

3D Computer Modelling
The Rose Playhouse
Phase I (1587- 1591)
and Phase II (1591-1606)

Research Document

Compiled by Dr Roger Clegg
Computer Model created by Dr Eric Tatham, Mixed Reality Ltd.

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Foreword

1. Introduction

The Rose playhouse was built in 1587 by Philip Henslowe, in partnership with John Cholmley, the first theatre to be built on London's Southbank. A few years after it was erected, possibly in the summer of 1591, the building underwent substantial alterations, the payments for which were later recorded by Henslowe in his account book, or 'Diary', in 1592.¹ By the early sixteenth century, however, the playhouse had fallen into disuse, and by 1606 it had been demolished.

Part of the building foundations of these two phases of the Rose Playhouse—the 'early' Rose (Phase I, 1587-1591) and the 'altered' Rose (Phase II, 1591-1606)—have survived. In 1988, Following the demolition of Southbridge House, a 1950s office block, part of the site of the Rose becomes available for investigation by English Heritage and the Department of Greater London Archaeology of the Museum of London, now The Museum of London Archaeology Service (MOLA). By the time the dig came to an end in 1989, to make way for the erecting of a new office block, Rose Court, archaeologists had uncovered some two thirds of the Tudor playhouse's ground plan.² Because the Rose was built on the south bank of the river Thames, the remains of the chalk and brick foundations and the mortar floor of the yard lie in volatile clay substrate. Therefore, the archaeology has had to be preserved in an anaerobic environment as far as possible by submerging it under layer of sand, cement and water in the hope of preventing drying or microbial decay, and is monitored regularly.

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¹ Whilst the costs for the alterations Henslowe made to his playhouse are recorded in his accounts dated 1592, possibly in time for Lord Strange's Men to move into the playhouse and open at the Rose that February. However, Neil Carson thinks that the work itself was completed before this time: 'The receipts are for large bills which were probably presented some months after the work was completed' and indicating that these match other expenses that have 'the appearance of an account transcribed from other sources' (Neil Carson, *A Companion to Henslowe's Diary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 15). Picking up on this, Manley and MacLean speculate that the renovations may have taken place 'as much as a year earlier, in 1590/91, during the period when Strange's Men were first forming their alliance with Alleyn...But since circumstances suggest that Strange's Men had occupied the Rose as early as 1590 and that they returned there in 1591, there is every likelihood that Henslowe's alterations to the playhouse were a result of the company's influence' (Lawrence Manley and Sally-Beth MacLean, *Lord Strange's Men and their Plays*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014, p. 62.)

² For a history of the Rose Playhouse in the late sixteenth century, and the subsequent story of the archaeological dig in 1989 and the campaign to save and preserve the site, see Christine Eccles, *The Rose Theatre*. London: Nick Hern Books, 1990.





For visitors to the site, the shape of the inner and outer walls and stage in both Phase I and II have been outlined in LED lights, which, along with information boards and a video, help bring to life what remains of Henslowe's playhouse.

The 'Rose Revealed Project' is the Rose Theatre Trust's strategic plans for the site going forwards, which aims 'to investigate, preserve, display and interpret the Rose playhouse remains'. The plan is first to excavate the remains—including the eastern third of the site not uncovered in 1988-89—and to create a permanent education and performance space designed by Helm architects, whose design objective was 'to preserve and commemorate the site of the monument and to give access to all for learning which will be directly and actively identified with Heritage displays' and, in the future, 'to add to the concept of the Visitor Centre by introducing glass floor elements' so that visitors can see the remains.³

In 2013, a grant from the Heritage Lottery allowed the Trust to appoint Kim Stabler, of Stabler Heritage, to manage the initial development of the project. In March 2014, she gave a talk on the project at a symposium at Bristol University—'Early Modern Theatre Research: Practice, Archaeology, Reconstruction'—in which she outlined some of the challenges in revealing Henslowe's Rose theatre, not least the challenges in displaying the remains themselves and telling the story of Henslowe's Rose at the new exhibition. However, there was no mention of using existing or emerging technologies to help reveal the Rose and to tell the fascinating story of Henslowe's playhouse despite the increasing use of Virtual Reality (VR) modelling and Augmented Reality (AR) in museum curation, cultural management, archiving and research.⁴

³ See Helm Architecture, 'The Rose Revealled': http://cargocollective.com/helmarchitecture/The-Rose-Revealed-1

⁴ For example, see Joanne Tompkins and Matthew Delbridge. 'Using Virtual Reality Modelling In Cultural Management, Archiving And Research', *EVA London 2009: Electronic Visualisation and the Arts. Conference*

This project, generously funded by De Montfort University with a grant from the Higher Education Innovation Fund (HEIF), aims *to explore the possibility of creating an 3D computer model of the Rose playhouse—both Phase I (1587-1591) and Phase II (1591-1606), set in its immediate environment of Bankside*, by using the latest scholarly knowledge combined with 3D Virtual Reality technology and to be:

- designed, based on existing data—historical evidence, academic analysis and scholarly debate;
- *annotated*, to make accessible the evidence, analysis and debate;
- accessible to visitors of the Rose site, by using ubiquitous and emerging technology (smart phones, tablets, VR headsets);
- *available* to visitors of the site and the Trust's website:
 - as an annotated video flythrough of the models;
 - as a downloadable app, using a gaming platform allowing freedom to roam the annotated models, including access to historical documents and weblinks;
 - accompanied by a comprehensive research document.

There have been a number of attempts to depict what the early Rose playhouse may have looked like, from 2D representations by the illustrator C. Walter Hodges 5 and the architect Jon Greenfield; 6 to 3D scale models for the films $Henry\ V$ (1944) and Shakespeare in Love (1998), and the Rose Playhouse exhibition (Museum of London, after C. Walter Hodges); and 3D computer models by Ortelia/Joanne Thompson (2013) 7 and Rhys Griffin (2016), 8 although they contain inaccuracies and limitations.

Proceedings. Alan Seal, Suzanne Keene, Jonathan Bowen (eds.). London: British Computing Society (July, 2009), pp. 260-269.

⁵ See Julian M. C. Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre: An Archaeological Discovery*. London: Art Books Intl. Ltd, 1989, pp. 76.

⁶ See Jon Greenfield and Andrew Gurr, 'The Rose Theatre, London: the state of knowledge and what we still need to know', Antiquity, 78: 300 (June 2004), p. 335, 339, and Jon Greenfield, 'Reconstructing the Rose: Development of the Playhouse Building between 1587 and 1592', *Shakespeare Survey 60*, ed. Peter Holland. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 25-26. Greenfield constructs the southernmost bays with an extended flat frontage based on early measurements that were later corrected (Bowsher and Miller, The Rose and the Globe, p. 110); see n. 27, and fig. 11 below.

⁷ Ortelia (2013), with Prof. Joanne Tompkins, University of Queensland:

http://ortelia.com/project/recreation-of-the-rose-theatre/. There reconstruction appears to be based on Greenfields designs for Phase I (see n. 5). The model is constructed on a flat plane, ignoring the impact of relative grounds heights including the raked yard (see fig. 38, below). Henslowe's victualling house appears to be constructed without reference to the archaeological remains (see n. 147 and figs 110-111, below).

⁸ Rhys Griffin (2016) has developed a model of the Rose in association with 'The Lost Valley of London' and The Rose Playhouse for use in a television programme exploring 'Shakespeare's Secret Playhouse': http://www.roseplayhouse.org.uk/shakespeares-secret-playhousepart-1-video/ Likewise, the model is

Creating a model of one of London's Tudor playhouse presents a challenge and mistakes are inevitable. With so many unknowns, creating an entirely accurate or authentic model is anyway impossible. In an attempt, at least, to develop something like an accurate model of the early Rose, this project has drawn extensively on:

- evidence from the archaeological data and analysis by the archaeologists involved in the excavation of the Rose remains:
- evidence from the surviving records and documents relating to Philip Henslowe's playhouse;
- the earliest surviving published texts of plays thought to have been written for or known to have been staged at the Rose;
- information drawn from contemporary accounts, maps, buildings, paintings and engravings;
- the published research by and personal opinions of the architects and builders involved in designing and (re)constructing Shakespeare's Globe;
- and conversations with the experts (archaeologists, scholars and academics) whose expertise has shaped our understanding of the playhouses and playgoing in early modern London who have kindly explored—using VR—and reviewed the 3D model as it developed.

Where there are gaps in the evidence and scholarship relating to the Rose playhouse, these must be filled in, so evidence has been sought from examples of other Tudor playhouses. Beyond the available evidence was added, as C. Walter Hodges notes of his own endeavours at Tudor playhouse reconstruction, 'conjecture, invention, inspiration, guesswork or *art* of some kind,' as well as deductions, assumptions and presumptions. The archaeology and extant historical sources provide only so much information and often say little about the true nature of the superstructure above ground, so the design 'will of course depend for its effectiveness upon the competence and personality of the artist, and is bound to contain, whether it shows or not, mistakes'. ⁹

So why bother? It is hoped that the model will enhance the present visitor exhibit at the site of the Rose—and potentially any new visitor centre in the future—by employing

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constructed on a flat plane, thus removing the impact of the relative ground heights on the construction of the foundation walls supporting the timber superstructure.

⁹ C. Walter Hodges, 'What is possible: The Art and Science of Mistakes' in F.J. Hildy, *New Issues in the Reconstruction of Shakespeare's Theatre*. Peter Lang Publ. 1990, p. 44.

current and emerging VR/AR technology to develop a virtual exhibition that can map onto the real space. That starts with a model of the Rose.

It may also support the Trust's strategic aim of educational outreach by developing a virtual Rose that helps make the site and its story accessible, available and appealing to different user groups through ubiquitous mobile technology. Part of the purpose of creating a singular model of the Rose is to invite inspection, criticism, discussion and debate. Any mistakes, discrepancies or differences of opinion serve to enrich current debate and inspire critical questioning, which has value. Lastly, the creation of a 3D model of the Rose enhances ability to test the relationships between the archaeology and the architecture; explore the impact of sightlines on the audience's experience of using the building as a theatre; consider how the mechanics of Rose stagecraft may have worked in practice, and to consider lighting conditions inside the theatre; and to understand how the social, performative and operational dynamics of the space may have operated. ¹⁰

It is the aim of this document to set out the research used to underpin the choices made in the design of each element of the model of the early Rose as it might have been in 1590, including the plot of land on which it was built, Cholmley's victualling house, and the immediate surroundings of late sixteenth century Bankside, and before Henslowe undertook extensive alterations. (A model of the later, altered Rose playhouse will follow.)

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¹⁰ Ortelia, with Professor Joanne Tompkins, pioneered the use of 3D modelling of the Rose to test accurate reflections of good and bad weather conditions in a London summer, by using advanced real-time lighting and shadowing techniques. The model has been used 'to explore the validity of the proposed reconstruction scenarios as well as explore the way in which this space may have been used to present theatre'. See Tompkins, Joanne, 'Making the invisible visible: virtual stage props and Christopher Marlowe's Dr Faustus', in M. Schweitzer and J. Zerdy (eds.), *Performing objects and theatrical things*, Basingstoke,: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 161-172; and Tompkins, Joanne and Lazaros Kastanis, 'Staging supernatural creatures in a computer-based visualisation of London's sixteenth-century Rose Theatre', *International Journal of Performance Arts and Digital Media*, 13:1 (2017), pp. 4-20.

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2. The plot of land



Fig. 1: An aerial view of the Rose playhouse, Phase I

2.1 The plot

The Deed of Partnership between Philip Henslowe and John Cholmley (fig. 2),¹¹ a contract both for the use of the playhouse and for catering to playgoers, describes the land on which the Rose playhouse was to be built as '[a] garden plot contayninge in lenghe and bredthe sqare every waye ffoorescore and fourteene foote of assize little more or less' (that is, 28.67m² or 94ft²), the southernmost of the two gardens making up the Rose estate, 'adioyninge vnto a lane there commonly called mayden Lane ... as well in by and through the Alleye there called Rosse Alleye leading from the Ryver of thames into the saide parcell of grounde As allso in and by and throughe the waye leading into the saide mayden Lane'.

The Deed of partnership is for the running of a 'playe howsse' situated in the parish of St. Saviours Church (now Sowthwark Cathedral) in Southwark, the County of Surrey, for eight years and 3 months. The contract allows Cholmley to retain sole interest in '[a] small

 $^{^{11}}$ For a transcript of the document, see R.A. Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*. 2^{nd} Edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 304-6.

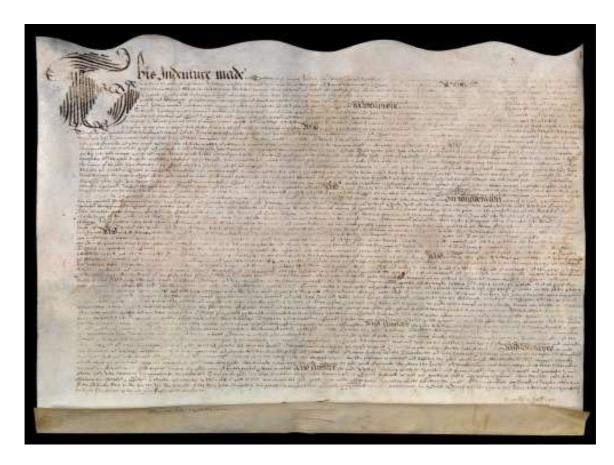


Fig. 2: Dulwich College, Muniment 16: Deed of partnership between Philip Henslowe and John Cholmley for a parcel of ground on the Bankside and in a playhouse [the Rose] to be erected thereon, with details of how receipts are to be paid, Jan. 10, 1586/7.

© David Cooper. With kind permission of the Governors of Dulwich College.

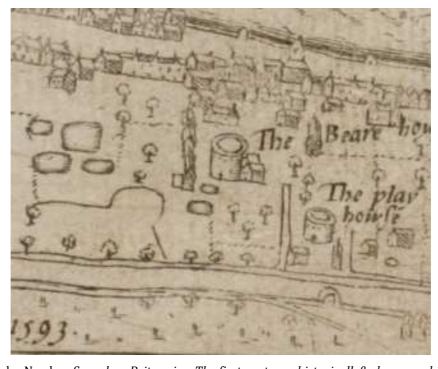


Fig. 3: detail, John Norden, Speculum Britanniae. The first parte, an historicall, & chorographicall discription of Middlesex. (London, 1593), Douce N 253 (1), map following p.26.

© The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford.

tenement or dwellinge howsse scittuate and standing at the sowthe ende or syde of the said parcel of grownde or garden ... to keepe victualinge in or put to any other use'.

Both buildings can be seen depicted by John Norden's on his map of 1593 (fig 3.). His map, a version of the cartographer's map of London engraved by Pieter van de Keere, shows the Rose ("The Play howse") in relation to "The Beare howse" (Bear Garden) on the Bankside. The playhouse is depicted as a circular building with windows and an open, central yard. On the southern side of the building is a feature interpreted as an entrance. ¹²

2.2 Sewer and boundary ditches



Fig.4: The Rose plot showing the sewer ditches to the south and east of the playhouse

¹² It is worth noting that Norden also draws the 'The Bear howse'—the Bear Garden, an area for animal baiting with dogs—as identical in construction to the Rose, but which is known to have been built differently. Norden's depictions of these circular buildings suggests his use of simplified generic representation in his depictions of buildings in the same way he represents houses.



The Bear Garden, , in Ralph Agas Civitas Londinum (c. 1560)



Norden's representation of the same, Speculum Britanniae (1593)

The low-lying land to the south of the river Thames on which the playhouse was built was prone to flooding. To the east of the playhouse, Norden depicts sewer ditches (that is, drainage ditches or water channels, not the modern meaning involving waste), running north, along what is Rose Alley, and along the northern and southern edges of Maiden Lane, the road that runs east-west below the playhouse. Excavation of the plot in 1989 revealed sewer ditches running to the south, east and north of the playhouse:

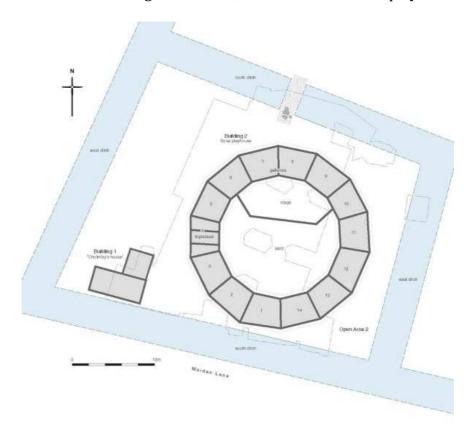


Fig. 5: Ground plan of the Phase I building, in Bowsher and Miller, The Rose and the Globe, p. 91. @MOLA

More than sub-dividing the Rose estate, these formed parts of the water drainage channels from the low-lying land and, perhaps, drainage from the playhouse. The southern-most bay of the playhouse was built right up against the southern sewer ditch, which Sewer Commission records show to have existed since at least 1564.¹⁴

¹⁴ Simon Blatherwick and Chris Pickard, 'The Little Rose Estate: new insights into the Rose Theatre, Southwark: Part 1', in *London Archaeologist* (Summer 2004), MOLA, pp. 24-25.

¹³ Where they met a road or path, Norden suggests they go under it or a bridge, as suggested by the bump in the ditch to the south directly opposite the Rose.



Fig.6: The boundary ditch to the north of the playhouse.

The boundary ditch to the north was perhaps dug as part of the development of the playhouse, rather than as a sewer, helping to separate the southernmost plot from the rest of the Rose estate. Excavations of the site in 1989 showed that the ditch was broken in the centre by a gravelled/cobbled surface comprising a layer of flint pebbles (av. diameter 40-60mm) and was perhaps a causeway across the property boundary connecting the two gardens within the estate, and a possible route to and from the back of the playhouse (for the actors accessing the tiring house, wealthier patrons wishing to avoid the main entrance on Maiden Lane and vendors selling victuals out of Cholmley's house to playgoers inside theatre).

Excavation showed that to the west of the gravelling the ditch was revetted with timber post-and-plank; to the east, this ditch was clearly part of the drainage system. ¹⁶ Full dimensions of the ditch are unknown, but one part measured at least 2m wide and 0.90m deep, cut through the natural clay. ¹⁷

¹⁵ Blatherwick and Pickard, 'The Little Rose Estate', Part 1, p. 25.

¹⁶ Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre*, p. 29.

¹⁷ Bowsher and Miller note that from the southern lip of the northern boundary to the northern lip of the southern boundary measures 25.5m (83ft 7"), and may have been closer to 94ft if measured from the middle of each ditch. However, 94ft west of the eastern ditch falls way short of the western ditch, suggesting the original parcel of land mentioned in the Deed of Partnership (fig. 14) was, they suggest, a sub-division made to create a specific 'playhouse plot' that separated the land attached to Cholmley's house: 'Thus, the measurement [of the plot] was indeed 'little more or lesse' and its precision need not be taken literally'

Excavations by Museum of London Archaelogy (MOLA) revealed the boundary ditch to the east was also revetted:

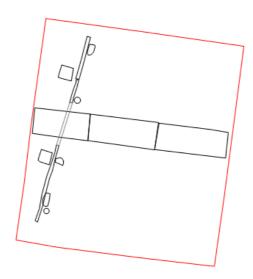


Fig. 7: CAD plan of revetted ditch, excavation trench PKU01 @ MOLA

The revetment comprised a series of oak posts, apparently driven into the western side of the [east] ditch cut, against which horizontal planking had been set. No evidence of joints and fittings was located in the area excavated. The planks were set against the cut of the ditch, although not fully exposed. Documentary evidence from the Surrey & Kent Commissioners for Sewers indicates that not only were the sewers subject to constant re-embanking and re-enforcing (from the 16th century onwards) but that the sewers in the vicinity of the Rose remained as 'open-ditches' at least until the early 19th century ... It is possible therefore, that the recorded timbers are contemporary with The Rose.¹⁸

In April 1588, the Surrey & Kent Commissioners for Sewers orders Henslowe to maintain the 'x [ten] pole[s] more or les lye[i]ng against ther grownd at ty new [Rose] plaie house':

¹⁸ Simon Blatherwick and Chris Pickard, 'The Little Rose Estate: new insights into the Rose Theatre, Southwark: Part 2', in *London Archaeologist* (Autumn 2004), MOLA, pp. 271-272.

⁽Julian Bowsher and Pat Miller, *The Rose and the Globe: Playhouses of Shakespeare's Bankside, Southwark: Excavations* 1988-90. Museum of London Archaeology: Monograph 48, 2009, p. 26.)

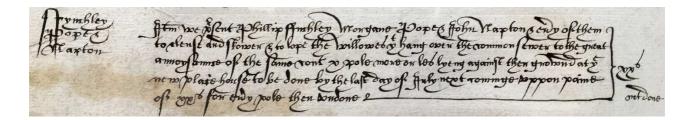


Fig. 8: Court Minutes of the Surrey and Kent Commission of Sewers, 12th April 1588 © London Metropolitan Archive. SKCS, vol. 18, f. 148v.

In August 1605, towards the end of the theatre's life, Henslowe is once again ordered to 'mend sufficiently pyle and boarde three poles more or less of the bancke againste his [Rose] playhouse in Maydlane [Maid Lane]':



Fig.9: Court Minutes of the Surrey and Kent Commission of Sewers, 29th August 1605 © London Metropolitan Archive. SKCS, vol. 18, f. 422v.

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3. The Rose playhouse, Phase I (1587-1591)

3.1 Bridges and main entrance



Fig. 10: The main entrance to the playhouse, with bridge across the southern ditch

The Deed of Partnership (fig. 2) holds Henslowe and Cholmley accountable to 'repaire and amende all brigges and wharffes belonginge to the saide parcel of grounde'. The plot of land also contained two other buildings (see 'John Cholmley's Victualling House', below), suggesting that the street frontage may have had up to three footbridges over the southern boundary sewer ditch, to the three properties fronting Maiden Lane.

In his drawing of the front elevation of the Rose playhouse (fig. 11), Jon Greenfield shows a main access to the yard with stairs either side (via doors to the left and right).¹⁹

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¹⁹ In part, this concept is based on the theory that the front three bays of the playhouse were arranged almost straight along Maiden Lane, an idea based on faulty measurements (see n. 27, below).

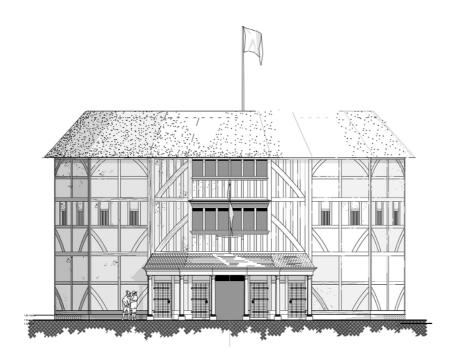


Fig. 11: 'Elevation of the conjectured entrance gatehouse' Illustration by Jon Greenfield, 2004 (in Greenfield and Gurr, 'The Rose Theatre, London', p. 339).

Since then, however, Greenfield thinks that perhaps 'there would have been as few access points as possible, to control the taking of money etc.' and, in response to the Phase I model for this project, says '[I] like the idea that a penny was paid on the bridge, then another penny on access to the galleries. Perhaps I ran away with this idea a little, but my plan shows the main access to the yard with stairs either side, and this being the main way of access, and paying a fee, for all parts of the building. I added a canopy, and Bill Dudley and I got excited about how it made the building fit the later traditions of theatre entrances. Fancy, perhaps. You can also see that I changed the framing on the two bays facing Maid Lane to be of a higher grade—close studding and a little decoration, rather than a plain framing elsewhere. Fancy again—I have no evidence for this, but making something of the frontage is good architecture!'20

The model has borrowed this architectural good practice of close studding and a little decoration to the south entrance. Jon Greenfields design entrance design is based on faulty measurements which led to misinterpretation of the configuration of the southernmost bays of the playhouse by scholars of the Rose archaeology before 2007 (see n. 27). It is more likely that only one main entrance existed, as depicted by John Nordan.

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²⁰ Personal correspondence by email, 8 July 2016.

3.2 Exterior decoration

3.2.1. The sign of the Rose



Fig. 12: The playhouse, looking west along Maiden Lane showing the sign of the Rose

The Rose was identifiable to patrons by its signboard hanging outside. Johannes De Witt, a Dutchman who visited London around 1596, left the following description in a manuscript titled *Observationes Londiniensis* (now lost): 'There are four amphitheatres in London so beautiful that they are worth a visit, which are given different names from their different signs. In these theatres, a different play is offered to the public every day. The two more excellent of these are situated on the other side of the Thames, towards the South, and they are called the Rose and the Swan from their signboards.'²¹

For the model, the image of a rose on the sign has been taken from title page of *The Grete Herball* (1526) (fig. 13), a compendium of herbs and plants and their medicinal properties:

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²¹ See E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. II, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923, pp. 411-14.

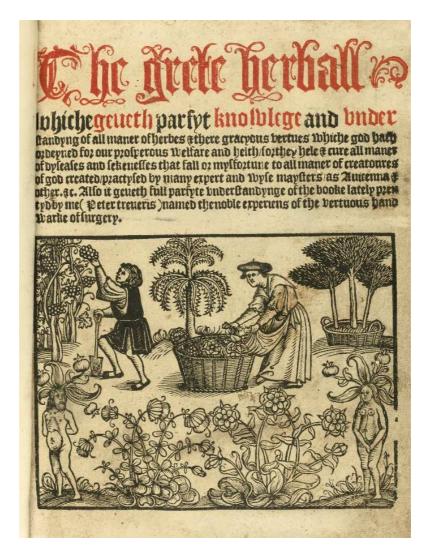


Fig. 13: Title page, Peter Treveris, The Grete Herball (Southwark, 1526)

3.2.2 Timber frame

The model shows the exterior of the first phase of the Rose playhouse as a visible timber-frame. However, it is possible that the wooden frame of London's playhouses were whitewashed or the outer walls completely plastered over and painted to make them look more like a solid or stone building. In Tudor England, 'Timbering was frequently plastered or lime-washed over (exposed and black-painted timbers being largely a Victorian fashion)'.²²

²² English Heritage, 'Tudors: Architecture – the Middling Sort': http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/learn/story-of-england/tudors/architecture/ [accessed 22 July 2017]



Fig.14: Dulwich College, Muniment 22: Contract by Peter Streete, carpenter, with Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn to erect for the sum of £440 a 'new howse and stadge for a Plaiehowse [the Fortune] ... nere Golding Lane', to have the same dimensions, as given, as the Globe Theatre, Jan. 8, 1599/1600, with acquittances on the verso dated Jan. 8, 1599-June 11, 1600.

© David Cooper. With kind permission of the Governors of Dulwich College.

The contract for Henslowe's later Fortune playhouse (fig. 14) stipulates that that 'all the saide fframe and the [external] Stairecases thereof to be sufficyently enclosed w[i]thoute with lathe[,] lyme & haire'. ²³ Whether this was the case for the Rose as well is not stipulated in the Deep of Patnership, which included no references to the design or construction of the earlier Rose.

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 $^{^{\}rm 23}$ Foakes, $\it Henslowe's$ $\it Diary$, p. 308 (Muniment 22).

None of the depictions of the Rose by Norden show an obvious timber frame (fig. 3, above), and depictions of the first (fig. 15) and second Globe (fig. 16) playhouse appear to suggest a solid or plastered exterior:



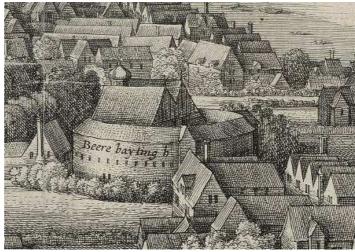


Fig. 15: *detail*, the first Globe, Claes van Visscher's 'View of London' (1616)

Fig. 16: *detail*, the second Globe playhouse (mislabelled 'Beere bayting') in Wenceslas Hollar's 'Long View of London from Bankside' (drawn c. 1630, publ. 1647)

John Ronayne suggests that 'as playgoers approached an Elizabethan theatre they would have seen the high white walls (plaster over half-timbering) suggesting perhaps some grave and substantial Roman temple or arena. But once through the doors, they would have entered a world of imagination and possibility far removed from the lath and plaster familiar from everyday life'.²⁴ He goes on to argue that evidence of lath nail holes and nails detected on sixteenth century buildings is further proof of exterior render, and gives examples of payments made to tradespeople to lath and plaster and paint 'as stone' the exterior of contemporary buildings. Ronayne believes that '[t]he Globe's exterior is shown in principle views as a white building with walls looking as if they are stone. Yet we know it is a timber-framed building. Thus it must have been rendered'.²⁵

²⁴ John Ronayne, *'Totus Mundus Agit Histrionem*: The Interior Decoration Scheme of the Bankside Globe', in *Shakespeare's Globe Rebuilt*, eds Ronnie Mulryne and Margaret Shewring. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 121.

²⁵ John Ronayne, 'Style', in 'The shape of the Globe': Report on the seminar held at Pentagram Limited, London by the International Shakespeare's Globe Centre (ISGC) on 29 March 1983. eds by Andrew Gurr, John Orrell, and John Ronayne. *The Renaissance Drama Newsletter Supplements 1*. Coventry: University of Warwick Graduate School of Renaissance Studies, 1983. p. 23. In discussing the exterior for the reconstructed Shakespeare's Globe in London, Roynayne suggests that 'The question whether the rendering should be complete or the timber should be exposed enough to breath is less significant than the conclusion that a magpie black and white half-timbering is not acceptable'. Gabriel Egan notes that later

Andrew Gurr's view is that 'all lath-and-plaster walls would have been painted, or plastered, to conceal the woodwork, leaving a white cover. That however, would still show up the lines of the framing timbers, at least in outline. The experiments that Peter McCurdy and I did [in designing and building the reconstructed Globe] suggest that the timber frames would always have been apparent, even after a thorough whitewashing.'26



Fig. 17: The model showing what the early Rose may have looked like with a plaster covered timber-frame

However, much of the evidence for plastering the external walls of London's playhouses comes later than Phase I of the Rose and it is at least possible that the frame was left uncovered.

Ronayne was to argue the opposite: 'As our reconstruction is the first major timber-framed building in the capital since the [great] Fire, our decision, on balance, was to expose the structure of what is a rare sight in London, rather than cover it up as the Elizabethans may have done, taking for granted the frameworked appearance. For them, outer rendering was grander. For us, half timbering is more generally evocative.' (Ronayne, 'Totus Mundus Agit Histrionem', p. 122; Gabriel Egan, 'Reconstructions of the Globe: A Retrospective', Shakespeare Survey 52, ed. Stanley Wells, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 1-16.)

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²⁶ Personal correspondence by email, 11 August 2016.

3.3. Walls

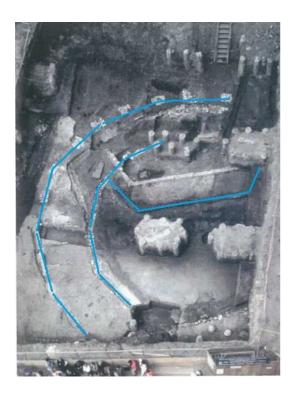
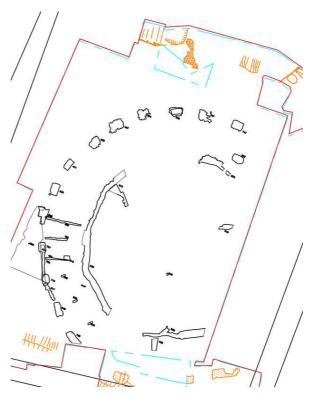


Fig. 18: Photo of the Rose remains © Andrew Fulgoni Copyrights Ltd. / The Rose Theatre Trust



CAD drawing, SBH88-PR411 showing location of Phase I remains @ MOLA

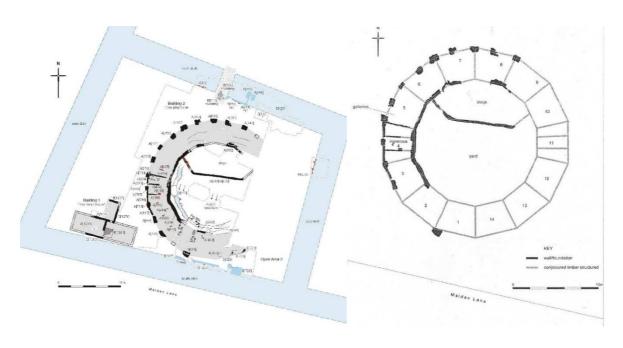


Fig.19: Diagrams plotting the relationship between the archaeology and the timber frame, (Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe,* p. 24 and 30) © MOLA

The model is consistent with construction of timber framed playhouses in the sixteenth century, comprising a footing made from chalk blocks and brick, a heavy oak frame made in structural bays, infill panels of lath and plaster and a roof of thatch. This was fitted out with a carcass of coarse deal (Baltic softwood, red pine) and deal boards, nailed together with a combination of two penny, three penny, four penny and six penny wrought iron nails, and a baluster the gallery fronts.

In Julian Bowsher's first major publications after the excavation, the regular polygonal frame had been noted as broken at the southern end where the angle of the walls had been thought to be shallower than those elsewhere—'the foreshortening would have provided an almost straight side along the street frontage'.²⁷ However, this supposition was based on faulty measurements.²⁸ Understandably, this has led to misinterpretation of the front of the playhouse by scholars of the Rose before 2007.²⁹

The Rose playhouse was built as a polygon of 14 sides,³⁰ with the southern-most bay parallel to Maiden Lane.³¹ The model has been build based on the archaeology—the known positions of the surviving footings and the conjectured position of the superstructure (see figs. 18-19, above).³²

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²⁷ Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre*, 2009; Julian Bowsher, 'The Structure of the Rose', in F. J. Hildy, *New Issues in the Reconstruction of Shakespeare's Theatre*. New York: Peter Lang, 1990, pp. 33-34.

²⁸ Julian Bowsher, 'The Rose and its Stages', *Shakespeare Survey 60*, ed. Peter Holland. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 37.

²⁹ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 110. Andrew Gurr, 'New Questions about the Rose', *Times Literary Supplement*, April 18 2003, n.p.. The reconstruction designs of the Rose playhouse by Jon Greenfield are based on these faulty measurements, in Greenfield and Gurr, 'The Rose Theatre, London', pp. 330-340; as is the subsequent 3D model by Ortelia (2013).

³⁰ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 37.

³¹A plan of the Swan playhouse, drawn in 1627, appears to show 14 sides (see fig. 57).

 $^{^{32}}$ See also Jon Greenfield's explanation for reconstructing the dimensions of the Rose, in Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre*, pp. 121-125.

3.3.1 Outer walls



Fig. 20: The outer wall consisting if a low brick wall (built on top of subterranean chalk foundation piles) above which sits the load bearing timber sleeper beam, or ground-cill, on which is built the timber superstructure, with wattle and plaster infill

The outer sides of the 14 bays were an *average* of 5.0m in length, equivalent to the Tudor building measurement of a rod (5.5 yards; 16ft 6"; more commonly a unit of surveying rather than building, the rod was possibly used at the Rose to set out the plot rather than the building).³³ Each section of outer wall had three piers, or pile caps, set approximately 2.5m (8 feet, 2.5 inches) apart along its length, placed at the centre and at the ends of each side of the polygon. Thus there were 28 piers around the entire outer wall of the building.³⁴ The rectangular piers were constructed of mortared chalk blocks built flush with the variable external ground surface. The piers were then surmounted by brick plinths of varying heights to provide a uniform platform on which to build the timber superstructure (see photo and diagram, 'remains as found', fig. 21).

³³ Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre*, p. 34.

³⁴ In two instances in the archaeological remains, a brick plinth surmounting the pile caps remained, and traces of the shallow chalk foundation wall also survived in the south-west corner.

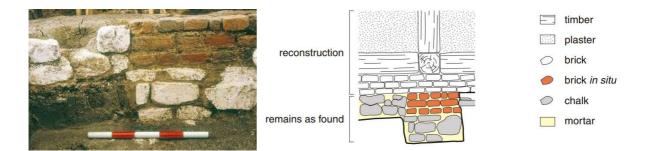


Fig. 21: Photo of the remaining wall foundations at the site of the Rose, and a diagram showing how they relate to the brick and timber superstructure, in Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 30. © MOLA

The model is based on Bowsher's suggestion that the width of the overlying superstructure wall is likely to have related to the width of the wall foundations—0.24m deep and wide, or the equivalent of 9", which is just over the length of a Tudor brick and the standard for a Tudor cill beam. In the excavation, these foundations appeared flush with the Tudor ground level. Above the ground (see 'reconstruction', fig. 21) there was likely have been a low brick wall on top of these foundations, about 0.33m (1ft 1") hugh, to provide a base for the timber sleeper beams or ground-cills. These cills would act as load bearing members for the superstructure frame above the inevitably damp ground level.³⁵

The contract for Henslowe's Fortune playhouse provides for a 'stronge foundacion of pyles, brick, lyme and sande ... to be wrought one foote ... att the leiste above the ground';³⁶ the contract at the Hope specifies, 'a good, sure, and sufficient foundacion of brikes ... xiiiteen [13] ynches at the least above the grounde'.³⁷

Evidence from the site suggested that the outer walls were filled with wattle and plaster (fig. 22). As Salzman explains, '[w]attling consisted of a row or upright stakes the spaces between which are more or less filled by interweaving small branches, hazel rods, osiers, reeds, think strips of wood, or other pliant material. On one side, or more usually both sides, of this foundation earth, clay, mortar, or plaster is daubed and thrust into the

³⁵ Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre*, p. 37. Greenfield suggests that 'the cill height can be worked out from the highest ground level from the levels in their [the MOLAR archaeologists] records [for the topography of the site]. Contemporary good practice tells us that the timber cill would be at least 12 inches above the ground, set on a brick plinth, and the Fortune contract stipulates fifteen inches of brickwork' (Greenfield, 'Reconstructing the Rose', pp. 25-26), although it's unclear how Greenfield relates the 'one foot', stated in the Contract, to '15 inches'.

³⁶ Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 307 (Muniment 22).

³⁷ Greg, *Henslowe* Papers, p. 19-22.

interstices, the surfaces being smoothed and usually treated with plaster or at least a coat of whitewash.' $^{\rm 38}$



Fig. 22: Wattle and daub walls between timber frames

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³⁸ L. F. Salzman, L. F., *Building in England Down to 1540: A Documentary History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952, p. 188.

3.3.2. Windows





Fig. 23: Open fretted windows around the middle gallery, with glazed diamond leaded lattice to the front elevation (above) and rear tiring house (below).

Norden's map of 1593 shows the Rose playhouse with windows encircling at least one of the galleries (fig. 3, above). Norden's later map, *Civitas Londini* (1600), depicts the southern half of the Rose, which remained unchanged in the renovations carried out in 1592, with a single line of windows. It seems likely, therefore, that openings to form windows were located around one of the gallery tiers. (Assuming the early Rose had three tiers, providing openings in the middle would seem most practical.) Salzman explains that 'a window is an opening in a wall to admit light and air' and not until 1700 did glazing become common place. Where ventilation and light, and exclusion of birds, rather than protection from the elements was the concern, fretting or lattice could be used. In

domestic glazing, the Tudor period saw the establishment of the diamond leaded lattice (fig. 24) to hold small pieces of glass, which was limited due to methods of production to irregular shape and thickness so that it was difficult to manufacture anything larger than a foot in length; cheaper alternatives, William Horman informs us in 1519, could be 'paper or lyn cloth straked a cross with losynges, make fentrals in stede of glasen windows'.³⁹





Fig. 24. Tudor glazed diamond leaded lattice

Fretted window openings at London's Shakespeare's Globe

Because the playhouse was open to the elements, it would have been an unnecessary expense to glaze the openings except perhaps for those in the tiring house where protection from the elements was probably necessary (storage rooms and an office for Henslowe, perhaps). Henslowe's later Fortune contract (fig. 14) stipulates 'convenient Windowes and lightes glazed to the saide Tyreinge howse'.⁴⁰

Whilst there's no evidence the front of the building would also be glazed, here the model follows Jon Greenfield's assertion as an architect that 'making something of the frontage is good architecture!' 41

³⁹ Cited in Salzman, *Building in England Down to 1540*, p. 173.

⁴⁰ Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 308 (Muniment 22).

⁴¹ Personal correspondence by email, 8 July 2016.

3.3.3. Inner walls



Fig. 25: The inner gallery wall consisting of a low brick wall, on top of which sits the timber sleeper beam, or ground-cill, and the timber frame.

The parallel inner wall foundations were found 3.5m (11ft 6") from the outer wall, measured centre to centre. This is roughly equivalent to the Fortune contract (fig. 14), which stipulates that 'All which Stories shall conteine Twelue foote and a half of lawfull assize in breadth througheoute', where measurement here is from the extremity of the outer wall to the extremity of the inner wall. ⁴² The comparable measurement for the Rose is, according to Bowsher and Miller, 3.9m (12ft 3").

The inner-bay fronts would measure 3.35m (11ft), with the inner wall forming a diameter enclosing the yard of c. 14.65m (48ft, across flats).

The surviving wall foundations consisted of a trench-built of chalk and flint foundations, with a low brick wall on top laid in 'English bond' (alternating courses of headers and stretchers; see fig. 26), high enough to create level surfaces for the radial beams of the superstructure running from the outer to inner wall. Of these surviving walls found in the

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⁴² Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 307 (Muniment 22).

archaeological dig, the bricks measured an average of 220mm x 110mm x 55mm and were most commonly orange/red in colour, set in sandy fawn-coloured mortar.⁴³

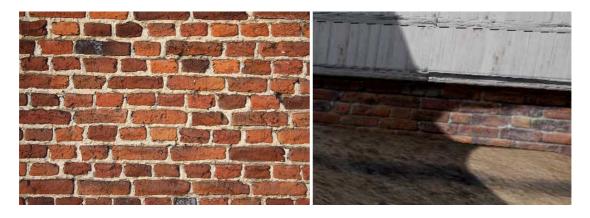


Fig. 26: 'English bond' construction (left) and the inner gallery foundation wall in the model (right)

These inner brick walls would have supported the open-framework of the oak timber superstructure, allowing a view of the yard and stage.

3.4 Timber superstructure



Fig. 27: The internal timber superstructure with open fronted bays, allowing a view of the yard and stage

 $^{^{43}}$ Measurements, dimensions and an explanation of the archaeology has been taken Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, pp. 36, 42, 43, 44, and 53 n.10.

Oak was a ubiquitous material for constructing timber frame buildings, remnents of which was discovered during excavation. As a cost cutting exercise, reuse of oak from ships was common as was also found at the Rose site.

All major structural elements of historic timber framing used 'boxed heart' timbers, meaning the natural circular section of the tree was hewn to a square section with the heart of the annual rings at the centre, providing strength. However, all parts of the wood were used including the softer outer sap wood. (Frames that have survived the ages often show where the less durable sap wood has decayed, leaving timbers with gnarled and rounded arises/corners which would once have been squared off and sharply defined.) Cutting was done by hand so that timbers had small undulations and deviations along their length, and the squared off faces were not necessarily perpendicular to one another. However, jointing would accommodate such irregularities to make them secure fitting. The worked and jointed timbers were then erected on site to make a heavy wooden skeleton, utilising various mortice-and-tenon joints (see fig. 28 and 30). These joints were further tightened by offsetting tapering oak locking pegs, remains of which were excavated at the Rose site. The penultimate stage was 'setting up', when the secondary elements were added—the joists and rafters, walls plastered and the roof put on—and finally 'furnishing', which involved carpenters installing stair treads, seating degrees, balusters, etc.44

⁴⁴ Jon Greenfield, 'Timber Framing, The Two Bays and After', in Mulryne, J.R. and M. Shewring, eds., *Shakespeare's Globe Rebuilt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 100.

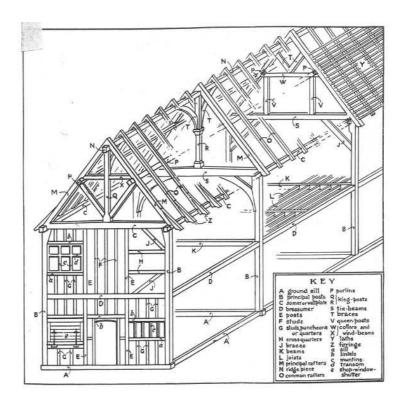


Fig. 28: 'Diagram of the construction of a timber-framed house' (Salzman, *Building in England Down to 1540*, p. 198).

3.4.1 The Galleries

Evidence seems to suggest that three stories were common for playhouses. In c.1585, Samuel Kiechel, a German merchant visiting London, records the two playhouses in Shoreditch to the north, 'are so made as to have about three galleries over one another'.⁴⁵

The sketch of the interior of the Swan playhouse made by Arnoldus Buchelius, after the sketch sent to him by his friend Johannes de Witt (fig. 29), also shows three galleries:

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⁴⁵ Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, II, p. 358.



Fig. 29: Sketch of the Swan playhouse, c.1596. by Arnoldus Buchelius (1565-1641) after the sketch sent to him by his friend Johannes de Witt. © Utrecht University Library, Ms. 842, fol. 132r.

The Hope playhouse, modelled on the Swan, also had three tiers of galleries.⁴⁶

The Fortune contract (fig. 14) stipulates 'the saide fframe to conteine Three Stories', as well as the relative heights and widths of its three tiers: 'in heighth The first or lower Storie to Conteeine Twelue foote of lawfull assize in heighth The second Storie Eleaven foote of lawfull assize in heighth And the Third or vpper Storie to conteine Nyne foote of

⁴⁶ Greg, Henslowe Papers, pp. 19-22.

lawfull assize in height / All of which Stories shall conteine Twelue foote and a half of lawfull assize in breadth througheoute'. 47

However, in seeming contradiction, Jon Greenfield suggests that the Rose playhouse may have had only two galleries. He argues that Norden's depiction of the Rose playhouse (see fig. 3) is 'shown considerably smaller than would be expected for a three storey building in relation to the surrounding buildings, and the other playhouses', and that the distance of the drip line cut into the yard from the timber frame may suggest only two storeys (see 'jutties' below). Greenfield's conclusion is that a three storey Rose playhouse would have had 'compromised' sightlines from the upper most gallery, but which may not have been of concerned to playgoers in the sixteenth century.⁴⁸

The model uses the Fortune contract dimensions for the height of lower, middle and upper galleries—12 ft., 11 ft., and 9 ft. respectively—measured from one floor level to the next floor level (rather than floor to ceiling).

Greenfield thinks it likely that the galleries were supported by timber crossbeams. The positioning of internal bracing to counteract the effect of wind and people using the galleries is not known from the available evidence. Experiments during the reconstruction of Shakespeare's Globe theatre in London suggested they are best positioned on the cross frames from outer to inner wall and in the upper two corners and above head height so as not to inconvenience sight lines through the open inner frame. Rigidity in the front open bays is provided by balustrades. Braces prevent the rectangular frame distorting into a parallelogram under the load, accompanied by a flat floor. The model follows the decision at the reconstructed Globe to give the braces a slight concave curve, which were coming into fashion in the early seventeenth century.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 307 (Muniment 22).

⁴⁸ Greenfield, 'Reconstructing the Rose', p. 31ff.

⁴⁹ See Greenfield, 'Timber Framing', pp. 110-111.

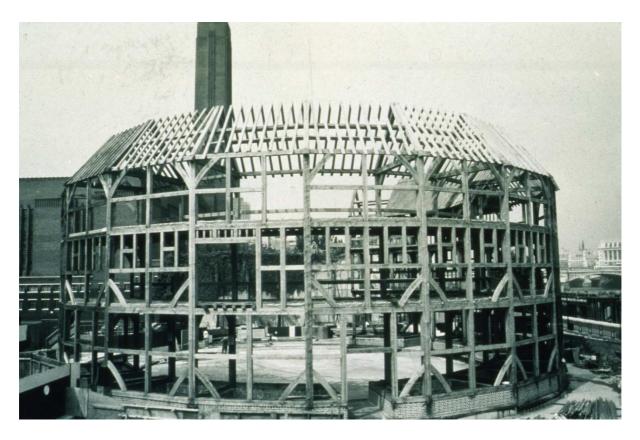


Fig. 30: The new Globe's timber frame⁵⁰

A wooden baluster was found in the debris of the northern boundary ditch (fig. 31), although it is not clear exactly where it belonged or from which phase of the building of the Rose it came from, if at all. Henslowe's purchase of 'ij [two] dossen turned ballysters [balusters]' for his alterations to the playhouse in 1592, during which the northern part of the galleries were pulled down and extended, were perhaps to furnish the new gallery fronts to match the old.



Fig. 31: Part of a wooden baluster found at the site of the Rose playhouse © MOLA

⁵⁰ http://shakespeare.wawstaging.com/fact-sheet-third-globe [accessed 22 July 2017]

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Fig. 32: Gallery front with turned wooden balusters painted to look like green marble, with turned wooden uprights also painted to resemble marble pillars



Fig. 33: The balcony in the Great Hall, Queen's House, Greenwich

In the model, balustrades have been added to the fronts of the second and third tier galleries and painted to look like marble (fig. 32). A surviving example can be found at Queen's House in Greenwich (c.1630s), where the Great Hall oak balcony balustrade has been painted likewise to look like green marble (fig. 33).

The model follows the evidence that the fronts of the lower gallery in some of London's playhouses were boarded, as shown in the sketch of the Swan (fig. 29) and specified in the contract for Henslowe's later Fortune playhouse (fig. 14): 'The same Stadge to be paled in belowe with good stronge and sufficyent newe oken bourdes And likewise the lower Storie of the saide fframe wth inside, and the same lower storie to be alsoe laide over and fenced wth stronge yron pykes', perhaps a deterrent to playgoers climbing over into the galleries to avoid paying a penny to enter, or to keep different sections of playgoers apart, or both.



Fig. 34: Whitewashed boarded lower gallery front with iron pikes

3.4.2 Jutties



Fig. 35: In the model, each successive gallery tier jutties forwards over the gallery below

There were buildings with or without jetties in almost equal number in the London area by 1576. However, within a few years they were to become illegal within the city, although not applicable to Southwark, presumably, which had been under the jurisdiction of the City since 1555 but was made a 'ward without'.

A drip line in the yard surface of the early Rose playhouse, which lay 0.50m from the inner wall and was 0.50m wide, suggests that rainwater from un-guttered eaves was perhaps enhanced by jetties (fig. 36). However, analysis of the various dimensions of the drip lines at both the Rose and a similar drip line at the reconstructed Globe in London show that the playhouse might not have had projecting eaves.

Like Greenfield, Gurr wonders whether this means there were two rather than galleries (see 'galleries', above): 'The erosion trench cut into the mortar surface of the yard by the constant dripping of water from the thatch of the gallery roof is rather closer to the inner gallery walls of the Rose than the one now marked in the new Globe's yard. The Globe's three galleries include two jutties or extensions into the yard from the second and third levels of gallery. The erosion trench at the Rose, being nearer the inner gallery wall, may show the position of thatch covering only two levels of galleries, with a single jutty.'51

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⁵¹ Gurr, 'New Questions about the Rose', n.p.



Fig. 36: the outer and inner wall and a ragged linear depression within the surface of the yard which represents rain erosion from the thatched eaves @ MOLA



Fig. 37: The drip line in front of the inner wall, erosion in the mortar surface of the yard caused by rain water dripping from the un-guttered thatch above.

The projection of some 0.74m to the vertical fall of the centre of the drip line suggests that either the Rose was of three stories with a minimal eaves projection, or that it had three storeys only, of which one was juttied.⁵²

Egan, following Greenfield, argues that jetties allowed for a floor-on-floor method of erecting the timber frame, which was far easier and, therefore, a likely choice in construction: 'in which one wall (presumably the outer) rose in a single plane while the other had jetties so that each storey overhung the one below. The advantage of completing each floor before continuing to the next is lost if there is no jetty and both inner and outer main posts must rise to the full height of the building ... it also minimizes the need for overnight propping, reduces the number of joints which must be mated at one time, and provides a convenient working surface (the unnailed floorboards) which can take the place of scaffolding'.⁵³

The model follows Henslowe's surviving contract for his later Fortune playhouse, which stipulates 'a jutty forwades in either of the saide twoe upper Stories of ten ynches of lawful assize' (fig. 14). The contract has been read to infer a jetty on *both* stories, but may equally be interpreted to mean that *one* jetty is to carry forwards past both stories.

3.5 The yard



Fig. 38: The yard surface was relatively flat to the south (left) but increasingly raked from the centre and most sharply just in front of the stage (right) affording playgoers a view over the heads of those closest to the stage.

⁵² Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 113.

⁵³ Egan, 'Reconstructions of the Globe', pp. 1-16, who follows the explanation in Greenfield, 'Timber Framing', pp. 106-107.

The inner yard was a fragile grey screed floor, partly raked, abutting the line of the inner walls and measuring some 15m (49ft 2.5") from east to west and from the stage, 9m (29ft 6") from north to south, covering approx. 117.3m² (1262.62ft²). Experiments have suggested that the size of the yard might accommodate 400 people loosely packed, and 530 tightly packed.⁵⁴

The southern half was virtually level (an average of 1.08m OD, sloping by 2 degrees), however the norther half raked down to the north by about 0.5m (1ft 8")—approximately 5 degrees—to the front of the stage, but may have levelled out just in front of it.⁵⁵ The surface in front of the stage had been severely eroded; exacerbated, perhaps, by the press of the groundlings to the front of the stage but also water erosion.⁵⁶ The mortar floor had been repaired many times. Whilst the rake downwards probably allowed better viewing of the stage by those further back, drainage would have been a problem.⁵⁷

3.5.1 Relative heights

Evidence for the external surfaces around the playhouse from the excavations is patchy and the dig 'did not allow for a complete survey of the natural and redeposited strata across the site', records Bowsher and Miller. ⁵⁸ Nevertheless, there seem to have been local undulations and a general slope from south to north of the plot. The topographical heights recorded are:

- To the south-west [A813; see the area outlines in grey to the left of bay 4 in Fig. 2, CAD drawing], the only clearly identified area of ground surface associated with the building was a redeposited clay layer at an average height of 1.73 OD (but whether it was a residual area of natural 'high ground' or a result of remodelling the landscape around the new Rose is not certain).
- To the south-east [B173], a gravelled/metal surface which may be contemporary with the playhouse: 1.46m OD

55 Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 48.

⁵⁴ Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre*, p. 59.

⁵⁶ Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre*, p. 43. See also Fig. 40 in Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 49.

⁵⁷ A barrel found under the western end of the stage wall may have something to do with a drainage system.

⁵⁸ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, pp. 34-35.

- To the south [B1404], appears to be a surface pre-playhouse: 1.56 OD
- To the west [B626], a height of 1.46 OD
- To the north [B311], by the outer wall: 1.51 OD. Further north [B509], the cobbled surface transgressing the northern ditch and another possible surface [B107] both lay at 1.30 OD.
- To the north-east [A748], was a clay deposit which may have been contemporary with the playhouse: 0.8 OD.
- No known levels for the area north-west.
- To the east, there is some evidence of the ground surface contemporary with the playhouse (a layer of light grey course sandy with pebbles, adjacent to the revetted ditch [PKU01]): 1.52 OD

The model has been based on the ground surface heights for Phase I, taken from these external heights as well as by plotting a straight line across the centre of the playhouse yard running south to north, recorded on the context sheets archived at London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC) (fig. 39), which make it possible to draw a cross-section of the site on which the Rose playhouse was built (fig. 40): ⁵⁹

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⁵⁹ See also Jon Greenfield's 'Section showing the ground levels in 1587', in Greenfield and Gurr, 'The Rose Theatre, London', p. 337; and the diagram chowing the relative heights of the lower gallery in Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 89.

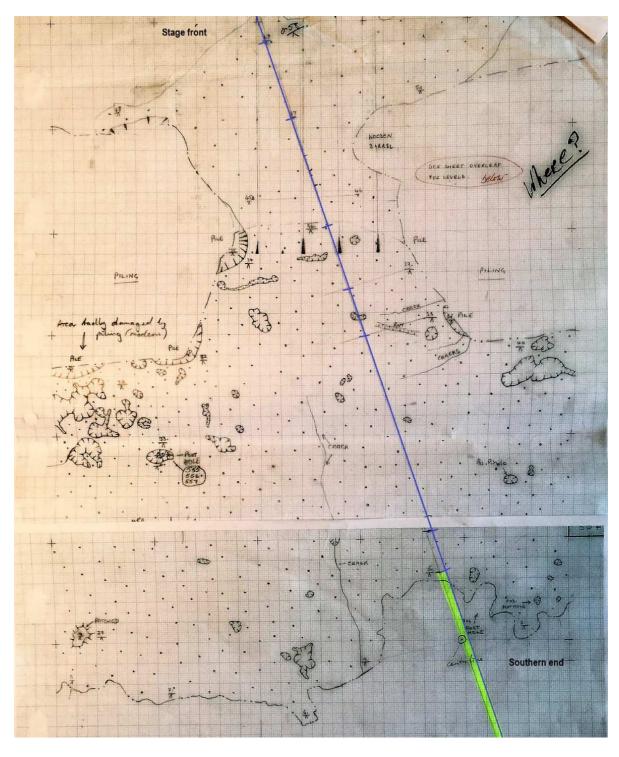


Fig. 39: Context sheets, showing the relative ground heights and structures of the yard for Phase I © London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LARRC)

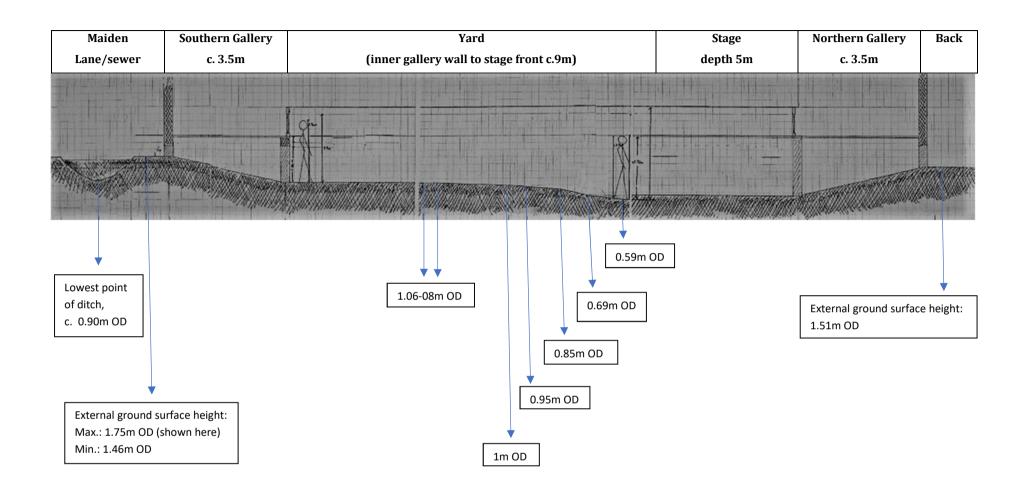


Fig. 40: Cross section of the playhouse Phase I plotted from the context sheets, showing relative heights of ground surfaces inside and outside the playhouse, the yard, the gallery, and the stage (Clegg, 2016)

From these surviving sixteenth-century ground levels it is possible to conjecture the relative heights of the lower gallery, as calculated by Bowsher and Miller and on which the model has been based:

The maximum height found on the brick piers was 1.75m OD. If to this we add a 12" (0.30m) brick plinth wall [attested by the Fortune playhouse contract] it brings us to 2.05 OD. The timber cill beam over this can be conjectured at 9" (0.24m) square [attested at the Hope playhouse contract], thus bringing us to 2.29m OD. The cill beams would have been at the same level as the cross beams and floorboards of one inch (0.02m) over these would give a hypothetical gallery floor level of 2.32m OD. A baluster fragment found during the excavations was used as a basis for reconstructing those fronting the galleries at the new [Shakespeare's] Globe. This, with handrail and jetty rail, would provide a hypothetical handrail level fronting the lower gallery of 0.05m OD. [The yard floor was raked] at an average height of 1.08m OD in its southern half but the slopes down towards the stage where it is about 0.60m OD. The slight uncertainty is caused by sever erosion on the floor surface at the front of the stage. Thus there is 2.45m (8ft) between the yard floor against the stage front and the handrail height of the lowest gallery. However, the height between the surface in the southern half of the yard and the handrail is lessened to 1.97m (6'6"). A reduction of 0.73m (2' 4") brings us to 1.72m (5' 8") and 1.24m (4' 1") below the gallery floor level. The average height of an adult male human being at this period was 5' 7" (1.71m) and a female 5'2.5" (1.59m). Thus they would have stood at an average of 0.01m and 0.13m (5") below the gallery floor against the stage, but at an average of 0.47m (1' 6") and 0.35m (1' 2") above the gallery floor level at the southern end of the yard. For the stage to have had a floor level of 2.32m OD, the same as the gallery floor, it will have been 1.70m (5' 7") above the yard surface at its deepest point. This was clearly above eye level for the average man. Moreover, the only documentary reference for stage height is from the Red Lion f 1567 where it was five foot (1.52m) high. This is assumed to be the height above the level of the yard. Certainly Thomas Platter in 1599 recorded that playing was on a "raised stage" ... It may be that the external wall foundations were lower that the twelve inches we have copied from later building contracts. Alternatively, the stage may have been at a lower level than the galleries, or even slightly raked towards the yard, as it is at the modern [Shakespeare's] Globe.⁶⁰

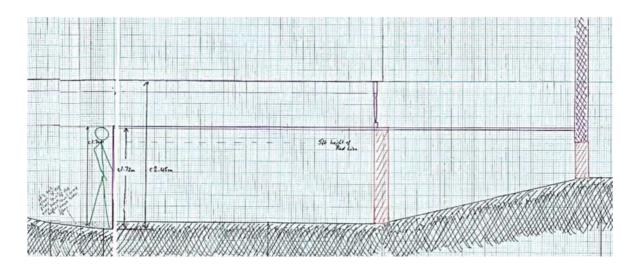


Fig. 41: diagrame plotted from the conext sheets showing relative heights between the yard and stage front (Clegg, 2016)

Based on the relative heights of the ground levels taken from the excavation data provided by MOLA, Greenfield calculates that:

Eye height of someone seated at the front of the gallery would have been about 4' 1" (1.24m) above this, making the eye height of someone sitting at the front of the gallery 9'9" (2,96m) above the yard level by the stage and respectively 8'2" (2.48m) by the southern entrance. If we assume that the balustrade on the front of the lowest gallery is two feet five inches in height, and that it was built like the one described in the Fortune [playhouse] contract, i.e. finished on both sides with solid planking and not made as open balustrade, it would have presented a wall to the yard that was over seven foot at its lowest (by the entrance [bay 1]) and nearly eight foot at its highest (by the stage) ... It is an unfashionable idea, and one that we do not willingly wish to admit to, but there is the possibility that the Rose, in its original form, was based on antecedent arenas that were set up for baiting fierce animals, bears and bulls, with dogs [fig. 42, below]... My primary proposition is not that the Rose is necessarily used for baiting

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⁶⁰ Bowsher, 'The Rose and its Stages', p. 41.

animals, but that the animal baiting arenas provided Henslowe with his playhouse model. 61

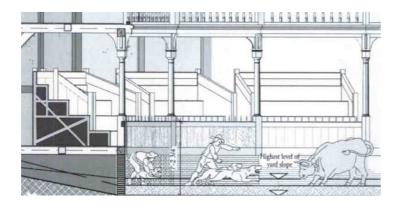


Fig. 42: Jon Greenfield and Andrew Gurr suggest that the relatively high wall may have been intended to keep spectators separate from animal baiting.

Illustration by Jon Greenfield, 2004 (Greenfield and Gurr, 'The Rose Theatre, London', p. 336).

Greenfield and Gurr suggest that the development of Rose playhouse was 'transitional, particularly in the first five years' when its purpose of use is unknown and '[i]f, as the records seem to show, there were no acting companies resident at the Rose during its first five years'.⁶²

As a snap shot in time, our model at least concurs with their suggested phase C of the hypothetical development of the building put forwards by Gurr and Greenfield from 'a first building that did not actually have a stage' through a 'a dual-purpose theatre and baiting house' with removeable trestle-stage, to a more permeant stage/playhouse at least until the building's redevelopment in 1592.⁶³

However, Bowsher is adamant that the Rose was never dual-purpose, nor ever intended for animal baiting and has argued convincingly against Gurr and Greenfield's thesis.⁶⁴

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⁶¹ Greenfield, 'Reconstructing the Rose', pp. 28, 30. For elaboration on this argument, see Gurr, 'New Questions about the Rose', n.p; Greenfield and Gurr, 'The Rose Theatre, London', pp. 330-340; and Andrew Gurr, 'Bears and Players: Philip Henslowe's Double Acts', *Shakespeare Bulletin* 22:4 (Winter 2004), pp. 31-41

⁶² Greenfield, 'Reconstructing the Rose', p. 24. See Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearian Stage 1574-1642*, 3rd edn., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 124.

⁶³ Greenfield and Gurr, 'The Rose Theatre, London', pp. 335-336.

⁶⁴ Bowsher, 'The Rose and its Stages', pp. 36-48.

3.5.2 Main entrance to the playhouse



Fig. 43: The main entrance (without immediate access to the galleries; see fig. 45, below)

We're never going to fully understand the interior arrangements of the playhouse. A large single doorway on the southern side is shown on Norden's maps of 1593 and 1600 (see fig. 69, below), but his drawing may be more generic or representational than accurate.

From the excavations, there's no firm evidence for an entrance into the building from the outside, however brick footings to the south-east of the inner wall may suggest the presence of an entranceway. Excavation found considerable wearing of the ground surface in the inner yard next to the inner wall of bay 1, running parallel with Maiden Lane, suggesting heavy use (i.e. footfall). A brick layer there may have been a possible threshold.

Taking into account the heighest external ground surface outside the playhouse (1.75m OD) and the lowest (1.46m OD)—see fig. 40 above—along with the heights of the brick wall (0.3m high), timber sleeper beam (0.24m) and floor boards (0.02m), the possible gallery floor height above the yard surface at the southern end of the playhouse would have been at its highest, c.1.24m high, and its lowest, c. 1.00m high.

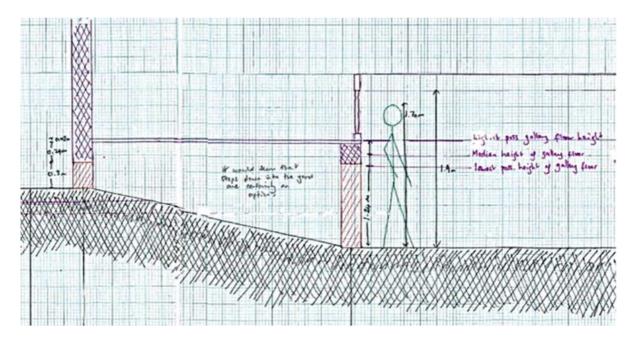


Fig. 44: Cross section of southern main entrance plotted from the context sheets, showing relative heights of the ground outside compared with the internal yard surface (Clegg, 2016).

It seems likely that playgoers entered the playhouse via the lower gallery, so stairs were required to descend from the gallery into the yard (fig. 44). Funelling crowds across the footbridge and directly into the lower gallery floor, as opposed to entering the playhouse from the bridge at ground level, would have the advantage of protecting the north side of the south ditch from erosion through constant footfall.

We have little idea about how the main entrance worked, or how many entrances there were from Maiden Lane although there was only so much room available, although several entrances from Maiden Lane would have been useful, at least in theory, to accommodate the coming and going of up to hundreds of spectators. (Jon Greenfield's suggestion for multiple entrances has already been considered, above.) There may have been some provision for immediate access from the main entrance into the galleries giving playgoers an opportunity to avoid the yard:



Fig. 45: Potentional design for the main entrance (offering access to the galleries and avoiding the yard)

Such an entrance risked creating a bottle-neck, however, and may have made collecting or policing payment difficult. Alternatively, the main entrance may have acted as a mechanism for crowd control: having collected a penny at the entrance, the playhouse design may have funnelled all spectators immediately into the yard. Then, if they wished, they could opt to pay a second penny to enter the gallery via an ingess (see 'Ingressus', below).

From the legal documents pertaining to the earlier Theatre playhouse, built in Shoreditch in 1576, a witness described how he, together with Margaret Brayne (John Brayne's widow) and her supporter Robert Miles, went to playhouse 'vppon A playe daye to stand at the dor that goeth vppe to the gallaries of the said Theater to take & Receyve for the vse of the said Margarett half the money that shuld be given to come vppe into the said Gallaries at that dor'.65

The two-payment system that worked at the former Theatre playhouse may have also worked for the Rose.

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⁶⁵ C. W. Wallace, *The First London Theatre: Materials for a History*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1913, p. 114; cited in Gabriel Egan, 'The theatre in Shoreditch, 1576-1599', in R. Dutton, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 168-185.

William Lambarde described the penny-by-penny system of collecting the take at playhouses, whereby spectators 'first pay one penny at the gate, another at the entry of the scaffold, and the third for a quiet standing'. 66 Lambarde's penny-by-penny system implies that access to the upper galleries was had after entrance to the yard.

Thomas Platter, a Swiss scholar who in 1599 records his visit to a London playhouses with a 'strewn roof' playhouse to see *Julius Caesar* (most likely at the Globe, but it is just conceivable that he is speaking about the Rose), explains that 'For whoever cares to stand below only pays one English penny, but if he wishes to sit he enters by another door, and pays another penny, while if he desires to sit in the most comfortable seats which are cushioned, where he not only sees everything well, but can also be seen, then he pays yet another English penny at another door'.⁶⁷

In the model of Phase I, although it isn't known if such choice of seat was available at the Rose, the option of paying a third penny for a more exclusive room for a seat with a cushion and closest to the stage has been given.

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⁶⁶ Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, II, p. 359.

⁶⁷ Thomas Platter, *Travels in England 1599*, trans. Clare Williams, London: J. Cope, 1937, p. 167. The generally held assertion is that Platter's account refers to the new Globe. However, Schanzer raises the possibility that the play was not Shakespeare's and the playhouse the Rose, which was also thatched, and that the Admiral's Men at the Rose had new Caesar plays in 1594-95 and again in 1602 (Earnst Schanzer, 'Thomas Platter's Observations on the Elizabethan Stage', *Notes & Queries* 201 n.s. 3:11 (1956), p. 467). Rutter conjectures from receipts from the Rose that either 'Playing may have been inhibited over the summer [June-October 1599] as a precaution against the plague' because '[Henslowe] did not record further [admission] receipts until October', or that this 'might be interpreted to mean that the players, having turned over their "wholle gallereyes" to Henslowe for the twelve months preceding, collected the galleries themselves during the summer' allowing the Rose to have been open for a September performance of a 'Caesar play' (Rutter, *Documents of the Rose Playhouse*, p. 168).

3.6. 'Ingressus', or entrance into the lower gallery



Fig. 46: The ingress from the yard into the lower gallery, with access to the upper galleries via an internal staircase.

The structure that allowed patrons to move from the yard into the lower gallery and to gain further access the upper galleries isn't clear.

The sketch of the Swan playhouse (fig. 29 and 45) shows an entrance he calls the 'ingressus' from the yard inset into the lower gallery:



Fig. 45: detail, Sketch of the Swan playhouse, c.1596. See fig. 29 above.

Features in the archaeology (fig. 47) appear in the same location at the Rose playhouse, and may or may not be related to an 'ingressus', or entrance to the lower galleries, as pictured at the Swan. Greenfield clearly thinks not in his architectural drawings of what the internal layout of the Rose may have looked like.⁶⁸



Fig. 47: The 'ingressus' © MOLA

The angle between bays 4 and 5, the centre point of the building, is uniquely marked by brick foundations, presumably needed to support a heavier area of superstructure. A pair of parallel brick walls within bay 4 (1.47m apart; marked in blue) and perpendicular to the outer wall (in orange) and clearly intended to extend to the inner wall (in green) relates to this strengthening. Bowsher conjectures that this was probably an entranceway to the galleries, via a threshold, which may have supported steps. He suggests that there was probably a similar feature on the opposite side, although this eastern section of the playhouse remains unexcavated. ⁶⁹ Lying in the yard adjacent to the walls was a stone conglomeration, including a block of Purbeck marble. The stone slab showed obvious signs of wear from feet had passed over it, suggesting it was more than just a foundation for the steps.

⁶⁸ Greenfield and Gurr, The Rose Theatre, London', p. 335.

⁶⁹ Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre*, p. 38; Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 45. An ingressus is shown in the sketch of the Swan (see fig. 29). Bowsher notes that this cannot have been an exterior entrance or 'egressus' (exit) since the walls abutting the outer wall on both sides.

It may be presumed that there were at least steps up from the yard into the galleries. It is not known if the drawing on the back of a letter from Philip Henslowe to Edward Alleyn (also by Henslowe?) (fig. 48) pertains to the Rose playhouse or is a design for a theatre 'ingressus'. The intriguing inscription beside it, perhaps unrelated, reads 'embroydered carpet'. There appears also to be three bars across the entrance, perhaps designed to prevent access?

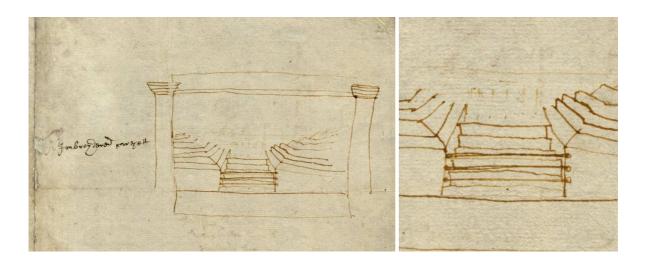


Fig. 48: Dulwich College, MSS 1, f.20r: Letter from Philip Henslowe to Edward Alleyn about the plague, with a drawing on the recto, Sept. 28, 1593.⁷⁰
© David Cooper. With kind permission of the Governors of Dulwich College.

Bowsher's preference is for the ingress steps to be 'inside' the gallery, as shown in the model; however, he points out that there were short walls 'outside' in the yard (fig. 49) at the archaeological remains of the Globe playhouse which might—in the absence of any other ideas—have been associated with ingressi.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Dulwich College archive label the drawing 'of a stage'.

⁷¹ Personal correspondence by email, 22 June 2017.



Fig. 49: An example of stairs jutting 'outside' the gallery frame into the yard

Signs of wear from footfall on the marble slab suggests it wasn't simply a foundation for steps built 'outside' the gallery, which would anyway have protruded inconveniently into the yard.

As for the design of the steps themselves, the model assumes that the staircases leading up to the first-floor gallery were placed in the same bay as the ingressus so as not to take up spectator space from another bay. The only logical way to design steps to allow this is as shown; perhaps a little over engineered (comments Jon Greenfield), they resemble the image on the back of Henslowe's letter to Alleyn.

In his design for the Rose, Jon Greenfield (Greenfield and Gurr, 'The Rose Theatre, London', p. 336) dispenses with access from the yard into the lower gallery altogether, which fits with his early hypothesis with Andrew Gurr that the playhouse may have begun as dual purpose and used for animal baiting.

3.7 Stairways



Fig. 50: The staircase rising from the 'ingressus' to the second-tier gallery.



Fig. 51: The staircase rising from the second-tier gallery to the upper most gallery.

No evidence in the archaeology was found for the position of stairwells up to the first or second floors. In their considerations for designing the new Shakespeare's Globe

playhouse in London, Jon Greenfield and Peter McCurdy concluded that there were three ways the staircases rising to the upper galleries could have been built, any one of them might have been what featured at the original. Bowsher suggests that internal stairs were probably limited in number because they would potentially have reduced seating capacity.⁷² Perhaps the obvious places for internal staircases rising to the upper stories would be next to the 'ingressus'. Stairways would likely have needed extra support, such as a brick foundation in this location at the nearest angle of the polygon. 73

At the Theatre (1576) there appears to have been a clear association between the ingressus, or 'door', and access to higher levels, for money 'gatherers' were to 'stand at The door that goeth uppe to the Galleries of the said Theatre to take ... money that should be given to come uppe unto the said Galleries at that door'. Coins were 'gathered' in clay pots, or money boxes (fig. 52 and 53), rather like a modern piggy-bank, which could be delivered to Henslowe's office where they were broken open and the takings collected and recorded:



Fig. 52: A complete money box was found in the excavations of the site of the Theatre playhouse © MOLA

⁷² Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 115.

⁷³ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 45 & 115. Henslowe's Fortune contract (fig. 14) alludes to more than one staircase.



Fig.53: The broken remains of money boxes found at the site of the Rose playhouse \bigcirc MOLA

In their computer model of the Theatre playhouse, a collaboration between Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA) and Cloak & Daggar Studios, the stairs have been configured to rise in a spiral to the galleries above (fig. 54), which is another way the Rose may have contained the staircases to a single bay in a bid to minimis impact on space for spectators.



Fig. 54: The ingress and spiral stairs to the first-tier gallery in a model of The Theatre © MOLA/Cloak and Dagger Studios⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Cloak and Dagger Ltd., with Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA): http://www.explorethetheatre.co.uk/ [accessed 22 July 2017]

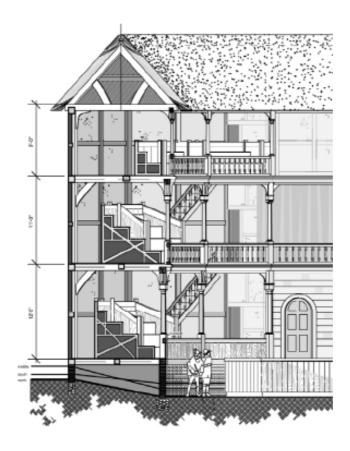


Fig 55: Jon Greenfields designs for the Rose has the stairs zig-zag up one bay. Illustration by Jon Greenfield (2004) (n Greenfield and Gurr, 'The Rose Theatre, London', p. 336).



Fig. 56: The ingress and boxed in staircases in the model of the Rose playhouse by Rhys Griffin (2016).⁷⁵

 75 Rhys Griffin (2016), in association with 'The Lost Valley of London' and The Rose Playhouse.

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In his design for the Rose Phase I (fig. 55), Jon Greenfield positions the staircases rising to the upper floors in the bay closest to the stage—where arguably sightlines may have been poor; as does Rhys Griffin in his 3D computer model of the Rose, who has also boxed them in (fig. 56).

An alternative would have been to place the staircase on the outside of the building. There is no evidence for any form of external stair turret or tower at the Rose, which seems likely to have been a later innovation, possibly around 1610.

'A Mapp of the Mannor or Lordship of Old Paris Garden Surveyed 1627' (fig. 57) shows the ground plan of the Swan, built later in 1595 some distance to the west of the Rose, with fourteen sides and a stair turret on its north-eastern flank, an area of the Rose yet to be excavated.

Gurr argues that 'External stair turrets gave the audience access to the upper galleries, without any sacrifice of seating space inside. The Hope contract specified that its stair turrets should be copied from those at the Swan. The logical place for a stair turret at the Rose would be on the north-eastern flank, closest to London Bridge (which most of the prospective customers would have used). Excavating the eastern flank of the site might tell us about the disposition of the Rose's interior structure above ground, and whether or not it had internal staircases.'⁷⁶

The later Hope contract (1613) also specifies external stair turrets.⁷⁷ Hollar's view of Bankside clearly shows external turrets on the Hope and on the second Globe (fig. 58).

Bowsher's view is that we can be certain there was not a stair turret on the western side, and on the eastern side the archaeology already known to us would suggest that there simply wasn't enough room between the playhouse and the north side boundary ditch to accommodate a stair turret.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Gurr, 'New Questions about the Rose', n.p.

⁷⁷ Greg, *Henslowe's Papers*, pp. 19-21 (Muniment 49).

⁷⁸ Personal correspondence via email, 20 June 2017.

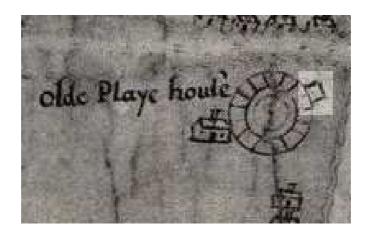


Fig.57: (highlighted) 'A Mapp of the Mannor or Lordship of Old Paris Garden Surveyed 1627' by Thomas Aldwell, London Metropolitan Archive, M/92/143.

(Reproduced in Roberts and 1950, Plate 65, facing p. 94.)

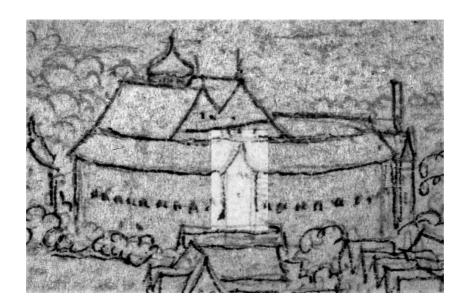


Fig. 58: (highlighted) the turret to the north-east, one of two external turrets in Wenceslas Hollar's preliminary sketch of the second Globe playhouse preliminary sketch (c. 1638) for his *Long View of London* (1647)

In the tiring house, a separate staircase must have run between the gallery levels to give performers access to and from the back entrance to the stage and the second level gallery, and, presuming there was one, the third level where space may have been given over to storage, an office and the gable. Stairs here may also have given wealthier patrons private access to 'Gentlemen's rooms' or a 'Lords room', if these existed in the Phase I building.

3.8 Gallery 'rooms'?

There is documentary evidence for the division of some of the gallery space in London's playhouses into 'rooms', usually at greater cost.

In 1585, a draft lease on the Theatre playhouse gives one 'Gyles Allen' and his wife and family the right to 'enter or come into the premisses & their in some one of the vpper romes to have such convenient place to sett or stande to se such playes as shalbe ther played freely', which indicates that at least part of the spectating gallery space was subdivided into 'rooms'.⁷⁹ In 1600, Henslowe's Fortune contract (fig. 14) stipulated that the playhouse was to have 'ffower coveninet divisions for Gentlemen Rooms' as well as a category of 'twopenny rooms'. The Globe playhouse, built in 1599, was said in 1604 to have 'private rooms'. The contract for the Hope, 1613, stipulates 'boxes in the lowermost storie fit and decent for gentlemen to sitt in'. In the sketch of the Swan there are areas marked 'orchestra', which, say Bowsher and Miller, Thomas Heywood refers to as 'a place in the Theatre onely for th Nobilitie' the source for which in his works I cannot trace.⁸⁰ Peter Thomson is more cautious and reminds us of the uncertainty of where 'top-price patrons' sat: 'Mention of an orchestra is peculiar to De Witt. The bottom gallery may, or more likely mat not, have been more expensive that the upper two of the Swan. There is no real evidence that it was ever reserved for privileged spectators'.⁸¹

It's not known if the Rose playhouse had any such rooms and it is possible there were no such distinctions at the early Rose; the mention of 'Lords Rooms' is first encountered in the 1592 Rose accounts and not before.

The model for Phase I has included divisions for more expensive, and therefore exclusive, seats with a cushion, areas of the playhouse closest to the stage that in the re-modelling of Phase II are to become Henslowe's 'Lords room' and other 'Gentlemen's rooms'.

⁷⁹ Wallace, *The First London Theatre*, pp. 177-78, cited in Egan, 'The theatre in Shoreditch, 1576-1599', pp. 168-185.

⁸⁰ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 116, citing J.C. Adams, *The Globe Playhouse, its design and Equipment*. 2nd edn. London, 1942, although I've not been able to locate the source in the works of Heywood. ⁸¹ Peter Thomson, *Shakespeare's Theatre*. 2nd Edn. London: Routledge, 1992, p. 26,

3.9 Seating



Fig. 59: Seating in the two-penny galleries (long forms) and three-penny rooms closest to the stage (cushioned two-seater stools)

There is not much information about seating from either archaeological or documentary sources. The 'degrees' that appear to be shown in the sketch of the Swan playhouse (fig. 60) seem to indicate tiers of benches, which were probably built from floor levels within the galleries rather from the ground surface: no evidence of supports, or 'needles', were found to have left traces in the clay surface under the lower gallery floor.⁸²

The Fortune (fig. 14) and Hope playhouse contracts imply secondary elements like seating were made from cheaper and easier-to-work imported softwoods generally referred to as Baltic fir, commonly available in London in standard sixes.⁸³

William Lambarde described the possibility of paying a penny to enter the yard, a second penny to enter the scaffold (galleries), and a third penny 'for a quiet standing'.⁸⁴

⁸² Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 115.

⁸³ Greenfield, 'Timber Framing', p. 107.

⁸⁴ Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, II, p. 359.



Fig. 60: *detail*, Sketch of the Swan playhouse, c.1596, showing what appear to be tiers of seats or 'degrees' and which resemble the 'steps' into the galleries'. See fig. 29 above.

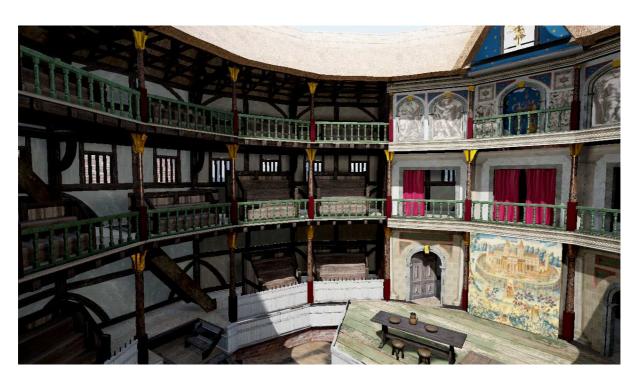


Fig. 61: The model for Rose Phase I with 'degrees' or stepped seating in each bay.

Thomas Platter records that in certain locations in the galleries 'the seating is better and more comfortable and therefore more expensive. For whoever cares to stand below only pays one English penny, but if he wishes to sit he enters by another door, and pays another penny, while if he desires to sit in the most comfortable seats which are

cushioned, where he not only sees everything well, but can also be seen, then he pays yet another English penny at another door.'85

Conjectured height of the lower and second tier gallery at the Rose suggest sufficient sightlines for a seated audience. Seating in a third gallery was more problematic because of 'compromised' sightlines.⁸⁶

Stern (cited in Egan) argues that the galleries are where spectators would expect to stand and walk rather than to sit, and points out that the label 'porticus' attached to the top most gallery in the sketch of the Swan playhouse (fig. 29) is the Latin word for a covered walkway; and in a draft lease for the Theatre (1576), Burbage indicates that spectators could sit or stand in the galleries.⁸⁷ We might reasonably speculate that this was true for the Rose, dated between the Theatre and the Swan.⁸⁸

In the model, a spectator may therefore pay a penny to enter the yard; or pay a second penny to enter the level 1, 2 or 3 galleries to sit on a forms (benches); or pay a third penny to sit on a two-seater stool with a cushion, closest to the stage.

In the final model for Phase I it was decided not to include 'degrees' but instead a combination of seating (benches) and room for standing have been incorporated.

In the three-penny rooms in the lowest (Level 1) and middle (Level 2) galleries, carved oak two-seater forms (benches) with red cushions have been placed in the bays either side of the stage.

⁸⁵ See Platter, *Travels in England 1599*, p. 167.

⁸⁶ Greenfield, 'Reconstructing the Rose', p. 31ff.

⁸⁷ Egan, 'The theatre in Shoreditch, 1576-1599', pp. 168-185, citing Tifferny Stern, "You That Walk I'th Galleries": Standing and Walking in the Galleries of the Globe Theatre', *Shakespeare's Quarterly* 51, (2000), pp. 211-16.

⁸⁸ Of course, if we've learnt anything from the recent discoveries of the Theatre, the Rose, the Curtain and the Fortune playhouses, the excavated remains suggest that each was different and that the idea that there was a pattern of chronological pattern of evolution from one building to the next isn't borne out by the archaeology.

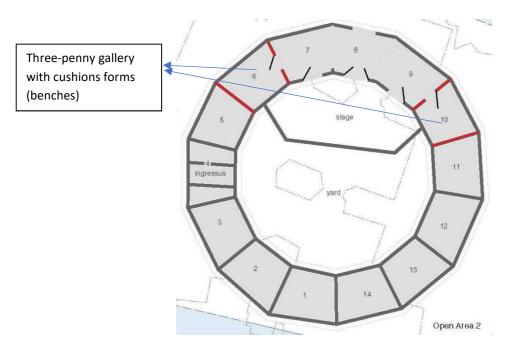




Fig. 62: Three-penny rooms with cushioned forms (benches)



Fig. 63: A 16^{th} century carved wooden two-seater form; and a 3D recreation with red cushioned seat

The remaining two-penny bays have 4 or 5 forms (benches), with room for standing and walking around the gallery behind. In the upper (Level 3) gallery, the bays have two forms (benches) in each, again with room for standing allowing patrons to push forwards to the balcony for better viewing.



Fig. 64: A 3D design for a 16th century long wooden form, or bench.

Gurr and Orrell calculate that 'the internal depth [of the galleries at the Rose] was about 10ft 6 ins, and the average length of the benches in them was about 13 ft. Using the Elizabethan standard separation of 18 ins fore-and-aft, it would appear that there were at least six benches in each gallery bay ... giving a total gallery capacity of 1404 persons'.⁸⁹ Their calculation seems not to give room to those standing, however.

 $^{^{89}}$ Andrew Gurr and James Orrell, 'What the Rose can tell us', Antiquity, 63:240 (September 1989), p. 428.

3.9 The stage



Fig.65: The stage, seen from the yard.



Fig. 66: The remains of the brick footing and wooden construction of the Phase 1 stage (brown in colour, to the right of the image) can be seen in front of the later phase II stage foundations (white in colour, to the left) \bigcirc MOLA

The stage appears to have been an elongated hexagon projecting from the line of the internal wall in the north of the building (fig. 66).⁹⁰ The stage foundations consisted of a brick footing about 0.30m wide with a lacing of stout timbers at its ends.⁹¹ At the front it had three edges: a central section of 8.08m, and two tapering sides, c. 3.0m, therefore covering an area approx. 47.7m².⁹² The height of the stage above the ground level isn't know, but Bowsher suggests that it may have been the same height as the raised lower gallery floor.⁹³

The construction of the main frame or scaffold, an integral structure, meant that the stage was tacked onto the inner wall between bays 6 and 10. Its location diverged slightly from the regularity of the polygon, being neither exactly parallel to bay 8, behind the stage in the north, or to the main entrance (thought to be bay 1), opposite to the south—a difference, Bowsher conjectures, that probably wasn't too noticeable on the ground, but possibly to those in the gallery bays adjacent to it.⁹⁴ Bowsher concludes that the stage was designed as a permanent feature.⁹⁵ However, the 1989 archaeological dig stopped short of verifying whether the Phase I stage was built into the gallery frame/foundations or was separate to it.

The slightly off-centre nature of the stage leads Greenfield and Gurr to conjecture that the stage may have been an addition in the first five years of an evolving design, but concede that more work needs to be done to understand this enigma. ⁹⁶ If in any furture reexcavation of the site its integration with the main frame could be proved, there would be little room for doubt that Henslowe conceived the original construction to be a house for staging plays.

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⁹⁰ For examples of tapered stages of the period, see stage fronts depicted in the *Roxana* (1630) and *Messalina* (1640) frontispiece; see also J.H. Astington, 'The Origins of the *Roxana* and *Messalina* Illustrations', in *Shakespeare Survey 43* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 149-169.

⁹¹ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 47.

 $^{^{92}}$ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 47. However, in an earlier paper Bowsher gives slightly different calculations: he suggests that the stage projected a maximum depth of 5m (16ft 6") into the yard, and estimated maximum width of 8.20m (26ft 10") at the front, giving an area of some 46.4m² (499.45ft²) (Bowsher, 'The Rose and its Stages', p. 40).

⁹³ Thomas Platter records in 1599 that playing is on a raised platform (see Platter, *Travels in England 1599*); and The Red Lion stage height above ground is recorded to be 1.52m (5ft), and 'forty foote by thirty foot' (12 by 9,14m)—see Bowsher, 'The Rose and its Stages', p. 40; see also S. Loengard, 'An Elizabethan lawsuit', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 34: 3, (Autumn 1983), pp.298-310.

⁹⁴ Bowsher, 'The Rose and its Stages', p. 40; Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 46.

⁹⁵ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 47.

 $^{^{96}}$ See Greenfield, 'Reconstructing the Rose', p. $\overline{31}$; and Greenfield and Gurr, 'The Rose Theatre, London', p. $\overline{334}$.

In the model, we have followed Ronayne's suggestion that the stage boards may have been painted green (*terre vert*) to represent the earth's surface.⁹⁷

3.9.1 A roof, cover or 'heavens' over the stage?



Fig.67: Phase I has no cover or 'heavens' over the stage.

The Phase I model has been designed without a roof or cover over the stage. In part because there was no archaeological evidence of pillar bases for the early Rose, which would have been necessary for supporting a stage roof, or 'heavens'. 98 The cantilevered roof stipulated in the contract for Henslowe's later Hope playhouse seems to have been particular to that building, conceived as it was as a dual purpose with a removable stage to make the space flexible enough for animal-baiting as well as plays: 'And shall also builde the Heavens all over the saide stage to be borne or carryed without any postes or

⁹⁷ Ronayne, 'Totus Mundus Agit Histrionem', pp. 121-146.

⁹⁸ In an early analysis of the excavation findings, Gurr and Orrell suggest that the box drain discovered 'which apparently leads from the rear of the early [Phase I] stage ... was intended to take water from a cover over the stage' and though they concede that this doesn't agree with 'the absence of any column base to support such a roof' (Gurr and Orrell, 'What the Rose can tell us', pp. 425-426); later analysis by Bowsher and Miller concluded that the drain belonged to the Phase II stage, which is known to have had a roof over it for which column bases were present (*The Rose and the Globe*, 2009).

supporters to be fixed or sett vppon the saide stage'.⁹⁹ The cantilevered roof can be seen in Hollar's panorama of London (which he mislabels 'The Globe') (fig. 68):

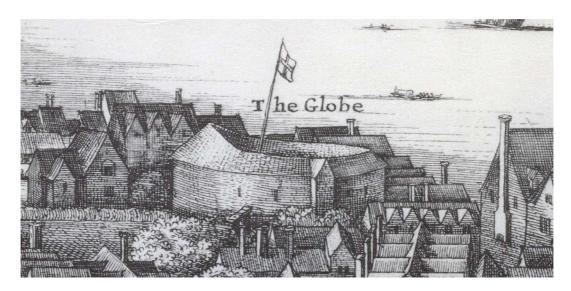


Fig. 68: *detail*, the Hope playhouse (mislabelled 'The Globe') showing its cantilevered roof in Wenceslas Hollar's 'Long View of London from Bankside' (drawn c. 1630, publ. 1647)

Bowsher conjectures the possibility of a very short cantilevered canopy due to the presence of single shingle tile found at the site, but which may instead relate to the roof over the stage which was erected during the alterations in 1591. 100 A lack of superstructure over the stage explains why the foundations of the front wall appear to be shallower than those of the frame. 101

As for a 'heavens', or 'hut' over the Phase I stage containing machinery to raise and lower a thrown/performers, in his analysis of staging in the pays at the Rose (both pre- and post-1592) Gurr concludes that:

Much of the evidence [in the published playtexts] ... is too non-specific to be really useful. The best generalisation would be to say that a comparison of early Rose plays with the latter texts gives no indication that any major change in resources or machinery was introduced in 1592. I am inclined to favour the idea that the *frons scenae* at both had angled walls, and that the discovery space and the heavens and its windlass were used from early on, as was the 'above' over the stage platform. Certainly there is no clear indication that any of these

⁹⁹ Greg, Henslowe Papers, pp. 19-22.

¹⁰⁰ Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre*, p. 41; Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 47.

¹⁰¹ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 47.

features were added for the first time in 1592 ... The playwrights do not seem to have targeted their plays to specific playhouses in the early years, and most likely not before 1594, when the Rose and the Theatre began to offer a stable pair of venues for the two stabilised companies performing at them. Nonetheless, it does seem that, from the late 1580s, most of the playwrights preparing scripts for the London companies expected their venues to offer an 'above,' a discovery space, two stage pillars, a stage trap, and possibly even suspension machinery in the heavens.¹⁰²

However, Egan argues that 'no surviving play first performed between 1576 and 1595 calls for the appearance of deities other than by "Enter" and "Exit", except John Lyly's The *Woman in the Moon* (circa 1590-95), which was "written for boys and court performance" and hence does not tell us about open-air amphitheatre conditions.' Egan also describes 'an ambiguous stage direction in the 1599 edition of Greene's *A Looking Glass for London and England* that refers to a "throne" which appears to be "set downe over the Stage" but Wickham argues—not entirely convincingly—that "set downe over" here merely means "placed upon"'.¹⁰³

Robert Greene's *The Comical History of Alphonsus, King of Aragon* (circa 1587-8) is more problematic, which belonged to the Henslowe/Alleyn company at the Rose when printed in 1599 and which Gurr says is 'almost certainly an early Rose play'. The play's opening stage direction gives 'Let Venus be let down from the top of the stage'; at the end, Venus exits from this scene with what she calls a 'tmdge to heavens againe,' with a direction 'Exit Venus. Or if you can conveniently, let a chair come downe from the top of the stage, and draw her up'. Greene clearly allows for the possibility that his ideal of flight might not be realized, and the direction may have been added when, at the time of printing in 1599, such mechanisms were available at the Rose and other playhouses.

In his depiction of the early Rose playhouse (*Speculum Britanniae*, printed 1593 but drawn sometime earlier), Norden draws an open roof with no 'hut' above the stage (fig.

 $^{^{102}}$ Andrew Gurr, 'The Rose repertory: what the plays might tell us about the stage', in F.J. Hildy, *New Issues in the Reconstruction of Shakespeare's Theatre*. New York: Peter Lang, 1990, pp. 132-133.

¹⁰³ Egan, 'The theatre in Shoreditch, 1576-1599', pp. 168-185, citing Glynne Wickham, "Heavens", Machinery, and pillars in the Theatre and other early playhouses', in *The First Public Playhouse: The Theatre in Shoreditch*, 1576-1598, ed. Herbert Berry. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979, p. 8

¹⁰⁴ Gurr, 'The Rose repertory', p. 128.

69a). It is distinctly different to his depiction of the Rose after the alterations to it in 2591/2, which observes a noticeable change (fig. 69b):



Fig. 69 (a): Norden, Speculum Britanniae (1593) (b) Norde Douce N 253 (1), map following p.26. © Stockho © The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford. DelaG 89.



(b) Norden, *Civitas Londini* (1600) © Stockholm National Library of Sweden, DelaG 89.

Texts of plays thought to have been written for or performed at the early Rose appear to call for posts or stakes to be used, but these aren't necessarily in reference to stage pillars. The 1592 edition of Thomas Kyd *The Spanish Tragedy* (performed c. 1587-90) includes a scene that calls for a stake for tying a prisoner to, but, Egan suggests, 'since the order given is to burn him at the stake it would surely make better sense to use a propertystake?' Robert Wilson's The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London (c. 1587-90), Gurr suspects, was written in around September 1588, although it 'does not tum up, as Wilson himself does later, in the lists of the Henslowe enterprises, but it was possibly a Rose play nonetheless'. 105 The final scene contains dialogue and a stage direction that refer to a 'post' and to 'the contrary post' (f13v; lines 2289ff), which Egan says 'certainly suggests use of the two stage-posts'; however, as Wickham (cited by Egan) explains, this play probably belonged to the Queen's Men and 'two posts had to be forthcoming wherever they presented it—at court or on provincial tours as well as in a London playhouse: so the ambiguity cannot be removed entirely'. 106 Or as Gurr suggests, '[e]ven if not [available at the first Rose playhouse], this is evidence that the Queen's Men expected to be able to perform at venues which had stage posts in the late 1580s'. Gurr argues, however, that in The Spanish Tragedy (3:1), 'an early Rose play', Alexandro may have been bound to a stage

¹⁰⁵ Gurr, 'The Rose repertory', pp. 126-127.

 $^{^{106}}$ Egan, , 'The theatre in Shoreditch, 1576-1599', pp. 168-185, citing Wickham, '"Heavens", Machinery, and pillars', p. 8.

pillar (although the direction, 'They bind him to the stake', might just as easily be a prop brought onto the stage) and in *Orlando Furioso*, in which the lover pins his roundleys on to trees, Gurr conjectures 'would more readily be pinned on the stage posts than the tiring house wall', but neither of which is concrete evidence for pillars at the early Rose.¹⁰⁷

Perhaps in the absence of stage posts and a roof, the first Rose playhouse had a canvas cover over the stage to protect the performers, and more importantly their costumes, from the elements?

Ronayne suggests that a velarium cloth, traditional in Roman theatres and later used at the Teatro Olympico in Vicenza, is unlikely at outdoor playhouses as it would 'billow distractingly', although precedents exits.¹⁰⁸

One of the earliest modern theatres in Rome, commissioned in 1513, was a temporary structure of wood painted to look like marble, built in the classical style with no roof but nevertheless featured a 'ceiling' of blue and white cloth. In 1520, Henry VIIIs temporary theatre at Calais, built for the entertainments of Charles V, had an elaborately painted and studded blue cloth with 'starres, sonne and mone' was stretched, like a pavilion, over the circular theatre, supported by a large wooden column, underneath a more substantial waterproof roof. The theatre was remarkably similar to Elizabethan round playhouses: a sixteen-sided polygon with the spectators arranged in three tiers of galleries surrounding the stage on three sides. In 1527, Henry VIII commissioned Holbein to build a temporary theatre with a double layered roof—one of thick canvas over buckram and painted with the twelve signs of the zodiac. 109 In 1572, on the occasion of the visit of the French embassy, a Banqueting House was erected and 'the Covering thereof with Canvasse'.¹¹⁰ In 1581, in connection with the visit of the embassy from France to negotiate a marriage between Elizabeth and the Duc d' Alencon, a banqueting house was erected at Whitehall 'the walls of this howse was closed wth canvas ... most cuninglie painted, the cloudes wth the starrs, the sunne and sunne beames'. 111

¹⁰⁷ Gurr, 'The Rose repertory', pp. 126-127.

¹⁰⁸ Ronayne, 'Totus Mundus Agit Histrionem', p. 139.

¹⁰⁹ Robert B. Graves, *Lighting the Shakespearean Stage, 1567-1642.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999, pp. 45-46

¹¹⁰ Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, I. p. 305*n*, cited in 'The Banqueting House', in *Survey of London: Volume 13, St Margaret, Westminster, Part II: Whitehall I*, ed. Montagu Cox and Philip Norman (London, 1930), pp. 116-139.

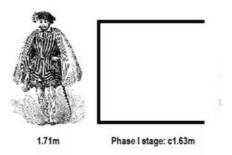
¹¹¹ B.M. Harl. MS. 293, f. 217; cited in Montagu and Norman. *Survey of London: Volume 13*, pp. 116-139.

Canvas awnings, then, seem to be the preserve of royal entertainments, with no documented evidence of their use in public playhouses, unless Henslowe's 'clothe of the Sone & Mone', inventoried in 1598 but if in possession in Phase I, refers to a stage cover of some kind?

3.9.2 A trap door in the stage?

Excavations found that underneath the stage was a screed surface with a slight slope southward towards the front of the stage. It stopped short of the front, however, suggesting either that it had been cut by the stage front wall or eroded away. This would have created an under-stage area that could have been used for storage or for multitude of other purposes, suggest Bowsher and Miller.¹¹²

If the height of the stage floor was built at the same height of the lower gallery floor, as would seem sensible from an architectural perspective, the room below stage would have been generous and allowed for a person of average height in the seventeenth century—1.17m tall—to pass underneath the stage with reasonable ease.



However, the excavations also noted a thin organic layer had accumulated over the plaster surface underneath the stage at the early Rose, which may suggest there was limited access to and use of the under-stage area.

Gurr and Orrell note that the mortar surface had been warn away in two places 'to reveal short sections of timber, one with a mortice cut in it, in line with the stage front and two or three feet behind it', which they speculate 'may be part of an even earlier stage, or more

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¹¹² Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 47.

likely part of the underpropping of the original timber stage, perhaps even part of the trap machinery'. 113

Wickham's argument is that trap doors were not required by plays performed at the Rose.¹¹⁴ However, Gurr questions this: 'A trapdoor there [at the Rose playhouse] must have been in 1587, though the evidence about it is not precise unless we take seriously the mortaring of the two under-stage areas found by the archaeologists.'

Recent scholarship has started to reconsider the long held assumption that purpose built Tudor playhouses necessarily had a trap. 115 Mark Hutchings points out that visual evidence to support this idea is dubious; it has been argued that the title-page illustration for Nathanial Richards' Messalina (1640) may offer visual evidence of a stage trap, although the sketch of the Swan playhouse does not appear to feature one, and neither contract for the Fortune (1600) or the Hope (1614) playhouses mentions a trap and say little about the design of the stage. It is possible that Henslowe and Cholmley may not have included a trap at the Rose in 1587 but included with the later renovations by Henslowe, although not specific mention of the provision of a trap is included in his accounts from 1592. Certainly, a trap seems to be necessary for *Titus Andronicus*, first performed at the Rose in 1594—the best evidence we have that a trap was available at the Rose at this time—and was perhaps called for in *Looking Glass for London and England* performed that year, in which 'The Magi with their rods beat the ground, and from under the same riseth a brave arbor'—indications, perhaps, that a trap was being used soon after the renovations. Little is known of the plays before 1592 when Henslowe started recording play receipts as part of his accounts.

Whilst a trap may have served as a locus from which devils and ghosts might emerge from the underworld, it is not an absolute and other entrances would have sufficed just as well.

¹¹⁴ Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre*, p. 67; see 'Notes on the Staging of Marlowe's plays', in Glynne Wickham, *Shakespeare's Dramatic Heritage*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969, pp.125-6; and Wickham "Heavens", Machinery, and pillars', p. 4.

¹¹³ Gurr and Orrell, 'What the Rose can tell us', p. 425.

¹¹⁵ This notion is supported by Dr Mark Hutchings, Reading University, who was generous enough to share his pre-publication article, 'Titus Andronicus at the Rose and Newington Butts', based on a paper presented at a symposium on 'Henslowe's Rose' hosted by Shakespeare's Globe, Saturday 21st May 2016, on 'The trap at the Rose'. It is his contention that 'the Rose Phase I probably did not have a trap but that one was added when Henslowe made his renovations in 1592' (personal correspondence by email, 3 July 2017).

Whilst a lack of evidence of a trap at the early Rose doesn't necessarily mean there wasn't one, no trap door has been added to the Phase I model.

3.10 Playhouse Decoration

Bowsher and Miller suggest that wooden debris, which appears to be a piece panelling or wainscoting (fig. 70), may have been connected to the dismantling of the Phase I stage and, therefore, might have formed part of the decoration of the frons scenae or outward facing wall of the stage. 116 In his contract for the Fortune playhouse (fig. 14), Henslowe states that the carpenter, Peter Street, 'shall not be chardged w[i]th...Rendringe the walls w[i]thin Nor seelinge anie more or other rooms then the gentlemens rooms[,] Twoe pennie rooms and stadge',117 where 'sealing' may refer to the addition of wood panelling (see Gentlemen's rooms/'Lords room', below).





Fig. 70: Debris, which appears to be a piece of wooden An example of sixteenth century panelling panelling or wainscoting, found around the stage area in Phase I. © MOLA

In the model, wood panelling has been used on the dividing wall separating the galleries from the tiring house. (Such decoration might have suited the walls of 'Gentlemen's' or 'Lords room', which is how it has been used in the model of the later Phase II Rose.)

¹¹⁶ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 48.

¹¹⁷ Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 308.



Fig. 71: Showing the division wall between the galleries and the tiring house.

Bowsher explains that from the archaeology '[t]here was very limited evidence for any decoration or internal fixing. The wooden fragments we conjectured to be wainscoting bore no trace of pigment.'.¹¹⁸ In contracts, documentary evidence suggests that London's playhouses, like internal decoration more generally, were elaborately decorated.

In a sermon at Paul's Cross, given on 3 November 1577, Thomas White says of the Theatre playhouse, its neighbour the Curtain playhouse and/or perhaps the playhouse at Newington Butts: 'beholde the *sumptuous* Theatre houses, a continuall monument of London's prodigalitie and folly' (Sig. C8r; my emphasis). In another sermon, 'preached at Paules-crosse on Bartholomew day, being 24th August 1578', John Stockwood describes the Theatre playhouse as 'the *gorgeous* playing-place erected in the fieldes, than to terme it, as they please to haue it called, a Theatre, that is, euen after the maner of the olde heathenish Theatre at Rome' (Sig. J7v; my emphasis). The OED defines 'sumptuous' as 'Of buildings ... Made or produced at great cost; costly and (hence) magnificent in workmanship, construction, decoration, etc.'; and 'gorgeous' as: 'Adorned with rich or brilliant colours; sumptuously gay or splendid; showy, magnificent'.

Egan points out that

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 $^{^{118}}$ Julian Bowsher, 'Twenty years on: The archaeology of Shakespeare's London playhouses', in Shakespeare, 7:4 (December 2011), pp. 452-466.

significantly, for Stockwood the drama is objectionable not only for its thematic content but also because the venues are opulent and therefore decadent ... Mid-twentieth century visual impressions of open-air amphitheatres such as the film of Henry V (Olivier 1944) and Irwin Smith's scale model of The Globe based on John Cranford Adams's book (Adams 1942) incorporated into a public display at the Folger Library in Washington, reflected theatre historians' emphasis upon the Tudor vernacular elements in the architecture and decoration, the use of wood and plaster. These impressions tend to understate the European classical influence that prompted the owners to paint the wood to look like marble and the plaster to look like stone ... The myth of Tudor theatrical plainness is perpetuated by the set of the recent film Shakespeare in Love, which is nonetheless accurate in other matters.¹¹⁹

Foreign visitors refer to the playhouses as looking like Roman amphitheatres and were impressed by the faux marble interior decoration. De Witt refers to four amphitheatres in London in 1596 and claims that the two south of the river, the Rose and the Swan, are 'more remarkable' than the two north of the river, the Theatre and the Curtain. He describes wooden interior of the Swan as painted in such a way that 'they would deceive the most acute observer into thinking that they were marble', giving the Swan a 'Roman' appearance. He goes on to describ the stage posts as 'marmoreum colorem' ('of marble colouring'), with their entasis (curved collumns), ornate bases and capitals pointing to classical and Continental influence.



Fig. 72: In the model of the Rose, the pillars of the main frame are rounded and painted to resemble marble

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 $^{^{119}\,\}mbox{Egan.}$, 'The theatre in Shoreditch, 1576-1599', pp. 168-185.

Henslowe's later Fortune contract (fig. 14) stipulates that its pillars should be 'wroughte plasterwise [i.e.strapwork pilasters], with carved proporcions called satiers [satyrs] to be placed and set on the top of every of the same postes'.

Evidence from the period suggests that Elizabethan architectural surfaces tended to be polychrome where possible, and reflected a love of decoration, bright colours, and effects. ¹²⁰ Ronayne explains that 'Like Elizabeth's elaborate costumes, portraits and pagents, Early Modern buildings often made symbolic statements and were expected to be "read". ¹²¹

In discussing possible the decoration of the Globe playhouse (both the old and the proposal for Sam Wannamaker's reconstruction), he suggests that:

[It probably] lies between the English tradition of the ornamented façade, low relief decorating flat surfaces, and the innovation of classical sculptural principles ... in contrast with the plainly rendered exterior the interior must have been lavishly colourfully decorated ... exemplified in miniature form in the carved cabinets popular in the 16th and 17th centuries. They are plain on the outside but when opened they reveal a colourful and sparkling interior ... [involving a] framework of classical components, with the anglicising components of flat, cut-out appearance including real or painted columns and pilasters ... [and] should be enriched with lively decoration from sources such as Hans Blum, John Shute and Vredeman de Vries. The *frons* scenae should be the centrepiece appropriate to a house of fantasy, imagination and illusion. 122

Flemish Mannerism was a North-European mutation and mélange of Flamboyant Gothic, High Renaissance Italian Mannerist, and French Renaissance Fontainebleau styles. The style was disseminated in pattern-books by Dietterlin, de Vries, and others, notably in England.

Hall screens may have acted as inspiration for the design of playhouse *frons scenae*, which usually bore carved wooden decoration that follows the form and rustications appropriate to stone, and provide evidence for the way that Elizabethan woodwork

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¹²⁰ Ronayne, 'Totus Mundus Agit Histrionem', p. 123.

¹²¹ Ronayne, 'Totus Mundus Agit Histrionem', p. 123.

¹²² Ronayne, 'Style', pp. 22-24.

¹²³ For example, see John Shute's *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture* (London, 1563).

imitated masonry forms.¹²⁴ It's worth noting, however, that at the Rose the stage wall appears to have followed the polygonal line of the main frame, which, Gurr and Orrell suggests, 'calls into question the widely accepted theory that the Elizabethan tiring house front was derived from planar design of the Tudor hall screen', although it isn't necessarily the case that simply angling the back wall should preclude the general influence of the hall screen.¹²⁵

Ronayne argues that the wooden and plaster structure of the playhouses would have been painted to look like stone. Stone would have been hierarchal depending on its perceived value—stone, marble and hardstones, semi-precious stones, gilding and jewels—since '[s]tone implies cost, substance and permanence, the very qualities that festive structures lacked. It was for the painter to put these qualities back into the wood, plaster and canvas forms'. ¹²⁶

Features that might be expected on a *frons scenae* include ashler stone work, marble columns, grotesques, obelisks, flags, cartouches and strapwork, satyrs carved in relief, herms and terms, mythical figures, and pictures painted onto them. ¹²⁷

The *frons scenae* would likely either been carved or flat painted to give the illusion of sculpted stone figures, niches and images, treated in *grisaille* or *trompe l'oeil*. Such images were propagated from Continental engravings, for example those by Virgil Solis of Nuremberg and de Vos, depicting classical imagery of gods.¹²⁸

The *frons scenae* is the playhouse's visual focus. It is considered appropriate to set out the order of symbolic imagery as an iconographical arrangement intended to be 'read'. These visual planes are arranged as symbolic divisions of the levels in which every figure has a name and a role based in Renaissance and classical thinking, from the earthly plane (level

 $^{^{124}}$ For example, see the screen in the Great Hall at Knole House (c. 1600), Sevenoaks, Kent; and the screen in the Great Hall (c. 1601), Montacute, Somerset.

¹²⁵ Gurr and Orrell, 'What the Rose can tell us', pp. 427-428.

¹²⁶ Ronayne, 'Totus Mundus Agit Histrionem', p. 128.

¹²⁷ For example, the Kederminster Pew; the painted Library Chamber at the church of Langley Marsh near Slough (c. 1620s); Francis Reader's 'Tudor Domestic Wall Paintings: Part I', in *Archaeological Journal*, no. 92 (1936), pp. 243-286; Renaissance ceiling paintings at Culross Palace, Scotland, adapted from Geffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblems* (London, 1586); and the triumphal arches by Stephen Harrison, proposed in 1603 for the entry of James I to London.

 $^{^{128}}$ For example, see elaborately painted staircase (1605) at the Great Hall at Knole House (c. 1600), Sevenoaks, Kent.

1, the stage) up to the heavens (which, for Phase I, in the absence of a stage cover, appears on the walls at level 3 and upon the gable). 129

3.11 Level 1



Fig. 73: Stage level, with doors stage left and right, and central opening with painted hanging

3.11.1 Stage doors and central opening

It seems practical to assume that Phase I had at least one stage door. Two stage doors, left and right, would seem to follow the angled *frons scenae*, which perhaps also suggests a third, central opening or 'discovery space' (also with a set of doors?).¹³⁰ Plays known to have been written for or staged at the post-1592 Rose, call for two stage doors and a central opening (with doors). Unless these were innovations only added when Henslowe altered his playhouse, they seem likely to have also featured at the early Rose.¹³¹

¹²⁹ See Siobhan Keenan and Peter Davidson, 'The Iconography of the Globe', in *Shakespeare's Globe Rebuilt*, eds Ronnie Mulryne and Margaret Shewring. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

¹³⁰ For a challenge to the necessity of the discovery space see Tim Fitzpatrick, *Playwrights, Space, and Place in Early Modern Performance: Shakespeare and Company*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.

 $^{^{131}}$ Gurr thinks that 'in both pre- and post-1592 plays it seems that at least two stage doors were expected, and possibly a third, though as usual that likelihood is confused by the question of the discovery space and

The sketch of the Swan shows two arched doors onto the stage (fig. 29), as are the entrances onto the stage at Pallado's 'Teatro Olimpico' (fig. 81, below).

Here, for ease the doors themselves have been modelled on those at the reconstructed Shakespeare's Globe in London, and a central opening added.



Fig. 74: The stage doors in the model (left) and the stage doors at Shakespeare's Globe, London (right).



Fig.75: The central opening or 'discovery space'

its hangings being used for entries ... There was quite possibly a discovery space at both Roses, though the full range of the things it was used for is not known for certain' (Gurr, 'The Rose repertory', pp. 120, 124)

Gurr argues that if *Dr Faustus* was ever staged at the 'early Rose', 'his study, probably in both pre- and post-1592 versions of its staging, must have been in the discovery-space'. He also suggests 'that there was a discovery-space on one of the early stages, possibly the Rose, we know from *The Spanish Tragedy* and that odd stage direction "Enter Hieronimo, he knocks up the curtaine." The curtain must have been located in front of the discovery-space because of what it concealed, and was probably its hangings, whatever the precise action of knocking the curtain up entailed. Hieronymo has already referred to a pre-Polonian arras when he says "I will have there behind a curtaine". Lastly, Gurr argues that 'some kind of hangings were certainly available for *The Battle of Alcazar*, possibly on the Rose's early stage, since in Act 1 the dumb show has murderers who "draw the curtains and smoother the yong princes in the bed".132

In his English-Italian dictionary, Florio defines *scena* as 'a stage in a theatre or play-house, whereon they play, a skaffold, a pavilion, or fore part of a theatre where players make them readie, being trimmed with hangings, out of which they enter upon the stage ... also a place where one doth show or set forth himself to the world'. ¹³³ In his transcript of Henslowe's inventories, now lost, Malone records 'The *Enventary* of all the properties for my Lord Admiralles men, the *10* of *marche 1598*', which includes 'the sittie of Rome' and 'Tasso's picture' and seem likely to record painted cloths. ¹³⁴

Ronayne points out that painted cloths would have been familiar to playgoers as the *default* decoration of citizen and prosperous yeoman's houses in Tudor times. The point of painted cloths was their iconography and stories, not their intrinsic material quality, and were the economy versions of tapestries which would have been too costly to use upon the stage.¹³⁵ Keenan and Davidson suggests that early modern cloths were typically decorated with biblical scenes, mythological or allegorical scenes, as Shakespeare allusions confirm: 'As ragged as Lazarus in the painted cloth' (I Henry IV, IV.ii.25).¹³⁶

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¹³² Gurr, 'The Rose repertory', pp. 124-125.

¹³³ John Florio, *A World of Words.* London, 1598, p. 351.

¹³⁴ Edward Malone, *Historical Account of the English Stage*, vol. III. London: R. C. and J. Rivington, 1800, p. 312.

¹³⁵ Ronayne, 'Totus Mundus Agit Histrionem', p. 136.

¹³⁶ Keenan and Davidson, 'The Iconography of the Globe', pp. 152-154 (Henry IV quote, Ronayne, '*Totus Mundus Agit Histrionem*' p. 136).

For the purpose of modelling the Phase I Rose playhouse, a neutral image of a castle taken from a tapestry (fig. 76) has been made to look like a painted cloth, and befits a backdrop to the many 'history' plays that featured at the Rose playhouse.



Fig. 76: The tapestry from which the painted cloth in the model has been taken



Fig. 77: A painted cloth hung in front of the discovery space

For the back wall of the *frons scenae*, the model utilises some of the design by Robert Smythson (c. 1535-1614) for a double height screen for Worksop Manor, in Bassetlaw, Nottinghamshire (fig. 78):

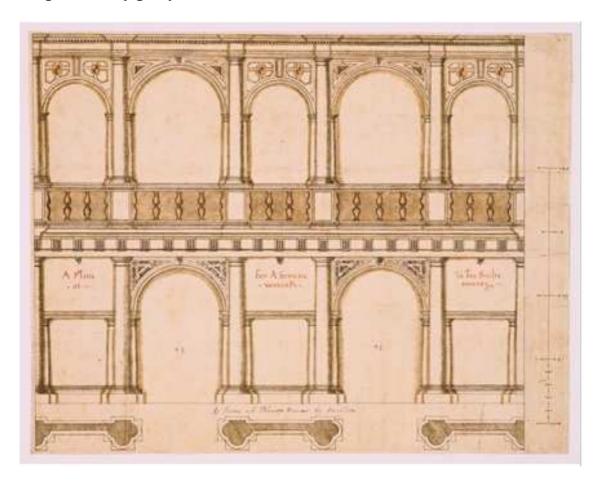


Fig. 78: Design for a double height screen for Worksop Manor. © 2017 RIBApix¹³⁷

It has been painted to resemble smooth ashlar block work, shadowed in dark and light shades along the lines of the painting by Hans Ebsworth, Elizabeth and the Three Goddesses (1575) and Issac Oliver's depiction of the same scene (c. 1590) (fig. 79), which shows the queen stepping out through an arch painted with fictive stonework:

137 Smythson, Robert (c. 1535-1614) Design for a screen for Worksop Manor, 1570-80 (RIBA12946/ SC231/I/26) https://www.architecture.com/image-library/ribapix/image-information/poster/design- for-a-screen-for-worksop-manor/posterid/RIBA12946.html [accessed 22 July 2017]



Fig.79: detail, Issac Oliver, Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses (c. 1590), © National Portrait Gallery, London

The central face of each stone is picked out in a darker tone, a pattern illustrated by Nicola Sabbatini in his *Pratica di fabricar scene e machine ne' teatri* [Manual for Constructing Theatrical Scenes and Machines] (1638) (fig. 80):

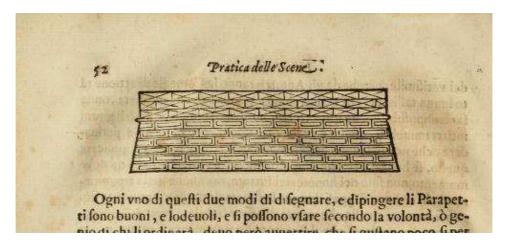


Fig.80: Painting technique for stone work, in Nicola Sabbatini, *Pratica di fabricar scene e machine ne' teatri* (1638), p. 52

Throughout the model, the uprights supporting the galleries have been rounded and painted to resemble marble. The contract for Henslowe's later Hope playhouse stipulates 'Turned Cullumes vppon and over the stage' (not referring to those holding up the Heavens because at the Hope there were none), and following De Witt's description of the columns at the Swan painted to resemble marble.

Behind the wooden rounded pillars either side of the two doors and the central opening have been painted marble pillars, with bases/plinths, resembling those behind the round columns in the *frons scenae* of Pallado's 'Teatro Olimpico' (Vicenza, 1580-85) (fig. 81) and Stephen Harrison triumphal arch, proposed in 1603 for the entry of James I to London (fig. 82), contemporary with the Rose:



Fig.81: Square pillars behind round collumns either side of the entrance doors in the *frons* late sixteenth century *Teatro Olimpico*.



Fig. 82: *Detail*, Stephen Harrison, 'The arch's of triumph erected in honor of the high and mighty prince *scenae* James' (London, c. 1613), p. 4 © Folger Digital Image Collection, 3515/cs49. MS.



Fig.83: Hans Vredeman de Vries, Perspectivische Gebäude, Kupferstich, c.1580

Separating each level of the *frons scenae* is a design for Roman fretwork by Hans Vredeman de Vries (fig. 83), painted to look like carved stone, also contemporary with the Rose.

3.11.2 Tiring house

Space existed behind the *frons scenae* where actors could attire themselves, hence 'tiring house', to enter and exit the stage, and to ascend stairs to the Level 2 balcony, the performance area above the stage.

The tiring house appears to have been integral to the main frame of the building, occupying either bays 6-10, or 7-9,138 and confined within the gallery frame behind the stage.139 There was no evidence that the tiring house projected into the stage.140 Nor was there any evidence in the archaeology of the internal structure of the tiring house but internal walls must have been built to separate it from the spectator galleries, perhaps with access between the public and private areas for the convenience of patrons wishing to enter the more exclusive 'three-penny rooms' to the side of the stage via the tiring house, if they ever existed at the Rose.



Fig.84: The Level 1 tiring house, or 'back stage', showing the double doors in the central opening and stairs to level 2

¹³⁸ Bowsher, The Rose Theatre, p. 41.

¹³⁹ Bowsher, 'The Rose and its Stages', p. 37.

¹⁴⁰ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 119.

3.11.3 Back entrance to the tiring house





Fig.85: Rear entrance to the tiring house, with access across the northern boundary ditch

It seems likely that a second entrance, or 'stage door', probably to the north-west side of the building in line with the crossing over the north demarcation ditch, Bowsher suggests. ¹⁴¹ A rear entrance was necessary to give access to the tiring house for

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¹⁴¹ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 112.

management and actors, wealthier patrons wishing to avoid Maiden Lane, and perhaps vendors wishing to access the playhouse to selling victuals to the playgoers.

3.12. Level 2

3.12.1 Three-penny rooms

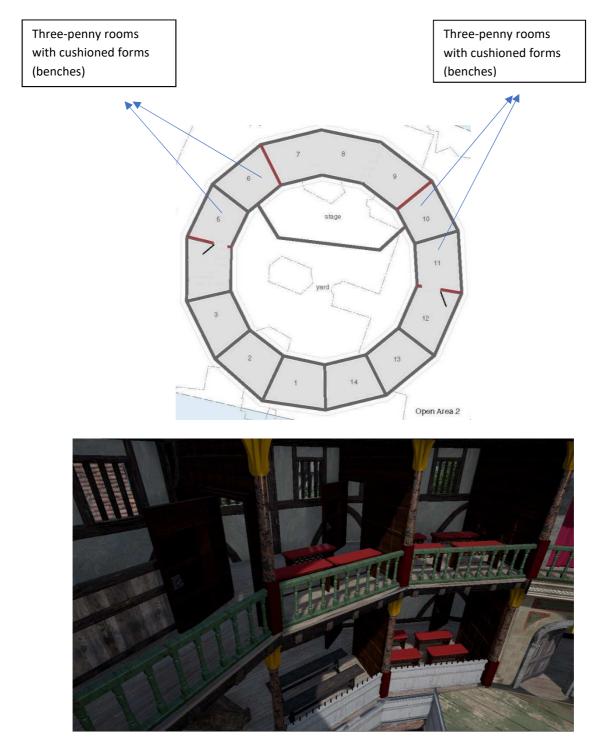


Fig. 86: Three-penny rooms with cushioned forms

It's not known if three-penny rooms offering a seat with a cushion existed at the Rose, and if so where they were located. In the model, on Level 2 they have been positioned closest to the stage.

3.12.2 Middle balcony



Fig. 87: Middle level gallery, or 'above' performance space

McMillin counts more than half of all the plays written for the Rose use an upper acting space, or 'above', indicating that the Rose had an enhanced capacity for this particularity of stagecraft. The balcony was used as a performance space over the stage and was integrated with part of the Level 2 tiring house, with internal stairs for access.

Of the plays considered to be part of the Rose repertoire, where texts or plots are extant, a number give explicit or implicit directions, such as 'above on the walls', 'upon the walls', 'on the turrets', 'a gallery', 'above at the window', 'this window', and 'in the window'. ¹⁴³ No real depth is required, and most speak from the balcony to someone on the stage. A few plays require extended acting 'above' with between 3-5 characters, or unspecified numbers, including some action.

¹⁴³ Gurr, 'The Rose repertory', pp. 119-134; McMillin, *The Elizabethan Stage*, p. 115ff; Ernest Rhodes, *Henslowe's Rose: The Stage and Staging*. The University Press of Kentucky, 1976, pp. 185ff.

¹⁴² See Scott McMillin, *The Elizabethan Stage and The Book of Sir Thomas More*, Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 1987, pp. 113-33.

Gurr argues that '[r]egular use was certainly made [at the Rose] of an acting space over the stage ... called for both in the earlier plays and the later', citing *David and Bethsabe*, certainly written before 1592, and 'the storming of Rabbah ... Babylon has its Ammonites "upon the wals," and an attack on what is called "the Tower" of Babylon'. Other early plays, Gurr continues, 'have scenes located "above," most notably *The Spanish Tragedy*, and a gallery is mentioned in *Alphonsus of Aragon* ... Green's *Alphonus of Aragon* also mentions a gallery, and perhaps Venus may have been "let down from the top of the stage" at this place "above"'. 144 In *I Henry VI*, soldiers scale the walls and force the French to 'leap o'er the walls'. In *Massacre at Paris*, terrorists break into the Admiral's bedroom (above), murder him, and pitch his corpse 'down'. In *Tamburlaine*, forces 'scale the walls' and one characters is hung 'in chains on the walls'. In *Titus Andronicus*, one character 'opens his study door', speaks to others 'below', and comes 'down'. In *Englishmen for my money, or A Woman will haue her Will*, one character is hoisted 'above' in a basket.

For the Phase I model, inset walls have been painted to resemble white marble. Plain curtains like those depicted on booth and mountebank stages of the period have been added in order to give the spaces more flexibility and, if necessary, mask the tiring house and stairs behind. A balustrade has also been added, painted to look like green marble in keeping with the rest of the balconies.

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¹⁴⁴ Gurr, 'The Rose repertory', p. 128.



Fig.88: View from Level 2 looking out towards the balcony.

3.12.3 Staircases to Level 3



Fig.89: Staircase to Level 3

Given that the addition of staircases makes the space in the tiring house cramped and awkward, the stairs up to the third gallery level (Henslowe's office or storage space), which probably wasn't regularly used by patrons/visitors to the playhouse, may have been narrower, potentially a ladder.

3.13 Level 3



Fig. 90: Level 3 tiring house showing upper balcony and Henslowe's office

3.13.1 Upper Balcony



Fig.91: Level 3 upper balcony



Fig. 92: View from the upper gallery

Assuming the Rose had three tiers, what the upper tiring house was used or what features it had isn't know. It would have been an obvious space for storage and an office, but perhaps even an additional performance space?

In the model, an opening has been made in the central bay to make a performance area with a central arch (following the design of the screen for Worksop Manor, see fig. 78 above). Either side are painted columns, with bases/plinths, painted to look like marble, and either side painted to resemble white marble. A balustrade has also been added, painted to look like green marble in keeping with the rest of the balconies.

Just behind the arch hangs an imagined cloth of 'the sun and moon', part of Henslowe's inventories, so that a performer may step out in front of it to perform. For the model, the image has been taken from *Rosarium philosophorum sive pretiosissimum donum Dei* (The Rosary of the Philosophers) (Frankfurt, 1550) (fig. 93), a sixteenth-century alchemical treatise in five parts. The term rosary in the title refers to a 'rose garden', metaphoric of an anthology or collection of wise sayings which seems relevant for a playhouse. It includes the alchemical marriage, or unification, between the sun (the penetrating, sharp, solar male) and the moon (the feminine, receptive, lunar forces), represented as a King and Queen, which mix to create 'the water of Mercury' (a deity also depicted in the Level 3 *frons scenae*). The flying dove represents the spiritual force which

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¹⁴⁵ Malone, *Historical Account of the English Stage*, III, p. 312.

will unite the opposing forces. The flowers are a conscious attempt by the forces to court one another.



Fig. 93: Jaroš Griemiller of Třebsko, Rosarium Philosophorum (1578)

On the cloth, the flowers have been depicted as a 'rose' (taken from Treveris, *Grete Herball*, 1526) (see fig. 13, above) and altered to resemble a Tudor Rose, the marriage of Stuart and Lancaster used in Elizabeth's portraits to refer to the Tudor dynasty and the unity it brought to the realm. The rose also had religious connotations, as the medieval symbol of the Virgin Mary. It was used to allude to Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen, as the secular successor to the Virgin Mary. Elizabeth I was often presented as Cynthia, the goddess of the Moon, who was a virgin and therefore pure, promoted by Sir Walter Ralegh in his poem 'The Ocean's Love to Cynthia', in which he compared Elizabeth to the Moon.



Fig.94: The fictionalised 'cloth of the sun and the moon'

3.13.2 Heavens

The other bays have been painted to look like stone and white marble, following a design similar to the screen for Worksop Manor (fig. 78 above).

The model follows Shakespeare's Globe's inclusion on the *frons scenae* of the planetary deities, to depict the transmission of celestial influence downwards and who were understood in the Renaissance to exercise power over human life.

To the immediate left and right of the balcony is painted Virgil Solis of Nuremberg's engravings of the Roman gods, Mars and Jupitor (fig. 95).

Again following Shakespeare's Globe, in the arches to either side of the balcony, in *grisaille*, are painted depictions by Hendrik Goltzius (c. 1592) of the Roman god Marcurius [Mercury] and Sol [Apollo], from the series 'Eight Deities' (fig. 96).





Fig.95: Mars (left)

Jupiter (right)





Fig.96: Mercurius [Mercury] (left)



Sol [Apollo] (alt. to look right)





Fig. 97: Thalia (left)

Melpomene (right)

Keenan and Davidson explains that their inclusion in the iconography of Shakespeare's Globe is because Mercury and Apollo are 'the "speaking out" gods, the gods of poetry and eloquence: their powers, therefore, govern the dramatic genres and contribute to the presentation of the world upon the microcosmic stage'. 146

In the arches to the sides have been painted depictions of the dramatic muses, Thalia and Melpomene, representations of comedy and tragedy respectively, from Virgil Solis' *Ovid's Metamophesis* (1562), Bk V, 280 (fig. 97):

Keenan and Davidson explain that part of the reason for their inclusion in the iconography of Shakespeare's Globe is because 'such figures were allegorical or emblematic in character ... the dramatic muses symbolically declare the capacity of drama to represent all things under the heavens, the serious and the comic, human misfortune and human happiness.'147

The so-called English Wager Book (1594) describes the ceiling of an Elizabethan stage: 'Now above all was there the gay Clowdes ... adorned with the heavenly firmament, and often spotted with golden teares which men call stars'. A stage direction in an

¹⁴⁶ Keenan and Davidson, 'The Iconography of the Globe', p. 152.

¹⁴⁷ Keenan and Davidson, 'The Iconography of the Globe', p. 151.

unpublished play, *The Birth of Hercules* (c. 1597), calls for a special arrangement to be made for the heavens: 'Ad comoediae magnificentiam apprime conferet ut coelom Histrionium sit luna et stellis perspicue distinctum [it would especially contribute to the splendour of the play if the actors' heavens were clearly set out with moon and stars]'.

As there is no roof over the stage at the early Rose, and no canavs awning given in the model, a depiction of the night sky has been added between the arches on the third level and above on the gable front, after the gold stars on the ceiling of the Chapel at Hampton Court Palace (fig. 98a) and the 'sky' painted in Rycote Chapel, which depicts clouds and 'playing card' stars (fig. 98b) like those depicts by de Vos and Solis.¹⁴⁸



Fig. 98 (a): Chapel ceiling at Hampton Court Palace (c.1535) (b) Rycote Chapel, Oxfordshire (c. 1630s)

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¹⁴⁸ Ronayne, 'Totus Mundus Agit Histrionem', p. 139.

3.13.3 Henslowe's office

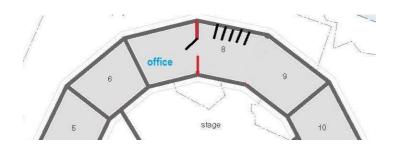




Fig. 99: Henslowe's office

Evidence of stove tiles found in the excavations of the backstage area of the Rose (fig. 100), and also at the excavation of the Theatre playhouse, may suggest Henslowe had a heated office in the third level of the tiring house where he conducted business, stored money, papers, and his accounts, for example?

The primary use was in the construction of large wood-burning stove for (usually) domestic heating. There are examples of them being used purely ornamentally. This may have been their use at the Rose, unless the fragments have wandered from another nearby site. Bowsher and Miller think it may be significant that the fragment does not show any sooting on its rear face. On the other hand, some form of heating was presumably necessary for playhouses, perhaps for those sitting in the higher-costing galleries or 'Gentlemen's room'? Bowsher and Miller conclude that whilst we don't know what attempts were made to heat the playhouses, we do know that none of the extant

illustrations show chimneys and that open fireplaces would have been hazardous in such buildings, so closed fireplaces would have been preferable.



Fig. 100: The tile found at the Rose.
The letter E is visible flanking a crest,
most certainly ER ('Elizabeth Regina'),
in Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 173
© MOLA



A similar tile (c. 1550-60) © V&A, C.383-1940

3.14 Gable



Fig. 101: The gable, with the image of *Pheme* on the door and flag raised aloft

Norden's 1600 panorama, a depiction of the later Rose, shows a gable against the frame over the area where the stage was located (fig. 102), and a similar feature is also depicted in the Bear Garden. Bowsher and Miller think this was an embellishment of the *frons scenae*. It isn't known if a gable featured at the early Rose, but it makes architectural sense.



Fig. 102: Norden, *Civitas Londini* (1600), depicting the Rose © Stockholm National Library of Sweden, DelaG 89.

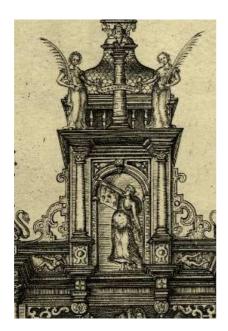
In the model, painted in gold on the gable door—from which a trumpeter 'heralded' the start of a play, similar to that depicted in the sketch of the Swan playhouse (fig. 29 and 103)—is Pheme (in Greek, related to ϕ áv α 1 'to speak') (fig. 104), the personification of fame and renown, whose favour was notability but whose wrath was scandalous rumours. The walls surrounding it painted with a continuation of the heavens. A depiction of Pheme also features on the front of the stage roof at Shakespeare's Globe.

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 $^{^{\}rm 149}$ Bowsher and Miller, The Rose and the Globe, p. 119.



Fig. 103: *Detail*, trumpeter announcing the play from the gable, from the sketch of the Swan playhouse, c.1596 © Utrecht University Library.







Sculpture of Pheme by Robert Henze, on the roof of the Dresden University of Visual Arts.

3.15 Roof



Fig.105: The eaves above the third level gallery showing the queen truss construction overlaid with timber boards

For the model, as at Shakespeare's Globe, the bays were built with a standard Queen strut trussed ${\rm roof.^{150}}$



Fig. 106: The thatched roof

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¹⁵⁰ Greenfield, 'Timber Framing', p. 112.

Straw thatch fastened with a willow thatching spar (fig. 107a), or broach (used as staples to hold down horizontal sways, which together secured the thatch), was found at the Rose site during excavation (fig. 107b).



Fig.107 (a): Thatch being stapled with a willow spar



(b) A chard thatch and staple, found on the site if the Rose playhouse © MOLA

Rainwater dripping from the Rose playhouse roof has created an erosion line in the mortar yard, approx. 0.50m from, and parallel to the inner wall foundation and would indicate that the eaves were unguttered and was therefore likely to be thatch. Norden's map, *Civitas Londini* (1600) indicates thatch at the later Rose (fig. 102 above), which, as the southern portion of the building remained untouched in the alterations suggests the roof was thatched at the early Rose also.

A flagpole with a flag probably featuring the sign of the playhouse was a common site at the playhouses, and one features in Norden's depictions of the Rose (*Civitas Londini*, 1600) situated to the north-eastern part of the building, although no trace of where was discovered in the excavations. In the *Curtain-Drawer of the World* (612), a character comments that 'Each play-house advanceth his flagge in the aire, whither quickly at the waving thereof are summoned whole troops of men, women, and children', 151 indicating that a raised flag was used to signal that a play would be put on that day.

 $^{^{151}}$ In his map of 1600, Norden misnames the playhouse 'The Stare' perhaps because he misinterprets the image of a rose that would have been hoisted on a flag-pole during performances.

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4. The Rose Playhouse, Phase II (1591-1606)

IMAGE OF COMPUTER MODEL THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

Fig. ?: The Rose Playhouse after alterations in 1591

4.1 Alterations to the playhouse

In February 1592, Henslowe records in his accounts book (his 'Diary', MSS VII, ff.4r-5v) 'A nott of suche c[h]arges as I have layd owt a bowte my playe howsse in the yeare of or lord 1592'. The work totalled c. £105, and includes payments for, for example, 'wharfyng', 'tymber', 'lyme', 'deall bordes', 'peny naylles', 'rafters', 'quarters', 'lathe naylles', 'sand', 'fore powlles', 'a mast' and payment of wages to 'the thecher' [thatcher], 'for brycklaynge' and 'workmen' (see fig ? below). ¹⁵²

¹⁵² See Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 9-13. Whilst there was a flagpole common to playhouses, Julian Bowsher suggests that the 'mast' purchased by Henslowe on this occasion was more likely used as a 'ginpole', a support for the lifting tackle (i.e. a rudimentary crane) (Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, pp. 54-55). Evidence supports the idea that the alterations were made in the summer of 1591 rather than early 1592, which is merely when Henslowe paid his bills.



Fig. ?: The pages of Henslowe's 'Diary' (MSS VII f.4r-5v) listing the charges he 'layd owt a bowte my playe howsse' the Rose in 1592 © David Cooper. With kind permission of the Governors of Dulwich College.

Norden's map printed in 1600 appears to show that changes have taken place since his first edition was printed and published in 1593 (but drawn earlier):

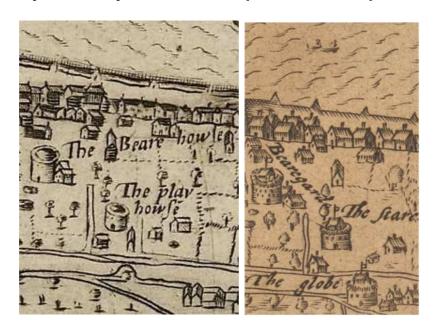


Fig. ?: The Rose showing the change in appearance of the Rose before (1593, but drawn before 1592) and after (1600) Henslowe's spend on alterations to his playhouse.

It wasn't until the playhouse was excavated in 1988/9 that it was possible to see what all this expenditure was for: to add a roof over the stage, which meant extending the building to the north. It also created larger audience capacity (an increase of 500?) and allowed for new staging arrangements.

The alterations to the superstructure of Phase I involved dismantling of the northern half of the building and rebuilding on new foundations, a process needing great care because

most of the timber framework would very probably have been reused and re-erected in the new scheme. 153

The ground level between the original gallery walls to the side of the stage were substantially raised and shallow trenches for the new inner walls appear at this level in the excavations.

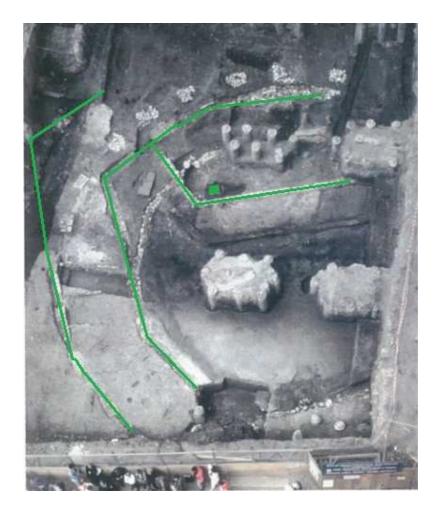


Fig. ?: Photo of the Rose remains © Andrew Fulgoni Copyrights Ltd./The Rose Theatre Trust ©MOLA

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¹⁵³ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 56.

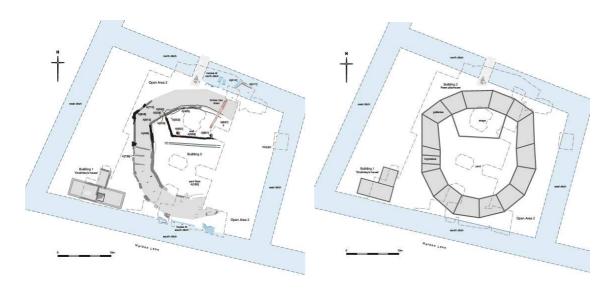


Fig. ?. Diagrams showing the relative positions of the excavated remains of the Phase II playhouse and the altered layout of the bays (Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, pp. 58, 125). ©MOLA

Renovations must have been completed sometime before 19th February 1592 when Lord Strange's Men began playing at the Rose, and may have taken place sometime in the previous year. 154

Concerning decoration, items paid out by Henslowe in 1592 include:

Itm pd for turned ballyesters ij^d qr A pece, ij dossen¹⁵⁵......Iiijs vj^d

Itm pd for ij dossen of turned ballysters......iiij^s

Itm pd for payntinge my stage¹⁵⁶.....xj^s

Other notable entries give:

Pd for sellynge of the Rome over the tyerhowssexs

Pd for selling my Lords Rome.....xiiijs

Pd for makeing the penthowsse shed at the tyeringe

howsse doore as foloweth pd for owld tymber.....xs

¹⁵⁴ See note 1, above.

¹⁵⁵ i.e. two-pence farthing each for two dozen balusters.

¹⁵⁶ It's possible the payment records decorating the tiring-house façade as well as or instead of just the stage boards themselves. Chambers documents two obscure references to 'paintid stage' (1579) and a 'painted hevenes' (1629) (see Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, II, p. 530 n.2 & p. 546, n.2).

On 23rd March 1591, Henslowe records payment 'unto the paynters' of twenty-six shilling, the equivalent of 19.5 days' work for one labourer, assuming a wage of 16^d a day.¹⁵⁷

Between 14 March and 22 April (Easter Monday) 1595, the Rose was closed for five weeks during Lent to be painted and repaired at a further cost of £105 19s. Henslowe records 'A nott what I have layd owt abowt my playhowsse ffor payntynge & doinge it abowt w[i]th ealme bordes & other Repracyones¹⁵⁸ as followeth 1595 in lent' (2v), and includes nine payments to 'the paynter' amounting in all to 96 shillings (or £4 10s):

Itm geven the paynter in earnest	XX ^S
Itm geven the paynter more	X ^S
Itm geven more unto the paynter	X ^S
Itm pd the paynter	V ^S
Itm pd the paynter	vj ^s
Itm pd the paynter	iiij ^s
Itm pd the paynter	V ^S
Itm pd the paynter In fulle	xvj ^s

The accompanying list, not given here, includes payments for the carpentry materials associated with 'furnishing' trades: some plastering, perhaps of partitions; some boxing out with elm boards; a hinged element; a door, shutter or other such devise. 159

In the contract between Henlsowe, Edward Alleyn and the carpenter Peter Street for the erection of the Fortune playhouse, includes a clause so that 'the said Peeter Streete shall not be chardged w[i]th anie manner of pay[ntin]ge in or aboute the saide fframe howse or Stadge or anie p[ar]te thereof nor Rendringe the walls w[i]thin'. 160 It seems the same was also true of the renovations to the Rose in 1591.

¹⁵⁷ Jan Luiten van Zanden, 'Wages and the cost of living in Southern England (London) 1450-1700', International Institute of Social History, 2002: http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/dover.php (accessed 26 October 2017)

¹⁵⁸ i.e. reparation: An act of replacing or fixing parts of an object or structure in order to keep it in repair, or of restoring an object or structure to good condition by making repairs (OED)

¹⁵⁹ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*,, p. 64.

¹⁶⁰ Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 308 (muniment 22).

Frustratingly, Henslowe doesn't record just what was being painted. Whitewash on plaster was commonly employed on external as well as internal walls if the plaster finish alone was not considered sufficient, and it may be that for the playhouses the wooden beams were also whitened over (see. pp. 29-30, above, and 4.2 below).

Sulzman notes from the surviving payments to painters, that in the thirteenth century 'a common form of decoration was to mark out the whitewashed walls, usually with red paint, in blocks to resemble masonry', the blocks then decorated with a simple devise such as a rose. ¹⁶¹ He also notes the practice of adding colour to the washes to make the walls red or yellow, along with painting the beams and posts of halls, and applying painting techniques such as painting wood to resemble marble or decorating walls with gold stars. Further to general techniques was the painting of elaborate pictures including symbolic, mythological and allegorical images, such as pictorial representations of stories from the Bible. ¹⁶² The painter might also have been employed to create painted cloths (see 3.11.1, below).

Such relatively large sums paid by Henslowe to the painter were less likely to be remuneration for artistic merit (the average wage for a labourer was 16d per day¹⁶³) and more likely inclusive of the cost of tools and materials as well as time spent in preparing the oils and pigments necessary to do the job, although these expenses are not expressly recorded by Henslowe. Gold leaf and blue pigment were dearest, with 'bice', a cobalt blue, and indigo generally employed in decoration; for green, 'verdigris' was employed, but could also be achieved by mixing blue and yellow; different types of red could be achieved using 'ochre' or, brighter still, 'red lead' paint; black was made from charcoal, 'lamp-black', or soot; white lead or 'cerise' was in common use; and earthy yellows and browns could be gained from 'Spanish brown' or 'umber'. Whilst the painting itself was probably free-hand, time spent preparing and marking up the walls may also have been included in the costs.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Sulzman, *Building in England Down to 1540*, p. 158.

¹⁶² For further information on whitewashing and painting techniques, see Sulzman, *Building in England Down to 1540*, pp. 157-160.

¹⁶³ Jan Luiten van Zanden, 'Wages and the cost of living in Southern England (London) 1450-1700', International Institute of Social History, 2002: http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/dover.php (accessed 26 October 2017)

¹⁶⁴ For further information on the costs of painting and painters, see Sulzman, *Building in England Down to 1540*, pp. 160-172.

Dated 4th June 1595 is listed in Henslowe's accounts payment of £7 2s made 'for carpenters worke & mackinge the throne In the hevens', a reference the construction of machinery by which a chair can be winched up and down from the trap in the heavens roof above the stage.

4.2 Exterior decoration (see pp. ?, above)

IMAGE OF COMPUTER MODEL

THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

Fig. ?: The plastered exterior

In contrast to the model of Phase I, here the exterior of the playhouse has followed the contract for the Fortune playhouse (see fig. ?, above), which stipulates that 'all the saide fframe ... to be sufficyently enclosed withoute with lathe, lyme and haire'. This has been done to test Ronayne's idea that 'as playgoers approached an Elizabethan theatre they would have seen the high white walls (plaster over half-timbering) suggesting perhaps some grave and substantial Roman temple or arena'; ¹⁶⁵ and Gurr's view, that 'all lath-and-plaster walls would have been painted, or plastered, to conceal the woodwork, leaving a white cover. That however, would still show up the lines of the framing timbers, at least in outline.' ¹⁶⁶

Above the main entrance hangs a sign of the Rose, as in Phase I (see p.?).

¹⁶⁵ Ronayne, 'Totus Mundus Agit Histrionem', p. 121.

¹⁶⁶ Personal correspondence via email, 11 August 2016.

4.3 Walls

IMAGE OF COMPUTER MODEL
THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

Fig. ?: The walls

The new outer and inner walls were not entirely parallel, becoming closer together to the north (so the pitch of this roof may have been steeper). Whatever the final shape of the new phase, it is clear it was not as regular as appears to be depicted by Norden in his panoramic view of 1600.

4.4 The Yard

THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

Fig. ?: The yard

The yard surface of Phase II was enclosed within the new, wider, inner wall circuit, increasing the area by about 39% to cover approx. $163m^2$ (1754.5ft²). Dumps of earth were used to level out the rake of the earlier floor in Phase I and to cover the earlier stage and inner walls that had been levelled, so the surface was higher than the original. Although not raked, it had a gentle slope, from a maximum of 1.23m OD in the south to 1.00m OD against the new stage front—a slope of 0.23m, or 2^0 , from south to north. The yard had been re-floored with a layer of silt, ash and clinker with a high proportion of cracked hazelnut shells (a structural element rather than discarded consumables eaten by playgoers), which Bowsher and Miller speculate suggest by-products from a soap boiler's yard. 167

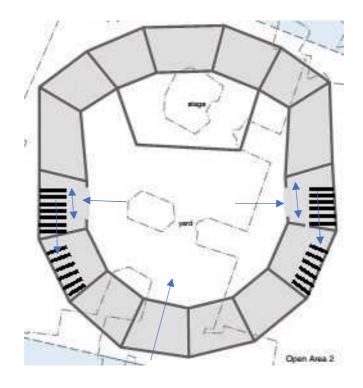
A depression line within the surface caused by rain again suggested the gallery eaves of the roof remained without guttering. Experiments have suggested that the size of the yard might accommodate 550 people loosely packed, and 740 tightly packed. 168

¹⁶⁷ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 61. See also J. Orrell, 'Nutshells at the Rose', *Theatre Research International*, vol. 17, no. 1, Spring 1992, pp. 8-14.

¹⁶⁸ Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre*, p. 59.

4.5 Lower Galleries

4.5.1 Two-penny rooms/Galleries



THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

Fig. ?: The lower galleries and main entrance

The access to the galleries is as in Phase I.

The remaining two-penny bays have 4 or 5 benches, with room for standing and walking around the gallery behind. In the upper (Level 3) gallery, the bays have 2 benches in each, again with room for standing allowing patrons to push forwards to the balcony for better viewing.



Fig. ?: A long wooden form

As in Phase I, the galleries are fronted by turned wooden balustrades painted to resemble green marble and columns likewise like marble.

4.5.2 Three-penny rooms

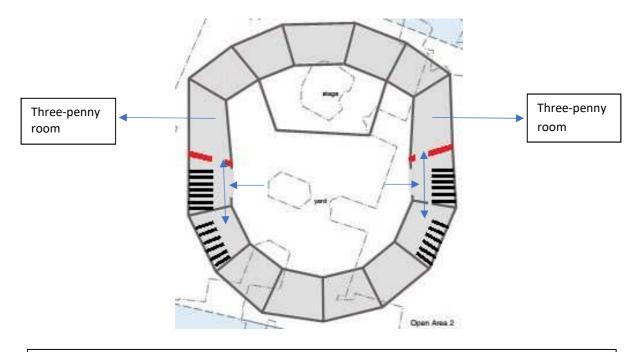


IMAGE OF COMPUTER MODEL

THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

Fig. ?: Three-penny rooms

Thomas Platter records that in certain locations in the galleries 'the seating is better and more comfortable and therefore more expensive. For whoever cares to stand below only pays one English penny, but if he wishes to sit he enters by another door, and pays another penny, while if he desires to sit in the most comfortable seats which are

cushioned, where he not only sees everything well, but can also be seen, then he pays yet another English penny at another door.'169

A person entering from the yard for a penny, then pays a second to enter into the galleries, and a third at the door to enter for a cushioned seat.

In the model, a wall of timber-frame painted to look like green marble and whitewashed plaster divides the ingress from the three-penny room, which is entered through a doorway and contains raked benches with red cushions. At the end nearest the 12 penny rooms the wall is also timber and whitewash.

4.5.3 Gentlemen's rooms/'Lords room'

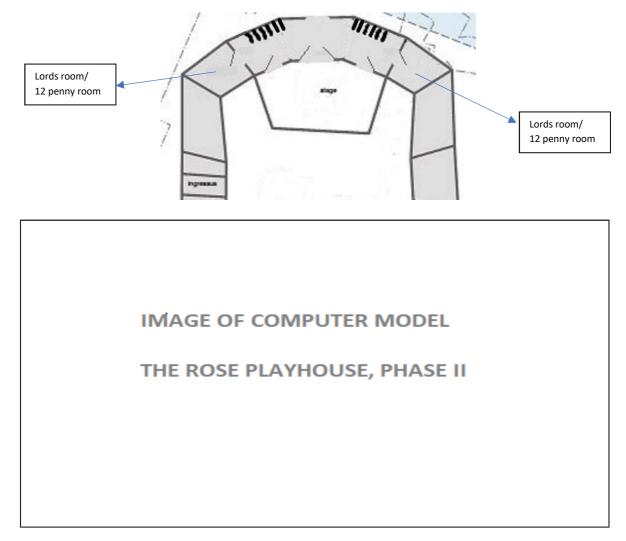


Fig. ?: Gentlemen's rooms/'Lords room'

¹⁶⁹ See Platter, *Travels in England 1599*, p. 167.

The earliest mention of a Lords Room is in Henslowe's accounts for the Rose in 1592, in which he records:



Fig. ?: Fig. ?: Henslowe's 'Diary', MSS VII f. 5v © David Cooper. With kind permission of the Governors of Dulwich College.

Pd for sellynge the Rome over the tyerhowssexs

Pd for wages to the plasterer....iiijs

Pd for sellinges my lords Rome....xiiijs

In referring to the 'Lords Rome', it is not clear if Henslowe is referring to a room for lords (plural) (Henlowe is equally possessive about 'my playhowsse') or for a lord (singular), under whose patronage the actors played. In referring to 'sellynge', it is not necessarily clear if Henlsowe is referring to 'ceil', as in 'to line the roof or, provide or construct an inner roof—i.e. building the ceiling structure (perhaps Henslowe's outlay 'for sellinges' would seem less equivocal), or 'to cover with a line of woodwork [panelling], sometimes of plaster'— i.e., sealing the structure (OED). In his search through the historical records relating to building practices, Salzman notes several accounts that refer to ceilings constructed from boards of plaster as 'false roof', 'double roof', 'cilebord' or instruction 'to seal the flower [floor]'. 170 Whereas he notes that the custom to 'seal' (variously spelled in documents 'selyng' and 'sealing') refers to panelling a room, often in wainscoting.¹⁷¹ Wooden panelling, which may have been wainscoting, was found in the debris at the remains of the Rose (see fig. 70). In his contract for the Fortune playhouse (fig. 14), Henslowe states that the carpenter, Peter Street, 'shall not be chardged w[i]th...Rendringe the walls w[i]thin Nor seelinge anie more or other rooms then the gentlemens rooms[,] Twoe pennie rooms and stadge', 172 which Egan believes distinguishes between 'render' (to apply a lime and sand mortar) and 'ceil' in the sense

¹⁷⁰ Salzman, Building in England Down to 1540, p. 214.

¹⁷¹ Salzman, *Building in England Down to 1540*, p. 258.

¹⁷² Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 308.

only applicable to having ceilings installed,¹⁷³ although it is also possible he is referring to panelling the walls and/or the ceiling.

Whilst Rhodes considers the Lords Room and the room over the tiring house were located together on the second gallery tier above the stage (on the third tier would be too high for viewing and at stage level, the province of the gallants and their friends), ¹⁷⁴ Egan concludes that '…since the fitting of a ceiling to the Lords Room is entered as a separate item of expense [to 'sellynge the Rome over the tyerhowsse'], the Lords room cannot be in the stage balcony'. ¹⁷⁵ He argues 'the overwhelming evidence [is] that the Lords room could not have been in the stage balcony' in the public playhouses, and suggests that in his reference to '12 penny roome next to the stage', Dekker, in *A Gulls Handbooke* (1609), is referring to the public playhouses. Egan argues that the 'Lords Room' (available to other patrons for 12 pennys) was positioned 'in the lowest gallery at the side of the stage', and that Jonson's use of the phrase in *Everyman Out of His Humour*, 'over the stage in the Lords room', could reasonably be interpreted as the speaker meaning 'over the other side of the stage' [i.e. over there] rather than 'above the stage'.

Rhodes points out that the cost of the work undertaken also suggests 'the work was extensive, costing Henslowe twenty-eight shillings—equal to wages paid to one man for about 28-days of work'.¹⁷⁶ That two rooms were intended for use by Lords and other gentlemen is suggested by Epsom because of Henslowe's use of plural for 'sellinges' (ceilings),¹⁷⁷ despite 'Rome' being singular.

In the model, Henslowe's 'Lords Room' could refer to one of the 'Gentlemen's room' in the lowest gallery, although two rooms either side of the stage have been made fit for a Lord patron and others to occupy. The entrance to these two rooms is through doors from the tiring house.

¹⁷³ Gabriel Egan, 'The Situation of the Lord's Room: A Revelation', *Review of English Studies*, vol. 48 (1997), pp. 297-309.

¹⁷⁴ Rhodes, *Henslowe's Rose: The Stage and Staging*, p. 71.

¹⁷⁵ Gabriel Egan, 'The Situation of the Lord's Room: A Revelation', *Review of English Studies*, vol. 48 (1997), pp. 297-309.

¹⁷⁶ Rhodes, Henslowe's Rose: The Stage and Staging, p. 71.

¹⁷⁷ Empson, Essays on Shakespeare, p. 168.

Following Henslowe's expenditure, it has a painted plaster ceiling and wainscot panelling. Taking note of the debris found at the site of the Rose (see p.?, above), the side walls have been covered in wood panelling/wainscoting with occasional carved rose motif:



Fig. ?: Sixteenth century English oak panels carved with rose.

The room would have been elaborately painted, perhaps similar to the images found the painted staircase at Knole House in Sevenoaks, Kent (1605):



Fig. ?: The staircase at Knole House in Sevenoaks, Kent (1605)

Following the Knole staircase, the back wall of each room is plastered and painted with decorative arched frame and pillars. Within each oblong frame are images of The Four

Temperaments and The Four Ages of Man by Maarten de Vos, painted in a uniform sepia. For example:¹⁷⁸

Room 1 (left of the stage):





Cholericus Sanguineus

Room 2 (right of the stage):





Amor Dolor

The ceilings of each room are plastered, with a ribbed/fretted pattern (see Knole staircase) with a plaster rose motif at a few of the intersections:

 $^{^{178}\,}http://monsterbrains.blogspot.co.uk/2008/07/virgil-solis-ovidii-metamorphosis-1581.html$

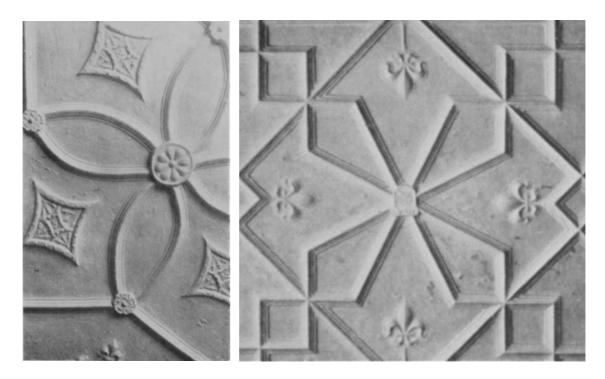


Fig. ?: Examples of 16th century plaster ceiling design¹⁷⁹



Fig. ?: Plaster Tudor rosette on the beams of the great chamber ceiling at Swakeleys, Middlesex

The wooden doors match the panelling.

Over each room's door is written the following saying in Latin:

Room 1: *In vitam humanam*¹⁸⁰

Room 2: *Vitae, ant morti*¹⁸¹

The seating consists of:

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¹⁷⁹ http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/heref/vol1/plate-29

[&]quot;On Human Life": Geoffrey Whitney, *Choice of Emblemes* (Leiden, 1586), f.14v: https://fr.pinterest.com/pin/449656344028671760/

 $^{^{181}}$ "For life, or for death": Geoffrey Whitney, Choice of Emblemes (Leiden, 1586), f.49r: $\underline{\text{https://fr.pinterest.com/pin/449656344028671799/}}$

- 2 x decorative carved oak chairs (with central carved rose motif) adorned with a red cushion with a rose motif, positioned at the front closest to the balcony;
- 2 x decorative carved oak wooden stool with red cushions;
- 1 x narrow decorative carved oak bench along the back wall.



Fig. ?: Oak chair with rose motif, sixteenth century

Digital chair



Fig. ?: Sixteenth century English carved oak stool¹⁸²



Fig. ?: English Oak form, c. 1620^{183}

 $[\]frac{http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/205554?rpp=60\&pg=2\&ao=on\&ft=*\&when=A.D.+14\\00-1600\&where=England\&pos=92\\183\ http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/078980/form-unknown/$



Mock-up: 12 penny Room 1, to the left side of the stage

4.6 The stage

THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

Fig. ?: The stage (Phase II)

A new stage was built 2.0m (c. 6ft 10ins) north of the first.



Fig. ?: The front wall of the Phase II stage (coloured white) is further north from the Phase I stage (coloured brown, which had been reduced and capped with a layer of clay) © MOLA

The remains of the front wall show that is was a well-constructed solid wall of mortared stone, tapering back to the line of the new inner wall at either end, and flush with the yard floor (presumably with a wooden construction on top). Along its southern front were the

remains of wooden stakes that may have been construction aids, sawn off after the wall was built. 184

The Phase II stage had a depth of 5.6m (18ft 4"), a maximum length of 8.4m (27ft 7") (although the entire front length was not fully uncovered during excavations), and an area approx. 47.6m.

The shape was slightly more rectangular than in Phase I with the impression of a greater thrust because of the extension of the yard on each side. The back wall of the stage, or frons scenae, was divided into three flat planes similar to Phase I but with shallower angles and more fomalised. 185

The Fortune playhouse contract (see fig. ? above) specifies 'all the fflowers [floors] of the saide galleries stories and stadge to be bourded [boarded] with good & sufficient newe deale bourdes'. So it seems plausible that the stage was covered with deal boards, which, although soft wood and less hard-wearing than oak, would have made a better working surface (for example, for grip by the actors wearing leather soled shoes of the day). Bowsher and Miller speculate that the additional 'elm boards' bought by Henslowe in 1595 might also have been used and indicative of the need to replace wood soft wood boards. 186

The new rear stage wall built for Phase II was of distinctly heavier build than the only other extant small area of new inner gallery walling to the side. Bowsher and Miller observe that 'the fact that this foundation was a substantial one suggests that it had to cater for a heavier stage building and tiring house'. 187

The stage is covered with elm boards. The front covered with deal boards laid upright and painted.

¹⁸⁴ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 58.

¹⁸⁵ Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre*, p. 50.

 $^{^{\}rm 186}$ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 119.

¹⁸⁷ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 57.

4.6.1 Trap door

IMAGE OF COMPUTER MODEL

THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

Fig. ?: The trap door

The construction of the new stage involved building up the surface to a new level with a sub-floor (albeit earthen rather than screed) at 1.0m OD. This would leave a very shallow area beneath the stage of 4ft 4.75in (1.34m), which, Bowsher and Miller suggest, although not entirely unusable for access to and from a trapdoor. 188

Henslowe's papers can tell us something about which plays were most frequently performed at the Rose in the 1590s. Of those whose texts are extant, some of the plays intended for the post-1592 Rose playhouse might suggest use of a trapdoor. Of those texts, some are published long after the performance—whereby the text may have been altered or edited, stage directions added, etc.—but others are published within the lifetime of the theatre and in living memory of those who may have attended:

The Spanish Tragedy (if performed at the Rose in February 1592; published, 1592), perhaps calls for use of a trap at the end when Revenge says 'This hand shall hail them

¹⁸⁸ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe,* p. 118. For a diagram of the relative heights of the stage, yard surface and substage floor, see also Bowsher, 'The Rose and its Stages', p. 42, diag. 12.

¹⁸⁹ For discussion of the plays that may have been staged at the Rose and what they may tell us about the playhouse and stage practices, see Rhodes, *Henslowe's Rose*, pp. 14-20; and *Wickham*, "Heavens", Machinery, and pillars in the Theatre and other early playhouses, pp. 1-15; Gurr, 'The Rose repertory', pp.119-134.

down to deepest hell,/ where none but furies, bugs and tortures dwell', then descends into it: 'Then haste me downe to meet thy friends and foes'.. Gurr and Don Rowan agree may suggest descent of man/Andrea into hell through a trap. 190 Gurr cites Michael Hattaway who disputes this, suggesting 'the Ghost and Andrea are on the balcony 'above', which would make the descent at the end down to the main stage'. 191

A knack to know a knave (performed at the Rose, 10th June 1592; first published in 1594), has Dunston conjure a devil (F4r): 'Asmoroth ascende, veni Asmoroth, Asmoroth veni. *Enter the Devill.*' Whilst the Devil may have emerged through a trapdoor, as if from the underworld, it is equally feasible that the performer simply emerged from a stage door on 'veni' ('enter') and exited with Dunston the same way. An episode earlier gives (B3r),

Bayl:...Soule, be thou safe, and bodie flie to hell. *He dyeth. Enters Devil, and carrie him away.*

It's possible the trap was the point of exit to hell here, too, although hallway through a scene it's not clear when the performers would be able to escape the under-stage area with no exit through to the tiring house. Of course, they may exit through a stage door, or perhaps thorough the pit?

Titus Andronicus (performed at the Rose on 24 January 1594; first published in 1594), 2:3, has Martius and Quintus ('two of Titus sonnes') fall into a pit which needed to be shallow enough for them to stand a talk from it at some length about their discovery of the dead body of *Bassianus*, which is never revealed. The brothers are taken out of the pit and marched away at the end of the scene.

Look About You (published 1600, whose title page says 'lately played' by the Admirals Men who in c.1599 were at the Rose), features two men who fall into a hole in the ground ('Jo. There are caves heereabout good fellow, are there not? ...'Ski. Yes sir, tread the ground sir, & you shal heare their hollownes') and are robbed ('Prince John put up your

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¹⁹⁰ Gurr, 'The Rose Repertory', p. 129, citing D.F. Rowan. 'The staging of The Spanish Tragedy', in *The Elizabethan Theatre*, 5th edn. G. R. Hibbard (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1975), p. 112.

¹⁹¹ Gurr, 'The Rose Repertory', p. 129, citing Michael Hattaway, *Elizabethan Popular Theatre. Plays in Performance*. London: Routledge & Paul Kegan, 1969, pp. 121-31.

pursse, or ile throw ponniards downe upon your pate.'), but they climb out and escape ('Lend me your hand a little, come away').¹⁹²

A Looking Glass for London and England (performed at the Rose by Lord Strange's Men, March to June 1592; published, 1594) includes a possible indication that a trap featured when 'a flame of fire appeareth from beneath and RADAGON is swallowed', and a stage direction to make a whole arbour rise up— "The Magi with their rods beat the ground, and from under the same rises a brave arbour"—which, Gurr suggests, implies a big trap, 'if we are to take serious note of the stage direction ... Maybe this was the author being hopeful rather than a book-keeper recording the Rose's staging, of course. But the quantity of trees in Henslowe's inventories makes you wonder'. 193

In *The Jew of Malta* (Henslowe owned the play-book in 1592 and rented it to various companies; possibly performed at Rose between 1592-94 by Queens's and Sussex's Men? Revived in1601 as noted in Henslowe's *Diary* from the inventory of properties; earliest surviving edition was printed in 1633), Gurr suspects that 'Henslowe's note "I caudern for the Jewe" [i.e. one cauldron for The Jew of Malta], the iconic hell-mouth which Barabas disappears into at the end of the play, refers to a property which must have been positioned in [over?] the trap, since the trapdoor was the traditional entry point and also exit-point for hell and its devils'. 194

The absence of more qualitative as well as quantitative evidence is not evidence of absence, of course. What isn't clear from these texts is whether an actor using the stage trapdoor had access under the stage, through the rear stage wall (inner wall foundation) and up through a trap in the tiring house.

Julian Bowsher is curious about the archaeology: 'As far as we could tell, the rear stage foundation walls would probably prevent access from under the tiring house to under the stage'. He continues, 'the foundations of that wall are very thick and although truncated by time, I assume that it rose just above ground level where it was overlain by the superstructure which was largely timber. It would be possible I guess for a 'hole' to be cut

¹⁹² Rhodes, Henslowe's Rose, p. 228.

¹⁹³ Gurr, 'The Rose Repertory', p. 129.

¹⁹⁴ Gurr, 'The Rose Repertory', p. 129.

¹⁹⁵ Personal correspondence via email, 6th July 2017.

into the foundations to create an access passage—but I really don't think they would have done that, in any case they would have to almost crawl through'. 196

Jon Greenfield thinks that access from under the stage to the tiring house 'is the only plausible way I can see the trap functioning—someone going to the under-stage from the tiring undercroft, or coming out in the tiring house from the under-stage, otherwise they would emerge somewhere visible to the audience, somewhat spoiling the dramatic effect. To make access through the gallery footings and cill beam, which is what would be needed to get this access to work, is a very simple adaption.'197

Bowsher and Miller state that 'The construction of the phase II stage involved building up the surface to a new level with a sub-floor (albeit earthen rather than screed) at 1.0m OD', laid down in order to cover the foundations of the Phase I stage front wall and to level out the Phase I yard which has a 5 degree slope towards the north.¹⁹⁸ If the Phase I stage was built at the same level as the lowest gallery floor, the 'under stage area' had a headroom of about 1.63m. In Phase II, the stage area, tiring house and Gentlemen's rooms either side of the stage may have been partitioned off and therefore at a higher (0.40m) level creating a headroom of 1.72m. However, if the same level was maintained—given that the whole southern half of the building remained unaltered—the head-room would have been a mere 1.32m (4.33 ft). Rutter concludes that less than four feet of headroom under the stage would preclude the presence of a trap.¹⁹⁹

The average height of an adult man in this period was 5ft 7.25 inches or 1.71m., so the following gives a scale comparison of the possible stage spaces:



¹⁹⁶ Personal correspondence via email, 29 June 2017 and 6th July.

¹⁹⁷ Personal correspondence via email, 29th June 2017.

¹⁹⁸ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 118.

¹⁹⁹ Rutter, Documents of the Rose Playhouse, p. xxii, citing Bowsher, The Rose Theatre, p. 61

If the Phase II stage was built with no compensation for the raised sub-floor, a performer of average height in the late sixteenth-century descending through the trap would have had to stoop or crawl under the stage. The unearthing of the archaeology certainly challenge Rhodes' assertion that the textual evidence from plays he suggests were staged at the Rose indicates 'a space beneath the stage, high enough and wide enough to permit people to move about and handle large stage properties'.²⁰⁰

None of the plays above suggest that, were a trap used, access between the tiring house and under-stage area is need—those character/performers that fall into a hole/pit get out again (so exit and entrance points are through the stage doors), and those characters that descend to hell do so at the end of the play so can exit the same way once the play has finished. Nor do these plays suggest that the stage needed to be raised above the floor level of the lower gallery to furnish a larger under-stage area for people to move around nor for properties to be accommodated.



Fig. ? (a) Stage, tiring house and Gentlemen's rooms ('Lord's room) cordoned off and raised above the level of the ajoining galleries



(b) Stage and tiring house at same level as Phase I southern half
©Jon Greenfield 2017

²⁰⁰ Rhodes, *Henslowe's Rose*, p. 19.

Bowsher and Miller, propose that '[p]erhaps the stage of the second Rose was built at a higher level than the first, raised by the same amount as the yard was raised, and possibly a little more [fig. ? (a), above]. If this was the case, then it implies Henslowe introduced a separate tiring house in 1592, and did not just hive off some of the arena bays as he had with his earlier structure. A 'heavens' supported on stage columns needs a substantial structure behind it for stability, which the tiring house provides very effectively. The reconstructed 1997 Globe adopted a similar solution by dividing the playhouse into two distinct structures, the first being the tiring house and stage and the second being the yard and galleries'.²⁰¹

This raising of the stage wouldn't have been necessary if performers were prepared to tolerate less than comfortable conditions below the stage. It is certainly possible that the height of the stage had been increased to 5ft or more (the same dimension given for the Red Lion which had 'a certayne space or voyde part of the same stage [was] left unboarded'). Raising the floor in the Gentlemen's rooms (including Henslowe's 'Lords room') and the tiring house, a continuation of the stage surface, may have created a distinctly separate northern half, presenting a marked and significant difference between these rooms and the common galleries. Whether Henslowe's design for the new, altered building included raising and cordoning off the tiring-house and Gentlemen's rooms to form a separate space unified with the stage isn't known. It may have made more sense to the inclusion of a trap-door and provision, if any was made, to better enable for performers to travel under-stage, through a hole in the rear stage wall and up into the tiring-house. However, as Jon Greenfield concludes: 'Everything is possible, not everything is sensible.'

Jon Greenfield thinks, 'the stage being set at the level of the lower gallery floor [fig. ? (b) above] is the most plausible as an architectural principle, but of course we don't know for certain. The brickwork would likely have remained at the same level for Phase II as for Phase I; Phase II uses at least 50% of Phase I (the southern portion). It is most probable that the re-built portions would have built the brick footings up to the same height as the existing brickwork, and set the new sill beams so that they tied in with the existing ones.

²⁰¹ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 118.

There are very many practical reasons why it is very helpful to have the stage and lower gallery decking at the same level, such as:

- It makes remodelling the back-stage area much easier.
- It gives a good relationship between the gentleman's boxes either side of the stage.
- It makes is much easier for Gentlemen to get to the boxes from the backstage.

My strong vote is to have the stage level running through to be a flat floor throughout the lower gallery (interrupted by the yard entrances, of course). I do think it was very wet and muddy at times in the yard—the under-stage would probably have been quite $dank.'^{202}$

He continues, 'My thinking comes from understanding the budgets, listed in Henslowe's Diary, and an understanding of the layouts. To keep the modifications to an affordable level, Henslowe was (in my view) aiming to retain half of the building with minimum modification (the southern half). Otherwise he might as well have knocked the whole thing down and started again. He therefore needed the new north portion to fit with the retained south portion, which is why I believe that the main dimension of phase one (cill heights etc) would have been the same in phase 2. The resulting under-stage height of c.1.3m isn't too difficult a 'stoop', provided there are no lower obstructions (under-stage beams).'203

²⁰² Personal correspondence via email, 26 July 2017.

²⁰³ Personal correspondence via email, 17 July 2017.

4.6.2 Sub-stage decoration

THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

Fig. ?: Sub-stage decoration

Ronayne explains that the sub-stage level is symbolically *below* ground (below the earthly plane represented by the stage), perhaps in the grotesque world into which the dead descend and out of which ghosts and devils appear (through the trap door).²⁰⁴ Following Ronayne research, the three sides of the stage and the walls to the lower gallery have been painted to represent five courses of heavy rusticated masonry, popular in the period as demonstrated in Inigo Jones's stage design for *Artenice* (c.1625), reminiscent of grottos and caves:

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²⁰⁴ Ronayne, 'Totus Mundus Agit Histrionem, pp. 121-146.

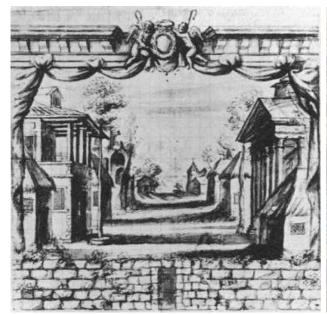




Fig.?: Inigo Jones' design for Artenice (c.1625)

Two different styles of rustication in the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi in Florence; smooth-faced above and rough-faced

The illusion of stone has been painted in relief in a dark and dull earth pigments, 'Spanish brown', burnt umber and lamp black, onto the horizontal oak boards fronting the stage, each course one-foot-deep.

4.6.3 Stage surface

Henlowe documents a payment of 11 shillings during the Phase II alterations for 'payntinge my stage', which perhaps refers to decoration for the *frons scenae* rather than merely the stage boards. As in Phase I, the model follows have followed Ronayne's suggestion that the stage boards may have been painted green (*terre vert*) to represent the earth's surface.²⁰⁵

 $^{^{205}}$ Ronayne, 'Totus Mundus Agit Histrionem', pp. 121-146.

4.6.4 Stage pillars

THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

Fig. ?: The stage pillars

Just inside the stage front were what seem to be the remains of two column bases at each end of the stage. They measure 6.24m apart (centre to centre) and built close to the new front wall. Each was made of brick plinth (measuring 0.47m²) resting on a timber base plate (which were reused pieces of carvel ship's planking).²⁰⁶



Fig. ?: Base of the stage pillar with planks visible, with stage wall to the right © MOLA

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²⁰⁶ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 59.

It is possible the brickwork continued up to the level of the stage, above which were most likely round timber columns to support a 'cover' or roof over the playing space. This was clearly associated with the relocation of the galleries on either side to accommodate sightlines from the upper floors.

Plays presumed to have been performed at the post-1592 Rose suggest the use of the pillars: 207

In *The Two Angry Women of Abingdon* (performed by Admiral's Men, presumably at the Rose; first published, 1599), sc. 14, Coombs walks into a pillar as he stumbles in the dark field of the story ('A plague on this poast, I would the carpenter had bin hangd that set up for me'); in sc. 9, perhaps used to represent trees.²⁰⁸

In *The Spanish Tragedy* (if performed at the Rose in March 1592; published, 1592), 3:1, a man is almost bound to a stake to be burned to death (*'They bind him to the stake'*) before being released (*'They unbind him'*).²⁰⁹

In *Englishmen for my money, or A Woman will haue her Will* (performed at the Rose before the end of 1598; published 1616), 3.1, Frisco warns Vandal, 'take heede sir hers a post'.

The stage pillars (supporting the 'heavens') have painted to look like marble and ornamented tops and bases following the sketch and description of the Swan playhouse, and Hans Blum's *A description of the five orders of columnes and tearms of architecture* (London, 1668 [1550]):

²⁰⁷ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 59.

²⁰⁸ Rhodes, *Henslowe's Rose*, pp. 250-251.

²⁰⁹ For further discussion about the use of 'pillars and posts' in this scene, see Wickham, "'Heavens", machinery, and pillars', pp. 6-7.

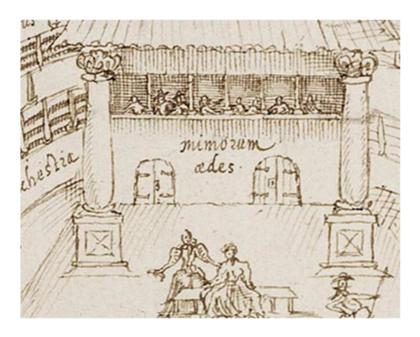
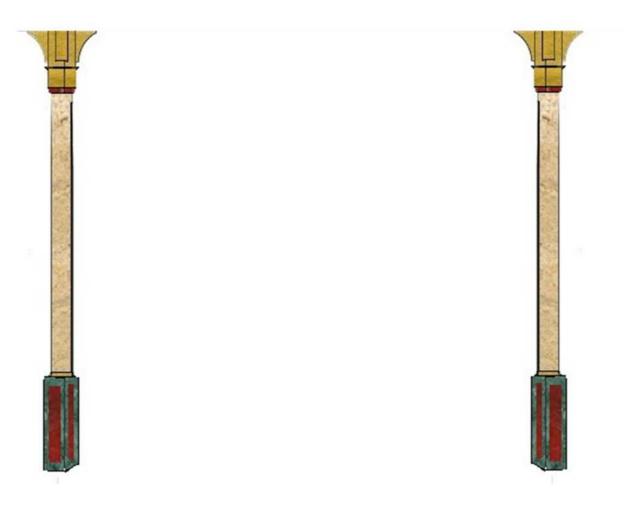


Fig. ?: detail, Sketch of the Swan playhouse, c.1596. See fig. 29 above.





Mock-up of pillars

4.6.5 Roof or cover over the stage

IMAGE OF COMPUTER MODEL THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

Fig. ?: The roof or cover over the stage

Unfortunately, the archaeological record leaves no trace of the superstructure above the stage.

Norden's images on his map of 1600 appear to be contradictory. In one image Norden suggests what appears only to be a gable following the lateral ridge at right angles to the circumference and which appears flush to the main frame. In the other depiction it appears to be a chorded roof ridge with a roof line parallel to the main frame similar to the stage roof depicted in the sketch of the Swan (see fig. ? above):

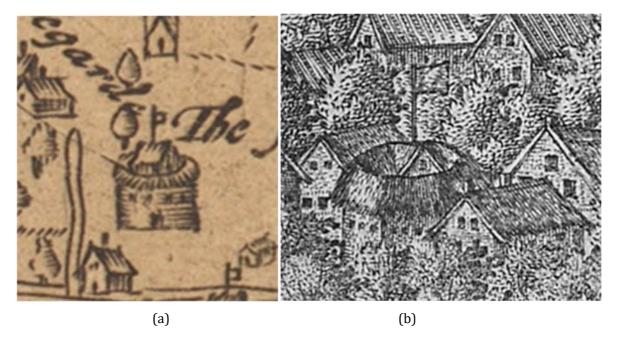


Fig. ?: The two views of the Rose in Norden's *Civitas Londini* (1600) © Stockholm National Library of Sweden, DelaG 89.

It should be noted that Norden (1600) also draws the stage-roof in the same configuration on the Beargarden (a feature absent from a bear-baiting arena) and the Globe (which had a different stage orientation to the Rose), suggesting that, like the houses in his drawing, these were generic, homogenous representations rather than a detailed drawing of the individual buildings themselves.²¹⁰

The dimension of the stage pillar bases (0.47m2) suggest something about the dimensions of the pillars and what they may have been capable of holding aloft.

Bowsher says '[The projecting gable] is clearly shown in the 1600 panorama with a forward projecting gable built into that of the main frame, a structural position not contradicted by the archaeological evidence'.²¹¹ It is a design embraced by C. Walter-Hodges:

 $^{^{210}}$ C. Walter Hodges says, 'in this same view Norden appears to show the Swan theatre itself as being furnished with the same sort of superstructure as in his other three theatres [i.e. a small gabled loft thrust forwards from the tiring house section of the main roof], which is in absolute contradiction to the evidence of the de Witt/van Buchel drawing' ('What is possible', p. 50).

²¹¹ Bowsher and Blatherwick 'The Structure of the Rose', p. 71.

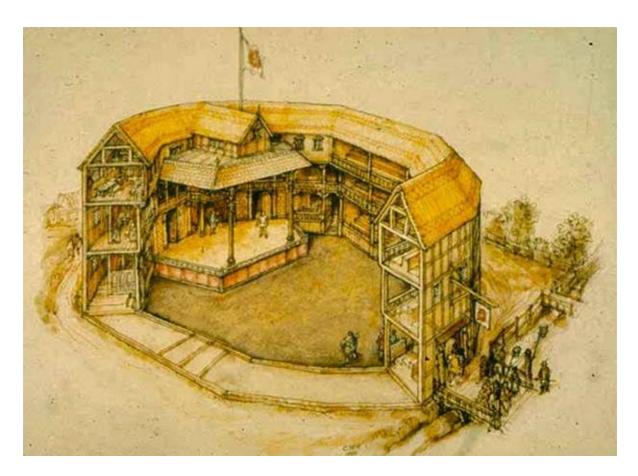


Fig. ?: C. Walter Hodges, Reconstructed view of the Rose theatre, Phase II (Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre*, p. 80)

Together with the stage roof, C. Walter Hodges includes a projecting gable built gainst the main roof of the tiring-house and containing the hoisting machinery for the 'throune in the heavens' which Henslowe installed in 1595, following Norden's depiction of the Rose in his panorama of 1600 (fig. ? (a), above). In drawing a projecting gable out over the stage, Hodges explains:

[W]hen later I came to make measured drawings of the surprisingly smaller circumference of the Rose's interior, I found the effect of [drawing] such a transversely-set hut very clumsy-looking and ill-adapted to the shape and size it had to occupy. Much better within this small circle would be a gable-shaped hut, thrust forwards from the ridge-line of the surrounding gallery roofs towards the centre which is shown in the four theatres—the Rose and

the Swan among them-represented in John Norden's 1600 panarama of Bankside.²¹²

The Museum of London model of the Rose playhouse, Phase II, on display at the exhibition at the site of the remains follows C. Walter Hodges' reconstruction.



Fig. ?: The Museum of London model of the Rose, Phase II, after C. Walter Hodges' illustration

However, given the size of the pillar bases this projecting gable or a structure similar to that at the Swan were most likely to have been too heavy and unstable.

Architect of Shakespeare's Globe, Jon Greenfield, thinks that it is unlikely the gable at the Rose would have projected over the stage so that the main truss (as at the Globe) was supported on the stage columns.

²¹² Hodges, 'Reconstructing the Rose', p. 82. For further explanation of his illustration, see in Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre*, pp. 78-83.

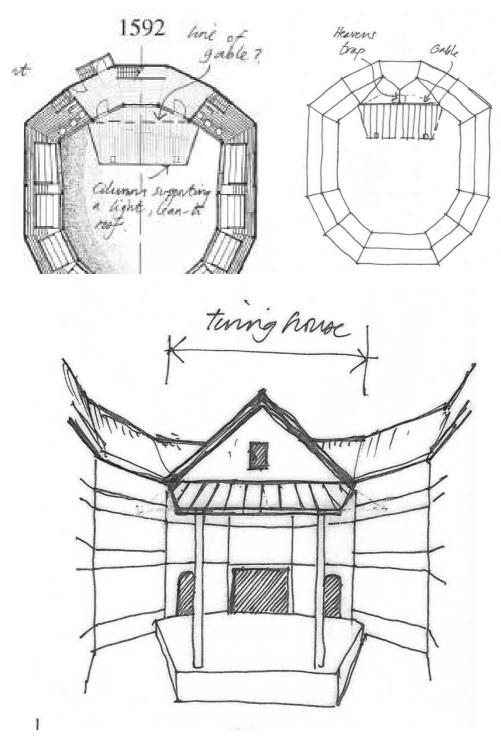


Fig. ?: The gable at Shakespeare's Globe, whose gable projects over the stage supported by the stage pillars

Greenfield thinks 'The stage roof structure is very heavy, and the isolated stage columns have to be large and fixed to be able to support it. A better solution [than the stage roof at the Globe] is to have the gable at the back of the stage (you will see that this still gives space to position a heaven's trap), and to cover the stage with a lightweight lean-to structure'. There is room in the gable above for hoisting machinery for the 'throune in the heavens'.

Greenfield suggests the following design for the post-1592 stage roof, which fits with the Norden map image (see fig?.?? (b), above):

²¹³ Personal correspondence via email, 29 June 2017. Greenfield believes 'the difference in alignment between the Phase I stage front and the Phase II stage front is significant, and believes that the fact that the first stage foundation is not built into the gallery foundation means that you cannot assume that the first stage and 14-sided foundation were built at the same time. This fact is what led me to speculate about the possible successive modifications between 1587 and 1592.' See Greenfield, 'Reconstructing the Rose', pp. 23-35



©Jon Greenfield 2004/2017

This stage roof design also means there is only one position for the heavens trap—upstage, quite close to the frons. It is thought that the heavens trap and stage trap would not be vertically aligned (i.e. the heavens trap would not be directly above the stage trap), so there is ample space further downstage to accommodate the stage trap with this solution.

Also, as C. Walter Hodges points when discussing his own design (see fig. ??, above), 'it has to be considered that a more rectangular shape, not so nicely matching the shape [of the stage] below, might have been simpler to construct'.²¹⁴

A thin depression line within the new yard surface in front of and parallel to the stage wall, caused by rain water, indicates that the stage roof projected c. 1.2m (4ft 2") beyond the edge of the stage area and was un-guttered.

It's also worth noting that the drip line was the same distance from the stage as from the gallery front suggesting also that the roof could have been thatch, but which would have added considerable weight to the roof and the structure would have had to give a slope of 45-50°. C. Walter Hodges projecting gable provides such a slope, although he opted for wooden shingles because 'the roof and its attachment to the upper storey of the tiring house at the back, would make it unsuitable for thatching. His design requires a flat roof to project from the 'hut' or projecting gable, requiring some kind of waterproofing perhaps from lead flats, which Bowsher and Miller points out is highly unlikely because the two front columns would probably be insufficient to bear such weight and lead is also absent from the Rose accounts but present in the material bought by Henslowe for other properties. A construction similar to that at the Swan would have provided a slope enough for thatch, but we can already dismiss this design as being too heavy. Discovery of pantiles at the Rose may have been used to tile the heavens/roof over the stage. 216

Julian Bowsher says, however, 'my gut feeling was that it was an unguttered shingle tiled roof.'²¹⁷ A wooden shingle tile was found in the demolition debris which may or may not have belonged to the stage roof, even though shingles or specific shingle nails are absent from Henslowe's accounts. ²¹⁸ The usual pitch for a shingles roof would be 40°, which

²¹⁴ Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre*, p. 81.

²¹⁵ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 120.

²¹⁶ See Gurr, 'The Playhouse: Archeaology and after', pp. 400-412. A pantile is a type of fired roof tile, normally made from clay, which is S-shaped in appearance and is single lap, meaning that the end of the tile laps only the course immediately below. A pantile-covered roof is considerably lighter than a flat-tiled equivalent and can be laid to a lower pitch. Pantiles were first thought to be imported from Holland in the early 17th century but discovery at the Rose suggests they were in used in England for roofing much earlier.

²¹⁷ Private correspondence via email, 29 June 2017.

²¹⁸ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 120. They also point out that 'tylles' and the employment of a 'tyller' were accounted for on other properties of Henslowe's.

would suit a stage cover and they would have had the benefit of being relatively light weight. 219



Fig. ?: Wooden shingle tile found at the Rose site © MOLA

4.6.6 The Heavens

THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

Fig. ?: The heavens

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²¹⁹ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, 2009, p. 120.

Further demolition material found near the stage was lath and plaster used for wall surfaces and ceilings, and was perhaps related to the underside of the stage cover.²²⁰

A single reference in Heywood's *The Brazen Age* (1613) — 'From the heavens discends a hand in a cloud, that from the place where Hurcules was burnt, brings us a starre, and fixeth it in the firmament'—may refer to the Rose, and suggests the underside of the stage roof may have been decorated, if the play was written for or performed at the Rose.²²¹ Some scholars have suggested that Heywood's *The Silver Age* and *The Brazen Age* are the same plays as *parts 1* and *2* of *Hercules* ('herculos'), listed in Henslowe's *Diary* as having been performed at the Rose by the Admiral's company in November 1595.²²²

Thomas Heywood's account of the 'heavens' at Campus Martius, in *An Apology for Actors* (1612), describes: 'the couerings of the stage, which wee call the heauens (where vpon any occasion their Gods descended) ... Here were the Elements and planets in their degrees, the sky of the Moone, the sky of Mercury, Venus, Sol, Mars, Iupiter and Saturne; the starres, both fixed and wandering: and aboue all these, the first mouer, or primum mobile, there were the 12 signes [of the zodiac] ... In briefe, in that little compasse were comprehended the perfect modell of the firmament, the whole frame of the heauens, with all grounds of Astronomicall conjecture.'

The heavens extend beyond the stage roof onto the ceiling of the tiring-house balcony (see. P. ? above).

The background is painted a dark indigo, with a sky fringed with clouds together with stars both fixed and wandering (i.e. shooting stars)—similar to the ceiling at Hampton Court Palace (see fig. ?) or the 'sky' painted in Rycote Chapel, Oxfordshire (see fig.?), which depicts clouds and 'playing card' stars, which depicts golden stars on an indigo background.

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²²⁰ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 120.

²²¹ Rhodes, *The Rose: The Stage and Staging*, p. 90.

²²² Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 33.



Fig. ?: Hampton Court Palace

Fig. ?: Rycote Chapel, Oxfordshire

In the four corners of the stage roof are painted the four phases of the moon:



Fig.?: Detail, woodcut by Hans Holbein the Younger (1534)

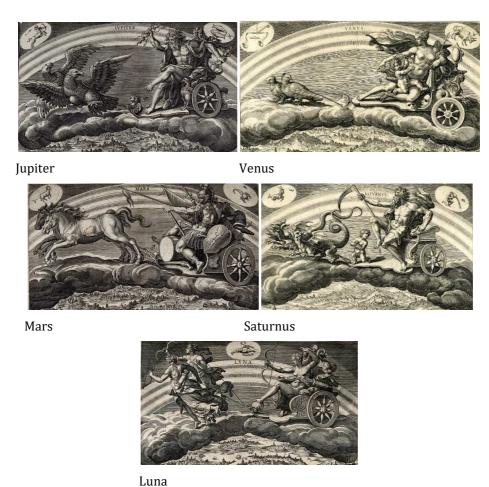
On the gable to the back of the stage, on the trapdoor through which the king/throne appears, is painted celestial light radiating out onto the stage roof:



Fig. ?: Detail, Taddeo Gaddi, 'The Annunciation', c. 1327-30²²³

²²³ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Themes in Italian Renaissance painting#/media/File:Gaddi Taddeo A nnouncement.jpg

Painted in *grisaille* and arranged in a circle, radiating around the gable trap as central, depictions of the planetary deities Jupiter, Venus, Mars, Saturnus, Luna from Marten de Vos, *Planetarum effectus et eorum in signis zodiaci* (Antwerp, 1585):



On the outside of the gods are painted the signs of the zodiac, also in a circle radiating from the trap as the central focus:



Fig. ?: Astrological clock, Venice²²⁴ Examples of the 12 signs of the zodiac²²⁵

²²⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History of astrology#/media/File:Venice ast sm.jpg

²²⁵ For all 12 signs, see The Book of Hours (Italy, 1470-1480), MS G.14.ff.1-18, Morgan Library Museum: http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/thumbs/76806

Any wooden frets making up the structure of the stage-roof to be painted gold.

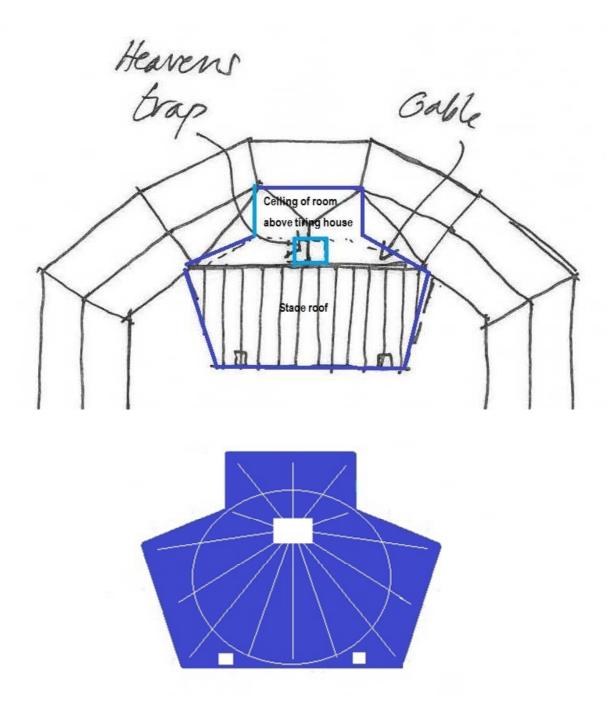


Fig. ?: The heavens under the stage roof: arrangement of the images radiate from the trap as the centre

In June 1595, Henslowe records paying for 'carpenters work & macking the throne in the heuenes'.

Notably, this addition would appear to be within the existing structure of the gable space above the rear of the stage rather than a specially built 'hut' above the stage, as envisioned by C. Walter Hodges. Why would Henslowe build such a 'hut' and then wait three years to install the apparatus for which it was designed?

Stage directions in plays thought to have been written for the post-1592 Rose playhouse in plays assumed to have been performed at the Rose refer to objects being raised and lowered from the new roof:

Alphonsus, King of Aragon (performed at the Rose in August 1594; published, 1599) opens with the direction, 'let Venus be let downe from the top of the stage ...' and exits the scene with what she calls a 'trudge to heavens againe' to which Green ambitiously adds 'Or if you can conveniently, let a chaire come downe from the top of the stage, and draw her up'. Whether it was in fact convenient at the Rose isn't stipulated, and leads Wickham to suggests that '[Greene] hopes for a spectacular visual beginning and end to his play but is quite prepared to accept a strictly pedestrian conclusion if no machinery for an accent to heaven exists', as is the case before its erection by Henslowe in 1595.²²⁶ The addition of the effect was likely added to performances post-1595, which, when printed in 1599, belonged to Henslowe/Alleyn's company.

In *Englishmen for my money, or A Woman will haue her Will* (performed at the Rose in 1598), someone is lowered in a basket.

In other plays associated with the Rose:

Dr Faustus (performed at the Rose in September 1594; published 1604/1616), calls for 'Musicke while the throne descends'.

In *A Looking Glass for London and England* (performed at the Rose by Lord Strange's Men, March to June 1592; published, 1594), a direction gives: '*A hand from out a cloud, threatneth a burning sword*', with the dialogue, 'Behold dread Prince, a burning sword from heaven / Which by a threatening arm is brandished'.

²²⁶ Wickham, "Heavens", machinery, and pillars', p. 11.

4.7 Level 1

THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

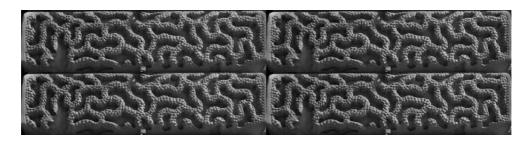
Fig. ?: Level 1 Frons scenae

4.7.1 Frons scenae

The back wall of the stage is painted to represent ashlar stone work. Following Ronayne's research, above the rough block masonry of the sub-stage level are first painted two courses of vermiculated ('worm eaten') ashlar to represent a rougher nearness to the ground:



Fig. ?: vermiculated ('worm eaten') ashlar²²⁷



Above this, the wall is painted using dark and light shades to represent smooth ashlar block work as in Phase I (see. P.?, above), as in painting *Elizabeth and the Three Goddesses* (1575), by Joris Hoefnagel or Hans Eworth, depicting the queen stepping out through an arch painted with fictive stonework.



Fig.?: detail, Elizabeth and the Three Goddesses (1575) © The Royal Collection²²⁸

Around the arched stage doors and pillars is also painted vermiculated ashlar stone work:

Separating each level of the *frons scenae* is a design for Roman fretwork by Hans

Vredeman de Vries, painted to look like carved stone:

2

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Boulevard Saint-Germain, 286 (vermiculure).jpg
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Joris Hoefnagel or Hans Eworth Queen Elizabeth I %26 the Three Goddesses, ca 1569.jpg



Fig. ?: Hans Vredeman de Vries, Perspectivische Gebäude, Kupferstich, c.1580²²⁹

The façade is painted to resemble different types/qualities/values of stone, from granite, to ashlar stone, to coloured marble (red, green and yellow/white), and detailed with gold leaf.

²²⁹ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hans Vredeman de Vries Perspectivische Geb%C3%A4ud e c1580 ubs G 0765 II 04.jpg



4. 7.2 Stage doors

IMAGE OF COMPUTER MODEL

THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

Fig. ?: The stage doors

Several plays thought to have been written for²³⁰ or been staged at the post-1592 Rose playhouse request that characters enter at one door/on one side and leave by another door/side:

In *The downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington* (written for the Admiral's Men, February 1598, who were playing at the Rose; published, 1601), a direction reads: 'Enter Robin Hoode ... at one door, Little John ... at another door'; and later, 'Enter Scathblocke and Scarlet ... at severall doors. To them enter Robin Hoode'.

In *The Death of Robert Earl of Huntington* (written for the Admiral's Men, 1598, who were playing at the Rose; published, 1601), a direction reads: 'Drum. Enter Chester, Mowbray, Souldiers: Lester, Richmond at an other: souldiers'.

In *Old Fortunatus* (written for the Admiral's Men, 1599, who were performing at the Rose; published, 1600), a direction gives: 'Enter Athelstane ... at one dore; Fortune, Vice ... at another dore'.

In *Look About You* (published 1600, whose title page says 'lately played' by the Admirals Men who in c.1599 were at the Rose), a direction gives: 'Enter Lancaster & Huntsman at

²³⁰ Gurr is certain that *The downfall of Robert, The Death of Robert,* and *Old Fortunatus* were written especially for the post-1592 Rose ('The Rose Repertory', p.123).

one doore, Lyster & Huntsmen at another'; and 'Sound trumpets, enter with a Herald on the one side, Henry the second Crowned ... on the other part, K. Henry the Sonne crowned'.

In *Titus Andronicus* (performed at the Rose on 24 January 1594; first published in 1594), a direction gives: 'Enter Aron ... at one door, and at the other door young Lucius'.

In the model of Phase II, the left and right stage doors have been decorated in the same fashion as Phase I (see p. ?, above)

4.7.3 Discovery space (or central opening) with curtains

THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

Fig. ?: The central discovery space

Rhodes provides striking support for a central opening on the Rose stage: 'In *Look about You*, a "Hermit's cell" or "cave" is located between flanking doors. Gloster enters from the cell at the beginning of the scene and Slink enters at another door fleeing from John and Faukenbridge. Slink sees Gloster near the cell and therefore cannot take refuge in that place; so he must exit through a third door because it would not be logical for him to turn back in the direction from which he is fleeing'.²³¹

²³¹ Rhodes, *Henslowe's Rose*, pp. 249.

Several other plays thought to have been written for the post-1592 Rose playhouse stage request that a discovery space, enclosed by curtains, is used to reveal objects or people.²³² Directions include:

In *Old Fortunatus* (written for the Admiral's Men, 1599, who were performing at the Rose; published, 1600), a curtain is drawn to discover the casket in which a wishing hat is kept; an episode is played in and before a discovery space: 'Musicke sounding still: A curtaine being drawn, where Andelocia lies sleeping in Agripine's lap...'.

In *A Humorous Day's Mirth* (performed by the Admiral's Men at the Rose in May 1596; published, 1599), action suggests a discovery space and balcony are used.²³³

In *The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington* (written for the Admiral's Men, February 1598, who were playing at the Rose; published, 1601), a direction gives: 'Enter sir John Eltam, and knocke at Skelton's doore' ... 'Opens the doore' ... 'They unfold each other, and sit down within the curteines, Warman with Prior, sir Hugh Lacy, Lord Sentloe & sir Gilbert Broghton folde hands, and drawing the curteins, all (but Prior) enter and are kindely received by Robin Hoode. The curteins are againe shut'; later, 'Curtain opens, Robin Hood sleeps on a green bank, and Marian is strewing flowers on him'.

In *The Death of Robert Earl of Huntington* (written for the Admiral's Men, 1598, who were playing at the Rose; published, 1601), 1:1, the Friar says: 'Draw but that veil, / And there king John sits sleeping in his chaire. *Drawe the curten, the king sits sleeping, his sword by his side*'.

In yet more plays that Rhodes attests were certainly written for or staged at the Rose, directions include:

- A brazen head 'set in the middle of the place behind the stage'
- Three furies discovered 'behind the curtains' in a grizly dumb-show
- From 'behind the curtains' two enter in a chariot
- A curtain is drawn to reveal two characters bathing
- 'Hell is discovered'

²³² Gurr, 'The Rose Repertory, pp. 119-134; McMillin, *The Elizabethan*, pp. 115ff; Rhodes, *Henslowe's Rose'*, pp. 241-250.

²³³ Rhodes, *Henslowe's Rose*, p. 247; Gurr is certain this is a text written for the post-1592 Rose ('The Rose Repertory', p. 123)

Two 'sit down within the curtains'

- Curtain is drawn to reveal the King sleeping in his throne

- 'The Queen's tent opens'

- 'A cauldron discovered'

- 'They draw the curtains'

- 'draws the curtains and finds her stroken with thunder, black'

'Knocks up [i.e. arranges] the curtains'

- 'The arras is drawn and Zeno lies in her bed of state'

In the Phase II model, the opening is flanked by pillars which are decorative rather than structural (no pillar bases were found in the excavation of the Phase II surface under the stage), painted to look like marble, and which allows for curtains to run behind them forming a discovery space that is in part projected into the stage space, which sits under a cantilevered balcony on the second level.

4.7.4 Central doors

Some of the plays presumed to be written for or staged at the post-1592 Rose playhouse reference 'gates', which suggest the central opening also had double doors:

In *Henry VI Part I* (a play titled 'Harey Vj' performed by Lord Strange's Men at the Rose in March 1592; not published until the 1623 First Folio), 1.3 is set before the gates to the Tower of London: 'Open the gates, tis Gloster that calls', and a Warder calls out 'Who's there, that knocks so imperiously'; in 3.2, the scene takes place before the gates of 'Roan': 'Pucell: These are the Citie Gates, the Gates of Roan...[Soldier] Therefore wee'le knock.'; and 4.2 is played before the gates of 'Burdeaux', and the scene suggests two further entrances to the left and right of these central gates.

In *Titus Andronicus* (performed at the Rose on 24 January 1594; first published in 1594), two contending parties meet and clamour at the gates for entrance to the 'Senate house':

Saturninus: ... Open the gates and let me in.

Bassianus: Tribunes and me a poore Competitor.

The goe up into the Senate house.

In *The Death of Robert Earl of Huntington* (written for the Admiral's Men, 1598, who were playing at the Rose; published, 1601), a company seek to enter the gates to a castle: '*Rich*. The castle gates are shut...'; similarly, later King John calls up to people on the walls, 'wherefore shut you up your gates?' Rhodes suggests reference to the 'gates' which suggests that they were double doors. The episode starts with the direction '*Enter Bruse*, *upon the Walls*'. Two flanking doors are indicated: 'Enter Lancaster & Huntsman at one doore, Lyster & Huntsmen at another' followed shortly after 'Drum. Enter King, Hubert, Souldiers'. The forces have assembled at the gates of Winsor castle which has been seized by young Bruse. The king calls to Bruce on the walls: 'Come down young Bruce, set ope the castle gates.'²³⁴

4.7.5 Tiring house: penthouse shed and rear entrance

THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

Fig. ?: Penthouse shed

²³⁴ Rhodes, *Henslowe's Rose*, pp. 39, 233-234.

In his accounts, Henslowe records the following item:



Fig. ?: Henslowe's 'Diary', MSS VII f. 5v © David Cooper. With kind permission of the Governors of Dulwich College.

Pd for makenge the penthowsse shed at the tyeringe howsse doore, as followeth pd for owld tymber

Henslowe's frequent use of a brace or curly bracket to indicate payments for particular items appears to indicate that those items listed below in his account are unconnected to the building of the penthouse shed:

Pd for bordes & quarters	xviiis 6d
Pd for bordes	xiiis 6d
Pd for naylles and henges & bowlltes	xixs
Pd the carpenters for wages	ixs

Glynne Wickham draws attention to Henslowe's accounts for this payment but makes no comment on it.²³⁵ However, in *English Professional Theatre*, *1530-1660*, Wickham, Berry and Ingram alter Henslowe's layout so that proceeding his statement 'Paid for making the penthouse shed at the tiring-house door as followeth:' they remove the curly bracket and indent a list all of the items indicating to the reader their assumption that all were involved in the shed's construction.²³⁶

²³⁵ Wickham, Berry and Ingram, *English Professional Theatre*, 1530-1660, p. 430; Wickham, *Early English Stages* 1576-1600, Vol. 2, Prt 2, p. 60.

²³⁶ Wickham, Berry and Ingram, English Professional Theatre, 1530-1660, p. 430.

Assuming an average wage for a carpenter of 8d per day in 1592,²³⁷ Henslowe's payment of 9s would pay for one carpenter for 13.5 days labour, and more than one carpenter (Henslowe's accounts lists them as plural) for fewer days.

Ernst Rhodes concludes that 'the expenditure of seventy shillings for such items as "owld tymber," "bordes and quarters," and "naylles & henges & bowlltes," and wages for carpenters for approximately nine days work' indicates that something more substantial was involved. He considers Henslowe's reference to 'Penthouse shed' to refer to the roof over the stage, 'the platform supporting the heavens or the "cover" over the stage' rather than 'an awninglike structure immediately above a door leading into the tiring-house from outside the theatre (because it isn't shown on Norden's images of the Rose)', it's more likely to have referred to a lean-to with sloping roof constructed as an annex to the side of the building. ²³⁸

Penthouse stems from Middle English, 'Pentis', from the Old Fr., *apentis* or 'an attached building; appendage' (from L., 'appendere', meaning 'to hang on/against; attach'). The change of form in the 16th century was by association with Fr. *pente* 'slope' and house to mean 'a secondary shed (with a sloping roof?) attached to the wall of a larger primary building'. (The current sense of 'apartment or dwelling on the roof' or 'at the top of' a building dates to the 1920s.)

The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) defines 'shed' as 'A slight structure built for shelter or storage, or for use as a workshop, either attached as a lean-to to a permanent building or separate; often with open front or sides.' It defines 'penthouse' (as a 'pre-fix') as 'A subsidiary structure or annexe attached to a wall of a main building, such as a shelter, a porch, a shed, an outhouse, etc.' with the following sub-divisions: (a.) A structure extending from the side of a building and having a sloping roof, sometimes forming a covered walk between buildings; such a structure in front of a building or row of buildings, forming an arcade, colonnade, veranda, etc. Also: a sloping roof or ledge placed against a wall or over a door or window to provide shelter from the weather; sometimes also applied to the eaves of a roof when projecting considerably. Now chiefly historical.

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²³⁷ Jan Luiten van Zanden, 'Wages and the cost of living in Southern England (London) 1450-1700', International Institute of Social History, 2002: http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/dover.php (accessed 26 October 2017)

²³⁸ Rhodes, *Henslowe's Rose: The Stage and Staging*, p. 71-72.

(b.) Without reference to a sloping roof: any smaller building attached to a main one, an annexe.

William Empson thinks the penthouse shed was added 'put over the stage door at the back' of the tiring-house—suggesting the structure was no more than a wooden awning—was because, having altered his playhouse to accommodate the gentry and Lords whose access to their private rooms was through the tiring house, thereby avoiding other playgoers, 'someone had now to sit there all the time, ready to take money and do the honours'.²³⁹ Charles Walter Hodges illustration for Phase II shows only the front and side elevation (see fig. ? above), although the model of Phase II at the Rose exhibition (built by Museum of London from Hodges illustrations) includes the type of wooden awning Empson was suggesting overhanging the rear door to the tiring-house (see fig. ? below).



Fig. ?: Rear elevation on the model of Phase II (created by Museum of London)

²³⁹ Empson, Essays on Shakespeare, p. 168.

What is not clear from Henslowe's account of his spending on the shed is how substantial the shed was, and could have been anything from a sloping roof over a doorway acting as a shelter to a small room or lean-to annex. It is not possible to know what kind of deal Henslowe struck for the 'owld tymber' or how much he managed to purchase for twenty shillings; according to his own accounts, in 1595 Henslowe purchased three long pieces of timber for 6 shillings and one long piece of timber for 16 shillings. According to one study, the average price of timber in 1592 was 3.31 shillings per ft³, so 10 shillings might have bought Henslowe approximately 3ft³ of new timber on average—certainly enough to construct a wooden awning over a door—and presumably more if it was 'old'. 241

Bowsher and Miller note that the limits of the excavation meant that the full shape of the northern end of the building, particularly the northern exterior to the building, was not revealed and no trace of the 'penthowsse shed' survived in the archaeological record.²⁴² Bowsher thinks it seems likely the addition of the lean-to was to extend space in the tiring house for storage (Henslowe's inventory of props is extensive!), or space for performers to attire themselves, etc. If the structure was more substantial than simply a sloping wooden awning atop a doorway for shelter, it was unlikely to have been built directly to the rear of the building because of the relatively little space between the northern point of the playhouse and the boundary ditch to the north (see fig. ?, below), perhaps also suggesting that the door was located further to the right. Assuming the bays to the north made up the tiring-house in Phase II, anything substantial seems most likely have been constructed to the north-west—where the model built by the Museum of London positions a rear entrance (see fig. ? above)—although it is possible to locate a structure in the north-east corner of the plot between the north and east boundary ditch. It begs the question why, having just laid out a huge sum of money to redesign and reconstruct

²⁴⁰ Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 14

²⁴¹ The figure is according to Gregory Clark, 'The Price History of English Agriculture, 1209-1914', *Research in Economic History*, 22 (2004), 41-124. The study sets out to constructs an annual price series for English net agricultural output in the years 1200-1914 including 'timber' –principle oak, ash and elm, but material described as 'timber' may also have covered planks and other more manufactured outputs— which sold was sold by the cubic foot, the load, and the ton. Henslowe purchased 30 load of timber for 5 pounds (100 shillings) in 1599 when average price was, according to Greg, per cubic foot was 3.09; if 1 load was equivalent to 50 ft³, his purchase cost him 3.3 shillings a load, or 0.8d for 1 ft³. It seems Henslowe drove a hard bargain. As an example, three cubic feet is equivalent to just over 10 planks of wood 1.8 m (L) x 23.5cm (W) x 1.9 cm (H).

²⁴² See Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, pp. 64 and 119.

the playhouse a great effort, Henslowe hadn't factored in these requirement and instead added a lean-to from old wood?

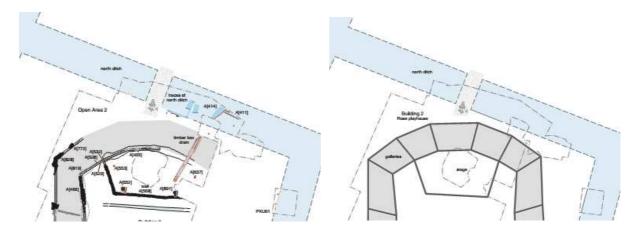
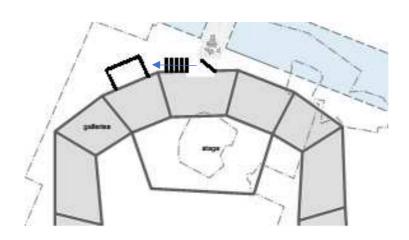
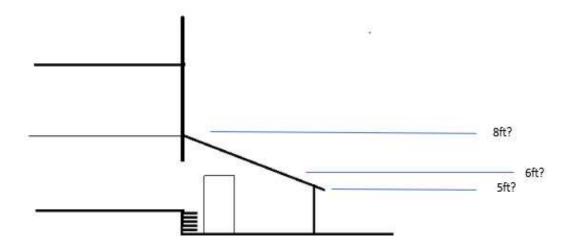


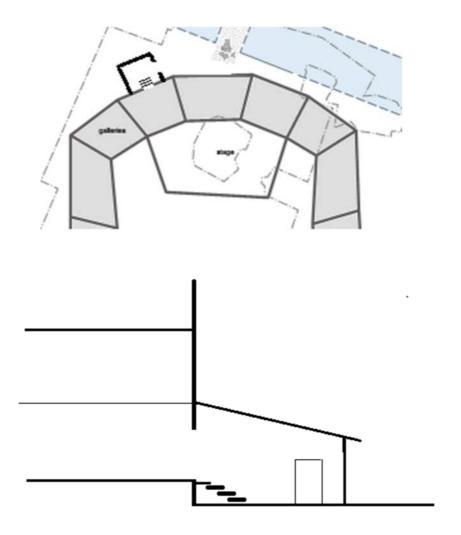
Fig. ?. Diagrams showing the extent of the excavated remains of the Phase II playhouse in the north, and the proximity of the (presumed) north wall of the building with the boundary ditch to the north (Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, pp. 58, 125). ©MOLA

The likely position of the penthouse shed also depends on what Henslowe meant by 'at the tiring house door', and whether this should be taken to refer to somewhere 'near' or 'next to' the doorway or 'directly attached to'.



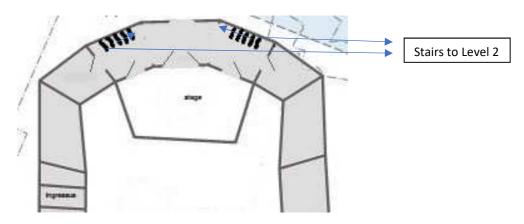


An alternative position and design would be to locate the tiring house door to the northwest, and have the shed extend directly out from the doorway:



For the model, the construction of the 'penthowsse shed' assumes that Henslowe laid out 10s for old wood (although this shouldn't presuppose a judgement as to its appearance or quality), discounting the other items in his accounts as part of the shed. It also assumes the nomenclature describes a small lean-to of light construction with a sloping roof, enough to be a space for storage, workshop, or 'Green Room' for the actors, etc. The structure sits against the main frame of the building 'at the tiring house door' (assuming his use of the definitive article implies only one door, although this isn't certain), which assumes a position next to or near to, and the left of, the external access door rather than a directly attached to it—firstly, because there isn't enough room, assuming the logical place for an entrance to the tiring house is in the central bay (opposite the walk way across the north ditch, although this isn't certain); secondly, because the external door leading from the lower gallery floor level would have been elevated above the ground (as seen in fig. ?, above), making attaching a lean-to shed to meet the doorway a very large structure indeed; and thirdly, so those VIPs and dignitaries entering the playhouse for this rear entrance don't enter through a storage room. Of course, this is all necessarily speculative and it remains the fact that we have little idea what Henslowe had built, just where and what for.

4.7.6 Tiring house stairs to Level 2



THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

Fig. ?: Tiring house stairs to Level 2

Some of the plays presumed to be written for or staged at the post-1592 Rose playhouse require stairs to run from ground to the first level in the tiring house:²⁴³

In *Titus Andronicus* (performed at the Rose on 24 January 1594; first published in 1594), stairs are indicated in the action as being located behind the gates (doors in the central opening?) on which Saturninus and Bassianus pound for admission and through which they enter to 'goe up into the Senate house'.

In *Englishmen for my Money, or A Woman will haue her Will* (performed at the Rose before the end of 1598; published 1616), two separate episodes indicates that the stairs to the gallery are located behind the walls of the main stage.

In *The Death of Robert Earl of Huntington* (written for the Admiral's Men, 1598, who were playing at the Rose; published, 1601), an episode suggest the stairs are behind the gates and the walls of the main stage:

Brand: ...You must remove your lodging: this is all.

Be not afraid: come, come, here is the doore.

L. O God how darke it is!

Brand. Goe in goe in: its higher up the stairs.

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²⁴³ Rhodes, *Henslowe's Rose*, pp. 251-252.

4.8 Level 2

4.8.1 Three-penny rooms

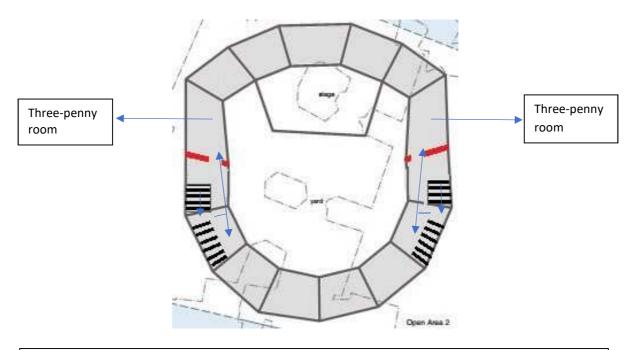


IMAGE OF COMPUTER MODEL

THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

Fig. ?: Three-penny rooms, Level 2

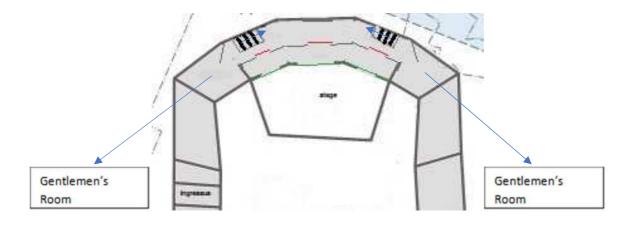
As with the lowest gallery, the middle gallery has the option of paying a third-penny to sit on a two-seater bench with a cushioned seat.



Fig. ?: Two seater carved oak bench, sixteenth century

Digital bench

4.8.2 Gentlemen's rooms



THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

Fig. ?: Gentlemen's rooms, Level 2

The Fortune playhouse contract (see fig. ?) stipulates there be 'ffower convenient divisions for gentlemen's rooms and other sufficient and convenient divisions for Twoe pennie rooms w[i]th necessarie Seates to be placed and sett Aswell in those rooms as througheote all the rest of the galleries.'

Their positioning is suggested in Henslowe's contract for the Hope: 'Two Boxes in the lowermost storie fitt and decent for gentlemen to sitt in/ And shall make the particions betwee the Rommes as they are at the saide Plaie house called the Swan'.²⁴⁵

Egan's argument perhaps risks conflating the 'Lords Room' with the 'Gentlemen's rooms', if both were present at the Rose playhouse, even though the Hope contract only stipulates the gallery, not that it flanks the stage. Egan suggests that 'perhaps the Lords room might also be referred to as "gentlemen's rooms", since a lord is certainly a gentleman even though the reverse is not true. If the two terms referred to different places, it is possible that they formed matched pairs flanking the stage, one of each on each side, or that the Lords room occupied one side whilst the Lords rooms occupied the other. The currently available evidence does not provide certainty on this matter'.²⁴⁶

In the model, two 'Gentlemen's Rooms' have been positioned on either side of the stage on the middle gallery and accessed from the tiring house.

The walls in each room should be plastered and painted with images from Ovid, and reminiscent of tapestry or painted wall hangings that would have adorned the walls of Gentlemen's houses.

Room 1 (right of the stage)

Painted onto the left-hand wall (including the door way) and running around the backwall Ovid's Metamorphoses, Diana and Actaeon²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶ Egan, 'The Situation of the Lord's Room', pp. 297-309.

²⁴⁴ Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, p. 307 (Muniment 22).

²⁴⁵ Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, pp.19-22.

 $^{{}^{247}\}underline{\text{http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/204484?img=8\&utm_source=Pinterest\&utm_med}\\ \underline{\text{ium=pin\&utm_campaign=tapestrytuesday}}$



Fig. ?: Ovid's Metamorphoses, Diana and Actaeon

And on the wall with the door is oak panelling.

Room 2 (left of the stage):

Painted onto the right-hand wall (including the door way) and running around the back wall, Apollo Pursuing Daphne, designed by Bernard van Orley (1491-1541).²⁴⁸



Fig. ?: Apollo Pursuing Daphne, designed by Bernard van Orley (1491-1541)

Again, oak panelling lines the wall with the door.

 $\frac{248}{\text{of-daphne-from-the-series-the-story-of-daphne-from-the-series-the-story-of-daphne-114844}}$

The ceilings in both rooms have their wooden frames with an infill of plaster. The wooden beams have been painted to resemble green marble and the plaster decorated with a simple repeating rose motif—for example:



Fig. ?: Tudor painted ceiling design, Huntingtower Castle, Scotland.



Fig. ?: Painted wood rose motif from the painted roof in the Tudor Chapel at Ightham Mote showing symbols of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon.²⁴⁹

Over each room's door is written the following saying in Latin:

Room 1: *Turpibus exitium*²⁵⁰

Room 2: Qua dij vocant, eundum²⁵¹

The seating in the 6 penny rooms consists of six decoratively carved oak stools with red cushions:

²⁴⁹ https://nanquick.files.wordpress.com/2014/01/skmbt_c55214011015390_0008.jpg

 $^{^{250}}$ "Destruction to the shameless": Geoffrey Whitney, *Choice of Emblemes* (Leiden, 1586), f.21r: https://fr.pinterest.com/pin/449656344028671757/

 $^{^{251}}$ "Where the gods call, we must go": Geoffrey Whitney, *Choice of Emblemes* (Leiden, 1586), f.2v: $\frac{\text{https://fr.pinterest.com/pin/449656344028671780/}}{\text{https://fr.pinterest.com/pin/449656344028671780/}}$



Fig. ?: sixteenth century carved oak stool



Mock-up for 6 penny Room 1 (stage right)



Mock up for 6 penny Room 2 (stage left)

4.8.3 Gallery room above the tiring house

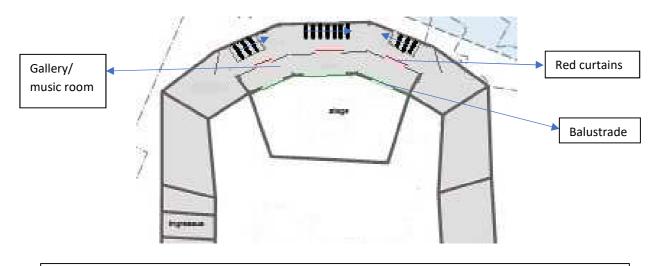


IMAGE OF COMPUTER MODEL

THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

Fig. ?: Gallery room above the tiring house

As with Phase I, regular use was certainly made in the post-1592 Rose playhouse of the acting space over the stage.

Of the plays considered to be written for or performed at the post-1592 Rose, where texts or plots are extant, a number give explicit or implicit directions for acting above the stage space on the balcony.²⁵² The directions suggest the following:

In *Old Fortunatus* (written for the Admiral's Men, 1599, who were performing at the Rose; published, 1600), the dialogue indicates that a pair of stocks is located above the stage in

²⁵² Gurr, 'The Rose Repertory', pp. 119-134; McMillin, *The Elizabethan Theatre*, pp. 115ff; Rhodes, *Henslowe's Rose*, pp. 185ff.

a place referred to as 'yonder tower', 'this prison' and 'this tower'. Two men are taken at different times and placed in them, seen by the audience.

In *The Death of Robert Earl of Huntington* (written for the Admiral's Men, 1598, who were playing at the Rose; published, 1601), a window is used in a place above the stage to discover a Senecan tableau

Other plays call for one or two performers to play 'above on the walls', 'upon the walls', 'on the turrets', 'a gallery', 'above at the window', 'this window', 'in the window'. No depth is required for one or two people performing, and most speak from the balcony to someone on the stage.

A few plays thought to have been acted at the post-1592 Rose require extended acting 'above' with between 3-5 characters, or unspecified numbers (senators, a royal train, etc.), including action:

In Henry VI Part I (a play titled 'Harey Vj' performed by Lord Strange's Men at the Rose in March 1592; not published until the 1623 First Folio), soldiers scale the walls and force the French to 'leap o'er the walls'.

In *Massacre at Paris* (premiered at the Rose in January 1593), terrorists break into the Admiral's bedroom (above), murder him, and pitch his corpse 'down'.

In *Tamburlaine the Great, Part II* (perhaps written as early as 1587-88, and performed at the Rose by the Admiral's Men; revived at the playhouse in 1594-95; first published, 1590), in sc. 1 forces scale the walls and one characters is hung in chains on the walls.

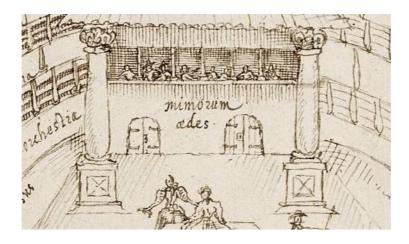
In *Titus Andronicus* (performed at the Rose on 24 January 1594; first published in 1594), one character 'opens his study door', speaks to others 'below' and comes 'down'.

In *Englishmen for my money, or A Woman will haue her Will* (performed at the Rose before the end of 1598; published 1616), one character is hoisted 'above' in a basket.

Where people lay siege to the walls ('they scale the walls') scaling them is probably affected by using ladders, as in Shakespeare's $Henry\ V.^{253}$

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²⁵³ Gurr in 'The Rose Repertory', p.128.



Fig,?: The gallery in the sketch of the Swan playhouse, c. 1596 (see fig. ?, above)

Whereas in Phase I the first level is relatively open and the stairs in the tiring house close off with a curtain, in the Phase II model the gallery has been boxed in to make it more of a feature so that a wall now separates the balcony from the access stairs, which have been relocated to offer more room. One large (central bay) opening and two narrower (side bay) openings provide access. A red curtain is hung on a rail behind each door so that the opening can be closed off as necessary. This allows for decoration and makes more sense of Henslowe's payment for 'sellynge the Rome over the tyerhowsse'—that is, the fitting of a ceiling (see p. ?, above).

In the model, the central gallery bay is a large squared opening with a cantilevered balcony projecting over the stage.

The bays to either side are double arched, following a similar design for the hall screen for Worksop Manor (see fig. ? above).

A balustrade painted to resemble green marble runs the length of the balcony and the sides of the cantilevered balcony (see p. ?, above).

The front matches the colouring of the *frons scenae* at stage level, painted to resemble granite and coloured marble (green and yellow/white).

Painted on the ceiling is a continuation of the 'heavens' (see pp. ?, above).

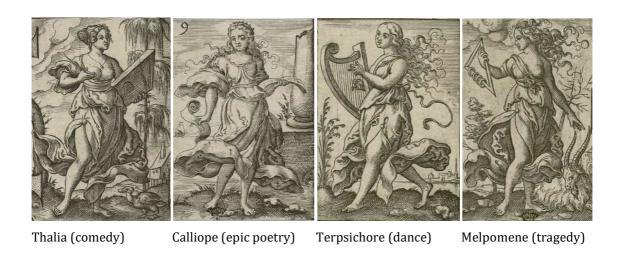
The gallery/music room—used for musicians, spectators and performance—has been painted around the top with a repeating pattern of this freeze by Virgil Solis's 'O triunfo da Música':²⁵⁴



Fig. ?: Virgil Solis's 'O triunfo da Música'

Painted in in *grisaille* on the wall at either end are depictions by Hendrik Goltzius (c. 1592) of the Roman god Marcurius [Mercury] and Sol [Apollo], from the series 'Eight Deities' (see p. above).

On the back wall, painted in grey/grisaille are depictions of muses by Virgil Solis, *Ovid's Metamophesis* (1562), with Thalia (comedy) to the far left and Melpomene (tragedy) to the far right:



Or the 'sky' painted in Rycote Chapel, Oxfordshire (see fig. ?, above):

The columns and decoration have been adapted from the Worksop Hall Screen.

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²⁵⁴ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Virgil Solis - O triunfo da M%C3%BAsica.jpg

The interior of the music room/gallery is painted with *grisaille* alongside different coloured marble, and detailed with gold leaf.



4.8.4 Tiring-house stairs to Level 3

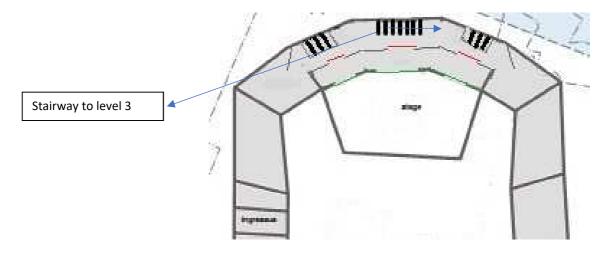


IMAGE OF COMPUTER MODEL

THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

Fig. ?: Tiring-house stairs to Level 3

4.9 Level 3

The bays either side of the tiring house are enclosed, the walls limewashed and the spaces within given over to use as Henslowe's office or storage, gable machinery, trap, etc.

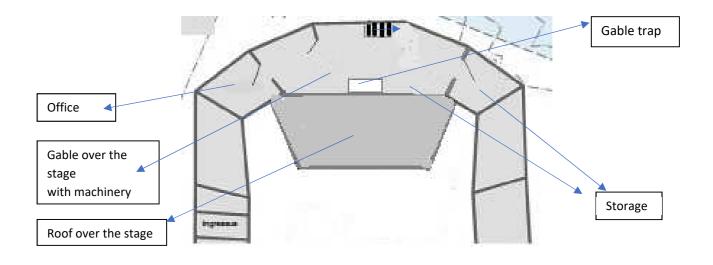
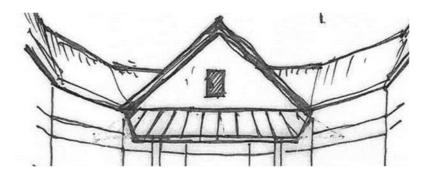


IMAGE OF COMPUTER MODEL

THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

Fig. ?: Tiring-house, Level 3

4.10 Gable



THE ROSE PLAYHOUSE, PHASE II

Fig. ?: The gable

The gable is decorated as in Phase I with the image of Pheme in gold on the door. The wall is lime-washed.

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5. John Cholmley's Victualling House

5.1 The building



Fig. 108: The front elevation of Cholmley's House

John Cholmley's victualling house is equated with the 'dwellinge howsse scittuate and standinge at the sowthe ende ... adioyninge unto a lane there comonly called mayden Lane', referred to in the Deed of Partnership between Philip Henslowe and John Cholmley, a contract both for the use of the playhouse and a catering contract (fig. 2, above). The agreement was for the house to be let to Cholmley, 'to keep victualinge in' which he could sell to spectators at the playhouse, and who was 'to receive half the profits of the playhouse, and to have continuing use of a small house that stood on the grounds, a house that was already in his tenure, in return for quarterly payments by him of £25.10s commencing at Midsummer 1587, up to a total of £816 over eight years'. 255

Henslowe and Cholmley thus lasted for only two years.

²⁵⁵ William Ingram, 'John Cholmley on the Bankside', *Early Theatre* 15.2 (2012), pp. 43-65. E.K. Chambers also speculates that the reason Cholmley isn't mentioned in Henslowe's accounts after the partnership agreement is probably because he died, thus dissolving the contract (Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, II, p. 408). Ingram argues that he died at the end of April 1589, so the financial arrangement between

Norden's maps of 1593 and 1600 depict the house (fig. 109). The inset in the map of 1600 (fig. 109b) depicts a door at its western end with two windows in its gable—suggesting a low two-storey structure—and a chimney in the middle:²⁵⁶





Fig. 109 (a): Norden, *Speculum Britanniae* (1593) (b) Norder Douce N 253 (1), map following p. 26 © Stockhoo © The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford. DelaG 89.

(b) Norden, *Civitas Londini* (1600) © Stockholm National Library of Sweden, DelaG 89.

However, caution must be sounded. The image drawn by Norden is probably simply a generic symbol for 'house' rather than indicative of the building itself (see n. 11 above). A later map of Paris Garden, which shows a representation of the Swan, labelled 'Olde Playe House' of known diameter, suggests that whilst road ways are accurate and to scale the indication of houses is not, using a generic symbol rather than scale drawing to indicate buildings (see fig. 57, above).²⁵⁷ Likewise, Norden's image of Cholmley's house may be a generic symbol.

Nordens may better resemble the building that might originally have stood there before the construction of the playhouse. The archaeology suggests that the house was modified in order to accommodate the playhouse (fig. 110). Based on the size of the chimney, the original building may have been a long two room structure divided by a central hearth. Bowsher suggests that a length of 8m is suggested, with an entrance on its southern side, perhaps a typical baffle entrance—i.e. the entrance is by a doorway immediately against

²⁵⁶ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 28-29.

²⁵⁷ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 129.

the side of an internal chimney stack—leading over a footbridge to Maiden Lane, and contrary to Norden's depiction of a gable end entrance.²⁵⁸

The reconfigured building appears from the archaeology to have been 'L' shaped (fig. 111), the eastern room (if it ever existed) having been knocked and a new room built to the north.²⁵⁹ What would have been an internal chimney was rebuilt into the new eastern side wall, or was modified to create an external chimney stack, as depicted in the model.

The archaeology suggested another building to the north of Cholmley's house was also knocked down to accommodate the building of the Rose playhouse, so modification to the house were likely to have been made at this time.

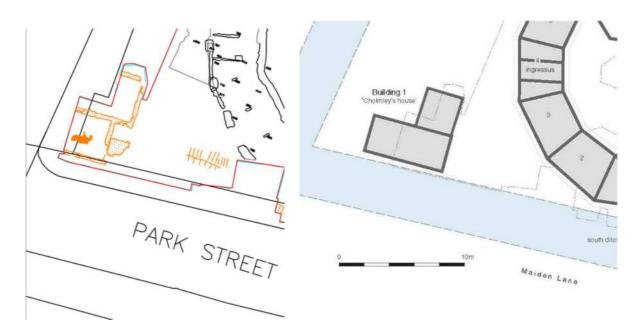


Fig. 110: CAD drawing, Cholmley's house © MOLA

Fig. 111: structure's footprint, in Bowsher and Miller, The Rose and the Globe, p. 91 © MOLA.

²⁵⁸ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 31.

²⁵⁹ It is perhaps worth noting that William Dudley's cutaway of the Rose playhouse Phase I (2001), created before Bowsher and Miller published their analysis of the archaeology (The Rose and the Globe, 2009), has Cholmley's house aligned north-south with a central chimney, as is Ortelia's modelling of the house (2013): http://ortelia.com/project/recreation-of-the-rose-theatre/ [accessed 22 July 2017]



Fig.112: Cholmley's house was 'L' shaped.



Fig.113: The external chimney stack on the eastern wall

The model has been based on the archaeological remains as describe by Bowsher and Miller. The building consisted two rooms, extending a maximum of 4m eastwards from the western edge, with two parallel east-west walls running 2.70m apart. Traces of two floor levels. One consisted of a plain-glazed tile floor in various shades of green, badly worn. The other slightly higher and to the south, was probably a chimney base (as seen in Norden's 1600 map?).

A north-south wall created the eastern edge of another room to the north. A return to the west, gives a width of 2.60m to this room. Bowsher and Miller note the excavations suggest that the room to the north is a later addition to the house, and speculate that this could have been an addition at the time of the 1587 building of the playhouse to accommodate its new role as catering for the theatre.

Bowsher and Miller argue that '[Cholmley's] house was too small to have been a brewhouse, although it may have had at least a kitchen. It's most likely use was for storage, and thus distribution, of food stuffs and drink ... 40% [of the vessels found at the Rose site] were for cooking or serving food ... such as cauldrons, tripod pipkins, skillets, bowls, colanders and chafing dishes, and flanged or flared dishes and porringers'. ²⁶⁰

5.2 Selling

Bowsher describes the Deed of Partnership (fig. 2) as 'not a building contract but an agreement for what today would be termed a 'catering franchise'.²⁶¹ In it, Cholmley is allowed to present his victualling for 'sale in or about the saide parcel of ground, playhouse or garden plot and other premises'. Playgoers may have purchased food and drink before they entered the playhouse, much as one buys refreshments in the foyer of a theatre or cinema today, either from the house itself, queuing up at the window, or perhaps from a stall outside.

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²⁶⁰ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, pp. 146-152.

²⁶¹ Julian Bowsher and S. P. Cerasano, 'Henslowe and the Rose', Henslowe-Alleyn Digitisation Project: http://www.henslowe-alleyn.org.uk/essays/rosecontract.html [accessed 22 July 2017]



Fig. 114: Stall selling victuals

Or perhaps a rear doorway in the northern room of Cholmley's house gave direct access to a rear 'service door' to the north (there was certainly a 'tiring howse door' after the alterations in 1592) for transporting food to spectators in the galleries? Thomas Platter, recounting a visit to a playhouse in 1599, records that 'during the performance food and drink are carried round the audience, so that for what one cares to pay one may also have refreshment'. The mechanism for and route by which victuals were transported from the tiring house and around the galleries and into the yard is, however, poorly understood. ²⁶²

Perhaps it was a combination of these different methods of selling that provided victuals to the playgoers at the Rose.

5.3 Food and drink

There are a number of references to the consumption of food stuffs in the open playhouse in plays of the time: in *Wit Without Money* (1614), John Fletcher has a character describe youths who 'crack nuts with Scholars in peny Rooms againe, and fight for Apples'; a 'Puny Clerk', in *Overbury's Characters* (1615), 'eates ginger bread at a play-house', and in his

²⁶² See Julian Bowsher, 'Provisioning Shakespeare's audiences: Food and Drink in the London Playhouses of the 16th and 17th century', in Bedigan, K., Howard, W. and Jervis, B. (eds). Food and Drink in Archaeology 4, University of Exeter, London: Prospect Books, 2010, pp. 128-138.

prologue to the collection *A Fancies Theatre* (1641), John Tatham refers to the throwing of pears at the curtains by spectators to lure out the players.²⁶³

Bowsher and Miller record common foodstuffs found at the Rose site were:

- *Cereals*: wheat, rye, oats and barley, which may have been used for making bread, biscuits, cakes, pastries and pottage. Wheaten bread was eaten by the better off; cheaper, coarser brown bread was eaten by the poor. (Wheat, barely and oats may also have been used for brewing.)
- Nuts: walnut, hazelnut and almond.
- *Fruit* pears and apples, are all present in the Rose remains, as well grape, fig, blackberry/raspberry, elder, sloe/blackberry, cherry, and peach were also present (some of which may have been naturally growing near the playhouse; for example, the Sewers Commission mention walnut trees growing on the south side of Maiden Lane). A large quantity of plum and cherry stones below the galleries suggest these were popular.
- *Shell fish*: Oysters seem to have been the most abundant shellfish, along with cockle and mussel.²⁶⁴

Reference to the consumption of drink at the playhouses refer to water or bottled ale. In a letter dated 2 July 1613, Sir Henry Wotton records his account of a fire at the first Globe in which 'one man had his breeches set on fire, that would perhaps have broyled him, if he had not by the benefit of a provident wit, put it out with a bottle of ale.' In 1615, the writer John Stephens includes among the features of his character 'a base Mercenary poet' that 'when he hears his play hissed, hee would rather thinke bottle Ale is opening'. ²⁶⁵

Bowsher and Miller record that: 'Of the identifiable ceramic vessels from the Rose playhouse, 38% were drinking vessels. Of these, 16% were used for serving drink—for example, jugs, Bartmann jugs (fig. 115), flasks, and costrels. The remaining 22% were used for consumption and these included drinking jugs, tygs (fig. 116), tankards, mugs

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²⁶³ Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 37. See also Bowsher, 'Provisioning Shakespeare's audiences', pp. 128-138.

²⁶⁴ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, pp. 146-152.

²⁶⁵ Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, p. 37.

and goblets. None of these vessels were of high status ... found throughout the building ...[with] a respectable number below the galleries.'266



Fig. 115: The fragment of a Frenchen Bartmann jug fund at the site of the Rose playhouse © MOLA.



A similar jug.



Fig.116: A black-glazed ware tyg found at the site of the Rose playhouse © MOLA

Glass vessel fragments came mostly from the Rose playhouse and included jars and bottles as well as drinking glasses such as beakers and goblets. Bowsher and Miller note that '[c]ontrary to the ceramic drinking vessels, many of the glass ones are quite high-status pieces'.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁶ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, pp. 146-152.

²⁶⁷ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, pp. 152-153.

6. The surrounding environment

6.1 Topography

The land to the south of London making up the Bankside was low-lying marshland, liable to flooding and occupied by market gardens and fishponds. Early maps may give some clues about the landscape surrounding the Rose playhouse, but were commissioned by the City livery companies whose interest was in drawing the City of London, so the detail to the south of the river is often more representative or artistic, designed to fill in the areas outside of the City. Most were drawn in London but engraved in Antwerp, and the drawers often copied each other rather than necessarily attempting a realistic depiction of what was there at the time of creation. Norden's depictions of the land and buildings surrounding the playhouse seem to be based part in fact and part artistry. Given the nature of the ground, the area was unlikely to have been as heavily wooded as Norden's panorama of 1600 suggests (fig. 102 above).

On the topography of Southwark from a survey of surviving records, Martha Carlin concludes that the most striking feature was its 'crowdedness': 'Southwark in the first half of the sixteenth century was a place of densely packed houses and teeming alleys. Its streets were choked with obstructions and traffic and its wharves with ferrymen and merchandise; churches and churchyards were bursting with the living and the dead. Houses were subdivided, gardens disappeared, and hundreds of new tenements were

²⁶⁸ The painting, 'The Coronation Procession of Edward VI' (1547) is the earliest representation of Bankside, seen from the north in 1547, shows a line of trees behind (to the south of) the riverside houses running along Bankside. For maps and images depicting Southwark, Bankside and the Little Rose estate prior to the building of the playhouse, see Antony Van Den Wyngaerde's 'Panorama of London' (1543) showing Southwark in the foreground (reproduced in Geraldine Mitton, ed. *Maps of Old London*. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1908); G. Braun and F. Hogenberg's 'Civitates Orbis Terrarum' (1572) depicts the Bankside area with Stews, bull- and bear-baiting rings; William Smith's 'Panorama of London' (1588); and the anonymous 'Plan of Bankside on the River Thames based on an ancient survey made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, showing the Bull and Bear Baiting' (1809), based on a map from the seventeenth century. The engraving, 'Plan of the City of London in the Time of Queen Elizabeth' (1593) depicts the Southbank (reproduced in Thomas Pennant's *The History And Antiquities Of London*, Vol.1. London, 1813)—it's not clear what the circular building is, but resembles Norden's image of 'the play howse' in his panorama of the same date, but its position relative to the fish ponds suggests it is in fact the bear-baiting ring. Two copies of a plan of the Little Rose estate dated to 1754 exist at Guildhall Library, MS 23737/116/38 and at Southwark Local Studies Library, Southwark Deed no. 416.

²⁶⁹ Both Blatherwick and Sheldon agree that the detail is less important than offering a justification for the choice: see F.J. Hildy's 'If You Build It They Will Come': The Reconstruction of Shakespeare's Globe Gets Under Way on Bankside in London', *Shakespeare' Bulletin*, 16:3, 1998, 9-12.

²⁷⁰ Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre*, p. 28.



Fig. 117: A diagram of land boundaries, lanes and alleyways around the site of the Rose by the seventeenth century, in Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p.9 © MOLA

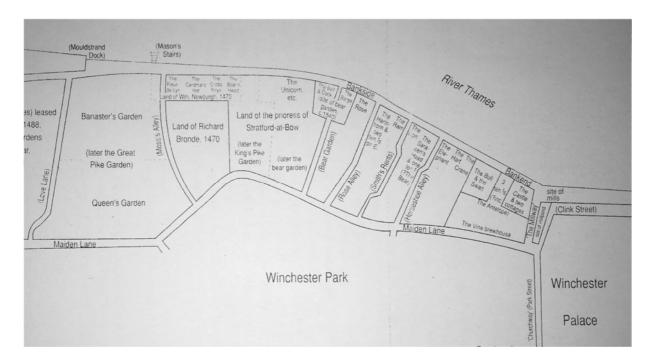


Fig. 118: *detail*, 'Plan of Bankside, c. 1500' (Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, p. 37)

built by speculators. Wealthy residence could still obtain space and privacy but the poor huddled in squalid alleys, single rooms and even in stables, and threw their rubbish into public spaces—the streets, the churchyards, and the docks'.²⁷¹

The dotted lines in the diagram above (fig. 117), with circles showing the Hope, Rose and Globe playhouses, show the boundaries around the site of the Rose in the seventeenth century, drawn by the late Chris Philpot from his researches into land tenures for MOLA.

The Deed of Partnership (fig. 2) describes the Little Rose estate on which the payhouse was built as '[a] garden plot ... adioyninge vnto a lane there commonly called mayden Lane ... as well in by and through the Alleye there called Rosse Alleye leading from the Ryver of thames'.

The Rose playhouse was built on the main thoroughfare, Maiden Lane, running east-west from Southwark. It was constructed on a parcel of land in the southern half of a larger plot, known as the Little Rose, which was itself part of the larger Rose estate, bisected by Rose Alley. Both were named after the alley and originally the Rose Inn, part of the developing riverfront 'stews' inns, gambling dens and brothels.²⁷²

At the time the playhouse was built, the only through route from Maiden Lane to Bankside was Horse-shoe Alley. (See fig. 118).

6.2 Horse-shoe Alley

Little is known about the alley. During the late winter 1593/4 and 1595/6, the player Augustine Philips lived with his family at the end of Horseshoe Court, later Horseshoe Alley, near Bullhead Alley (it isn't clear which 'end' the alley this refers to, Bankside or Maid Lane, as Bullhead is not marked on any surviving maps), but which he vacated by 1596/7. He takes up residency there again in 1602/03, the dwelling being part of a cluster of buildings.²⁷³

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²⁷¹ Martha Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, London: Hambledon Press, 1996, p. 58.

²⁷² Bowsher, *The Rose Theatre*, p. 17, citing W.W. Braines, *The Site of the Globe Playhouse, Southwark*, London County Council, 1924, pp.85, 90-91.

²⁷³ Citing London Metropolitan Archives, E179/186/349, P92/SAV/245/10 and LMA, P92/SAV252/14, in Glynn Wickham, Herbert Berry & William Ingram, *English Professional Theatre*, *1530-1660*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 192, 193 and 196.



Fig.119: Horseshoe Alley, looking towards Bankside

6.3 Smith's rents

'Smith's Rents', marked on a plan of Southwark c.1542, ran to the east of the site of the playhouse, which Carlin lists a 'Smith's Alley': '[i]n 1508 it contains a capital messuage and 22 gardens. The manor survey of 1555 describes the alley, which was gated at the street end, as containing 'various tenements'; the survey of c. 1565-5 mentions gardens as well'.²⁷⁴

6.4 Rose Alley

Carlin notes that it contained six small tenements in 1555,²⁷⁵ but the alley didn't connect Maiden Lane to Bankside until the seventeenth century.

²⁷⁴ Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, p. 59, n. 185.

²⁷⁵ Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, p. 59, n.187.



Fig. 120: The junction of Rose Alley with Maiden Lane, with Cholmley's house on the corner



Fig. 121: Rose Alley, looking towards Bankside

6.5 Maiden Lane



 $Fig. 122: Maiden\ Lane, looking\ east\ towards\ the\ playhouse$



Fig.123: Maiden Lane, looking west towards the playhouse

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Commissioners of Sewers noted walnut trees along the south side of Maiden Lane, and that there were willows dangerously close to their sewer ditch, which ran along Maiden Lane on the north and south sides.

In April 1588, the Commission order Henslowe to 'clense and skower & to lope the willowes yt hang over the common sewer to the great annoysaunce of the same ... at the new plaie house' (fig. 124):



Fig. 124: Court Minutes of the Surrey and Kent Commission of Sewers, 12th April 1588 © London Metropolitan Archive. SKCS, vol. 18, f. 148v.





Fig.125: A willow growing by the edge of the sewer to the northern boundary of Maiden Lane

The land to the south of the Rose estate was Millard's Garden and an orchard, although the records make it difficult to locate exactly where the boundaries to these were located.

The map attributed to Ralph Agas, c. 1560 (fig. 127), shows the Queen's Pike Garden, to the west, had four fish ponds. An increasing number of houses and other buildings were constructed in the pond gardens during the sixteenth century. Various garden plots surrounding the Rose estate had houses built on then throughout the sixteenth century.

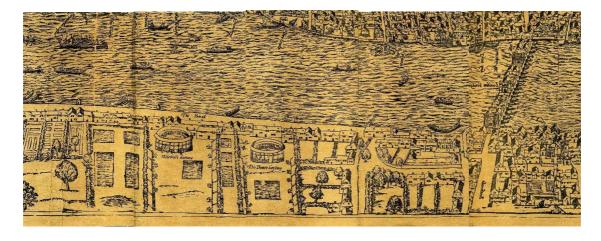


Fig. 127: *detail*, Ralph Agas (?), 'Civitas Londinum: A Survey Of The Cities Of London And Westminster, The Borough Of Southwark And Parts Adjacent In The Reign Of Queen Elizabeth', c. 1560. (Adams And Francis: London, 1874)

6.6 Winchester Park



Fig. 128: Winchester Park to the south side of Maiden Lane

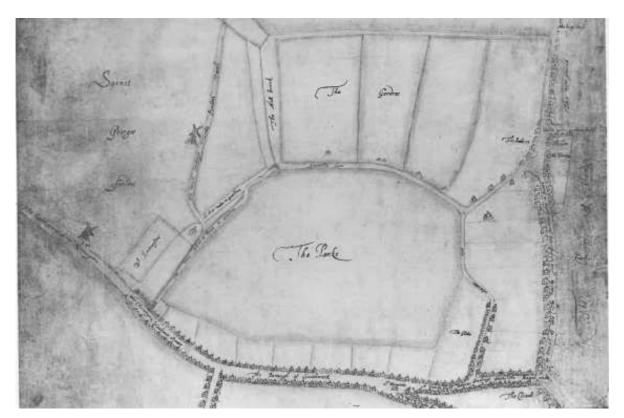


Fig. 129: 'Map of Southwark (1618), (Roberts and Godfrey, *Survey of London: Volume 22*, Plate I)

There was an aristocratic hunting Park which stretched west of Southwark, and south from the boundary with Maiden Lane nearly to the borough boundary (fig. 129). It was related to the Bishop of Winchester's Palace to the east, which perhaps stood in stark contrast to the prostitution and gambling district of inns, taverns and brothels to the north of Maiden Lane.

6.7 Bankside

Excavations of the riverbank of the Thames at Bankside show a riverside timber wall poorly maintained and built as a hotch-potch of successive structural amendments, patching and repair from successive rebuilding and re-revetting. Archaeologists have found areas where planking from the side of a boat had been slotted it between uprights to retain the 'bank' and formed an edge to the water. Bankside was an area that was constantly flooded, which is why there was a need for all the 'sewar' drainage ditches.

The number of floods and subsequent repairs leave the impression that Bankside riverside was probably untidy structurally, and probably rather unsafe.





Fig. 130: Bankside

John Stow, in his *Survey of London* (London, 1598), says these 'stewhouses', which were usually approached by boat across the river, 'had signes on their frontes, towardes the Thames, not hanged out, but painted on the walles, as a Boares heade, the Crosse keyes, the Gunne, the Castle, the Crane, the Cardinals Hat, the Bel, the Swanne, &c.'.²⁷⁶

 $^{^{276}}$ John Stow, 'Bridge warde without [including Southwark]', in A Survey of London. Reprinted From the Text of 1603, ed. C L Kingsford (Oxford, 1908), pp. 52-69.

Bowsher and Miller observe that 'Elizabethan London was rather unsanitary and conveniences for solid waste were often situated on riverbanks. They are seen on the bankside in the Braun and Hogenberg map of 1572' (fig. 131),²⁷⁷ which was drawn from an earlier map in 1560 (fig. 127):



Fig. 131: Detail, Braun and Hogenberg, 'Civitates Orbis Terrarum' (1572)

Little triangular projections also appear on John Norden's map, *Speculum Britanniae* (1593) (fig. 3, above).

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²⁷⁷ Bowsher and Miller, *The Rose and the Globe*, p. 132.

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Web

Museum of London, Rose Site Info:

http://archive.museumoflondon.org.uk/laarc/catalogue/siteinfo.asp?id=815&code=SB H88

VR Models of the Rose playhouse

Ortelia (2013), with Prof. Joanne Tompkins (University of Queensland): http://ortelia.com/project/recreation-of-the-rose-theatre/

Rhys Griffin (2016), model creator in association with 'The Lost Valley of London' for 'Shakespeare's Secret Playhouse'

http://www.roseplayhouse.org.uk/shakespeares-secret-playhousepart-1-video/

VR model of The Theatre playhouse

Cloak and Dagger Ltd. (2012), with Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA):

http://www.explorethetheatre.co.uk/

Henslowe's Rose playhouse may have been modelled on the 1576 Theatre. For the model by Cloak & Dagger, most of the data for their model came from the Rose as only a small area of the Theatre has been uncovered.

8. Contributors

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Dr Roger Clegg was Senior Lecturer in Drama Studies at De Montfort University, Leicester. He has also taught Theatre Studies at the University of Plymouth and Drama at the University of Exeter, where he undertook his PhD with Emeritus Prof. Peter Thomson. He is co-author *Singing Simpkin and Other Bawdy Jigs: Musical Comedy on the Shakespearean Stage – Scripts, Music & Context* (Exeter University Press, 2014), with Lucie Skeaping, a performance edition of nine Tudor and Stuart jigs. He has extended this research into the relationship between the English broadside ballad and the dramatic jig (*Huntington Library Quarterly,* 79:2, 2016) and the function of danced endings on Shakespeare's stage (*The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Dance,* eds. L. McCulloch & B. Shaw. Oxford University Press, 2018).

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