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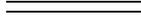
Shakespeare, Serlio, and Giulio Romano

The princess, hearing of her mother's statue, which is in the keeping of
Paulina, a piece many years in doing and now newly performed by that rare
Italian master Giulio Romano, who, had he himself eternity and could put
breath into his work, would beguile Nature of her custom, so perfectly he is
her ape. He so near to Hermione hath done Hermione that they say one
would speak to her and stand in hope of answer. Thither with all greediness
of affection are they gone, and there they intend to sup. (5.2.92–101)[1]

T
he account by the Steward in *The Winter's Tale* 5.2 of why Leontes,
Perdita, Paulina and the rest have not returned to court after the re-
union of father and daughter has attracted a good deal of critical attention,
for understandable reasons. It contains the only reference to a specific Re-
naissance artist in Shakespeare's works, namely Giulio Romano (c.1499–
1546), pupil of Raphael and court artist to the Gonzaga of Mantua, and it
therefore offers a tangible means of linking Shakespeare to a wider Euro-
pean cultural phenomenon—the art of Renaissance Italy—that, like his
own writings, is highly valued and celebrated. It is also somewhat baffling,
since Giulio Romano was and is recognized as a painter and architect, not
as a sculptor. This may indicate that Shakespeare did not know much about
Italian Renaissance art, or it may be taken as meaning that the choice of
Giulio has a hidden significance that the critic must seek to explain. Finally,
there is the anachronism of including a reference to a painter of the cin-
quecento in a play set in the ancient world. While this is far from unusual
in a playwright who could include a chiming clock in *Julius Caesar*, it does
rather call attention to the allusion; an obvious point of comparison is an-

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1. All quotations from the play are from William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, ed. John
Pitcher, Arden Third Series (London, 2010).

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other King's Men play staged not long after *The Winter's Tale*, John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* (1614), in which we hear that the "Cardinal hath made more bad faces with his oppression than ever Michelangelo made good ones" (3.3.50–51).[2] Here, the more chronologically and geographically apposite reference serves the purposes of local color in a way that is obviously not the case in Shakespeare's play.

In a sense, admittedly, the attempt to explain or interpret Giulio Romano's presence in *The Winter's Tale* is a wild goose chase. If one excludes a supernatural explanation for the statue of Hermione coming to life in the final scene, then the statue is not a statue at all: the reference to Giulio is a misdirection, and his apparent presence in the play an illusion. However, Shakespeare's unusual decision to name a historical individual still invites explanation, and the invitation is hard to resist. In effect, the explanation comes down to source study: only through citing a surviving document can the critic suggest what Shakespeare might have known about Giulio Romano, or what he might have expected his audiences to know. The essay that follows discusses a possible source for Shakespeare in Sebastiano Serlio's writings on architecture, a translation of which was printed in 1611. Since this book was not entered in the Stationers' Register until December 14 of that year, seven months after Simon Foreman saw *The Winter's Tale* at the Globe, my argument relies on Shakespeare having encountered the work in some form prior to its publication.[3] In making the case for this, it builds on the findings of two critics who have linked Serlio to *The Winter's Tale* before, namely Frederick O. Waage in 1980 and John Greenwood in 1988.[4] However, as I shall explain below, neither of these critics treats Serlio as a source for the play, in part because of the assumptions they make about Shakespeare's level of knowledge of Italian art. My own essay, by contrast, attempts a more detailed comparison of the two texts than Waage or Greenwood offers, as well as suggesting somewhat different reasons why Serlio would have been of interest to Shakespeare. First, however, I will briefly summarize the most significant arguments that have been put for-

2. John Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi*, ed. Leah S. Marcus, Arden Early Modern Drama (London, 2009).

3. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554–1640 A.D.*, ed. Edward Arber (London, 1875–77), III:214. On Foreman's visit to the Globe to see *The Winter's Tale* on Wednesday May 15, 1611, see Pitcher's Introduction, 84–85.

4. Frederick O. Waage, "Be Stone No More: Italian Cinquecento Art and Shakespeare's Last Plays," in *Shakespeare: Contemporary Critical Approaches*, ed. Harry R. Garvin and Michael D. Payne, *Bucknell Review* 25.1 (Lewisburg, 1980); John Greenwood, *Shifting Perspectives and the Stylish Style: Mannerism in Shakespeare and His Jacobean Contemporaries* (Toronto, 1988).

ward to date about how Shakespeare could have heard of Giulio Romano and what he might have meant by the allusion.

II

The usual point of departure for discussions of Shakespeare's source is a Latin epitaph on Giulio Romano recorded in the 1550 edition of Giorgio Vasari's *Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori*. According to E. H. Gombrich, the epitaph is in fact spurious, partly deriving from "the real epitaph of Giulio's master Raphael in the Pantheon in Rome." He gives the following English translation:

> Jupiter saw sculpted and painted bodies breathe and the dwellings of mortals equal heaven through the skill of Giulio Romano. Hence he was angered and having summoned a council of all the Gods carried him off from the earth, since he could not tolerate being vanquished or equalled by an earthborn man.

As Gombrich points out, the reference to "sculpted and painted bodies," "corpora sculpta pictaque" could well have led Shakespeare to believe that Giulio was a sculptor as well as a painter.[5] It has also been noted that the language of the epitaph seems to be echoed by the Steward's praise: Giulio, "had he himself eternity and could put breath into his work, would beguile Nature of her custom."[6] He is therefore a very appropriate figure for Shakespeare to use in relation to a phenomenon that troubles the distinction between nature and art, namely a statue that is so lifelike it appears to breathe and its eyes to move (5.3.64, 67)—or, from another perspective, a human being who can pass for a statue.

   A problem with Vasari as hypothetical source is the rarity of the *Vite* in Shakespeare's England, as noted by Lucy Gent.[7] Bette Talvacchia suggests that Shakespeare might somehow have encountered the epitaph in isolation from the rest of the text; it has also been pointed out that increasing numbers of books on art flowed into the country from about 1608 due to

5. E. H. Gombrich, "'That rare Italian Master . . .' Giulio Romano, Court Architect, Painter and Impresario," in *Splendours of the Gonzaga: Catalogue*, ed. David Chambers and Jane Martineau, Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 1981), 83.

6. See, for example, Bette Talvacchia, "The Rare Italian Master and the Posture of Hermione in *The Winter's Tale*," *LIT: Literature Interpretation Theory* 3 (1992), 165; B. J. Sokol, *Art and Illusion in "The Winter's Tale"* (Manchester, 1994), 85.

7. Lucy Gent, *Picture and Poetry 1560–1620* (Leamington Spa, 1981), 36, 72, 77.

the efforts of Henry, Prince of Wales to encourage the spread of Italianate culture.[8] However, there were other means by which Giulio's name and reputation made their way into England. One is Pietro Aretino's 1533 play *Il marescalco*, printed by John Wolfe in 1588 as one of *Quattro comedie del diuino Pietro Aretino*, where he is mentioned as a painter along with Titian, Sebastiano del Piombo and Raphael.[9] Another, identified by Giorgianna Ziegler in 1985, is *The Necessarie, Fit, and Convenient Education of a Yong Gentlewoman*, a 1598 translation of Giovanni Michele Bruto's *La institutione di una fanciulla nata nobilmente* (1555). Here, Bruto compares the instructions one gives to a gentlewoman who is teaching one's daughter to those one gives to a painter decorating one's house: show them the best models (Durer, Raphael, Michelangelo, Giulio Romano) and ask the painter to follow them.[10] It has also been suggested that Shakespeare could have seen reproductions of Giulio's work such as "the engraver Giorgio Ghisi's collections that notoriously circulated in England at the end of the sixteenth century." These included images of some of Giulio's frescoes at the Palazzo Te in which "a group of mythological figures are painted in the guise of classical statues inside their niches."[11] Indeed, the artist's success in creating such trompe-l'oeil frescoes has been used by Stuart Sillars to defend Shakespeare's decision to credit him with the statue of Hermione.[12]

Of course, Shakespeare did not need to turn to a book or an engraving to find out about Giulio Romano: he could just as well have heard of him through a contact with knowledge of Italian art, such as Inigo Jones. This kind of transmission is inevitably lost to the modern scholar, although there is one aspect of Giulio's contemporary reputation of which Shakespeare was surely aware: his role in designing the erotic images known as *I Modi* (a term usually Englished as the Postures), engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi and later accompanied by sonnets by Pietro Aretino. Lady

8. Talvacchia, 167. On Henry, see Waage, 71.

9. Pietro Aretino, *Quattro comedie del diuino Pietro Aretino* (1588), F8v. See also Gombrich, 84.

10. Giovanni Michele Bruto, *The Necessarie, Fit, and Convenient Education of a Yong Gentlewoman*, tr. W. P. (1598), C4v; Georgianna Ziegler, "Parents, Daughters, and 'That Rare Italian Master': A New Source for *The Winter's Tale*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 36 (1985), 204–12. Ziegler notes that the work was printed by Adam Islip, who was responsible for the printing of other works of likely interest to Shakespeare including Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* and an edition of Chaucer, and she compares Bruto's interest elsewhere in the volume in questions of nature and nurture to those raised by Perdita's upbringing in *The Winter's Tale*.

11. Claudia Corti, "Shakespeare the Emblematist," in *Shakespeare and the Visual Arts: The Italian Influence*, ed. Michele Marrapodi (Abingdon, 2017), 36.

12. Stuart Sillars, *Shakespeare and the Visual Imagination* (Cambridge, Eng., 2015), 255.

Would-Be's remark in *Volpone*—"for a desperate wit, there's Aretine; / Only his pictures are a little obscene"—attests to the notoriety of the modi in Jacobean England, and Keir Elam points to further allusions by Robert Greene, Thomas Nashe, John Donne, Thomas Middleton and others.[13] In 1977, Terence Spencer balked at the suggestion that the use of Giulio's name in *The Winter's Tale* was "an appalling jest for the benefit of the *cognoscenti*, who would snigger again at the allusion to Hermione's 'natural Posture.'"[14] However, other commentators, including Andrew Gurr and Bette Talvacchia, have been more sanguine about the possibility; most recently, Eric Langley has made a detailed argument for Shakespeare's use of allusion to the modi, arguing that in the statue scene "he proffers a potentially titillating spectacle in order to then negotiate . . . a redemptive conclusion."[15]

The possibilities outlined above are not mutually exclusive, and indeed perhaps the multiplicity of Giulio's reputation is part of the point: as Melissa Walter argues, audiences "may see a joke (the pornographic drawings juxtaposed to the supposedly serious beauty and transformative power of the statue)," or "they may read an allusion to an Italian context of cultural leadership and to the power of art to imitate life."[16] Perhaps they also create a false impression: the more possible sources accumulate, the more one feels that Giulio Romano was widely known in Shakespeare's England. It is salutary to remember that references to the modi invariably link them with Aretino, and do not mention Giulio by name.[17] However, the remainder of this essay focuses on a text that certainly does refer to him by name; in which Shakespeare had good reason to be interested; and which discusses Giulio Romano in terms directly relevant to *The Winter's Tale*.

13. Ben Jonson, *Volpone, or The Fox*, ed. Richard Dutton, 3.4.96–97, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, gen. ed. David Bevington, Martin Butler, and Ian Donaldson (Cambridge, Eng., 2012), III:109; Keir Elam, "'Wanton Pictures': The Baffling of Christopher Sly and the Visual-Verbal Intercourse of Early Modern Erotic Arts," in *Shakespeare and the Italian Renaissance: Appropriation, Transformation, Opposition*, ed. Michele Marrapodi (Farnham, 2014), 123–46.

14. Terence Spencer, "The Statue of Hermione," *Essays and Studies* 30 (1977), 42. "Her natural posture" is at 5.3.23.

15. Andrew Gurr, "The Many-headed Audience," *Essays in Theatre* 1 (1982), 52–62; Talvacchia; Eric Langley, "Postured Like a Whore? Misreading Hermione's Statue," *Renaissance Studies* 27 (2013), 336.

16. Melissa Walter, "Matteo Bandello's Social Authorship and Paulina as Patroness in *The Winter's Tale*," in *Shakespeare and the Italian Renaissance*, 105.

17. Sokol, 106.

III

In 1611 there appeared in English a translation of Sebastiano Serlio's first five books on architecture. These had been published in Italian between 1537 and 1547, beginning with the fourth book in the sequence, the *Regole generali di architetura* (Venice, 1537) and republished in various forms, as well as translated into Dutch, French, German, and Latin. In English they begin with the title-page, "The first Booke of Architecture, made by Sebastian Serly, entreating of Geometrie. Translated out of Italian into Dutch, and out of Dutch into English," and include separate title-pages for the four books following; this essay will give them the collective title *Of Architecture.* The title-page indicates that the volumes were "Printed for Robert Peake, and are to be sold at his shop neere Holborne conduit, next to the Sunne Tauerne, Anno Dom. 1611." However, they must have appeared late in that year, since the relevant entry in the Stationers' Register (against the name of Thomas Snodham) is dated December 14.[18] Although the translation is conventionally assigned to Peake (and will be for convenience in this essay), in his dedication to Henry, Prince of Wales he refers to the work as a "Designe . . . VVherein I must confesse my part but small, sauing my great aduenture in the Charge, and my great Good-will to doe Good."[19] Peake himself was around sixty at the time; Karen Hearn writes that in the 1600s he "seems to have produced a number of portraits of Prince Henry, which suggests that he acted as the prince's official portraitist." In the 1570s he had worked as a painter in the Revels Office, and the year before the Serlio translation was printed he had been involved in painting decorative images for Henry's ship the *Prince Royal.*[20]

In *A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present*, Hanno-Walter Kruft describes Serlio's work as "one of the most influential of all publications on architecture."[21] The *Regole generali* was, as Alina A. Payne writes, the "first major [architectural] treatise of the sixteenth century"; the fruit of decades of textual and critical work by humanists and architects alike in editing, commenting on, and responding to Vitruvius's *De architectura* (first century BCE), it was "the first sixteenth-century attempt

18. Arber, III:214.

19. Sebastiano Serlio, *The First [-Fift] Booke of Architecture*, tr. for Robert Peake (1611), π2.

20. Karen Hearn, "Peake, Robert (c.1551–1619)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com, January 3, 2008 (accessed March 9, 2018).

21. Hanno-Walter Kruft, *A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present*, tr. Ronald Taylor, Elsie Callender, and Anthony Wood (New York, 1994), 73.

at a systematic treatment of the ancient formal vocabulary of architecture in the Renaissance."[22] The speed with which this volume alone was translated into Dutch (Antwerp, 1539), French (Antwerp, 1542) and German (Antwerp, 1543) testifies to its influence. Although the English translation of Serlio came belatedly by comparison, his work had already been a significant and avowed influence on the first English text on architecture, John Shute's *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture Vsed in All the Auncient and Famous Monymentes* (1563).[23] The lack of a translation also did not prevent the lavishly illustrated foreign texts from being used as pattern books in England, as elsewhere: Mark Girouard identifies fireplaces derived from Serlio at Shaw House (1580s), Wollaton (1580s), Hardwick Hall (1590s), and the Little Castle at Bolsover (1610s).[24] By the time an English translation did eventually appear, Serlio's influence had long been felt.

Before discussing Serlio's references to Giulio Romano, it is important to acknowledge two significant obstacles to any argument offering Peake's translation as a source for *The Winter's Tale*. One is that of dating: as has already been pointed out, by the time *Of Architecture* was entered in the Stationers' Register *The Winter's Tale* had been in the King's Men's repertory for at least seven months. In order for Peake's Serlio to be a source, either Shakespeare must have revised the play, perhaps for one of its court performances (a possibility, but a self-servingly circular argument as far as the current essay is concerned), or he must somehow have encountered Serlio prior to the work's publication. The other problem is the simple question of why Shakespeare would have wanted to read a five-book treatise on architecture. In his recent essay on "Shakespeare, Architecture, and the Chorographic Imagination," Anthony Johnson notes that "Shakespeare did not find 'architecture' as designed building to be par-

22. Alina A. Payne, *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance: Architectural Invention, Ornament, and Literary Culture* (Cambridge, Eng., 1999), 113–14.

23. Kruft, 74, 230. Shute cites Serlio as an authority on perspective and on the architectural orders, and at the end of his treatise he writes that classical buildings should serve as an example to all "whiche do or shall take pleasure to erecte & builde the like to any beawte and perfection accord[i]nge to the deuise and myndes of the forsaid Authours Vitruuius, and Sebastianus Serlius, to whom vndoubtedly, the praise and commendation is chiefly to be attrybuted and geu[e]n." *John Shute, The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture Vsed in All the Auncient and Famous Monymentes* (1563), B4v, E4v, F2v.

24. Mark Girouard, *Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House* (New Haven, 1983), 14, 68, 88, 97, 146–47, 242–43.

ticularly relevant to his dramaturgy," and he contrasts Shakespeare's treatment of space with that of Ben Jonson: the suicide of Othello, for example, is only vaguely localized, while that of Silius in *Sejanus* is very firmly set in the Forum.[25] The kind of effect we see in *The Alchemist*, a play that is very specifically set in a house in the Blackfriars, is at odds with the more typically Shakespearean phenomenon that Johnson calls "metaphoric space," which "partak[es] of a radical openness in which both players and spectators temporarily agree on the meaning of an object on the stage (or seen from the stage) before investing it with another meaning at some later moment in the action."[26] Nor have other recent scholars working on the intersection of literature and architecture tried to make any link between Shakespeare and Serlio: while Anne M. Myers, Henry S. Turner, and Mimi Yiu all make brief mention of Peake's translation, none suggests that Shakespeare would have been familiar with it.[27]

My responses to these two objections are connected. To address the second one first: there is a very good reason why Shakespeare could have been interested in a translation of Serlio, and that is the Italian's substantial discussions in *Di architetura* both of theater buildings and of scenic effects. These include the theaters of the ancient world: the Theater of Marcellus, in particular, still standing in Rome, is treated as an architectural touchstone, "one of the fayrest workes in *Italy*," its columns, cornices and other features repeatedly used as reference points (*Fourthe Booke*, D3v). *The Third Booke, Intreating of All Kind of Excellent Antiquities* contains numerous illustrations and ground plans of the Theater of Marcellus, the Coliseum, the theater and amphitheater at Pola (Pula in modern Croatia, fig. 1), and others. As well as offering images of theaters surviving from antiquity, Serlio includes considerable discussion of the modern Italian theater. In *The Second Booke. A Treatise of Perspectiues, Touching the Superficies*, he instructs his reader how to produce perspective drawings of buildings, before going on "to entreat of Scenes, and the preparing of places for to show Comedies and Tragedies, which is now vsed in this age, and specially in *Italy*" (M2). He includes a profile image (fig. 2) of a theater with raked

25. Anthony W. Johnson, "Shakespeare, Architecture, and the Chorographic Imagination," *Shakespeare* 13 (2017), 122, 117–18.

26. Johnson, 121.

27. Anne M. Myers, *Literature and Architecture in Early Modern England* (Baltimore, 2013), 4; Henry S. Turner, *The English Renaissance Stage: Geometry, Poetics and the Practical Spatial Arts 1580–1630* (Oxford, 2006), 75–77, 80, 114, 277; Mimi Yiu, *Architectural Involutions: Writing, Staging, and Building Space, c.1435–1650* (Evanston, 2015), 63–64, 71.
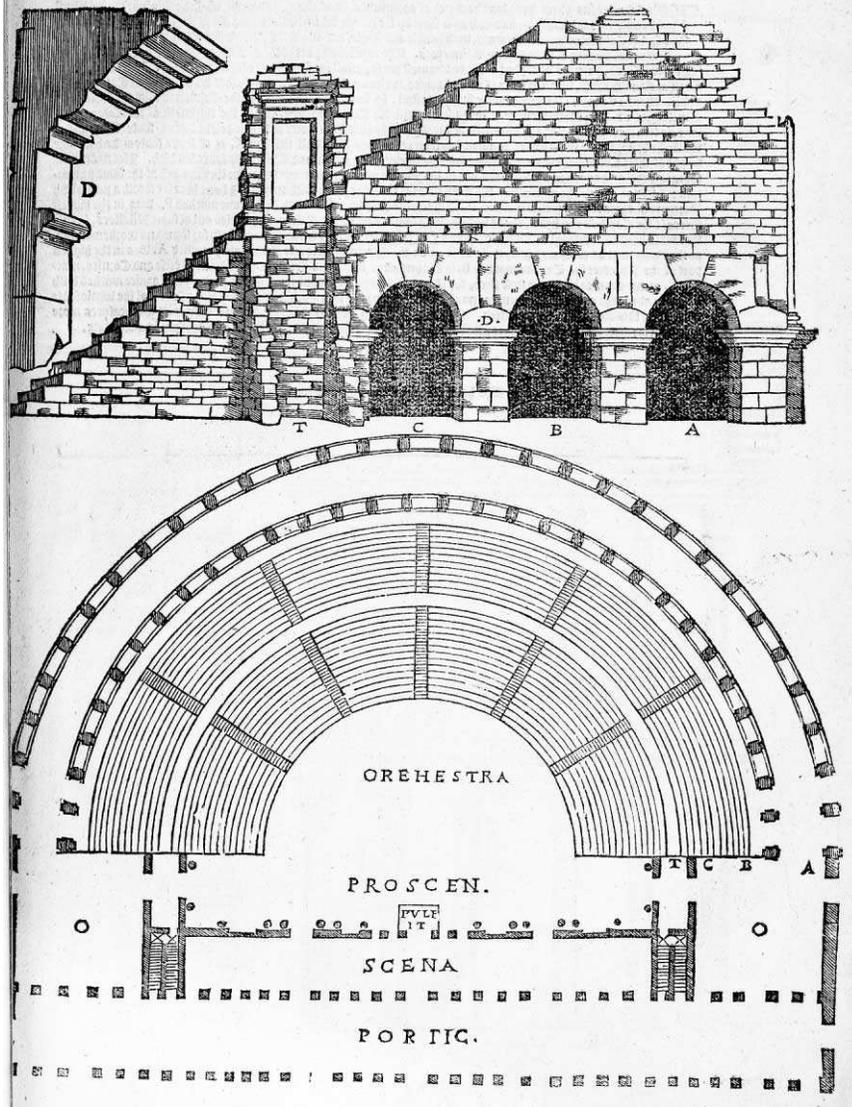
Figure 1: The theater at Pola. Serlio, *The Third Booke*, M2. By permission of Glasgow School of Art Library.

Becauſe I meane hereafter to entreat of Theaters, and Scenes belonging vnto them, as we vſe them in theſe dayes. In the which Scenes it will bee very hard foꝛ a man to ſhew how, & where a man ſhould place the Hoꝛiſon herein, becauſe it is an other thing then the rule before declared: Therefore I thought it good firſt to make this profil, that the ground by the profil may both together be the better vnderſtood, yet it were conuenient firſt to ſtudie the ground, and if it ſo falleth out that a man cannot attaine to all within the ground, then hee muſt proceede to the profil to bee the better inſtructed therein. Firſt therefore, I will begin with the Scaffold before, which as the eyes that ſtand eleuated from the earth, and ſhalbe flat, made by the water compaſſe, marked with C. And the Scaffold from B. to A. ſhall ſtand heaued vp vnder the ſame A. a ninth part of the length thereof, and that ſtanding vp behind the ſeate marked with an M. aboue it, is the wall of the Wall oꝛ other place, againſt which, oꝛ where this Scene ſhall be made. That which ſtandeth a little diſtant from the Wall perpendilar wiſe, is marked P. that be the backe oꝛ vpholding behind of the Scene, that a man may go betweene it and the other wall. The termination O. is the Hoꝛiſon. The lines with pricks comming croſſe vpon the water compaſſe from L. to O. where it toucheth the backe P. there you ſhall place the Hoꝛiſon onely to ſerue foꝛ the ſayd backe. And comming foꝛwards to L. this line ſhall alwayes be the Hoꝛiſon, foꝛ all the Oꝛtoꝛaphie of the Houſes which ſhall ſtand foꝛwards oꝛ outwards: But the Scenographies oꝛ ſhoꝛtening ſites of the Houſes, they muſt haue their Hoꝛiſons ſtanding further to O. And it is reaſon, which in effect haue two ſides (as they muſt be built that men may ſee out of them on both ſides) ſhould happen two Hoꝛiſon lines, this is touching the profil of the Scene. But the place which is called Proceniæ is that which is marked with P. and the part marked with E. is called Orcheſtra, which is rayſed halſe a foote from the earth, where you ſee F. marked, are the places foꝛ Noblemen and Knights to ſit on. And the firſt ſeate oꝛ ſtep, marked G. are foꝛ the Noblewomen and Ladyes to ſit on: and going vp higher, there muſt the meaner ſoꝛt of Nobles ſit. The broader place, marked H. is a way, and ſo is the place marked E. Betweene H. and E. muſt ſit Gentlemen of qualitp. And from L. vpwards meaner Gentlemen ſhall ſit. But the great ſpace, marked K. ſhall be foꝛ common Officers and other people: which place may be greater oꝛ leſſe, accoꝛding to the length of the Wall, oꝛ any other place. And the Theatoꝛ, with the ſcene oꝛ Scaffold, which I made in Vincente, was almoſt in this ſoꝛt: and from the one coꝛner of the Theater to the other, was eyght and twenty foote; foꝛ it was made in a place where I had roume ineugh, but the Scene oꝛ Scaffold was not ſo bꝛoad, becauſe it was placed in a lodge. The frame of the ſeates was all made in one, as you may ſee in this Figure. And becauſe the Theater ſtood in an open place which had no wall, whereunto it might be made faſt, therefore in the circumſerence I haue made it ſticking out, foꝛ the moꝛe ſtrength and faſtneſſe thereof,
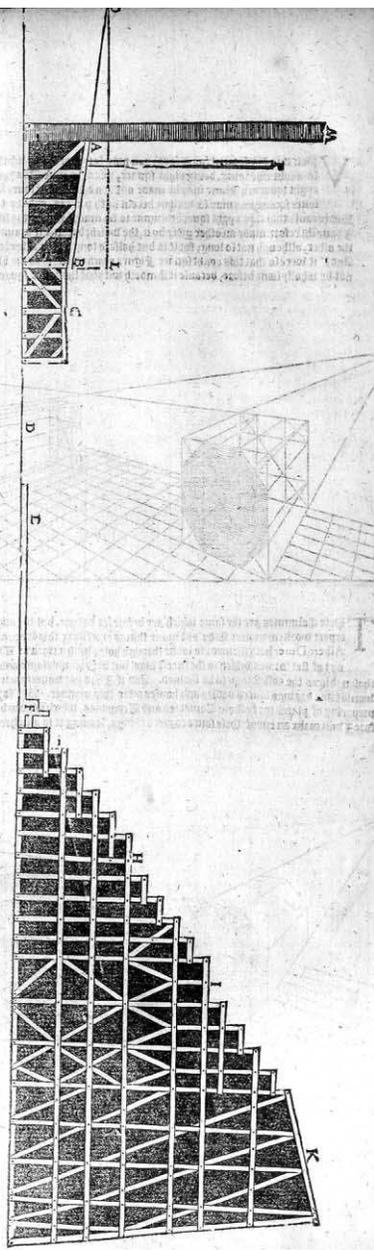
Figure 2: Profile image of a theater. Serlio, *Second Booke*, M2v. By permission of Glasgow School of Art Library.

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stage and tiered seating, similar to "the Theator, with the Scene or Scaffold, which I made in *Vincente* [i.e., Vicenza]," and examples of perspective scenery suitable for comedies, tragedies, and satires (figs. 3, 4) (*Second Booke*, M2v).[28] He explains what such scenes should include: in comedy, "there must not want a brawthell or bawdy house, and a great Inne, and a Church." He says what to leave out, such as dogs and cats, "for that standeth too long without stirring or moouing; but if you make such a thing to lie sleeping, that I hold withall." He explains that in pastoral, trees, herbs and plants should be made of silk, "which will be more commendable then the naturall things themselues"—the more expensive the better, as far as aristocratic patrons are concerned. And he tells his reader how to create lighting effects by shining lamps through colored liquids, mobile planets by hanging paste-board images from wires, and thunder and lightning with cannon-balls and squibs (*Second Booke*, N2–²Nv).

Admittedly, the kind of theater that underlies Serlio's designs and prescriptions is quite different from Jacobean public drama in its use of perspective scenery, its indoor location, its rigorous division of seating by status and gender, and the observance of generic decorum indicated by the ascription of different scenes to comedy, tragedy, and satire.[29] However, while the innovations described in Serlio may have been alien to the Jacobean public theater, there was one field in which by 1611 they had already made their influence felt: that of court masque. As is well known, Inigo Jones's designs for Jacobean court entertainments were significantly shaped by his extensive travels in Italy and his wide reading in Italian artistic theory; according to Murray Roston, a copy of Peake's translation "was one of the most heavily annotated books in [his] collection," and it seems likely that Jones already knew this work in Italian

28. This temporary theater, erected in 1539, is not to be confused with the Teatro Olimpico designed by Andrea Palladio and built in the 1580s. See Eugene J. Johnson, "The Architecture of Italian Theaters Around the Time of William Shakespeare," *Shakespeare Studies* 33 (2005), 27.

29. Stephen Orgel has suggested that Serlio's idealism in this respect actually diverged from Continental as well as English practice: his "model in fact belies something essential to the Renaissance theater, and in certain ways to the Renaissance notion of art generally, and that is first a basic fluidity or disjunctiveness, and second the extent to which it depends for its truth upon its audience": Orgel, "Shakespeare Imagines a Theater," *Poetics Today* 5 (1984), 558. For an account of Serlio in relation to the theatrical practice of Shakespeare's England, see Peter Womack, "The Comical Scene: Perspective and Civility on the Renaissance Stage," *Representations* 101 (2008), 32–56.

Houses for Tragedies, must bee made for great personages, for that actions of loue, strange aduentures, and cruell murthers, (as you reade in ancient and moderne Tragedies) happen alwayes in the houses of great Lords, Dukes, Princes, and Kings. Therefore in such cases you must make none but stately houses, as you see it here in this Figure, wherein (for that it is so small) I could make no Princely Pallaces: but it is sufficient for the workeman to see the manner thereof, whereby he may helpe himselfe as time and place serueth: and (as I sayde in the Comicall) hee must alwayes study to please the eyes of the beholders, and forget not himselfe so much as to set a small building in stead of a great, for the reasons aforesayd. And for that I haue made all my Scenes of laths, couered with linnen, yet sometime it is necessary to make some things rising or bossing out; which are to bee made of wood, like the houses on the left side, whereof the Pillars, although they shorten, stand all vpon one Base, with some stayres, all couered ouer with cloth, the Cornices bearing out, which you must obserue to the middle part: But to giue place to the Galleries, you must set the other shortening Cloth somewhat backwards, and make a cornice aboue it, as you see: and that which I speake of these Buildings, you must vnderstand of all the rest, but in the Buildings which stand far backward the Painting worke, must supplie the place by shadowes without any bearing out: touching the artificiall lights, I haue spoken thereof in the Comicall works. All that you make aboue the Roofe sticking out, as Chimneyes, Towers, Piramides, Oblisces, and other such like things or Images; you must make them all of thin boards, cut out round, and well coloured: But if you make any flat Buildings, they must stand somewhat farre inward, that you may not see them on the sides. In these Scenes, although some haue painted personages therein like supporters, as in a Gallery, or doore, as a Dog, Cat, or any other beasts: I am not of that opinion, for that standeth to long without stirring or moouing; but if you make such a thing to lie sleeping, that I hold withall. You may also make Images, Histories, or Fables of Marble, or other matter against a wall; but to represent the life, they ought to stirre. In the latter end of this Booke I will shew you how to make them.
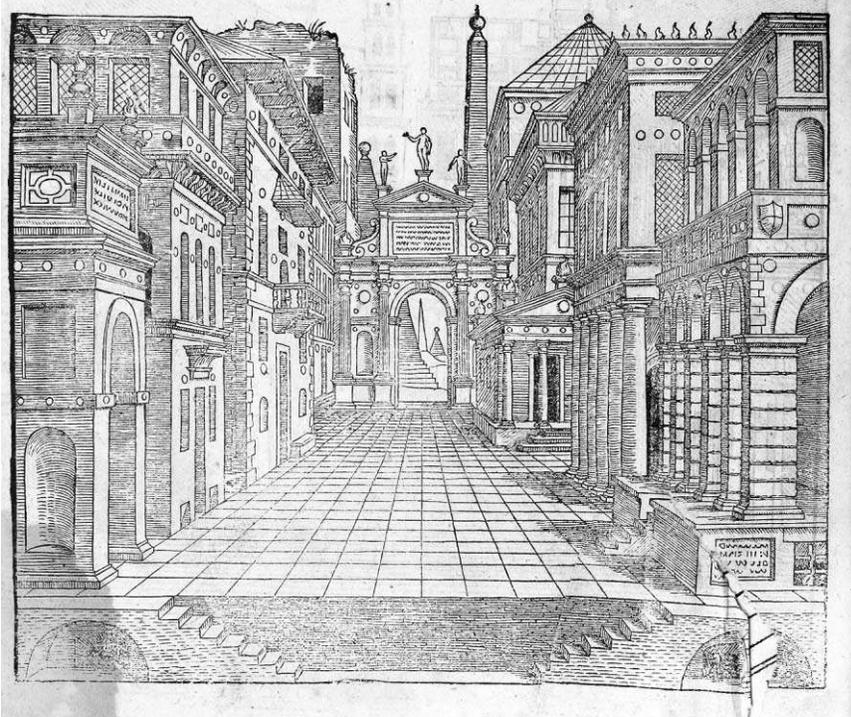
Figure 3: Perspective scenery for tragedy. Serlio, *Second Booke*, N2v. By permission of Glasgow School of Art Library.

The Satiricall Scenes are to represent Satirs, wherein you must place all those things that bee rude and rusticall, as in ancient Satirs they were made plaine without any respect, whereby men might vnderstand, that such things were referred to rusticall people, which set all things out rudely and plainely: for which cause Vitruuius speaking of Scenes, saith, they should be made with Trees, Rootes, Herbs, Hils and Flowres, and withsome countrey houses, as you see them here set downe. And for that in our dayes these things were made in Winter, when there were but fewe greene Trees, Herbs and Flowres to be found; then you must make these things of Silke, which will be more commendable then the naturall things themselues: and as in other Scenes for Comedies or Tragedies, the houses or other artificiall things are painted, so you must make Trees, Hearbs, and other things in these; & the more such things cost, the more they are esteemed, for they are things which stately and great persons doe, which are enemies to nigardlinesse. This haue I seene in some Scenes made by Ieronimo Genga, for the pleasure and delight of his lord and patron Francisco Maria, Duke of Vrbin: wherein I saw so great liberalitie vsed by the Prince, and so good a conceit in the workeman, and so good Art and proportion in things therein represented, as euer I saw in all my life before. Oh good Lord, what magnificence was there to besene, for the great number of Trees and Fruits, with sundry Herbes and Flowres, all made of fine Silke of diuers collors. The water courses being adorned with Frogs, Snailes, Tortuses, Toads, Adders, Snakes, and other beasts: Rootes of Corrale, mother of Pearle, and other shels layd and thrust through betweene the stones, with so many seuerall and faire things, that if I should declare them all, I should not haue time inough. I speake not of Satirs, Nimphes, Mer-maids, diuers monsters, and other strange beastes, made so cunningly, that they seemed in shew as if they went and stirred, according to their manner. And if I were not desirous to be briefe, I would speake of the costly apparel of some Shepheards made of cloth of gold, and of Silke, cunningly mingled with Imbrothery: I would also speake of some Fishermen, which were no lesse richly apparelled then the others, hauing Nets and Angling-rods, all gilt: I should speake of some Countrey maydes and Nimphes carelessly apparelled without pride, but I leaue all these things to the discretion and consideration of the iudicious workeman, which shall make all such things as their patterns serue them, which they must looke after their owne deuises, and neuer take care what it shall cost.

Figure 4: Perspective scenery for satire. Serlio, *Second Booke*, ²N. By permission of Glasgow School of Art Library.

before acquiring the English edition.[30] Given that masques often included performances by professional actors, as one of the King's Men Shakespeare could not have been unaware of the way Italian fashions were affecting this theatrical form, whose influence has been identified in some features of his late plays such as the betrothal masque in *The Tempest*.[31] In *The Winter's Tale* itself the dance of satyrs, three of whom "hath danced before the king" (4.4.343), is often taken as an allusion to Ben Jonson's masque *Oberon*, which was staged at court on January 1, 1611 and includes a dance of that nature.[32]

The relevance of Serlio's work to the cultural milieu in which masque flourished may, indeed, have been one reason why it was translated in the first place. In an essay of 1980, Frederick O. Waage describes "the great efforts made, beginning in about 1608, by Prince Henry to launch England into the artistic mainstream of European culture." Richard Haydocke's 1598 translation of Giovanni Lomazzo's *Trattato dell' arte de la picture*, "as well as Peake's translation of Serlio, which provided a textbook for the aesthetics of court drama, were parts of this national attempt to catch up with fifty years of European cultural advance."[33] Peake's translation was thus a product of a courtly environment to which Shakespeare was linked both as a playwright (*The Winter's Tale* would be performed at court on November 5, 1611) and as a member of an acting company that performed at court in plays and masques. It is reasonable to assume that a figure of his stature could have obtained access to the English Serlio prior to publication, had he desired it. And, as I have already suggested, there is every reason to suppose that Shakespeare would have desired to see a work that included numerous illustrations of theaters ancient and modern, as well as detailed descriptions of contemporary Italian staging practices. This would have been especially true in 1611, when his company had recently acquired a playing space—the Blackfriars theater—to which Serlio's accounts of indoor venues that used artificial lighting would have been particularly rele-

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30. Murray Roston, *Renaissance Perspectives in Literature and the Visual Arts* (Princeton, 1987), 217. On Jones's possible role in bringing Serlian techniques to England, see also John H. Astington, *English Court Theatre, 1558–1642* (Cambridge, Eng., 2006), 84–86.

31. For a cautious survey of the evidence on this topic, see David Lindley, "Blackfriars, Music and Masque: Theatrical Contexts of the Last Plays," in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's Last Plays*, ed. Catherine M. S. Alexander (Cambridge, Eng., 2009), 29–46.

32. See Pitcher's note and his Introduction, 69–76.

33. Waage, 71.

vant. The Italian's emphasis on the "admiration" that can be elicited through effects such as "a God descending downe from Heauen" or "diuers person-ages . . . richly adorned with diuers strange formes and manners of Apparell both to daunce Moriscoes and play Musicke" calls to mind the descent of Jupiter in *Cymbeline* or, indeed, the dance of satyrs in *The Winter's Tale* itself (*Second Booke*, N1).

<div align="center">IV</div>

It may seem odd to suggest a work on architecture as a potential source for Shakespeare's discussion of an artist who is celebrated in *The Winter's Tale* for his ability to copy the human form, not for his expertise in de-signing buildings. However, when Giulio Romano is first mentioned by Serlio it is precisely for his excellence in both capacities. At the beginning of *The Second Booke. A Treatise of Perspectiues, Touching the Superficies*, Serlio insists on the importance of the architect being skilled in the art of per-spective: "no Perspectiue workeman can make any worke without Archi-tecture, nor the Architecture without Perspectiue." To prove his point, Serlio offers modern examples of architects who began as painters, namely Bramante, Raphael, Baldassare Peruzzi, Girolamo Genga, and then his fi-nal example: "*Iulius Romanus*, a scholler of *Raphael Durbin* [i.e., da Urbino]; who, by Perspectiue Arte and Paynting, became an excellent Architector" (*Second Booke*, A1v). His next reference to Giulio similarly emphasizes his ability as a painter. In an account of the finest modern buildings that follows his discussion of antiquity in Book Three, Serlio in-cludes the Villa Madama on the Monte Mario near Rome, singling out the loggia begun by Raphael and left incomplete at the time of his death:

> The order of this Gallery is very fayre: the roofe whereof is con-cordickly altred: for that the middle part is with a round tribune; and those two on the sides are crosse-wise. In which roofe, and also in the walles, *Ian van Vdenen* [i.e., Giovanni da Udine] hath made won-derfull great pieces of paynted worke: so that regarding the fayre and excellent workemanship of Architecture, with the beautifying of paynting, together with diuers ancient Images, this Gallery may well be called, one of the fayrest that euer was made. And whereas it is spoken of an halfe Circle which doth not answere the rest, neither the workeman not willing to leaue it vndecked or vnfurnished, his Disciple *Iulio Romano*, in the Facie thereof, paynted the great Gyant

Poliphemus, with many Satyres round about: which worke, Cardinall
de Medicis, that after was Pope, by the name of *Clement*, caused to be
made. (2B2v)

The English word "gallery" here serves as a translation of the Italian "log-
gia," rather than in the sense apparently intended by Leontes (a space
housing artworks) in his words to Paulina:

> Your gallery
> Have we passed through, not without much content
> In many singularities, but we saw not
> That which my daughter came to look upon,
> The statue of her mother. (5.3.10–14)[34]

Nevertheless, it may be significant that the gallery at the Villa Madama,
like Paulina's, is a space designed for exhibiting art, in this instance "paynted
worke" by Giulio Romano and others as well as "diuers ancient Images."

However, the passage in *Of Architecture* that is most relevant to *The
Winter's Tale* comes not in a discussion of domestic spaces but in a more
theoretical discussion of the orders of architecture which appears in *The
Fourth Booke. Rules for Masonry, or Building with Stone or Bricke, Made After
the Fiue Maners or Orders of Building, viz. Thuscana, Dorica, Ionica, Corinthia
and Composita*. Here, Serlio disingenuously adds to the three canonical
orders identified by Vitruvius—Ionic, Doric, Corinthian—two more or-
ders, the Tuscan and the Composite. As James S. Ackerman explains, the
Tuscan order is mentioned only "peripherally" by Vitruvius, and with
scant explanation of what it should look like.[35] Serlio, however, describes
it in detail, with illustrations, deriving it from some ancient remains that
were taken to exemplify the Tuscan order (including the amphitheaters
at Pola and Verona) but also, as Ackerman argues, from the recent prac-
tice of some modern architects, including Raphael and Giulio Romano
(who "used it for the entrance portal of his own house in Rome").[36]
Serlio further departs from Vitruvius in linking the order with the rusti-
cated style of stonework, a strategy that may reflect his desire to give the

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34. On the ambivalence of "gallery" in *The Winter's Tale*, see Amy L. Tigner, "*The Winter's
Tale*: Gardens and the Marvels of Transformation," *English Literary Renaissance* 36 (2006), 114–34.

35. James S. Ackerman, "The Tuscan/Rustic Order: A Study in the Metaphorical Language of
Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 42 (1983), 16.

36. Ackerman, 22, 25.

architecture of late-medieval Tuscany a heritage stemming from the an-
cient Etruscans.[37]

Because the Tuscan is "the roughest set foorth" of the orders of archi-
tecture, it is especially appropriate "for strengths [i.e., strongholds], for Gates
of Cities, Townes and Castles, places for treasure, munition and Artillery
to keepe them in; for prisons, hauens of the Sea, and such like things,
seruing for the warres." However, its rustic style means that it is also suit-
able for use "in publike and priuate places, Houses, Galleries, Windowes,
Niches or seates, hollowed in worke, Bridges, Water-courses, and such like
seuerall Ornaments." It is also unusually amenable to mixing with other or-
ders: "Men may also (not differing from the ancient rules) mixe this rusticall
maner with the Dorica, and also with Ionica; and sometimes with Corin-
thia, at the pleasure of those that seeke to please their owne fantasies, which
a man may affirme to bee more for pleasure then profit" (*Fourth Booke*,
A2v).

It is in a discussion of just such mixing that Giulio Romano makes his
next appearance:

> In times past, the Romanes vsed to mingle Dorica, Ionica, and some-
> time Corinthia, among their rustical buildings; but it is no errour, if a
> man mixe one of them in a piece of rude worke, shewing in the same,
> nature and Arte, for that the Columnes mixed with rough stones, as
> also the Architraue and Freese, being corrupted by the Pennants, shew
> the worke of nature: but the Capitals, and part of the Columnes, as also
> the Cornice, with the Frontispicie or Geuell [i.e., gable, via Dutch
> *gevel*], shew works of Art. Which mixture, in my conceyt, is a good
> sight, and in it selfe sheweth good strength, therefore fitter for a For-
> tresse then for any other Building: neuerthelesse, in what place soeuer
> the rusticall worke is placed, it will not doe amisse. In such mixtures
> *Iulius Romanus* tooke more delight, then any other man, as Rome wit-
> nesseth the same in sundry places, as also *Mantua*, and without Rome,
> the fayre Palace called *vulgariter El. Te*. Which, in trueth, is an exam-
> ple in these dayes, both of good Architecture and paynting. (*Fourth
> Booke*, C2).

In this passage, Giulio is singled out for praise as a practitioner of a style of
architecture that mixes "nature," as associated with the rustic style, and
art, as associated with the canonical orders. In the accompanying image
(fig. 5), one can see how the columns incorporate rusticated stonework,

37. Ackerman, 29, 33.
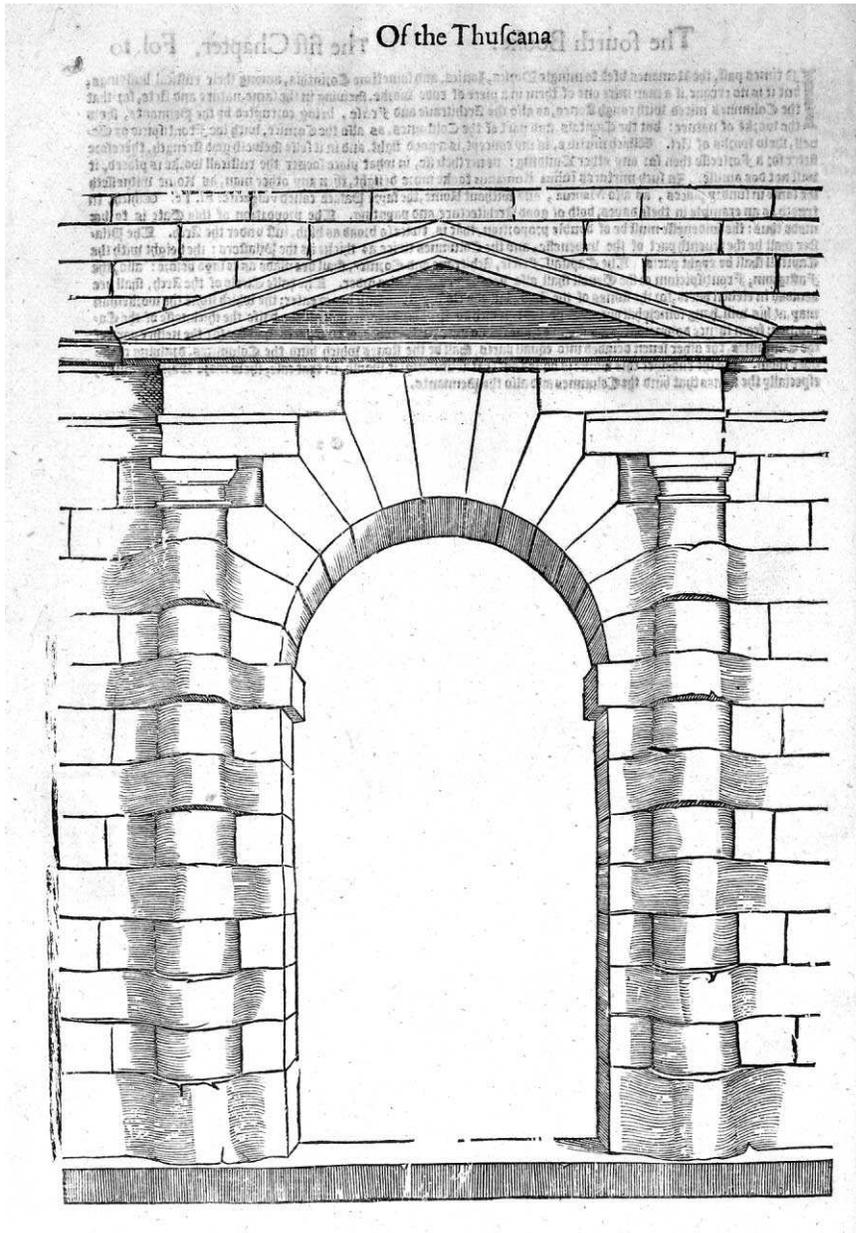
Figure 5: A portico incorporating rustic elements. Serlio, *Fourth Booke*, C2v. By permission of Glasgow School of Art Library.

and how the wedge-shaped pennants have "corrupted" the architrave and frieze above them but not the capitals, cornice, or pediment. A rusticity that is associated with the natural is allowed to combine with a more refined "art."

Read alongside *The Winter's Tale*, this passage is extremely suggestive, since in identifying Giulio—albeit as an architect, not a sculptor—as a blender of nature and art, it invokes a topic that is central to the play, as numerous critics have recognized. This theme is epitomized, of course, in the sublimely ambiguous image of the statue itself: from the Steward's perspective, it is art that outdoes nature, the work of an artist who "would beguile Nature of her custom," while in the final scene, the artwork is revealed to be no artwork at all, but a work of nature, the flesh-and-blood Hermione. However, the theme is also raised elsewhere, most explicitly in Perdita's debate with Polixenes in 4.4 over the legitimacy of certain horticultural techniques. To Perdita's disparagement of "carnations and streaked gillyvors" (4.4.82), which she dismisses "For I have heard it said / There is an art which in their piedness shares / With great creating Nature" (4.4.86–88), Polixenes responds,

> Say there be,
> Yet Nature is made better by no mean
> But Nature makes that mean. So over that art,
> Which you say adds to Nature, is an art
> That Nature makes. You see, sweet maid, we marry
> A gentler scion to the wildest stock,
> And make conceive a bark of baser kind
> By bud of nobler race. This is an art
> Which does mend Nature—change it rather—but
> The art itself is Nature. (4.4.88–97)

As has long been recognized, Polixenes' argument in defense of artificial mixtures on the grounds that art is, itself, a product of nature is something of a commonplace. Harold S. Wilson long ago noted parallels in Democritus, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Petrarch, and Peletier, not to mention Sidney, Daniel, and Puttenham.[38] However, its presence in the play also serves as a meditation on the way *The Winter's Tale* itself practices various

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38. Harold S. Wilson, "'Nature and Art' in *Winter's Tale* IV, iv, 86 ff.," *Shakespeare Association Bulletin* 18 (1943), 114–20. The nature/art theme continues to interest critics; for a recent treatment, see Charlotte Scott, *Shakespeare's Nature: From Cultivation to Culture* (Oxford, 2014), 151–86.

forms of marriage or mixing: of nature and art, but also of the rustic world of the shepherds and the courtly one of Leontes and the other noble characters. This social mixing is also a generic one, as the play combines a tragic plot that centers on Leontes and Hermione and culminates in disaster and death with a comic one set in rural Bohemia that ends in marriage and renewal. The permissibility of such generic mixing was a recurrent concern of dramatic theorists, from Sidney, who disparaged "mongrell Tragicomedie," to Fletcher, who defended *The Faithful Shepherdess* as a "pastorall Tragie-comedie" while warning, "A tragie-comedie is not so called in respect of mirth and killing: but in respect it wants deaths, which is inough to make it no tragedie, yet brings some neere it, which is inough to make it no comedie."[39]

The "pastoral" in "pastoral tragi-comedy" is worth emphasizing here: by the time Fletcher and Shakespeare were writing, pastoral drama had become (as Rosalie Colie puts it) "the official mixture of comedy with tragedy," largely as a result of the debate stimulated by Giambattista Guarini's *Il pastor fido*.[40] In his *Compendium of Tragicomic Poetry* (1599), Guarini characterizes pastoral as a mode that incorporates characters from different social stations: in the golden age "they were all shepherds, but some of them governed and others were governed." Accordingly, in pastoral tragicomedy "since some of the shepherds are noble and others are not, the first produce the tragedy and the second the comedy, and both together the tragicomedy, which is pastoral because of the persons represented in it."[41] Pastoral allows for the mixing of noble and common characters, and it therefore permits the mixing of the tragic and comic genres respectively appropriate to these two social groups. This concern with social as well as generic decorum similarly underlies Fletcher's insistence that his shepherds are "the owners of flockes and not hyerlings," and that "a God is as lawfull in this as in a tragedie, and meane people as in a comedie."[42]

The idea of pastoral as providing "a generically capacious arena that can admit tragedic, comedic, and satiric codes," as Robert Henke puts it, is strikingly paralleled in Serlio's description of the rustic as a style of building in which "the Romanes vsed to mingle Dorica, Ionica, and some-

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39. Philip Sidney, *The Defence of Poesie* (1595), I2v; John Fletcher, *The Faithfull Shepheardesse* (1610), ¶2v.

40. Rosalie Colie, *Shakespeare's Living Art* (Princeton, 1974), 244.

41. Giambattista Guarini, *The Compendium of Tragicomic Poetry*, tr. Allan H. Gilbert, *Literary Criticism: Plato to Dryden* (Detroit, 1962), 530, 533.

42. John Fletcher, *The Faithfull Shepheardesse* (1610), ¶2v.

time Corinthia."[43] Although Serlio wrote decades in advance of Guarini, the debate over tragicomedy gave a new relevance to his remark that "in what place soeuer the rusticall worke is placed, it will not doe amisse," and that "In such mixtures *Iulius Romanus* tooke more delight, then any other man." Serlio's association of Giulio with the rustic, and the mixing of styles that it facilitated, made him a very appropriate figure to invoke in *The Winter's Tale*, as did his characterization of Giulio as one who loved to mix "the worke of nature" with "works of Art."

v

As I mentioned at the beginning of this essay, *The Winter's Tale* has been linked with Peake's Serlio before. In the essay in which he refers to Prince Henry's attempts to import Italian Renaissance culture to England, including the sponsoring of translations like that of Peake, Waage argues for the profound effect of this initiative upon Shakespeare. As a result of it, the dramatist acquired "a new belief in the ability of visual art to recreate life and to transform the viewer of it," exemplified in the final scene of *The Winter's Tale*.[44] More specifically, John Greenwood quotes directly from the passage in *The Fourth Booke* in which Giulio is associated with the mixing of nature and art. He uses it to show that Inigo Jones must have been aware of Giulio's work and reputation, and also to provide a gloss on the effect created by Giulio's designs at the Palazzo Te, where a

> clash of opposites occurs in the form of a juxtaposition of classical and non-classical (or natural and non-natural) elements. Just as the classical architectural vocabulary employed at Té is shaken by the rumbling rustication that threatens to unsettle it, the courtly characters in Shakespearean romance are *subjected to* the natural elements instead of being merely surrounded by them as was the case in conventional pastoral comedy.[45]

The current essay can therefore make no claim to novelty in reading *The Winter's Tale* alongside Serlio's treatise. However, neither Waage nor Greenwood discusses Serlio in detail, perhaps because neither of them ex-

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43. Robert Henke, *Pastoral Transformations: Italian Tragicomedy and Shakespeare's Late Plays* (Newark and London, 1997), 142.

44. Waage, 72.

45. Greenwood, 13–14, 26–27.

plicitly presents him as Shakespeare's source. Instead, both of them posit a Shakespeare who was (for an Englishman of his time) already quite well informed about Italian art. Waage argues that "Shakespeare discovered, after 1600, Renaissance Italian art, and it transformed his sense of vertical space and depth in the theatre-frame. Giulio Romano is his emblem for this transformation." He suggests that Shakespeare could have known about him through the work of Aretino, Vasari, or Cellini, as well as through the movement led by Prince Henry.[46] Greenwood speculates that paintings by Giulio and others may have been visible at Hampton Court as early as Shakespeare's time, and suggests that Shakespeare could have heard about him via Inigo Jones, or someone else who had travelled to Italy: "anyone in Shakespeare's circle who had seen or heard of Té would have been completely taken by it."[47] The Shakespeare imagined here is one who does not need to read Serlio in 1611 in order to find out about Giulio Romano, because he knows about him already. Serlio can therefore be used by Greenwood for illustrative purposes, but it does not make sense to treat him as a source; and this may be why critics of *The Winter's Tale* since Waage and Greenwood have not referred to him as such.

By contrast, this essay makes the case for a Shakespeare who knew Peake's translation directly. As a sharer in the King's Men, whose company had just acquired a new indoor playing space, he had every reason to be interested in the Italian styles of theaters and sets, as well as of scenic effects, that were described and illustrated in Serlio. More generally, as someone with an evident fascination both for drama and for the ancient world, he would surely have wanted to view the illustrations of classical theaters that were available in Serlio's volumes. Although Peake's translation was not printed until December 1611 or later, Shakespeare's status as the leading dramatist of the country's leading playing company, which regularly performed at court in plays and masques, made him well placed to view a version of it before publication; its illustrations, at least, would certainly have been available at an earlier stage, as they had appeared in previous editions in other languages.[48] The chronological proximity of the book and the play, if not the chronological sequence, is highly suggestive.

46. Waage, 64, 66.
47. Greenwood, 26.
48. "The woodcuts for the title-page borders and illustrations were first used in the Antwerp edition of 1553. They were later used in the 1606 edition in Dutch printed in Amsterdam by C. Claeszoon, who also printed them on sheets otherwise blank and shipped them to Basel, where letterpress in German was overprinted in 1608, and to London for the present edition." Entry

In the final paragraphs of this essay I would like to summarize what I believe a consideration of *The Winter's Tale* alongside Peake's translation of Serlio has to add to a critical understanding of the play. The most conservative reading, which would not admit of Shakespeare having read Serlio, would still indicate that the play appeared at a time when the Jacobean cultural elite was interested in the Italian artistic world to which Giulio Romano belonged. The translation of Serlio made available descriptions in English as well as images of scenes, theaters and other buildings ancient and modern, widening immeasurably the visual language of Shakespeare's countrymen and women; it responded to a cultural shift that had already affected the staging of plays at court. In alluding to Giulio, Shakespeare spoke to an audience who were part of this broader development. If he was unaware that Giulio had been associated by Serlio with the blending of the natural and artificial, and with the use of the rustic style to achieve this effect, then he hit by coincidence on an artist highly appropriate to the themes of his play.

If one allows for the possibility of Shakespeare having read Serlio, however, then that throws a new light on his decision to allude to Giulio Romano in *The Winter's Tale*. It brings into view aspects of Giulio's reputation beyond his ability to make lifelike works of art—surely an accomplishment not peculiar to him among artists of the Italian Renaissance—or indeed his more scandalous association with the modi. In particular, Giulio stands for Serlio as the pre-eminent exemplar of formal innovation through generic mixing. As Alina Payne explains, the fourth book of Serlio's treatise is preoccupied with staking out the limits of experiment: of distinguishing between acceptable and unacceptable types of artistic "license." Serlio achieves this by reinventing the architectural orders not "as a set of hard-and-fast rules," but as "*maniere* . . . in the formation of larger ornamental ensembles," especially through the use of "rustic elements." Thus "he converts a localized invention by Giulio Romano into a principle."[49]

By invoking Serlio's version of Giulio Romano in *The Winter's Tale*, I would suggest, Shakespeare legitimizes his own departures from generic decorum. In the Prologue to *Volpone*, Ben Jonson had boasted of presenting

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for *The First Booke of Architecture* in the *English Short-Title Catalogue*, available at http://www.estc.bl.uk, accessed March 9, 2018.

  49. Payne, 121, 123, 128, 131.

> quick comedy, refined
> As best critics have designed;
> The laws of time, place, persons he observeth;
> From no needful rule he swerveth. (Prologue, 29–32)

In *The Winter's Tale*, by contrast, Shakespeare combines a courtly, tragic sequence that culminates in death and loss (real as well as apparent) with a pastoral, comic resolution that obtrusively violates "the laws of time" in jumping over sixteen years. As with the discussion of grafting and hybridization that takes place between Polixenes and Perdita, the allusion to Giulio Romano in the penultimate scene helps to theorize this approach to genre, pointing to an artist celebrated for breaking the rules in the interests of a higher aesthetic aim. Like Serlio's Romano, Shakespeare in *The Winter's Tale* treats artistic kinds not as sets of rules, but as elements that can be combined into a larger whole.

If it seems inappropriate, even indecorous, to offer an architectural treatise as a source for some of Shakespeare's ideas about genre, one point to note in conclusion is that Renaissance theories of architecture and of poetry were not as separate as they might seem. When scholars such as Serlio first encountered the architectural writings of Vitruvius, their expectations were conditioned by their own humanist educational training: as Payne writes, "they read him along with Cicero, Horace, and Quintilian, using one Roman text to explicate another in the accepted fashion of humanist exegesis." Accordingly, they brought to the discussion of architectural style the ideas about generic decorum that they had found in texts such as Horace's *Ars poetica*, which begins by placing limits on poetic license: "not so far that savage should meet with tame, or serpents couple with birds, or lambs with tigers."[50] In advocating the legitimacy of licentia, including the mixing of kinds, if it led to innovative artistic effects, Serlio was making an argument that did not simply parallel those of Renaissance genre theorists such as Guarini: it actually had its origins in the same classical discourses.

This makes Peake's Serlio a telling instance of Stuart Sillars' claim in *Shakespeare and the Visual Imagination* that the relationship between Shakespeare's works and the visual arts "rests not on the appropriation of specific individual paintings, tapestries or other works," as with literary sources, but

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50. Payne, 53–54, 59. Horace, *Art of Poetry*, 12–13, *Satires, Epistles, Art of Poetry*, tr. H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, Mass., 1926).

on "longer iconographic conventions of painting, or traditions of writing or speaking about painting."[51] The question of Shakespeare's familiarity with Italian art, as discussed by Waage, Greenwood and others, is a fascinating one that continues to produce new insights: witness, for example, John H. Astington's recent discussion of *Antony and Cleopatra* in relation to an Italian tapestry depicting Venus on a barge that Shakespeare could have seen at court.[52] However, in the hybrid textual/visual artifact of Serlio's volumes (which as Payne puts it "could be described as illustrated treatises, but equally well as captioned books of images"), Shakespeare was able to find not simply an array of images of theaters ancient and modern, but a way of thinking about art, in whatever medium, that spoke as directly to his self-conscious treatment of dramatic genre as to Giulio Romano's architectural innovations.[53]

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51. Sillars, 1–2.

52. John H. Astington, *Stage and Picture in the English Renaissance: The Mirror up to Nature* (Cambridge, Eng., 2017), 36–44. Astington notes that "In France by the later seventeenth century it was believed that the designs were the work of Giulio Romano" (37), but it is unclear whether "this attribution had currency at an earlier date." One related topic that this essay has not attempted to discuss is the appropriateness or otherwise of seeing Shakespeare's plays as a dramatic equivalent of the "Mannerist" trend in painting with which Giulio Romano has been associated, a tendency understood to have been characterized by ostentatious artifice, formal disharmony, and a quasi-theatrical striving for effect. As well as Waage and Greenwood, see Roston; Cyrus Hoy, "Jacobean Tragedy and the Mannerist Style," *Shakespeare Survey* 26 (1973), 49–68; Leonard Barkan, "'Living Sculptures': Ovid, Michelangelo, and *The Winter's Tale*," *English Literary History* 48 (1981), 639–67; Jean-Pierre Maquerlot, *Shakespeare and the Mannerist Tradition* (Cambridge, Eng., 1995). Note also, however, Sokol's cautionary remark that there is a risk of vagueness in definition when Mannerism is "purported to cross media boundaries even so widely differing as music, painting, poetry and sculpture" (1–2).

53. Payne, 114.