

A Textual History of Walter Pater's *Renaissance*

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I

The publication of the *Letters of Walter Pater* in 1970 has enabled us to trace the life of Walter Pater (1839–1894) as one of the remarkable figures among his contemporary men of letters. In this collection of letters, Pater's correspondents are more than ninety including a few anonymous recipients. Although there are some letters unnoticed¹ or neglected² by the editor, Pater's communications with his friends, with his students, domestic or abroad, and with the editors or publishers, show us a new phase of his personality. This laborious edition of the *Letters of Walter Pater* by Dr. Lawrence Evans succeeded in describing the details of Pater's surroundings both in Oxford and in London.

One of the details we find in the *Letters of Walter Pater* is that the author had a particular, sensitive taste in book-design. Those letters addressed to Alexander Macmillan (1818–1896) and to George Grove (1820–1900) are the evidences of his sensitivity; the quality of paper, bindings and the colour of the cloth-cover being the constant topic of their discussions. Except in a few cases like *Marius the Epicurean* (1885), Pater used to publish his pieces in magazines or newspapers at first. Whenever he had to collect them to publish in a volume, his claim as an aesthete emerged in his letters, and may have embarrassed the publisher. It is fortunate for us that the letters exist in the Macmillan archives in the British Library. All of them have been included in the publication of the *Letters of Walter Pater* in 1970.

Walter Pater as an aesthete tried to produce a quaint collection of his essays in the shape of an artistically designed book whenever he could. Partly influenced by the Pre-Raphaelite doctrine and partly according to the movement of "Art for Life's sake" by William Morris (1834-1896), it was the fashion of the days to elaborate the book-design. Among Pater's contemporaries Agnes Frances Mary Robinson (1857-1944) was one of the poets and novelists who were profuse in their book-design. I can never forget the rich exquisiteness of her two-volume novel entitled *Arden* (1883), together with the first volume of her poems *A Handful of Honeysuckle* (1878). Julia Constance Fletcher's (1858-1938) three-volume novel *Mirage* (1877), dedicated to Walter Pater with an epitaph taken from his "Winckelmann," was also fascinating with its delicate design. It was natural that Pater as an aesthete was very particular about the appearance of his volumes especially when they were collections of articles separately printed. He was believed to have attempted to erase all traces of his life except his writings. His sisters also collaborated in his attempts not to publish his private papers. His unpublished manuscripts being discovered and his letters collected after their death, the evidence of his attempts was revealed. He was careful to have his writings published in a well-formed framework. His arguments in his "Essay on Style" therefore have been incarnated in the form of his publications.

1) Four letters signed by Walter Pater himself and addressed to Mark Andre Sebastian Raffalovich (1864-1934) are kept in the Blackfriars' Library at 64 St. Giles in Oxford. These four letters are not included in the *Letters of Walter Pater* (1970).

2) Mr. Shotaro Oshima, Professor of Waseda University keeps a letter of Walter Pater, the handwriting of which is just the same as that of the letter addressed to Mr. Pendergast. Pater's young erect handwriting looks very different from that of his later days. The letters in his youth are now kept in the Duke Humphry's Library, Bodleian, Oxford.

II

Pater's so-called "Renaissance" has several editions. The first edition entitled *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* was published on 15th of February 1873. The second edition entitled *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry* was published in May 1877. The change in the title and contents is worth describing later. The third edition of *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry* was published in January 1888, with the re-inclusion of "Conclusion" which was omitted in the second edition, and a new chapter "The School of Giorgione." The fourth edition was the last he revised in his life time. The posthumous Edition de Luxe (1900-1901), and the Library Edition (1901) followed. When we discuss Pater's "Renaissance," we have to discriminate the first three editions from the later ones. The difference among the three editions decides the shades of Pater's aestheticism and the stages of its growth. Under the influence of John Ruskin (1819-1900) and William Morris, Pater's aesthetic inclination bloomed in the first publication of the "Renaissance." "The charm of this charming book,"¹ however, was criticized unfavourably as to its titling at first. An unsigned book review in the *Westminster Review* in April, 1873, was as follows:

"Studies in the History of the Renaissance" is the title of a volume of essays (several of which have already appeared in print) recently published by Mr. Walter Pater, Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford. The title is misleading. The historical element is precisely that which is wanting, and its absence makes the weak place of the whole book. The contents embrace a wide field. The names of Pico della Mirandula (sic), of Botticelli, of Michelangelo, of Joachim du Bellay, standing at the head of respective chapters, will be a sufficient indication of its variety as well as extent. But the work is in no wise a contribution to the history of the Renaissance. For instead of approaching his subject, whether in Art or Literature, by the true scientific method, through

the life of the time of which it was an outcome, Mr. Pater prefers in each instance to detach it wholly from its surroundings, to suspend it isolated before him as if it were indeed a kind of air-plant independent of the ordinary sources of nourishment. . . . Mr. Pater writes of the Renaissance as if it were a kind of sentimental revolution having no relation to the conditions of the actual world. Whilst he discriminates or characterizes with great delicacy of touch the sentiment of the Renaissance, he does not let us know that it was precisely as the expression of vital changes in human society that this sentiment is so pregnant for us with weighty meaning.²

Thirty years later the author of this passage died and through her husband's *Memoir* she was known to be Lady Dilke (1840–1904). She contributed a favourable review of Pater's *Imaginary Portraits* to *Athenaeum* in 1889; her contribution to the *Westminster Review* in 1873 was an acrimonious criticism of *The Renaissance*. Being the too young wife of the Rector of Lincoln College by her first marriage, Mrs. Mark Pattison had to be recognized by Pater as an unfavourable critic, more vulnerable than the irresponsible parody writer³ of *The New Republic*.

Four of the ten essays in the first edition were written in 1872 for the purpose of the publication of *The Renaissance*. The others had already been printed in the *Westminster Review* or *The Fortnightly Review*. The following list shows the dates of these essays included in the first edition of *The Renaissance*.

Pico della Mirandula (sic)	<i>The Fortnightly Review</i> No. LVIII, Vol. XVI o. s., X n. s. (1 November, 1871)
Sandro Betticelli	"A Fragment on Sandro Botticelli" <i>The Fortnightly Review</i> No. XLIV, Vol. XIV. o.s., VIII n.s. (1 August, 1870)
The Poetry of Michelangelo	<i>The Fortnightly Review</i> No. LIX, Vol. XVI o. s., X n. s. (1 October, 1871)
Leonardo da Vinci	"Notes on Leonardo da Vinci" <i>The Fort-</i>

- Winckelmann *nightly Review* No. XXV, Vol. XII o. s., VI n. s. (1 November, 1869)
- Conclusion *The Westminster Review* No. LXI. Vol. LXXXVII o. s., XXXI n. s. (January, 1867)
- Conclusion Last part from "Poems by William Morris" *The Westminster Review* No. LXVIII, Vol. XC. o. s., XXXIV. n. s. (October, 1868)

In the course of writing the essays entitled "Aucassin and Nicolette," "Luca della Robbia," and "Joachim du Bellay," Pater was conscious of the conception of the "history" of the Renaissance. In order to complete "Joachim du Bellay" he borrowed *Oeuvres Françaises* by Joachim du Bellay from the Taylor Institute in November 1870, June 1871 and April 1872. As if collaborating with her brother, Clara Pater (1841–1910) borrowed *A Collection of Du Bellay's Works* from the Bodleian Library in August 1870.⁴ Pater's vague conception of history did not contrast the current of renaissance in the middle of sixteenth century France to that in Italy. Lady Dilke, as an art scholar, had a rather diachronic point of view of the history of the renaissance.

Another critical remark about Pater's publication was directly written to Pater by the chaplain of Brasenose College in March 1873. John Wordsworth's (1843–1911) letter to Pater says:

... I am aware that the concluding pages are, with small exceptions, taken from a review of Morris's poems published in 1868 in the *Westminster Review*. But that article was anonymous, whereas this appears under your own name as a Fellow of Brasenose and as the mature result of your studies in an important period of history. If you had not reprinted it with your name no one would, I presume, have had a right to remonstrate with you on the subject, but now the case appears to be different; ... Could you have known the dangers into which you were likely to lead minds weaker than your own, you would, I believe, have paused. Could you have known the grief your words would be

to many of your Oxford contemporaries you might even have found no ignoble pleasure in refraining from uttering them.⁵

Wordsworth asked Pater politely to reply, but we have found no letter from Pater to Wordsworth on this problem. Pater omitted the "Conclusion" in the second edition of *The Renaissance*.

As for the "Conclusion," Pater did not refer to it in the letter to Alexander Macmillan dated 29 June in 1872. He wrote of his plan: "The paper in MS. has not been published hitherto, that on Winckelmann appeared in the *Westminster Review* and the other four in the *Fortnightly*. I enclose a table of the proposed series which I hope to complete by the end of the long Vacation, with a short Preface."⁶ In his letter dated 2 November, he wrote that he had "not yet received the Preface and the rejected essay, were to be returned to me for the alteration of the former."⁷ We learn that the Preface was the last essay of the four that he completed in 1872 for the first edition of *The Renaissance*.

Two questions still remain: which was the rejected essay of the ten in the "table of the proposed series"⁸ and whether the "Conclusion could be the substitute for that. He counted the four *Fortnightly* essays and only one from the *Westminster*, but as mentioned in Wordsworth's letter, Pater took the last seven paragraphs from the essay printed in the *Westminster Review* in October 1868. Was it not "Winckelmann" printed in the previous year but a review entitled "Poems by William Morris"? He revised the last seven paragraphs into six and included them as the last chapter, "Conclusion," without anticipating what kind of trouble it might bring him. We might suppose that the inclusion of a part of his old unsigned essay was not in his first plan of *The Renaissance*.

When Alexander Macmillan proposed to publish the second edition of *The Renaissance*, Pater accepted his proposal gladly. Not only with the revision of the contents but also with a change in title the second edition was published. It was on 24th of May 1877. Pater had to be

bothered with the old-fashioned binding again. As for the first edition he had written six letters to Alexander Macmillan. As for the second edition, he wrote nine in which he repeatedly tried to persuade the publisher to give his volume an artistic appearance and to make the binding more satisfactory. It was a long interesting struggle between the author and the publisher. Pater's letter dated shortly before the publication of the first edition shows us how dissatisfied he was with the binding and with the cloth cover of the volume. He at first proposed paste-board covers of greyish blue and the paper back of olive green and was much disappointed that the colours were not to his taste. He tried a second time to have his book designed as he particularly wished. Since 1873 Pater had had to face various reactions because of the uniqueness of his publications. As well as having revised the contents, he struggled for his ideal book design so earnestly that he seemed to have become a book design maniac at this period of his life. The change in the title and revision of the contents are made clear in the list below.

1st edition	2nd edition
<i>Studies in the History of the Renaissance</i> (1873)	<i>The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry</i> (1877)
Preface	Preface
Aucassin and Nicolette	Two Early French Stories
Pico della Mirandula (sic)	Pico della Mirandola
Sandro Botticelli	Sandro Botticelli
Luca della Robbia	Luca della Robbia
The Poetry of Michelangelo	The Poetry of Michelangelo
Leonardo da Vinci	Leonardo da Vinci
Joachim du Bellay	Joachim du Bellay
Winckelmann	Winckelmann
Conclusion	

The most remarkable change is the withdrawal of "Conclusion." The change in the title of the second essay by adding several para-

graphs about the story of Abelard and Heloise is the next. Besides, Pater succeeded in persuading the publisher⁹ to put a vignette after "Leonardo da Vinci."

- 1) Mrs. Mark Pattison (afterwards Lady Dilke), "Art," *Westminster Review*, Vol. 99 No. 196 o. s., Vol. 63. No. 2. n. s. (London: April 1, 1873), p. 640 ..
- 2) *op. cit.* pp. 639-640.
- 3) William Hurrell Mallock (1849-1923), author of *The New Republic* (1877), in which he caricatured Ruskin, Jowett, M. Arnold, Pater, T.H. Huxley and Tyndall.
- 4) Billie Andrew Inmann: *Walter Pater's Borrowings from Queen's College Library, the Bodleian Library, The Brasenose College Library and The Taylor Institution Library, 1860-1894.* (not yet published)
- 5) Edward William Watson, *Life of Bishop John Wordsworth*, (London: Heinemann, 1915) pp. 89-90.
- 6) Lawrence Evans, *Letters of Walter Pater*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970) 12
- 7) *Ibid.*, 14
- 8) *op. cit.* ..
- 9) *op. cit.*

III

It was in 1888 that the third edition of *The Renaissance* was published. The "Conclusion" omitted in the second edition being restored this time, a new chapter "The School of Giorgione" was added to the other essays included in the first edition and the second. Pater wrote "The School of Giorgione" shortly after the second edition of *The Renaissance*, but Pater had not thought at first of the addition of this essay to the volume of *The Renaissance*. His letter addressed to Alexander Macmillan dated the 1st of October, 1878 suggested that Peter had another plan to publish this essay in a book entitled *The School of Giorgione, and Other Studies*. The contents he proposed were as follows.

The School of Giorgione (*The Fortnightly Review*, October, 1877)

Wordsworth (*The Fortnightly Review*, April, 1874)

The Myth of Demeter —

1. The Homeric Hymn (*The Fortnightly Review*, January, 1876)

2. Demeter and Persephone (*The Fortnightly Review*, February, 1876)

Romanticism (*The Macmillan's Magazine*, November, 1876)

On 'Love's Labour (sic) Lost' (written in 1878 but printed later¹)

On 'Measure for Measure' (*The Fortnightly Review*, November, 1874)

The Character of the Humourist—Charles Lamb (*The Fortnightly Review*, October, 1878)

Except for the essay "On Love's Labour Lost," already written in 1878, and afterwards put into the *Macmillan's Magazine* in 1885, and "Romanticism," the other essays were printed in *The Fortnightly Review*. The period in which these essays were composed was between the first edition of *The Renaissance* and the second, that is from 1873 to 1877, when Pater was both pleased and annoyed with the reactions to the first unique creation of his masterpiece. His circumstances changed, however, during the decade following the publication of the second edition of *The Renaissance* in 1877.

The epoch-making publication of *Marius the Epicurean: His Sensations and Ideas* in two volumes took place in early March in 1885. The second edition of *Marius* followed on the heels of the first in November of the same year. As Pater intended, the harsh criticism of *The Renaissance* being extinguished, and his fame established, he did not hesitate to re-publish the third edition of *The Renaissance* without omitting any chapter. Pater expected the readers of *Marius* to re-read *The Renaissance* in the parallel. Therefore the complete text of the fourth edition and of the later editions is today considered to be what is called Pater's *Renaissance*. A copy of the second edition, lacking both "The School of Giorgione" and "Conclusion" has become the "rare" book that has risen in price all the more among the curious

book-collectors.

We have no evidence when Pater abandoned his plan of publishing *The School of Giorgione, and Other Studies*, the collected essays from *The Fortnightly Review*. Although William Sharp (1855–1905) wrote about the existence of a private printing at the Clarendon Press in Oxford at Pater's own cost, I could not find any trace of it. The "Giorgione" essay which seemed so dear to Pater in some period of his life, was finally included in the third edition of *The Renaissance* in 1888 and the others were destined to be included in *Appreciations* (1889) or in the posthumous publication of *Greek Studies*. About *Greek Studies* I have to refer to Pater's projects, not realized as they were, of publishing those articles both in *Appreciations* and *Greek Studies* later. The contents of the third edition are shown in the following list. They have never been changed in later editions of the *Renaissance* up to today.

Titles	Years written in	Periodicals printed in	Editions included
Preface	1872		I, II, III
Two Early French Stories ²	1872		I, II, III
Pico della Mirandola	1871	<i>F. R.</i> , Oct., 1871	I, II, III
Sandro Botticelli ³	1870	<i>F. R.</i> , Aug., 1870	I, II, III
The Poetry of Michelangelo	1871	<i>F. R.</i> , Nov., 1871	I, II, III
Leonardo da Vinci ⁴	1869	<i>F. R.</i> , Nov., 1869	I, II, III
The School of Giorgione	1877	<i>F. R.</i> , Oct., 1877	III
Joachim du Bellay	1872		I, II, III
Winckelmann	1866	<i>W. R.</i> , Jan., 1867	I, II, III
Conclusion*	1868	<i>W. R.</i> , Oct. 1868	I, III

According to the chronological order, the earliest essays written in the eighteen sixties are "Winckelmann" (1866), "Conclusion" as a part of "The Poems by William Morris" (1868), and "Leonardo da Vinci" (1869). Of these three, "Winckelmann" had been revised so much that we can hardly recognize the essay in the third edition as written

by the same author as the unsigned one in the *Westminster Review*. Comparing the original text with the latter, we find more than fifty revised phrases and words without including the changes in punctuation. "Leonardo da Vinci," however, has not so many revisions as the other two essays, apart from a slight change in the title from the original "Notes on Leonardo da Vinci," and in punctuation. Most people that read the guidebook information about the artist are sometimes unaware of the fact that they are reading a quotation from Pater's "Leonardo da Vinci." His writings about Leonardo de Vinci are now considered the most compact information on the Renaissance arts.

"Conclusion," unlike "Leonardo da Vinci," caused trouble from various points of view. Pater himself was so conscious of the concern expressed in the letter from John Wordsworth, that he put notes at the re-inclusion in the third edition as follows:

This brief "Conclusion" was omitted in the second edition of this book, as I conceived it might possibly mislead some of those young men into whose hands it might fall. On the whole, I have thought at best to reprint it here, with some slight changes which bring it closer to my original meaning. I have dealt more fully in *Marius the Epicurean* with the thoughts suggested by it.

This sounds like Pater's response to the questioning by Wordsworth, who recognized the "Conclusion" as paragraphs taken from the unsigned article printed in *The Westminster Review*. The remainder of the essay "Poems by William Morris" was once included in *Appreciations* in 1889 with a change in the title to "Aesthetic Poetry." All of the quotations from the poems by William Morris were omitted then. However, in the second edition in 1890, this "Aesthetic Poetry" was omitted, and "Feuillet's 'La Morte'" was included. "Aesthetic Poetry" was quite forgotten long after Pater's death in 1894. It was not included in the *Uncollected Essays* (1903) but in *Sketches and Reviews* (1919) posthumously. If we call "The School of Giorgione" the last essay in

The Renaissance, "Aesthetic Poetry" is the first of all his poetic reviews in his writings. At least in his youth William Morris was a more appealing poet to Pater than Coleridge.

Between the composition of the earliest essays and that of "The School of Giorgione" there lies a decade. In the first edition he attempted an intellectual revolution by uniting the mediaeval world with the Hellenistic undercurrent of thought, without considering how the philosophy of perpetual flux stimulated the ever sensitive men of the established Church. But for the Oxford Movement, we may not have had the second edition of *The Renaissance* as we have it today. The second edition must have appeared with the sole addition of "The School of Giorgione," a few revisions in text and some slight changes in punctuation. Pater's carefulness in omitting the last chapter in the second edition had such a background as the fact that some of the churchmen, like John Wordsworth, were more sensitive towards the tendency of "radical ideas" than in any other decade of the century. In the letter I quoted from, John Wordsworth pointed out that the "Conclusion" was taken from the unsigned article in the *Westminster Review*. Because he knew what William Morris admired in his poem *The Earthly Paradise*, he could not but remind Pater of the existence of the "University Test Act" in 1871 which obliged the Oxford tutors to subscribe to the Anglican orthodoxy.

———— Continued

- 1) Later this essay was printed in *the Macmillan's Magazine* No. CCXIV (Cambridge: December, 1885), pp. 89-91.
- 2) In the first edition of *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*, this was "Aucassin and Nicolette."
- 3) "A Fragment on Sandro Botticelli," *The Fortnightly Review* No. XLIV, Vol. XIV, o.s., VIII n.s. (London: August, 1870), pp. 155-160.
- 4) "Notes on Leonardo da Vinci," *The Fortnightly Review*, No. XXV, Vol. XII o.s., VI n.s. (London: November, 1869) pp. 494-508.