,"
is seemingly "ringed round for each one us by that thick wall of personality through which no real voice has ever pierced . . ." For Stephen, this "incertitude that had ringed him round" tinged with unreality the calls of his bathing friends until the mythic overtones in their banter struck him like a "voice from beyond the world," a note "piercing" his isolation. . . . Stephen's apprenticeship as an artist . . . coincides with a repudiation of the priesthood in harmony with Pater's assertion that any facile orthodoxy "which requires of us the sacrifice of any part of [aesthetic] experience, in consideration of some interest into which we cannot enter . . . has no real claim upon us". 50

I have suggested that Joyce was probably not conscious of the full extent of Pater's influence on his work, but the repeated and obvious echoes of The Renaissance in chapter four of A Portrait are a clear indication that Joyce is consciously evoking Pater (and wants his readers to recognize this) to characterize Stephen. The purposely exaggerated ecstasy on Stephen's part during his epiphanies is neither a mockery by Joyce of Pater's prose style or aesthetic theory. Joyce would agree that to maintain the ecstasy is success in life. It is indicative of Stephen's still shallow and, as yet, not fully developed character that he cannot maintain it for very long. Also in the "Conclusion" Pater says, "Not to discriminate every moment some passionate attitude in those about us, and in the very brilliancy of their gifts some tragic dividing of forces on their ways, is, on this short day of frost and

sun, to sleep before evening" (237:189). Stephen does discriminate a passionate attitude in the wading girl, and is conscious of a dividing of forces within himself, those of religion and art, but his ecstasy is short-lived. Despite his ecstatic energy and desire to go "On and on and on and on," and "to set out for the ends of the earth" (197:200), to sleep before evening is precisely what Stephen does, and his slumber is presented in distinctly Paterian overtones:

He closed his eyes in the langour of sleep. His eyelids trembled as if they felt the vast cyclic movement of the earth and her watchers, trembled as if they felt the strange light of some new world. His soul was swooning into some new world, fantastic, dim, uncertain as under sea, traversed by cloudy shapes and beings. A world, a glimmer, or a flower? Glimmering and trembling, trembling and unfolding, a breaking light, an opening flower, it spread in endless succession to itself, breaking in full crimson and unfolding and fading to palest rose, leaf by leaf and wave of light by wave of light, flooding all the heavens with its soft flushes, every flush deeper than the other. 51

After his sleep Stephen wakens to a decidedly less ecstatic world:

Evening had fallen when he woke and the sand and arid grasses of his bed glowed no longer. He rose slowly and, recalling the rapture of his sleep, sighed at its joy.

51. These lines are suggestive of two passages in particular from Pater: in the Leonardo essay Pater describes the figure of Mona Lisa "in that circle of fantastic rocks, as in some faint light under sea" (Renaissance, 123:97), and in "The Child in the House" Florian's most crucial moment of vision is stimulated by "a great red hawthorn in full flower" (Miscellaneous Studies, 185).
He climbed to the crest of the sandhill and gazed about him. Evening had fallen. A rim of the young moon cleaved the pale waste of skyline, the rim of a silver hoop embedded in grey sand, and the tide was flowing in fast to the land with a low whisper of her waves, islanding a few last figures in distant pools. (200-01)

The flamelike imagery glowed no longer, and any rapture, or ecstasy, had to be recalled. The grass of Stephen's new world is arid, and the new moon is buried in grey sand; Stephen confronts a wasted skyline. Lastly, although Pater warns that in maintaining the ecstasy of the hard, gemlike flame "we shall hardly have time to make theories about the things we see and touch," (237;189) again, this is exactly what Stephen does, as we see in chapter five.

Joyce has utilized Pater's "Conclusion" to undercut ironically Stephen's overly ecstatic and theoretical nature and the young man's egocentricity. Joyce's portrayal of Stephen in this chapter is highly ironic as Hugh Kenner has cleverly shown. Kenner describes Stephen's ecstasy as fin-de-siècle, implying, I suppose, that Joyce is portraying Stephen as an overly ardent young Decadent. I disagree with this view of Stephen on the basis of the Paterian influence discussed thus far. Stephen's ecstasy is Paterian, and, although exaggerated, has the essential note of promise and the awakening spirit (as yet unfulfilled) that Pater's words have. As I have tried to show in the first chapter, Pater's aesthetic

52. In Dublin's Joyce (London: Chatto and Windus, 1955). Although some critics have argued (particularly before Kenner's work) for a serious, or "straight" reading of this aspect of A Portrait, the generally accepted modern reading follows Kenner's lead.
is not fin-de-siècle, and although Joyce's presentation of Stephen in ecstasy is hyperbolic and extravagant in its tone, diction, and inverted syntax, and is meant to be ironic, we are not meant to view Stephen as a totally misdirected and Decadent young man. Rather, he is a sensitive and gifted youth who has simply gotten lost in himself and the first "call to life" of the artistic voice that had thus far been silent within him. In this instance Joyce uses the Paterian model consciously and deliberately (and obviously and repeatedly so that his readers may follow his method) to dramatically comment upon Stephen; his keenest irony comes when he has Stephen unwittingly and quite innocently do exactly what Pater had warned against in prematurely falling asleep and in being overly theoretical later. Joyce uses Pater's "Conclusion" to indicate the promising path which Stephen does not quite manage to follow.

V

Although it receives its fullest expression in chapter five of A Portrait, Joyce's aesthetic theory, or parts of it, is encountered, in one form or another, in almost all of his critical and fictional writings from the early essay, "Royal Hibernian Academy 'Ecce Homo'" (1899) to Finnegans Wake. For the most part, the early Joyce criticism did not pay a good deal of attention to Joyce's aesthetics, perhaps because there were too many other innovative and exciting aspects
of his work that had not been dealt with, or perhaps because, especially in Stephen Hero and A Portrait, it was not easy to determine whether the theories on art and aesthetics were actually Joyce's own or simply the not fully-developed notions of the aspiring and slightly presumptuous Stephen Dedalus. Although there is still some debate on this last issue, most Joyce critics would agree with A.D. Hope that although "the theory is presented dramatically . . . there is plenty to show that Joyce did hold these views at the age at which Stephen is represented to be, and there is no reason to think that he ever changed them." 54

Most of the recent critical attention which has been given to the aesthetic theory (most critics deal with the theory as it is expressed by Stephen in Stephen Hero and A Portrait) has aimed either at an explication in non-Thomist terms (that is, ridding it of its "true scholastic stink"), or at Joyce's application of some of his theoretical precepts to his fictional technique. Some work has been done, however, in determining the sources of the theory. Naturally, the roles of Aquinas and Aristotle have been given the most consideration, but critics have detected or suggested the influence of a wide range of philosophers and writers, including Bergson, Hegel, St. Augustine, Duns Scotus, Ibsen, Flaubert, Shelley, Matthew Arnold, and Walter Pater. And although most critics concede

that a large debt to Aquinas in particular is indisputable, it seems clear that Joyce went beyond the Aquinatian model to arrive at his final theories; many critics feel, moreover, that, in leaving Aquinas, he went to nineteenth-century English and French aesthetic theorists. S.L. Goldberg claims that "Despite [Joyce's] citation of Aquinas in support of his aesthetic, the forms in which his imagination actually expresses itself seem more like those of a late nineteenth century aesthete than a tough-minded, twentieth century neo-Thomist."\textsuperscript{55} Haskell M. Block concurs:

It should not be inferred that [Joyce] willfully distorted Thomistic doctrine in order to shape a personal aesthetic, yet it seems quite certain that Joyce's critical theory represents a realization of contemporary literary tenets on scholastic principles. \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots

\ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots In his consideration of the artistic process he followed Aquinas even more closely, yet did not hesitate to blend scholastic doctrine with critical tenets that bore the stamp of his predecessors of the fin-de-siècle. \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots

\ldots \ldots\ldots \ldots In the realm of critical theory, his basic importance consists not in the ideas he himself elaborated, but in the way in which he extended critical notions that had been earlier set forth by Joyce's English predecessors.\textsuperscript{56}

Maurice Beebe is more specific when he argues that Joyce interprets the Thomist principles "against the spirit, if not the


\textsuperscript{56} Block, pp.242,244,248.
letter, of the Summa—in secular, mundane terms that permit him to discard the supernatural implications of Thomist doctrine. . . . He advances a theory [that is] . . . closer to the tradition of Gustave Flaubert, Henry James, and Walter Pater, than to the tradition of the Thomists." 57 Finally, William T. Noon, S.J., in Joyce and Aquinas, also suggests a nineteenth-century source for some of Joyce's theories:

In seeking to explain the supposed close affinity between the Thomist texts on art and the Thomist texts on beauty . . . he involved himself in labyrinthine difficulties. . . . His difficulties are reflected in the theoretical fin-de-siècle speculations which Stephen Dedalus advances in Stephen Hero, in the Portrait, and in Ulysses . . . . When Joyce decides, in his Paris Notebook . . . that "houses, clothes, and furniture" are not works of art, he comes to his decision not on the basis of prudential considerations but on the basis of the fin-de-siècle consideration that the "aesthetic end" (of beauty) must stand apart not merely from moral but from all practical ends. 58

Noon's detailed study, however, is much more valuable in determining the exact relation of Joyce's theory to Aquinas' thought, than in speculating upon other possible sources of Joyce's aesthetic system. It would seem that the aesthetic theory which Stephen calls "applied Aquinas" involves much questionable interpretation of what St. Thomas actually wrote, and a good deal of material of which he was assuredly not the

58. Joyce and Aquinas (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957), pp. 32-33. Robert K. Martin has pointed out, however, that fin-de-siècle theory gave great importance to the decorative and "useful" arts, and that if Joyce really thought this, he was outdoing Wilde and the Aesthetes.
author; material. Noon suggests, that the thirteenth-century theologian would have some difficulty understanding. In order to show how much of Stephen's aesthetic is taken from Pater, then, it is necessary to determine where it goes beyond anything in Aquinas.

To begin with, as Noon points out, "the concept of 'fine' or 'aesthetic arts' came into use in England in the eighteenth century. . . . St. Thomas himself would have been baffled by the terms, and one can only guess how he might have defined them in his philosophic system." It is important not to forget the very basic fact that both Aquinas and Aristotle were primarily philosophers, and consequently were interested in beauty and art as branches of philosophy. Noon suggests that Aquinas "was far more interested in philosophical and theological science than in literature as an art."59 In this fundamental aspect they differ from Joyce and Pater who are, above all, creative artists and aestheticians interested in beauty and art for their own sakes.

The concept of "fine arts," or more properly, "les beaux-arts," is another area in which Joyce's use of Aquinas is questionable. Noon argues that "students of aesthetics by and large have assumed that 'the beautiful,' le beau, is the particular province of the 'fine arts,' and in most modern discussions of art this concept plays a leading if not indeed the central role. This is true of the Stephen Dedalus discuss-

ions of aesthetics in the Portrait. ... This allegedly Thomist alliance between 'art' and 'beauty' is, however, nowhere stated or taken for granted in the writings of St. Thomas.60 When we turn to A Portrait we see that Stephen proceeds from "beauty" to "art" in such an illogical, unexplained and unconvincing manner that it is hardly surprising that his friend Lynch is confused. When Lynch asks of Stephen, "let me hear what you call beauty," he gets a lengthy answer which mentions "the image of the beauty" without explaining it, and that ends with the statement, "--that is art" (242). Lynch is right when he accuses Stephen of not answering his question. There can be little doubt that Stephen moves from beauty to art and the artist (250) without consulting Aquinas. Noon reveals that Aquinas never restricted his concept of beauty to art; sometimes the beauty might be that of "a divine person," or "the human body," or "the discussion may center on the difference between the beauty of the body and that of the soul. A reader would search a long time in St. Thomas before finding it stated or implied that beauty is in some privileged sense the artist's province.61

The whole premise then, of basing a theory of aesthetics which investigates the nature of art and "the beauty it expresses" on Aquinas' preeminently philosophical and theological writings involves a huge intellectual leap; one that Joyce could not have made unaided by various thinkers and

60. Noon, p.19.
61. Noon, p.22.
writers on aesthetics who lived after Aquinas and right up to Joyce's own time. I have noted that Joyce's aesthetic theory is not limited to *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait*, but is encountered from the early critical essays on throughout the Joyce canon. In my discussion of the early critical writings I pointed out the clear and extensive influence of Pater's thought on Joyce's developing aesthetic. That Pater's works (and particularly *The Renaissance*) were still fresh in Joyce's mind when he was writing chapter five of *A Portrait* is indicated by the strong Paterian echoes throughout chapter four. Given that Joyce must have had other, more contemporary sources than Aquinas for his theories, and that Pater was an important influence on his early work, it seems reasonable to me to assume that Pater, as a nineteenth-century writer and thinker greatly concerned with art and aesthetics, was one, at least, of those who contributed to Joyce's adaptation of Aquinas' philosophy to his own literary and artistic aesthetics.

When Stephen proposes, for example, that "the antique principle that the end of art is to instruct, to elevate, and to amuse" is a profanity (*Stephen Hero*, 74), he is working more from the Paterian model than from the Aquination. I have said that Pater's aesthetic is not fin-de-siècle; on the contrary, the spirit of *The Renaissance* is of rebirth and the reawakening to the intensity of life. We have discussed Pater's views on the relation of art and morality and the similarity to them
of Joyce's early views. When Stephen deems that art should be "as remote from any conscious purpose as rain that falls in a garden" (74), he is repeating a suggestion that Pater made repeatedly throughout The Renaissance.

On this question of art and morality, Noon says, "one must question Stephen's inference that the 'Aquianatian' theory of the beautiful favoured or fostered Stephen's own. . . . Discussing the virtue of modesty, St. Thomas offers a . . . defense of a woman's right to deck herself in fine clothes and ornaments and, if need be, to use rouge and powder her hair . . . with the assertion that in so ornamenting herself the woman is behaving as an artist." Noon quotes Aquinas directly: "'If, however, as it not seldom happens, there are individuals who use the works of some art or other for an evil end--even though the arts are not in themselves unlawful--such arts are to be stamped out by the civil power.'"62 If Stephen can say, "I hear no mention [in Aquinas] of instruction or elevation" (89), his reading of that philosopher must have been selective indeed.

The central precept of Joyce's aesthetic, that "art is the human disposition of intelligible or sensible matter for an esthetic end," may best be described, in terms of its source, as a fusion of Aquination and Paterian influences. Noon attests that "'the human disposition of sensible or intelligible matter' is a fairly accurate and accepted paraphrase of St. Thomas'.

definition of art." But the addition of "for an esthetic end," he says, "transforms St. Thomas' thought to such an extent that he would scarcely recognize it for his own." It is quite possible that the words and the notion are Joyce's own, but it is equally possible, given the extent to which he used his knowledge of Pater, that the notion, at least, comes from Pater.

As we have seen, one of the basic axioms of Pater's aesthetic, and particularly of The Renaissance, is that art is an end in itself. The furor which surrounded the "Conclusion" to Studies in the History of the Renaissance when it reached publication arose primarily as a result of the view, taken by the Oxford literati of the day, of the apparent hedonism of Pater's theory that art should be created and enjoyed not for any moral, religious, or practical ends, but for an aesthetic end. Pater, of course, was not the first to advance such a theory, but it had never been stated so succinctly, nor crystalized so acutely as it was in his first volume (at least not in English). Nor had it, in modern times, created such a stir. We may be sure that the mature, but still rebellious Joyce would have been attracted to both the incident and the ideas which ignited it.

In chapter five of A Portrait Stephen himself says, "So far as this side of esthetic philosophy extends, Aquinas will carry me along the line. When we come to the phenomena of artistic conception, artistic gestation, and artistic repro-

duction, I require a new terminology" (Portrait, 245-46). He admits, then, that he does not owe all of his aesthetic theory to Aquinatian notions. We note that Stephen develops some sense of perspective as we move from Stephen Hero to A Portrait. The Stephen of the earlier, unfinished work, who a little too strenuously "pushed to its logical conclusion the definition Aquinas has given of the beautiful," may not have admitted what is quoted at the beginning of this paragraph; he may never have joked, as the Stephen of A Portrait does, about "our old friend St. Thomas" with his "pennyworth of wisdom" (245). In writing A Portrait Joyce, perhaps admitting the importance of Pater to his work, lessens Stephen's devotion to Aquinas from what it had been in Stephen Hero. In Ulysses Stephen's perspective has so altered that he can privately joke in "Proteus" about his borrowed Paterian techniques:

Remember your epiphanies on green oval leaves, deeply deep, copies to be sent if you died to all the great libraries of the world, including Alexandria? Someone was to read them there after a few thousand years, a mahamvanantara. Pico della Mirandola like. Ay, very like a whale. When one reads these strange pages of one long gone one feels that one is at one with one who once . . . 64

The new terminology that Stephen requires when he comes to more artistic phenomena is still Aquinatian in form, but it is Paterian in meaning. In describing the "three things

needed for beauty, integritas, consonantia, and claritas" (248),
Stephen moves from the realm of Aquinas to that of Pater. His
definitions of integritas and consonantia are delivered con-
fidently and are distinctly philosophical. When he comes to
claritas, however, Stephen, like "the connotation of the word,"
becomes "rather vague." He can define it only with the intro-
duction of a new term, "quidditas, the whatness of a thing"
(250), and he does so not in philosophical terms, but in
aesthetic and even Paterian terms. He had thought that clar-
itas might mean an "artistic discovery," and that quidditas
is the "supreme quality . . . felt by the artist when the
esthetic image is first conceived in his imagination"(249-50).
When Stephen describes the apprehension of quidditas as "The
instant wherein that supreme quality of beauty . . . is app-
prehended luminously by the mind"(250), he is again echoing
Pater's "moment of impression, gone while we try to apprehend
it."

Noon suggests that "The identity which Stephen establishes
between claritas and the Scholastic quidditas, the 'whatness'
of a thing, is also questionable if Stephen claims Aquinas as
his authority. . . . Though Stephen alleges that he is follow-
ing Aquinas, he clearly has more than that in mind: 'You see
that it is that thing which it is and no other.'" 65 The "more"
that Stephen has in mind may owe something to the Arnold axiom
which Pater quotes in the Preface to The Renaissance: "'To see
the object as in itself it really is,' has been justly said

[Pater adds] to be the aim of all true criticism whatever" (viii;xix). Joyce, like Pater, takes this idea one step further and stresses not simply the aesthetic object itself, but the apprehension of the object by the imagination or the subjective perceiving faculties. Pater concludes the sentence quoted above with, "and in aesthetic criticism the first step towards seeing one's object as it really is, is to know one's impression as it really is, to discriminate it, to realize it distinctly." Similarly, Stephen (speaking for Joyce) says, "The first step in the direction of beauty is to understand the frame and scope of the imagination, to comprehend the act itself of esthetic apprehension" (244).

This theory of Joyce's of "the necessary phases of artistic apprehension" (248) is another, says Noon, that he did not glean from Aquinas.

If one wishes to utilize Aquinas' analysis of beauty as a basis for poetics, as the post-Aquinas writers on poetics have done, and as Stephen Dedalus sets out to do, one ought not in the name of Aquinas to confuse the subjective psychological response to the beautiful with the constitutional ontological principles which might be called the "objective correlative" of this response. The Scholastics for their part have almost always spoken, as Aquinas does, of integrity, proportion (consonantia), and clarity as objective qualities, or existential properties, in things . . . they have not treated these qualities as though they belong to the act of apprehension, as Stephen does. Nor have the Scholastics spoken, as Stephen does, of these properties as "stages" or "phases" of the mind's act of aesthetic appre-
hension. To do so is to shift the whole discussion from Thomist grounds. 66

The shift seems to be onto more Paterian ground. We saw that Pater's sympathy with "modern thought" and its relative spirit forms the fundamental base for all of his aesthetic theories and almost all of his writings. It is the relative nature of beauty that makes the critic's subjective response so much a part of aesthetic appreciation. In Pater's theory, just as important as the object itself is the subjective perception of it. The critic "will remember always that beauty exists in many forms" (x, xxi), and is perceived by many different individuals. It is Pater's relative spirit which guides his philosophy throughout The Renaissance and especially in the "Conclusion".

Similarly, Joyce's aesthetic theory is developed as a way out of a maze; one of the paradoxes of the beauty maze is that the "Greek, the Turk, the Chinese, the Copt, the Hottentot . . . all admire a different type of female beauty" (244), or that beauty is relative, and exists in many forms. Like Pater, Joyce finds a way out of the maze by means of subjectivity, though the same object may not seem beautiful to all people, all people who admire a beautiful object find in it certain relations which satisfy and coincide with the stages themselves of all esthetic apprehension. These relations of the sensible, visible to you through one form and to me through another, must be therefore the necessary qualities of beauty. (245)

From here Stephen goes on to explain, with the aid of the Scholastic terms, integritas, consonantia, and claritas, his own aesthetic theory. Like Pater's it's emphasis lies not on the aesthetic objects themselves, but on the subjective apprehension of the objects. Both aesthetic systems, then, alike enough in their general precepts, were developed similarly as solutions for the same problem of the relative nature of beauty.
Conclusion

There are two kinds of literary influence: in broad terms, the concrete and the abstract. The influence of a given writer upon any other may manifest itself in various ways; concretely, in the actual works of the latter, in the form of verbal echoes, stylistic mannerisms, specific ideas or theories, or specific literary techniques or methods; or abstractly, in the form of general attitudes, sympathies, or philosophies. In a sense, every writer is subject, to some extent, to the abstract influences of every other writer before him; for every writer is a reader also, and one has only to read the work of another writer to be "influenced," or affected, by it. Within this comprehensive set of influences, of course, there are more specific, individual relationships, though still manifested abstractly, between certain writers who seem to share certain aspects of temperament, even if the actual works of one bear little resemblance to those of the other. Robert K. Martin has argued that Pater's relation to E.M. Forster is largely of this type: "the relationship between Pater and Forster cannot be considered in the usual terms of influence. One will not find a passage in Forster that echoes a specific one in Pater. What one finds is a shared set of ideas, some of which may
be assumed to have travelled indirectly from Pater to Forster, others of which seem to indicate a pattern sufficiently similar that one may safely conclude that Pater resonated somewhere in Forster's mind as he wrote.¹ In his book on Pater and Woolf, Perry Meisel has shown that Pater's influence on Woolf manifests itself both concretely in Woolf's criticism and fiction (in her transformation of Pater's "privileged moment" into her own "moments of being," for example), and abstractly, in that it enters the realm of "personal influence" (Pater's life and works, Meisel argues, influenced, or affected, the development of Woolf's personality and character). As a result, the "question of Pater's influence on Woolf can never be fully resolved because it can never be fully stated."² One might add that no literary relationship, including the two I have examined, can ever be fully resolved or fully stated.

My analysis of Pater's relation to James and Joyce, though it focuses mainly on concrete textual evidence of Pater's influence, is, like all other similar studies, only a partial statement of the case. The discussions in both chapters two and three could have been taken further to discuss even more concrete, and abstract influences on James and Joyce. Pater's role in the other novels of James' major

phase and his influence on James' prose style, and his role in Joyce's *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, and Joyce's handling of mythic patterns would, I feel, reward further analysis and speculation.

Another important consideration in dealing with Pater's relation to writers of James' and Joyce's stature is that although Pater's influence was extensive, he is only one of a host of writers and thinkers whose strong role may be traced throughout the works of both modern novelists. This must be allowed especially when dealing with Pater's influence on the development of James' fictional technique. James is one of the greatest novelists in the English language; his novels and his contributions to the theory of fiction and the development of new fictional methods may be ranked with those of any other great writer in any language; with Flaubert, Tolstoy, Turgenev, Woolf, Joyce. Like all these artists, he had great knowledge of world literature and was able to draw from a multitude of sources in forming his own techniques, methods, and theories. Pater, to be sure, had a significant part to play in James' development as a novelist, but his influence pre-empts that of no other.

Similarly, one facet of Joyce's genius was his ability to cast a net of his own over the entire school of English, and indeed Western literature, so that the words and thoughts of any great or secondary writer might come to the fore in his memory at any moment in the creative process. A testimony
to this aspect of Joyce's work is the large and growing number of critical studies devoted to the relation of Joyce to one or other writers. It is hoped that this study has helped to show that Pater was one among the many whose ideas and literary techniques were somewhere in Joyce's labyrinthine mind when he was writing.

As we noted in the introduction, Pater's influence on modern literature has been the subject of a growing number of critical studies over the past four decades. Both Gerald Morsman and Perry Meisel suggest a number of modern poets and novelists who they feel were significantly affected by Pater's works; the list includes (in addition to Wilde, Yeats, and Hopkins) Ezra Pound, Wallace Stevens, Auden, Eliot, Conrad, Lawrence, Proust, and, of course, James, Joyce, and Woolf. E.M. Forster, as has been noted, may be added to the list. One hopes that the current revival of interest in Pater and in his influence will continue, and that studies will be undertaken that will investigate the relation of Pater to some, if not all, of the above authors. The significance of such work is readily perceptible: Pater's still largely unacknowledged importance as a writer and thinker lies not only in his works themselves, but in the generally influential role they have, both thematically and technically, in a good deal of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century literature.
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