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'On Pleasures Past, and Dangers to Ensue': Site-Specific Violence and the Post-Renovation Rose Repertory

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ABSTRACT

Models of early modern English theatre-making rely on fantasies of repetition. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century playing companies leveraged a repertory system wherein a set stable of actors performed a different playtext up to six days a week. Such repetitions make available hauntological possibilities that attach to reoccurring bodies, props, costumes, and even architecture. This article considers the repertory of plays that repeated on the stage of the Rose theatre after renovations added a roof over the stage with its attendant pillars, which afforded the Lord Strange's, Earl of Sussex's, and Lord Admiral's players a new spatial, vertical dimension. In a brief post-reno period of highly regular playing, I argue that the pillars came to regularly serve as trees, arbours, and other ecological features to facilitate a character's death. In *The Battle of Alcazar*, *The Jew of Malta*, *The Massacre at Paris*, *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Titus Andronicus*, and a single comedy, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, the pillars make possible an accretion of hauntological resonances attached to their location on the thrust. This article explores the ways in which such dramaturgical repetitions, newly available in the Rose after the 1592 renovations, would have built up returner-audiences' associations with specific architectural features.

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> Perswade me to a play, I'le to the *Rose*,
> Or *Curtaine*, one of *Plautus* Comedies,
> Or the *Patheticke Spaniards* tragedies.[1]

Models of early modern English theatre-making rely on fantasies of repetition. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century playing companies leveraged a repertory system wherein a set stable of actors performed a different playtext up to six afternoons a week. Such repetitions make available hauntological possibilities that attach to reoccurring bodies, props, and costumes. This fantasy of

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[1]Everard Guilpin, *Skialetheia Or, A Shadowe of Truth, in Certaine Epigrams and Satyres* (London: [James] R[oberts] & Nicholas Ling, 1598), STC 12504, The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

repetition the records of playing in London rarely bear out, however; between the unpredictable weather of a warm pocket amidst a little age ice, religious holidays, and Puritan protests, records suggest it was quite difficult to perform every day in a calendar month. Landlord of the Rose playhouse, Philip Henslowe, was able to achieve this regularity in March and April of 1592, with near-daily performances by at least one company, only to be cut-off by plague closure. It took nearly eight months after the Rose playhouse re-opened to return to a schedule of performing every day of the week but Sundays, only ever achieving a month-long run of this kind again in July 1594.

During the closure of 1592, Henslowe significantly altered the Rose by modifying the playing space and adding a roof over the stage with its attendant posts. With these added material affordances, the dramaturgy of the Lord Strange's, Earl of Sussex's, and Lord Admiral's players had a new spatial dimension. In this brief post-renovation period of highly regular playing, the extant plays in rotation seem to amplify the newly renovated architecture – especially the pillars as trees, arbours, and other ecological features – to stage death: *The Battle of Alcazar* ('Muly Molocco'), *The Jew of Malta*, *The Massacre at Paris* ('Guise'), *The Spanish Tragedy* ('Jeronymo'), *Titus Andronicus*, and a single comedy, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (Figure 1).[2] That the pillars were a fixed feature makes possible an accretion of hauntological resonances attached to their location on the thrust. This article explores the ways in which such dramaturgical repetitions, newly available at the Rose after the 1592 renovations, would have built up returner-audiences' associations with specific architectural features – 'murder corners', if you will. Just at the moment of the venue's most regular schedule, the repertory specific to the site and its stuff interrogates another fantasy, that of recuperative political violence.

The Rose

Since the late 1980s, literary critics have been unable to keep pace with the rapid archaeological discoveries made at the dig sites of a number of early modern playhouses thought lost to the Blitz, time, and modern construction: the Rose (1988), Globe (1989), Curtain (2016), Theatre (2018), Red Lion (2019), and the Playhouse at Newington Butts (2017), albeit unlikely to be excavated due to its location under the popular Elephant and Castle shopping district. While archaeologist Heather Knight and theatre historians Holger Syme and Laurie Johnson have been at the forefront of incorporating these findings into our narratives of Renaissance performance, it will no doubt be some

[2]There is well-warranted debate as to whether the extant versions of *Alcazar, Massacre at Paris,* and *Spanish Tragedy* refer to the same plays as the titles given in Henslowe's papers. I hope readers will forgive the liberties I take here as the aims of this article are not about nor rely on definitive attribution. On the implications of grouping plays by like title, see J. H. Astington, 'Lumpers and Splitters', in *Lost Plays in Shakespeare's England*, edited by David McInnis and Matthew Steggle (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 84–104.

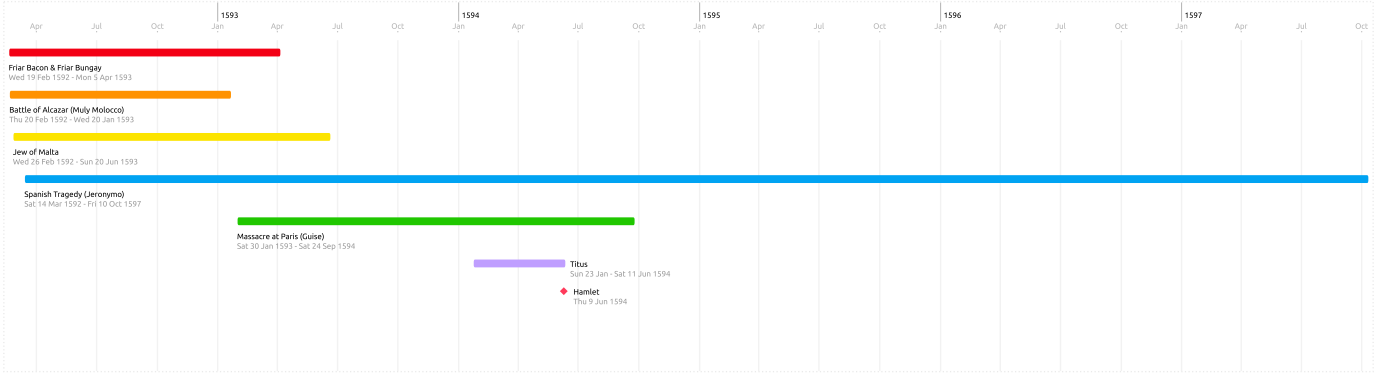

Figure 1. Gantt chart of the periods in which these plays were actively being performed in repertory at the Rose playhouse after the renovations of Phase II. Developed using Aeon Timeline™.

decades yet before such necessary context becomes deeply woven into Shakespeare criticism.[3] Two fundamental inferences drawn from these findings crucial for this argument, however, are that these spaces relied on a logic of up- and recycling of building materials, and that no two spaces were the same.[4]

Understanding that there was no received template for an early modern playhouse is freeing in that performance events can now be particularised to certain material contexts and constraints. In advance of 1592, for example, the Rose is the only outdoor playhouse known to have had posts and a roof over the stage, two architectural conventions typically taken for granted. The unique survival of the building landlord's records allows one to set architectural changes alongside the schedule of what plays were being performed in this context. Henslowe records over a hundred payments for renovations (as opposed to occasional maintenance), including a 'lode of Rafters' and ten shillings 'vnto th*e* thecher'.[5] While elsewhere I have written about the painterly collusion between racial prosthetics and the painted Heavens upon which Strange's repertory at the Rose relied, here I consider the affective build-up that attaches to the posts as metonymic arbours, and the violences to which they are routinely conscripted.[6]

For the purposes of this argument, all that is necessary is to understand that the Rose archaeological findings attest to two phases of building: its original construction in 1587, and then major renovations to only the northern half in 1592. Initial considerations of the stage posts and their renovation only envisioned them as obstructions.[7] The stage was not so much enlarged but reconfigured, perhaps to enable larger audience capacity, with new brick bases for posts on the east and west corners of the stage (the latter being fully preserved), a new roof over the stage, and, by extension, a better accommodation of sightlines from the upper galleries. Wood-made drainage pipes were preserved or reinforced, and a new floor of compacted cinder and hazelnut shells facilitated drainage for the marshy Bankside.[8] A letter from Henslowe to Edward Alleyn from approximately 1593 includes a drawing of some kind of stage with pillars

[3]For an excellent blog post articulating some of the ways in which these discoveries are changing everything we thought we knew about Shakespeare, see Holger Syme, 'Post-Curtain Theatre History', *Dispositio: Mostly Theatre, Then and Now, There and Here*, May 18, 2016, http://www.dispositio.net/archives/2262.

[4]For detailed discussion of the construction methods of late sixteenth-century venues related to Henslowe and recyclability, especially given the timber crisis of the period, see John Orrell, 'Building the Fortune', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (1993): 127–44.

[5]Philip Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. R. A. Foakes, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 11 (4v). For a high-resolution facsimile, see https://henslowe-alleyn.org.uk/catalogue/mss-7/004-verso/.

[6]Elizabeth E. Tavares, 'A Race to the Roof: Cosmetics and Contemporary Histories in the Elizabethan Playhouse, 1592–1596', *Shakespeare Bulletin* 34, no. 2 (2016): 193–217.

[7]E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*. 6th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967). 3: 75–76, 108; E. L. Rhodes, *Henslowe's Rose: The Stage and Staging* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1976), 73; Glynne Wickham, '"Heavens", Machinery, and Pillars in the Theatre and Other Early Playhouses', in *The First Public Playhouse: The Theatre in Shoreditch, 1576–1598* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979), with special attention to *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*, 6–8.

[8]Julian Bowsher and Pat Miller, *The Rose and the Globe – Playhouses of Shakespeare's Bankside, Southwark: Excavations 1988–90*, MOLA Monographs 48 (London: Museum of London Archaeology, 2009), 120–26; Julian Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre: An Archaeological Discovery* (London: Museum of London Archaeology, 1998), 43–51. Specifically pertaining to the stage posts, they sat atop brick plinths each with a baseplate made from recycled planks from a caravel ship (58–59).

and a canopy, although of what venue it cannot be said.[9] It does suggest Henslowe was mindful of this feature at the time of its addition to the Rose. By aligning the renovation records with the plays newly brought into company repertories performing at the Rose, it becomes evident that rather than being impeded, these plays increasingly take advantage of these two architectural features, the posts and the Heavens, as the roof was called, to mirror the trap doors below, colloquially referred to as Hell. The fixity of the former is my primary concern here.

The Arbour

Across this repertory, the new verticality offered by the pillars and balcony of the Rose is used as a vantage of an all-knowing, allegorical intermediary. *Malta*'s Machiavelli implores playgoers to consider this 'tragedy of a Jew', to 'grace him as he deserves, / And let him not be entertained the worse / Because he favors me' (prol. 29, 33–35).[10] *Alcazar*'s Presenter is a more consistent interlocutor, orchestrating dumbshows to make sure the moral of a play almost entirely populated by characters of colour is not mislaid.[11] While Revenge alongside the recently deceased general, Andrea, position themselves as 'chorus for this tragedy' in *Spanish Tragedy*, the ambivalence of the allegorical figure suggests Andrea's responses to the actions are as much a test to see what his afterlife holds as a moral compass to the play's politics (1.1.91).[12] In this repertorial context, that Tamora takes on what is ultimately a failed disguise as Revenge in *Titus* serves as a metatheatrical gesture to the convention of allegorical onlookers, suggesting the marketplace had reached maximum saturation of the trope by 1594 (5.2.3).[13] The self-consciousness of the gesture is reinforced by the inversion in blocking: Titus is aloft while the grotesque allegorical trio remain below.

Somewhere below the balcony usually lies an arbour. Alan Dessen and Leslie Thomson usefully note the inconsistency of the *arbour* stage direction as to whether this is a fiction, rhetorically constructed by dialogue, or a necessary material prop piece.[14] Active definitions in the late sixteenth century include a herb garden or orchard, and trees or shrubs whose vines and branches were either intertwined themselves or trained on a trelliswork to form a

[9]R. A. Foakes, *Illustrations of the English Stage, 1580–1642* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 46–47. For other known drawings with pillars, see 52–55 (Swan), 64–67 (Cockpit), 68–71 (Cockpit-in-Court).
[10]All references to Christopher Marlowe, *The Jew of Malta*, ed. N.W. Bawcutt, The Revels Plays (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979).
[11]All references to George Peele, 'The Battle of Alcazar', in *The Stukeley Plays*, ed. Charles Edelman, Revels Plays Companion Library (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).
[12]All references to Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy*, eds. Clara Calvo and Jesus Tronch, Arden Early Modern Drama (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).
[13]All references to William Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, ed. Jonathan Bate, The Arden Shakespeare 3 (London: Thomson Learning, 1995).
[14]Alan C. Dessen and Leslie Thomson, *A Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama, 1580–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 9.

shady retreat.[15] In actual Elizabethan gardens, arbours and bowers typically referred to a range of seats, from turf to ornamental, according to Jill Francis, and were a regular feature of those both lesser and elite.[16] Punctuating walks and alleys, arbours were 'places to stop and rest in order to appreciate the colors and scents of the flowers more fully'.[17] Arbours seem to have become intertwined with performance before they appeared at the Rose, if a description of a 1585 entertainment for Elizabeth I at Woodstock is to be believed, where the queen took in the performances from 'a fine Bower made of purpose couered with greene Iuie, and seates made of earthe with sweete smelling hearbes'.[18] Therefore both in real and stage conditions, an arbour signalled a leafy enclosure of some kind that provided a seat not dissimilar in skeleton and effect from a Tudor canopied bed.

Remembering the arrangement of early modern beds aids in visualising what might have constituted an arbour following these definitions. As Sasha Handley contends, 'no other daily activity was so heavily governed by principles of good health, nor consumed as much time, money, and labor as did sleep', so it is not surprising that the bedstead 'represented the frontline in the battle' for a secure night's rest.[19] The place of the bed was under constant negotiation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, gradually moving from the 'multifunctional ground-floor parlor' to upstairs. This should by no means suggest that beds became private places for sleeping nor did rooms shrink. Most dwellings comprised only one or two rooms, and so were by necessity multifunctional spaces. Thus, using a single stage to represent multiple rooms in a play would not have been odd, but closer to reality than a spatial fiction. New construction in the seventeenth century normalised the minimum of three rooms to a home, which meant that beds, even for families of better means, still had to serve multiple uses and existed in a room with many purposes.[20] Early modern bedsteads, like playhouses, did not adhere to one common design, but came in a diversity of forms and design. A 'persistent presence of temporary and space-saving bedsteads alongside a surplus of bedding textiles', was a part of the typical domestic wares, and typically included some canopy, curtain, or cloth covering to protect sleepers from falling roof-stuffs such as thatch and critters.[21] To use four posts and stand a bed in the centre of a room might be a display of wealth but was not an economical use of space or resources. Beds were typically thus propped in corners or flush against walls to which a covering might be attached, necessitating only one or two bed posts at most.[22]

[15]'Arbour', in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, June 2020).
[16]Jill Francis, *Gardens and Gardening in Early Modern England and Wales, 1560–1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 88.
[17]Ibid., 320.
[18]J. W. Cunliffe, ed., 'The Queenes Majesties Entertainment at Woodstocke', *PMLA* 26 (1911): 92–93.
[19]Sasha Handley, *Sleep in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 40.
[20]Ibid., 109, 111.
[21]Ibid., 167.
[22]Alecia Beldegreen, *The Bed* (New York: Stewart, Tabori & Change, 1991), 21–26. See also page 29 on the famous Great Bed of Ware popularised in *Twelfth Night*.

An efficient green and leafy bower or private space could be easily manufactured from one of the many models for tent beds, designed to be easily folded for storage and travel, interwoven to look like vines or trelliswork attached to one of the stage pillars and propped up by one or two posts in lean-to fashion. Not a technology new from whole cloth, it would have been sympathetic to the logic of props required for the many bed tricks in early English drama – part of a shared 'cognitive ecology', to use Evelyn Tribble's phrase, of Rose playhouse special effects.[23] Henslowe includes two mentions of a 'bedsteade', one from 1593 and another from an inventory of properties belonging to the company supposed to have performed this group of plays discussed.[24] Notably the inventory in which the bed is listed includes items whose names align with several props required for plays in this repertory, such as a 'Hell mought' and 'dragon' for *Faustus*, a 'cage' and 'brydell' for *Tamburlaine*, and a 'cauderm for the Jewe' (that is, for *The Jew of Malta*). While the inventory was taken from 1598, the group of items reflect an earlier period of performance and a history of regular revival. The item listed as a 'wooden canepie' or canopy amongst this group may also usefully fit the description of the arbour. As Sophie Duncan has argued, this inventory powerfully captures a central problem in the 'minimalist and/or minimizing histories of Shakespearean stage props' that operates on a schema of easily held hand props.[25] Relatively few of the over one hundred items listed are easily held, more often emphasising the spectacular than the portable. So, while this theatre system seems to have privileged the up- and re-cyclability of its materials, from the timbers for the venue to the props on its boards, this does not exclude a variety of type and scale.

If the arbour was a material object functioning like that of prop beds, the newly available architectural feature of pillars brings this intimate grove downstage rather than recessed against the tiring house.[26] In *Spanish Tragedy*, Balthazar and Lorenzo look down from above as Bel-Imperia and Horatio confess their love for one another within an arbour: 'The more thou sits within these leafy bowers / The more will Flora deck it with her flowers' (2.4.24–25). They kiss as Cupid's arrow darts, and Bel-Imperia's 'twining arms' as vines are met by Horatio's 'large and strong' arms, where he the 'elm' by Bel-Imperia's 'vines are compassed till they fall' (2.4.43–45). It is at this moment of consummation that Lorenzo, Balthazar, Serberine, and Pedrigano surprise the couple and 'hang [Horatio] in the arbour' (2.4.53.1). That the arbour might include fruit, as instances in the OED suggest, would offer

[23]Evelyn Tribble, *Early Modern Actors and Shakespeare's Theatre: Thinking with the Body*, The Arden Shakespeare (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 4.
[24]Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary*, 5, 319–21.
[25]Sophie Duncan, *Shakespeare's Props: Memory and Cognition* (New York: Routledge, 2019), 13.
[26]Archaeologists contend that the Rose tiring house was not an appendage outside the main building but incorporated between the inner and outer walls. See Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre,* 34 (paving), 37 (drains), and 50 (posts).

Figure 2. Title-page woodcut from Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish tragedie: or, Hieronimo is mad againe* (London: W. White, I. White, & T. Langley, 1615). Courtesy of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C., STC 15091a.

metonymic reinforcement to Lorenzo's retort, 'these are the fruits of love', referring to Horatio's now-hanging body that is then stabbed (2.4.54). Scholars have written widely about the print ramifications of this scene, as it was so memorable as to warrant a specially made woodcut for the title-pages of many editions of the play (see Figure 2).[27] Less discussed is the woodcut on the title page of William Sampson's *The Vow Breaker*, featuring a canopied bed and beloved in a noose (see Figure 3). The verse description of 'the illustration' likewise echoes key features of *Spanish Tragedy*, including that 'young Bateman hangs himselfe, for love of her' and 'His Ghost' continues to haunt her afterward, not unlike Andrea.[28] Printed in 1636, the titlepage advertises 'as it hath beene diuers times Acted by severall Companies with great applause', going out of its way to activate memories from performances long preceding this print date.

The murder of the lover in the arbour seems not to have been unique to *Spanish Tragedy*, however, but permeates the entire surviving repertory of the post-renovation Rose. In the variety of stage deaths featured in *Massacre at Paris*, from gun shots and stabbings to poison, an already-dead body is hung from a tree or arbour (l. 598). In *Malta*, it is implied that the enslaved

[27]For a useful summary, see Diane K. Jakacki, '"Canst Paint a Doleful Cry?": Promotion and Performance in the 'Spanish Tragedy' Title-Page Illustration', *Early Theatre* 13, no. 1 (2010): 15.
[28]William Sampson, *The Vow Breaker, or, The Faire Maide of Clifton* (London: [J]ohn Norton and Roger Ball, 1636), STC 21688, Bodleian Library, Oxford, UK, (A1v–A1r).

Figure 3. Woodcut from William Sampson, *The Vow Breaker. Or, The Faire Maide of Clifton* (London: J. Norton & R. Ball, 1636), sig. A2r. Courtesy of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C., STC 21688 copy 1.

Ithamore sits in an arbour with a courtesan, Bellamira, and a thief, Pillia-Borza, who die by the work of a nosegay, 'the scent thereof was death' (4.4.42). In *Friar Bacon*, such an arbour would have usefully shaded the covert meeting between Lord Lacy, bosom lord to the prince, and Margaret, daughter of the keeper of the royal hunting preserve at Fressingfield. At the moment they first reveal their love to one another, a jealous Prince Edward looks on through the convenience of a magic mirror. For playgoers accustomed to the arbour as a location for the death of the lover, this moment has real stakes: all previous performance

expectations suggest that Lacy's death is irrevocably sealed when they, like Horatio and Bel-Imperia, kiss (6.127).[29]

The canopy, the feature shared by early modern arbours and beds, may have been a central marker activating the threat of an otherwise erotic space. Due to the 'conflation of sleep and death in the early modern imagination', the canopied bed came to be 'the ultimate symbol of death'.[30] Simultaneously, the enclosed atmosphere of the bed came to be understood as an arena in which 'inner thoughts could be explored', argues Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson: 'the space inside the bed is dark like the night, but bounded like a stage, on which fancy and imagination can project figures'.[31] As in the case of the allegorical over-looker, *Titus* seems dramaturgically self-conscious of the convention to link sex with death under a canopy, helped by the fact that *Titus* is the presumed sequel to another play in this repertory, 'Titus and Vespasian', name-checked in *Malta* (2.3.10). While no stage direction explicitly calls for an arbour, implicit stage directions that describe Tamora when she is discovered with Aaron in the royal hunting park outside Rome as 'Dian, habited like her, / Who hath abandoned her holy groves / To see the general hunting in the forest', warrant the prop (2.2.57–59). Titus himself describes this scene where 'the fields are fragrant and the woods are green' (1.1.2). Aaron buries 'gold under a tree', presumably referring to one of the stage pillars, only to be interrupted by Tamora (2.2.2). In entwining rhetoric akin to that of Bel-Imperia, she figures Aaron and herself as Aeneas and the ill-fated Queen of Carthage:

> Let us sit down and mark their yellowing noise;
> And after conflict such as was supposed
> The wandering prince and Dido once enjoyed,
> When with a happy storm they were surprised
> And curtained with a counsel-keeping cave,
> We may, each wreathed in the other's arms,
> Our pastimes done, possess a golden slumber,
> While hounds and horns and sweet melodious birds
> Be unto us as is a nurse's song
> Of lullaby to bring her babe asleep. (2.2.20–29)

'Curtained', 'cave', and 'wreathed' seem to indicate a physical arbour prop enclosing the seated lovers. If indeed attached to a post, this arbour prop would obscure sightlines of the two actors, unable to see who would be entering upstage. The constant surprise these unlucky couples express when preoccupied in the arbour gathers warrant if some cloth or other material necessarily attached to one of the pillars believably obscures their view.

[29]All references to Robert Greene, 'Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay', in *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, eds. David Bevington, et al. (W. W. Norton & Company, 2002), 129–81.
[30]Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England: Material Culture and Domestic Life, 1500–1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 238–39.
[31]Ibid., 248.

Those beloveds who meet their ends in the arbour are usually innocent to some degree, establishing a horizon of expectations, to use Susan Bennett's framework, for returner-playgoers.[32] Strategically placed near Southwark wherry landings, the Rose was one of the more conveniently located playhouses of the early 1590s outside the City of London. One way to think of playhouse attendance beyond the parameters of authorship is to consider the specific affordances associated with the architecture of a specific venue. A playing company renting the Rose would be afforded a balcony and posts, but also perhaps all the specialised props designed for the space and a part of the tiring house stores owned by Henslowe. Tiffany Stern, in arguing for the ways in which the playhouses participated in the performance event, observes that beyond concealing characters, posts may have operated 'as alternative stocks: they were public sites where playhouse felons, once caught, could be attached for public ridicule' whose 'negative connotations may have added ambiance to the stage posts' as being associated 'with punishment'.[33] The reuse and recycling of the same prop – such as the arbour (in this case), a triumphal chariot, or an altar – across several company repertories would over time cue playgoers to associate a specific special effect with a playhouse and not a playwright.[34]

If we think of the arbour as a material object in this way, moving across and between narratives staged by a variety of companies but in the same venue, it becomes possible to consider its affective potential. Having become associated with a love-and-murder convention in highly charged sexual encounters, the arbour becomes what Sara Ahmed calls an 'object of emotion' – contending that 'emotions are not "in" either the individual or the social, but produce the very surfaces and boundaries that allows the individual and the social to be delineated as if they are objects', the arbour might be understood as materialising the border that bars the rest of the world of the play from the couple's world.[35] By extension, 'it is the objects of emotion that circulate, rather than emotion as such', causing those objects to become 'sticky, or saturated with affect, as sites of personal and social tension'.[36] Certainly as it appears amongst multiple Rose playtexts, newly afforded by posts to which it can be attached (literally and figuratively), the arbour gathers further connotations, accreting this specific connotation of requital-*cum*-murder, with each iteration.

[32]Susan Bennett, *Theatre Audiences: A Theory of Production and Reception*. 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1990).
[33]Tiffany Stern, '"This Wide and Universal Theatre": The Theatre as Prop in Shakespeare's Metadrama', in *Shakespeare's Theatres and the Effects of Performance*, edited by Farah Karim-Cooper and Tiffany Stern (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 22.
[34]For examples of altars, chariots, and immolation across repertories, respectively, see John Kuhn, '*Sejanus*, the King's Men Altar Scenes, and the Theatrical Production of Paganism', *Early Theatre* 20, no. 2 (2017): 77–98; Elizabeth E. Tavares, 'Super Troupers; or, Supplemented Playing before 1594', *Shakespeare Studies* 45 (2017): 77–86; Lawrence Manley, 'Playing With Fire: Immolation in the Repertory of Strange's Men', *Early Theatre* 4 (2001): 115–29.
[35]Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 10.
[36]Ibid., 11.

An essential premise of Andrew Sofer's ground-breaking *The Stage Life of Props* likewise contends that, for Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre marketplaces,

> the function of the stage property duplicate[d] that of the theatre itself: to bring dead images back to life – but with a twist […] theatre itself is a vast, self-reflexive recycling project. The same elements – stories, texts, actors, props, scenery, styles, even spectators – appear over and over again. Our pleasure in seeing the relic revived, the dead metaphor made to speak again, is the very reason we go to the theatre to see a play we already know well.[37]

The potential a recycled prop has to activate a specific phenomenology for knowing playgoers may not be unique to English theatre, but at the least seems part of the architecture of its plays as well as its playhouses. This bears out in contemporary re-stagings; as Duncan has observed of the recycling of *Hamlet* props for a Royal Shakespeare Company production of *The Revenger's Tragedy*, their 'archival traces … reveal the ways on which objects can develop "across-play prop personalities", allowing us to chart new courses and new genealogies through successive productions of Shakespeare'.[38]

Titus may indeed be trying to capitalise on its repertorial context in just this way by placing Aaron and Tamora in an arbour, eliciting sympathy for the hitherto brutalised pair while signalling Aaron's quickly approaching murder. The arrival of Bassianus and the hunting party to discover them seems just in line with expectations established by the rest of this repertory. Instead, it is Bassianus, the lover only just secured of his bride Lavinia in the previous act, who is stabbed twice in the name of 'Revenge' (2.2.114–20). Lavinia is discovered later by the hunting party amidst hunting 'wind horns', raped and maimed:

> Speak, gentle niece, what stern ungentle hands
> Hath lopped and hewed and made thy body bare
> Of her two branches, those sweet ornaments
> Whose circling shadows kings have sought to sleep in
> . . . . . .
> O, had the monster seen those lily hands
> Tremble like aspen leaves upon a lute
> And make the silken strings delight to kiss them,
> He would not then have touched them for his life. (2.3.16–19, 44–47)

This grotesque blazon, as described by her uncle, inverts the now-conventional simile of a lover's arms as encircling vines of the very-real arbour familiar to the boards of the Rose. Such a staging seems to bring to fruition the inversion implied by *Spanish Tragedy*:

> BEL-IMPERIA. But whereon dost this chiefly meditate?
> HORATIO. On dangers past, and pleasure to ensue.
> BALTHAZAR (*above*). On pleasure past, and dangers to ensue. (2.2.26–28)

[37] Andrew Sofer, *The Stage Life of Props* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 3.
[38] Duncan, *Shakespeare's Props*, 20.

That *Spanish Tragedy* was one of the most performed plays of the period, with 30 discrete performances recorded, all after the Rose renovations, suggests it was one of the primary vehicles by which a broad swath of playgoers encountered the arbour prop as specifically cordoning a site of tragedy warranting revenge.[39] That it was only bested in number of performances by *Malta* (36) and that their repertorial compatriots were staged at respectable intervals (*Alcazar* 14, *Massacre* 11, *Bacon* 9, *Titus* 5) suggest that, when attending a performance at the Rose, a playgoer could anticipate seeing the arbour special effect in action regardless of playing company or genre to be had.

Murder Corners and Other Speculations

Attending to the repetitions of the arbour across the Rose post-renovation repertory makes available speculations about the hauntology afforded by this post-prop combination. Following Ahmed, the repetition of the arbour prop over time, gathering denotations in each instance, produces an effect Marvin Carlson calls 'ghosting': the recycling of fundamental semiotic building blocks of theatre to provide 'opportunities for an audience to bring memories of previous uses to new productions'.[40] If 'haunting has been an essential part of the theatre's meaning to and reception by its audiences in all times and all places', then the repertory system of sixteenth-century England was particularly suited to metastasise these opportunities precisely because its principle feature was repeated use of personnel, costumes, props, and spaces around a rotating set of new and revised plays.

> This ghosting of a sequence in a particular production by memories of a sequence or sequences in other productions, perhaps other plays entirely, is especially common when a group of actors continue to perform together over a significant period of time.[41]

Carlson's point is of course true in the case of stock or repertory companies. This framework invites the conjecture that, in addition to 'habituat[ing] audiences to the routines of regular attendance' as Paul Menzer theorises, such prop up-cycling reflects playwrights writing with not only specific company members but also specific playhouses and their props in mind.[42] While Stern and Sarah Dustagheer have both been able to trace the ways in which the second Blackfriars venue affected the ways in which plays were rethought and revived with the affordances of the particular space in mind, the Rose pillars may offer an even earlier recoverable sign of such a practice.[43]

[39]This does not indicate that the play was not in repertory before this period, just that we do not have records of discrete performances surviving.
[40]Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 8.
[41]Ibid., 110.
[42]Paul Menzer, 'Crowd Control', in *Imagining the Audience in Early Modern Drama, 1558–1642*, eds. Jennifer A. Low and Nora Myhill (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 29.
[43]Tiffany Stern, '"A Ruinous Monastery": The Second Blackfriars Playhouse as a Place of Nostalgia', in *Moving Shakespeare Indoors: Performance and Repertoire in the Jacobean Playhouse*, eds. Andrew Gurr and Farah Karim-Cooper (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 107–08, 144; Sarah Dustagheer, *Shakespeare's*

To this point, I offer a final brief example of a play attempting to engage the site-specificity of the Rose while self-aware of the hauntology now 'stuck' to the arbour. A play called 'Hamlet' has only one recorded performance in early June of 1594.[44] If we take that play to be something akin to Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, the 1603 quarto offers two moments that seem to participate in this convention of the arbour as a site of violence. The ghost of his father tells Hamlet that while he was 'sleeping within my orchard … thy uncle came / With juice of hebona in a vial, / And through the porches of my ears did pour / The leperous distilment' (5.45–50).[45] Later, in a stage direction unique to the quarto printing, '*Enter in a dumb-show* [Players *as*] *a duke and a duchess. He sits down in an arbour. She leaves him. Then enters* [*a* Player *as*] *Lucianus with poison in a vial and pours it in his ears*' (9.82.1–3). The stage direction for the so-called Mousetrap play-within-a-play indicates the 'orchard' of scene five is the 'arbour' prop of scene nine. Rather than as Hieronimo discovering his son Horatio hanging in the arbour of *Spanish Tragedy*, the Rose arbour prop here is used to reinforce the trauma of a son discovering his murdered father in the arbour of *Hamlet*. As Sasha Roberts demonstrates in the cases of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Othello*, Q1-specific stage directions tend to be far more precise about how they are intended to be used, perhaps bearing a closer relationship to what was actually performed and clearer insight into stage practices.[46] Again, it is hard to know if the text that survives is of this 'Hamlet', is simply remembering *The Spanish Tragedy*'s use of the prop, or is a revision of this earlier play that included an arbour. Regardless, that Q1 participates in this shared prop-and-ideology ecosystem situates a play so often framed in exceptional terms as one perhaps more successful as being part of the crowd.

I have tried to sketch here, through the example of the Rose's repertory, what thinking with a sensitivity toward venue affords, especially as we continue to learn more about these spaces from archaeology. A rotating repertory, where the space, faces, and material objects were the stable factors, the constants, and the text of the story the daily variable, is a system that relies on audiences bringing their personal histories of watching to the viewing experience. That repetition has the potential to activate the comfort of recognition as much as the delight of surprise when there is a variation in the theme. The combination

Two Playhouses: Repertory and Theatre Space at the Globe and the Blackfriars, 1599–1613 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 7–8.

[44]A caveat should be noted here that I do not disagree with Johnson's argument that this play was likely performed at Newington Butts, part of a small group before the companies returned to the Rose; see *Shakespeare's Lost Playhouse: Eleven Days at Newington Butts* (Routledge, 2017). As we know very little, at the moment, about the architectural layout of that venue, perhaps the portability of this Rose repertory suggests there were similar affordances available. This would only be speculation until an archaeological survey of the site could be taken.

[45]All references to William Shakespeare, 'The Tragical History of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark (1603)', in *Hamlet: The Texts of 1603 and 1623*, eds. Neil Taylor and Ann Thompson, The Arden Shakespeare 3 (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), 41–172.

[46]Sasha Roberts, '"Let Me the Curtains Draw": The Dramatic and Symbolic Properties of the Bed in Shakespearean Tragedy', in *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama*, eds. Natasha Korda and Jonathan Gill Harris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 163.

of post-and-arbour the Rose repertory employed, if only for a short period, reveals a theatre-practice where spaces of the stage began to accrue assumptions – that with time, like an affective patina, the more a kind of episode was staged with a particular combination of props cordoned to feasible quadrants of the playing space, the more it became a marketable locus of surprise for regulars. The dramaturgy of the requital-*cum*-murder scenario in its repertorial context implies the unsustainable nature of revenge as a fantasy of recuperative political violence in these early 1590s plays. Just as Hamlet is brought back again and again to the site of violence, performing the psychology of trauma, so too may have the repeated uses of the arbour prop facilitated such traumatic revisiting for Rose playgoers.

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