

The Platonic Eros of Walter Pater and Oscar Wilde: “Love’s Reflected Image” in the 1890s

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IN WALTER PATER’S *Gaston de Latour* (1888–1894) and Oscar Wilde’s *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890–1891), allusions to treacherous sophistries, poisonous books, and art’s fateful influence proliferate, owing in large part to each author’s awareness of the other’s work in progress. Both authors define the influence of beauty and love in terms of Plato’s *Phaedrus*—that is, according to the innate inclinations of the beholder, not art’s intrinsic morality as such. But notwithstanding that Pater and Wilde both agree that art is the Platonic mirror of the beholder and that the transcendental vision of the mind (or lack thereof) determines art’s influence, their postures toward the practical effects of an erotic aesthetic diverge radically. Although subsumed within broader questions of sexual politics and Hellenism at Oxford, this essay focuses on the Paterian background to Wilde’s 1890 novel, on the distinction that Pater drew between his Platonic aestheticism and the more bodily and decadent aestheticism that was being associated with Wilde.¹ When Pater in 1873 had charged the aesthetic critic to specify the effect of a song, picture, or book on the beholder—“How is my nature modified by its presence, and under its influence?”²—he was initiating a new Victorian chapter in the history of the very ancient idea of “the beautiful.” By teasing out this Platonic theory of “influence” in the echoes and parallels between Pater and Wilde, I hope to examine their intellectual relationship more closely than do the usual, sometimes cursory, critical-biographical accounts.

Stuart Mason, Richard Ellmann, and others have documented the storm of controversy that arose with the publication of *Dorian Gray* in *Lippincott’s Monthly Magazine* (20 June 1890).³ No less than Lord Hen-

ry's "poisonous book"⁴ that seduced Dorian, Wilde's narrative itself was censured as a decadent novel. A personally offensive and malicious attack on Wilde by Samuel Henry Jeyes, the first of several nasty newspaper notices, appeared in the *St James Gazette* within days of the appearance of *Dorian Gray*. In his reply to the editorial, Wilde defended himself against Jeyes's "pseudo-ethical criticism in dealing with artistic work."⁵ Then the following April, Wilde distilled his rebuttals to these newspaper attacks into a gnomic preface for his book edition of *Dorian* (expanded by six chapters), with several of his newspaper *mots* repeated verbatim. Wilde's consistent position was that aesthetic and moral values are independent: "There is no such thing as a moral or an immoral book. Books are well written, or badly written. That is all."⁶

At his trials, Wilde was asked if the critical tempest caused him to modify the new book edition. "No," he replied. "Additions were made. In one case it was pointed out to me—not in a newspaper or anything of that sort, but by the only critic of the century whose opinion I set high, Mr. Walter Pater—that a certain passage was liable to misconstruction, and I made an addition."⁷ Donald Lawler several times remarks that Pater "was privy to Wilde's first manuscript revisions and had been asked to make suggestions for improvement."⁸ Wilde had begun his novel sometime late in 1889 and finished revising it in April or May of 1890; and he had visited Pater at Oxford on or about 15 February 1890. On that occasion Wilde also called on Lionel Johnson, who reported that Wilde had "laughed at Pater; and consumed all my cigarettes."⁹ If Pater *did* read the manuscript of *Dorian Gray*, this would have been the occasion, Wilde perhaps finding risible Pater's alarm at the corrupting influence of *Dorian* on his companions. But Pater had good reason to fear that his ideals also—not just the aesthetic antinomianism of *Dorian*, Lord Henry, and his decadent book—would come under attack by what the *Gazette's* editor called Jeyes's "warfare" against "Yellow-Bookism, Walter-Paterism, aestheticism."¹⁰

Wilde once described Pater's *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1873) as "that book which has had such a strange influence over my life."¹¹ But at least since its first reviews, the calumny of the poisonous book had been dogging Pater personally. George Eliot noted that the book "seems to me quite poisonous in its false principles and criticism and false conceptions of life."¹² And after W. H. Mallock's 1876 satire in which he was burlesqued as the decadent Mr. Rose, Pater was forced to suppress the volume's offending Conclusion in the second edition "as I

conceived it might possibly mislead some of those young men into whose hands it might fall"; he restored it only after he had "dealt more fully in *Marius the Epicurean* with the thoughts suggested by it."¹³ In his apologia, *Marius the Epicurean* (1885), Pater represented Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* as the transfiguring book for Flavian and Marius, but stressed that how a book is received depends on its reader.

Continuing this thesis in *Gaston de Latour*, Pater presents Ronsard's *Odes* as playing an analogous role for that novel's eponymous hero. Although the serialization of *Gaston* had been interrupted in 1888, its composition was set aside only temporarily. Pater usually travelled abroad during his "Long Vacation" of August–September; but in 1890 he announced his intention of "sacrificing his vacations" in order to work on *Gaston*, abruptly canceling a visit to Italy.¹⁴ Pater originally had intended the earliest of Wilde's sayings to attain renown, the flippant aphorism "Live up to your blue china," to thematize the resumption of his narrative at Chapter Eight; but he subsequently canceled it, perhaps because it could be construed as a too-direct attack upon his problematic admirer.¹⁵ A more ping-pong "dialogue" between Pater and Wilde occurs in connection with Pater's portrait of Giordano Bruno that first appeared as an independent essay a month *before* the composition of *Dorian Gray* began. Lord Henry's ruminations subsequently invoke this essay on Bruno.¹⁶ Then, *shortly after* the appearance of *Dorian*, Pater revised his Bruno essay for republication as the seventh chapter of *Gaston*. When Pater added material for this "novelized" version, alluding to the "spell, the power" of Bruno's "indirect suggestions,"¹⁷ he emphasized the temptation to dissociate intellectual positions from moral values, observing that doctrines unintentionally can produce treacherous advice and words may have indirectly fatal consequences. Pater clearly is responding to Oscar Wilde's seductive (mis)constructions of Paterian aesthetic theories.

For an inner circle of Oxonians—though not perhaps for its popular readership—the opening words of Wilde's *Dorian Gray* conjured up the aromatic wraith of Walter Pater as Mr. Rose, W. H. Mallock's aesthete: "The studio was filled with the rich odor of roses."¹⁸ The studio's décor, adapted from that of Wilde's friend Charles Ricketts, is extravagantly aestheticized: London's roar, converted into "the bourdon note of a distant organ," surrounds a garden of perfumed trees and birds, which in turn encloses a room where the shadows of birds, flitting across silk curtains, produce a "momentary Japanese effect." And at the center of

this rose-fragrant tableau stands "the full length portrait of a young man of extraordinary personal beauty."¹⁹ Replying to Lord Henry's suggestion that he exhibit his masterpiece, its creator, Basil Hallward, declines because "I have put too much of myself into it."²⁰ When Lord Henry presses for the "real" reason, Basil elaborates: "Harry, . . . every portrait that is painted with feeling is a portrait of the artist, not of the sitter. . . . The reason I will not exhibit this picture is that I am afraid that I have shown with it the secret of my own soul."²¹ What follows in Wilde's novel is essentially an embellished Platonic dialogue on beauty and love set in the luxuriant social milieu of the 1880s.

Basil's "secret" is the emotional turmoil of his infatuation with Dorian, a "romance of feeling"²² defined by the novel's allusive complexity as both Platonic and Paterian—the worship of a *meirakiskos* (young man) by his intellectually inspired lover. The Platonic theory that the lover's search for his own best self takes place through his idealization of the beloved—i.e., that the beloved's "counterlove" (*anterota*) is a reflected image (*eidolon*) of the lover's desire (*eros*) for him—is veiled in what Pater calls the "mythological fantasies"²³ of the *Phaedrus*, in the Great Speech or "palinode" of Socrates on love and beauty. Socrates says that before the highest class of soul had fallen from its preincarnate phase into a body, it had accompanied a deity to the rim of the heavens and seen wisdom and goodness. For Plato, as for the Platonizing Wordsworth, birth was "but a sleep and a forgetting." Afterwards, this "lover and philosopher" adorns, honors and worships the beloved as if he were a reflected image of this deity or like a statue of that primordial and imperfectly remembered Platonic beauty "standing with modesty upon a pedestal of chastity."²⁴

Pater's earliest essay, "Diaphaneité" (1864), cited Plato's description of this lover in the *Phaedrus*²⁵ and, later in *The Renaissance* (1873), Pater applied Plato's phrase to Winckelmann, translating it (in the third and subsequent editions) as a "lover and philosopher at once."²⁶ Even Dorian himself acknowledges this distinctive intellectual love in Basil: "The love that he bore him—for it was really love—had something noble and intellectual in it. It was not that mere physical admiration of beauty that is born of the senses, and that dies when the senses tire. It was such love as Michael Angelo had known, and Montaigne, and Winckelmann, and Shakespeare himself."²⁷ Pater, of course, had written about all these intellectual lovers, most recently of Montaigne and "Of Friendship" in *Gaston de Latour* (begun 1888). By contrast, Lord Henry, a Lysias-figure

from the *Phaedrus*, wittily rationalizes desire unmotivated by intellectual beauty; for him “beauty, real beauty, ends where an intellectual expression begins.”²⁸

Before *Dorian*, Wilde had conjured up in “The Critic as Artist” Plato’s setting of “figurines and statues”²⁹ among which Socrates and Phaedrus envision beauty “on a pedestal of chastity” when he imagined the ancient Greeks catching a glimpse of the statue of Apollo:

And when, in some dim frescoed fane, or pillared sunlit portico, the child of Leto stood upon his pedestal, those who passed by, ἄβρως βαίνοντες διὰ λαμπροτάτου αἰθέρος [treading delicately through the bright air], became conscious of a new influence that had come across their lives, and dreamily, or with a sense of strange and quickening joy, went to their homes or daily labor, or wandered, it may be, through the city gates to that nymph-haunted meadow where young Phaedrus bathed his feet, and, lying there on the soft grass, beneath the tall wind-whispering planes and flowering *agnus castus*, began to think of the wonder of beauty, and grew silent with unaccustomed awe.³⁰

Basil’s garden with London beyond its walls, the wind in its tree-blossoms, its perfumed lilacs, and its grasshopper chirruping in the turf, echoes the airy meadow of Socrates outside the walls of Athens, with its fragrant trees in full bloom, its chorus of cicadas, and its grass thick enough on which to lay the head.³¹ In this emblematic spot, Dorian, before often painted in mythic guise, is revealed *in propria persona* as the “new personality”³² within Basil’s art. According to Socrates’s explanation of the “divine madness” or “heroic frenzy,” Basil would exhibit his painting as an image of a god to be worshipped were he not afraid of being thought mad.³³

After the book publication of *Dorian*, Pater strove with enhanced urgency in the continuation of his novel to distinguish the posture of Gaston, an intellectually inspired lover, from that of Dorian, who was unmotivated by intellectual beauty and “looked on evil simply as a mode through which he could realize his conception of the beautiful.”³⁴ In his review of *Dorian Gray*, Pater censured Lord Henry and Dorian but endorsed the principles of Basil Hallward: “In contrast with Hallward, the artist, whose sensibilities idealise the world around him, we might say that Lord Henry, and even more the, from the first, suicidal hero, loses too much in life to be a true Epicurean—loses so much in the way of impressions, of pleasant memories, and subsequent hopes, which Hallward, by a really Epicurean economy, manages to secure.”³⁵ We recollect,

of course, the title of Pater's first novel, *Marius the Epicurean*; and Hallward is like Marius, a lover and philosopher. Pater's review quotes *en bloc* and with approbation Hallward's own comments on his new inspiration, ending with Hallward's assertion that Dorian's personality "has suggested to me an entirely new manner in art, an entirely new mode of style. I see things differently, I think of them differently. I can now recreate life in a way that was hidden from me before."³⁶ Wilde's phrase for Apollo's similar beauty had been "new influence." What Hallward discovers is precisely this hidden or half-remembered vision of Plato's "philosophical lover."³⁷

Pater describes Winckelmann, the first modern historian of Greek art, thus also:

he seems to realise that fancy of the reminiscence of a forgotten knowledge hidden for a time in the mind itself; as if the mind of one, lover and philosopher at once in some phase of preexistence—φιλοσοφήσας πότε μὲν ἔρωτος—fallen into a new cycle, were beginning its intellectual career over again, yet with a certain power of anticipating its results.³⁸

In the same way Marius discovers a hidden vision in the tale of Psyche and Cupid ("grown to the manly earnestness of the *Erós* of Praxiteles"):

the ideal of a perfect imaginative love, centered upon a type of beauty entirely flawless and clean. . . . The human body in its beauty, as the highest potency of all beauty of material objects, seemed to him just then to be matter no longer, but, having taken celestial fire, to assert itself as indeed the true, though visible, soul or spirit in things. In contrast with that ideal . . . men's actual loves . . . might appear to him, like the general tenor of their lives, to be somewhat mean and sordid. The *hiddenness* of perfect things: . . . the fatality which seems to haunt any signal beauty, whether moral or physical, as if it were in itself something illicit and isolating: the suspicion and hatred it so often excites in the vulgar:—these were some of the impressions . . . which the old story enforced on him.³⁹

Dorian Gray echoes Pater's comment on the "fatality" of beauty: "There is a fatality about all physical and intellectual distinction, the sort of fatality that seems to dog through history the faltering steps of kings. It is better not to be different from one's fellows. . . .—we will all suffer for what the gods have given us, suffer terribly."⁴⁰ And similarly in *Dorian Gray*, beauty's earthly embodiment has awakened Basil Hallward's soul to a fervid but thoughtful love (*philia*, *anterota*) that rises above the erotic (*eros*) and, as expressed in Hallward's portrait of Dorian, has the "manly earnestness" of Eros at Thespiae.

The Platonic exegesis of this intellectual love is cited in *Marius* in connection with young Marius's life-long ambition to attain the beatific vision:

he was of the number of those who, in the words of a poet who came long after, must be 'made perfect by the love of visible beauty.' It was a discourse conceived from the point of view of a theory which Marius found afterwards in Plato's *Phaedrus*, the theory of the ἀπορροή τοῦ καλλοῦς, which supposes men's spirits to be susceptible to certain influences, diffused, like streams or currents, by fair things or persons visibly present—green fields and children's faces, for instance—into the air around them; and which, with certain natures, are like potent material essences, conforming the seer to themselves as by some cunning physical necessity.⁴¹

Although Pater's Greek citation is a species of creative misquotation, his "effluence of beauty" wording appears substantially in this form twice in the *Phaedrus*, initially at 251b as referenced here in *Marius*. Whereas Plato's effluence of beauty depicts Greek love—much to the discomfort of such Victorian editors as W. H. Thompson and Benjamin Jowett—Pater virtually purges the phrase of its original erotic overtones. Surely even the most programmatic reading could not find sexual innuendo in Pater's "green fields and children's faces." Only when we consider that this doctrine is conveyed to the boy Marius by a kindly priest of Aesculapius are we led back to Plato's original sense, although the celibacy of this priest is patent.

Derived from the atomism of Leucippus and Democritus, Plato's atomistic theory of effluence is used also by Wilde to explain the symbiosis between Dorian and his picture: "Was there some subtle affinity between the chemical atoms, that shaped themselves into form and color on the canvas, and the soul that was within him?" and "might not things external to ourselves vibrate in unison with our moods and passions, atom calling to atom, in secret love or strange affinity?"⁴² Through the locution, "potent material essences," Pater converts Plato's "fantastic" Epicurean and materialist system of sensation underlying the theory of effluence into the no less fanciful nineties notion of perfumery's *matières premières*, the natural attars or "essential oils" from flowering plants (perhaps used here in contradistinction to artificial or synthetic esters, an emerging industry in the seventies and eighties). For certain persons, the perception of beauty, diffused into the air like a current of perfume, brings them into harmony with the flower-like source of loveliness. In his earliest essay, "Diaphaneité," Pater specifically applied this perfume imagery to the "philosopher and lover" of the *Phaedrus* when he said:

"Often the presence of this nature is felt like a sweet aroma in early manhood."⁴³ Because Pater does not distinguish between "the picture, the landscape, the engaging personality in life or in a book,"⁴⁴ books like lovers have beauty's Platonic bouquet: Flavian's transforming "golden" book with "purple writing on the handsome yellow wrapper . . . was perfumed with oil of sandal-wood"⁴⁵; and those "green fields" that Pater imaginatively imputed to the *Phaedrus* reappear in the volume that Gaston discovered—in its closeness to "the scent and colour of the field-flowers."⁴⁶

A subsequent passage of mythological fantasy in the *Phaedrus* augments Pater's allusion to beauty's perfumed effluence. There the "stream" of beauty "called 'desire'" flows from its source in the beautiful one (Ganymede) toward the lover (Zeus), filling him, overflowing and rebounding back to the beloved:

The stream of that fountain, which Zeus when he was in love with Ganymede called "desire," flows copiously upon the lover; and some of it flows into him, and some, when he is filled, overflows from him; and just as the wind or an echo rebounds from smooth, hard surfaces and returns to the place from which it came, so the stream of beauty passes back into the beautiful one through his eyes . . . where it reanimates . . . the soul of the loved one with love. . . . He sees himself in his lover as in a mirror without knowing who it is that he sees . . . And in the lover's presence . . . love's reflected image, love returned, dwells within him.⁴⁷

From the beautiful one, the lover's soul catches and reflects back a glimpse of primordial beauty, to which the beloved conforms himself. Because the proper object of love is always the primordial beauty within and behind earthly beauty, the true lover becomes a mirror in which the merely physical is reflected as spiritual, inspiring the beautiful one's idealizing "counterlove." Socrates implies by his praise of the soul's beauty that love is more a diffused passion for the Absolute than a desire for the beautiful one—"the impassioned love of passion" is Pater's oft-quoted paraphrase.⁴⁸

For Marius, the ideal of a morally regenerate humanity had been implanted in childhood as he looked through a lifted panel (an imaginative analogue to Plato's mirror) at the shrine of Aesculapius: "What he saw was like the vision of a new world, by the opening of some unsuspected window in a familiar dwelling-place"⁴⁹—a glimpse of distinctiveness hidden within the commonplace. Accordingly, *Marius* describes a search for the "fairest of all, . . . that supreme beauty which must of ne-

cessity be unique"⁵⁰; and Marius's quest among his "sensations and ideas" (as the novel's subtitle has it) culminates in the vision of Christ in the chapter entitled "The Church in Cecilia's House." In the unfinished *Gaston de Latour*, desire is for "the manifestation, at the moment of his own worthiness, of flawless humanity, in some undreamed-of depth and perfection of the loveliness of bodily form."⁵¹ Pater's friend and editor, C. L. Shadwell, ventures the observation that the interest in this incomplete novel "would have centred round the spiritual development of a refined and cultivated mind, capable of keen enjoyment in the pleasures of the senses and of the intellect, but destined to find its complete satisfaction in that which transcends both."⁵² Shadwell's antithesis of "senses" and "intellect" echoes the complementary terms in *Marius's* subtitle. And Pater's adaptation of the Cupid-Psyche legend finds its allegorical interpretation squarely in Plato's transcendental aesthetics, inasmuch as the beautiful one, Psyche or the "soul," stimulates the lover, Eros or flesh, so that he mirrors back the preincarnate beauty of the seer-soul, reanimating her with a vision of that half-forgotten, divine beauty after which she thirsts—inspiring her to seek that which "transcends," in Shadwell's synopsis, "senses" and "intellect."

Though the aesthetic hero longs for this incarnation of ideal love, the problem is that while striving to actualize "love's reflected image" he wanders in exile, in a state of anomie like the questing Psyche fallen "by her own act, and unaware, into the love of Love."⁵³ In the dark, emotionally troubled "Paris chapters" of his following novel, Pater describes how for Gaston "the theory of 'indifference' had but subjected him to a sort of conscience more exclusive still, to this impassioned love of passion—call it what you will. *Amans amavi*. . . . so in ever-revolving circle, through every tense of the verb 'to love,' does Augustine describe the like of it in himself."⁵⁴ Precisely here in the *Confessions*, in the opening of his third book, Augustine echoes Plato's memorable comment in the *Phaedrus* that the beloved "is indeed in love, but with what, he is at a loss to say"⁵⁵ because what he longs for is that primordial beauty he only half remembers. Pater portrayed this "'impassioned love of passion,' love for love's sake as a doctrine and a discipline, a science and a fine art all in one," as having captivated Gaston's mind during his Paris years. It was an "unkindly or cruel love"⁵⁶ in which the paramount object of devotion is "absent or veiled."⁵⁷ Twice in *Dorian Gray* Wilde also echoes this Platonic eroticism: once when Lord Henry tells Dorian: "You will always be loved, and you will always be in love with love"⁵⁸ and again after Sibyl Vane's

suicide: "Some one has killed herself for love of you. I wish I had ever had such an experience. It would have made me in love with love for the rest of my life."⁵⁹

In this state of anomie, souls with a weaker innate metaphysical vision than either Pater's heroes or Wilde's Basil Hallward fall into the "excess" of carnal gratification: "when desire irrationally drags us toward pleasures and rules within us, its rule is called excess."⁶⁰ Marius learned to "revolt with unfaltering instinct from the bare thought of an excess in sleep, or diet, or even in matters of taste, still more from any excess of a coarser kind."⁶¹ Wilde seemingly had summed up the moral of Dorian's downfall in exactly these Paterian and Platonic terms: "all excess, as well as all renunciation, brings its own punishment."⁶² If Dorian's "great renunciation"⁶³ is to spare a country maiden's virginity, then by contrast his "excess" must be sexual indulgence. Dorian's soul undergoes the psychic disorder of erotomania described both in *The Republic* (IX) and in the *Phaedrus*. The philosophical lover's antithesis is not one who forgets himself "in the love of physical visible beauty" but the decadent *non-lover* of Lysias's speech in the *Phaedrus*, one whose sensual desires are unmotivated by intellectual beauty. In Pater's *Marius*, sensual excess had been epitomized by Flavian's "head" (Pater's diction is presumably sculptural; Flavian's head is an analogue of Medusa's at White-Nights) that was "an epitome of the whole pagan world, the depth of its corruption, and its perfection of form."⁶⁴ In *Greek Studies* this doppelgänger of the beautiful and the grotesque was reflected in the chaste "head of Demeter" on a coin of Messene in contrast to "the Black Demeter at Phigalia," a chimera with a "horse's head united to the woman's body, with the carved reptiles creeping about it."⁶⁵

When the lover mirrors the ideal, Eros personifies regenerative love; but in the absence of this ideal reflection, Eros fetters and kills. This is epitomized in *Gaston* by two perfumed "oratories"⁶⁶: that of Gabrielle de Latour, opened by "great passions" and imaginative vision, in contrast to that of the decadent Queen Margot, shut in a sterile, moribund narcissism like "the narrow chamber of the individual mind."⁶⁷ Queen Margot's object of love had been the musty head of her unfortunate lover, Jacques la Mole, a direct antithesis to Gabrielle's joy at "the return of her beloved husband"⁶⁸—an allegory, like that of Cupid's reunion with Psyche on Olympus, of Plato's "love returned." In Wilde's novel by contrast, even though Dorian spared Hetty, his soul is not reanimated by "love's reflected image." In a privy room filled with "a damp odor of

mildew"⁶⁹ where the secret of his ever-more-ugly soul is locked, Dorian cannot pray for renewal: "It was the living death of his own soul that troubled him. Basil had painted the portrait that had marred his life. . . . It was an unjust mirror, this mirror of his soul that he was looking at. Vanity? Curiosity? Hypocrisy? Had there been nothing more in his renunciation than that?"⁷⁰ When Pater quoted Victor Hugo, in the Conclusion to *The Renaissance*, declaring that "we are all under sentence of death but with a sort of indefinite reprieve,"⁷¹ he was suggesting not just the brevity of life but its lack of intellectual love and beauty—precisely this decadent "living death" of Dorian's narcissistic soul.

The Platonic theory of love in Pater and Wilde cannot be fully evaluated without considering the historical impact of Christianity on Greek theory. Plato's ideal of a celestial love was ignored by Greek and Roman poetry but was embraced in medieval-Renaissance philosophy and art by the Neoplatonists of Florence and north Italy, such as Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, Michelangelo, Giordano Bruno and others. Gany-mede became a prefiguration of St. John the Evangelist; and Plato's image of modest beauty standing on "a pedestal of chastity" fused with the virgin Mary to become Bruno's "new Circe" Diana, the virgin Queen Elizabeth I.⁷² For latter-day Victorians, Rossetti's story "Hand and Soul" (1850) became an important re-presentation of "love's reflected image" refurbished in allegorical Neoplatonic costume: the Florentine artist Chiaro (the characternym meaning "clear," "bright," is parallel to Pater's "Diaphaneité," signifying "lighted up by some spiritual ray within"⁷³) vacillates between "the worship of beauty" and "moral . . . symbolism" until he is rescued by painting his own soul's reflected love: "Not till thou lean over the water shalt thou see thine image therein." Like the "noble and intellectual" love of Basil's original picture, Chiaro's face, "solemn with knowledge," is duplicated in the "solemn and beautiful" picture of his soul "clad to the hands and feet with a green and grey raiment."⁷⁴ Chiaro's soul corresponds to Pater's description of Plato's temperance "seen in Charmides, say! in that subdued and grey-eyed loveliness, 'clad in sober grey.'"⁷⁵ In this Neoplatonic tradition, Pater's Psyche in *Marius* is "a new Venus, endued with the flower of virginity."⁷⁶

Plato's distinction in *Phaedrus* 255c–e between sensual desire (*eros*) and virtuous love (*anterota*) is the *locus classicus* for the personifications of Eros and Anteros. This fraternal doppelgänger enjoyed a considerable recrudescence and reinterpretation in Neoplatonism. Erwin Panofsky argues that if the classical Anteros, as described by Pausanias,

had assured mutuality in love and punished those who did not return the love of others, in the Renaissance ἀντί came to be translated as “against” instead of “in return.”⁷⁷ Eros and Anteros were transmuted in the Neoplatonic theory of love into the medieval antithesis of *cupiditas* and *caritas*, the sensual and sacred aspects of love. In his *Laws* Plato had described the lover as “blinded about what he loves so that he judges wrongly of the just, the good and the honourable.”⁷⁸ Thus when reciprocity became rivalry, the Renaissance introduced the allegorical figure of a blindfolded Eros, representative of natural appetite, in contrast with the “seeing” Anteros of sacred or Platonic Love. Titian’s “Education of Cupid” presents just this tension as an allegorical choice by Beauty or Venus between a blindfolded Eros (as erotomania) and a clearsighted Anteros.⁷⁹ Citing in *Gaston* Queen Margot’s imaginary “book on the physiology of love,” Pater also invokes these antithetical personifications of love: “The physiology of love, from the days of Plato to our own . . . has had its students analysing . . . the very practical distinction of a blessing or a curse in it—Eros or Anteros.”⁸⁰

This antithetical doppelgänger of Eros and Anteros is dramatized in *Gaston* by the execution of a young lad, Raoul, who committed murder because of his secret infatuation with Jasmin, a glamorous but enslaving Eros figure whose own punishment is foreshadowed in Raoul’s death.⁸¹ In imagery from the *Symposium* and the *Phaedrus*, Pater presents Raoul as “like a thing cut in two yet alive still, as Plato fancied, seeking, seeking blindly, to be one again with its fellow, its self.”⁸² Lacking the innate vision of Anteros, Pater’s Raoul models Eros punished, often represented in Renaissance iconography not only as being blindfolded but also as fettered to a tree or pillar:

When they bind him at last to the great fixed upright wheel, like Saint Andrew on his cross, not blindfolded, facing the multitude, having only his loose white shirt upon him at the bosom (it will be nothing in the way of the iron bar), the women, perhaps for the first time in his brief life, in a luxury of grief feel that he belongs or ought to belong to them, to their proper world, *Amor Lacrimosus*, bound there like a rose on the trellis. The executioners forgot the rag for blindfolding the lad’s eyes; a score of handkerchiefs are handed over the heads of the crowd.⁸³

Broken on the wheel, Raoul is punished for blindly confusing *eros*, embodied in the glittering Jasmin, with Anteros—the manly Eros at Thespiac who is love’s divine image. Although both Jasmin, as a “youthful mirror of French fashion,” and Margot, as the “mirror of her time” with a

face "as irreproachably white as the moon-light,"⁸⁴ reflect beauty, their admirers more often are trapped by its carnality, with lethal consequences, than led toward its celestial splendor.

In Ficino, Bruno, and the *Stilnovisti*, Eros and Anteros ultimately *are* harmonized by Diotima's ladder, though they remain sharply opposed by more-conventional Neoplatonists who feared the contamination of the spiritual by its reflection in erotic carnality.⁸⁵ When Pater in *Plato* characterized Neoplatonism as "a kind of prosaic and cold-blooded transcendentalism,"⁸⁶ he may have been thinking equally of the similar Victorian opposition of sense to spirit, as harsh as *cupiditas* and *caritas*. As postulated by Pater, J.J. Winckelmann was among the first to replace this conventional Neoplatonic antithesis with the more-ancient ideal of Platonic mutuality.⁸⁷ Winckelmann's reinstated motif of perfection hidden within the physical also underlies Basil Hallward's attempt to go beyond Victorian practice: "The harmony of soul and body,—how much that is! We in our madness have separated the two, and have invented a realism that is bestial, an ideality that is void."⁸⁸ By contrast, Dorian Gray's "new scheme" for "the spiritualizing of the senses" and Lord Henry's program for curing the senses with the spirit (and vice versa)⁸⁹ merely reverse strait-laced preferences and allow a dominating *eros* to overwhelm spirituality: "Out of its secret hiding-place had crept his Soul, and Desire had come to meet it on the way."⁹⁰ Dorian afterwards personifies this Eros of profane love, and Sibyl becomes his enslaved victim; then at the end, dead with "a knife in his heart,"⁹¹ Dorian's fate conforms to the tradition of the "punishment of Cupid" by a chastening Anteros, as allegorized in the topoi of Renaissance art.

When Wilde visited Oxford in February 1890, possibly with a draft of *Dorian Gray*, did Pater see an echo of Mallock's brutal caricature of himself in Lord Henry, whispering evil metaphors into the ear of the young man? Only moments before Hallward finishes the portrait that Lord Henry uses to corrupt Dorian, the attar of roses, metonymic of Mr. Rose's now-darkened stream of beauty, recurs: "The heavy scent of the roses seemed to brood over everything."⁹² Although Basil Hallward vacillates as to whether art reveals or conceals the *artist*,⁹³ Wilde himself agrees with Pater and Plato when he affirms that art mirrors the *spectator*:

If a work of art is rich, and vital, and complete, those who have artistic instincts will see its beauty, and those to whom ethics appeal more strongly than aesthetics will see its moral lesson. It will fill the cowardly with terror,

and the unclean will see in it their own shame. It will be to each man what he is himself. It is the spectator, and not life, that art really mirrors.⁹⁴

Thus in the Venetian mirror in Jasmin's highly aestheticized townhouse, Gaston finds, "according to the Platonic doctrine [that] people become like what they see," that "the image might react on the original, refining it one degree further."⁹⁵ A similar passage in Wilde's "The Decay of Lying" asserts that "Life is the mirror, and Art the reality," endorsing the desirability of children born under the influence of beauty.⁹⁶

As early as *The Renaissance* Pater invoked Plato's specular ideal: "Giorgione becomes a sort of impersonation of Venice itself, *its projected reflex or ideal*, all that was intense or desirable in it crystallising about the memory of this wonderful young man."⁹⁷ This reflexiveness between the real and the ideal also had been central to Pater's most distinctly autobiographical work, "The Child in the House." Through pictures in religious books, Florian gains the vision of

sacred personalities, which are at once the reflex and the pattern of our nobler phases of life. . . . His way of conceiving religion came then to be . . . a sacred history indeed, but still more a sacred ideal, a transcendent version or representation . . . of human life . . . —a mirror, towards which men might turn away their eyes from vanity and dullness, and see themselves therein as angels.⁹⁸

In this connection one recalls that the family record of the Latours became for Gaston "like a second sacred history,"⁹⁹ parallel to the sacred history in the windows of the Latour family church.

Despite Dorian's self-serving assertion that "Basil had painted the portrait that had marred his life," Wilde and Pater both knew a picture does not corrupt a healthy soul. Since art is the mirror of the beholder, the presence or lack of a transcendental vision determines art's influence for good or ill. But Pater realized that in the minds of Wilde's popular readership the ethics of Basil's timorous Platonism did not offset the gusto with which Dorian's flowers of evil blossomed. And in the inevitable controversy, Pater had no intention of carrying the blame for Wilde's exuberance. At the resumption of Pater's narrative in the eighth chapter, the absent owner's aesthetic townhouse that Gaston scrutinizes took its inspiration from the unoccupied townhouse library of Lord Henry with its blue china jars that Dorian visits.¹⁰⁰ Wilde catches just that mixture of styles and periods typical of his era; Gaston, too, ponders whether the lofty ideals of Marcus Aurelius's volume of *Thoughts* might not contrast satirically among the "tricky indoor splendours" of the age:

"Did this novel mode of receiving, of reflecting the visible aspects of life commit one to an intellectual scheme, a *theory* about it, the remoter *practical* alliances of which one could not precisely ascertain at present, but would inevitably be led to in course?"¹⁰¹ Pater's uneasiness about the "*practical* alliances" (or "practical good and evil"¹⁰²) of a style mixing the sensual with the spiritual, comes close to the worries of conventional Neoplatonists. Pater's comment in *Gaston* about how Paolo and Francesca or, in the sixteenth century, Henry III and Margaret would have "read" Giordano Bruno's lesson of moral "indifference"¹⁰³ signifies that he expects those blinded by Eros to "read" Bruno very differently from those who "see" with Plato's imaginative love as their guide.

Though Wilde may have partially deflected criticism away from Pater by hinting that the model for Dorian's poisonous book was Huysmans's *À Rebours* (1884), Pater's theme of the transfiguring book lurks behind Dorian's corrupting volume. Dorian's "yellow book"¹⁰⁴ with its motif of perfumes clearly is modeled by the volume of Ronsard's *Odes* that for Gaston is "like nothing so much as a jonquil, in its golden-green binding and yellow edges and perfume of the place where it had lain—sweet, but with something of the sickliness of all spring flowers since the days of Proserpine."¹⁰⁵ Recognizing that Ronsard is to Gaston as Baudelaire is to Pater, Wilde covertly correlates Dorian's transforming book not just with the *Odes* of Ronsard described in Pater's novel but with Pater's novel *itself*, *Gaston* being implicitly like Baudelaire's *Fleurs du mal*. Wilde then describes Dorian's seductive book in terms of the aesthetic-psychological *Gaston* as "a novel without a plot" and describes its style as characteristic of "some of the finest artists of the French school of *Décadents* [1891: bowdlerized to *Symbolistes*]. There were in it metaphors as monstrous as orchids, and as evil [1891: subtle] in color."¹⁰⁶ When Lord Henry makes Dorian aware that, unlike the fragrant flowers, his pictured youth will not blossom again, the "spray of lilac fell from his hand upon the gravel."¹⁰⁷ Dorian's fall is symbolized by the same unconscious gesture as Milton's Adam, who drops his wreathed garland "and all the faded roses shed."¹⁰⁸ Did Pater realize that his recurring language of erotic suffering and suggestive evocation of strange sins exacerbated sensual tendencies in impressionable minds? His note to the Conclusion of *The Renaissance* indicates he would have.

After Mallock's caricature, Pater had reason to fear he would be blamed for evil's every flower and wryly 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."¹⁰⁹ The key to Gaston's particular escape from his prolonged dalliance in decadent Parisian society is the Platonic "law" enunciated in the *Phaedrus* that the carnal cannot obliterate the spiritual.¹¹⁰ Thus in *Gaston* the enchantment of Eros, represented by Queen Margot as a Circe-figure, is neither permanent nor fatal. Like Circe's Ulysses, Gaston possesses a counter-charm, his youthful consecration as "a clerk in orders"¹¹¹ marking his soul's primordial vision, never to be wholly expunged and transforming his perception of fallen beauty into an aesthetic and spiritual radiance. Some, such as those who have "trafficked with sailors" at Marseilles, are caught by a bodily trafficking, but others escape only having "bought their wares."¹¹² The appearance of *Plato and Platonism* in 1893 had represented Pater's indirect critical effort to align aestheticism with Platonic epistemology, a project many years in the making. By contrast, the compositional history of *Gaston* reflects Pater's specifically fictional response to his disciple's rashly brilliant performance. In *Gaston* Pater faced the crisis of art's practical influence. But Pater's intention to distance his "manly" Greek Anteros from Dorian's 1890s Art Nouveau-style Eros unquestionably was doomed from the start by the impossibility of replacing the fantasies of Victoria's England with those of ancient Greece.

Notes

1. In the last decade, analyses of Pater and Wilde have increasingly theorized their sexual proclivities. Although Richard Dellamora's *Masculine Desire: the Sexual Politics of Victorian Aestheticism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990) seems more pronouncement than scholarship, such careful analyses as William Shuter's "The Outing of Walter Pater," *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 48 (1994), 480–90, and Linda Dowling's *Hellenism and Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994) on the "coded" presentation of Greek love at Oxford have contributed as much to an understanding of Pater's psycho-sexuality as Alan Sinfield's *The Wilde Century: Effeminacy, Oscar Wilde and the Queer Movement* (London: Cassell, 1994) and Michael Foldy's *The Trials of Oscar Wilde: Deviance, Morality, and Late-Victorian Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997) have for Wilde's circumstances. See also Dowling's *Language and Decadence in the Victorian Fin de Siècle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986) and James E. Adams's *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Masculinity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

2. Walter Pater, *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry* (London: Macmillan, 1910), viii.

3. Stuart Mason, *Oscar Wilde: Art and Morality: A Record of the Discussion Which Followed the Publication of "Dorian Gray"* (London: F. Palmer, 1907); Richard Ellmann, *Oscar Wilde* (New York: Knopf, 1988), 314–25.

4. Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*, 46 (July 1890), 64, 77.
5. Oscar Wilde, *The Letters of Oscar Wilde*, Rupert Hart-Davis, ed. (London: Hart-Davis, 1962), 257.
6. Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* [1891], *The Complete Works of Oscar Wilde*, Vol. 4 (New York: Doubleday, 1923), Preface.
7. H. Montgomery Hyde, *The Trials of Oscar Wilde* (New York: New York University Press, 1956), 124.
8. Donald Lawler, *An Inquiry into Oscar Wilde's Revisions of 'The Picture of Dorian Gray'* (New York: Garland, 1988), 138, 63, 114. Although newspaper criticism of its immorality *did* lead to changes, Wilde maintained his deletions and additions for book publication were intended only to suppress the underlying moral as too obvious and distracting. Donald Lawler notes that "there is only one instance in the final revision of *Dorian Gray* in which Wilde made the kind of addition to which he alluded at the trial. It follows a long series of detailed accusations by Basil Hallward of young men who had been ruined by an association with Dorian Gray. This would seem just the sort of passage to which Pater would take exception" (*Inquiry*, 55 n2). Though Lawler doesn't say so, the concern expressed by Pater in the footnote to the restored Conclusion to *The Renaissance* about not wanting "to mislead young men" (see endnote 13) is another powerful argument for this addition being Pater's incentive, inasmuch as when Dorian suggests the young men were predisposed to vice, Hallward insists "One has a right to judge of a man by the effect he has over his friends" (*Dorian* [1891], 276).
9. Ellmann, *Wilde*, 308.
10. Sidney Low, *Samuel Henry Jeyes* (London: Duckworth, 1915), 32.
11. Wilde, *Letters*, 471.
12. Quoted in Monsman, *Walter Pater* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1977), 63.
13. Pater, *Renaissance*, 233. The background history of Mallock's satiric Mr. Rose has been recounted most recently in Dowling's *Hellenism*, 104–12.
14. Arthur Symonds, *Figures of Several Centuries* (London: Constable, 1916), 331; Michael Field (pseud.), *Works and Days: From the Journal of Michael Field*, T. and D. C. Sturge Moore, ed. (London: Murray, 1933), 119.
15. Walter Pater, *Gaston de Latour: The Revised Text*, Gerald Monsman, ed. (Greensboro: ELT Press, 1995), 232–33.
16. Wilde, *Dorian*, 31.
17. Pater, *Gaston*, 81.
18. Wilde, *Dorian*, 3.
19. *Ibid.*, 3.
20. *Ibid.*, 4.
21. *Ibid.*, 6.
22. *Ibid.*, 56.
23. Walter Pater, *Plato and Platonism: A Series of Lectures* (London: Macmillan, 1910), 164.
24. Plato, *Phaedrus*, *Symposium*, *Laws*. *Plato in Twelve Volumes*, Harold Fowler, trans. (London: Heinemann, 1914), 252d–e, 254b.
25. Walter Pater, *Miscellaneous Studies: A Series of Essays* (London: Macmillan, 1910), 250; Plato, *Phaedrus*, 248d, 249a.
26. Pater, *Renaissance*, 194. Though Pater's paraphrase hints at more than the "impassioned lovers" of truth cited in *Plato and Platonism* (171), it is less explicit than Plato's phrases in the *Phaedrus*: "a lover of wisdom or a lover of beauty" (248d) and "a guileless lover of philosophy, or a philosophical lover of boys" (249a). See Graeme Nicholson on the ancient *aphrodisia*, *Plato's Phaedrus: The Philosophy of Love* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1999), 111–12.
27. Wilde, *Dorian*, 60.

28. Ibid., 4.
29. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 230c.
30. Oscar Wilde, "The Critic as Artist" and "The Decay of Lying," *Intentions, The Complete Works of Oscar Wilde*, Vol. 5 (New York: Doubleday, 1923), 118.
31. Wilde, *Dorian*, 6; Plato, *Phaedrus*, 230c.
32. Ibid., 9.
33. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 250e–251a.
34. Wilde, *Dorian*, 77.
35. Walter Pater, "A Novel by Mr. Oscar Wilde," *Bookman* 1 (November 1891), 59–60.
36. Ibid.
37. Plato, *Phaedrus* 248d, 249a.
38. Pater, *Renaissance*, 194.
39. Pater, *Marius the Epicurean: His Sensations and Ideas* (London: Macmillan, 1910), I: 92–93.
40. Wilde, *Dorian*, 4–5.
41. Walter Pater, *Marius the Epicurean: His Sensations and Ideas*, 2nd Ed. (London: Macmillan, 1885), I: 37–38. After the second edition, Pater shifted the Greek phrase to a footnote, following a policy in the third edition of easing the scholarly burden on his readers. Pater uses the similar word "conformed" in *Gaston* (110) to describe the seer's response to beauty. Pater's quoted reference to "visible beauty" (also appearing in *Gaston* 101, 104) is borrowed in *Dorian Gray* by Wilde, who incorrectly assigns it to Dante (66). Almost certainly it is Pater's own paraphrase of the *Symposium* and the *Phaedrus* (249d, 252a), a formulation that he leads his readers to assume derives from a Neoplatonist of the Italian Renaissance—Dante or one of the other Italian poets translated by Rossetti. The priority of visible over invisible in Pater's "quotation" is not quite compatible with such typical Neoplatonic spiritualizing as, for example, Pietro Bembo's discourse in Castiglione's *The Courtier* (Book IV), the *locus classicus* for Renaissance theories of love and beauty. The associated phrase that Wilde quotes from Pater in this context, "Like Gautier, he was one for whom 'the visible world existed'" (*Dorian*, 66), has a historical source in *Journal des Goncourts*, 1 May 1857. In this scene also, Pater purports to quote verbatim from the priest's discourse on temperance (*Marius*, I: 32), but the passage is actually Pater's own summary of *Phaedrus* 237–38.
42. Wilde, *Dorian*, 45, 52.
43. Pater, *Miscellaneous Studies*, 253.
44. Pater, *Renaissance*, ix.
45. Pater, *Marius*, I: 55–56.
46. Pater, *Gaston*, 26.
47. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 255c–e.
48. Walter Pater, *Appreciations: With an Essay on Style* (London: Macmillan, 1910), 212. Pater attributed this phrase in "Dante Gabriel Rossetti" to Merimée and cited it again in his lecture on Merimée (*Miscellaneous Studies*, 13). In *Marius* it appears as "the love of Love" (I: 75); and in the post-1890 chapter of *Gaston*, "Anteros," it appears twice (102, 110).
49. Pater, *Marius*, I: 40.
50. Ibid., II: 161.
51. Pater, *Gaston*, 36.
52. Walter Pater, *Gaston de Latour: An Unfinished Romance*, Charles L. Shadwell, ed. (London: Macmillan, 1896), vi.
53. Pater, *Marius*, I: 75.
54. Pater, *Gaston*, 110: "To Carthage I came, where there sang all around me in my ears a cauldron of unholy loves. I loved not yet, yet I loved to love, and out of a deep-seated want, I hated myself for wanting not. I sought what I might love, in love with loving. . . . To love then, and to be beloved, was sweet

to me," Augustine, *The Confessions of Saint Augustine*, E. B. Pusey, trans. (New York: Modern Library, 1999), 36. Throughout *Gaston*, particularly in references to the philosophies of Montaigne and Bruno, Pater's term "indifference" connotes not apathy or passive disinterest but a studied, calculated neutrality and subordination of moral to aesthetic values. When Emilia Pattison describes the temper of the French court of the Valois, an important interpretive source for *Gaston*, she observes: "A state of moral indifference, whether in an individual or a nation, cannot be fruitful of noble life"; and for that reason, she says, the French artistic Renaissance faltered. Pattison, *The Renaissance of Art in France* 2 vols. (London: Degan Paul, 1879), I: 29–30.

55. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 255d.

56. Pater, *Gaston*, 102.

57. Pater, "Poems by William Morris," *Westminster Review*, 34 (October 1868), 302.

58. Wilde, *Dorian*, 25.

59. *Ibid.*, 48.

60. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 238a; also see Plato's analysis of erotomania, 250e–251a.

61. Pater, *Marius*, I: 34.

62. Wilde, *Letters*, 259, 263.

63. Wilde, *Dorian*, 94–95.

64. Pater, *Marius*, I: 53.

65. Walter Pater, *Greek Studies: A Series of Essays* (London: Macmillan, 1910), 137–39.

66. Pater, *Gaston*, 10, 97.

67. Pater, *Renaissance*, 235.

68. Pater, *Gaston*, 10. Might her name be a feminine counterpart to that of the angel of the annunciation?

69. Wilde, *Dorian*, 82.

70. *Ibid.*, 98–99.

71. Pater, *Renaissance*, 238.

72. Gerald Monsman, "Walter Pater, Circe, and the Paths of Darkness," *Nineteenth Century Prose*, 24 (1997), 66–77.

73. Pater, *Miscellaneous Studies*, 250.

74. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, "Hand and Soul," *Rossetti: Poems and Translations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1913), 162, 168, 169, 158, 165, 170.

75. Pater, *Plato*, 136.

76. Pater, *Marius*, I: 62.

77. Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), 126; Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, W. H. S. Jones, trans. (London: Heinemann, 1918), I: 33.6.

78. Plato, *Laws*, 5:731e.

79. Erwin Panofsky also refers to an allegory of Lucas Cranach that represents this antithetical relationship of Eros and Anteros: "a little Cupid removing the bandage from his eyes with his own hand and transforming himself into a personification of 'seeing' love. To do this he bases himself most literally on Plato, for he stands on an imposing volume inscribed *Platonis opera* from which he seems to be 'taking off' for more elevated spheres. . . . That a provincial German painter like Lucas Cranach should have represented a Cupid 'de-blinding' himself on the strength of Platonic teachings, is eloquent proof of the popularity which the 'Platonic' theory of love had attained during the first quarter of the sixteenth century." *Iconology*, 128–29.

80. Pater, *Gaston*, 103, 100.

81. Interestingly, the "poisonous book" (125) Lord Henry gave Dorian had been entitled in Wilde's manuscript draft, "*Le Secret du Raoul*." Pater's use of this name in *Gaston* is the best evidence

for Lawler's assertion that he had firsthand knowledge of Wilde's manuscript, though the scandalous French novel, *Monsieur Venus* (1889) by Rachilde (Marguerite Vallette), also has a character named Raoul.

82. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 251d–e; Pater, *Gaston*, 107.
83. Pater, *Gaston*, 108–109.
84. Ibid., 84, 111, 92.
85. Plato, *Symposium*, 201d et seq.; Panofsky, *Iconology*, 100.
86. Pater, *Plato*, 164.
87. Pater, *Renaissance*, 221–22.
88. Wilde, *Dorian*, 9.
89. Ibid., 67, 13–14.
90. Ibid., 29.
91. Ibid., 100.
92. Ibid., 18.
93. Ibid., 6, 57.
94. Wilde, *Letters*, 268.
95. Pater, *Gaston*, 90.
96. Wilde, *Intentions*, 38–39.
97. Pater, *Renaissance*, 148; italics added.
98. Pater, *Miscellaneous Studies*, 194, 193.
99. Pater, *Gaston*, 2.
100. Wilde, *Dorian*, 22.
101. Pater, *Gaston*, 88.
102. Ibid., 82.
103. Ibid., 82.
104. Wilde, *Dorian*, 63, 69.
105. Pater, *Gaston*, 26.
106. Wilde, *Dorian*, 64.
107. Ibid., 17.
108. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IX: 892–93.
109. Edmund Gosse, "Walter Pater," *Critical Kit-Kats* (London: Heinemann, 1896), 258.
110. Pater, *Phaedrus*, 256d; *Symposium* 201d et seq.
111. Pater, *Gaston*, 2–6.
112. Pater, *Imaginary Portraits* (London: Macmillan, 1910), 65.