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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.  

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 Strijkker'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.  

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 literature 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.  

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.  

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 Rncune. 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. 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 Adriaen 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 Ekhoort and Elisabeth (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. Possibly these singers paved the way
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 furor 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 *vrouwvertoneurs* ("woman-players"), as they were called? Most of the scholarly literature about them is rather outdated.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 specialization as an actor.

Jan Bos also appeared to the ghost of Tengnagel:
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.  

Not much is know 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).  

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 Jurriaen 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.  

Risper, 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 Jaloersche Studenten (Jealous Students’, 1617), handwritten in a print of 1644. The play was performed again in that year. 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 Houthaek. 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.\textsuperscript{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 troste Leo en Philipus 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 Grietien* ('The Malicious Women') the character of the maid-servant Aetje and the neighbour's wife Tijn 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 *Waresar* by P.C. Hooft was played only by men. Jillis Nooseman played the title character in *De Muffin* ('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 Meerhuysen, and the four actors already mentioned above.

In 1658 Meerhuysen played Venus in an unidentified *tafelspel* ('table play' — a short play performed during meals around the table, with interaction with the audience).\textsuperscript{19} It must have been quite a spectacle to see a man playing a naked goddess. In *Vermakelyke Tydkorting* ('Pleasant Pastime', 1652) by Rudolph Lydius, we find a reference to this performance by Jan Meerhuysen, 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.\textsuperscript{20}

Obviously, Jan Tamboer (Meerhuysen), Jan Baptist van Vornenbergh, 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 Spiegel der Liefden* ('The Mirror of Love'), 1600) by the Leiden redenerijker 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.'\textsuperscript{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
possible for every actor is affirmed in the Kluchtighe tragedie of den hartoog van Perlepon by Matthijs Gramsbergen ('Comic Tragedy of the Duke of Perlepon', 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 Karelz van Germeren, 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 an 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 Gierardt van Velsen by P.C. Hooff, 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. Hooff, there were three spoken women's roles for the actresses (Granida, Dorilea, and the nurse), so the actors Tijmen Houthaek 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 Jurriisen 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 Maid servant') Baet played Juffrouw Strips and Hendrix played Celicjte. 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 voicewomen, 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. Kosmann, 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.

BOYS AND FEMALE IMPERSONATORS
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 Tengnagel, Bos played female characters well into old age.

Pieter de Bray, mentioned by the Ghost of Tengnagel 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 Michiel in Vondel’s Gebroeders in April 1641 and then was 18 years old. However, in 1644 he played a male character in Rodenburg’s Jalousche 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 Jalousche Studenten in the end of 1644 he was 28 years old.

Tijmen Houthaeck 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 Houthaeck, both 18 years old. Most of the vrouwenvertroent 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. Vrouwentroenter 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 Meerhuysen played a comic female character in 1658, he was 31. And Jan Meurhuyzen was about 40 when he played Venus. 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. 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 Tengnagel 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.

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<th>Year of birth</th>
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<td>1638</td>
<td>15 20 30 50 50 50 60 60 60</td>
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<td>1638</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan Nooseman</td>
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<td>15 20 20 20 40 40</td>
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<td>Leon de Fayter</td>
<td>c. 1621/22</td>
<td>1639</td>
<td>10 15 20 24</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hendrick Houthaack</td>
<td>1627</td>
<td>1647</td>
<td>15 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Sammers</td>
<td>c. 1632/33</td>
<td>1647</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Markus Wales</td>
<td>c. 1629/30</td>
<td>1649</td>
<td>15 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacobus de Ville II</td>
<td>1638</td>
<td>1650</td>
<td>v 6 6 6 (7) 10 12 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johannes de Ville</td>
<td>1641</td>
<td>1651</td>
<td>v 3 5 5 6 6 6 6 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Nooseman</td>
<td>1652</td>
<td>1658</td>
<td>6 6 v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob van Ruting</td>
<td>1645</td>
<td>1658</td>
<td>6 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerrit Houthaack</td>
<td>1647</td>
<td>1661</td>
<td>6 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

145
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 Houthaek, Jillis Nooseman, Jacob Sammers, Jacobus de Ville II, Jacob van Rusting, and Gerrit Houthaek. The long career of Tijmen Houthaek 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 Pieter 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 Forrenbergh 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 Parsonagebook 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 Houthaek 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. GiJjam (or simply Willem) de Vlie, 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 6 and 10 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 Houthaek, 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 Pieters (mentioned in 1638), Hendrik de Lange (1639), Amelijes Gerritse (1639), Pieter Tjeerds (1641), Jaspert Bosman (1641), Frans Thomas (1642), Willem van Rodenbergh (1643), Tijmen van der Schilden (1644), Jan Frix (1651), Flip van Harten (1655), and Adriaen Houthaek (1664). In 1653 Tijmen 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 to shiners. If somebody earned a range of wages in one year, the lowest amount is recorded.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>1647</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1648</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BOYS AND FEMALE IMPERSONATORS

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. 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. 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. In Coster’s Tijtsjen vander Schilden (1613) ‘a little singer’ sang the old song about the robber Tijsken vander Schilde. 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 Tjisse or Tijsken vander Schilden, as said above, who earned 6 stuivers. There must be a link: Coster's play was played again in the same year (1643) as this actor Tijske made his appearance in the accounts. A plausible explanation is that Tijssen 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. 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother's maid</th>
<th>Two female singers in Gysbrecht, each</th>
<th>The maid living at Leendert's</th>
<th>Pieter Vermaat</th>
<th>die-singer</th>
<th>Steven Siegel</th>
<th>Sijmon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The original Dutch reads: Moerst map.
2. On 31 Dec. 1669, two female singers received together 6 guilders for singing in Gysbrecht van Aemstel; there were three performances, on 24, 28, and 29 December. On 23/12/1669 two female singers in Aemstel got 11 stuivers, one performance, on 23/3/1669; the female singer got 2 guilders per performance, 2 performances, on 23/3/1669. According to the rules of the guilds, the singer of 6 guilders said:

3. The original Dutch reads: De meerdere in Leendert wonst 2 guilders per 2 singers, 8 stuivers per 10 performances, which makes 14 guilders per performance. Probably her wage was only 15 guilders 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 Siegel 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 Houthaek 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 beklaaglijke dwang* (The Lamentable Force) by Isaak Vos. In *Hester* by Jan Serwouters she played Judith, one of the two children of the Hebrew Azariah. 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 Tengnagel's *Spanne heiden* (Spanish Heather); and in more four plays, a page in *Gedwongen vriend* ('Forced Friend') and in *Don Jeronimo*; a gnome in *Het kaboutermannetje* ('The Gnome') by J. Barents; boy characters in *Teeuwis de Boer* ('Teeuwis the Farmer'), and other farces; a shield-bearer in the sequel to *Geeraerdt van Velsen*; Veerman, 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
Jacob de Ville, who we have seen as a female impersonator and who was Emperor, according to the Ghost of Tengnagel. Jan Soet could have known enough of the other actors. The character of King Figman may have played Prince Dambise before, too, but he earned half as much as de Ville. It is difficult to guess what roles were played by top actor Thomas Keyser, who was such an excellent impersonator. We have seen him as a female impersonator and Jan Soet. Another female role, Queen Phantasilea, could have been played by top actor Isaac Verbiest: we have seen him as a female impersonator in other roles. The roles of the Courtier and the Knights were allocated like this. The roles of the Courtier and the Knights were possibly 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 Pieters 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 Pieterse Bloem. Barend van Hoorn was not present this time, but Cornelis Houtwaec 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. Hooff, 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 Nassauwche huwelijken ('Tableaux Vivants of the Marriages of Nassau'), 1 of Tijje van der Schilden, 1 of Gebroeders, 1 of Casandra, and 1 of Geraert van Velen. 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: Jaspar Bosman, whom the accounts explicitly mention as singing 6 stuivers, and Steven Meulemans (12 stuivers). 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.
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, Jan 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
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. Kossman Nieuwe bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het Nederlandsch toneel (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1915) 91, and Natasha Veldhorst De perfecte verleiding: Muzikale scènes op het Amsterdamse toneel in de zeventiende eeuw (Amsterdam UP, 2004) 192.

Abbreviations

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

LOUIS PETER GRUIJP

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 original music 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

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 Jurriaensz 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 Janz, and in 1663 Annaetje van der Berg; see A. Brulin 'Hoe een varensgezel schulder werd. Hans Jurriaensz 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 Jeuriaens 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, curauwercker (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 411/112) on 28.3.1626, and married for a second time Ariëntje de Breu on 17 February 1646 (DTB 463/66).

BLOEM, JAN PIETERSZ. On 6.8.1653 Jan Pieters 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.
LOUIS PETER GRIP \[bray, Pieter\]. 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.

FELLEBIEER, JAN. On 5.2.1649 Johan Felbier, sailor, 24 years old, gave notice of an intended marriage to Anna Camelis (DTB 467/8). So he must have borne 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, 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 random de Amsterdamse Schouwburg' in Kart Tijverbrijf. Opstellen over Nederlands toneel (vanaf ca 1550), aangebaden aan Mieke B. Smits-Veldt edited W. Abrahamse, A.C.G. Fleurkens, and M. Meijer Drees (Amsterdam: AD & 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 Siera 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.

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 Corneliss 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, TJMEN. 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 Daalen (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 Hendrixsz 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 kermissen 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, schietpoelmaker ('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.
are the Isaack baptised on 4.7.1623, son of Henrick Verbiest and Anneken van Middert; and the Isaack baptised on 22.2.1604, son of Isaack Verbiest and Geertje 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 Base. 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 Ville was baptised in the New Church. On 13.3.1637 his father, the painter [and actor] Gillam de Ville, 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 Ville 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 Ville, 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 WaIte Janssen, living on Handboogstraat, was witness. Markus must have been born about 1629/30.

WILLEM, JUDITH. According to a document of 20 August 1654 cited in Grabowsky and Verkruijsse 'Gadeloos' (1996). Judith Willem 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 Fuiter, as is stated in the document. Jacob Leon declared that Judith had been playing in Styns ende Ariame about 23 years before.
12. The original Dutch reads:

11. Hugo Albert Rennert

8. Kalff

6. 'Ick sprak in 't Faucet, of met een fijne stem, als ick de Koningin vertoonde

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3. on music and dance.

2. 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'.

1. 'Ick sprack in 't Faucet, of met een fijne stem, als ick de Koningin vertoonde

10. The Spanish Stage


6. 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.

5. 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.


3. The performances take place on 2–3 April 1641 inclusive and on 15 July 1641.

2. See also Kossmann Nieuwe bijdragen 131-2.


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:

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13. Daer's de grote Vrouwvertoner, Die tot ouderdom zijn baert

14. The performances take place on 2–3 April 1641 inclusive and on 15 July 1641.

15. The performances take place on 2–3 April 1641 inclusive and on 15 July 1641.

16. R.A. Kollewijn 'Theodore Rodenburgh en Lope de Vega' De Nederlandsch toneel2 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 De Amsterdamse schouwburg: Amsterdamse toneelrepetitie 1617–1665 (Amsterdam: Huis aan de Drie Grachten, 1983).

18. See also Kossmann Nieuwe bijdragen 131-2.

19. Wybrands 'De Amsterdamse schouwburg' 252. Performances on 29 July and 1 August 1658. The roles are Bacchus, Cupido, Venus, and Comus. Possibly this is a version of BRULYSOFFS TAFEL-SPEL, vertoont door CUPIDO, BACCHUS, VENUS, HYMEN, Min- Wijn- en Bruilyfsged, en COMUS, de Brau-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. Meens 'Ick die liefde ben': Venus in het Nederlandse Renaissance toneel tot 1650' in De Stem van Alcione: Opstellen voor prof. dr. Karel Porteman bij zijn emi'tstaat editeerd M. van Vaeck and others (Leuven: Peeters, 2003) 439–57.

20. Speeld wel nakend voor de dochter van de See

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33. Veldhorst De perfecte verleiding 54.


35. In 1642 Tijtsjen vanden Schilde received 3 guilders, specified as 3 dagen tot 1 guilders (43 days at 1 guilder). The wording is unusual: the other actors are paid per ‘time’, not per ‘day’. In 1643 Tijtsjen received only a severing (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 Kossman Nieuwe bijdragen 109, and Malou Nozeman ‘Nozeman, Maria’ in Digital Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland at <http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DVN/lemmata/data/MariaNozeman>. updated 08/03/2007.

37. Except in Dranken Hansje (‘Dranken 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 Baltsasar, an Ethiopian knight; Figman, King of Ethiopia; Panthislas, 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), Cornells Sybrantsz (fl. 1: 10), Jan Robbertsz (fl. 1: 10), Isaac Verbiest (fl. 1: 5), Dirk Coolevt (fl. 1), Leon de Fuyter (fl. 1), Jacob Willemart (12 st.), Barend van Hoorn (12 st.), Jan Pieters 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 Josijn 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.) Houthaek, 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.