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A Wrinkle in Time: Shakespeare's Anachronic Art

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This essay proposes that the vocabulary of the anachronic might usefully be brought to bear on the complex temporality (or temporalities) involved in classical reception, which necessarily 'remembers' the classical past in one form or another. Nagel and Wood's (2010) definition of the anachronic work of art could almost have been formulated with Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale* in mind, a 'late' play in which an oracle projects the conditions for an idealised resolution, Time appears as the Chorus, and a statue apparently comes to life. In particular, the essay argues that both the oracle from Apollo and the 'statue' of the final scene can be viewed as operating anachronically, in ways which "fetch" or "create" (textual) memories of the classical past, projecting it into the future.

Keywords: *The Winter's Tale*, anachronism, temporalities, classical reception

In their book, *Anachronic Renaissance*, the art historians Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood posit that "[t]he work of art when it is late, when it repeats, when it hesitates, when it remembers, but also when it projects a future or an ideal, is 'anachronic'" (2010, 13). They distinguish the "anachronic" from the "anachronistic", using the striking clock in *Julius Caesar* as an example of the latter, which "carries with it the historicist assumption that every event and every object has its proper location within objective and linear time" (Nagel and Wood 2010, 13). Reflecting on the possibilities of classical reception studies in an essay entitled "Reception – a new humanism? Receptivity, pedagogy, the transhistorical", Charles Martindale observed that "the temporality of the classic is a complex matter. In one sense the classic is always simultaneously both modern and ancient" (2013, 175). This essay proposes that the vocabulary of the anachronic might usefully be brought to bear on the complex temporality (or temporalities) involved in classical reception, which necessarily 'remembers'

the classical past in one form or another. Nagel and Wood's definition of the anachronic work of art could almost have been formulated with Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale* in mind, a 'late' play in which an oracle projects the conditions for an idealised resolution, Time appears as the Chorus, and a statue apparently comes to life. In particular, I will argue that both the oracle from Apollo and the 'statue' of the final scene can be viewed as operating anachronically, in ways which "fetch" or "create" (textual) memories of the classical past, projecting it into the future (Nagel and Wood 2010, 18).

Central to Nagel and Wood's conception of the anachronic artwork is its "ability […] to hold incompatible models" of its own temporality "in suspension without deciding", specifically the models of 'substitution' and 'performance' (2010, 18). The substitution model posits a "principle of identity across a series of substitutions", as might be found in a religious icon which could be restored, replaced, or replicated, yet still maintain its identity; this "is in tension with a principle of authorship" which views the act of creation as an authorial performance, and the artwork as therefore singular and not substitutable (Nagel and Wood 2010, 14)[1]. The particular combination of the development of printing technologies and the theological disputes of the Reformation contributed to bring these two models into mutually destabilizing conflict, so that "[w]hat was distinctive about the European Renaissance, so called, was its apprehensiveness about the temporal instability of the artwork, and its re-creation of the artwork as an occasion for reflection on that instability" (Nagel and Wood 2010, 13). Lucy Munro, in her study of *Archaic Style in English Literature, 1590-1674*, suggests that Nagel and Wood's "comments on visual art also hold true for the literary text", which may "use source texts or narratives" and "appeal to not only contemporary but also future readers" (2013, 19). More particularly, I suggest that the tension between the substitution and performance models seems transferrable in interesting ways to classical reception, where we might map out a spectrum with a model of translation at one end which imagines the perfect substitutability of one text for another, and adaptation or appropriation at the other which strongly asserts the new text as

1 The principle of substitution has been further elucidated by Jakub Stejskal (2018).

an intervention. The more or less submerged presence of the classical intertext triggers the kind of temporal instability and reflection on origins and authority which Nagel and Wood describe.

It is not coincidental that the thinking in *Anachronic Renaissance* resonates strongly with classical reception studies. For one thing, there is "the peculiar hold of ancient Greece and Rome on the European imagination" in this period, which both relied on or fashioned a sense of temporal distance – the "differentness of the past" which "made repetition an option" – and at the same time projected identity or synchronicity, manifested for instance in typological interpretations of classical texts (Nagel and Wood 2010, 9-10). In addition, Nagel and Wood's conception of the work of art as "a strange kind of event whose relation to time is plural" is significantly inflected by theories of reception: while "[t]he artwork is made or designed by an individual or by a group of individuals at some moment […] it also points away from that moment", both backward (as a classically-inflected text always must) and forward, "to all its future recipients who will activate and reactivate it as a meaningful event" (2010, 9). In classical reception theory, as put forward by Martindale, "[m]eaning […] is always realized at the point of reception", while reception itself "should be figured dialogically, as a two-way process of understanding, backwards and forwards, which illuminates antiquity as much as modernity" (Martindale 1993, 3; 2013, 171)[2].

In conceptualizing the conditions of the relationship between present reader and ancient text which make possible the realization of meaning, Martindale influentially introduced the image of the "chain of receptions", proposing that "our current interpretations of ancient texts, whether or not we are aware of it, are, in complex ways, constructed by the chain of receptions through which their continued readability has been effected" (1993, 7)[3]. The relationship of *The Winter's Tale* to Greek romance (discussed below) is a case in point: renewed critical interest in Shakespeare's 'late romances' has certainly directed more attention towards the Greek romances themselves, as

2 Though, as he continues, this "is not to say that such dialogue is necessarily productive in outcome or easy to conduct" (Martindale 2013, 171).

3 The image has sometimes been modified; Craig Kallendorf, for instance, points out that not "every past interpretation links on to the chain that reaches us" (2015, 171).

well as inevitably shaping the ways they are legible to us; the Shakespearean link in the chain is a powerful one[4]. Nagel and Wood also use the image of a chain, in this case applied specifically to the substitution model. They see the chain

> not as a historical reality but as a fiction that the artist and a viewing public create backwards from present to past. The new work, the innovation, is legitimated by the chain of works leading back to an authoritative type. But the chain also needs the new work. It is the new work that selects the chain out of the debris of the past. (2010, 11)

The chain, whether of receptions or substitutions, brings the past into the present. At the same time, the anachronic artwork also participates in the model of authorial performance, which instead asserts its novelty against what has come before it; but since "[t]he absolutely new would be incomprehensible", here too the past is "doubly present", "first in the conventions that the artist must conform to, and second in the idea of the past […] formed in the artist's own imagination" (Nagel and Wood 2010, 15). By holding "substitutional and authorial myths of origin in suspension […] it hesitates between hesitation itself (the substitutional system's unwillingness to commit itself to linear time) and anchoring in time (the punctual quality of the authorial act)"; in this lies its power "to 'fetch' a past, create a past, perhaps even fetch the future" (Nagel and Wood 2010, 18). This conception of the anachronic thus seems particularly pertinent to classical reception studies. In the case of *The Winter's Tale*, the combination of the explicit evocation of an ancient Greek past and the submerged presence of Graeco-Roman source materials with the thematic exploration of the possibilities of art in relation to time makes the anachronic an exceptionally fertile category for analysis.

It is hardly possible here to go into all the ways in which *The Winter's Tale* is late, repeats, hesitates, remembers, and projects. The critical literature considering it as part of the grouping of Shakespeare's 'late' plays, for instance, is vast, and much has been written about how these works repeat or remember material from his own earlier writings, and on the "intriguing suspensions and reactivations" in-

4 As Stuart Gillespie observes, "Shakespeare's Late Plays are now part of the meaning of the Greek romances" (2004, 228).

volved in the complex "structure of time" which they present (Lyne 2007, 4)[5]. My focus will be on those aspects which pertain to the reception of Graeco-Roman material in the play, to the ways in which it 'fetches' or creates an ancient past. Shakespeare's main source for *The Winter's Tale* was Robert Greene's prose novella *Pandosto*, subtitled *The Triumph of Time*, which was first printed in 1588 and went through several editions up to 1611. Greene tells the story of the jealousy of the king of Bohemia, Pandosto, who becomes convinced that his wife Bellaria is having an affair with his friend Egistus, the king of Sicily, and that the daughter she gives birth to is illegitimate. He orders the exposure of the baby and puts his wife on trial, leading to her death. The baby, Fawnia, washes up in Sicily, is raised by shepherds, and falls in love with Egistus' son, Dorastus. Greene's conclusion is less positive than Shakespeare's, since although reconciliations are brought about, Bellaria remains dead, and Pandosto kills himself out of remorse. Clearly, Shakespeare follows the bones of this tale quite closely, albeit with some adjustments to the plot and reversal of the settings. But there is one moment at which Shakespeare's use of Greene takes on a different quality, in the almost direct importation of the oracle from Apollo as a textual object from Greene's novella into Shakespeare's play.

After accusing his wife Hermione of adultery and having her arrested, Leontes, the king of Sicily, sends messengers "To sacred Delphos, to Apollo's temple" (II.i.221) for "spiritual counsel" (224), which he claims "Shall stop or spur me" (225), even though he declares: "I am satisfied and need no more / Than what I know" (228-29)[6]. The messengers return bearing Apollo's pronouncement, which is read out at Hermione's trial. The oracle is a textual artefact, which insists on the centrality of its material presentation to its meaning – or rather, to its ability to signify at all. Nagel and Wood suggest that "nondocumentary verbal texts" such as poems "were obviously substitutable, handed down through time from one material vehicle to another without loss of authenticity"; "The force of an old poem", they assert, "did not de-

5 The terminology used to describe such a grouping of Shakespeare's last works is contentious; Gordon McMullan (2007) has helpfully interrogated the critical "discourse of lateness" in relation to Shakespeare.

6 Quotations from *The Winter's Tale* are from Shakespeare (2010), edited by John Pitcher.

pend upon the literal antiquity of the page it was written on" (2010, 31). Particularly in light of the 'material turn' in literary studies, the idea that a work of literature has "a reality independent of the physical texts in which we engage them" has been challenged, since "the material form and location in which we encounter the written word are active contributors to the meaning of what is read" (Kastan 2001, 3; 2). But, clearly, literary works as well as other documents can engage more or less self-consciously with their own material forms, and may move between the "two poles" of "nonsubstitutability" and the idea of "the perfect substitutability of the linguistic text" (Nagel and Wood 2010, 31). On the one hand, the oracle derives its authority from its divine origin, and relies upon being understood as a perfect substitution of the voice of Apollo. But the very circumstances which link it to Apollo also acknowledge that it is a mediation, "by the hand delivered / Of great Apollo's priest" (III.ii.125-26), which could in theory be tampered with. Its authority therefore depends upon its physical status as the "sealed-up oracle", and the oath of the bearers that they "have not dared to break the holy seal, / Nor read the secrets in't" (127-28); otherwise, the implication is, the oracle will be rendered invalid.

The word 'oracle', both as I have been using it here and as Shakespeare uses it in *The Winter's Tale*, can refer both to the material object of the textual artefact and to its content. It is clearly a scroll, as Greene specifies; the emphasis on the seals is Shakespeare's. On the scroll is written: "*Hermione is chaste, Polixenes blameless, Camillo a true subject, Leontes a jealous tyrant, his innocent babe truly begotten, and the king shall live without an heir, if that which is lost be not found*" (130-33). This repeats, with only the names changed, Greene's oracle in *Pandosto*[7]; there, its special textual status is indicated descriptively through the information that it is written in gold letters, and typographically by a change from blackletter to roman (which in the First Folio becomes a shift into italic). The voice of divine authority in Shakespeare's play speaks from outside the text, pointing backwards to the play's own origins, first in Greene, and then in the longer history of Greek romance on which Greene himself was drawing.

7 Greene's *Pandosto* is quoted from Shakespeare 2010, 405-45. Shakespeare omits the opening of Greene's oracle, which reads "Suspicion is no proof; jealousy is an unequal judge" etc. (418).

Greek romance was experiencing something of a vogue in the later part of the sixteenth century. Philip Sidney twice mentions Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*, featuring the adventures of the young lovers Theagenes and Chariclea, in his *Apology for Poetry*: first in demonstrating that poetry can surpass nature (which never "brought forth so true a lover as Theagenes"), and later to argue that a poet might write in prose rather than verse ("So did Heliodorus in his sugared invention of that picture of love in Theagenes and Chariclea") (Sidney 2002, 85; 87). The story of the rediscovery of the *Aethiopica* (as far as Western European humanists were concerned) is worthy of a romance narrative itself: apparently, during the Turkish sack of Buda in 1526, it was taken from the library of the King of Hungary by a German mercenary soldier (see Forcione 1970, 49). It was printed in Greek in 1534, and unusually the first vernacular translation, into French by Jacques Amyot (dated February 1547, i.e. 1548), actually appeared before a Latin translation and was made directly from the Greek[8]. The first full Latin translation was published in 1552, and from this Thomas Underdowne made his English translation, probably first printed in 1569 and reprinted in 1577, and certainly reprinted in 1587 and 1605[9]. Sidney himself practised what he preached; the Heliodoran influence is particularly strong in the revised *New Arcadia* (see Skretkowicz 1976).

The *Aethiopica* also has the distinction of being the only Greek romance explicitly referred to by Shakespeare, when in *Twelfth Night* Orsino suggests that he might "Like to th'Egyptian thief at point of death, / Kill what I love" (V.i.114-15). At the beginning of the *Aethiopica*, the "Egyptian thief" Thyamis, who has taken Chariclea captive, decides to kill her when his camp is attacked rather than let her fall into the hands of his enemies (though in fact he mistakenly kills another Greek woman in her place). Orsino's reference "is so specific as to prove that Shakespeare knew, by some route we cannot now absolutely determine, at least one form of Heliodorus' famous tale"; Mark Houlahan suggests that he probably first encountered it at school, since it regularly featured in humanist educational reading lists and

8 For a detailed overview of early modern editions in Greek, Latin, and vernacular languages, see Hofmann 2018.

9 The earliest extant edition is undated; the issue of dating is discussed by Wolff 1912, 230, who suggests that there may in fact have been two editions, printed in 1569 and 1577, prior to the earliest dated edition in 1587.

grammar school curricula (Houlahan 2010, 313; 309-10). This is an unusually direct point of contact, not just for Shakespeare but when it comes to the reception of Greek romance in early modern English literature more generally. As Helen Moore puts it, "[t]he classicism of most early modern English romance […] is much more likely to be diffuse and allusive than it is to be an act of considered imitation like Sidney's homage to Heliodorus in the deliberately 'philhellene' *New Arcadia*"; it is characterised by "acts of internal recycling and imitation" amongst English texts, and a mode of reception which is "simultaneously direct and indirect" (2015, 295). This is what we will find in *The Winter's Tale*, in which the Greek echoes which had become mostly submerged in Greene's *Pandosto* are re-emphasised and augmented.

Greene, always responsive to literary trends, picked up the interest in Greek romance in the 1580s. At the same time, he apparently "knew enough about the *Old Arcadia* by the middle of the 1580s to be consciously imitating its themes" – although it was not available in print, he may have gained access to a manuscript (Wilson 2006, 113). Arthur Kinney writes that *Pandosto* "draws knowingly from Alexandrian romance" and "brilliantly joins scattered motifs from them all" (1986, 222). He also seems attracted by Heliodorus' penchant for theatrical language[10]: when we read in Underdowne's translation that "that which men thought should be finished with bloud, had of a Tragicall beginning, a Comicall ending" (Underdowne 1895, 182), it is hard not to think of Greene's comment at the end of *Pandosto*, "to close up the comedy with a tragical stratagem" (445)[11]. But in spite of the pervasive influence of Greek romance, both direct and indirect, there is remarkably little in *Pandosto* that overtly evokes this setting. Shakespeare, on the other hand, "has infused into his adaptation" a certain "classical coloration", as Louis Martz puts it (1991, 131). Martz observes that his reversal of the settings puts more of an emphasis on Sicily, part of Magna Graecia, which goes along with his reassigning the characters predominantly Greek names – Greene's vaguely Italianate Pandosto and Bellaria become Leontes and Hermione, for

10 On which see J. W. H. Walden (1894).

11 Shakespeare's version of tragicomedy in *The Winter's Tale* reverses the order of comedy and tragedy again.

instance – and Martz notes that even the unclassically named (Bohemian) Florizel is initially in disguise as Doricles (1991, 131).

In fact, Greene's most explicitly Greek detail in *Pandosto* is the oracle of Apollo, which, as we have seen, is transferred almost verbatim into *The Winter's Tale*. Oracles abound in Greek prose romance and in the literature inspired by it; Sidney's *Old Arcadia* begins with one, and Greene makes liberal use of them in his prose fiction. In *Pandosto*, at Bellaria's suggestion, Pandosto "chose out six of his nobility […] and providing all things fit for their journey, sent them to Delphos" (417). In Shakespeare, these six anonymous noblemen become Cleomenes and Dion, who are given a brief but strikingly evocative scene on their return from the oracle. Colin Burrow has described the "sudden Hellenic openness" in this scene, classing it as one of the "few pieces of Greek mood music in the canon, which imply at least an imaginative sense of what a 'Greek' atmosphere might be" (2013, 13). Shakespeare expands Greene's hint that the noblemen were "desirous to see the situation and custom of the island" (417) into a little exchange about their experience there:

> Cleomenes
> The climate's delicate, the air most sweet,
> Fertile the isle, the temple much surpassing
> The common praise it bears.
> Dion
> I shall report,
> For most it caught me, the celestial habits –
> Methinks I so should term them – and the reverence
> Of the grave wearers. O, the sacrifice,
> How ceremonious, solemn, and unearthly
> It was i'th off'ring!
> (*The Winter's Tale,* III.i.1-8)

Burrow rightly observes that this description is evocative but non-specific, and concludes that "Shakespeare's 'Greek' vision in this scene is a kind of optical illusion brought about by brilliant use of numinously vague adjectives" (2013, 14). Interestingly, Burrow states that this "scene may bring to mind oracles in Greek tragedy […] but there is no sign that Shakespeare looked at Greek material in order to evoke this environment", while also suggesting that "he was primed by his reading of translations and imitations of Greek prose romance

to associate Greece with the oracular and the marvellous" (2013, 14). This implies that classical tragedy would count as Greek material, but prose romance (in translation or adaptation) does not. This, though, is a distinction which Shakespeare and most of his contemporaries were unlikely to make; as Samuel Lee Wolff observed, "[t]he Renaissance, in its uncritical acceptance of everything Greek and Roman as *ipso facto* classical, felt at liberty to choose according to its own unquiet taste, and thus established and for centuries maintained among the canons of classicism the late works of Alexandria and of the Hellenized and Romanized Orient – works which today are perceived not to be classical at all" (1912, 235-36).

In Book 2 of the *Aethiopica* – the same book which features the incident with the Egyptian thief mentioned in *Twelfth Night* – a trip to Delphi is narrated which resonates with several of the embellishments that Shakespeare makes to Greene. Calasiris, who has been sent in search of the lost royal daughter Chariclea, gives a fictional account of his travels, claiming that he came to Delphi out of curiosity. As soon as he arrived, he says, "I fealt a certaine divine odour breathe upon me", and admired "the naturall situation" of the place (Underdowne 1895, 67). He reports: "I went into the Citie, and praysed it much in my minde, for the places of exercise there, and the pleasaunt fieldes, and the springs, with the fountain of Castalius, this done I went to the Temple" (a marginal note here advertises "The pleasant commodities of Delphi") (67). After visiting the oracle, he asks about the "manner of the sacrifices which were very divers, and many" (the response goes unreported) (68). This is not to suggest that Shakespeare had a copy of Heliodorus open to this page when he was writing the scene, or to dispute Burrow's point that Shakespeare's "Greek music" is quite different from the concrete precision of his Roman detail. But this, perhaps, has something to do with what we might call the different chronotopologies of Shakespeare's Greek and Roman worlds.

The concept of the "chronotope" was introduced by Mikhail Bakhtin, to describe "the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature" (1981, 84). Bakhtin characterizes the narratives of Plutarch's *Lives* (which provide much of the source material for Shakespeare's Roman plays) as operating within biographical time and historical reality. In this

context, anachronism becomes possible, as in the case of the chiming clock in *Julius Caesar*. By contrast, the "adventure chronotope" of Greek romance is "characterized by a *technical, abstract connection between space and time*, by the *reversibility* of moments in a temporal sequence, and by their *interchangeability* in space" (1981, 100). The characters' adventures are "strung together in an extratemporal and in effect infinite series" which "in itself […] has no necessary internal limits" (94). This kind of adventure-time requires "an *abstract* expanse of space"; expansive, since "[t]he contingency that governs events is inseparably tied up with space, measured primarily by *distance* on the one hand and by *proximity* on the other" (e.g. of escape and capture), and abstract on the logic that, as Bakhtin points out, "[f]or a shipwreck one must have a sea, but which particular sea (in the geographical and historical sense) makes no difference at all" (1981, 99-100). The concrete trappings of historical time and place would be actively inimical to the functioning of adventure-time, ruled as it is by chance (or Fortune) rather than necessity; therefore "the world of Greek romance is an *alien world*: everything in it is indefinite, unknown, foreign" (101)[12]. Within the chronotope of Greek romance, anachronism and its spatial equivalent, anatopism, are essentially irrelevant: this is the chronotope in which Shakespeare's Bohemian coast exists.

Nagel and Wood describe their "method" as "a working from the artworks backwards, by a process of reverse engineering, to a lost chronotopology of art making" (2010, 34). By working backwards from the anachronic artefact of the oracle in *The Winter's Tale*, we arrive at a chronotopology which underlies Shakespeare's "Greek music" in Act III, scene i, and which is in accordance with the Greek material that is most likely to have been recalled to his mind by Greene's more prosaic account of the oracle in *Pandosto*. Michael Bristol, applying Bakhtin's analysis to *The Winter's Tale*, observes that "the adven-

12 Bakhtin also distinguishes this from the "*classical* Greek chronotopes" of Greek tragedy, in which historical and mythological time were "tightly interwoven" and "profoundly localized, absolutely inseparable from the concrete features of a characteristically Greek natural environment, and from the features of a 'man-made' environment,' that is, of specifically Greek administrative units, cities, and states" (1981, 103). The oracles of Greek romance and Greek tragedy operate within these profoundly different chronotopes.

ture-time chronotrope of Greek romance is implicated in the notion of 'growth untried' that Time, in *The Winter's Tale*, wants to have decriminalized" (1991, 147). However, as he goes on to note, "the play as a whole is not dominated by an abstract or empty time", but is "full of richly concretized time"; the combination of the two contributes to the play's "spaciotemporal peculiarities" (148). Bakhtin's description of the static nature of Greek romance's adventure-time is more or less inverted by the end of Shakespeare's play:

> This most abstract of all chronotopes is also the most static. In such a chronotope the world and the individual are finished items, absolutely immobile. In it there is no potential for evolution, for growth, for change. As a result of the action described in the novel, nothing in its world is destroyed, remade, changed, or created anew. What we get is a mere affirmation of the identity between what had been at the beginning and what is at the end. Adventure-time leaves no trace. (110)

Time in *The Winter's Tale* does leave a trace. Indeed, Hermione's wrinkles appear almost as a deliberate comment on the impossibility of the unchanged youth of the lovers at the end of Greek romances like the *Aethiopica*[13]. They could not appear in Greek romance, and they do not appear in Greene, whose Bellaria remains dead. But they are key to the anachronic vision of Shakespeare's final scene.

In the last act of *The Winter's Tale*, Shakespeare brings the mutually incompatible models of substitution and authorial performance into conflict, in order to produce a particular kind of epistemological uncertainty in the audience. The foundations are laid in Act V, scene ii, in which Paulina's steward delivers the information that a statue of Hermione has been "performed by that rare Italian master Giulio Romano" (94-95). This is, notably, the only time Shakespeare refers to a Renaissance artist by name. Giulio Romano was born in Rome around 1499, and died in Mantua in 1546. He was a pupil of Raphael, and became a painter and architect whose work was influential throughout Europe. How exactly Shakespeare knew

13 Bakhtin notes that Voltaire parodied this kind of romance in *Candide* precisely by taking "into account the real time that would have been required in such romances", so that the lovers are old and ugly by the time they reach their happy ending (1981, 91).

about him, and why he selected his name in this context (especially given that Giulio Romano is not known to have been much of a sculptor), has been the subject of much critical speculation. As Tom Rutter, who includes a useful overview of the various theories on the subject, puts it, either "Shakespeare did not know much about Italian Renaissance art, or […] the choice of Giulio has a hidden significance that the critic must seek to explain"; at the same time, he acknowledges that the reference is itself a piece of "misdirection", since "the statue is not a statue at all", so that the painter's "apparent presence in the play [is] an illusion" (2019, 248; 249). If Shakespeare knew that Giulio Romano was, as Stuart Sillars points out, "at the time probably the most important designer of trompe l'oeil frescoes, in which events painted on flat surfaces are made, through skilful distortions of perspective and effects of shadow, to appear as solid, three-dimensional forms" (2015, 255), then the invocation of a painter of illusions in service of Shakespeare's own illusion certainly seems appropriate on multiple levels.

For our purposes, the significance of the naming of Giulio Romano is what it does to time within the play. Indeed, even the phrase which introduces him into the play describes the statue as "a piece many years in doing and now newly performed by that rare Italian master", introducing two distinct temporal "phases in the realization of the sculpture: first, the long period of carving or modelling, and afterwards, the bravura touches that complete the work, which constitute the 'performance' by the master" (Talvacchia 1992, 164). Bette Talvacchia, observing that the verb "perform" could be used to denote "completion by painting", uses this to argue that this is consistent with Giulio's reputation as a painter rather than a sculptor (164)[14]. My interest in the statement, however, is more in the way that it emphasizes the artwork's existence in and (plural) relations to time, including the "punctual quality" of authorial performance, which "cuts time into before and after" (Nagel and Wood 2010, 15).

It has been noted that "including a reference to a painter of the cinquecento in a play set in the ancient world" amounts to something

14 Talvacchia also stresses that Giulio Romano "incorporated a great deal of sculpture, in the form of friezes and bas-reliefs made of stucco, modeled upon classical prototypes" (1992, 164).

like an "anachronism" – Rutter, for instance, compares it once again to the "chiming clock in *Julius Caesar*" (2019, 249). Giulio Romano and his works are rooted in, and limited by, chronological (historical, biographical) time, as is underlined by the steward's shift into the hypothetical as soon as he mentions the artist's name, "who, had he himself eternity and could put breath into his work, would beguile Nature of her custom, so perfectly is he her ape" (95-97). An important development in the Renaissance, Nagel and Wood argue, was that "the artistic author was for the first time institutionalized, in the sense that he was enshrined as a protagonist in histories and theories of art" (2010, 16). Frequently invoked as a possible source for Shakespeare's knowledge of Giulio Romano is Giorgio Vasari's monumental contribution in this vein, his Italian *Lives of the Most Excellent Architects, Painters, and Sculptors* (*Le vite de' più eccellenti architettori, pittori, et scultori*), first printed in 1550. Vasari's Life of Giulio Romano in this edition ends with a Latin epitaph:

> *Videbat Iuppiter corpora sculpta pictaque*
> *Spirare, & aedes mortalium aequaruer Caelo*
> *Iulij uirtute Romani: tunc iratus*
> *Concilio Diuorum omnium uocato*
> *Illum e terris sustulit; quod pati nequiret.*
> *Vinci aut aequari ab homine terrigena.*
> (Vasari 1550, 893-4 [vv3*r*-*v*])
>
> (Jupiter saw sculpted and painted bodies breathe and the homes of mortals made equal to those in heaven through the skill of Giulio Romano. Thus angered he summoned a council of all the gods, and he removed that man from the earth, less he be exposed, conquered, or equalled by an earth-born man.) (trans. Barkan 1981, 656)

Leonard Barkan concludes that "To a reader of Vasari – especially one who had never seen any of the artist's work – Giulio Romano would appear as a great and godlike creator, master of many arts and worthy opponent of Nature herself" (1981, 657); one who could make sculpted bodies breathe, but only metaphorically[15]. Shakespeare's

15 Vasari's monumental work had not been translated into English; Talvacchia suggests that this Latin epitaph might also have circulated independently (1992, 167).

Giulio Romano is praised, conventionally enough, for the verisimilitude of his work: "He so near to Hermione hath done Hermione that they say one would speak to her and stand in hope of answer" (98). The doubling of "Hermione" which occurs linguistically stands in for the doubling effected by the sculpture; on the one hand, it threatens to collapse difference into identity, as the created Hermione replaces the natural Hermione that came before it, but at the same time it holds them apart – as Nagel and Wood note, "repetition proposes difference, an altering interval" (2010, 11).

In choosing the 'statue' as the means through which to bring Hermione back, Paulina (or Shakespeare) appears to recognise the artwork as a "device" which "effectively generates the effect of a doubling or bending of time" – indeed, Nagel and Wood's description of this effect of "time folding over on itself, the doubling of the fabric of experience that creates continuity and flow; creates meaning where there was none; creates and encourages the desire to start over, to renew, to reform, to recover", precisely captures the mood of the final scene (2010, 9). When the statue itself is revealed, the authorial model seems constantly on the verge of tipping over into that of substitution. Paulina's careful staging of the scene in her chapel (V.iii.86) is designed to produce exactly the kind of "magical reasoning" necessary to the hypothesis of substitutability (Nagel and Wood 2010, 11), even as she pretends to discourage it. Nagel and Wood suggest that religious or devotional artefacts (such as icons, whose "copies [were] understood as effective surrogates for lost originals"),

> were understood whenever possible to have a double historicity: that is, one might know that they were fabricated in the present or in the recent past, but at the same time value them and use them as if they were very old things. This was not a matter of collective naiveté or indolence, but rather a systematic self-delusion, a semidelusion, designed to extract from the artifact the maximum possible referential reach. (2010, 29)

Leontes willingly participates in this self-delusion or semi-delusion and makes the leap of magical reasoning necessary for the devotional artwork to achieve its substitutional purpose. He speaks directly to the statue, telling it: "There's magic in thy majesty, which has / My evils conjured to remembrance, and / From thy admiring daughter took the spirits" (V.iii.39-41). The possessive pronouns which he as-

signs it imbue it with personhood, and indeed with motherhood – the statue, though, does not gain life from this, but instead claims Perdita as a daughter by making her statue-like too, as Leontes sees her "Standing like stone with thee" (42).

The religious upheavals of the sixteenth century were an important contributing factor to what Nagel and Wood call the distinctive apprehensiveness of the European Renaissance about the temporal instability of the artwork, and in the post-Reformation context this kind of self-delusion could easily be interpreted as idolatry. Perdita takes her cue from her father, but goes further, picking up the end of his line to ask permission to kneel before the statue: "And give me leave, / And do not say 'tis superstition, that / I kneel and then implore her blessing'" (42-44). She, too, then addresses it directly, as "Lady, / Dear queen, that ended when I but began", and asks it to "Give me that hand of yours to kiss" (44-46). Paulina forestalls this by an appeal to the material qualities of the statue – "O patience!" she cries, "The statue is but newly fixed; the colour's / Not dry" (46-47) – just as she does when Leontes wishes to kiss it (80-83). She appears instinctively to understand that the "hypothesis of substitutability" can come under threat "when too much is learned about how works are actually fabricated" (Nagel and Wood 2010, 11).

For all the emphasis on Hermione's statue as fabricated, however, it is notable that Giulio Romano is not mentioned again by name. In V.iii this time-bound author recedes, first becoming "our carver" (30), until Leontes begins to wonder "What was he that did make it?" (63), and asks "What fine chisel / Could ever yet cut breath?" (78-79). His question may well call to mind Pygmalion, the mythological paradigm for the sculptor whose skill was such that, through divine intervention, his female statue came to life to take her place as his wife. Jakub Stejskal, indeed, has related it directly to the substitution model: "This myth about a sculpture coming to life effectively describes the dissolution of representation, the *terminus ad quem* of substitution by image" (2019, 61). Jonathan Bate has eloquently illustrated the technique Shakespeare learnt from Ovid of evoking the transformation of stony statue to living woman through "pinpricks of sensation":

> The progression is both precise and sensuous: blood pulses through the veins, the lips respond, the ivory face flushes. Correspondingly, Leontes con-

> trasts the warm life his queen once had with the coldness of the statue, but then he seems to see blood in the veins and warmth upon the lip. And when she descends and embraces him, she *is* warm. (1993, 236)

Hermione's statue was initially presented to us as a real artwork by Giulio Romano, anchored in chronological time at the point of performance. The stirring of Pygmalion's statue beneath the surface of Shakespeare's scene begins to introduce an alternative interpretative framework through which we can release Hermione from her stony posture. Shakespeare manoeuvres us from the initial premise – this is a statue authored by Giulio Romano – to the final assertion that Hermione has 'preserved' herself in secret for sixteen years, via the intermediary patterning of the Pygmalion myth.

But the scene does not represent a triumph of the substitution model over that of authorial performance. There is a significant and revealing difference between Pygmalion's idealized sculpture and Shakespeare's statue of Hermione. On examining it closely, Leontes complains: "But yet, Paulina, / Hermione was not so much wrinkled, nothing / So aged as this seems" (27-29). These wrinkles, in betraying the passage of chronological time, serve to fix Hermione in time; as Nagel and Wood comment, "[t]o fix an image […] in time is to reduce it to human proportions" (2010, 8). Hermione's wrinkles preclude her being a timeless object, as the principle of substitution demands, reduce her to human proportions and thus enable the reunion of husband and real, living wife. This is the triumph of time, under which both models for understanding the statue prove to be unnecessary, since it was never a statue in the first place, and Nature emerges unchallenged. At the same time, the boy actor playing Hermione cannot literally have acquired wrinkles over the course of a few hours, and so what appears to uphold the supremacy of nature in fact points back once more to Shakespeare's own art. We might read Paulina's references to the statue as painted in a similar way – within the fiction of the play, they turn out to be false, since (we are told) the statue is in fact the real Hermione after all, which is why Paulina's "spell is lawful" (104). At the same time, they refer us to the painted face of the boy actor, which might indeed "stain" someone who kisses it "[w]ith oily painting" (82-83), signs not of visual but of theatrical art.

The anachronic work of art is emblematised in the 'statue' of the final scene, which holds both the internal and external audiences in a

state of intense epistemological uncertainty focused on the body of the boy actor as it 'hesitates' between art and life. This generates the scene's specific power in performance; as Brett Gamboa notes, "[w]atching the statue and processing the ontological revisions it undergoes is electrifying" (2018, 86). On the one hand, "the scene creates great anticipation due to the inevitability of any live body showing signs of life" (Gamboa 2018, 86); on the other, Shakespeare has created a situation in which the audience is unable to interpret conclusively any signs of life which they might perceive, since there is nothing that can empirically distinguish a scenario in which the actor who played Hermione is now playing a statue of her, from one in which the actor who played Hermione is playing Hermione pretending to be a statue. This prolonged hesitation reaches its climax at last at Paulina's command:

> Paulina
>
> Music, awake her; strike!
> 'Tis time; descend; be stone no more; approach.
> Strike all that look upon with marvel. Come,
> I'll fill your grave up. Stir – nay, come away;
> Bequeath to death your numbness, for from him
> Dear life redeems you. You perceive she stirs.
> (*The Winter's Tale*, V.iii.98-103)

Paulina's repeated imperatives make it clear that during the course of this speech, Hermione continues to hesitate, somewhere between statue and woman, as though for a moment she is unsure of which one to become, or remain. With her, the actor playing Hermione hesitates, prolonging our uncertainty as to how to read his body – as statue, or woman? – both equally fictional. It is Shakespeare's departure from Greene's plot, and evocation instead of temporally and epistemologically dissonant models for interpreting the innovative statue, which makes this effect possible.

Hermione's statue has been proposed to the audience both as a 'real' statue by Giulio Romano, anchored in time at the point of performance, and as a reworking of the paradigmatic myth of artistic creation inherited from classical antiquity[16]. Neither of these have

16 Charles and Michelle Martindale point out that "Shakespeare's sense of the story, as one about nature and art, is unusual for his time" (1994, 79).

proven to be fully adequate frameworks for interpretation, however. At this point, they are joined by a third model, this time a theatrical one, in which a (projected) statue and a real woman are bound up in a chain of substitutions which resolves with a wife being returned to her husband from the dead. The play is Euripides' *Alcestis*, which critics are becoming more willing to accept that Shakespeare might have encountered in some form or other, possibly in George Buchanan's Latin translation, which I will use here[17]. Sarah Dewar-Watson (2009, 78) has noted the importance of "the theme of substitution" in this play, which might be summarized as follows: 1) Alcestis substitutes herself for her husband Admetus by agreeing to die in his place; 2) Admetus promises never to remarry, but instead to have a statue made of her and placed in his bed; 3) Heracles presents Admetus with a veiled woman, insisting that he receive her, before revealing that she is actually Alcestis whom he has brought back from the underworld. Admetus' imagined statue is figured as an imperfect substitution, a "cold delight" (*voluptas frigida*, 364), in which the knowledge of the authorial performance intrudes: "your image, moulded by the hand of a skilled craftsman, will be laid in the bed" (*periti dextera artificis tua / in lecto imago ficta collocabitur*, 359-60)[18]. Euripides' "skilled craftsman", no less than Shakespeare's "rare Italian master", disrupts the functioning of a substitutional model of art, while preparing the way for the final theatrical substitution which restores the wife thought lost to life.

The vocabulary of the anachronic as proposed by Nagel and Wood, with its strong resonances for classical reception studies, offers a rich conceptual framework for approaching *The Winter's Tale*. The 'statue' and the oracle can productively be viewed as anachronic artefacts, both of which activate (textual) memories of the Graeco-Roman past. Barkan connects the two together in their mode of operation: "the appearance of the statue forms part of the same mysterious level in the play as the oracle: both are hidden from the audience (though in different ways), and both are connected to

17 In Sharratt and Walsh's edition (Buchanan 1983). Translations are mine.

18 Euripides has the plural "craftsmen" here (τεκτόνων; Euripides 1994, 348); Buchanan also transposes the adjective "skilled" to apply to the "craftsman", rather than the "hand" (σοφῇ […] χειρὶ, 348).

resolutions in the affairs of men that seem beyond their individual action" (1981, 658). The oracle, even as it speaks with the voice of Shakespeare's deceased contemporary Robert Greene, also opens up space for a certain 'Greek music'; Cleomenes and Dion, in going to fetch the oracle, at the same time 'fetch' an idea of an ancient Greek past. In the final scene, the wrinkles which Hermione has gained but which the boy actor must lack represent an attempt to align the different temporalities at work within and outside of the play itself. The statue is again at once self-consciously classical in its 'repetition' of the Pygmalion story, and insistently contemporary in the claim that it has been created by Giulio Romano. The anachronic statue, then, constitutes a site where memories of the classical past come into contact with the present, in a productive form of hesitation which creates or figures what Nagel and Wood call a "fold" – or perhaps a wrinkle – in time.

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