

BOYS AND FEMALE IMPERSONATORS in the Amsterdam Theatre of the Seventeenth Century

Louis Peter Grijp

In the seventeenth century, the age of Rembrandt and Vermeer, Holland and especially Amsterdam had a flourishing theatre culture. In 1638 the *Amsterdamsche Schouwburg* (the Amsterdam Theatre) at the Keizersgracht was opened with the first performance of *Gysbrecht van Aemstel* by the famous playwright Joost van den Vondel. The Schouwburg was the semi-professional continuation of the rich theatre tradition of the *rederijkers* — amateur poets and players united in local Chambers of Rhetoric. Numerous playwrights wrote hundreds of pieces for the Amsterdam stage. They were performed by a company of semi-professional players including three or four musicians, with trumpeters and a drummer. All were men; only from 1655 on were women allowed on the stage.

This paper attempts to tackle the question of female impersonation on the Amsterdam stage. Was it done by special actors? How did they do it? As a musicologist I am especially interested in their use of the voice. Many roles included the singing of specially written songs. What did a singing female impersonator sound like? We cannot imagine a bass or baritone, but perhaps a tenor, or rather a very high tenor, or a countertenor, singing in falsetto. Or maybe boys were used?

To get answers to such questions we will have to investigate the phenomenon of female impersonation as a whole, about which little has so far been known as far as the Netherlands are concerned. Even less was known about the presence of boys on the Amsterdam stage. Boys however will turn out to have been important performers of vocal music in the Amsterdam Schouwburg.

Male voices in female registers

What were the vocal implications of female impersonation? In theory there are several possibilities, especially in the seventeenth century, with its wealth of high male vocal ranges, not only in the theatre but also in music and music theatre. The problem was most urgent in the Church, where Paul's *Mulieres in ecclesiis taceant* ('Let your women keep silence in the churches': 1 Corinthians 14: 34) had to be obeyed. In liturgical music,

from the Middle Ages on, the high parts were sung by male falsettos, and the highest parts by boys. In the seventeenth century, the need for more volume, expression, and virtuosity in the highest registers brought a drastic alternative: the castrato. Although this voice-type was developed for the church, the best castrati worked in opera, where the audience preferred them to female voices. Farinelli and his kind were the pop stars of their time.¹

However, in the first half of the seventeenth century castrati were unthinkable in the Calvinist Dutch Republic, which had no church choirs and at that point no opera. Rare performances by castrati are reported only from the second half of the century. They sang in an Italian opera in Theodoro Strijcker's opera house in Amsterdam (1681/82). This must have been quite an event. Just how unknown this voice-type was in the Netherlands is shown by the report of an eyewitness, Philip Doublet. They had very good voices, he said, but he did not really like the way they looked. He could not imagine them playing a hero.²

For the Dutch stage there remain two options from church practice: boys, and adult men in falsetto. The option of female impersonation by boys has never been seriously investigated. But why should this not be possible in Holland, while at about the same time in England boy actors so successfully played women? In Holland, there were no boy companies as there were in England, but boys did play tragedies and comedies in Latin schools. Can we imagine boys playing female roles in the Amsterdam Schouwburg? Although the secondary literature³ tells us that in Amsterdam female roles were played by adult men, I do not want at this stage in my investigation to exclude the possibility of boys. But let us first look at what we know about adult players. They wore women's clothes, and probably wigs and other artificial aids; they were made up; but we don't know what they did with their voices. The use of falsetto seems the most probable; at least it corresponds with our present-day experience. Countertenors sing in a register which we traditionally associate with women. In the seventeenth century, using male falsetto must have been nothing special. It was customary for men to sing alto parts, not only in church choirs. But even then singing in falsetto could be associated with femininity. In England it was sometimes regarded as 'effeminated', as was adding many embellishments in singing.⁴

The modern experience of men playing women's roles might suggest other associations. To us it often has a comic effect, but this was of course not the aim in seventeenth-century tragedies. The same is true of

homoerotic associations. Still, in comic pieces such effects may have played a role. Sexual disguise could give rise to scabrous jokes, if it was part of the plot.⁵

However, the falsetto voice or similar methods of achieving a high register must principally have been used in a serious way. There is a rare piece of evidence about this from France, which was translated a few years later into Dutch. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, according to *Le roman comique* (1651–1657) by Paul Scarron, the actor La Rancune played the role of a nurse, in falsetto and with a mask, in one or more pieces by Alexandre Hardy. He also used falsetto when playing serious roles: ‘I spoke in falsetto, or with a *fijne stem*, when I played the Queen, through the nose’, says La Rancune.⁶ A *fijne stem* (‘slender voice’) must have been a voice with a thin, light, and high sound, possibly a nasal alternative for the falsetto.

The first women on the Amsterdam stage

It was self-evident that when the Schouwburg was opened in 1638, the only actors were men. After all, this was the way it had been in the Chambers of Rhetoric — traditionally men’s companies. The Dutch knew that in France women played in the theatres, but in Holland it was simply not ‘the manner of the country’, as the playwright Isaac Vos put it.⁷ Undoubtedly there was a fear of immoral behaviour — actresses were easily associated with prostitution. The Calvinists, who regarded the theatre as a pernicious institution anyway, objected heavily to men who played women’s roles, but for them real women would have made things even worse. Outside the Schouwburg, in touring companies, women did play, especially actor’s wives and daughters. For instance, in the company of Adriaan van den Bergh from Utrecht, his daughter Ariana acted. It was she who in 1655 was the first woman to play at the Amsterdam Schouwburg, with great success. Soon two other actresses joined the company, Susanna Eekhout and Elizabeth (Lijsbeth) Kalbergen. All three were married to men who were engaged in the Schouwburg as actors or musicians.

In the years immediately preceding Ariana’s appearance, women did occasionally *sing* in the Schouwburg. According to the Schouwburg accounts, in the years between 1648 and 1651 two female singers appeared in Vondel’s *Gysbrecht van Aemstel*, undoubtedly to sing the famous Chorus of Poor Clares, and in 1649 ‘the maid-servant who lives at Lucie’s’ was paid to sing a New Year’s song ten times.⁸ Possibly these singers paved the way

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for the actresses. In any case, in 1655 the time was obviously ripe for this when a considerable number of actors suddenly left the Schouwburg company and there was a desperate and immediate need of players.⁹

In Italy and France actresses had already been active for a long time. In the Spain of Lope de Vega, according to a decree of 1615, women were allowed only to play women's roles, provided that they wore decent clothes. They were not allowed to play men's roles, and neither were young men allowed to play women's roles.¹⁰ In England women appeared on stage only a few years later than in Holland, after the coronation of Charles II in 1660. In Germany the stage stayed the exclusive domain of men for quite a while. The Dutch company of Jan Baptist van Fornenbergh caused a furore on his tours through northern Germany, not least because of his beautiful actresses.

Female impersonators in the Amsterdam Schouwburg

Recently considerable attention has been paid to the appearance of actresses on the Amsterdam stage, but what do we know about the actors who played women's roles, the *vrouwvertoners* ('woman-players'), as they were called? Most of the scholarly literature about them is rather old.¹¹ We can find something about some of them in the *Geest van Tengnagel* ('The Ghost of Tengnagel', 1652), a satirical poem in which the ghost of the impudent gossip Tengnagel enters the underworld and describes the ghosts of deceased actors:

There is de Bray, who portrayed them all:
Lady, Whore, or Queen;
He played the Empress
As proudly as Keyser played the Emperor.¹²

This must be Pieter de Bray. The meaning of this pun seems to be 'He was as good as top actor Thomas de Keyser playing the role of Emperor' (*keyser* in Dutch), but the compliment may be ironic. The theatre accounts tell that Pieter de Bray played in the Schouwburg from its opening in 1638 until his death in 1639. He was not only paid for acting but also for making and repairing caps, and for washing, starching, and changing linen — traditionally female occupations, one would think, which link up nicely with his specialism as an actor.

Jan Bos also appeared to the ghost of Tengnagel:

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PLATE 5: Rembrandt van Rijn: Costume study of a richly dressed woman, probably an actor representing 'Badeloch' from Vondel's *Gijsbrecht van Aemstel* (1637/38).

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PLATE 6: Jan Jurriaensz. van Baden, Dutch, 1604–1663
Interior of the Amsterdam Theatre (the Schouwburg), circa 1653
Oil on panel, 17½ x 18½ inches; SN654
Museum purchase, Collection of The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art,
the State Art Museum of Florida

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The artist was possibly the father of Jurriaen Baet

There is the great female impersonator,
 Who had his beard shaved until he was very old;
 He did not become more beautiful,
 He became ugly, of course,
 Because of age as well as white powder.
 But he did not stop doing it
 Until Death stopped it for him.
 Imagine that you see Jan Bos there.¹³

Not much is known about this Jan Bos. He does not appear in the Schouwburg accounts, which were kept systematically from 1638 on, so he must have been playing before that year. I have however found some payments to a man of this name in the years 1628 and 1629, when the actors of Samuel Coster's *Nederduytsche Academie* — a forerunner of the Schouwburg — were still only rewarded with free drinks. Bos was paid for *rolleren* ('copying roles for the actors' from the author's manuscript).¹⁴

A third *vrouwvertoner* is mentioned by J. Blasius in the foreword of his farce *Dubbel en enkel* ('Double and Single', 1670), after Plautus' *Menaechmi*. The author had changed the father from *Menaechmi* into a mother, 'because in this Amsterdamsche Schouwburg, when the parts are handed out, no man plays a father so well as Jeuriaen Baet plays an old woman'. Jurriaen Baet appears in the accounts from 1649 to 1672 and is known to have still been playing in 1680.

We find the names of more female impersonators in two rare cast lists. In an often-cited printed copy of Joost van den Vondel's *Gebroeders* ('Brothers', 1640), the author has added the names of the actors in his own handwriting.¹⁵ Rispe, Saul's old widow, was played by Isaac Verbiest, and Queen Michol by Jacobus de Ville. Also interesting is the well-known actor Jillis Nooseman, who is mentioned as one of the singers in the Chorus of Priests. Jillis was about 14 years old at the time.

Another cast list which has come down to us is from Theodore Rodenburg's play *Jaloursche Studenten* ('Jealous Students', 1617), handwritten in a print of 1644.¹⁶ The play was performed again in that year.¹⁷ The part of Juliana was played by Isaac Verbiest, who had played the old widow in *Gebroeders*, as we have seen; Celia was played by Pieter van Zeerijp, and Tembranda by Tijmen Houthaeck. These three characters are *juffrouwen*, young unmarried ladies. Jacobus de Ville (the Queen in *Gebroeders*) played a male role this time, Vireno.

These are the rare data about casts from the period in which no women were allowed on the Amsterdam stage. But from the season 1658/9, all

cast lists happen to have been preserved in the so-called *Parsonageboek* ('Book of Characters') of that season.¹⁸ By then Ariana Nooseman-van den Berg (she had married Jillis Nooseman) had already been playing for several years, together with Susanna Eekhout and Elizabeth Kalbergen. For this one season we can easily study questions such as: which female characters were played by women, and which by men? which actors played the women's roles? did they also play male characters? and also: by whom and by how many people were the choruses performed?

The general impression is, after studying the *Parsonageboek*, that the most important female characters were played by the three ladies of the company. If there were more than three female characters, they were played by men. For instance, in *De trotse Leo en Philippus de Goede* ('Proud Leo and Philip the Good') by Johannes Serwouters, performed on 8 August 1658, Aurora is played by Susanna Eekhout, Casandra by Ariana Nooseman, and Astrea by Lijsbeth Kalbergen. But there were more female characters. Elisa was played by Abram Hendrix, and the Ghost of Rosella by Jacob Kemp. The same procedure seems to have been followed in other tragedies. *Alexander de Medicis* by J. Dullaart gives an interesting detail: Leonore was played by Lijsbeth Kalbergen or Abram Hendrix, says the book; apparently they could alternate.

In farces roles were distributed differently, although the actresses also played comic characters. For instance, in *De Quae Grieten* ('The Malicious Women') the characters of the maid-servant Aeltje and the neighbour's wife Trijn Floris were both played by women. The malicious women were played by Jurriaen Baet (who excelled in playing old women, as we have seen), Ariana Nooseman, and Abram Hendrix. Jacob Kemp played the Landlady. It seems that in farces the actresses were not automatically preferred for female characters. Sometimes a man plays a character for which a woman must have been available as well. For instance, the farce *Warenar* by P.C. Hooft was played only by men. Jilles Nooseman played the title character in *De Moffin* ('The German Woman') by Isaac Vos, but during the rest of the season he only played men's roles. Obviously in the seventeenth century *travesti* playing could, as now, be experienced as comic. Another explanation is that actresses were not quite happy playing in farces because the obscenities could damage their reputations.

In the *Parsonageboek* some men appear to have been favourites for female characters. In the first place we should mention Abram Hendrix (also known as Abraham Blank), who played three times as many women's as men's characters. Jurriaen Baet, whom we have mentioned already,

performed somewhat less in this period, but nearly always in women's roles. Jacob Kemp sometimes played women but more often men, although mainly in choruses. Kemp must have been a good dancer, too: he participated in all ballets. Other men played female characters only upon occasion; for instance Tijmen Houthaeck, who was Tybranda in 1644, hardly played any women's roles in 1658/9. To be precise, only three out of the more than fifty characters Tijmen played were female. In total, eight out of nineteen male actors played women's roles more or less frequently: Jan van Velsen, Jan de Heripon, Cornelis Claesz, Jan Pietersz Meerhuijsen, and the four actors already mentioned above.

In 1658 Meerhuijsen played Venus in an unidentified *tafelspel* ('table play' — a short play performed during meals around the table, with interaction with the audience).¹⁹ It must have been quite a spectacle to see a man playing a naked goddess. In *Vermakelyke Tydkorting* ('Pleasant Pastime', 1682) by Rudolph Lydius, we find a reference to this performance by Jan Meerhuijsen, usually called Jan Tamboer because he played the drum in the civic guard. Lydius is speaking about a male actor who

Plays the daughter of the Sea [Venus] naked,
Yes, with such artistry, that even when you look at him up close
And feel him all over without restraint, he will appear to be a
woman ...

This cannot be bettered by Jan Baptist nor by Jan Tamboer,
And he would surpass Sciep with all his companions.²⁰

Obviously, Jan Tamboer (Meerhuijsen), Jan Baptist van Fornenbergh, and the unidentified Sciep (Scheep?) had also played a naked Venus. One of the necessary tricks for this kind of disguise was the wearing of fake breasts, as mentioned in *Den Spieghel der Liefden* ('The Mirror of Love', 1600) by the Leiden *rederijker* Jacob Duym: 'Cimona must be a woman of about twenty years old, beautifully dressed in the old-fashioned way; she must have two artificial breasts, unless it were [to be played by] a woman'.²¹ Probably Lydius intended comic exaggeration with a scabrous overtone when he alluded to the test of feeling the female impersonator all over.

We may conclude from the evidence we have seen so far that an actor rarely played women's characters exclusively (possibly Jurriaen Baet did, maybe also Jan Bos and Pieter de Bray); but some actors must have had more talent for it than others. There were also actors who exclusively played male characters. The notion that female impersonation was not

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possible for every actor is affirmed in the *Kluchtighe tragoedie of den hartoog van Pierlepon* by Matthijs Gramsbergen ('Comic Tragedy of the Duke of Pierlepon', 1650). Snipsnap suggests that a certain actor should play the role of Thisbe in a performance of a play about Pyramus and Thisbe. But the man is not capable of that, Poffel feels:

Impossible! No, that won't work.
He has no woman's voice, has he?
Nor would he move in the right way.²²

At last, we hear something about the vocal implications of female impersonation! But unfortunately it is not specified if the 'woman's voice' was realised in a falsetto register or otherwise.

There must have been a hierarchy amongst female impersonators. Abram Hendrix was the most celebrated of them. In the season 1658/9 he received 2 guilders and 15 *stuivers* per performance (one guilder is 20 *stuivers*). Thus he shared the sixth place in the order of the 26 actors and actresses of the company. The most famous actor, Adam Karelsz van Germez, got the highest remuneration, fl. 5 (five guilders), Jan Meerhuijsen fl. 3: 5 (three guilders and five *stuivers*), Heere Pietersz and Jillis Nooseman both fl. 3. Ariana Nooseman received more than Hendrix, too: fl. 4: 10, but that included the hire of her costume — without this she would have got fl. 3. The other actresses, without costume-hire, earned fl. 2: 10, so slightly less than Abram Hendrix. Jurriaen Baet, later so much praised as old woman, and Jacob Kemp got considerably less, fl. 1: 16 and fl. 1: 10. To give some idea of the value of these wages: in the middle of the seventeenth century the average wage of a craftsman was about 1 guilder per day. All actors had a 'real' profession as well. In the city archives they are mentioned as surgeons, merchants, painters, printers, gilders, shuttle-makers, and so on — but never as actors.

The *Parsonageboek* also tells us something about the casting of the choruses. Usually a chorus was performed by two persons, it seems, but sometimes by one person, rarely by four or six. Here too the principle seems to be followed that the female characters had first to be distributed amongst the actresses, and then the remaining ones amongst the male actors. For instance, in *Geeraerd van Velsen* by P.C. Hooft, Lady Machteld van Velsen was played by Ariana Nooseman and the Rey van Jofferen ('the Chorus of Ladies') by Liesbeth Kalbergen and Susanna Eekhout. Thus all the female characters were distributed among the actresses. But in *Granida*, also by P.C. Hooft, there were three spoken

women's roles for the actresses (Granida, Dorilea, and the nurse), so the actors Tijmen Houthaeck and Jan van Velsen sang the Chorus of Ladies, and Abram Hendrix alone the Chorus of Shepherdesses. In Vondel's *Gysbrecht van Aemstel* it was men who sang the Chorus of Poor Clares, because the three actresses were occupied with speaking women's roles. That is remarkable if we realise that female singers had been hired especially for this chorus in the period when no actresses were allowed on the stage.

Besides the *Parsonageboek* from 1658/9, two lists have been preserved from the period after the closing of the Schouwburg from 1672 to 1676, because of wartime conditions. One list shows the distribution of roles for 1677/8. These were mainly farces, in which Jurriaen Baet and especially Abram Hendrix played female characters. For instance, in *Haat en Nijd* ('Hate and Jealousy') Baet played Claar and Hendrix played Griet; or in *Ontrouwe Dienstmaagd* ('Unfaithful Maidservant') Baet played Juffrouw Strips and Hendrix played Celitje. The other list shows the names of some actors with the characters they played in the season 1681/2. Hendrix was amongst them, but Baet was not there any more. More than half of Hendrix's characters were female.²³

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Now we have a rough idea of the range of roles played by the *vrouwvertoners*, but we have not found much about the way in which they used their voices, whether falsetto, or possibly also a high nasal chest voice; or perhaps, in case of very young actors, an unbroken voice. I have tried to determine the age of female impersonators to find out if they were adult men only, or boys or adolescents as well. I have done this for the period from 1638, the year in which the accounts of the Schouwburg start, up to and including the season of 1681/2.

During my research it became clear how little attention has been paid to the biographies of the actors. Kossmann, who in his 1915 list of Amsterdam actors from 1639 to 1700 supplied by far the greatest amount of information to date,²⁴ limited himself mainly to what he found in theatre accounts. So I had to look for data in the baptismal and intended-marriage registers of the Amsterdam City Archive. The results are used in the following survey. A more detailed report can be found in the Appendix.

Survey of ages of female impersonators in the Amsterdam Schouwburg

Jan Bos must have been playing before 1638, certainly around 1628/9 in Coster's Academy. According to the Ghost of Tegnagel, Bos played female characters **well into old age**.

Pieter de Bray, mentioned by the Ghost of Tegnagel as a female impersonator, was born in April 1615. He played at least from 1638 until the year of his death, 1639; he was then **22–24 years old**.

Jacobus de Ville was born in December 1622. He played Queen Michol in Vondel's *Gebroeders* in April 1641 and then was **18 years old**. However, in 1644 he played a male character in Rodenburg's *Jaloursche Studenten*.

Isaac Verbiest was born in October 1616, so when he played the old widow Rispe in 1641, he was **24 years old**. When he played *juffrouw* Juliana in *Jaloursche Studenten* in the end of 1644 he was **28 years old**.

Tijmen Houthaek was born in December 1625. He played *juffrouw* Tembranda in December 1644 at the age of **18–19**. Fifteen years later he rarely played female characters any more.

Pieter van Zeerijp was born around 1619/20. He played *juffrouw* Celia in 1644, at about **24–25 years old**.

Jacob Kemp was born about 1632/3. He played several female characters in 1658/9, being roughly **25–27 years old**.

Jurriaen Baet must have been born by 1633 at the latest. In 1658/9 he played female characters, so was **at least 25 years old**. In 1670 he played an old woman in *Dubbel en Enkkel* and a number of women's roles in 1677/8, when he was **at least 45 years old**.

Abraham Hendrix Blank was possibly born around 1628; if so, he came to the Schouwburg when he was **17**. In 1658/9, possibly **about 30 years** old, he played a lot of female characters. In 1677/8 he was still playing women; also in 1681/2, at possibly **about 53 years old**.

The youngest actors we see in action as female impersonators are Jacobus de Ville and Tijmen Houthaek, both 18 years old. Most of the *vrouwvertoners* were in their twenties: Isaac Verbiest was 24 years old when playing the old widow Rispe and 28 as the young lady Juliana; Pieter van Zeerijp was about 24/25 as the young lady Celia; Jacob Kemp about 26 in several female roles. *Vrouwvertoner* Pieter de Bray was 22/24 years old during the short time in which he played at the Schouwburg; maybe he had played before this in the Academy as well. Incidentally, when Jillis

Nooseman played a comic female character in 1658, he was 31. And Jan Meerhuysen was about 40 when he played Venus.²⁵

Two actors must have been playing female characters up to middle age. Abram Hendrix must have been about 30 years old when doing so in the period of the *Parsonageboek*, and in his fifties he was still active as a female impersonator, and not only in comic characters. We don't know the age of Jurriaen Baet, but we can guess his minimum age when we consider the wages he received on entering the company.²⁶ When Baet played female characters in 1658, he must have been at least 25 years old; in 1670, when he was the old mother in *Dubbel en Enkkel*, at least 37; and in 1677/8, when he was Geertruid in *Warenar* and Griet Melis in *Kwaa Grieten*, at least 45. We do not know anything for sure about the age of Jan Bos, but with this knowledge about Hendrix and Baet we are willing to believe the venomous Ghost of Tengenagel that Bos played women 'until his old age'. Taken all in all, actors could start playing women at about 18 years old and continue during their twenties, and some of them even in the following decades, until at least in their fifties.

Children on the stage

So far no evidence has been found that female characters were played by children. But we remember Jillis Nooseman, who sang in the Choir of Priests of *Gebroeders* at the age of 14. What did a child like that do on the stage? Only singing? Besides Jillis, only his daughter Maria is mentioned in the secondary literature as a child actor. She performed a few times in the season 1658/9. Were father and daughter the only child actors of their time?

This question again calls for new research, as the Schouwburg accounts do not tell us anything about the age of the actors, although their wages are registered carefully. One may assume that the lowest wages indicate the youngest actors. The lowest wage which was frequently paid is 6 *stuivers*. As it happens, that was the amount which six-year-old Maria received in 1658/9. When she was 9, she still got only 6 *stuivers* a time. But her father Jillis had also earned 6 *stuivers* when he started his career at the age of 13, in 1640. When he was 16, his wage was raised to 10 *stuivers*.

Unfortunately theatre historians have never paid much attention to actors who earned low wages. So I had to turn to the City Archives again to find the ages of low-paid actors from the period 1638–1663. I set the upper limit at 1 guilder (20 *stuivers*). Actors who can be identified with enough certainty can be found in TABLE 1. I have placed their wages

TABLE 1

Wages per day in *stuivers* of identified actors who earned less than 20 *stuivers* at the start, in the period 1638–1663, and their supposed ages. “v” = *verering* (small, unspecified remuneration). When the year of birth is given approximately they may have been one year older than stated here — assuming that they stated their ages correctly when giving notice of their intended marriages.

Name:	Year of birth:	Started in:	Age and wages																			
			6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23		
Cornelis Houthaeck	1623	1638													3	6	10	10	12	15	15	15
Jacobus de Ville I	1622	1638													15	20	30	50	50	60	60	60
Jacob Leon [de Fuyter]	c. 1618/19	1638																6	6		10	10
Tijmen Houthaeck	1625	1639								6	6	6	6	10	12	12	12	20	20	30	30	30
Jan Nooseman	1622	1639														15	20	20	20	40	40	40
Leon de Fuyter	c. 1621/22	1639															10	15	20	24		
Jillis Nooseman	1627	1640									6	6	6	10	10							
Jan Fellebier	c. 1624/25?	1640												10								
Jan Pietersz Bloem	c. 1622/23	1640														10	10	15	26	26		

against their assumed age. Points taken into account when determining the ages can be found in the Appendix. The most reliable and precise data are printed in bold. For biographical details see the Appendix. When the year of birth is given approximately they may have been one year older than stated here — assuming that they have stated their ages correctly when giving notice of their intended marriages.²⁷

Patterns can be recognized in these data, although at first sight they might seem confusing. For instance, quite a number of children started at the age of 13, earning 6 *stuivers*: Tijmen Houthaeck, Jillis Nooseman, Jacob Sammers, Jacobus de Ville II, Jacob van Rusting, and Gerrit Houthaeck. The long career of Tijmen Houthaeck may serve as a model: he started at 13 on 6 *stuivers*, which was raised to 10 and 12 *stuivers* when he was 16, and again to 20 *stuivers* at the end of his teenage years. But Tijmen was the only one who started as an apprentice and stayed in the service of the Schouwburg for the whole of his active life. The other boys left the theatre after a few years, though some of them, like Jacob Sammers and Jillis Nooseman, returned after having played for some time in touring companies. Others started later than 13 and followed about the same wage trajectory as Tijmen, although some gradients were steeper, some more shallow. Faster climbers were for instance Jan Pietersz Bloem and Leon de Fuyter, who started on 10 *stuivers* when they were 17, and earned double this amount within a few years. The talented Jacobus de Ville I started when he was 15 on 15 *stuivers* and climbed up to 50 *stuivers* within a few years. On the other hand, Tijmen's brother Cornelis must have been a mediocre actor, who was forced to end his ten-year career as *boekhouder* (prompter) and finally even as *staande man* (attendant). Another apparent example is 18-year-old Dirck Kalbergen who in 1646 received the beginner's wage of 6 *stuivers*. After a few performances he disappeared from the Amsterdam stage for a couple of years. But Kalbergen was not mediocre. He had gone to the touring company of Van Fornenbergh and Jillis Nooseman, where he could gain the necessary experience. When he came back to the Amsterdam Schouwburg in 1650 he earned not less than 55 *stuivers*. A special case seems to be Pieter van Zeerijp, who started at about twenty on only 10 *stuivers*. Three years later his wage had multiplied by four. Even more special is the case of Jan Schipper (not in TABLE 1), who earned 6 *stuivers* early in 1651, and later that year 12. Most likely this Jan Schipper was the same person as Jan Jacobsz Schipper, publisher and translator of many plays. He must have been 33 years old during his short stage career. Possibly he had no experience and played for his own

pleasure, like the *dilettants* mentioned in the *Parsonageboek* of 1658/9, who did not get anything.²⁸

Children of actors started earlier than others and got higher wages at an earlier stage. Fransjen Houthaeck was 8 years old when he joined the theatre, where his father Dirck and his older brothers Cornelis and Tijmen were already active. Fransjen started on 6 *stuivers*, which was raised to 10 *stuivers* when he was only 13. That was a lot for his age, but by then he had already been playing for 5 years. He stayed at 10 *stuivers* until his twentieth year — Fransjen was obviously not a star: nor, to tell the truth, were the rest of his family, no matter how many of them were working in the Schouwburg. Giljam (or simply Willem) de Viele, a brother of the Jacobus (I) mentioned before, took his 12-year-old son Jacobus (II) with him to the theatre, where he received a *verering* (gratuity). A year later his little brother Johannes, 9 years old, followed. Jacobus was soon receiving the normal beginner's wage of 6 *stuivers* and was already earning 15 *stuivers* when he was 17 — after which he disappears from the accounts. Johannes climbed steadily from 3 and 5 to 6 *stuivers* when he was 12 — so about normal — to 10 *stuivers* when he was 15. Maria Nooseman surpassed them all: she started at 6 years old and almost immediately received the full beginner's wage of 6 *stuivers*. Another actor's child was Gerrit Houthaeck, son of Tijmen, who started at the normal age of 13.

The accounts mention quite a number of other players who earned 6 *stuivers* or a similar low amount, but cannot be identified. Most of them must have been children: Evert Pietersz (mentioned in 1638), Hendrik de Lange (1639), Amelijns Gerritse (1639), Pieter Tjeertsz (1641), Jaspas Bosman (1641), Frans Thomasz (1642), Willem van Rodenbergh (1643), Tijsjen van der Schilden (1644), Jan Fris (1651), Flip van Harten (1655), and Adriaen Houthaeck (1664). In 1653 Tijs Kornelis received the exceptional amount of 4 *stuivers* and Philip Dirxsz Bruijn 5 *stuivers*. They were probably under 13,²⁹ as were 'two little boys' who got a gratuity for playing in 1640 and 1641.

We may suppose that the many actors who earned 8, 10, or 12 *stuivers* were mainly teenagers. The amount of 12 *stuivers* seems a safe upper limit for determining the approximate number of teenagers playing in the Schouwburg.³⁰ TABLE 2 shows the number of actors who received 12 *stuivers* or less per calendar year. Thus we can see that in some years ten or more teenagers must have been playing in the theatre, especially in the early forties. Conversely, there were periods in which almost no teenagers were active. For instance, at the end of the forties there was a

TABLE 2

Number of players per calendar year, 1638-1658, earning up to 12 *stuivers*, itemized per amount in *stuivers*. If somebody earned a range of wages in one year, the lowest amount is recorded.

Year:	'38	'39	'40	'41	'42	'43	'44	'45	'46	'47	'48	'49	'50	'51	'52	'53	'54	'55	'56	'57	'58
Wage:																					
Under 6 st.	2				1								1	2	1	3	1				
6 st.	2	5	2	4	5	4	2	2	3	3				2	1	1	1	2	1		2
8 st.		1	1				2											1			
10 st.	3	4	6	7	5	4	3	2	3	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	2			1	
12 st.		1		2	1	2	3	2	1	2	2	1	3	2	1	1	1	2	1		
Total	7	11	9	13	12	11	10	6	7	7	3	3	6	7	4	6	5	5	2	1	2

dip, but from 1650 on, more boys were hired again. The overall tendency is that after a peak in the early forties the number of boys gradually diminished. It averages out at six to seven teenagers per year, at least.

Girls on the stage

All *6-stuiver* earners appear to have been of the male sex, given their names. There are very few diminutives which might stand for girls' names. Fransjen Houthaeck was a boy, and Tijsjen van der Schilden probably too, as we shall see later. The only exception is Maria Nooseman, which is not too surprising because her mother was Ariana, who had obviously paved the way for her.³¹ More interesting is a piece of evidence from the period before the opening of the Schouwburg about a girl called Judith Willems, barmaid in the inn of Jacob Gosens next to the Schouwburg.³² This intriguing document, written in 1654, is specifically about Judith's age, which was 39 or older — that is, at least, what the actors Jacob de Fuyter and Pieter van Zeerijp declare. According to Jacob, Judith had played a character in *Stirus* by J. Struys, at the Academy, the forerunner of the Schouwburg mentioned above. She must have been a child then, about 13 years old. That is within the range of possibility, as we have seen plenty of boys of that age on stage. But if Judith had been a few years older, a 'grown-up spinster', her performance would have caused problems. Possibly the intention of the document is to clear her of such improper behaviour.

Singing teenagers

What did all these children do on stage? One option is singing, like Jillis Nooseman in *Gebroeders*. According to the text of Voskuyl's *Bellaria en Pandostos* (1637) 'some little boys in white clothes' entered the stage to sing a song of praise.³³ In Coster's *Tijsken vander Schilden* (1613) 'a little singer' sang the old song about the robber Tijsken vander Schilde.³⁴ He is mentioned as 'Singer, a boy' in the list of characters of the play. Undoubtedly more singing children are there to be found in the texts of other plays.

Can we find these young singers back in the theatre accounts? Sometimes they mention 'singing' explicitly as the reason for a payment, but not in a very consistent manner. In the accounts we often find a distinction between *spelende maats* ('playing mates', i.e. actors) and *staande mannen* ('standing men': probably men who stood at the door collecting admission fees but also serving as attendants, stagehands, or extras). In the

account books, the names of actors and 'standing men' are often separated by a horizontal line. In the rare cases when singers are indicated as such, they are mentioned in the actors' section. Trumpeters, drummers, and musicians are listed after the 'standing men'. Only during the season 1641/2 did the singers have their own section. It contained only three or four persons. TABLE 3 gives a survey of the wages which we know for sure were intended for singers.

The four singers from *Gebroeders* (see above) are not listed as such in the accounts, but I have added them between square brackets. The 14-year-old Jillis earned 6 *stuivers*, his 19-year-old brother Jan 20 *stuivers*. The ages of the other two singers were probably in between, as their wages suggest. We only know the approximate age of one of the other singers in TABLE 3: Jan Fellebier must have been about 15 years old, and got 10 *stuivers*. The singers who earned 6 *stuivers* (Pieter Tjeertsz, Jasper Bosman, and Frans Thomasz) must have been younger, one is inclined to think. Pieter Vermaat is a special case. A later hand has written 'singer' behind his name. He earned 12 *stuivers* per performance for five successive years. One wonders when his voice broke, before or after this period? In the first case, he could have sung from his twelfth until about his seventeenth year, having received a very high beginner's wage. In the other case he might have started at 16 or 17 and sung until his early twenties, ending with a fairly moderate wage.

There is one case where we can link a singing boy from a play text and an actor from the accounts. The 'little singer' from Samuel Coster's *Tijsken vander Schilden* (1613), mentioned above, sings a song about the protagonist of the play, the legendary robber Tijsken vander Schilden. It is an old ballad by then, already known from the Antwerp Songbook (1544). Coster's piece is based on it. It is sung shortly before Tijsken's execution, as if it were a current murder ballad. The accounts mention an actor called Tijsje or Tijsken vander Schilde, as said above, who earned 6 *stuivers*. There must be a link: Coster's play was played again in the same year (1642) as this actor Tijsje made his appearance in the accounts. A plausible explanation is that Tijsjen played the role of 'little singer' and sang the ballad about Tijsken vander Schilden. His performance must have been remarkable, or demanding; at least, he got one guilder for it, more than three times as much as he earned during the following years.³⁵ In 1643 he only had a non-speaking character to play. Had his voice perhaps broken? Anyway, it did leave him a nickname, although his Christian name might have been Thijs, or Matthijs.

TABLE 3
 Survey of wages for singers (in so far as these are explicitly indicated) 1639–1653, in *stuivers*.

	1639	1640	1641	1642	1643	1644	1648	1649	1650	1651	1652	1653
Pieter Pietersz	8											
Jan Fellebier		10										
Barend van Hoorn			[10]									
Jacob Willemsz			[12]									
Jan Nooseman			[20]									
Jillis Nooseman			[6]									
Pieter Tjeertsz			6	6								
Jasper Bosman			6	6								
Willem Jacobs			10	10								
Frans Thomasz				6	8							

Mother's maid ¹																			
Two female singers in <i>Gysbrecht</i> , each ²													20	20	20				
The maid living at Lucie's ³													ca 15						
Two singers, each														20					
Pieter Vermaat/ the singer														12	12	12	12		12
Steven Slegel															20				
Sijmon																14			

- 1 The original Dutch reads: *Moers meyt*.
- 2 On 31.12.1648 two female singers received together 6 guilders 'for singing in gjsbert van aemstel'; there were three performances, on 24, 28, and 29 December. On 23.12.1649 two female singers 'used in amstel' got fl. 8; the *Gysbrecht* was performed four times that month. On 26.9.1650 'two female singers in amstel' got fl. 2; there was one performance that month, on 23.9.1650. On 9.1.1651 the female singers got fl. 2 for a performance that same day. Apparently the rule was that each singer got 1 guilder per performance. See also E.F. Kossmann *Nieuwe bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het Nederlandsch toneel* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1915), 121.
- 3 *De meyt die tot Lucie woont* got 7 guilders and 8 *stuivers* 'for 10 times singing New Year' (singing a New Year's song in 10 performances) which makes 14.8 *stuivers* per performance. Probably her wage was 15 *stuivers* per performance; 2 *stuivers* seem to have been deducted for some unknown reason.

Back to TABLE 3. The maximum wage for singing seems to have been 20 *stuivers*, the sum earned by the two women who sang in *Gysbrecht van Aemstel*. Steven Slegel also earned 20 *stuivers*.

We conclude from the meagre data which explicitly mentions singing that mainly children and adolescents were used as singers: in any case, that is what the low wages suggest. It is difficult to determine the age of the singers who got 20 *stuivers* — they may have been adults — but this amount seems to have been the limit for singers. As we suspect that the explicit mention of singing in the accounts is somewhat arbitrary, we might assume that boys and adolescents were used for singing considerably more often than is evident from this survey.

Teenage Actors

Children did not only sing, they also acted. Fransjen Houthaeck was 11 years old when he played the servant of Martio in *Jaloursche Studenten* in 1644, a small part in which he had to speak only one line and a half. In 1643 Tijsjen van den Schilde played a non-speaking role, as we have seen. These pieces of information are few and far between, but thanks to the *Parsonageboek* we know exactly which characters were played by the two child actors in the season 1658/9. The six-year-old Maria Nooseman played the non-speaking character Lisaura in *De beklaglijke dwang* ('The Lamentable Force') by Isaak Vos. In *Hester* by Jan Serwouters she played Judith, one of the two children of the Hebrew Azariab. This role is practically non-speaking, too: the children speak only a prayer of a few lines, together with adults. Maria's high point of the season was Grimaldus, a six-year-old boy, in *Casandra* by Th. Rodenburg. Playing marbles, she recited twenty lines.³⁶

The other child actor was 13-year-old Jacob Rusting, who earned 6 *stuivers* a time, like Maria. Jacob played eighteen different characters during that season: Cupid in Tegnagel's *Spaanse heidin* ('Spanish Heathen'); and in four more plays, a page in *Gedwongen vriend* ('Forced Friend') and in *Don Jeronimo*; a gnome in *Het kaboutermannetje* ('The Gnome') by J. Barentz; boy characters in *De Mof* ('The German'), *Teeuwis de Boer* ('Teeuwis the Farmer'), and other farces; a shield-bearer in the sequel to *Geeraerd van Velsen*; Veenerick, son of Gysbrecht van Aemstel; and so on. Jacob was also Eleazar, the brother of Judith, in *Hester*. Obviously Jacob played typical children's or teenagers' roles, which represented a young character or at least called for a small stature. He did not play female characters and neither did he sing.³⁷

Tasks of teenagers, deduced from reconstructed casts

Jacob van Rusting is the only actor in his early teenage years of whom we can say for certain that we know what characters he played. But his repertoire cannot have been representative in every respect: singing is missing, for instance. So far, we have not encountered anything like female impersonation by boys or adolescents, but it is not yet impossible — the picture arising from the sources is too fragmentary to make categorical conclusions. We would like to know what characters other teenagers played; or, to put it the other way round, we would like to know which characters were played by teenagers.

This is a difficult problem. Thanks to the Schouwburg accounts we do know which plays were played on which days, and we also know which actors were active in which wage period (usually a couple of months) and how many times they performed in such a period. But it is difficult to find out precisely in which plays they played: usually a lot of different plays were performed during a wage period. However, in a few cases we can reconstruct the casts exactly. For instance, in the period May to July 1640, only two plays were performed: *Clorinde en Dambise* by Jan Soet (8 times), and *Chryseide en Arimant* by J. Heerman (3 times). According to the accounts the actors were paid for either 8, 3, or 11 performances. So we can determine for each actor whether he played in *Clorinde* or in *Chryseide* or in both.³⁸ The text of *Clorinde en Dambise* requires 17 characters: 14 speaking and 3 non-speaking ones.³⁹ During the performance 13 actors were active, according to the accounts,⁴⁰ so there must have been some doubling. Let us try, as an intellectual exercise, to link the roles and the actors, taking into account what we know about them. The principal character is Princess Clorinde, who sings two songs. That could have been Jacob de Ville, who we have seen as a female impersonator and who was amongst the best-paid actors of this cast, together with Thomas de Keyser and Jan Soet. Another female role, Queen Phantasilea, could have been played by Isaac Verbiest: we have seen him as a female impersonator before, too, but he earned half as much as de Ville. It is difficult to guess who played the third female role, Princess Aemilia — we simply don't know enough of the other actors. The character of King Figman may have been played by top actor Thomas Keyser, who was such an excellent Emperor, according to the Ghost of Tengenagel. Jan Soet could have played Prince Dambise.

The principal characters in *Clorinde en Dambise* could have been allocated like this. The roles of the Courtier and the Knights were

probably played by actors with modest wages, one guilder to one-and-a-half. We are especially interested in the five Shepherds' roles: two Shepherds, two Shepherdesses, and a Shepherd's Boy. The accounts mention five actors who earned less than a guilder — probably they played these Shepherds. According to the text the Shepherds and Shepherdesses talk about love and sing two songs together. The Shepherd Amintas sings two more songs, solo. One of the five low-paid actors was paid 10 *stuivers* explicitly for singing: Jan Fellebier (whom we know was about 15 years old). In the accounts his name is immediately followed by Jan Pietersz Bloem (who was about 17 years old) and Pieter Pieters; they also both got 10 *stuivers*. Barend Jansz van Hoorn and Jacob Willems, who had sung in Vondel's Chorus of Priests shortly before, will have played the other Shepherds (at 12 *stuivers* each). Probably these teenagers also played the non-speaking characters at the end of the play.

The cast of the other play, *Chryseide en Arimant*, can be reconstructed in a similar way. There were 18 characters to be divided between 14 actors. The play contains only one song, to be sung by a Chorus of Singers. Jan Fellebier would have been the best choice again, together with either Pieter Pieters or Jacob Willems, of whom we know that they could sing, or possibly Jan Pietersz Bloem. Barend van Hoorn was not present this time, but Cornelis Houthaek was, aged seventeen. Again there were five actors with a wage less than a guilder. Apart from the Chorus they would have played smaller parts such as a servant, a page, and the two guards of Princess Chryseide.

When more plays were being performed during one wage period, this kind of reconstruction becomes more debatable. The period May-July 1640 is an unusually helpful exception. But sometimes we can also find something useful in more complicated periods. Let *Granida*, the famous pastoral play by P.C. Hooft, serve as a last example. It was played in June-July 1642. There were 26 performances during this period: 8 of *Lucretia*, 6 of *Granida*, 4 of *Titus Andronicus*, 2 of *Cid*, 2 of *Vertoningen van Nassousche huwelijken* ('Tableaux Vivants of the Marriages of Nassau'), 1 of *Tijsje van der Schilden*, 1 of *Gebroeders*, 1 of *Casandra*, and 1 of *Geraart van Velsen*. There were eight actors who played more than 20 times, and therefore they must have played in *Granida*. Two of them earned less than a guilder: Jaspas Bosman, whom the accounts explicitly mention as singing (6 *stuivers*), and Steven Meulemans (12 *stuivers*).⁴¹ They probably sang the Chorus of Young Ladies or the Chorus of Shepherdesses, together with two other teenagers — there were enough of them around in these years.⁴²

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Jacob de Ville and Isaac Verbiest were in *Granida*: they may have played the most important female characters, Princess Granida and the singing shepherdess, Dorilea.

Summary, Conclusion, and Perspectives

I started this investigation with the problem of the vocal realisation of women's roles in the Amsterdam Schouwburg in the first half of the seventeenth century, singing as well as speaking. I have concentrated on the first two decades of the Amsterdam Schouwburg (1638–1659), a period which is well documented, thanks to the accounts which have been preserved for this period and thanks to the *Parsonageboek* of 1658/9, where the names of the actors are attached to all the characters played that season. However, for the study of female impersonation the *Parsonageboek* is not very helpful, as actresses had appeared on the stage from 1655 on, although some female characters were still played by men.

We have found only very little about the type of voice used for female impersonation. Only one French source, translated into Dutch, may confirm our reasonable supposition that falsetto was used. Our knowledge of female impersonators on the Amsterdam stage is mainly based on two written cast-lists, on the satirical poem *Geest van Tengnagel*, and on the *Parsonageboek*. These sources suggest that some actors specialised in female impersonation, while others played women's roles less often, and others rarely or never. In farces, female impersonation was carried on longer than in tragedies. In some farces women's roles were still played by men although actresses were available, and actors who usually did not play female roles did so in farces.

It was not easy to answer the question whether female characters were also played by boys. I had to look in the city archives for data from which the ages of actors could be deduced. An analysis of the scarce and not always reliable data leads to the conclusion that actors from about 18 years old could be active as female impersonators. Some of them — Jan Bos, Jurriaan Baet, Abraham Hendrix Blank — continued playing women until they were in their fifties or even older. Because the information is rather limited, I also investigated the possibility that boy actors played female characters. To date, very little has been known about children and adolescents on the Dutch stage in this era. Firstly, the wages of the actors recorded in the Schouwburg accounts had to be linked with the data from the baptismal and marriage registers. Boys appeared to have joined the theatre at the age of 13, earning a wage of 6 *stuivers* per performance,

probably as apprentices. Some actor's children started at an earlier age, others later. After some time their wages were raised, for some boys faster than for others. At the age of 20, most of them received one guilder (20 *stuivers*) or more, but others never got above 15 *stuivers* — less talented actors, we may assume. Taking 12 *stuivers* as a limit, we may deduce from the accounts that in an average year at least six different boys played on the Amsterdam stage, although not necessarily all of them at the same time.

Although in the accounts singing is not mentioned systematically, quite a lot of these teenagers must have been hired as singers. However, some of them only acted, like 13-year-old Jacob van Rusting, whose activities can, exceptionally, be followed during one whole season (1658/9). Jacob played children, pages, servants, and other characters which require a small stature, like cupids and a gnome. Thanks to the reconstruction of the casts of some performances it is possible to get a glimpse of what other boy actors did on the stage: they played shepherds and shepherdesses who did a great deal of singing, and, most important, they sang in choruses, e.g. choruses of young ladies or shepherdesses. So it appears that there *was* female impersonation by boys, but this seems to have been limited to young supporting roles and choruses.

Several new perspectives emerge. Firstly, the accounts of the Amsterdam Schouwburg turn out to be a real treasury of data about actors and performances. This unique source deserves to be further explored. Only a small part of it has yet been published. It is time to transcribe the rest and enter it into a database which can be used for future research into seventeenth-century theatre practice.

Secondly, there is the question of the musical interpretation of theatre songs from the first half of the seventeenth century. Our most important findings are about boys and choruses. Boys' voices have turned out to be the most appropriate for female and probably also for 'neutral' choruses. We have also found that a chorus was usually performed by two voices. Boys could also be used for female supporting roles. As far as principal female characters are concerned, the most likely solution seems to be (young) adults singing in falsetto, although little concrete evidence could be found for this.

We already know the composition of the instrumental ensemble of the Schouwburg in its first decades — flute, violin, bass, sometimes reinforced by a cornetto. Trumpets and drum must have been used separately. The

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tunes of songs and choruses are not notated in the drama texts, but many of them can be found in the *Nederlandse Liederenbank*, a database containing tens of thousands of songs from the seventeenth century.⁴³ Taking all this together we have enough knowledge now to reconstruct the musical soundtrack of early-seventeenth-century theatre in Holland. I did this with my ensemble Camerata Trajectina when recording the CD *Dutch Theatre Music 1600–1650*, including songs and choruses from *Granida* and *Geeraerd van Velsen* by P.C. Hooft, *Gysbrecht van Aemstel* by Vondel, and several pieces by J.H. Krul, performed by men and boys.⁴⁴

Finally, this musical reconstruction could be a first step towards the reconstruction of complete plays. However, it is not very likely (though not outside the bounds of possibility) that we can look forward to an authentic performance of a classical play in present-day Holland, where classical plays are rarely performed at all. Stage directors are not interested in such an enterprise, and critics know in advance that it would be deadly boring. This attitude reminds one of the contempt for performances of Early Music only a few decades ago. However, even if the result were not to be artistically convincing, an authentic performance of, say, *Gysbrecht van Aemstel* would yield the inspiration and point up the necessity for more research into the performance practice of the Amsterdam Schouwburg and seventeenth-century theatre in general, including the stage design, the *mise-en-scène*, costumes, acting style, the use of boys and female impersonators, and last but not least the original music.

Meertens Institute & Utrecht University

Appendix: Biographical Data of Boys and Female Impersonators at the Schouwburg

In this Appendix, I present mainly new biographical data about female impersonators and boys active at the Amsterdam Schouwburg. For more information on them and on others, see the lists in E.F. Kossmann *Nieuwe bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het Nederlandsch toneel* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1915) 91, and Natascha Veldhorst *De perfecte verleiding: Muzikale scènes op het Amsterdamse toneel in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam UP, 2004) 192.

Abbreviations:

DTB Doop-, Trouw- en Begravenisboeken: registers of baptisms, marriages, and funerals in the Amsterdam City Archives.

BAET, JURRIAEN. Jurriaen Baet's year of birth is uncertain. When he entered the Schouwburg in 1649, he earned 20 *stuivers*. Jacob de Ville I, an actor of a higher rank than Baet, earned 20 and 30 *stuivers* when he was 16. Baet would not have been younger, so he was probably born in 1633 or earlier. Possibly he was a son of the artist Hans Jurriaenz van Baden, who made a painting of the Schouwburg interior in 1653 (see PLATE 6). This Hans, born around 1604 in Steinbach in Baden (Germany), was married in 1633 in Arnemuiden (province of Zeeland), and remarried three times in Amsterdam: in 1635 Brecht Jacobs, in 1652 Claesje Jansz, and in 1663 Annetje van der Berg; see A. Bredius 'Hoe een varensgezel schilder werd. Hans Jurriaenz van Baden' *Oud-Holland* 44 (1927) 17–22. If Jurriaen was a child from Hans' first marriage, he must have been born in the period 1633–1635. On 30.10.1635 a certain Hans Jeuriaenz had a child Jeuriaen baptized in the Lutheran Church in Amsterdam, the mother's name is not mentioned. If this is the actor, he would have gone on the stage at 14 years old, but then he would have earned an improbably high wage.

BLANK, ABRAHAM HENDRIX. Abraham Hendrix, later called Blank in the Schouwburg accounts, went on the stage in 1645 and immediately earned 25 *stuivers*. Jacob de Ville I, an actor of about the same rank, aged 16, earned 20 and 30 *stuivers*. So 16 is likewise a possible age for Abraham Hendrix to have gone on the stage. If this is true, he could have been born c. 1629. That matches a declaration of intended marriage in which Blank is called a *matwerker* ("mat maker") and from which can be deduced that he was born c. 1628 (the document is cited in a *Reader* by Henk Gras, Utrecht University, but I have been unable to trace it in the Amsterdam City Archives). Possibly the actor Blank was related to Abraham le Blancq from Amsterdam, *cursawercker* (possibly a maker of ornamental ribbons and trimmings), who, at 26 years old, orphaned, gave notice of an intended marriage to Cathalma (or Catherina) de la Croix (DTB 431/112) on 28.3.1626, and married for a second time Ariaentje de Breus on 17 February 1646 (DTB 463/66).

BLOEM, JAN PIETERSZ. On 6.8.1653 Jan Pieterss Bloem, painter, 30 years old, gave notice of an intended marriage to Anna Margrieta Mostert, widow of the actor Jacobus de Ville (DTB 471/321), who had died on 2 January of that year. Jan Pietersz must have been born c. 1622/3.

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BRAY, PIETER DE. On 12.4.1615 a certain Pieter was baptised as the son of Gulliam de Breij and Trijntjen Heinrix (DTB 5/139). Breij and Braij/Bray are spelling variants of the same name: in 1603 the couple, with the family name Braij, had a child called Aertus. 1615 as the year of birth would fit the actor well.

FELLEBIER, JAN. On 5.2.1649 Johan Felbier, sailor, 24 years old, gave notice of an intended marriage to Anna Cornelis (DTB 467/8). So he must have born c. 1624/5. A man of the same name, Jan Janss Fellebier, seems too old for our actor: when this Jan married in 1630 he was 28 years old, so he must have been born in 1601/02.

FRIS, PIETER. On 20.11.1655 Pieter Fris from Amsterdam, painter, 27 years old, gave notice of an intended marriage to Josijntje Verhulst from Haarlem, 28 years old. Witness was Pieter's mother Anna Fries, living on Voetboogstraat. So Pieter must have been born c. 1627/8. He is probably the same person as the Pieter who was baptised in the Lutheran Church on 26.11.1628, as the son of Gerrit Frijs (DTB 139/258). Another possibility, but less probable, is the Pieter baptised on 13.7.1631 as the son of Willem Fris and Anneken Matton (DTB 6/310).

FUYTER, JACOB LEON DE. In the Schouwburg accounts from 1638 on, he is mentioned as 'Jacob Leon'. Born in 1618 in The Hague, according to E.M. Grabowsky and P.J. Verkruijsse 'Gadeloos, en onuytsprekelik van waerden: Netwerken rondom de Amsterdamse Schouwburg' in *Kort Tijt-verdrijf. Opstellen over Nederlands toneel (vanaf ca 1550), aangeboden aan Mieke B. Smits-Veldt* edited W. Abrahamse, A.C.G. Fleurkens, and M. Meijer Drees (Amsterdam: A D & L Uitgevers, 1996) 227-42, especially 230. According to a document of 20 August 1654 cited in this article, Jacob de Fuijter, painter, living on Prinsegracht, was about 36 years old. This corresponds with another document in which Jacob Leon from The Hague, painter, 20 years old, gave notice of an intended marriage to Saera Pieters on 28.5.1639 (DTB 451/99). So he must have been born c. 1618/19. When in 1646 they had a son called Jacobus, the father is named as Jacob Leon. In other words, until 1646 he is just called Jacob Leon, but in the 1650s he used his official surname de Fuijter. Jacob Leon de Fuyter was a brother of Leonard de Fuyter, who was also active in the Schouwburg.

FUYTER, LEON DE. On 8.1.1649 Leonard de Fuyter from Amsterdam, merchant, 27 years old, gave notice of an intended marriage to Margrieta van Zinnich (DTB 466/32). So he was born c. 1621/2. Brother of Jacob Leon de Fuyter.

HOUTHAECK, CORNELIS. On 24.9.1623 Cornelis was baptised as a child of [the printer and actor] Dirck Cornelisz [Houthaeck] and Grietje Gerrits (DTB 40/222); he was buried in the Old Church on 18.4.1658. On 29.3.1647 Cornelis gave notice of an intended marriage to Jannetje Jans (DTB 464/313); according to the certificate he was by then 22 years old [actually 23]. Brother of Tijmen, Hendrik, and Frans.

HOUTHAECK, DIRCK. Dirck Cornelisz Houthaeck, born 1597, died 1658; see M.M. Kleerkooper *De boekhandel te Amsterdam voornamelijk in de 17e eeuw* 2 vols (Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van den Nederlandschen boekhandel 10; The Hague: Nijhoff, 1914–1916) 1 281. Beer importer, printer/publisher, and actor. Father of Cornelis (1623), Tijmen (1625), Hendrick (1627), and Frans (1633), and grandfather of Gerrit (1647), who all played at the Schouwburg.

HOUTHAECK, FRANS, also called Fransje in the Schouwburg accounts. He was baptised François on 21.6.1633, as the child of Dirck Cornelisz [Houthaeck] and Grietje Gerrits (DTB 41/257). Youngest brother of Tijmen, Cornelis, and Hendrik.

HOUTHAECK, GERRIT. Gerrit, son of [actor and printer] Tijman Houthaeck and Machtelt van Daelen, baptised on 29.8.1647 (DTB 43/51), gave notice of an intended marriage to Maria van Buuren on 1.11.1680; according to the certificate he was a merchant and 30 years old [actually 33] (DTB 692/139).

HOUTHAECK, HENDRICK. On 16.11.1627 Henrick was baptised as a child of Dirck Cornelisz and Grietje Gerrits (DTB 40/424). On 28.5.1648 Hendrick Dirckss. Houthaeck, born in Amsterdam, bookbinder, 21 years old [actually 20], gave notice of an intended marriage to Christina van der Wielen from Delft (DTB 465/529). Brother of Cornelis, Tijmen, and Frans.

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HOUTHAECK, TIJMEN. Tijmen, son of Dirck Cornelisz Houthaeck, was baptised on 11.12.1625 (DTB 6/129) and buried on 3.10.1664 in the New Church. His official occupation was typographer when on 22.10.1646, at 22 years old [actually 20], he gave notice of an intended marriage to Machtelt van Daelen (DTB 464/93). Machtelt remarried in 1669. Tijmen's father Dirck, his brothers Cornelis, Hendrik, and Frans, and Tijmen's son Gerrit also played at the Schouwburg.

JEURRIAANSZ, NANNING. On 5.2.1617 a certain Nanning was baptised as a child of Juriaen Hendriksz and Wendel Nannings (DTB 39/448). If this is really the actor, he would have earned a wage of only 10 *stuivers* at the age of 23.

KALBERGEN, DIRCK. On 23 January 1649 Dirck Calbergen from Amsterdam, gilder, 21 years old, orphan, living on Lijnbaansgracht, gave notice of an intended marriage to Elisabet de Baer van Amsterdam, living at Lindegracht — the future actress (DTB 466/435). Dirck must have been born c. 1627/8. He is mentioned in a notarial contract in Rotterdam, 10.9.1646, in which he promised to play in a touring company together with Jan Baptist van Fornenbergh, Gillis Nooseman, and others (Ben Albach *Langs kermessen en hoven: ontstaan en kroniek van een Nederlands toneelgezelschap in de 17de eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburg, 1977) 60). Dirck and Elizabeth Kalbergen had children in 1651 (Catrijna) and in 1654 (Elisabeth).

KEMP, JACOB. On 3.11.1657 Jacobus Kemp, *schietspoelmaker* ('shuttle maker'), 24 years old, gave notice of an intended marriage to Maria Hooghstraten (DTB 478/40). So he was born c. 1632/3.

LEON, JACOB, see Fuyter, Jacob Leon de.

NOOSEMAN, JAN. Joannes was baptised on 2.1.1622 in Amsterdam as son of Mathijs Nosemans and Sijtje Geilles (DTB 40/153) and died there on 20 March 1653. Brother of Jillis.

NOOSEMAN, JILLIS. Gilles was baptised on 28.2.1627 as son of Mathijs Nosemans and Sijtje Jelles (DTB 40/385). Brother of Jan, father of Maria.

NOOSEMAN, MARIA. Kossmann mentions 21.9.1652 as Maria's date of birth: *Nieuwe bijdragen* 109. On 22.9.1652 she was baptised in the Nieuwezijdskapel in Amsterdam. Her parents were Jillis Nooseman and Aerijantien van den Berg (DTB 65/111). For her, see Malou Nozeman 'Nozeman, Maria' in *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland* at <<http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DVN/lemmata/data/MariaNozeman>> updated 08/03/2007.

RUSTING, JACOBUS. On 13.1.1668 Jacobus van Rustingh, born in Amsterdam, *chirurgijn* ('surgeon'), 23 years old, gave notice of an intended marriage to Nelletje van Trueben. His father Abraham van Rustingh, living on Huidenstraat, was witness (DTB 491/269). We have the baptismal certificates of Abraham's children Abraham (1648), Salomon (1652), and Leea (1657), but not that of Jacobus, who must have been born c. 1644/5. The children were baptised in the Evangelical Lutheran Church. In the same church, a certain Jacob was baptised on 9.6.1645 as a child of Abraham Gerrits; this might be the future actor.

SAMMERS, JACOB. On 6.3.1660 Jacobus Sammers from Antwerp, surgeon, 27 years old, gave notice of an intended marriage to Aeltje Willems (DTB 684/274): so he was born c. 1632/3.

SCHIPPER, JAN. On 12.12.1617 Jan Jacobsz was baptised in the New Church. On 27.8.1650 he gave notice of an intended marriage to Susanna Veselaers. His father called himself Dommecracht, after a wood mill, but he was a skipper (ship's captain); his son took this as his surname. Jan Jacobsz. Schipper was a printer and translated many plays from French. In 1651 he seems to have played in the Schouwburg a couple of times. In 1640 he told the Directors of the Schouwburg that Jan Soet intended to write a pasquil (lampoon) on them, because a performance had started too late as none of the Directors had been present on time. See Marcel van der Knaap *Jan Jacobsz. Schipper, Amsterdams boekverkoper, vertaler, bewerker 1617-1669* (Doctoralscriptie, University of Amsterdam, [1988/1989]).

VERBIEST, ISAAC. On 17.3.1655 Isaack Verbiest from Amsterdam, 37 years old, merchant, gave notice of an intended marriage to Cornelia van Beeck. His mother Jannetje de Meijer, living at Coninxgracht [Singel], was witness (DTB 474/220). On 18.10.1616 he had been baptised as son of Hans Verbiest and Jannetje de Meijer. (Alternative identities for our actor

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are the Isaack baptised on 4.7.1623, son of Henrick Verbiest and Anneken van Middert; and the Isack baptised on 22.2.1604, son of Isack Verbiest and Geertge Egberts.)

VILLE, JACOBUS DE (I). On 21.12.1622 (Jacques) de Ville was baptised in the Walloon Church in Amsterdam; his parents were Jacques de Ville and Sarra Basse. He was a painter when on 29.11.1647 he gave notice of an intended marriage to Anna Margrita Moestert, 25 years old (DTB 46/255). He died on 2.1.1653, according to the Schouwburg accounts, and was buried on 6 January in the Westerkerk. Uncle of Jacobus de Ville II, brother of Johannes de Ville.

VILLE, JACOBUS DE (II). On 24.1.1638 Jacobus de Vielle was baptised in the New Church. On 13.3.1637 his father, the painter [and actor] Giliam de Vielle, gave notice of an intended marriage to Helena Simon (DTB 446, 78). Nephew of Jacobus de Ville I, who was a brother of his father.

VILLE, JOHANNES DE. On 17.2.1641 Joannes de Vielle was baptised in the New Church as child of Gueljame de Vielle and Helena Simon. A brother of the same name was born in 1639 but apparently had died. On 20.6.1671 Johannes de Vile, from Amsterdam, silk painter, 29 years old, living at Keizersgracht, gave notice of an intended marriage to Hendrikje Jans (DTB 496/419). His parents were already dead by then.

WALTES, MARKUS. On 31.9.1651 Markes Waltes (spelt according to his signature; the notary wrote Markus Waltus), painter, 21 years old, gave notice of an intended marriage to Maritje Jans. His father Walte Janssen, living on Handboogstraat, was witness. Markus must have been born c. 1629/30.

WILLEMS, JUDITH. According to a document of 20 August 1654 cited in Grabowsky and Verkruijsse 'Gadeloos' (1996). Judith Willems was 36 or older by then. Possibly she was the Judith baptised on 28.2.1617 as daughter of Willem Claesz and Maritje Willems (DTB 39/451). In any case, this Judith was about one year older than Jacob Leon de Fuitter, as is stated in the document. Jacob Leon declared that Judith had been playing in *Styrus ende Ariame* about 23 years before.

ZEERIJP, PIETER VAN. On 15.8.1648 Pieter van Zeerijp from Amsterdam, 28 years old, embroiderer, gave notice of an intended marriage to Maria Priemers (DTB 46/65); so he must have been born c. 1619/20. Incidentally, the actor sold pieces of embroidery to the Schouwburg. He had children in 1648 (Pieter), 1649 (Jannetje), and 1651 (Pieter). According to a document of 20 August 1654 cited in Grabowsky and Verkruijse 'Gadeloos', Pieter Seerijp was about 34 years old at that time, which matches the year of birth suggested in the certificate of intended marriage.

NOTES

A Dutch version of this article will appear in *Hier wordt Musieck gesongen ende gespeelt: Muziek op het toneel in de Nederlanden tijdens de zeventiende eeuw* edited H. Meeus and M. De Wilde (Leuven: Peeters, 2008).

1. See e.g. Angus Heriot *The castrati in opera* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1956); P. Barbier *Histoire des castrats* (Paris: Grasset, 1989); P. Barbier *Farinelli: le castrat des lumières* (Paris: Grasset, 1994).
2. Letter by Philips Doublet to Christiaan Huygens, 6 February 1681, about a performance of *Le fatiche d'Hercole per Deianira*, which he attended in Amsterdam. He wrote about the castrati:

Il y a plusieurs très-belles voix, tant d'homme pour les basses, que de femme, dont il y en a surtout deux excellentes, outre quelques-uns de ces Messieurs, qui ne sont bons qu'à cela et à la garde du serrail, et ont des fort bonnes voix, mais je ne sçaurois voir ces créatures-là représenter un héros ou quelque chose de pareil, et entonner leur prosne d'un ton à la Droste. Cependant, ceux qui ont fréquenté les opéra d'Italie disent qu'on en use là de la sorte sans scrupule; c'est pourquoy, à mon avis, ces sortes de gens sont plus propres pour les musiques d'église et de chapelle, où on ne les voit point et pourtant font un fort bien effet.

See *Oeuvres complètes de Christiaan Huygens* 22 vols (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1888–1950) 8 318–319.

3. J.A. Worp *Geschiedenis van het drama en van het toneel in Nederland* 2 vols (Groningen: Wolters, 1903–1907) 2; G. Kalff *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde* 7 vols (Groningen: Wolters, 1906–1912) 5; E.F. Kossmann *Nieuwe bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het Nederlandsch toneel* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1915); Ben Albach *Langs kermessen en hoven: Ontstaan en kroniek van een Nederlands toneelgezelschap in de seventeende eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburg, 1977); several contributions by M.B. Smits-Veldt, Karel Porteman, and Ben Albach in *Een theatergeschiedenis der Nederlanden* edited R.L. Erenstein (Amsterdam UP,

- 1996); Natascha Veldhorst *De perfecte verleiding: Muzikale scènes op het Amsterdamse toneel in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam UP, 2004).
4. Linda Phyllis Austern 'Alluring the auditorie to effeminacie: Music and the idea of the feminine in early modern England' *Music and Letters* 74 (1993) 343–54, especially 353.
 5. René van Stipriaan 'Het theatrum mundi als ludiek labyrint: De vele gedaanten van het rollenspel in de zeventiende eeuw' *De zeventiende eeuw* 15: 1 (1999) 12–23, especially 16. See also H.K. Gras *Studies in Elizabethan Audience Response to the Theatre* 2 vols (European University Studies 48, 49; Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 1993) 2 'As I Am Man'.
 6. 'Ick sprack in 't Faucet, of met een fijne stem, als ick de Koningin vertoonde, door de neus': *De kluchtige romant, of de edelmoedige comedianten*, Dutch translation by N. Heins of Scarron's *Le roman comique* (Amsterdam: Jan Bouman, 1678), cited from H. Brinkman 'Spelen om den brode: Het vroegste beroepstoneel in de Nederlanden' in *Literatuur* 17 (2000), 98–106, especially 102–103.
 7. Kalf *Geschiedenis* 5 2, cited from Isaac Vos *Iemand en niemant*.
 8. According to Veldhorst *De perfecte verleiding* 53 (see note 3), these singers were invisible on the stage, but I have not been able to find any evidence for this.
 9. Albach suggests a link between the appearance of Ariana and the sudden departure of six actors, according to a contract of February 1655: *Langs kermissen* 73. He suggests that the actor Jillis Nooseman proposed his wife to the directors of the Schouwburg as an alternative for one of the missing actors. If this theory is right we may assume a female impersonator amongst the men who had left, whether Adriaen Leeuw, Jan de Heripon, Jan van Velsen, David Sijbrand, Rochus Coenradus, or Jan van Dalen. See also Kossmann *Nieuwe bijdragen* 131–2.
 10. Hugo Albert Rennert *The Spanish Stage in the time of Lope de Vega* (New York: Dover, 1963; reprint of Hispanic Society of America Publications 77; New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1909).
 11. See Worp *Geschiedenis van het drama* 2 32–33 and Kossmann *Nieuwe bijdragen* 91–122, who gives a much-consulted list of players with biographical data. In Veldhorst *De perfecte verleiding* 192, much of it is repeated with a special focus on music and dance.
 12. The original Dutch reads:

Daer 's de Bray, die 't al verbeelde:
Joffer, Hoer of Koningin,
Trots als Keyzer Keyzer speelde,
Speelde hy voor Keyzerin.

13. Daer's de grote Vrouvertoner,
Die tot ouderdom zijn baert
Scheeren liet — wiert hij niet schoner,
Hy wiert leelijk uyt'er aert,
Zoo door outheyt, als blanketten.
Evenwel hy liet'et niet,
Voor de dood het laten zette.
Denk dat gy Jan Bos daer ziet.
14. The Academy accounts mention a payment on 4 September 1628 to Jan Bos for the *rolleren* of the Farce of Stijve Piet; and a payment in December 1629 to the same man 'for Styruſ' (probably for the *rolleren* of the play *Styruſ* by J. Struys). I used the copies of these accounts in the Huydecoper Archive as transcribed by Marja Geesink in *Het toneel op de Akademie in Amsterdam van 1617 tot 1637. Repertoire, inkomsten en uitgaven* (Unpublished Doctoraalscriptie, University of Amsterdam, 1976).
15. Photographs in Albach *Langs kermissen* 48, Erenstein *Een theatergeschiedenis der Nederlanden* 223, and Veldhorst *De perfecte verleiding* 54. The performances took place on 8–23 April 1641 inclusive and on 15 July 1641.
16. R.A. Kolléwijn 'Theodore Rodenburgh en Lope de Vega' *De Gids* 55: 3 (1891) 325–61, especially footnote on 352. The copy in question is in the Amsterdam University Library.
17. Performances on 8, 12, 15, and 29 December 1644, 18 February and 6 March 1645. For this data see E. Oey-de Vita and M. Geesink *Academie en Schouwburg: Amsterdams toneelrepertoire 1617–1665* (Amsterdam: Huis aan de Drie Grachten, 1983).
18. Archive of the Burgerweeshuis, inv. no. 429: *Parsonageboek Anno 1658/59* edited by C.N. Wybrands, 'De Amsterdamsche schouwburg gedurende het seizoen 1658–59' *Het Nederlandsch toneel* 2 (1873) 246–322.
19. Wybrands 'De Amsterdamsche schouwburg' 252. Performances on 29 July and 1 August 1658. The roles are Bacchus, Cupido, Venus, and Comus. Possibly this is a version of BRUYLOFTS TAFEL-SPEL, *vertoont door CUPIDO, BACCHUS, VENUS, HYMEN, Min- Wijn- en Bruyloft-goden, en COMUS, de Bras-god* ('Table Play for a Wedding, represented by Cupid, Bacchus, Venus, Hymen, gods of Love, Wine, and Wedding, and Comus, the god of revelling') (Amsterdam: Jacob Lescaille, 1647), attributed to Jan Vos by W.J.C. Buitendijk *Toneelwerken Jan Vos* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1975) 500. For the character of Venus in this period see H. Meeus "'Ick die liefde ben": Venus in het Nederlandse Renaissancetoneel tot 1650' in *De Steen van Alciano: Opstellen voor prof. dr. Karel Porteman bij zijn emiritaat* edited M. van Vaeck and others (Leuven: Peeters, 2003) 439–57.
20. Speeld wel nakend voor de dochter van de See
Ja, dat soo aardig, dat al sta j'er voor te kijken,

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En voel en tast hem vrij, het sal een vrou-mensch lijken ...
Dit kan hem Jan Baptist noch Jan Tamboer verbeet'ren;
En Sciep met al sijn maats sou hy de broek opveet'ren.

Cited from Kalff *Geschiedenis* 5 303, after R. Lydius *Vermakelyke Tydkorting* (Enkhuizen: Meynerd Mul, 1684).

21. *Cimona moet zijn een vrou van ontrent de twintich jaren, oock fray op zijn oude wets gecleet, sy moet hebben twee gemaecte borsten, ten waer dattet een vrou ware.* Cited from Worp *Geschiedenis van het drama* 2 33.
22. Niet moogelijk. Neen, dat komt zoo niet wel.
Hy het ommers gien Vrouwe-stem,
noch hy zou zijn acten niet wel beleggen.
Cited from Kalff *Geschiedenis* 5 303.
23. I used the copies of these lists in the so-called 'Apparaat Hellinga/Oey-de Vita', preserved in the Theater Instituut Nederland in Amsterdam.
24. See note 3.
25. Meerhuysen must have been born in about 1617/18, as we can deduce from a document from 1658 in which he is said to be 40 years old: Kossmann *Nieuwe bijdragen* 101.
26. See Appendix.
27. Many future brides and grooms make mistakes about their ages, by one or several years. This becomes clear when one compares data from the register of intended marriages with the register of baptisms.
28. Wybrands 'De Amsterdamsche schouwburg' 250.
29. On 21.8.1646 a boy called Philip (sic) was baptized in the Lutheran Church as son of Dirck Jansz (DTP 141/365). This person would have been 9 years old when he played, which is entirely possible.
30. TABLE 1 shows that only 4 out of 21 players earned 12 *stuivers* or less in their twentieth year; on the other hand, 7 earned more than 12 *stuivers* before they were 20.
31. Kossmann *Nieuwe bijdragen* 121 and Veldhorst *De perfecte verleiding* 25 mention the daughter of *mr. Arent d'fluyter* (i.e. flute player Arend Arendsz Koer), who received money for four performances. However, she had come to collect the money for her father, who had just died.
32. Grabowsky and Verkruijsse cite the full document made up by notary Antoni Tuillingh in Amsterdam on 20 August 1654. Jacob de Fuyter (about 36 years old) declared that he had known Judith Willems from childhood; she had always told him that she was a year older than he was. Pieter van Zeerijp, on his own evidence 34 years old, declared that Judith had told him her age and that he had made her acquaintance 'as a grown-up spinster'. At that time she

- must have been about 16 years old: E.M. Grabowsky and P.J. Verkruijsse 'Gadeloos, en onuytsprekelik van waerden: Netwerken rondom de Amsterdamse Schouwburg' in *Kort Tijd-verdrijf. Opstellen over Nederlands toneel (vanaf ca 1550), aangeboden aan Mieke B. Smits-Veldt* edited W. Abrahamse, A.C.G. Fleurkens, and M. Meijer Drees (Amsterdam: A D & L Uitgevers, 1996) 227–42, at 231.
33. Veldhorst *De perfecte verleiding* 54.
 34. Samuel Coster *Tijsken vander Schilden* (Amsterdam: Willem Jansz., 1613) fol. F3, cited after the facsimile in Ceneton (Census Nederlands Toneel; Leiden University Department of Dutch Language and Literature) at <<http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Ceneton/Facsimiles/CosterTijsken1613/index.htm>>.
 35. In 1642 Tijsjen vanden Schilde received 3 guilders, specified as 3 *dagen tot f 1* ('3 days at 1 guilder'). The wording is unusual: the other actors are paid per 'time', not per 'day'. In 1643 Tijsjen received only a *verering* (unspecified fee) for 'mute playing' and in the period 1644–1647 he earned 6 *stuivers* per time. It is unusual that an actor's wage should become lower, especially by as much as this.
 36. See also Kossmann *Nieuwe bijdragen* 109, and Malou Nozeman 'Nozeman, Maria' in *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland* at: <<http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DVN/lemmata/data/MariaNozeman>> updated 08/03/2007.
 37. Except in *Dronken Hansje* ('Drunken Hansje'), where Jacob sang a satirical song together with other boys.
 38. I follow the example of Hanneke Domisse in the 'Apparaat Hellinga/Oey-de Vita', with a few minor corrections. She has worked out similar reconstructions for a great number of plays.
 39. The characters in *Clorinde en Dambise* are: Clorinde, Princess of Ethiopia; Dambise, Prince of Greece; Lysander and Amintas, shepherds; Cloris and Philidia, shepherdesses; Hans, courtier; Don Brusartus, a Greek knight; Amindor, a shepherd's boy; Don Balthasar, an Ethiopian knight; Figman, King of Ethiopia; Panthasilea, Queen of Ethiopia; Aemilia, Princess of Greece; Bruno, Ethiopian nobleman, non-speaking; Some Ethiopian Noblemen, non-speaking; Hangman, non-speaking.
 40. In *Clorinde en Dambise* there played: Thomas de Keyser (fl. 4 per time), Jacob de Ville (fl. 2: 10), Jan Soet (fl. 2: 10), Cornelis Sybrantsz (fl. 1: 10), Jan Robbertsz (fl. 1: 10), Isaac Verbiest (fl. 1: 5), Dirk Coolvelt (fl. 1), Leon de Fuyter (fl. 1), Jacob Willemsz (12 st.), Barend van Hoorn (12 st.), Jan Pietersz Bloem (10 st.), Pieter Pietersz (10 st.), Jan Fellebier (singing, 10 st.); eight 'standing men', including two old men, and a prompter; the musicians Arend Arendsz (flute,

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- fl. 1: 10), Thomas Fransz (violin, fl. 1: 2), Robbert Tindel (cornetto, fl. 1), Willem Elias (bass, fl. 1), Cornelis Jacobsz (trumpet, 12 st.), Hendrik Koenraads (trumpet, 12 st.).
41. Possibly this is the Steven Mulemans, husband of Josijntje Tobias, who had a child baptised Wilhelmus on 22.3.1648 in the New Church (DTB 43/72).
 42. Actors who earned less than a guilder and played six times or more in this period were Barend van Hoorn (9 x fl. 1), Dirk Coolvelt (6 x fl. 1), Jan (18 x fl. 1) and Gillis Nooseman (8 x 6 st.), Tijmen (13 x 12 st.) and Cornelis (9 x 9 st.) Houthaeck, Jacob Leon (6 x 10 st.), and Willem Jacobsz (singer, 8 x 10 st.).
 43. <www.liederenbank.nl>: this database is maintained by the Meertens Institute, Amsterdam. Theatre songs have been added by Natascha Veldhorst, Ingeborg De Coomen, and others.
 44. Full title: *Theatermuziek uit de Gouden Eeuw / Dutch Theatre Music 1600-1650* by Camerata Trajectina (Globe GLO 6062, 2007). See <www.camerata-trajectina.nl>, also for English notes, full content and translations of the lyrics.