



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

'De Storm der Hartstogten Woedt': The works of Johannes Jelgerhuis Rienkszoon as a source of stagecraft for the historically informed performer

Neuman, L.C.

Citation

Neuman, L. C. (2025, December 5). *'De Storm der Hartstogten Woedt': The works of Johannes Jelgerhuis Rienkszoon as a source of stagecraft for the historically informed performer*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4284591>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4284591>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

‘De Storm der Hartstogten Woedt’

The works of Johannes Jelgerhuis Rienkszoon as a source of stagecraft
for the historically informed performer



Laila Cathleen Neuman

Reference information for the engraving on the cover page:
Johannes Jelgerhuis, 'Vrouwelijke personificatie van Theoretica / Bespiegeling' (1785–1836),
etching, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, object number: RP-P-1878-A-2124

‘De Storm der Hartstogten Woedt’

**The works of Johannes Jelgerhuis Rienkszoon as a source of stagecraft
for the historically informed performer**

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van rector magnificus prof. dr. ir. H. Bijl,
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties
te verdedigen op vrijdag 5 december 2025
klokke 10:00 uur

door
Laila Cathleen Neuman
geboren te Amstelveen (Nederland)
in 1980

Promotor

Prof. dr. Marcel Cobussen

Co-promotores

Dr. Jed Wentz

Dr. Terry Robinson

University of Toronto

Promotiecommissie:

Prof. dr. Jaap de Jong

Prof. dr. Dinko Fabris

Prof. dr. Michael Burdon

Prof. Tiffany Stern

New College, Oxford

University of Birmingham

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
MOTIVATION	1
RESEARCH SUBJECT	1
RESEARCH QUESTIONS	4
SOURCES	4
Scope and scale of the sources consulted	4
International sources	6
Literature and research on Dutch theatre history	6
Translation problem Jelgerhuis	8
Previous practical work on Jelgerhuis	8
METHOD OF INVESTIGATION	9
On documenting practice-based research	10
Evaluation of the techniques in progress	10
Spoken text versus singing	11
Reliability of the sources	11
From the historical page to today's stage, studio, and classroom	12
HISTORICALLY INFORMED PERFORMANCE PRACTICE (HIPP)	12
Terminology	12
Different styles	13
My training and professional experience in the field of HIPP	14
HIPP: research and education	14
STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS	17
Part One	17
Jelgerhuis, the interdisciplinary artist	
Part Two	17
Stagecraft based on and inspired by information in Jelgerhuis's sources	
KEY	19

Part One, Chapter 1, The works of Johannes Jelgerhuis 21

TERMS AND DEFINITIONS	21
1.1. JELGERHUIS - THE PAINTER	23
1.2.1 <i>Schilderachtig</i> and the <i>schildery</i>	25
1.2.2 <i>Contrast</i>	26
1.2.3 <i>Attitude</i>	27
1.2.4 <i>Welstand</i>	29
1.2. JELGERHUIS - THE COSTUME DESIGNS	34
1.3.1 <i>Waarheid</i>	35
1.3.2 Costume reform	36
1.3.3 The scholar	40
1.3.4 Jelgerhuis's costumes	40
1.3.5 Unpublished costume designs	41
1.3. ACTING STYLES: PAST - PRESENT - FUTURE	45
1.4.1 Repertoire and the purpose of the theatre	46
1.4.2 Developments in acting style	47
1.4.3 'Naturalness', 'ease', and 'gracefulness'	48
1.4.4 Jelgerhuis on Dutch, English, and French stage practices, 1811–1817	53
1.5. JELGERHUIS, THE ACTOR	55
1.5.1 Jelgerhuis's acting described by others	56
1.5.2 Jelgerhuis's acting described by himself: <i>Toneel Studien</i>	58
1.5.3 <i>Toneel Studien</i> and <i>Tonneel Stúdien</i> : two versions	59
1.5.4 School for civilization and the preparation of a role	60
1.5.5 Soliloquies and the fourth wall	61
1.6 JELGERHUIS, THE TEACHER	64
1.6.1 The purpose of an acting school and education	65
1.6.2 Timeline	66
1.6.3 Jelgerhuis's aspirations for an acting school, 1808–1821	67
1.6.4 <i>Consepten</i> , c. 1820–1821	69
1.6.5 Comparisons	70
1.6.7 <i>Theoretische lessen</i> , 1824–1830	70
1.6.8 The Amsterdamse Toneelschool and Jelgerhuis's legacy, 1874	73
1.7 CONCLUSION	75
1.7.1 International context	75
1.7.2 Theory and practice	75

Part Two, Chapter 2, *Theoretische lessen* in practice

77

2.1	NATURE PERFECTED: IMAGINATION, NATURALNESS, AND <i>WELSTAND</i>	80
2.2	TWO BASIC EXERCISES: <i>THEORETISCHE LESSEN</i> , CHAPTER 9	82
2.2.1	Guidelines to plates 20 and 21 on gesticulation	83
2.2.2	Jelgerhuis's guide to plate 20, on gesticulation in tragedy	87
2.2.3	Jelgerhuis's guide to plate 21, on gesticulation in comedy	89
2.2.4	The basic tragedy series: T 1–11	91
2.2.5	The basic comedy series: C 1–8	92
2.2.6	Character: age, sex, social status, circumstance	94
2.3	TEACHING	96
2.3.1	Variations	99
2.3.2	Exercises with two people or more	102
2.3.2.a	The regisseur	102
2.3.2.b	Attitudes <i>en scene</i> with entrances and exits	102
2.3.2.c	Exercise for entrances, exits, and attitudes	104
2.3.3	Hybrid exercises	104
2.3.3.a	Aaron Hill	105
2.3.3.b	Gilbert Austin: The sculpting exercise	106
2.3.3.c	Charles Le Brun – Sebastiaan Le Clerc: The passion challenge	107
2.3.4	The imagination: training the mental storehouse	108
2.3.5	Singing, speaking, and working in silence	108
2.3.6	Time Frame and development	109
2.4	PLATE 20 IN HISTORICAL EUROPEAN CONTEXT	109
2.5	CREATING THE PASSIONATE ATTITUDES SERIES	114
2.5.1	Choice and order of the images	117
2.5.2	Facial expression challenge	118
2.5.3	The passionate attitude series	120
2.5.4	Stage right and stage left	122
2.6	CONCLUSION	123
2.6.1	How to keep the attitudes from becoming static?	123
2.6.2	Imagination - emotion - breath - direction - transition	123
2.6.3	Creating a role	124
2.6.4	Balancing identification and passions	124
2.6.5	Reflection on the borders of <i>welstand</i>	125
2.6.6	Coda	127

Chapter 3, case study 1

Staging Siméon: the manuscript *Toneel Studien* in practice 129

3.1	TONEELSTUDIEN, THE FIFTH STUDY: SIMÉON IN CONTEXT	130
3.1.1	<i>Omasis, of Jozef in Egypte</i> , Synopsis	130
3.1.2	Jelgerhuis's creation of Siméon	131
3.2	ANALYSIS OF JELGERHUIS'S ACTING STYLE	135
3.2.1	Direct references to lines from the play text	136
3.2.2	Jelgerhuis's own interpretation of the character	138
3.2.3	Emotions / passions	140
3.2.4	The voice: declamation, vocal colour, volume, and pitch	141
3.2.5	Notes on the physical: eye movements, gestures, and so on	143
3.2.6	Indications concerning blocking	143
3.2.7	Remaining information	145
3.3	METHODOLOGY AND COMPASS	146
3.3.1	Training versus performance	146
3.3.2	From page to practice and back again	148
3.3.3	The project's participants	149
3.3.4	Preparatory research	149
3.3.5	Poetic metre	150
3.3.6	Limitations regarding costumes and theatre sets	151
3.3.7	Reviews	154
3.3.8	The role of 'staging guide' explained	156
3.4	THE STAGING PROCESS	157
3.4.1	Act III, Scene 5	157
3.4.2	Volume	159
3.4.3	Preparation for Scenes 3 and 4	161
3.4.4	Training	161
3.4.5	Working online	163
3.4.6	<i>Theoretische lessen</i> and the manuscript complement each other	163
3.4.7	Staging examples: Act III, Scene 3	164
3.4.8	Staging examples: Act III, Scene 4	170
3.5	RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	172
3.5.1	Building blocks	173
3.5.2	Unity: the imagination, images, and the mental archive	174
3.5.3	Dissimulation, the audience, emotion versus technique	175
3.5.4	Declamation	175
3.5.5	Results of the training	176
3.6	CONCLUSION	178

Chapter 4, case study 2

Jelgerhuis extended: staging *Proserpina*

179

4.1	PREPARATION	182
4.1.1	Stage indications in other melodramas	183
4.1.2	Images and text	184
4.1.3	Training 1	186
4.1.4	Training 2	187
4.2	ATTITUDES AS AN ART FORM: EMMA HAMILTON, HENRIETTE HENDEL-SCHÜTZ, AND IDA BRUN	190
4.2.1	Stage attitudes	192
4.2.2	Artistic attitudes	193
4.2.3	Training 3: Artistic attitudes and costume practice	195
4.3	THE COSTUME	197
4.4	QUALITIES OF MOVEMENT	206
4.4.1	Dance-like movements	207
4.4.2	'Nobly-moving' quality	212
4.5	THE MUSIC	212
4.5.1	Orchestration	213
4.5.2	Collaboration and aim	213
4.5.3	Emotion and movement, timing and delivery	214
4.5.4	Turning inward in moments of transition	215
4.5.5	Imagination and atmosphere	216
4.5.6	The manuscript and the <i>Proserpina</i> edition	216
4.6	TWO VENUES: THE STAGE AND THE PERFORMANCE	218
4.6.1	The first venue	218
4.6.2	The second venue	220
4.6.3	Audience	222
4.7	FUTURE RESEARCH	223
4.8	REFLECTION ON NINETEENTH-CENTURY SOURCES IN PERFORMANCE PRACTICE TODAY	224

Conclusion	225
Bringing manuscript and manual together	226
Historically informed acting techniques in 21 st -century research and performance practice	228
Unlocking the potential of attitudes and transitions	228
<i>Welstand</i> and <i>contrast</i> in practice	229
Naturalness and adaptability	229
Bodily <i>contrast</i> , <i>welstand</i> , and confidence	230
Historical acting education: past - present - future	230
Future development of my training material	231
Order and methodology	231
Pitfalls and proposed solutions	232
Perfecting and perfectionism	233
Coda	233
 References	 235
Sources before 1900	235
Plays	240
Works of art, prints, objects	241
Sources after 1900	243
 Appendices	 250
Appendix A	250
Appendix B	257
Appendix C	280
Appendix D	282
Appendix E	286
Appendix F	298
Appendix G	305
Appendix H	311
Appendix I	314
 Acknowledgements	 321
Summary	322
Samenvatting	324
Curriculum Vitae	326

Introduction

MOTIVATION

During one of my first lessons on acting techniques based on historical sources, I suddenly envisioned a contract (floating in mid-air) with the sentence ‘I will do this for the rest of my life’: all I had to do, was sign with a small red cross. In my imagination, I signed.

Far from wanting to present this memory as a predictive event (clearly, the rest of my life may still turn out very differently), I believe I remember this somewhat unusual occurrence because it was indicative of a pivotal time in my trajectory as a performer. The lessons opened my eyes to a set of tools for expression on-stage — tools that I had longed for (and needed) during my previous singing studies but never received. Until this point, I had known *what* I wanted to express (musically and physically) but not *how*.

A few years later, while gaining experience on-stage as a performer, my enthusiasm for historically informed acting techniques united with my passion for Dutch literature during a series of group readings of Johannes Jelgerhuis’s acting manual *Theoretische Lessen over de Gesticulatie en Mimiek* of 1827–1829. As I started to assess the oeuvre of this actor/painter and realized how much was left unpublished and undiscussed (most likely because it is in Dutch), I wanted to contribute to the dissemination of his work and explore how the study of his works could enrich the stage practice of myself and others.

RESEARCH SUBJECT

Johannes Jelgerhuis Rienkzoon (1770–1836) was a Dutch painter, draughtsman, educator, and a member of the acting company at the Koninklijke Hollandsche Schouwburg (the main theatre in Amsterdam, hereafter referred to as the Amsterdam Schouwburg) from 1805 until the year of his death.¹ The skills and experience garnered from his various professions are discernible throughout his oeuvre, published and unpublished, which includes paintings, sketches, illustrated journals, notebooks and, most famously, a treatise entitled: *Theoretische lessen over de gesticulatie en mimiek* (Theoretical Lessons on Gesticulation and Facial Expression) published between 1827 and 1829.² This handbook contains the material Jelgerhuis presented in his lessons at the school for aspiring

¹ This theatre, built on the Leidseplein in 1774 and destroyed by fire in 1890, has had various names, including Nederduitsche Schouwburg, Amsterdamsche Nationaale Stadsschouwburg, simply Stadsschouwburg, and its nickname ‘*De houten kas*’. For more information on this theatre, see Nicolette Sluijter-Seijffert, ‘De Amsterdamse schouwburg van 1774’, in *Oud Holland – Journal for Art of the Low Countries*, 90/1 (1976), 21–64.

² Johannes Jelgerhuis RZ, *Theoretische lessen over de gesticulatie en mimiek, gegeven aan de kweekelingen van het fonds ter opleiding en onderrigting van tooneel-kunstenaars aan den stads schouwburg te Amsterdam; door J. Jelgerhuis, RZ. Acteur, en lid van het fonds aan voornoemden schouwburg, en van de koninklijke academie der beeldende kunsten aldaar* (Amsterdam: P. Meyer Warnars, 1827–1829). I will hereafter refer to Jelgerhuis’s treatise as *Theoretische lessen*.

young actors connected with the Amsterdam Schouwburg. Both the text and the illustrations are by Jelgerhuis himself. The text discusses theoretical aspects of stagecraft from basic acting tools to stage perspective and costume design. Unlike the authors of other important treatises of the period, such as Johann Jakob Engel's *Ideen zu einer Mimik* (1785, translated into Dutch by Jan Konijnenburg in 1790–1791, and into English by Henry Siddons in 1807) and Gilbert Austin's *Chironomia* (1806), the author and illustrator of the *Theoretische lessen* was both a professional actor and a painter.³ The *Theoretische lessen* is a well-known reference source in scholarly work on (Dutch) historical theatre practices, and a practical source for many present-day performers and stage directors working with historically informed acting techniques. Jelgerhuis's manuscripts and annotated costume designs, however, have received comparatively less attention than the *Theoretische lessen*: only a few have been published in languages other than Dutch, and most remain largely unknown outside of the Netherlands. Yet they reveal information that can contribute to a better understanding of Jelgerhuis's overall approach to acting and teaching. While in the *Theoretische lessen* Jelgerhuis teaches theoretical aspects of acting, he refrains from giving practical acting advice, which would overlap with the individual lessons on acting practice taught by the other teachers. Thus, the connection between the theory and the application of this theory is missing. Jelgerhuis's *Theoretische lessen* deals with acting without mentioning, for instance, declamation. Similarly, there is no indication of how to organize the timing of one's gestures to the spoken word. These and other examples of aspects of acting that the treatise does not touch upon, or barely touches upon, include:

- declamation (vocal contrast, volume, colour, articulation, pauses, timing)
- timing: word to gesture
- quality of execution (flowing or emphatic, quick or slow, and so on)
- blocking and interaction with other actors
- implementing of attitudes in the context of a scene on-stage
- use of imagination
- the creation of a character and the preparation of a role
- a mention of softer, more positive passions (such as longing and hope)
- the use of costume in practice (for instance of a mantle or a veil)

These aspects of acting are as pivotal for understanding the acting style in Jelgerhuis's time as the topics Jelgerhuis has described in his *Theoretische lessen*. Moreover, an acting style in which the above-listed components are absent is likely to focus too much on the visual because the links with the text, the interpretation, and the imagination are missing. In other words, stage practitioners who rely too closely on the *Theoretische lessen* without knowledge of Jelgerhuis's other works, risk creating a role or an entire staging more from the outside in than from the inside out. This is where

³ See Johann Jakob Engel, *Ideen zu einer Mimik von J. J. Engel* (Berlin, August Mylius, 1785), transl. into Dutch by Jan Konijnenburg as *De kunst van nabootzing door gebaarden; door J. J. Engel*, 2 vols (Haarlem: J. van Walré, 1790–1791 [the preface to the second volume is dated Amsterdam 1791]). See also Gilbert Austin, *Chironomia; or, a treatise on rhetorical delivery: comprehending many precepts, both ancient and modern, for the proper regulation of the voice, the countenance, and gesture [...]* (London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, In the Strand; by W. Bulmer, and co.: Cleveland-Row, St James's, 1806).

his manuscripts and annotated costume designs can help. Taken as an inclusive whole, Jelgerhuis's oeuvre provides an opportunity to combine theoretical with didactic and personal material, written and drawn by the same actor. It is in Jelgerhuis's (partly unpublished) manuscripts that he casts light on aspects of stagecraft that he does not discuss in his treatise.

Three of his illustrated journals — *Schetzende Herinneringen* (1811), *Iets over het Engelsche Toneel* (1814), and *Beschouwingen* (1817) — document his observations of acting companies from France, England, and The Hague, and indicate several points of comparison with his own acting company.⁴ Two other documents — Jelgerhuis's 'Antwoord op de vraag' (1808) and his *Consepten* (c. 1821) — reveal Jelgerhuis's ideals and ambitions regarding improvements for the theatre and the acting practice on the Amsterdam stage, including his ideas for an acting school.⁵ The most telling manuscript, however, as regards Jelgerhuis's personal acting style, is his illustrated autograph manuscript *Toneel Studien* of 1811, in which he describes his own creative processes and interpretations of roles he performed at the Amsterdam Schouwburg.⁶ Documenting in detail the preparation, thoughts, and emotions at the heart of his craft, Jelgerhuis's *Toneel Studien* is essential for a more complete understanding of his way of performing. Using the information in this

⁴ Johannes Jelgerhuis Rzn, *Schetzende Herinneringen van de Representatie: gegeven in October 1811 door de Fransche Acteurs en Actrices Talma, Damas, Duchinois, en Bourgoin op het Hollandsche Toneel te Amsterdam. Waargenomen door J: Jelgerhuis Rzn Hollandsch Acteur, Ter Gelegendheid dat de fransche Keijzer Napoleon Zig in de stad Amsterdam bevond* (1811), manuscript, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection BK-B-10-A. This manuscript has been published posthumously by Ben Albach as “de volmaakste Acteur, die ik tot nog toe zag...” *Schetzende herinneringen van de representatie: gegeven in October 1811, door de Fransche acteurs en actrices Talma, Duchinois, en Bourgoin op het Hollandsche Tooneel te Amsterdam* [.] *Waargenomen door I: Jelgerhuis RZN Hollandsch acteur ter gelegenheid dat de Fransche Keijzer Napoleon zig in de stad Amsterdam bevond*, introduction and annotations by Ben Albach, in *Scenarium* 10, ed. by E. Alexander, R. L. Erenstein and W. Hoogendoorn (Amsterdam: Nederlands Theater Instituut, 1985). For the manuscript of 1814, see Johannes Jelgerhuis Rz. *Iets over het Engelsche Toneel waargenoomen in de maanden Meij en Junij 1814, Door J: Jelgerhuis Rz. Hollandsch Acteur. — . te Amsterdam* (1814), manuscript, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson - The Collections of the University of Amsterdam, IV D 23 (no page numbers). For 1817, see *Beschouwingen door J. Jelgerhuis RZ. Hollandsch Acteur* (1817), manuscript, Amsterdam Municipal Archives, 15030, 2893 (no page numbers).

⁵ The location of the 1808 original document is unknown, but the text was published posthumously in 1877, abridged and provided with an introduction and afterword by Floris van Westervoort as 'Antwoord op de vraag: Welke was de verleden staat van het Nederlandsch Tooneel; welke is de tegenwoordige, en welke zoude die behooren te zijn? 1 Januarij 1808', ed. by Floris van Westervoort, in *Noord- en Zuid- Nederlandsche Tooneel-Almanak voor 1877*, onder redactie van N. Donker (Amsterdam: G. Theod. Bom, 1877), 104–126. For *Consepten*, see, Johannes Jelgerhuis, *Consepten. - . van opvoeding voor den tans voorhanden zijnde kwekeling. In toepassing te brengen voor Anderen* [.] *Ontworpen voor t genootschap van welsprekenheid te Amsterdam. en gesteld in handen des bestuurs. door J: Jelgerhuis Rz*, (c. 1821), manuscript, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, 31 Bp 12. For a transcription and an English translation of this document, see Appendix G.

⁶ Johannes Jelgerhuis Rz, *Toneel Studien Bevattende Ontwikkelingen der Gedachten van Onderscheydene Toneel Studien Welke slegts tot op de helft van het Voorgenomen plan zijn afgeschreeven door den Hollandschen Toneel Speeler J: Jelgerhuis Rz. Dezelven zijn meestal geschreeven by ziekte mijner huisgenoten, en zittende tot derzelver oppassing en gezelschap* (1811), manuscript, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, BK-B-10.

manuscript and other Jelgerhuis manuscripts to supplement the *Theoretische lessen* both in scholarly work and in productions using historically informed performance practice is long overdue.

By engaging with a selection of Jelgerhuis's sources through analysis, comparison, and artistic practice, I aim to cast light on the lesser-known side of Jelgerhuis's techniques and acting style, and to investigate how actors today can make use of Jelgerhuis's manuscripts in historically informed performance (HIP). My original contribution to knowledge and a key objective of my research is to bring a selection of unpublished material from Jelgerhuis' theatrical legacy to the attention of a wider public and to demonstrate how the study of Jelgerhuis's manuscripts can inform the interpretation of the *Theoretische lessen* and enrich current HIP practice theoretically and practically. To this end, I have formulated the following questions to guide my research trajectory:

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. How can a study of Johannes Jelgerhuis's lesser-known works add to a more complete understanding of Jelgerhuis's treatise *Theoretische lessen*, of his approach to acting and of his acting style, and how can this contribute in turn to historically informed performance practices?
2. How can a physical and mental training following the *Theoretische lessen* and the study of Jelgerhuis's other works add to my own artistic practice, both during the preparation process and in performance?
3. Which acting tools can I develop from such training, and how can I make them available and useful to other performers?

The following chapters present my study of Jelgerhuis's oeuvre from various angles, organized in such a way as to guide the reader in a logical sequence from the page, to training, to performance. I begin with a preliminary research and contextualization (Chapter 1); move to training and exercises (Chapter 2); and provide analyses and discuss the outcomes of training, staging, research, and performance carried out in two case studies (Chapters 3 and 4). Although presented separately in this dissertation, these topics are linked not only by the sources behind the research but also by the interdisciplinary nature both of Jelgerhuis's professions and my practice-based research.

SOURCES

Scope and scale of the sources consulted

In order to keep the focus in this dissertation on my objectives concerning acting and teaching practices, I do not discuss Jelgerhuis's entire oeuvre. For those interested in an overview, I refer to a catalogue of 1970, which accompanied an exhibition on Jelgerhuis and his works in the Netherlands. This catalogue lists more than three hundred paintings, drawings, sketches, and

engravings, as well as his written works and personal documents.⁷ To explain my selection of the material, I have divided Jelgerhuis's work into six parts:

1. personal documents (including letters, diplomas, and poems)
2. paintings, drawings and engravings (of interiors, church interiors, landscapes, and so on)
3. costume designs (published and unpublished)
4. analytical and education-related items, published and unpublished (such as his *Studiën van klederdragen* (undated), *Consepten* (c. 1821), the document 'Antwoord op de vraag' of 1808, and the treatise of 1827–1829⁸)
5. the illustrated manuscript *Toneel Studien* of 1811
6. four comparative illustrated journals of 1811, 1814, 1816, and 1817 (journals in which Jelgerhuis is confronted with other theatre companies, foreign theatre practices, other countries, and so on)

I have transcribed nearly all of the unpublished manuscripts and have studied Jelgerhuis's written work (i.e., not all paintings and illustrations), but I here focus mainly on points 2–5: the works most closely related to Jelgerhuis's own performance practice and teaching. To chase down, for instance, the vast collection of paintings, engravings, and other artworks held in various locations throughout the Netherlands was beyond the scope of the present study. The comparative journals concern Jelgerhuis's experience of witnessing the performances of other visiting acting companies – from France (1811), England (1814), The Hague (1817) – and a tour to Belgium (1816).⁹ These four manuscripts contain valuable information for comparison between Jelgerhuis's acting style and the performance practices of others, and have, in part, already resulted in research and publications by theatre historians Ben Albach, Sylvie Chevalley, and others (including myself).¹⁰ Where Jelgerhuis is confronted with comparison (hence the phrase 'comparative journals'), his

⁷ *Johannes Jelgerhuis rzn. acteur-schilder, 1779–1836*, ed. by A. G. Schulte (Nijmegen: Nijmeegs Museum Voor Schone Kunsten, 1969).

⁸ Johannes Jelgerhuis Rienkzoon, *Studiën van klederdragen voor alle tyden en volken tot nazigt van den Tooneelspeler of Kunstschilder verzameld door J. Jelgerhuis Rzn.* (n.d.), portfolio, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, t000725.000.

⁹ For the full reference to these manuscripts, see Appendix H.

¹⁰ For 1811 (*Schetzende Herinneringen*), see for instance, Sylvie Chevalley, 'Politique et Théâtre. Une visite impériale en Hollande en 1811', in *Revue d'Histoire du Théâtre*, 152 (Paris: Société d'histoire du théâtre, 1986–4), pp. 370–394. For 1814, see Albach, 'A Dutch Actor's Experiences with English Theatre in Amsterdam, May-July 1814', in *Western Popular Theatre*, ed. by David Mayer and Kenneth Richards, transl. by Mrs. E. de Wijs-Maher (London/New York: Methuen 1977), pp. 75–90. For the manuscript of 1816, see Antoine Everard D'Ailly, 'Ryze door Brabant A° 1816 Antwerpen, Gent, Brussel', preface by A. E. d'Ailly, in *Historia, maandschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 4 (1938) pp. 80–94. For a short article on the 1816 manuscript, see E. Tas (possibly the historian and journalist Eva Tas), 'Een reis van den schilder-acteur Jelgerhuis' Aantekeningen gehouden op eene Ryze naar Brabant in den jaare 1816 verrijkt met de noodige schetzen. Te Antwerpen, voorts naar Gent en Brussel en terug naar Holland, door J. Jelgerhuis Rzn., Hollands Acteur', in *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 54 (1939), 485–488. For a comparison between the manuscripts of 1811, 1814, and 1817, see Laila Neuman, 'Three Jelgerhuis Manuscripts', in *The Stage and its Creative Processes*, 1, ed. by Sabine Chaouche, special issue in *European Drama and Performance Studies*, 13 (2019–2), 115–141.

writing at times reveals strong opinions, emotional reactions, and changes of opinion. To understand and interpret these reactions and changes fully, these manuscripts require a thorough study all their own, as they must be supported by background information and clarification on many levels of Jelgerhuis's life, including the politics of his time, his financial situation, professional recognition, and his personal taste.¹¹ I consider this needed in-depth analysis as well as the comparison with other acting companies as a step to be taken after the current study. By prioritizing Jelgerhuis's educational and personal documents, I work with a portion of his oeuvre in which his opinions and ideas remain more stable through time: this includes Jelgerhuis's own acting style as described by himself, most of which has not yet reached an international audience.

International sources

My choices regarding the scope of this study allowed only for a minimal amount of comparison of Jelgerhuis's works and acting style with documentation on foreign actors, their acting styles, and international treatises on acting. Although I have consulted European acting treatises and essays, such as Goethe's *Regeln für Schauspieler* (1803), and Aaron Hill's 'An Essay on the art of Acting' (1753), I only refer to international sources when directly relevant to the content proposed in the following chapters.¹² Where possible, I prioritize examples from sources on painting and acting to which Jelgerhuis himself refers. Given that Jelgerhuis did not know any foreign languages well, these are works originally written in Dutch (such as Gerard de Lairese's *Het Groot Schilderboek* [of 1707]) and Dutch translations to which Jelgerhuis had access (for instance, of Engel's *Ideen zu einer Mimik* [1785], and Le Brun's *Methode pour apprendre a dessiner les Passions* [1702]).¹³

Literature and research on Dutch theatre history

The literature on Dutch theatre history includes overviews as well as works dedicated to specific periods. *Een theater geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, for instance, edited by theatre historian Robert Lambertus Erenstein, covers a period of more than ten centuries, whereas Ben Albach's publications feature both overviews and various specific theatre-related topics, ranging from the

¹¹ Ben Albach, for instance, suggests that Jelgerhuis censored his own writings for political reasons in Albach, "de volmaakste Acteur", pp. 20, 23.

¹² See *Regeln für Schauspieler* in *Goethes Werke*, WA 1.40 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1901), 139–168. This manual was not published until 1824: the *Regeln* were put together in 1803 by the two actors Karl Franz Gruner and Pius Alexander Wolff, and later edited and published with Goethe's permission. See Claudia Streim, *Historisierende Bühnenpraxis im 19. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2018), p. 53. For Hill's essay, see Aaron Hill, 'An Essay on the Art of Acting', in *The Works of the Late Aaron Hill, esq; in four volumes, consisting of Letters on Various Subjects, and of Original Poems, Moral and Facetious* [...], 4 vols (London: printed for the benefit of the family, 1753), 4, pp. 353–414.

¹³ Gerard de Lairese, *Het Groot Schilderboek door Gerard de Lairese* [...] 2 vols (Amsterdam: By de Erfgenamen van Willem de Coup, op 't Rokkin, bij de Valbrug, 1707). See also Charles Le Brun, *Methode pour apprendre a dessiner les Passions* (1702), translation into Dutch by François de Kaarsgieter as *Afbeelding der Hertstochten, of middelen om dezelve volkomen te leeren afteekenen, door de Heer Le Brun* (Amsterdam: François van-der Plaats, 1703); and see Engel, *De kunst van nabootzing*, transl. Konijnenburg.

sixteenth century to 1945 and beyond.¹⁴ Anna de Haas, specialized in eighteenth-century Dutch theatre, presented her research in her doctoral dissertation ‘De wetten van het treurspel: Over ernstig toneel in Nederland, 1700–1772’. The latter date in this title marks the year in which the Amsterdam theatre on the Keizersgracht (1665–1772) burned down.¹⁵ The title of historian and literary critic Jacob Adolf Worp’s *Geschiedenis van den Amsterdamschen schouwburg; 1496–1772* also featured the year 1772 as an important landmark in Dutch theatre history; his work was later extended to 1872 by literary scholar Johannes Franciscus Maria Sterck.¹⁶ There is, therefore, ample material preceding, throughout, and following Jelgerhuis’s career at the newly built Amsterdam Schouwburg on the Leidseplein (1774–1890) to provide context for my research. To remain within the scope of this dissertation, I thankfully build on the knowledge they provide, and mention only the actors and acting practices of the Keizersgracht theatre when relevant.

The life and oeuvre of Johannes Jelgerhuis have been ably discussed by historians such as Antoine Everard d’Ailly and theatre historian Ben Albach, but many of these works are written in Dutch and are out of print.¹⁷ Alfred Siemon Golding’s translation into English of Jelgerhuis’s *Theoretische lessen* is the most complete.¹⁸ Smaller parts of Jelgerhuis’s works have been published in English by Albach, Barnett, George W. Brandt and Wiebe Hogendoorn; and in French by Sylvie Chevalley.¹⁹ My addition to these secondary sources consists in the comparison, contextualization, and translation of portions selected from Jelgerhuis’s oeuvre, including a full transcription and translation of Jelgerhuis’s unpublished document *Consepten* in Chapter 1.

¹⁴ *Een theatergeschiedenis der Nederlanden: tien eeuwen drama en theater in Nederland en Vlaanderen*, ed. by Robert Lambertus Erenstein (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996). For an overview of the titles by Albach used in this treatise, see the bibliography.

¹⁵ Anna S. de Haas, ‘De wetten van het treurspel: Over ernstig toneel in Nederland, 1700–1772’, doctoral dissertation, University of Amsterdam (1997).

¹⁶ Jacob Adolf Worp, *Geschiedenis van den Amsterdamschen schouwburg; 1496–1772, uitgegeven met aanvulling tot 1872 door Johannes F. M. Sterck* (Amsterdam: van Looy, 1920).

¹⁷ See Antoine Everard D’Ailly, ‘Johannes Jelgerhuis Rienksz’, in *Vijf en dertigste Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, 35 (1938), 221–251. See also Ben Albach, *Helden, Draken en Comedianen: Het Nederlandse toneelleven voor, in en na de Franse tijd* (Amsterdam: Holland, 1956).

¹⁸ Golding, Alfred Siemon, *Classicistic Acting: Two Centuries of a Performance Tradition at the Amsterdam Schouwburg: to which is Appended an Annotated Translation of the ‘Lessons on the Principles of Gesticulation and Mimic Expression’ of Johannes Jelgerhuis*, Rç (Lanham: University Press of America, 1984).

¹⁹ For translations in English, see, for instance, Albach, ‘A Dutch Actor’s Experiences’, pp. 75–90; and see George W. Brandt, Wiebe Hogendoorn, *German and Dutch Theatre, 1600–1848* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008). See also Dene Barnett, *The Art of Gesture: The practices and principles of 18th century acting*, with the assistance of Jeanette Massy-Westropp (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1987). Barnett also published five articles between 1977 and 1980 as ‘The Performance Practice of Acting: The Eighteenth Century’, parts I–V, in *Theatre Research International*. For translated sections of the 1811 *Schettzende Herinneringen* manuscript into French, see Chevalley, ‘Politique et Théâtre’.

Translation problem Jelgerhuis

Jelgerhuis's writing is in some places grammatically unclear, resulting in occasionally debatable translations, as certain passages or words could be interpreted in several ways. This problem is increased by the lack of and/or inconsistent punctuation. In order to stay as closely as possible to the original text, I have prioritized the exact meaning of Jelgerhuis's words or phrases over grammar, which occasionally results in a slightly awkward English translation. In order to assure transparency in this matter (and to avoid any misunderstanding) I therefore provide the Dutch text of each translation, either in the main text or in the footnotes, as well as explanatory notes in case of doubts of my own as to the interpretation and translation of a word or sentence. Examples of frequently recurring words of which the meaning is debatable are the noun '*voorstelling*', which can mean either 'representation' or 'imagination', but also performance, presentation, or exhibition, and its verb '*voorstellen*' (to represent or to imagine). Even within the context of Jelgerhuis's writing, it is unclear whether he speaks of, for instance, imagining a certain action on-stage or representing it on-stage. Another word which still puzzles me is '*denkebeelden*' (thoughts, mental images, ideas), as I do not always know which meaning Jelgerhuis intends. I have dedicated a portion of Chapter 1 to the explanation in context of other Dutch words which I deem important to this thesis. The challenge of translating Jelgerhuis's works is also apparent in Alfred Siemon Golding's translation of Jelgerhuis's treatise *Theoretische lessen*. Given the difficulty of translating Jelgerhuis, I appreciate Golding's important work: it is beautifully written and he made Jelgerhuis's treatise accessible to an international audience. Readable as it is, however, Golding's translation is problematical, as it is not always correct.²⁰ In most cases I therefore decided to translate the passages from the *Theoretische lessen* myself, prioritizing the literal meaning of the text.²¹

Previous practical work on Jelgerhuis

My staging project described in the first case study is not the first attempt to transform inspiration based on Jelgerhuis's works into a physical outcome. The Allard Pierson theatre collection in Amsterdam holds audio and video material dating back to 1969/1970, coinciding with the exhibition on Johannes Jelgerhuis and his works mentioned above.²² Following an introduction about Jelgerhuis, the video features two performers, Robert Prager and Karina Holla, acting out examples of six plates in the *Theoretische lessen*. Prager can also be seen in a short sequence in a costume based on Jelgerhuis's illustration of Koning Lear.²³ These examples last only a few seconds

²⁰ For an example of Golding's translation and my own solution, see section 1.2.4 on '*welstand*' in Chapter 1.

²¹ I am thankful and much indebted to Julia Muller for her help with this difficult task.

²² This was to my knowledge the largest exhibition about Jelgerhuis and his works to date. Held in Nijmegen, Leiden, and Amsterdam, its content varied in each location, and the three exhibitions together lasted from 8 December 1969 to 1 April 1970. See the exhibition catalogue, *Johannes Jelgerhuis rzn. acteur-schilder* (1969).

²³ The video material was most likely part of this exhibition. The actors give an embodied presentation based on Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, plates 5, 10, 11, 14, 33, and 42. For the video,

each, and I have not found any documentation of the methodology or embodiment process of the performers. Stage directors and performers have also used the *Theoretische lessen* alongside other treatises on acting such as Gilbert Austin's *Chironomia*, French sources, and costume designs as a source of inspiration for historically informed performance including dance, opera, and plays. The current dissertation, therefore, is not the first attempt to engage with Jelgerhuis's works as a source for theatre practice, but it is to my knowledge the first to offer an in-depth analysis and documentation, both on paper and in practice, of Jelgerhuis' acting style, based on his unpublished works and treatise against the backdrop of Jelgerhuis's professions and ideals.

METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

Throughout all four chapters, I compare and contextualize Jelgerhuis's oeuvre against other primary and secondary sources. In Chapters 2–4 on stagecraft, this research alternates with practice-based research (physical training, stage experience, exchange/interaction/discussions with colleagues, and teaching). My method of investigation includes periods in which various processes alternate and overlap, while I remain receptive to new questions arising. This flexible approach leaves room, during the periods of experimentation, for different types of knowledge (tacit knowledge, informed intuition, information from the sources, and so on) to feed into each other.²⁴ The order of these processes vary, depending on the topic, and can entail, for instance: reading and/or analysing the source, formulating a question, imitation/experimentation/creation, observation/reflexion (often resulting in new questions or new insights regarding the source), (re-)consultation of the sources, repetition or (re-)creation. I read and accumulated information during the entire research process, and added newly acquired ideas or information directly as input for experimentation. This approach to studying Jelgerhuis's oeuvre allowed and still allows me to challenge my earlier conceptions of past theatre practices and my interpretation of the *Theoretische lessen*, in particular. It happens time and again, for instance, that I return to the treatise with new

see Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, VB 1910 (there are three different video fragments on this video; I refer to the first 4'44 minutes <https://theatercollectie.uva.nl/Details/audioVisuals/300129897> (accessed 7 December 2024). The costume and movements for Koning Lear were probably based on Johannes Jelgerhuis, 'Zelfportret van Johannes Jelgerhuis als waanzinnige Koning Lear', Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, (1805), t000785.000, GD3-36. Jelgerhuis played Koning Lear in the Dutch version by Maria Geertruid de Cambon, after the French adaptation by Jean-François Ducis of William Shakespeare's original play. See Shakespeare, *Koning Lear* [...], transl. De Cambon, 2nd edn ('s Gravenhage: Leeuwenstyn, 1791).

²⁴ By tacit and/or embodied knowledge I refer to situations in which the body finds solutions (on-stage or in practice) that I had not foreseen, or when I can show my students how to perform a certain physical manoeuvre before being able to explain it verbally. I use the words informed intuition to indicate similar unforeseen (not planned by myself) creative solutions, ideas, or actions on or offstage, in which the mind is more present and aware. This form of intuition can include combinations of tacit embodied knowledge, rapid decision-making, and improvisation. Both tacit embodied knowledge and informed intuition are essential in the creative process in acting and in training, allowing for re-creation and improvisation within the chosen stylistic framework.

insights after a period of physical practice or the study of Jelgerhuis's manuscripts. This dissertation is therefore intended as a marker on the road, not a final destination.

On documenting practice-based research

Jelgerhuis writes in his manuscript *Toneel Studien* about how formulating one's stage experience in writing inevitably leads to incomplete results.²⁵ This is one of the issues I deal with in twofold in this dissertation as I link theatre history and stage practice: my reading and interpretation of (incomplete) accounts in words, even when aided by illustrations, is by definition limited, as is my documentation of acting training, rehearsal processes, and performance. Even today's photography and video recordings cannot compare to attending a performance in person.²⁶ In attempting to document my practice-based research, then, I describe a selection of the various processes and thoughts behind my training and acting, aided by examples in pictures and video recording to assist my words. As it turns out, my attempts at describing the preparations and thoughts regarding acting in the two case studies shows similarities to Jelgerhuis's manuscript *Toneel Studien*, even though they were written centuries later, notwithstanding the advanced technological options of today.

Evaluation of the techniques in progress

An important method for testing the techniques, exercises, and elements of performance presented in this study was to regularly request feedback from others and experiment with the material together. Especially with the exercises presented in Chapter 2, experimenting on my own did not provide the visual challenge and stimulus needed to adapt them to other performers. I therefore sought occasions which offered exchange of knowledge, experience, and experimentation between (any combination of) teachers, scholars, professional performers, and students. For instance, in an acting course taught by Jed Wentz, João Luís Paixão, and myself, we regularly attended each other's lessons to learn from one another's areas of expertise and teaching methods.²⁷ The reactions, struggles, and/or original solutions of Wentz, Paixão, and the students on the exercises based on Jelgerhuis's work provided insight into the exercises themselves. To evaluate other exercises in progress, as well as passages of the staging experiments as described in Chapters 3 and 4, I shared

²⁵ 'Veele aanmerkingen heb ik in deesen Slegts flaaun kunnen uiten, de Pen Schiet te kort in de nytdrukking, de werking der Gelaats trekken onthe=rende [sic], Stand en gebaarden Zijn een gemis 't welke zig door niets Vergoeden laat, en 't welke in deeze vooral een groot gemis kan genoemd worden' (I have been able to express many remarks merely tepidly in this matter, the pen is insufficient in the expression; lacking the effect of the facial expressions, stance and gestures are a loss which is not compensated for by anything, and which particularly in this [kind of study] can be called a great loss. See Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 180.

²⁶ Gilbert Blin, historian and one of the leading opera directors in the field, formulates this same problem regarding the documentation of opera performances: 'even a video recording of an opera is a woefully inadequate counterpart to the live performance it records'. See Gilbert Rémy Blin, 'The Reflections of Memory: An account of a cognitive approach to Historically Informed Staging', doctoral dissertation, Leiden University, Leiden (2018), p. 396.

²⁷ The course was taught at the Royal Conservatory in The Hague between 2021 and 2023 and titled Historical Acting Techniques for Musicians: Imagination, Memory, Embodiment.

my endeavours at various stages of its development at the Dutch Historical Acting Collective (DHAC) academies and confabulations.²⁸ In a format of artistic and scholarly interaction between participants, the observations and suggestions of others at DHAC confirmed or helped me to become aware of the strengths and shortcomings of my experimental process.

Spoken text versus singing

Many recent publications (and doctoral dissertations) related to sources on historical acting and performance practice are tailored to opera or other sung repertoire.²⁹ The works of Jelgerhuis, however, centre on spoken theatre. I decided therefore to step away from singing temporarily so as to remain closer to the source and explore Jelgerhuis's techniques by working in silence or with the spoken word. Later in the process, I experimented with the studied techniques in my own performance (spoken and sung), as well as by teaching other singers, dancers, and modern actors. The focus of this dissertation is not specifically on acting techniques for singers, yet the exercise material and information can be used by singers as well as other stage performers.

Reliability of the sources

The core of my research revolves around the years of Jelgerhuis's acting career at the Amsterdam Schouwburg 1806–1836, yet the timespan of the primary sources I consulted is from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. These sources were written by Western European authors and deal with theatre practices only in Western Europe; thus, they are related to its political and religious environment, its traditions and myths. A great number of these sources include eye-witness accounts, letters, reviews, journals, illustrations, and works of art. I am aware that these sources do not represent (only) facts. Their creators are human and their memory can be unreliable, however strong their intention may have been to report a particular event truthfully. Documents recounting personal experiences in writing and/or illustrations may reflect the viewpoint solely of their author (the experience of one audience member is not always shared by the entire audience) and may be influenced by social or cultural biases, ideals, personal agenda, and other matters. The information on the page can also differ from the actual event due to the lack of skill or bias of the writer or illustrator. (In the case of anecdotes, information passing from person to person before being written down almost certainly contained distorted elements of the event documented.) I therefore aim to corroborate information in these sources through comparison with another source whenever possible. Yet the unique documents (the contents of which I have not been able

²⁸ These were organized by Jed Wentz since 2018 at Leiden University. For more about The Dutch Historical Acting Collective (DHAC) and its working philosophy, as well as its academic and artistic output, see Jed Wentz, 'Wat is DHAC?', <https://jedwentz.com/about-dhac/> (accessed on 27 November, 2024).

²⁹ See, for instance, Jed Wentz, 'The Relationship between Gesture, Affect and Rhythmic Freedom in the Performance of French Tragic Opera from Lully to Rameau', Leiden University, Leiden (2010). See also Elizabeth Dobbin, 'In search of a politesse du chant: Rediscovering salon vocal performance practice through the lens of the *airs sérieux* in the *Recueils d'airs sérieux et à boire de différents auteurs*, 1695–1699', doctoral dissertation, Leiden University, Leiden (2021).

to verify elsewhere) are of at least as much importance for this dissertation. Many of these sources discuss aspects of theatre and acting practices in the past that have not been otherwise documented.

From the historical page to today's stage, studio, and classroom

Over the last several decades, researcher-performers using historical sources in acting practices have been reflecting upon the illusion of recreating historical performances exactly as they were.³⁰ When focusing on selected materials from one author as I do in this study, it is important to acknowledge that written and visual sources offer merely a restricted view into past practices. Moreover, any interpretation today is that of a person living in our modern age, performing before a different audience, and experiencing different circumstances than those of the early nineteenth century. The danger and the beauty when drawing inspiration from historical sources, is that through the interpretative process — including embodiment and one's own imagination — elements as described or illustrated in historical material are recreated but differently so, thus becoming new in the present. Part of my research process therefore entails regularly taking a step back to observe and reflect on the original source and its relationship (its potential differences and similarities) to the new creation. I consider this reflective pause essential not only to separate and re-evaluate the source and its new creation for analysis, but also to avoid dissemination (through teaching, writing, presenting or in performance) of these new personal truths or creations as historical facts.

HISTORICALLY INFORMED PERFORMANCE PRACTICE (HIPP)

Terminology

Although piecing together elements of past performances with information from historical sources in both case studies is part of my method and working process, the ultimate objective of these projects is not (the impossible one) of recreating history but of *learning from the sources*. To differentiate between two different ways of approaching the sources in this dissertation, I adopt two terms commonly used in the field of Historically Informed Performance Practice (HIPP). In the first case study I use the term 'historically informed': the intention is to stay as close as possible to the information in the sources. In the second case study I use the term 'historically inspired'. I here derive inspiration from both Dutch and international sources, merging pieces of information on performance and performers that are not directly historically related and investigating how these can blend into my practice to create a 'historically inspired' performance. To avoid confusion between the terms, I use the acronyms HIP and HIPP only to refer to 'historically informed performance' and 'historically informed performance practice' in this study. Other variations of these terms I write out in full.

³⁰ For a recent view on authenticity in the light of the revival movement, see Caroline Bithell, 'Early Music, Views from Ethnomusicology', in *Early Music in the 21st Century*, ed. by Mimi Mitchell (New York: Oxford University Press, 2024), 9–31 (pp. 18–21).

The difficulties and limitations of staging a HIP are many and can include reasons including budget, time, lack of information, and/or communication between fields.³¹ The HIP label can create confusion when used to indicate performances in which some aspects (for instance the costumes and the music) are historically informed, while other aspects (such as acting style, sets, and lighting) are not. My stance on this issue is that productions which take into account only a selection of historically informed elements can be useful and meaningful both for research purposes and as an experience for audience and performers. However, if these productions are to serve research purposes, the selected areas of research and its terminology used must be formulated with precision in their documentation. In order to do so here, I borrow the process analysis as presented by Gilbert Blin in his doctoral dissertation, ‘The Reflections of Memory: An account of a cognitive approach to Historically Informed Staging’ (2018). In describing the process of making historically informed choices, Blin marks three main steps: ‘as thorough as possible exploration of the sources, the informed decision-making process which derives from it and the conscious use of knowledge for creative purposes [...] each of these, necessarily, is faced by limitations’.³² This passage reflects Blin’s approach to his research into staging historically informed opera, yet his description of the research process is equally relevant to the spoken theatre and to the present study. The phrase ‘as thorough as possible’ in my research and choices is to be understood in the context of the possibilities and limits of this dissertation. This includes my own interpretation (informed and/or experienced in some areas, and limited/inexperienced in others) and the practical limits and possibilities I encountered (such as timespan of the research, venues, and the COVID-19 pandemic).

Different styles

The last decades have seen important stage directors establish their practice in the field of HIPP, including Benjamin Lazar, Margit Legler, Deda Cristina Colonna, Niels Niemann, Sigrid T’Hooft, Marie Kuiken, Gilbert Blin, and Mickael Bouffard. In HIPP today, variations in style depend not only on the repertoire but also on aspects such as the area of expertise and the taste of the director, the genre, the sources used, the specific group of actors present, the performance venue and its possibilities, and the (speed and melody of the) language and text. It is not my task here to judge or praise the successes or limitations of specific productions or individual styles; I cannot look into the details of each directors’ artistic and practical choices, and commenting on their individual styles and tastes is not relevant for this dissertation. My work brings yet another viewpoint to the field, and it is not surprising that my research and practice on early nineteenth-century spoken theatre in the Netherlands has different outcomes than HIPP that is based, for instance, on sources and repertoire of seventeenth-century France. What I deem of importance (for the present study as well as the development of the field) is that the information and experience gained by stage

³¹ Gilbert Blin ascribes some of the limitations more to ‘the lack of opportunities to implement its principles than interest’. He signals that it is not always possible to make use of all the available information, one of the reasons being that ‘interactions between historians and stage artists are not common’. For this citation and Blin’s more elaborate take on HIPP, see Blin, ‘The Reflections of Memory’, pp. 12–14.

³² Blin, ‘The Reflections of Memory’, pp. 396–397.

directors, scholars, and artists continue to be exchanged in the service of shared common knowledge about the past.³³

My training and professional experience in the field of HIPP

My background and education in historical acting techniques was founded on imitation and practice in the context of singing. My teacher, Margit Legler, was taught in historically informed acting techniques and dance by Ian Caddy and Francine Lancelot, respectively.³⁴ Her knowledge was grounded on her experience as a practitioner/performer and based on sources such as Austin's *Chironomia*, Jelgerhuis's treatise *Theoretische lessen*, and sources on dancing. I learned to use Austin's system of notation to document my own movements, which became embodied through the practice of inserting gestures and movements into opera arias, recitatives, and eventually, recitals and roles in operas.³⁵ In time, I could stage scenes on my own, yet I had not read any sources, nor had I experience in applying information from the sources to physical practice. By working on Jelgerhuis's acting style (which included the study of other sources) through research and artistic collaborations, I learned how to work from historical sources independently. This practice-based research taught me how to question my concepts and expand my knowledge of the past, and to develop and adapt my interpretation of acting techniques in training, performance, and later also in teaching. The creative process (observing the process not only in myself but also in students and colleagues) confirmed the importance of the imagination as a tool to establish unity between emotion and physical movement, as well as the necessity of physical and mental practice to create transitions between attitudes, gestures, and passions. The topic of the imagination will return time and again in Chapters 2–4 on stagecraft.

HIPP: research and education

Before discussing recent scholarship and acting education, I want to mention one of the pioneers in the field of historically informed acting: Dene Barnett.³⁶ Although his work has received criticism from some scholars for too narrow a view on eighteenth-century performance, his book *The Art of Gesture: The Practices and Principles of 18th-century Acting* (1987) and his articles on *The Performance Practice of Acting: The Eighteenth Century* (1977–1980) have been valuable works of

³³ The research group Performing Premodernity, for instance, combined collaborations between artists, scholars, and stage directors in various practice-based projects, resulting in conferences and HIP performances. For more information on the work of Performing Premodernity, see <https://performingpremodernity.com> (accessed 26 December 2024).

³⁴ For an example of Ian Caddy's approach and work, see Ian Caddy, *Baroque Gestures: An introduction to the original style in baroque opera and on the dramatic stage*, DVD, Ian Caddy copyright 2009 (transferred from VHS, original copyright 1988); <http://www.baroquegestures.com> (accessed on 26 November 2024).

³⁵ Austin, *Chironomia*.

³⁶ Barnett, *The Art of Gesture*. Of Barnett's articles, cited above, number V in particular has been of use for this dissertation. See Dene Barnett, 'The Performance Practice of Acting: The Eighteenth Century, Part V: Posture and Attitudes', in *Theatre Research International*, vol. 6 (1980), 1–32.

reference for the present dissertation.³⁷ In these publications, Barnett translates and compares selected passages from eighteenth-century sources on and connected with acting as well as Jelgerhuis's (nineteenth-century) *Theoretische lessen*, arranged by topics such as 'the vocabulary of gestures', 'the distribution of gestures' and 'stage positions'. After influential work such as Barnett's, it is important not to think that one has now established *the correct way* of performing historically inspired acting. As research continues to reveal more sources, the journey of curiosity must continue to view previously acquired knowledge in the light of new information.³⁸ A recent dissertation, which has my particular interest as it concerns the education of young performers, is 'Teaching Acting to Singers, Harnessing Historical Techniques to Empower Modern Performers', by Dionysios Kyropoulos (2023).³⁹ I support the strong case he makes concerning the importance of acting lessons for singers today and I am appreciative of the content he provides on historical source material about acting. He combines analysis and comparison of 140 European historical sources on topics affiliated with or regarding acting (such as movement, emotion, and aesthetics) with elements from the Stanislavski system, present-day research, and experimental work with students of the Guildhall School of Music and Drama in London, in search of a new method for teaching acting to aspiring opera singers.⁴⁰ Kyropoulos distils information from historical sources ranging from 1528 to 1832 into a structured presentation of three main concepts – beauty, rhetoric, and naturalness – which he then subdivides into smaller acting-related concepts. As Kyropoulos makes ample use of citations and illustrations from Jelgerhuis's *Theoretische lessen* to explain and discuss concepts such as *contrapposto*, gesticulation, and naturalness (terms also discussed in the

³⁷ For an interesting discussion of Barnett's work from both scholarly and practitioner's viewpoints — hosted by the research group Performing Premodernity in 2014 during the symposium 'Acting in the Late Enlightenment (1740–1800)' — see <https://performingpremodernity.com/journal/performing-premodernity-2/> (accessed 4 December 2024). This discussion features contributions by Sigrid T'Hooft, Magnus Tessing Schneider, and Deda Cristina Colonna, and their reaction to the following article: Jed Wentz, 'Mechanical rules versus *abnormis gratia*: revaluing Gilbert Austin's *Chironomia* as a source for historical acting techniques', in *Theatrical heritage: challenges and opportunities*, ed. by Bruno Forment and Christel Stalpaert (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2015), 41–57 (pp 42–44).

³⁸ In their introduction to *Performing the Eighteenth Century: Theatrical Discourses, Practices, and Artefacts*, the theatre studies scholars Magnus Tessing Schneider and Meike Wagner point out the dangers of 'putting too much emphasis on courtly rules of propriety, on watertight class divisions, and on stereotyped forms of expression', when the study of selected historical evidence becomes so focused on the rules in a narrow portion of the available literature that the wider context is not taken into account. The result can lead to 'an overemphasis on codified behaviours and too little attention to rhetorical instinct, to the speaker-performer's sensitivity to the audience, and to the specific situation'. Their remark concerns research and performance practice of eighteenth-century theatre, yet their warning is certainly also applicable to early nineteenth-century performance, and is taken into consideration in chapters 2–4, as I discuss topics such as rules, exceptions, and stereotypes from a practical standpoint. See Magnus Tessing Schneider & Meike Wagner, 'Introduction', in *Performing the Eighteenth Century: Theatrical Discourses, Practices, and Artefacts*, ed. by M. Schneider & M. Wagner (Stockholm: Stockholm University Press, 2023), 1–13 (pp. 7–8).

³⁹ Dionysios Kyropoulos, 'Teaching Acting to Singers, Harnessing Historical Techniques to Empower Modern Performers', doctoral dissertation, New College, Oxford, (2023).

⁴⁰ The Stanislavski system, also known as The Method is a training method for actors which is still used for training actors today. It was developed by Constantin Stanislavski (1863–1938).

present study) the first two chapters of his work are a rich source for viewing elements of Jelgerhuis's treatise in the context of other sources on acting between 1528 and 1832. As Kyropoulos suggests, the exercises from his New Teaching Method are easily adaptable in combination with other styles and acting techniques, such as the ones I present in Chapter 2.⁴¹ That being said, large scale research projects such as his (in terms of sources and epoch), naturally prevent in-depth discussions of each source and its context in particular, including the variations in acting style among different companies and individual actors. Kyropoulos refers to Jelgerhuis's treatise *Theoretische lessen* without making use of Jelgerhuis's unpublished works, thereby taking into account the theory rather than the practice. The present study has a different objective and can be seen as a supplement to works discussing a broad spectrum of sources, such as those by Kyropoulos and Barnett. By closely examining the work of one specific actor as I do in the following chapters, I aim to display idiosyncrasies specific to the performer in question – in this case Jelgerhuis – by studying his manuscripts in particular; bring to light an idea of the acting style of the period and location through a broader study of his works; and apply the information from the page to practice.

I also want to draw attention to the Parisian 'école-atelier' (school-studio) Théâtre Molière Sorbonne, founded in 2017. Focusing on seventeenth-century French repertoire using historically informed acting techniques, this institution staged performances of Molière's *Les Précieuses ridicules* and a large production of *Le Malade imaginaire*, in which students and professionals shared the stage.⁴² As with the work of Kyropoulos with voice students, I am inspired by the development of training courses, and, in the case of the Théâtre Molière Sorbonne, by an entire institution aimed at acting practice and performance based on historical sources.⁴³ Such educational facilities provide aspiring performers with time to develop and reflect on the basics of historically informed acting practice, something that professional productions can rarely afford to do. An embodied basic understanding of acting practices will give them the foundation to adapt to different acting styles.⁴⁴

⁴¹ For this New Teaching Method, see Kyropoulos, 'Teaching Acting to Singers', pp. 195–205.

⁴² For more on the Théâtre Molière Sorbonne, its productions and aims, see 'Le Théâtre Molière Sorbonne' <https://moliere.sorbonne-universite.fr> (accessed on 26 December 2024).

⁴³ Examples of courses which focus on earlier repertoire than the present study, including the mediaeval and renaissance periods, are the Declamation Café and courses on historically informed acting for Bachelor and Master students (*Gestik und historische Schauspieltechniken* and the *Opernfabrik* respectively), at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis. The latter two courses are taught by Deda Cristina Colonna. The Declamation Café, an initiative of Colonna and Martina Papiro is another inspiring, safe space where students present spoken historical texts, after which discussion is invited. Colonna and Papiro bring together information from historical sources as inspiration for the sessions.

⁴⁴ Although I focus on spoken theatre to stay within the scope of my research topic, historical acting is also an essential part of HIP opera and other HIP productions featuring combinations of sung repertoire, pantomime, and dance. For those interested in comparing HIP opera productions to the practice I describe in this study, I refer to the website of Julia Muller and Frans Muller. Their detailed overview and discussion of international HIP opera and spoken theatre productions includes a wide selection of examples. See https://www.julieandfransmuller.nl/epilogue_eng.html (accessed on 26 December 2024).

STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

Part One

Jelgerhuis, the interdisciplinary artist

The first part of this thesis, consisting of Chapter 1, focuses on Jelgerhuis and his oeuvre and serves as a preparation for Part Two, Chapters 2–4 on stagecraft. To lay the foundation needed to explore the first research question (investigating how Jelgerhuis's lesser-known works can add to a better understanding of his treatise and acting style, and how this can contribute to HIPPP), I discuss Jelgerhuis's professions and his ambitions regarding painting, acting, costume design, research, and teaching against the background of early nineteenth-century theatre and the shifts in stage practices during that time. I present a selection of Jelgerhuis's lesser-known works, and address the reliability of Jelgerhuis's costume designs and his research on costume in preparation for the second case study. Time and again, I provide fragments from Jelgerhuis's document of 1808 'Antwoord op de vraag' (published posthumously in 1877) to shed light on Jelgerhuis's perspective on the theatre's past and present, and his vision for the future.⁴⁵ In doing so, I discuss both his ideals regarding theatre performance and the limitations he encountered in achieving these ideals. The ensuing observations of various interconnecting disciplines in Jelgerhuis's career as presented in the first chapter provide insight into the breadth of Jelgerhuis's craftsmanship and the density and complexity of information in his work. As connection points between the different layers in Jelgerhuis's oeuvre (including the principles of acting described in the *Theoretische lessen*), I introduce eight basic terms, frequently used by Jelgerhuis and his contemporaries — *schilderachtigheid*, *contrast*, *attitudes*, *welstand*, *waarheid*, *natuurlijkheid*, *gemak*, and *gratie* — accompanied by a discussion of their translations. Subsequently, I reflect on Jelgerhuis's ideas about teaching to better understand his treatise and teaching methods in preparation of Chapter 2.

Part Two

Stagecraft based on and inspired by information in Jelgerhuis's sources

In the artistic part of this research, described in Chapters 2–4, I carry out experiments to address questions that cannot be answered by reading and writing alone. The body, and the connection between doing and thinking, can provide different answers or lead to additional questions. The emphasis in this practical application is on the performer's work from outside in (physical training to build informed intuition and tacit knowledge in the desired acting style) as well as from the inside out (using the imagination, image-recall techniques, and emotions). The reason for working from both angles is ultimately to balance both of these approaches so as to establish a core status in which gestures and stage movements are a unity within the performer. There is not enough information in the sources to base each acting detail in the case studies on historical documentation, but the challenge and process of filling in existing gaps in the information available today and the search for solutions often results in new discoveries. My research in this chapter

⁴⁵ Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag'.

therefore combines the physical acting tools and rules on style proposed in the *Theoretische lessen* with mental acting tools drawn from Jelgerhuis's character studies and other lesser-known writings.

Chapter 2. In this chapter I adapt elements of acting as described and illustrated in the *Theoretische lessen* to create basic exercises for myself and others, that can be used as acting tools for training and teaching purposes. Part of this process involves the integration and application of the terms and concepts proposed and contextualized in Chapter 1 to physical practice. Guided by research question 3 – ‘Which acting tools can I develop from such training, and how can I make them available and useful to other performers?’ – I document the shift from information on the page to physical examples of acting tools in written form, in pictures, and through video recordings. I then expand these exercises with information from historical treatises by other authors to broaden the performer's vocabulary of expressive options. Finally, I compare the illustration that led to the first basic exercise to illustrations of costume designs and paintings by artists in and outside of the Netherlands, in order to view Jelgerhuis's material in a broader European context.

Chapter 3. In this **first case study**, the first part of Research Question 1 ‘How can a study of Johannes Jelgerhuis's lesser-known works add to a more complete understanding of Jelgerhuis's treatise *Theoretische lessen* and of his acting style?’ governs my investigation, but for a more integrative approach to this query, I carry out a combination of research and practice. In doing so, the first case study aims to contribute knowledge, gleaned not only through analysis and comparison of the sources but also through artistic outcomes, to Dutch theatre history and historically informed theatre practices. The main source of focus is Jelgerhuis's manuscript *Toneel Studien*, and in particular Jelgerhuis's detailed description of preparing and performing the role of Siméon in the play *Omasis, of Jozef in Egypte*.⁴⁶ In search of a deeper understanding of Jelgerhuis's acting style, I first analyse Jelgerhuis's acting as described in his study of Siméon and compare this information to the content in the *Theoretische lessen*. This analysis lays the foundation for this case study's working project, which features my collaboration with three actors to stage three scenes from *Omasis, of Jozeph in Egypte*. The approach to this case study consists in zooming in as much as possible on Jelgerhuis's creative processes by meticulously following his study of Siméon. I therefore keep the focus on spoken theatre, a genre known to and practiced by Jelgerhuis, and use mainly Dutch sources when contextualization is required. In describing my research and the creative processes in this project, I address the problems created by the gaps in Jelgerhuis's *Theoretische lessen* (regarding declamation, for instance) and demonstrate how Jelgerhuis's manuscript *Toneel Studien* and the *Theoretische lessen* can complement each other in theory and in practice, leading to a more holistic understanding and interpretation of Jelgerhuis's sources (and consequently of his stagecraft).

Chapter 4. To observe and test the techniques (and research) described in the previous chapters in a wider context, **the second case study** delineates my preparation of a historically

⁴⁶ Pierre-Marie-François Baour-Lormian, *Omasis, ou Joseph en Egypte, Tragédie en cinq actes en vers* [...] (Paris: Didot l'aîné, 1807), transl. into Dutch by Maarten Westerman as *Omasis, of Jozef in Egypte; Treurspel* [...] (Amsterdam: Abraham Mars, 1810).

inspired performance of the melodrama *Proserpina* of 1815 by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) and the composer Franz Carl Eberwein (1786–1868). This time operating in a more extended field of research-performance, I combine Dutch and international sources to inform my preparations of this melodrama and to create a stage character using acting techniques based not only on the works of Jelgerhuis but also inspired by other performers. In preparing the role of Proserpina, I build on the exercises proposed in Chapter 3, and compare physical stage attitudes described by Jelgerhuis to another style of attitudes performed by three women: Lady Emma Hamilton (1765–1815), Henriette Hendel-Schütz (1772–1849), and Ida Brun (1792–1857). Where all the characters in the first case study were male, this project is concerned with the stage movements and performance by women. My study of their craft includes experimentation with the costume’s influence on my movements on-stage. Combined with Jelgerhuis’s costume designs, the relationship between costume and movement informs my design and choice of dress for Proserpina and advances the costume as an important element in the conception of this role. Although the staging concept and preparations are my own, a close collaboration with the musicians of ensemble Postscript allowed me to align the expressive options between the text and the music in this melodrama.⁴⁷

KEY

Regarding my transcription of Jelgerhuis’s handwriting: I have kept his original punctuation (including combinations such as ‘. -’ and ‘. - .’) and capitals as they appear in the manuscripts. This includes the titles in the footnotes and bibliography. For clarity, I have replaced the occasionally accentuated letter ‘ú’, with the unaccentuated ‘u’, except in the titles of Jelgerhuis’s two versions of the manuscript *Toneel Studien* and *Tonneel Stúdien*, where I retained the accent to differentiate between them. All translations are my own unless specified otherwise.

After the first reference to a source in the footnotes, subsequent references take the author’s surname and a shortened title. Figures and footnotes are numbered by chapter, and Oxford spelling is used throughout the dissertation.

I have written this dissertation with the intention of doing justice to and with paying respect for the work of others (in footnotes or in the body text), as I have for all citations and illustrations.⁴⁸ If any of the ideas or results presented in this dissertation strike the reader as having originated elsewhere previous to my writing while missing the due reference, or for other seeming incongruencies or questions, please contact me.

⁴⁷ Postscript specializes in the historically inspired performance of music from Baroque to the Romantic era. For more on this ensemble, see Postscript, ‘Our Story’ <https://www.postscriptensemble.com/about> (accessed 2 January 2025).

⁴⁸ I have not been able to retrieve the full names of all authors, e.g. A. G. Schulte, E. Tas (possibly Eva Tas), and F. de Kaarsgieter.

Part One

Chapter 1, The works of Johannes Jelgerhuis

This chapter focuses on the initial part of my first research question: What can Johannes Jelgerhuis's less-known works add to a better understanding of Jelgerhuis's acting treatise *Theoretische lessen*, of his approach to acting and of his acting style? Building on information discussed in Dutch primary and secondary sources on Jelgerhuis, I use citations from and comparison with Jelgerhuis's lesser-known works to examine the reliability of the content in his manuscripts, and to delve deeper into specific aspects of his acting style and approach to teaching. This in-depth discussion later informs my experimentation with acting techniques and staging processes in Chapters 2–4. The interpretation of Jelgerhuis's works requires an analysis of his observations on acting, painting, and teaching, as well as of his opinions and tastes (whether supported by knowledge and professional experience, or influenced by personal reasons).

Interpretation of these layers also necessitates an understanding of various terms and concepts used by Jelgerhuis and his contemporaries to describe ideals regarding the arts, acting, and the theatre. In preparation of Chapters 2–4, I have selected eight terms and concepts needed to better understand Jelgerhuis's treatise, his less-known works, and his stagecraft. These terms will be placed into context, as I discuss various facets of Jelgerhuis's oeuvre and his professions.¹ To do so, I selected only those works that help provide the scaffold for the subsequent chapters on training, teaching, and stagecraft. This means that the content featured in this chapter merely scratches the surface of Jelgerhuis's oeuvre, including his paintings and drawings, the information in his manuscripts, published sources, and so on.

1.1 TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

The terms — painterliness, contrast, attitude, *welstand*, truth, naturalness, ease, and gracefulness — all are manifest in Jelgerhuis's oeuvre, his acting practice, and teaching. Because the translation and discussion of these terms according to the way Jelgerhuis uses them requires some contextualization, I present them throughout various sections of the present chapter, organized as follows:

- The first set of terms — *schilderachtig*, *contrast*, *attitude*, and *welstand* — introduces the importance of visual aesthetics and decorum for the stage. They link the realms of painting and acting, and are an integral part of section 1.2. concerning Jelgerhuis's painting profession.

¹ For biographies on Jelgerhuis, see for instance Hendrik Theodoor Boelen, 'Johannes Jelgerhuis, Rienzoon', in *Noord- en Zuid-Nederlandsche Tooneel Almanak voor 1878* (Bom, 1878), 138–157; see also a catalogue to accompany an exhibition of 1970 on Jelgerhuis and his works: *Johannes Jelgerhuis rzn. acteur-schilder* (1969); and D'Ailly, 'Johannes Jelgerhuis Rienksz'. I refer mainly to the latter, as it is the most detailed.

- The term *waarheid* frequently returns in Jelgerhuis's oeuvre, and serves the purpose of examining/exploring his search for truth in costuming at the Amsterdam Schouwburg. I revisit this term in the sections on acting and teaching, as it also concerns Jelgerhuis's reflections on character interpretation and truthfulness in performance.
- The last set of terms — *natuurlijkheid*, *gemak*, and *gratie* — directly concerns movement and character interpretation, and illustrates Jelgerhuis's view on naturalness, ease, and gracefulness in performance. These terms are part of section 1.4, 'Acting styles: past - present - future', which examines acting practices on the early nineteenth-century stage.

In reviewing the terms and their definitions, I refer as much as possible to examples from Jelgerhuis's works; citing all the sources relevant to these terms is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

1.2 JELGERHUIS - THE PAINTER

This section concerns the connection between painting and acting, to view the generally acknowledged importance of visual sources for performers in Jelgerhuis's time through the lens of his own works and practice. As Jelgerhuis's qualities as a professional painter and draughtsman influenced his work as an actor and teacher, his engravings and costume designs are an important source of information for anyone studying stagecraft inspired by Jelgerhuis's sources.²



Figure 1, Hendrik Willem Caspari, *Portret van Johannes Jelgerhuis Rienksz.* (c. 1790–1829), ink wash, Rijksmuseum, objectnummer RP-T-1940-535
<https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200309531>

Most relevant to this dissertation are Jelgerhuis's published and unpublished theatre-related illustrations, including engravings, sketches, and drawings. Ranging from costume designs and historical dress to images relating to actors, acting, and stage perspective, his illustrations are an

² A detailed account of Jelgerhuis's painting career and oeuvre is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but can be found in A. G. Schulte, 'Johannes Jelgerhuis als beeldend kunstenaar' in *Johannes Jelgerhuis rzn. acteur-schilder* (1969), pp. 12–32.

important aid to interpreting his written texts, and serve as sources on costume, movement, and posture, in the practice-based chapters of this dissertation.

The worlds of painting and acting at the time influenced each other not only in the Netherlands but also throughout most of Europe.³ Observations on the interchange of inspiration between the aesthetic ideals in paintings and in theatre are present in international theatre reviews and treatises of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁴ In his *Eloquence of the Body*, Herman Roodenburg describes the ‘close bonds between the arts of acting and painting, with rhetoric or rather the “eloquence of the body” as a shared language or intertext’.⁵ This shared language essential for understanding both Jelgerhuis’s lesser-known works and his acting treatise. Jelgerhuis transferred his artistic knowledge to the stage, to his own classroom, and ultimately into his acting manual. Rules relating to the perspective of the stage and the auditorium, for example, are present in the very first chapter of his acting treatise. In other chapters, he draws attention to the details that improve the posture and stage presentation of actors. He also shows an awareness of the full picture which encompasses visual elements on the stage that contribute to the enchantment of the audience, such as costume, sets, and stage comportment. In doing so, he frequently refers to paintings, sculptures, and painting treatises, by, among others, Charles Le Brun (1619–1690) and Gerard de Lairese’s (1640–1711).⁶ In fact, many of his illustrations are direct copies from treatises and works of art. Like other painter-actors before him, such as Jan Punt (1711–1779) and Marten Corver (1727–1794), Jelgerhuis considered drawing skills an asset to the actor.⁷ Theatre critics too, aware of his other profession, praised and recognized the craft in his painterly portrayal of various roles.⁸

Jelgerhuis’s skills as a draughtsman and engraver enabled him to draw examples during his lessons on acting theory and gave him the freedom to engrave his own treatise. The extant draughts for his engravings in the *Theoretische lessen* show only minor differences with the final result in the

³ Barnett selects and assembles a range of examples — including passages by Jelgerhuis — showing ‘the pictorial interest and beauty of the actor’s postures’ and the relationship between the two art forms. See Barnett ‘The Performance Practice of Acting’, part V (1980), pp. 1–8; and Barnett, *The Art of Gesture*, pp. 122–127. For examples of singers and actors using the visual arts as inspiration for their movements on-stage, see Joseph R. Roach, *The Player’s Passion*, pp. 68–73.

⁴ See, for instance, Herman Roodenburg’s *The Eloquence of the Body, Perspectives in gesture in the Dutch Republic* (Zwolle: Uitgeverij Waanders b.v., 2004), pp. 149–152.

⁵ Roodenburg, *The Eloquence*, pp. 149–153.

⁶ Le Brun, *Methode*, Dutch translation by De Kaarsgieter as *Afbeelding der Hertstogten*.

⁷ Roodenburg, *The Eloquence*, pp. 150–152. Punt and Corver were both trained as engravers as well as actors; Corver, Punt’s pupil, favoured a more simple and nuanced style of acting compared to that of Punt, whose delivery was still in the style of grand, sweeping gestures and loud and grandiloquent declamation. See Golding, *Classicistic acting*, pp. 238, 240, footnotes 6, 11, 12. For a biography of both actors, see Ben Albach, *Jan Punt en Marten Corver. Nederlandsch tooneelven in de 18e eeuw* (Amsterdam: P. N. van Kampen en zoon N. V., 1946).

⁸ *De Tooneelkijker*, 4 vols (Amsterdam: Delachaux, 1816), 1, p. 245, 533; *De Tooneelkijker*, 4 vols (Amsterdam: Delachaux, 1817), 2, pp. 52, 298; *De Tooneelkijker*, 4 vols (Amsterdam: Delachaux, 1818), 3, 441; *Het kritisch lampje, Lectuur voor alle standen* (Amsterdam: J. C. van Kesteren, 1823), p. 11.

treatise.⁹ The reader can therefore be confident that the illustrations are as Jelgerhuis intended them (contrary to other treatises, in which the author and illustrator are not the same, and details between the plates and the text differ).¹⁰ For Jelgerhuis, an education in drawing skills led to an understanding of the concepts and terms discussed below, necessary in the visual arts and on-stage: the trained eye would improve an actor's taste and be advantageous for their movements on-stage, choosing or improving their costume, and for creating beautiful tableaux.¹¹

1.2.1 *Schilderachtig* and the *schildery*

Jelgerhuis's manuscripts and his treatise reveal his attention to the full picture, the *schildery* (the painting) in creating groupings on stage as well as in monologues. The word '*schilderachtig*' can signify 'like a painting' or can indicate, as specified by the painter Gerard de Lairese, 'het schoonste en uitgelezenste' (the most beautiful and excellent), in other words, '*het geene waardig is geschilderd te worden*' (that which is worthy of being painted).¹² I use the translation 'painterly' in most cases because it suggests more movement than the static 'pictorial' or 'picturesque'.¹³ The *schildery* and movement can coexist on-stage: actors performing in this style need to be aware of the *schildery*, the full picture, within the context of the theatrical space and their fellow actors on-stage, which they create through their every movement. Reference to the *schildery* in Jelgerhuis's oeuvre often refers to the aesthetic quality in a performance, a scene, or at a single moment, when the movements and positions of the actors are so beautiful and balanced within the scenery that a 'screenshot' would result in a beautiful painting in itself. Franz von Akáts describes the ideal harmony between the various elements on stage as follows:

⁹ See, for instance, '28 tekeningen door Jelgerhuis voor "Theoretische Lessen over de Gesticulatie en Mimiek"', (1827–1830), ink, pencil, oiled paper, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, GD246, t00001085.000.

¹⁰ For a detailed discussion of discrepancies between Gilbert Austin's notation in his treatise *Chironomia* of 1806 and the illustrations in the accompanying plates, see Wentz, '*Mechanical Rules*', pp. 53–54. For the annotated poem and the plate with illustrations in Austin's treatise, see Austin, *Chironomia*, pp. 368–370, and plate 12.

¹¹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. ix.

¹² Gerard de Lairese, *Het Groot Schilderboek*, p. 418.

¹³ The term *schilderachtig* is translated by scholars as 'picturesque', 'pictorial' and/or 'painterly'. Lyckle de Vries translates it as 'painterly' as well as 'picturesque' and shows the different opinions on and the development of the Dutch term in his *Gerard de Lairese: An Artist between Stage and Studio* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), pp. 129–130, 212 and Lyckle De Vries, 'Gerard de Lairese: The Critical Vocabulary of an Art Theorist', in *Oud Holland – Journal for Art of the Low Countries*, 117 (2004), 1/2, 79–98, (p. 83). 'Picturesque' is also used by Roodenburg in *The Eloquence*, p. 158. Dene Barnett translated the German equivalent, 'malerisch', as 'pictorial' in: Dene Barnett, 'The Performance Practice of Acting', part V, (1980), p. 7.

*Die Scenik ist eine Malerei mit lebendigen Figuren, durch den Ausdruck der Stimme, der Geberde, und der wirklichen Malerei, nemlich Dekorationen und andere Zuthaten in Verbindung gebracht; demnach muß sie einen Theil der ästhetischen Theorie der Malerei kennen und beachten.*¹⁴

The theatrical scene is a painting with living figures, connected by the expression of the voice, of the gesture, and real paint, namely the decorations and other elements [of the tableau]; therefore [the relevant] part of the aesthetic theory of painting must be known and respected.

Akát's here indicates not only the similarities between the stage and painting but also the main difference: the moving elements, including the voice and the gestures. In fact, however still and painterly a scene or a tableau is, the actors are alive, they breathe. When imagining additional stage elements to those described by Akát, one can include the candle light creating shimmering in the air. Within the painterly aspects, the picture on-stage always contains movement.

The following terms (*contrast*, *attitude*, and *welstand*) at times occur as seemingly synonyms in the works of different authors (including Jelgerhuis), which complicates the work of defining them precisely. I discuss the slight differences between these terms to facilitate interpretation of the *Theoretische lessen* and further reading of this dissertation, in particular regarding the exploration of embodiment informed by these concepts in acting and training (Chapters 2–4). It may be helpful to consider that *welstand* and *attitude*, although occasionally used as synonyms for *contrast*, are, in most cases, more usefully considered as umbrella terms which ideally include *contrast*.

1.2.2 Contrast

Jelgerhuis's use of the words *contrast*, also referred to as '*de contrasten*' (the contrasts) builds on the terminology as applied in the treatises by painters such as Karel Van Mander and De Lairese.¹⁵ The correct application of contrast results in a balanced variation between the parts of the body: one hand held higher than the other, one arm contracted and the other elongated, one foot turned to the side and the other pointing forward, and so on.¹⁶ Figure 2 (left and right) by Jelgerhuis shows the first figure standing with foot positions and arms parallel (to be avoided on-stage) and the

¹⁴ Franz von Akát, genannt Grüner, *Kunst der Scenik in ästhetischer und ökonomischer Hinsicht theoretisch, praktisch und mit Plänen [...]* Als Handbuch für Intendanten, Privat-Direktoren, Kompositeure, Kapellmeister, Regisseure, Opernsänger, Schauspieler, Theatermaler und Meister, und für Alle, die bei der Leitung des Theaters betheiligt sind (Wien: Anton Mausberger, 1841), p. iv.

¹⁵ See Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck* [...] (Haerlem: voor Paschier van Wesbvsch, 1604) https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/mand001schi01_01/colofon.php (accessed 8 June 2024); and De Lairese, *Het Groot Schilderboek*.

¹⁶ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 45, 52. Although not a term Jelgerhuis himself uses, *contrapposto* is likely to be a better-known term than its Dutch equivalents. In international sources on painting and sculpture *contrapposto* indicates a contrasting disposition of the hips, arms, and shoulders, in order to achieve an asymmetrical ideal of a graceful balance in the body (dating back to the ancient Greeks). The concept and the rules of *contrapposto* appear time and again in treatises by Van Mander, De Lairese, and Jelgerhuis, but under the denominations of *contrast(en)*, *attitude*, and *welstand*.

second standing with contrast in the position of the arms, the legs, and even between the direction of the head and that of the torso.

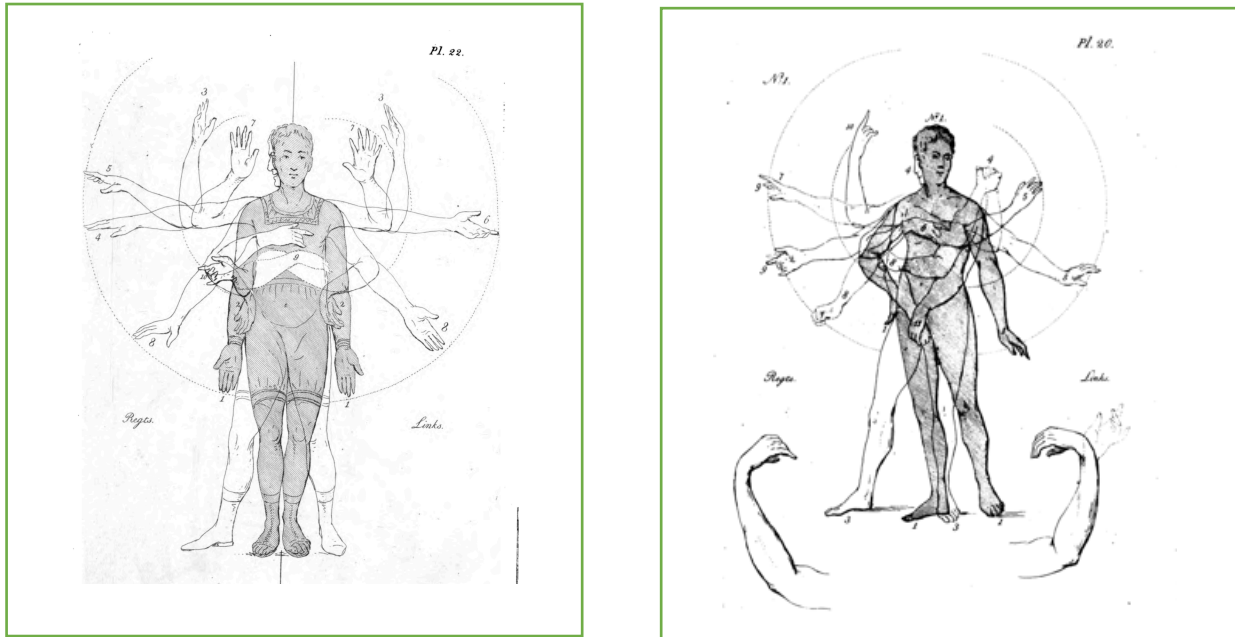


Figure 2 (left), Engraving of parallel gesticulation and foot positions. Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, plate 22; (right): Engraving of gestures and attitudes with contrast. Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, plate 20.

According to Jelgerhuis, contrast is also to be sought in the larger context on stage, as '*niets is lelijker, dan dat twee Acteurs eveneens staan, omdat de contrasten zoowel in het gebeele tafreel moeten heerschen, als in een bijzonder personaadje; hierop moeten wij leeren letten, als wij e n s c e n e s t a n*' (nothing is more hideous, than two actors standing in the same position, because the contrasts must reign in the entire picture as they do in a single character; we have to learn to pay attention to this when we are on-stage). Actors, then, are to strive for contrasting variation between their own gestures and those of other actors, ensuring that the same gestures are not performed in unison. This search for contrast also applies to the composition of scenes featuring a grouping of actors (one actor kneeling, for instance, another sitting, and a third standing).¹⁷ On a smaller scale, contrast can even be achieved between the shape of the hands and fingers.¹⁸ A good *attitude* features these contrasts.¹⁹

1.2.3 Attitude

Most attitudes presented in Jelgerhuis's acting manual can be described as full body stances (or rather, arrangements of the body, including attitudes while seated or lying down), which follow the

¹⁷ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 90; for contrast in groupings, see plate 31 on p. 113.

¹⁸ For contrast in the hands and fingers, see Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 92, 98.

¹⁹ For a range of examples discussing stage postures (including sitting, kneeling, and lying down) from Jelgerhuis's *Theoretische lessen* and other treatises, see the section on 'Contrast and assymetry as the basis of good stage posture', in Barnett's 'The Performance Practice of Acting', part V (1980), pp. 8–29.

rules of the contrasts (such as the second figure in Figure 2).²⁰ The attitude is more than a momentary image only; in fact, it can include a passionate state and therefore feature movement of the eyes, of the arms and hands, and of the body.²¹ Jelgerhuis adopts the term *attitude* only in his *Theoretische lessen*, alongside the word ‘stand’ (stance), which he uses instead in all his other writings.²² In the *Theoretische lessen*, Jelgerhuis applies the terms *standen* and *attitudes* both separate and interchangeably (referring to a physical position previously mentioned as stance with the term *attitude*).²³ His use of the term *attitude* seems to stem from his knowledge of the painting treatises, whereas *stand* is used by actors and theatre critics to describe visual aspects of acting, often in the combination ‘*standen en gebaren*’ (stances and gestures).²⁴ By naming the stances and the gestures, theatre critics show that these elements of acting were judged and observed as specific skills, just like the voice and facial expression. Though both *stand* and *attitudes* can refer to seated or prone positions as well as standing postures, in the *Theoretische lessen* Jelgerhuis uses the term *attitude* more frequently to describe situations including the physical expression of a passionate state.²⁵ He gives examples, for instance, of an attitude for ‘*de gramschap*’ (anger) (see Figure 3, the figure on the right), and for collapsing on a table in despair.²⁶

²⁰ To describe the *attitude*, Jelgerhuis refers to rules by Van Mander and De Lairese, yet his citation is identical to a passage in Simon Styl’s ‘Het leven van Jan Punt’. Both Jelgerhuis and Styl refer to the painting treatises of De Lairese and Van Mander, but both painters’ descriptions of the *attitude* are more detailed. See Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 39–40; and Simon Styl, ‘Het leven van Jan Punt’ in *Levensbeschrijving van eenige voornaame meest Nederlandsche mannen en vrouwen, [...] negende deel* (Amsterdam: van der Plaats, 1781), p. 54. For van Mander’s description of the *actitude*, see Van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, chapter 4. For de Lairese’s definition and illustration, see De Lairese, *Het Groot Schilderboek*, pp. 28–29, plate A; for additional definitions of *attitude*, see the Dutch historical dictionary, *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, s.v. ‘*attitude*’, <https://gtb.ivdnt.org/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=WNT&id=S004815&lemma=attitude&domein=0&conc=true> (accessed 3 June, 2024).

²¹ For the description for prolonged anticipation, for instance, which includes walking back and forth, and restless, flickering eyes, see Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 151 plate 4; for the gladiator’s holding his sword with a shaking hand, see pp. 74–75.

²² The term *attitude* is used mainly in the first part of the *Theoretische lessen*, but in the second part (page 120 and onwards), starting with a new season of lessons on facial expression and the passions, Jelgerhuis changes terminology and speaks mostly of ‘*beeldje*’ (statuette or figure) or directly of ‘*hartstocht*’ (passion) to indicate full body figures.

²³ For both terms applied seemingly interchangeably, see Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 55, 82; for the terms used separately as *attitudes* and *standen*, p. 76; for Jelgerhuis’s summary of the *attitudes* previously defined as *standen*, see pp. 65, 71.

²⁴ Marten Corver, *Tooneel-aantekeningen vervat in een omstandigen BRIEF, Aan den Schrijver van het Leven van JAN PUNT [...]* (Leyden: Cornelis Heyligert, 1789), pp. 24, 26; *De Tooneelkijker*, 1 (1816), p. 76, 127; ‘Verslag der Tooneelvertooningen van W. Bingley, te Amsterdam; door de schrijvers van den Tooneelkijker’ (Amsterdam: Delachaux, 1817), p. 21; *De Tooneelkijker*, 3 (1818), p. 23.

²⁵ For a sitting attitude, see Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 46 and plate 4.

²⁶ For ‘*de gramschap*’, see Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 54 and plate 8; for collapsing on a table in despair, see p. 64 and plate 14.’

In his description accompanying plate 8 (Figure 3), Jelgerhuis differentiates between the two terms, pointing out a small transition from the restful state of the *'stille standen'* (stances in stillness) of the figures in the middle of the plate, to the *attitude* for anger on the right, which is shown also in its facial expression.



Figure 3, Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, plate 8

Jelgerhuis also includes examples based on the commedia dell'arte characters by the etcher and draughtsman Jacques Callot (1592–1635). These lively attitudes contain much contrast and movement and the actors are advised not to hold them, but to quickly move out of them.²⁷ Hereafter, I will mainly apply the term *attitudes*, except when citing a passage including the word *stand*, which I will then translate as 'stance'.

1.2.4 *Welstand*

The term *welstand* appears frequently in Jelgerhuis's *Theoretische lessen*, and is used with different shades of meaning. In this section I provide an in-depth discussion of *welstand*, so that the reader may get a feeling for the richness of the term and the optional nuances that best suit my citations of Jelgerhuis throughout this dissertation. Translating the word *welstand* is problematic, as the concept does not exist in English, and a concise definition does not always suffice, as the term changes meaning according to its context. I will therefore provide a general definition of *welstand* as an umbrella term, applicable to both the citations and my application of the term in this dissertation. An introductory discussion of *welstand* offers further context and features translations by others, which vary as they refer to subjects concerning painting or acting. Although the precise nuance of *welstand* intended by Jelgerhuis remains ambiguous in many a passage, his use of *welstand* refers overall to that which looks good, beautiful, and/or graceful and stands in opposition to that

²⁷ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 93–94, plate 24.

which is exaggerated, affected, stiff, parallel, and/or bad taste.²⁸ For the purpose of this dissertation, then, I define *welstand* as ‘that which looks good’; a concept referring to beauty in form, harmonious proportions, and/or expression.²⁹ Within the visual painting that is the stage, the umbrella term *welstand* can contain single aspects or combinations of stage-related elements such as movement, painterliness, good bearing, decorum, facial expression, costuming, and *contrast*.³⁰

Jelgerhuis extends his use of the word *welstand* to facial expression, movement, the shape of the hands and fingers, the proportions of the theatre (the house and the stage), and to use good taste to guide one’s choices regarding costume.³¹ The exact shade of its meaning, then, depends on the context. Cultural historian Roodenburg points out how both in treatises on painting and in texts concerning acting the terms *contrasten*, *welstand*, and *schilderachige houding* (painterly posture) were used interchangeably.³² *Welstand* in the attitude of an actor, a statue, or a painted figure, ideally includes *contrast*, yet the term *welstand* cannot be interpreted as a synonym. As art historian Lyckle de Vries states in a detailed discussion on *welstand* in the realm of painting: ‘any aspect of painting can affect its *welstand*’, and ‘*welstand* is more than the sum of its details’.³³ These insights on *welstand* transferred to the realm of theatre are true also for the actor’s delivery on-stage. Returning to *welstand* in painting, De Vries, in his book *How to create beauty, De Lairese on the theory and practice of making art*, describes *welstand* as presented in Gerard de Lairese’s *Het Groot Schilderboek*, an important painting treatise of the time:³⁴

Welstand results from the coherence and interaction of all components of a work of art, beauty being one of them (1:109). Human beauty, De Lairese feels, creates a great force

²⁸ Kyropoulos similarly translates *welstand* as ‘looks well’ or ‘presents itself well’, which is functional, but does not provide enough nuance for the present dissertation, see Kyropoulos, ‘Teaching Acting to Singers’, p. 32.

²⁹ In Dutch, the phrases ‘*fraaiheid van vorm*’ (beauty of form) and ‘*schoonheid van voorkomen*’ (beauty of appearance) proposed in the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (Dictionary of Dutch language) provide a suitable alternative to my use of *welstand* in the following chapters. For these and additional definitions of *welstand*, see *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, s.v. ‘*welstand*’, <https://gtb.ivdnt.org/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=WNT&id=M085328&lemma=welstand&domein=0&conc=true>; (accessed 7 April 2025).

³⁰ Barnett (advised by Leny Gillisen) translated *welstand* as ‘good bearing’ in the context of a specific article, see Dene Barnett, ‘The Performance Practice of Acting’, part V (1980), p. 32.

³¹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 34, 98, 103, and 119. Jelgerhuis defines good taste as ‘*alles wat welstand geeft en met de waarheid gepaard kan gaan*’ (everything that gives *welstand* and that can be paired with truth), see *Theoretische lessen*, p. 235.

³² Roodenburg, *The Eloquence*, pp. 158–159; see also his article in Dutch: Roodenburg, “‘Welstand’ En “Wellevendheid”: Over Houdingen, Gebaren En Gelaatsuitdrukking in de Schilderkunst, de Toneelkunst En de Rhetorica: De Inbreng van Het Classicisme’ in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ)* / *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art*, 46 (1995), 416–439.

³³ De Vries’s article is very helpful for a better understanding of this term with regards to De Lairese’s *Het Groot Schilderboek*, yet, he finally translates *welstand* as ‘optimal quality’, which is not useful in the present discussion on acting. See De Vries, ‘Gerard de Lairese’, pp. 81–82.

³⁴ Lyckle de Vries, *How to create beauty, De Lairese on the theory and practice of making art* (Leiden: Primavera Press, 2011), pp. 35–36; De Lairese, *Het Groot Schilderboek*.

and an elegant *welstand* in the mind of knowledgeable spectators (1:174), from which we may conclude that *welstand* is in the eye and mind of the beholder.³⁵

What is important about this definition is the acknowledgement of the many components involved in an image of *welstand*, including the view of the spectator. In the context of the theatre, fellow actors and expert spectators in the audience may appreciate the visual aesthetics of *welstand* in a performance or critique its absence. Dene Barnett, who cited extensively from Jelgerhuis's *Theoretische lessen* in *The Art of Gesture* (1987),³⁶ observed that *welstand* often signifies

decorum in its classical sense of idealized beauty resulting from harmonious proportions and order, a beauty which elevated art above nature, and which was a primary objective of all the arts.³⁷

The harmony, not only in the object, but when possible also in its surroundings, is created by the balance between various elements in a painting, a sculpture, or on-stage. Because of its elevation above nature, it ideally includes '*welgevoeglijkheid*' or '*betamelijkheid*' (decorum or what is considered proper).³⁸ All of these aspects of *welstand* must be present in the craftsmanship of the painter and sculptor, and in the actor's body and mind, for actors paint/sculpt with their own bodies. However, these definitions are not quite sufficient when referring to acting, as this craft includes movement, which *welstand* must accompany at all times.³⁹ For this reason, I have included movement and expression in my definition above.

Several examples in this chapter will show that an understanding of *welstand* is considered an asset in the work of the artist (painters, sculptors, and actors). In acting, it is the means whereby actors can express a character's narrative not merely according to the actors' feeling in the moment, but according to the notion of representing Nature '*minder zoo als zij is, dan wel behoorde te zijn*' (less as she is, than as she should be).⁴⁰ Crucial for the present dissertation and the following chapters on stagecraft is Jelgerhuis's following explanation regarding *welstand* and emotion:

³⁵ The numbers between parentheses follow the original citation and refer to the page numbers in De Lairese's *Het Groot Schilderboek*, see Lyckle de Vries, *How to create beauty*, p. 36.

³⁶ In *The Art of Gesture*, Barnett translated *welstand* as decorum with the definition cited above, adding the term *welstand* in brackets after his translation. In this manner, the reader is presented both with a guideline by an expert on the topic, and at the same time can form their own opinion. See Dene Barnett, *The Art of Gesture*.

³⁷ Barnett, *The Art of Gesture*, pp. 98–99.

³⁸ The moral and societal implications of *welstand* fall beyond the scope of my dissertation and cannot be pursued here. I am aware that since Jelgerhuis's time, actors and artists have developed very different views on what constitutes an ideal relationship between beauty, *mores* and art, yet I am concerned in this chapter with the *Zeitgeist* of Jelgerhuis's period, rather than of the present.

³⁹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, xiii.

⁴⁰ The cited phrase in context suggests that *welstand* was also closely connected with good taste '*den slechten smaak die te algemeen heerscht, leeren verbannen en welstand bewaren, de Natuur leeren afbeelden, minder zoo als zij is, dan wel behoorde te zijn*' (learning to ban the bad taste which all too generally dominates, and maintaining *welstand*, so as to depict Nature less as she is, than as she should be). See Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 119.

*Laat ik dus aantoonen dat zich zoo maar vol gevoel neder te storten op eenen tafel, niet voldoende is. De welstand moet eenwig de Tooneelkunstenaar in zijn werk op zijde staan, zonder zijn gevoel te schaden of te verminderen, zal het ooit den naam van fraai verkrijgen.*⁴¹

Let me therefore demonstrate that to fling oneself emotionally onto a table, is not enough. *Welstand* must always accompany the work of the stage artist, without damaging or reducing his emotions [underscore my emphasis], for it to be seen as beautiful.

The application of *welstand* does not imply acting without emotion, it is about the way emotions are presented to the audience. Managing or monitoring one's emotions for the sake of *welstand* is not just applicable for collapsing on a table in despair. Jelgerhuis gives a similar, but more detailed explanation for acting in general in the introduction:

*zonder kennis van den welstand, volgt men slechts den loop der natuurlijke aandoeningen, en geraakt ter prooije aan overrompeling van gevoel, naar mate men aandoenlijker, levendiger van gewaarwordingen is, en brengt dan, tegen wil en dank, somtijds de misselijkste figuren voort. Ziet daar waarom het gevoel door kunst tot welstand moet worden terug gebragt, zonder het gevoel of de gewaarwordingen te verzuken of te kort te doen.*⁴²

without knowledge of *welstand*, one only follows the course of natural feelings, and one becomes prey to overwhelming emotions, the more sensitive and lively one's perception are; and that sometimes leads, against one's own better judgement, to making the most nauseating shapes with the body. That is why art must distil emotion into *welstand*, without neglecting or undervaluing feeling or perceptions.

For Jelgerhuis, knowledge of *welstand* (in its sense of 'nature improved') safeguards actors from emotional and physical exaggeration on-stage — he uses the words '*outreren*' (to exaggerate) and even '*convulsioneren*' (moved by or moving with forcefully contracting, involuntary movements).⁴³ Apart from uncontrolled movements and dramatic emotional excesses, another way of trespassing the limits of *welstand* on-stage would be the actors' portrayal of physical disability for comic purposes. Regarding the engravings of six attitudes he copied from commedia dell'arte characters by Jacques Callot, Jelgerhuis cautions against the imitation of the last figure. In his view, its 'defective and lame' figure (which may be seen in real life), would generate the audience's pity instead of laughter, and should never be used on-stage.⁴⁴ The search for an expressive and moving

⁴¹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 64.

⁴² Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. ix.

⁴³ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 67, 85.

⁴⁴ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, plate 24, figures 1–5, see also pp. 93–94). The sixth figure resembles both Callot's etching of 'Collo Francisco' and 'Ratsa di Boio', see Jacques Callot, 'Cicho Sgarra - Collo Francisco', in *Balli di Sfessania*, (c. 1622), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 57.650.304(10) <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/681457> (accessed 10 January 2025); for Ratsa di Boio, see 'Smaraoło cornuto - Ratsa di Boio', in *Balli di Sfessania* (1622), etching, RISD Museum, 49.080.4, https://risdmuseum.org/art-design/collection/smaraoło-cornuto-ratsa-di-boio-490804?return=%2Fart-design%2Fcollection%3Fsearch_api_fulltext%3DJacques%2520-callot%26op%3D%26page%3D3 (accessed 7 February 2025).

acting style that encompasses the many elements of *welstand* without exaggerating, will be one of the main guidelines linking the following chapters on stagecraft.

Having discussed the definitions and translations by De Vries and Barnett, I close my discussion of *welstand* by mentioning Golding's translation of Jelgerhuis's *Theoretische lessen* of 1984. Golding adapts the translation of *welstand* to each circumstance in the text, offering insight into the many facets and functions of the term.⁴⁵ His translations include: 'aesthetic propriety' (p. 242); 'decorum' (pp. 269, 360, 361); 'theatrical decorum' (p. 269); 'graceful appearance' (p. 382); 'decorous posture' (p. 375); 'rules of art' ('*regelen van welstand*': p. 307); 'let us combine graceful and truthful comportment' ('*paren wij den welstand aan de waarheid*': p. 307); and 'aesthetically pleasing' (p. 339). Each of these translations fits under the umbrella term of beauty in *welstand*. However, by translating the term differently each time, as Golding does, without providing the original term, the reader is not informed of the full range of possible meanings in certain passages. Because Jelgerhuis often leaves room for ambivalence as to the precise nuance of *welstand* he intends in a given sentence, the resulting content in Golding's work is at times inexact or incomplete.⁴⁶

Coda

In delineating various interpretations of the terms *contrast*, *attitude*, and *welstand*, I have demonstrated that, although they contain overlapping elements and were occasionally used interchangeably, there are nuances to all these terms. Each of them must be interpreted within the specific context of the period, the genre, the author, and at times even within a single monograph.

The first set of definitions in Summary

A good actor's stage behaviour, including attitudes on-stage will be arranged with *welstand* and according to the rules of contrast, depicting nature 'as it should be'; it will distil emotions to their essence, but will not exceed the rules of *welstand* by displaying exaggerated emotions and facial expressions, nor will the attitude trespass against decorum in other ways. *Welstand* will also be discernable in the actors' graceful quality of movement and in their tasteful costumes. These components, ideally balanced, will make the attitude '*schilderachtig*' (worthy of being painted).

⁴⁵ See Golding, *Classicistic acting*, for instance, pp. 242, 269, 307, 360, 361, 375, 382.

⁴⁶ This is even more so when he omits the translation of *welstand* altogether. See Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 34 and Golding, *Classicistic acting*, p. 263.

1.3 JELGERHUIS - THE COSTUME DESIGNS

The following discussion touches on Jelgerhuis's contribution to costume reform in the Netherlands and examines the accountability of his written work regarding costume and costume illustrations. I link Jelgerhuis's skills as a draughtsman to the practicalities of the theatre and discuss the term *waarheid* in relationship with his studies on costume history in search for 'truthful costumes'. This preliminary research lays the groundwork for my section on costume design based on Jelgerhuis's illustrations in the second case study (Chapter 4), where costume creation is part of the characterization process and has direct consequences on my movements on-stage.



Figure 4, Jelgerhuis, costume design (n.d.), sepia, aquarel, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, GD10-52, t000810.000

In his ideas about costume, Jelgerhuis combines the expertise from his painting and acting professions to contribute to the improvement of the full picture on-stage, and to represent the character as he conceived the playwright to have intended.

*Groote Auteurs hebben voor hunne tooneelwerken bepaald, hoe zij hun personaadje wenschten gekleed te zien; het bewijst hoe belangrijk dit in hunne oogen was. Het toilet veroorzaakt de geheele begoocheling, het is van het uiterste belang, en ik verwaarloosde het nooit.*⁴⁷

Great authors have decided how they wanted their character to be dressed in their plays; it proves how important they felt that this was. The costume completes the enchantment; it is of the utmost importance, and I never neglected it.

Zealous to improve the *schilderij*, the living picture that is created on the stage, Jelgerhuis applied his knowledge of the sources from his painting background to improve and create his costumes in accordance with *waarheid* (truth).

1.3.1 *Waarheid*

The following discussion of the term *waarheid* is intended to help to interpret its references in relation to the theatre, including acting, costumes, the stage sets, and the content of a theatrical piece. The term *waarheid* and its equivalent in other languages was used throughout Europe in the centuries previous to Jelgerhuis's life and during his career, for instance, in treatises and other works concerning acting and other forms of art, in reviews by theatre critics, and in memoirs or letters by theatre practitioners, such as Hippolyte Clairon.⁴⁸ The term's different meanings mostly overlap or correspond with its definition as true and truthful (as consistent with the facts or in accordance with the insights of the intellect), as opposed to a lie or an error.⁴⁹ *Waarheid* concerning choices in costume, for instance, can indicate its being consistent with historical facts (as far as accurate historical facts were available at the time).⁵⁰ There can be *waarheid* in the actors's or poets's rendering of historical or fictional facts in a play (both in plays based on historical events and/or

⁴⁷ Johannes Jelgerhuis Rz., *De tooneelspeler J. Jelgerhuis Rz., in zijne voornaamste Treurspel-Rollen, op den Amsterdamschen Schouwburg vertoond sinds 25 jaren* (Amsterdam: Gebroeders van Arum, 1832), p. 12.

⁴⁸ See, for instance, De Lairese, *Het Groot Schilderboek*, pp. 95, 168, 299, 317; Engel, *De kunst van nabootzing*, transl. Konijnenburg, 2, pp. 108, 147, 150, 174; *De Tooneelkijker*, 1 (1817), pp. 68, 144; *De Tooneelkijker*, 3 (1818), p. 207; 'zoekt altoos de waarheid' (always search for the truth): Claire Hippolyte de la Tude (Clairon), *Mémoires d'Hyppolite Clairon et réflexions sur l'art dramatique, publiés par elle-même* (Paris: F. Buisson, year VII [1798–1799]), translated into Dutch by Elizabeth Bekker, widow Wolff as *Gedenkschriften van den actrice Hippolite Clairon en aanmerkingen over de tooneelkunde door haar zelf uitgegeven* [...] (The Hague: Isaac van Cleef, 1799), p. 189. See also 'Van de Waarheid van gebaren' (of the truth of gestures) and 'Hinderpalen voor de waarheid der Recitatie' (obstacles to the truth in recitation) in Jacob Ploos van Amstel, *Aanleiding tot de uiterlijke welsprekendheid, op den kansel, voor de balie, in 't bijzonder leezzen, doch voornaamlijk op het Tooneel* (Amsterdam: Izaak Duim, 1766), pp. 75, 93 — this work is mainly based on the translations of three sources: Pierre Rémond de Sainte Albine, *Le Comédien* [...] (Paris: Desaint & Saillant, 1747); Jean-Léonor de Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif* [...] (Paris: Jaques le Fevre, and Pierre Ribou, 1707); and Luigi Riccoboni, *Dell'arte rappresentativa capitolì sei* [...] (London: n. pub., 1728).

⁴⁹ For these and other definitions of *waarheid*, see the Dutch historical dictionary, *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, s.v. 'waarheid', <https://gtb.ivdnt.org/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=WNT&id=M083319&lemma=waarheid&domein=0&conc=true> (accessed 6 February, 2024).

⁵⁰ See citation above 'De kleeding wordt meer en meer waarheid' (the costumes are getting closer and closer to the truth), Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', p. 111.

in fictional plays). Similarly, *waarheid* can indicate a resemblance true to the character portrayed — a rendition that seems to match the inner person as true to nature or to real life.⁵¹ In these examples, the search for *waarheid* is related to the rules for ‘*waarschijnlijkheid*’ (verisimilitude/plausability), as each aspect of theatre which diverts from its own *waarheid* can diminish the credibility of the performance for the spectator. But *waarheid* can also encompass a sense of being faithful to the self and of authenticity.⁵²

1.3.2 Costume reform

This section provides a brief overview of costume reform in the generations before and during Jelgerhuis’s time, with sections of Jelgerhuis’s document ‘Antwoord op de vraag’ of 1808 as a guiding source.⁵³ In this document, Jelgerhuis formulates his thoughts in order to answer the following question: ‘Antwoord op de vraag: Welke was de verleden staat van het Nederlandsch Tooneel; welke is de tegenwoordige, en welke zoude die behooren te zijn?’ (Answer to the question: What is the past state of the Dutch stage; what is the present [state], and what should it be?). He reflects on the mistakes of the past, the imperfections of the present, and on possible solutions as the way forward to improvement. The topics he touches on include repertoire, the purpose/social function of the theatre, declamation, acting, (these four will be discussed later in this chapter), and costume.

In *Jan Punt en Marten Corver*, a biography of two famous Dutch actors of the generations previous to Jelgerhuis, Ben Albach describes the costumes worn on the Dutch stage during most of the eighteenth century.⁵⁴ These costumes were related to specific character types: the hero of a Greek tragedy, for instance, would generally wear a ‘habit à la romaine’ (with panniers and a powdered wig), whereas actresses wore a *theatraal kleed* (theatrical dress; a dress with a wide skirt and pannier, and with a fashionable hairdo).⁵⁵ French fashion and theatre practice had been the main example for the costumes on the Dutch stage for both man and women, but the Netherlands lagged behind in comparison to the innovations made in Paris. The French actors François-Joseph Talma (1763–1826) and Hippolyte Clairon (1723–1803) had contributed to a costume reform at the Comédie Française, with the aim of creating a closer resemblance between the costume and the historical dress worn at the time and place in which a play was situated.⁵⁶ In *The Players’ Advice to Hamlet: The Rhetorical Acting Method from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, David Wiles refers to

⁵¹ ‘Acteurs zijn niets dan beuzelaars, indien zij de waarheid niet aan het licht stellen’ (actors are nothing but blabbermouths if they do not bring the truth to light), Jelgerhuis, ‘Antwoord op de vraag’, p. 108.

⁵² For *waarschijnlijkheid* (verisimilitude) concerning Dutch theatre practices in the eighteenth century, and its relationship to specific subjects such as nature, decorum, and historical truth, see De Haas, ‘De wetten’, pp. 33–36 and 73–83.

⁵³ Jelgerhuis, ‘Antwoord op de vraag’, pp. 104–126.

⁵⁴ Albach, *Jan Punt en Marten Corver*.

⁵⁵ Panniers are a pair of frames used to expand the skirt of a dress at the hips. For more on *theatraal kleed*, see Albach, *Jan Punt en Marten Corver*, p. 28.

⁵⁶ François-Joseph Talma was a famous actor at the Comédie Française; Hippolyte Clairon (*Claire-Josèphe-Hippolyte Lérés de la Tude*) was a leading actress at the Comédie Française. Jelgerhuis refers to her *Mémoires* on several occasions in his works. See Clairon, *Mémoires*.

Clairon's belief that 'truth of declamation was linked to truth of costume.'⁵⁷ She also stated in her *Mémoires* of 1798–1799 that drawing skills were advantageous for actors, as it would help them develop painterliness, 'always needed on the stage, both in their attitudes and in their costume'.⁵⁸ Jelgerhuis, acquainted with the Dutch translation of Clairon's *Mémoires*, cites this passage in his *Theoretische lessen*.⁵⁹ It becomes clear that knowledge of visual arts and the ability to draw are not mere accomplishments but can have an actual impact on the actors' performance — namely, on their costume and on the painterliness of their movements.

In the Netherlands, it was Marten Corver who made a start toward the improvement of theatre costumes. This reform, however, took decades. Jelgerhuis elaborates on this period of transition as follows:

*de kleeding was nog niet wat zij wezen moest. De Grieksche helden waren nog in zijde en satijn, vol pailletten en galon. Achilles was gepoederd en met witte zijden linten in de haren, wijde, groote mouwen aan het kleed, en aangebonden heupen voor de plooiing van den schoot van het wijde kleed [...]. Zóó verwaarloosde men toen het zoeken naar waarheid, terwijl men meende haar reeds te bezitten, en de leerlingen der schilderkunst stonden met spotredenen in den mond over deze dwalingen. De lessen, die zij dagelijks bekwamen, regtvaardigden dit.*⁶⁰

the costumes were not yet what they should have been. The Greek heros were still in satin and silk, full of sequins and braid. Achilles was powdered and had white silk ribbons in his hair, a gown with large, wide sleeves [*wijde, groote mouwen aan het kleed*], and tied-on hip-pads [*heupen*] for the pleating of the skirt of the wide garment. [...] This is how people neglected the search for truth, while thinking they already had it, and the painting students filled their mouths with insults concerning these errors. The lessons they received daily, justified this.

⁵⁷ David Wiles, *The Players' Advice to Hamlet: The Rhetorical Acting Method from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p. 147.

⁵⁸ 'Il serait à souhaiter que tous les acteurs eussent au moins un peu de connaissance du dessin, ils sentiraient plus aisément l'importance de l'ensemble de toute une figure ; le pittoresque, toujours nécessaire au théâtre, leur serait plus facile à trouver, et pour leurs attitudes et pour leurs vêtemens.' Clairon, *Mémoires*, p. 62.

⁵⁹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 278; Clairon, *Gedenkschriften*, transl. Wolff, p. 49.

⁶⁰ Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', p. 107.

The print in Figure 5 was a well-known depiction of the actor Jan Punt as Achilles in Jelgerhuis's time and shows the wide sleeves and the pleated skirt in Jelgerhuis's description.⁶¹



Figure 5, *J. Punt, in het Caracter van Achilles [...]* (1770),
Rijksmuseum, print, RP-P-1906-153, FMP 4310

The historical mismatches on-stage (not only of the costumes in the play but also between the costumes and the stage sets) were observed and commented on by art students and other members of the audience (who had the privilege of having gathered some information on the ‘truth’ in historical dress through printed sources, painting lessons, illustrated Bibles, or by other means).⁶² Gradually, costume reform continued, albeit not as quickly in some styles of dress as in others. Many costumes were still far from the historical ‘truth’ at the time Jelgerhuis joined the Amsterdam acting company. He writes, among his observations on the present state of the Dutch stage (c. 1808), that there still was a discrepancy in the costumes for Dutch plays. The actors in the play *Jacoba van Beijeren*, for instance, wore costumes that ‘lay three centuries apart’.⁶³ Alternatively,

⁶¹ <https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200400086> (accessed 22 January 2024).

⁶² Jelgerhuis, ‘Antwoord op de vraag’, p. 106.

⁶³ Jelgerhuis, ‘Antwoord op de vraag’, p. 112. For *Jacoba van Beijeren*, see Jan de Marre, *Jacoba van Beieren, Gravin van Holland en Zeeland. Treurspel* (Amsteldam: Izaak Duim, 1736).

costumes for repertoire situated in Greek and Roman times made better progress: the heroes exchanged their habit à la romaine for tunics and mantles, and, slowly, the actresses renounced the *paniers* for costumes reflecting the simpler silhouette associated with Greek and Roman dress. Jelgerhuis attributes the improved situation not only to the efforts of Corver and Talma, but also to the fact that actors who were his contemporaries consulted paintings and illustrated books on costume history as sources for costume.⁶⁴

De kleeding wordt meer en meer waarheid. De kunst-schilders hebben het hunne hiertoe bijgedragen. De broeder van Talma, een degelijke kunstenaar zijnde — zoo men verhaalt —, vormde den smaak zijns broeders en hij volgde. De antieken werden zoowel door mannen als vrouwen geraadpleegd, en zoo werden de schilderstukken der beste meesters de vraagbaken voor de Tooneelkunstenaars. De werken van Caelin: » [sic] Gewoonte der aloude volken», worden thans in handen der beste Hollandsche Acteurs gevonden, zoodat zij met een oog van beklag op de kleedij van Punt en Passé neerzien.⁶⁵

The costumes are getting closer and closer to the truth. The painters have contributed to this. Talma's brother, being a decent artist — so it is said — moulded his brother's taste and he followed. The ancients were consulted by men as well as women, and thus, the art works of the best masters became the point of reference for stage artists. The works of Caelin [sic]: *Gewoonte der aloude volken*, is at present to be found in the hands of the best Dutch actors, so that they look down upon the costumes of Punt and Passé with contempt.

This paragraph suggests that Jelgerhuis was not alone in applying painting treatises and paintings as sources to create his costume. But he was the only actor of his generation (in the Netherlands) to dedicate half a treatise to costumes for actors. The engravings by Charles-Nicholas Cochin (1715–1790) in *Gewoonte der aloude volken* (a Dutch translation of the French by Michel-François Dandré-Bardon) are a recurring source of reference for costumes in his unpublished writings as well as in his treatise of 1827–1829.⁶⁶

Among Jelgerhuis's ideas for improvement in his document of 1808, he envisions how the theater might hire a knowledgeable person to inform and instruct the audience concerning the upcoming performance and to provide the actors with information about the dress and customs regarding the play at hand, as this person would have access to a theatre library.⁶⁷ Years later, in his treatise (following his lessons of 1824–1828), he expresses his ideas with more precision than in his document of 1808. Jelgerhuis himself had become the person to inform the students (albeit only on the topics of acting theory and costume) on how '*door de kleeding op het Tooneel den onderscheiden volksaard (karakter) en leeftijd aftebeelden, in de onderscheidene tijdperken der geschiedenis*' (by means of the costume, to depict on-stage the different national characteristics and the character's age in the

⁶⁴ Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', p. 112.

⁶⁵ Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', pp. 111–112. Jelgerhuis refers to the Dutch actor Carel Passé (1741–1791) who acted at the Amsterdam Schouwburg from 1774 onwards.

⁶⁶ Michel-François Dandré-Bardon, *Costume des anciens peuples à l'usage des artistes* [...] (Paris: Jombert jeune, 1784), transl. into Dutch by anonymous author as *Gewoonten der aloude volken* [...], 4 vols (Amsterdam: Allart en Holtrop, 1786).

⁶⁷ Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', pp. 117–118.

different eras of history).⁶⁸ For, as he states in his treatise: ‘*men raadpleegt de waarheid tevens alleen in hooge oudheid, aan antieke beelden, en in latere tijden aan kostbare fraaije schilderijen en prenten*’ (one only consults the truth of ancient times through observing ancient statues, and of later times, through precious paintings and prints).⁶⁹

1.3.3 The scholar

To give an idea of material Jelgerhuis might have envisaged for the theatre library, one might list the sources mentioned in Jelgerhuis’s published and unpublished works.⁷⁰ These sources provide an indication of the available information and knowledge on which Jelgerhuis could have based his opinions, and therefore on the sources theatre practitioners working with Jelgerhuis’s works could consult to inform their (historically informed) practice. Moreover, they allow for comparison between the original sources and Jelgerhuis’s reference to them, thereby providing a means to assess his interpretation as well as his accountability in referencing.⁷¹ In his manuscript *Consepten* (Appendix G), which will be presented and discussed in section 1.6 on teaching, Jelgerhuis’s cites the sources he deemed important to share within a pedagogical context. He generally shows professional integrity when citing or using illustrations of other painters or authors as examples in his *Theoretische lessen* (in fact, he may also have taken pride in his reference to other sources). In his section on costume, Jelgerhuis mentions sources such as Montfaucon, Le Frank van Berkhey, Lens, Winkelman, and Bar.⁷² Several costume illustrations lack a precise reference to their source, however, even when they are a clear copy. Jelgerhuis’s still critiques the incorrect costumes of his youth in the *Theoretische lessen* and although even at the time of the treatise not all actresses were willing to wear Greek dress without a corset, he praises the improvements that had taken place.⁷³ His teaching position at the theatre in those years had enabled him to share his knowledge of sculptures and sources with young actors, teachers, and others interested who attended his lessons and, through his treatise, with a much wider audience even after his death.

1.3.4 Jelgerhuis’s costumes

Having described Jelgerhuis’s observations concerning outdated costumes, and having touched upon his aim to achieve *waarheid* (truth) in his costume research, I also want to draw attention to

⁶⁸ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 186.

⁶⁹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 278.

⁷⁰ In an attempt to do this, I have listed more than a hundred items including sources and art objects. However, I was as yet unable to trace all the items on the list, and pursuing to complete it would have been too time consuming a task for this dissertation. I remain hopeful that this search will be completed and published by myself or others in the future.

⁷¹ Jelgerhuis shows strong opinions and at times emotional reactions in his four comparative manuscripts, but the verifiable facts such as dates, titles of plays, and names of actors and actresses align (correct spelling not considered) with data found in other contemporary sources.

⁷² Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 187; Bernard de Montfaucon (1655–1741), Johannes le Francq van Berkhey (1719–1812), Andreas Cornelis Lens (1739–1822), Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768), and Jacques-Charles Bar (1740–1811). Golding’s English translation of Jelgerhuis’s *Theoretische lessen* features more complete information on the authors and (potentially intended) sources in footnotes: Golding, *Classicistic acting*, pp. 396–398.

⁷³ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 199, 277.

art historian Frithjof van Thienen's mention of Jelgerhuis's deviations from historically correct costumes.⁷⁴ Van Thienen ascribes this not only to incorrect information in the sources or Jelgerhuis's occasionally faulty interpretation of those sources. He also gives an example in which Jelgerhuis allowed for slightly bending the historical truth in the service of theatrical effect. Such examples show how Jelgerhuis negotiated between Jelgerhuis the knowledgeable painter and Jelgerhuis the actor, who was aware of the practicalities of the theatre. In some situations, he laid aside his painter's knowledge in favour of the on-stage appearance. In his *Toneel Studien* manuscript of 1811, for instance, he chose a darker colour of hair and beard in deference to good taste or of the '*Schilderagtige Uijtwerking*' (painterly effect).⁷⁵ Although the *Theoretische lessen* reveal his satisfaction regarding the present ameliorated state of the costumes, Jelgerhuis still found room for improvement.⁷⁶ He continued his quest to refine theatre costume throughout his career, by, for instance, instructing the students, by documenting in his private journals the costumes of foreign theatre companies visiting Amsterdam and by writing about the costumes he selected for his favourite roles. In his illustrated private journals, Jelgerhuis depicted actors from various countries in acting poses, often flanked by written details on costume and appearance such as fabrics, hair, ornaments, and so on.⁷⁷ Most of the sketches are in colour, documenting not only the shape but also the colour of the costumes. Before assessing these colours to be as exact copies of the originally used fabrics, however, I compare the coloured engravings with information in the accompanying written texts or with other copies of the same illustration, whenever possible.⁷⁸

1.3.5 Unpublished costume designs

The annotations in Jelgerhuis's unpublished individual costume designs reveal his active participation in the creation of costumes for himself and, possibly also, for others. His notes show his attention to detail and to his selection of garments and accessories that were available in the theatre's costume archive, whereas Jelgerhuis's notes to himself cast light on his thoughts informing the costume design. One of the most detailed costume designs is the Sketch for Sofar in *Ninus de tweede*, see Figure 6.⁷⁹ This handwritten text on this design reveals that Jelgerhuis owned

⁷⁴ Frithjof van Thienen, 'Jelgerhuis en het "historisch" of "exotisch" kostuum', in *Johannes Jelgerhuis rzn. acteur-schilder* (1969), pp. 39–43.

⁷⁵ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, pp. 180, 184–185. I considered the possibility of such deviations and choices of artistic freedom when consulting Jelgerhuis's engravings and writings on costume for my own costume design in the second case study (Chapter 4). Yet, his occasional artistic choices regarding the costume were no hindrance to my following Jelgerhuis's design: my aim was not for the costume to be historically correct from today's perspective, but for the costume to recall the style used on-stage in the early nineteenth century, so as to see its effect in a historically informed theatrical setting.

⁷⁶ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 277.

⁷⁷ For illustrations and comments on the costume and hair of French actors, see Jelgerhuis, *Schettzende Herinneringen*, for Talma's wig as Achilles, see pp. 24–25; on costume fabrics, p. 35; for sandals, p. 48. For illustrations and observations of dresses, and for decoration of the stage and horses brought by an English acting company, see Jelgerhuis, *Iets over het Engelsche Toneel*.

⁷⁸ The colours in the copy at the Amsterdam Municipal Archives as well as the series of twelve prints on Google books seem faithful to the text.

⁷⁹ Spelled 'Zofar' in the play text of 1815, Charles Brifaut, *Ninus de tweede, treurspel* [...] (Amsterdam, Abraham Mars, 1815), transl. Jan van 's Gravenweert.

certain garments (see the annotation for ‘*myn tunik*’ [my tunic] and ‘*myn ygen broek*’ [my own trousers]) and that he intended to reuse parts of costumes from previous productions (‘*het kopere kurasje van Van Hulst*’ [the copper cuirass of van Hulst]; ‘*Saaye buysje uit Omasis*’ [serge jacket from Omasis]).⁸⁰



Figure 6, Costume design for Sofar in Ninus II,
Allard Pierson, theatre collection, GD3-25, t000777.000.

⁸⁰ For more details about this costume design, see *Jobannes Jelgerhuis rzn. acteur-schilder* (1969), pp. 113–114; With ‘Omasis’ he refers to Baour-Lormian, *Omasis*, transl. Westerman.



Figure 7 (left), Costume sketch for Sofar in *Ninus II*, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, GD3-24, t000776.000; Figures 8 (middle) and 9 (right), Cochin's engravings in Dandr -Bardon, *Gewoonten der aloude volken*, transl. anonymous, vol. 4, plates 23 and 28.⁸¹



Figure 10, Charles Le Brun, *La bataille d'Arbelles*, detail, (c. 1668–1669), oil painting, Louvre, INV 2895, MR 1916.⁸²

⁸¹ Dandr -Bardon directly refers to Le Brun's *La bataille d'Arbelles* (Figure 10) in his accompanying text to plate 28 (Figure 9).

⁸² Jelgerhuis possibly also took inspiration from Charles Le Brun's *La bataille d'Arbelles* (Figure 10) for the colours of his costume in Figure 6, as the blue tunic, the white puffed sleeves, and the belt strongly resemble the dress of the running Persian in this painting.

The handwritten text accompanying two sketches for Sofar's costume on Figure 7 (probably copies of Cochin's engravings in Dandr -Bardon's *Gewoonte der aloude volken*, Figures 8 and 9) shows evidence of Jelgerhuis's attention to the historical accuracy of the costume: '*invallende gedachte voor 't kleeed van Sofar*' [...] '*Nazien bij Romijn de Hooge en Luyken of 't mag*' (sudden idea for the gown of Sofar' [...] 'check with Romijn de Hooge and Luyken if it is allowed').⁸³

In my first case study (Chapter 3) I will show that Jelgerhuis also refers to the engravings of Jan Luyken and Cochin in his manuscript *Toneel Studien* of 1811, when describing his efforts to realize historically informed costumes for his favourite roles. Jelgerhuis's writings and costume illustrations, particularly of his early period (1808-1811) and his last two publications (1827–1827 and 1832), provide several examples both of the changes that were made during Jelgerhuis's lifetime and of customs and costumes that remained unaltered. His annotations alongside the costume illustrations reveal aspects of theatre practices behind the scenes at the Amsterdam Schouwburg, such as his having garments of his own and the practice of reusing garments from previous productions. The combination of Jelgerhuis's published and unpublished works demonstrates not only that Jelgerhuis had a say in the creation of his own costume, but also that he encouraged young actors to make informed choices regarding their own costumes.⁸⁴

⁸³ Romeyn de Hooghe (1645–1708) was an etcher and painter. Jan Luyken (also referred to as Johannes Luiken)(1649–1712) was a poet, lithographer and book illustrator. For more information on this sketch, see *Johannes Jelgerhuis r n. acteur-schilder* (1969), pp. 113–114.

⁸⁴ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 186.

1.4 ACTING STYLES: PAST - PRESENT - FUTURE

This section presents Jelgerhuis's views on subjects such as the purpose of the theatre, the repertoire, acting, and declamation in the context of the changing theatre practices in the Netherlands at the time. This background information serves to discuss Jelgerhuis's acting style and those of other actors, to improve interpretation of his treatise and lesser-known works.



Figure 11, Jelgerhuis, illustration of himself as Gijsbrecht van Aemstel, *Toneel Studien*

To understand the discussions on acting, movement, and interpretation by Jelgerhuis and his contemporaries better, I introduce and discuss the last set of terms: *natuurlijkheid*, *gemak*, and *gratie* — hereafter referred to as naturalness, ease, and gracefulness — with the aid of citations from Jelgerhuis's manuscripts and other historical sources. These three terms as well as the informed interpretation of Jelgerhuis's works will inform my search for and experimentation with acting techniques inspired by his treatise and manuscripts in the following chapters on stagecraft. Along with secondary sources and sources contemporary with Jelgerhuis, his document 'Antwoord op de vraag' of 1808 is again a key source, as it provides insight into the situation at the Amsterdam theatre as he perceived it. I close this section by casting light on Jelgerhuis's observations on the theatre practices of Dutch, French, and English acting companies visiting Amsterdam between 1811 and 1817.

1.4.1 Repertoire and the purpose of the theatre

Jelgerhuis opens his ‘Antwoord op de vraag’ of 1808 by commenting on the state of the theatre over the previous twenty-five years as a ‘*steeds toenemende tenonderbrenging van alles wat e d e l, s c h o o n, e n g r o o t i s*’ (an ever-increasing downfall of everything that is noble, beautiful, and grand).⁸⁵ This downfall is due largely, he contends, to the changing repertoire that saw the performances of tragedy reduced in favor of German dramas, melodramas, and German and French operas. To Jelgerhuis, for whom tragedy was the highest form of theatre, the result was a ‘deviation from the actual aim of the theatre: truth’ because the lighter repertoire neither developed the audience’s taste nor increased their knowledge.⁸⁶ He remarks that ‘*waarheid en historiekunde heerschten geenszins in de voordracht der daad, noch in de wijze van spel, noch in de kleeding*’ (truth and the science of history were neither represented in the way of acting, nor in the costumes).⁸⁷ As with his ideas on costume, Jelgerhuis also reflected on topics including the repertoire, acting, and declamation, on the current situation and potential improvements to meet the ultimate aim of the theatre’s ideal purpose:

*Vooreerst dient als vaste waarheid voorop te staan, dat het doel van den Schouwburg moet zijn, volksverbetering, leering, beschaving, vorming van den smaak en het besef van schoone kunsten en wetenschappen aan de onbeschaafde menigte in te prenten, terwijl de man van smaak en verstand zich er wezenlijk vermaakt. Al deze gewigtige doeleinden moeten, spelende, bereikt worden, en dus nimmer uit het oog worden verloren, noch door het Bestuur, noch door de Tooneelspelers, zo min als door de dichters.*⁸⁸

First and foremost, it must be established as an absolute truth, that the purpose of the Theatre must be the elevation of the common man, education, civilization, the cultivation of taste and to impress the awareness of the fine arts and sciences on the uncivilized masses, while the man of taste and intellect really enjoys himself. All these important aims must be reached while acting, and therefore never be lost sight of, neither by the directors, nor by the actors, and not less so by the poets.

Ideally, beautiful and truthful performances, representing the emotional development of the characters, would improve the spectators’ minds, morals and tastes even as it provided enjoyment. This would be valuable both for the lower and middling classes, who might not otherwise have the time or opportunity to educate themselves, and for the upper classes, for whom the theatre was a source of entertainment.⁸⁹ For Jelgerhuis, achieving these ideals necessitated improvements to various aspects of the theatre; he therefore suggested possibilities for elevating the repertoire

⁸⁵ Emphasis follows the original. See Jelgerhuis, ‘Antwoord op de vraag’, p. 105.

⁸⁶ Regarding the repertoire and the changing taste of the audience, see Henny Ruitenbeek, *Kijkcijfers: De Amsterdamse Schouwburg 1814–1841* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002), pp. 13–14.

⁸⁷ Jelgerhuis, ‘Antwoord op de vraag’, p. 105.

⁸⁸ Jelgerhuis, ‘Antwoord op de vraag’, pp. 115–116.

⁸⁹ Jelgerhuis, ‘Antwoord op de vraag’, p. 116.

and opening a school to improve the quality of acting.⁹⁰ These thoughts would not only directly influence the visual performance and delivery of the performer (as will be discussed regarding beautiful and truthful acting practices, in Chapters 2–4), but also the preparatory process and choices regarding the interpretation of one's role (as became clear to me in searching for the noble character of Proserpina, described in the second case study (Chapter 4).

1.4.2 Developments in acting style

Alongside shifts in repertoire and costume reform in the second half of the eighteenth century, came changes in acting and declamation. The following delineation of these changes describes part of the groundwork on which I base my decisions relating to acting style in chapters 2–4. In fact, comments rejecting the previous and outdated style in favour of the new (such as those by Jelgerhuis and his contemporaries), are valuable pointers to understanding the early nineteenth-century acting style in the Netherlands.

Descriptions of actors such as the abovementioned Jan Punt, Marten Corver, and François-Joseph Talma provide insight into these shifts in acting style. Comments on their performances documented by theatre critics, actors, and other spectators reveal the trends of the time and allow for comparison with Jelgerhuis's writings. In 1785, the poet, writer and publisher Arend Fokke Siemonsz, for instance, signaled a change from the declamatory style (older, and more suitable for verses of high quality) to the more natural style (which he calls acting).⁹¹ Two decades, later, Jelgerhuis cites Corver's writings of 1789, which criticizes Punt's almost chanting mode of declamation and the droning delivery of verses called '*Hollandschen Heldentoon*' (Dutch heroic tone).⁹² Corver had started using a more natural declamatory style, although he declined the honour of its invention, stating that many actors before him (including Punt in his early days) had declaimed in this way: ('*eenvoudig op de rede en de natuur gegrond: zonder geweld*') (without violence, but simply, based on nature and on reason). In short, Punt's style of acting was associated with the earlier, oratorical acting style, whereas Corver is considered a leading figure in the transition toward to a more natural style (termed by some as neo-classicism), and eventually, to a romantic style evident towards the end and following Jelgerhuis's career.⁹³ Because Jelgerhuis's treatise contains

⁹⁰ Jelgerhuis was not the only one concerned about the repertoire at the Amsterdam theatre. Its organization tried to offer performances which would please the audience and bring in the money, yet attempted to reduce 'onzedelijk' (lewd) repertoire. See Ruitenbeek, *Kijkcijfers*, p. 168.

⁹¹ Anna de Haas, 'Opvoeringen van Vondels *Gysbrecht* in de achttiende eeuw', in *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 39, (2016), 1, 157–172 (pp. 159–160). I would like to thank Anna de Haas for providing me with this and other information in the beginning of my studies.

⁹² Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', p. 106; for Corver on chanting delivery, see Corver, *Tooneel-aantekeningen*, pp. 158–159; for chanting delivery and the '*Hollandse heldentoon*', see Albach, *Helden*, pp. 54–55.

⁹³ For the acting tradition previous to Jelgerhuis, see Roodenburg, *The Eloquence*, pp. 147–156. For more information on the transitions in acting style on the Dutch stages see, for instance, Albach, *Helden*, pp. 54–76; for Corver's writings about Punt, see Corver, *Tooneel-aantekeningen*. For Alfred Simon Golding's three chapters on what he terms as acting in the symbolic, rational, and sensible mode, see Golding, *Classicistic acting*, pp. 71–141.

no content on declamation, contextualization of the few hints in his less-known works are the main means to better understand Jelgerhuis's ideas on this topic.

Several pupils and colleagues of Corver became excellent actors, such as Ward Bingley (1757–1818) and Johanna Cornelia Ziesenis Wattier (1762–1827), and their generation made tragedy flourish on the Dutch stage when Jelgerhuis joined the Amsterdam Schouwburg. Yet, no matter to what degree Corver's influence resulted in a more natural acting style, Jelgerhuis's concept of natural acting was transformed after having seen Talma perform in 1811 and on earlier occasions.⁹⁴ Indeed, the idea of the natural was under continual revision. As David Wiles writes in his *Player's Advice to Hamlet*:

In a persistent reiteration, successive generations have applauded themselves over the way their modern acting has become more 'natural', at the expense of an older style variously dismissed as rhetorical, declamatory, artificial or insincere.⁹⁵

Even during the period of Bingley and Wattier between 1795 and 1820, described by theatre historian Ben Albach as the '*grote periode van het Amsterdamse Toneel*' (the great period of the Amsterdam stage), Jelgerhuis writes that, although the costumes had improved after Talma's performances in the Netherlands, the acting was still far from what it should have been.⁹⁶

1.4.3 'Naturalness', 'ease', and 'gracefulness'

Jelgerhuis's concept of naturalness with regard to acting and declamation can be better understood by studying his starting points, his taste, and his practical experience. Developing a sense of the degree of naturalness intended by Jelgerhuis when referring to acting is important for performers aiming to experiment with Jelgerhuis's acting techniques. His unpublished works, in particular, reveal his desire for a more natural approach. Because the concept of naturalness on-stage is not so easily defined, changing according to time, place, and persona, I analyse content from Jelgerhuis's document of 1808 and two of his illustrated journals (*Schetzende Herinneringen* of 1811 and *Beschouwingen* of 1817) as well as reviews from other contemporary sources to better discern his approach.⁹⁷ These illustrated manuscripts provide a unique view of French and Dutch stagecraft of the time from the perspective of an experienced man of the theatre. I briefly introduce both manuscripts here, as selected passages from these works contribute to my discussion on naturalness. Following the paragraphs on naturalness, I will return to the manuscripts to discuss their content regarding stage practices in section 1.4.4, 'Jelgerhuis on Dutch, English, and French stage practices, 1811–1817'.

⁹⁴ Apart from Talma's performances in 1811, Jelgerhuis probably saw at least one of his performances in 1797, 1803, and 1806. See Albach, "'de volmaakste Acteur'", p. 31. See also Worp, *Geschiedenis*, p. 254.

⁹⁵ Wiles, *The Players' Advice*, p. 174.

⁹⁶ Both Worp and Albach dedicate an entire chapter to this period. See Worp, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 226–254, and Albach, *Helden*, pp. 97–114. For Jelgerhuis' comment, see Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', p. 111.

⁹⁷ Jelgerhuis, *Schetzende Herinneringen* and Jelgerhuis, *Beschouwingen*.

The manuscript *Schettzende Herinneringen* of 1811 documents several theatre performances at the Amsterdam Schouwburg featuring four famous French actors, organized on the occasion of Emperor Napoleon's visit to the Netherlands in 1811. Jelgerhuis compares the French actors to Dutch actors—including Jean François Talma—and discusses stage practices, costume, and acting style.⁹⁸ In his unpublished illustrated journal *Beschouwingen* of 1817, Jelgerhuis describes eighteen performances by the Koninklijke Nationale Tooneelsten (Royal National Players) from The Hague under the direction of the actor manager Ward Bingley.⁹⁹ Anonymous theatre critics of the periodical *De Tooneelkijker* (The Opera Glasses) also attended most performances of Bingley's company, and published their opinions in a volume dedicated to their visit.¹⁰⁰ Jelgerhuis's words can therefore be weighed against theirs.¹⁰¹ In Jelgerhuis's *Beschouwingen*, for instance, he praises Bingley's performance of Talland in *Het Geweten*, and the detailed account of this rendition by writers of *De Tooneelkijker* praises Bingley's natural performance:¹⁰²

*Hoe kunnen wij hem in die rol genoeg prijzen [...] wij zouden U moeten zeggen, dat zijne droefheid niet in schreeuwen, zijn angst niet in geschrei of gegil, of zijne krankzinnigheid niet naar de onbeschoftheid van eenen beschonken zeeman geleek; dat zijn sterven niet afschuwelijk, maar natuurlijk en zacht was; dat al de gemoedsbewegingen, in zijne rol voorkomende, niet alleen in zijne stem, maar ook op zijn gelaat, in zijne gebaren en zijnen stand te ontdekken zijn.*¹⁰³

How can we praise him enough [...] we would have to tell you that his sorrow was not expressed by screaming, his fear not by crying or shouting, or that his madness did not resemble the rudeness of a drunken sailor; that his dying was not horrible, but natural and gentle; that all the passions that appeared in his role were not only to be discovered in his voice, but also in his face, his gestures and his poses.

This description has similarities to Jelgerhuis's observations of Talma in *Schettzende Herinneringen*, where he made a conscious decision to focus on Talma and to omit commenting on the other actors unless they performed unpredictably. His initial criticism of Talma was replaced by admiration and recognition of his craftsmanship. Talma did not wear much makeup, and Jelgerhuis reports that his face could turn pale when he exhibited suffering, something that Jelgerhuis had never seen in another actor.¹⁰⁴ He spoke his monologues as if he truly were alone on stage, in a

⁹⁸ For more information on this event and on the French actors, see Chevalley, 'Politique et Théâtre; Albach, "de volmaakste Acteur"', pp. 11–19; and Neuman, 'Three Jelgerhuis Manuscripts', pp. 115, 117–118, 121–123.

⁹⁹ Arent van Halmael Jr., *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het Tooneel, de Tooneelspeelkunst, en de Tooneelspelers, in Nederland* (Leeuwarden: Suringar, 1840), p. 68.

¹⁰⁰ 'Verslag der Tooneelvertooningen' (1817).

¹⁰¹ Although the opinions expressed by *De Tooneelkijker* and by Jelgerhuis in *Beschouwingen* in regard to The Hague Company performances occasionally differ, the factual content of both texts is identical. When *Beschouwingen* is placed in the context of other contemporary sources, such as playbills, newspapers, and published texts of the plays, it becomes clear just how trustworthy Jelgerhuis's data is. See Neuman, 'Three Jelgerhuis Manuscripts', pp. 120–121, 132–133, 138–141.

¹⁰² August Wilhelm Iffland, *Het Geweten, Tooneelspel*, Dutch transl. by Jan Willem Jacobus Steenbergen van Goor (Amsterdam: Dóll, 1802).

¹⁰³ 'Verslag der Tooneelvertooningen' (1817), p. 14.

¹⁰⁴ Jelgerhuis, *Schettzende Herinneringen*, pp. 6, 23, 44.

soft, yet audible and intense tone of voice that Jelgerhuis found remarkable. Talma knew how to build up his role, and never articulated passages beyond the limit of his voice range. Jelgerhuis describes Talma's rendition of Rhadamiste's dying scene in Crébillon's *Rhadamiste et Zénobie* as natural and with ease:¹⁰⁵

*Talma speelde voortrefflyk, zyn sterven was over schoon natuurlijk en het spel was gemakkelijk [...] Hij sprak sagt en afgebrooken, eijndelyk duidlyk en klaar, en zonk eensklaps in elkander en scheen dood te zyn.*¹⁰⁶

Talma played [Rhadamiste] remarkably well, his dying [was] more than beautifully natural and he played with ease [...] He spoke softly and brokenly, then finally loudly and clearly, and suddenly collapsed, seemingly dead.

Jelgerhuis's admiration of Talma's soft, yet intense and audible declamation can be further illustrated by comparing it to his assessments of stage behaviour in the Amsterdam Schouwburg company in his document of 1808. Jelgerhuis deplores the audience's applause for loudly declaimed passages, a response that, in turn, compels actors to resort to 'exclamando' (shouting) — a kind of vocal exaggeration that results in a loud and unnuanced performance.¹⁰⁷ Jelgerhuis's censure of exaggeration indicates a contemporary ideal of 'naturalness' in acting, but Jelgerhuis uses the term 'naturalness' in two antithetical ways. Though he adopts it to describe a performative ideal, Jelgerhuis also uses it pejoratively in *Beschouwingen* to describe Bingley's wild behaviour in the comedy *De Snijder en zijn Zoon* when he beat another character on stage with a stick and used the familiar personal pronouns 'jij' and 'jouw,' instead of the more respectful 'gij' and 'u', which were in the original text.¹⁰⁸ According to Jelgerhuis, such a lack of decorum (made possible by the dramas in prose) 'verlaagt het toneel' (degrades the theatre), and leads to 'onvoegzame natuurlijkheid' (unbecoming naturalness/unseemly naturalness).¹⁰⁹ He is similarly displeased with several scenes in recently performed melodramas, giving examples including on-stage battles that fill the theatre with gun smoke, and the rough manner in which mine workers tie their guard to a pole.¹¹⁰ Jelgerhuis's warning against the portrayal on-stage of a physically disabled body (as depicted in the attitude by Callot) also showed his care in avoiding directly copying examples that are 'geheel uit de natuur verwekt' (entirely generated by nature) for the purpose of being laughed at.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon, *Rhadamiste et Zénobie* (1711). Jelgerhuis refers to the Dutch translation of the play. See De Crébillon, *Rhadamistus en Zenobia*, transl. by Abraham Bogaert (1713).

¹⁰⁶ Jelgerhuis, *Schettzende Herinneringen*, pp. 26–27.

¹⁰⁷ Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', pp. 111, 121–122. As Roodenburg points out, Justus van Effen (1684–1735 — founder of *De Hollandsche Spectator*, a periodical on theatre reviews (1731–1735)) already criticized the 'onmanierlijk geschreeuw' (unmannerly shouting) on-stage in 1732. See Roodenburg, "Welstand" En "Wellevendheid", p. 432.

¹⁰⁸ Franz Fuss, *De Snijder en zijn Zoon*, Dutch transl. by anonymous author (Dordrecht: Wanner, 1797); Jelgerhuis, *Beschouwingen*, no page numbers.

¹⁰⁹ Jelgerhuis, *Beschouwingen*, no page numbers.

¹¹⁰ Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', p. 113.

¹¹¹ See section 1.2.4 on 'welstand'.

Jelgerhuis opposed imitation of the disabled (to cause derision), physical aggression, and coarse language on stage as forms of realistic ‘naturalness’ because, in his mind, they thwarted the moral function of the stage. Setting a good example for audience members was important to Jelgerhuis. His belief that the theatre served a pedagogical role reveals itself in his manuscripts and publications in the form of precise ideas of what should and should not be presented on stage.¹¹² Such a concern explains his contrasting concepts of ‘naturalness’. On the one hand, the term refers to an ideal of grace and ease in gesture and declamation (nature improved); on the other, to an undesirable realism, an improper way of crudely representing life.¹¹³ Jelgerhuis’s passionate pursuit of aesthetic outer form and perfection in his treatise, alongside his dismissal of exaggeration and realism, might easily overshadow his call against stiffness and for simple freedom of movement. By engaging practically with the information both from his manuscripts and the treatise, I have found that one can learn to sense when intense emotions lead to exaggeration, perhaps that exaggeration which Jelgerhuis warns against. At the same time, it becomes possible to experience how expression of emotion and freedom of movement need not be jeopardized by the search for an ideal outer form. The reader is encouraged to bear this in mind when reading the following passages; like the passage on Talma’s beautifully natural acting from Jelgerhuis’s manuscript, the following examples show again how he associates the natural with the ideal in his treatise:

*De volkomenheid optespooren en die voortedragen, dat is het doel en moet het blijven; het moet af zijn, in stand en houding, in gaan, staan en zitten, in Gesticulatie en in gelaatsstreken, in houding der handen en vingeren, plaatsing der voeten, toon en modulatie der stem; [...] kortom, in alles wat de kunst vordert om natuurlijk en fraai te zijn.*¹¹⁴

To search for perfection and to perform it, that is and must remain our goal; it has to be perfected in attitude and posture, in walking, standing and sitting, in gesticulation and facial expression, in the position of hands and fingers, the positioning of the feet, the tone and inflection of the voice; [...] in short, in everything art requires in order to be natural and beautiful.

*Even als men de toonen der stem tot welluidendheid dwingt, zonder onnatuurlijk te zijn, zoo moet men de uiterlijke gebaren des gelaats tot welstand brengen en te gelijk natuurlijk blijven, overeenkomstig het karakter, hetwelk men voorstellen moet, opdat bezwijmen en dood zoo verschrikkelijk niet voorgesteld worden, dat het afzigtelijk zoude zijn.*¹¹⁵

Just as one forces the tones of the voice to sonority without being unnatural, so must one guide the facial expression to *welstand* and at the same time remain natural, corresponding with the character that one has to represent, so that fainting and death are not portrayed as so terrible as to be hideous.

¹¹² Jelgerhuis refers to the theatre as a ‘*school voor beschaving*’ (a school for civilization) in his ‘Antwoord op de vraag’, p. 114.

¹¹³ Advice on acting naturally on-stage can be found in Ploos van Amstel’s *Aanleiding*, pp. 120–128.

¹¹⁴ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 105.

¹¹⁵ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 119.

These two excerpts show how Jelgerhuis draws the students' attention to various aspects of the craft. Practice was the tool to enable actors (even the most gifted by nature) to attain the level of craftsmanship necessary for expressing a character's passions and emotions seemingly naturally and with ease, but with *welstand*, in a higher and nobler form than in real life.¹¹⁶ On the same page of the treatise, Jelgerhuis also mentions the other facet of naturalness (not refined by practice), associated with overt realism:

*Want het is niet genoeg om, gedreven door gevoel, nu maar natuurlijk te schrijven, te lagchen, vergramd te zijn; neen, men kan daardoor walgelijk en afzigtelijk worden, en het zoude echter natuurlijk zijn.*¹¹⁷

For it is not enough to cry naturally, to laugh, and be angry, driven by feeling; no, one can thereby become revolting and hideous, and yet it would be natural.

The actor's instinct is not enough; one must embody an ideal form of nature, which is a product not of spontaneity but of practice. This ideal form of nature, also referred to as 'reality perfected' or 'nature improved'¹¹⁸ is not a concept solely connected with Dutch theatre. Nor is Jelgerhuis alone in opposing exaggeration and in regarding the theatre as a school for civilization: his language and preference for these concepts are in keeping with contemporary discourse. Although, to my knowledge, Jelgerhuis was not acquainted with the following sources, I provide a few parallels to international sources of his time, so as to place these concepts in an international context.¹¹⁹ For instance, in the acting manual *Regeln für Schauspieler* (rules for actors) — compiled in 1803 by the two actors Karl Franz Grüner and Pius Alexander Wolff, and later edited and published with Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's permission — provides an example of the concept of naturalness on the German stage: '*Zunächst bedenke der Schauspieler, daß er nicht allein die Natur nachahmen, sondern sie auch idealisch vorstellen solle, und er also in seiner Darstellung das Wahre mit dem Schönen zu vereinigen habe*' (Next, the actor should realize that he should not only imitate nature, but represent its ideal, and thus he must unite truth and beauty in his representation).¹²⁰ Similarly, Jelgerhuis's stage ideal also unites the concepts of truth and beauty; a mere imitation of real life is not sufficient. As regards exaggeration, the English painter Joshua Reynolds, in the process of promoting the ideal representation of nature in his *Discourses* of 1778, writes of acting, 'I must observe that even the

¹¹⁶ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. vii.

¹¹⁷ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 119.

¹¹⁸ For 'nature improved', see, for instance, Kyropoulos, 'Teaching Acting to Singers', pp. 76–82; for 'Stage characters as Reality perfected', see Claudio Vicentini, *Theory of Acting. From Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*, transl. by R. Bates and A. Weston (Napoli: Marsilio & Acting Archives, 2012), pp. 65–68.

¹¹⁹ For a discussion of natural, realistic, exaggerated, and noble stage behaviour of opera singers in France, see Laura Moeckli, "'Nobles dans leurs attitudes, naturels dans leurs gestes": Singers as Actors on the Paris Grand Opéra Stage', in *Sänger als Schauspieler: Zur Opernpraxis des 19. Jahrhunderts in Text, Bild und Musik*, 5, ed. by Anette Schaffer, Edith Keller, Laura Moeckli, and others (2014), 11–40 (pp. 34–40).

¹²⁰ The manual *Regeln für Schauspieler* lists clear guidelines for actors, including general rules of pronunciation and delivery. See *Regeln für Schauspieler* in *Goethes Werke*, WA 1.40 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1901), 139–168, see § 35 (p. 153); see also § 80 (p. 166).

expression of violent passion is not always the most excellent [...] Violent distortion of action, harsh screamings of the voice [...] are, therefore, not admissible in the theatric art.¹²¹ The English essayist and theatre critic, William Hazlitt, argues in his essay ‘On Actors and Acting’ (1817) that because the theatre models aesthetic and social ideals, it serves an educative function: ‘The stage is an epitome, a bettered likeness of the world [...] The stage not only refines the manners, but it is the best teacher of morals, for it is the truest and most intelligible picture of life.’¹²² What such connections reveal is the pervasiveness of these concepts, which were in many ways cross-cultural. Jelgerhuis’s manuscripts are important because they demonstrate that a theatre practitioner like Jelgerhuis was conversant with these ideas, both in their more abstract sense, as he articulates them in his *Theoretische lessen*, and in their applied sense, as he links them to the actual acting practices of the French and Dutch performers in the two manuscripts.

1.4.4 Jelgerhuis on Dutch, English, and French stage practices, 1811–1817

This paragraph reveals a selection of Jelgerhuis’s remarks on differences between French, English, and Dutch acting practices, most of which Jelgerhuis does not cover in his treatise. A more complete discussion is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but can be found in my article ‘Three Jelgerhuis Manuscripts’. In this article, I compare the two journals *Schetzende Herinneringen* of 1811 and *Beschouwingen* of 1817, introduced above, with Jelgerhuis’s illustrated journal *Iets over het Engelsche Toneel* of 1814.¹²³ The latter contains his reactions to performances in Amsterdam by English actors who came to perform in Amsterdam (in 1814). Regarding casting solutions, for instance, he registers disappointment of the occasional malfunctioning and rather stagnant practices at the Amsterdam Schouwburg compared to those he observes in the Dutch theatre company from The Hague.¹²⁴ Comparisons such as these cast light upon the shifts of acting practices over time, and on the difficulty of replacing traditional practices for new ones. Awareness of the timing of these shifts within each (international) acting company can assist theatre practitioners working with historical sources in making informed decisions. The following observations on entrances, exits, and blocking on-stage, for example, serve as background information for exercises and staging experiments in chapters 2 and 3.

Jelgerhuis critiques what he perceives as a general inattentiveness to the painted perspective of the stage sets, writing that the French actors’ entrances through the flats, which represented walls, instead of through the doors were inappropriate and against the rules of painting, because such entrances interrupted the scenic illusion.¹²⁵ Jelgerhuis would later consolidate these thoughts in his *Theoretische lessen* in the chapter on entrances and exits, where he advises actors to ‘avoid entering from the wings, when no doors are painted on them. It would otherwise give the impression of

¹²¹ Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses*, ed. by Edward Gilpin Johnson (Chicago: McClurg, 1891), discourse 13, p. 319–320.

¹²² William Hazlitt, ‘On Actors and Acting’ (1817) in *Hazlitt on Theatre*, ed. by William Archer and Robert Lowe (New York: Hill and Wang, 1957) p. 133.

¹²³ Neuman, ‘Three Jelgerhuis Manuscripts’. For Jelgerhuis’s manuscript of 1814, see Jelgerhuis, *Iets over het Engelsche Toneel*.

¹²⁴ Neuman, ‘Three Jelgerhuis Manuscripts’, pp. 130–134.

¹²⁵ Jelgerhuis, *Schetzende Herinneringen*, p. 15.

breaking through the walls. If there are doors, one should use them, and enter from there.’¹²⁶ His concern for maintaining the illusion by respecting the stage sets again illustrates the close connection between painting and the theatre. His admiration concerning the blocking of the English actors in comparison with Dutch and French theatre practice also provides information on more than one side. The English seemed ‘*bevryd van die zichtbaare order die op het Fransche en hollandsche toneel heerscht*’ (freed from that visible order that reigns on the French and Dutch stage): their organized, yet seemingly free positioning, spread over the entire stage, made asides seem ‘*zeer mooglyk en waarschynlyk*’ (possible and probable).¹²⁷ Increasing the probability was significant, as it would add truthfulness (*waarheid*) to the scene. Asides were considered problematical, because it was believed unlikely that the comment of the character speaking the aside should be audible to the audience but not to the character standing near him or her.¹²⁸

Jelgerhuis’s three manuscripts make it clear that Jelgerhuis was not one for revolutionizing stage practices but for refining and improving them, in favor of naturalness and probability within the borders of *welstand*. The casting and staging solutions he witnessed in other companies inspired him in his lifelong search for improving the performance practices of his own company, an interest also apparent in his intensive research into and documentation of period costume, and in his attention to acting skills.

¹²⁶ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 38.

¹²⁷ Neuman, ‘Three Jelgerhuis Manuscripts’, pp. 131–132, 135.

¹²⁸ Anna de Haas discusses this and other eighteenth-century opinions concerning asides. Her citations of Dutch sources offer two solutions to the unlikelihood of asides: 1. the speaking character, temporarily overcome by emotion, bursts out in a short comment, which the other does not hear, 2. the aside spoken words should consequently be artfully dissimulated. See De Haas, ‘De wetten’, p. 147.

1.5. JELGERHUIS, THE ACTOR

This section on Jelgerhuis's acting is a direct preparation for the first case study (Chapter 3), which includes further analysis of his acting technique and role interpretation. To evaluate Jelgerhuis's own accounts of portraying his roles, and to provide an impression of his acting style on the audience, I examine first how theatre critics experienced his acting first. I then provide information on his manuscript *Toneel Studien*, in which Jelgerhuis describes his own acting. The latter manuscript contains passages that are crucial to estimate the significance of the imagination and of *waarheid* in Jelgerhuis's acting, and therefore in my exploration of acting techniques through practice in the following chapters.



Figure 12, Jelgerhuis, illustration of himself as Avogaro, *Toneel Studien*.

Theatre scholars including Van Thienen, Boelen, and Albach have written about Jelgerhuis's acting style; as such, I will only give a short introduction here and focus mainly on specific examples and aspects relevant to the following chapters.¹²⁹ Albach describes the dual aspects of Jelgerhuis's acting style: form and emotion.¹³⁰ The set of rules associated with Neoclassicism and the visual arts informed a style of broad gestures, elevated declamation, contrast and beauty, through which Jelgerhuis was able to move the audience. The rules of stage decorum were no hindrance to

¹²⁹ See Frithjof van Thienen, 'Met vuur en Waardigheid- Johannes Jelgerhuis als acteur', in *Johannes Jelgerhuis 1729. acteur-schilder* (1969), 33–38; Boelen, 'Johannes Jelgerhuis, Rienkzoon', pp. 145–146; and Albach, *Helden*, pp. 102–105.

¹³⁰ Ben Albach, 'Johannes Jelgerhuis over zijn rollen in *Gijsbrecht van Aemstel*: Twee van zijn *Toneelstudien* ingeleid en uitgegeven', in *Spektator*, 17 (1987–1988), 415–430 (p. 419).

creating an intense yet truthful and plausible portrayal of the characters, and to creating performances that inspired members of the audience to write about them with admiration and fascination. The following is in preparation for Part Two on stagecraft (Chapters 2–4), which investigates Jelgerhuis's acting style through practice.

1.5.1 Jelgerhuis' acting described by others

Jelgerhuis performed different types of roles in various genres throughout his career, which he listed in two notebooks.¹³¹ According to most reviews and secondary sources, he was a master at portraying tyrants and other characters with a disposition for strong, often negative emotions, such as Avogaro, Siméon, and Nero (in *Gaston and Bayard*, *Omasis*, *of Jozef in Egypte*, and *Epicharis en Nero*), but he could also portray noble characters and created moving moments when showing a character's vulnerability (Koning Lear, Zopir in *Mohamet*, Philips de Goede in *Jacoba van Beieren*, and again, Siméon).¹³² Jelgerhuis was not only praised for his painterly appearance (costume and presumably, make-up) and qualities which revealed his knowledge of painting.¹³³ Other qualities repeatedly praised are his clear declamation, his understanding of a role, and the emotional portrayal of the character portrayed as described, for instance in this passage by theatre critics *De Tooneelkijker* of 1817:

*Jelgerhuis speelde zijnen roem waardig; zijne alleenspraak [...] verrukte alle toeschouwers; waarachtig! hij is schilder en menschenkenner. Gelukkig, de dichter, die zoo zijne verzen uitgesproken hoort!- Dat Henke zich, door dankbare leergierigheid, de lessen van Snoek en Jelgerhuis waardig moge maken, wenschen wij van harte.*¹³⁴

Jelgerhuis's performance was worthy of his fame, his soliloquy [...] mesmerized the entire audience; truly! He is painter and understands humanity. Happy the poet, who hears his verses delivered thus! We sincerely wish that Henke, by being gratefully eager to learn, may make himself worthy of the lessons of Snoek and Jelgerhuis.

Jelgerhuis's acting is depicted here as exemplary for less experienced actors (regarding the visual aspect of acting as well as the interpretation of character). Moreover, by naming Jelgerhuis in the same sentence as Andries Snoek, the first actor of the Amsterdam Schouwburg at that time, the author of this passage suggests their equal worth as models to be studied. The Dutch actor Louis-

¹³¹ Fons Asselberg listed the roles Jelgerhuis performed, counting more than two hundred premiered roles in various genres. See *Johannes Jelgerhuis rzn. acteur-schilder* (1969), pp. 217–225. For the notebooks, see Johannes Jelgerhuis, *Rollen Boek. Gespeelde Rollen als Acteur te Amsterdam [...]* (1805–1818), manuscript, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, XI G 7; and Johannes Jelgerhuis, *2de Rollen Boeken. gespeelde Rollen. aantekeningen van de dood van Vele Acteurs en Actrices en gebeurde Zaken* (1817–1830), manuscript, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, XI G 6.

¹³² See Voltaire, *Mohamet, Treurspel [...]*, Dutch transl. by Anthony Hartsen (Amsterdam: Izaak Duim, 1770). See also De Marre, *Jacoba van Beijeren*; and see Albach, *Helden*, pp. 103–104.

¹³³ I here include praise for his 'painterly' gestures and attitudes. I discuss stage attitudes and gestures in detail in Chapters 2 and 4.

¹³⁴ The punctuation follows the original, see *De Tooneelkijker*, 2 (1817), p. 52.

Jacques Veltman (1817–1907) provides another telling description of Jelgerhuis's acting in *Ines de Castro* by Reijnvis Feith of 1793:

*Ik zag zijn hand, zoekend naar zijn ponjaard onder den mantel. Mijn bloed stolde in me, want ik las in zijn oogen 'Moord', in zijn verwrongen gelaat zag ik de misdaad. Ik schrok er van, en toen hij haar doorstak, dook ik vol schrik onder de bank. Ja! dát had Jelgerhuis, hij sleepte je mee! Zonder te spreken, wist hij te toonen, wat hij ging doen. Hij was een man, die je deed meeleven, die je de illusie van werkelijkheid gaf – hij was een groot artist!*¹³⁵

I saw his hand, groping for the poniard under his coat. My blood froze in my veins, for I read 'Murder' in his eyes; I saw the crime in his contorted face. I started and, when he stabbed her, I was so frightened, I dived under the bench. Yes! That is what Jelgerhuis did: he carried you away! Without a word, he showed you what he was planning to do. He was a man who made you empathize, who offered you the illusion of reality – he was a great performer.¹³⁶

This text, documenting the memory of Veltman after his retirement, as he recalls having seen Jelgerhuis as a fourteen-year-old boy, shows a side to Jelgerhuis's acting style which cannot be suspected by reading the *Theoretische lessen* only. Although it is a personal view of one member in the audience, possibly slightly altered over time, it suggests an intensity in Jelgerhuis's acting that was not easily forgotten.

One point of criticism is noted by most authors of Jelgerhuis's biographies: he tended to raise his voice too much, resulting in screaming. This was due not just to raising his voice beyond its capacity or to the passionate interpretation of his more dramatic roles, but probably also to the tendency of the times (discussed above) to induce applause by raising the voice in dramatic passages. This review of Jelgerhuis's rendition of Nero in 1817, draws attention to his excellent performance notwithstanding his screaming:

*Jelgerhuis speelde voor Nero; het is bekend, dat hij deze rol meesterlijk vervult; en ook bij deze vertooning heeft hij zulks bewezen; zijne wanhoop over de teleurstelling in het ontdekken der namen van de zamengezworenen was zoo natuurlijk, en zoo tragisch tevens, zonder in het minst laag te zijn, dat hij te regt den grootsten lof heeft weggedragen: ook het aller- moeyelijkst vijfde bedrijf, waar hij de laagheid van den lafbartigen en onttroonden dwingeland bij zijne trotschheid in de vorige bedrijven zoo wel heeft weten te doen afsteken, was uitstekend; hoezeer zijn geschreeuw ons eenigzins hinderde.*¹³⁷

Jelgerhuis played Nero; it is known that he plays this part with mastery; and again he has proved to do so in this performance; his despair about the disappointment at his discovery of the conspirators' names was so natural, and at the same time so tragic, without being mean, that he rightfully received the greatest praise; the most difficult fifth act too, where

¹³⁵ Justus van Maurik, *Toen ik nog jong was* (1887), cited in Albach, 'Johannes Jelgerhuis over zijn rollen', p. 419.

¹³⁶ Translation by Dr. Julia Muller.

¹³⁷ *De Tooneelkijker*, 2 (1817), p. 19.

he managed so well to contrast the baseness of the cowardly, dethroned tyrant with his pride in the previous acts, was excellent; however much his shouting bothered us slightly.

These reviews and others can be compared with Jelgerhuis's own writings about the roles of Avogaro, Nero, and five other roles in his illustrated notebook *Toneel Studien*. Chapter 3 features such comparisons in Jelgerhuis' role of Siméon in the play *Omasis, of Jozef in Egypte*. Analysis of his own studies are also key to interpreting his view on acting practices of others (such as Talma and Bingley), as described in his manuscripts and his treatise.

1.5.2 Jelgerhuis's acting described by himself: *Toneel Studien*

Of all Jelgerhuis's extant unpublished works, the manuscript *Toneel Studien* presents the most detailed and intimate record of his own acting technique and performance practice.¹³⁸ His coloured illustrations and his reflections on costume are a valuable addition for envisioning him on-stage in the actions he describes. Written in 1811, after Jelgerhuis's first six years at the Amsterdam Schouwburg, the *Toneel Studien* reveals his passion for and dedication to his new profession, and also a desire to document and share his knowledge. In those years, he performed in more than one hundred and fifteen different roles, the majority of which were new to him; but this period was also extremely trying on a personal level, as Jelgerhuis lost six close relatives.¹³⁹ As he states on the title page, he wrote most of the 1811 manuscript while sitting at the sickbeds of various members of his household.

In the preface, Jelgerhuis expresses his wish to reveal the hard work of the performer offstage, so that this information may be shared with his contemporaries and available to future generations. In this way, he imagines that the manuscript will help counteract the ephemerality of performance and serve as a memento for the reader/spectator.¹⁴⁰ He explains that Hyppolite Clairon,¹⁴¹ Jean Mauduit Larive,¹⁴² and Johann Jacob Engel,¹⁴³ had already written about the actor's profession before him, but no Dutch actor had taken up this task until now. His chosen characters are all from Dutch tragedies or from tragedies translated into Dutch: Koning Lear (in *Koning Lear*); Avogaro (in *Gaston en Bayard*); Gysbrecht van Aemstel and the Bode (both roles from *Gysbrecht van Aemstel*); Siméon (in *Omasis, of Jozef in Egypte*); and Nero (in *Epicharis en Nero*).¹⁴⁴ Of those six roles,

¹³⁸ I refer mainly to the *Toneel Studien* manuscript in Amsterdam. As the study of Siméon diverges only very slightly (mainly in spelling) from the *Tonneel Stúdien* manuscript in Gent, I only mention the latter when a difference in content seems relevant to this dissertation.

¹³⁹ D'Ailly, 'Johannes Jelgerhuis Rienksz', p. 228.

¹⁴⁰ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 2.

¹⁴¹ Clairon, *Gedenkschriften*, transl. Wolff.

¹⁴² Jelgerhuis refers to the French actor Jean Mauduit Larive, who by this time had published *Réflexions sur l'art théâtral* (1810), *Cours de déclamation, divisé en douze séances* (Paris: Delaunay, 1804), and *Cours de déclamation prononcé à l'Athénée de Paris*, (Paris: Delaunay, 1810). Larive's *Cours de Déclamation* was published into Dutch only after Jelgerhuis's death as *De Kunst van Declameren* (Leeuwarden: Suringar, 1856) but Ben Albach points out that the treatise was known in the Netherlands before that date. See Albach, 'Johannes Jelgerhuis over zijn rollen', p. 429.

¹⁴³ Engel, *De kunst van nabootzing*, transl. Konijnenburg.

¹⁴⁴ Shakespeare, *Koning Lear*, transl. De Cambon after Ducis; Pierre-Laurent Buirette de Belloy, *Gaston en Bayard*, transl. Jan Gerard Doornik; Joost van den Vondel, *Gysbrecht van Aemstel*; Baour-

only Jelgerhuis's study of Koning Lear was published during his lifetime, in 1832, whereas Gysbrecht and the Bode were not published until 1987 by theatre historian Ben Albach.¹⁴⁵ The studies relating to the roles of Avogaro, Nero, and Siméon are as yet unpublished.

1.5.3 *Toneel Studien* and *Tonneel Stúdien*: two versions

There are two extant handwritten and illustrated versions of the *Toneel Studien*: one held at the conservatory library in Antwerp, and a fair copy at the Allard Pierson theatre collection in Amsterdam.¹⁴⁶ I hereafter refer to the draft held in Antwerp as *Tonneel Stúdien*, following Jelgerhuis's first spelling of the header on that version's title page. The title *Toneel Studien* will refer to the fair copy held in Amsterdam, following that manuscript's first spelling of the title. Having given up hope of publication, Jelgerhuis had the fair copy (*Toneel Studien*) bound so as to preserve it, and show it to an art-loving friend, once in a while.¹⁴⁷ The *Tonneel Stúdien* held in Antwerp can be seen as a draft, with alterations such as added words above or in between lines of the original text, as well as words and even entire passages crossed out. In addition, this version contains additional sections of text, some of which are written on loose pages of different formats (probably inserted later), and Jelgerhuis's description of a seventh role: the role of 'Filips' (Philips de Goede) in the play *Jacoba van Beieren*.¹⁴⁸ The index also reveals Jelgerhuis's intention to add another role: that of Xamti in *Het Weeshuis van China*.¹⁴⁹ The illustrations common to both manuscripts are almost identical, yet the *Tonneel Stúdien* contains an additional 'Eerste schetze voor het portraittje van Leentje Snoek' (first draft for a portrait of Leentje Snoek) and a watercolour of a figure (probably Avogaro)

Lormian, *Omasis*, transl. Westerman; Gabriel-Marie Legouvé, *Epicharis en Nero*, Dutch transl. by Pieter Johannes Uyenbroek.

¹⁴⁵ See Jelgerhuis, *De tooneelspeler J. Jelgerhuis Rz.*; and Albach, 'Johannes Jelgerhuis over zijn rollen', pp. 416–417.

¹⁴⁶ Johannes Jelgerhuis Rz., *Toneel Studien Bevattende Ontwikkelingen der Gedachten van Onderscheydene Toneel Studien Welke slegts tot op de helft van het Voorgenomen plan zijn afgeschreeven door den Hollandschen Toneel Speeler J. Jelgerhuis Rz. Dezelven zijn meestal geschreeven by ziekte mijner huisgenoten, en zittende tot derzelver oppassing en gezelschap* (Stage Studies Containing Reflections on Various Stage Studies, of which Only Half of the Predetermined Plan Has Been Completed by the Dutch Actor J. Jelgerhuis Rz. These were for the most part written during illness of my housemates, and sitting [by them] to tend and keep them company) (1811), manuscript, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, BK-B-10. For the manuscript in Antwerp, see Johannes Jelgerhuis Rzn, *Tonneel Stúdien. bevattende Ontwikkelingen Der Gedachten van Onderscheydene toneel studien welke slegts tot op de helft van het voorgenoomen plan zijn afgeschreven, door den Hollandsche Toneelspeeler J. Jelgerhuis Rzn. dezelve zijn meestal geschreven bij ziekte myner huisgenooten . en zittende tot derzelver Oppassing en Gezelschap*, manuscript, Bibliotheek Koninklijk Conservatorium, Antwerpen, S-TN-JELGE-handsch-1.

¹⁴⁷ Jelgerhuis, preface to *Toneel Studien*.

¹⁴⁸ De Marre, *Jacoba van Beieren*.

¹⁴⁹ Reviews in *De Tooneelkijker* of 1816 and 1818 lauded Jelgerhuis's portrayal of the characters and his painterly stances in both roles, mentioning Filips as his 'favourite role'. See *De Tooneelkijker*, 1 (1816), p. 533 and *De Tooneelkijker*, 3 (1818), pp. 140, 441. Jelgerhuis chose to perform the role of Xamti in *Het Weeskind van China* — a Dutch translation by Johannes Nomsz of Voltaire's *L'Orphelin de la Chine* (1755) — at the celebration of his twenty-five years at the Amsterdam Schouwburg. See D'Ailly, 'Johannes Jelgerhuis Rienksz', p. 237.

with an unfinished background in pencil.¹⁵⁰ As the page numbering of the *Tonneel Stúdien* is confusing (many numbers have been corrected, and not all pages are numbered), and the text is often difficult to decipher, I will hereafter refer mostly to the fair copy *Toneel Studien*.

My first case study (Chapter 3) builds on the analysis of Jelgerhuis's acting style with his role of Siméon as its starting point. Doing justice to all the information in both manuscripts, however, is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Concerning the three roles that have been published — Koning Lear, Gysbrecht, and the Bode — I only wish to add the following observation: the role of the Bode (the messenger) is different from the other studies, as Jelgerhuis points out that its focus is mainly on declamation rather than stage action.¹⁵¹ Jelgerhuis's study of 'De Boode [sic]' is an important addition to his treatise in which vocal delivery is not mentioned, yet the style of declamation for the Bode is not directly transferable to other roles nor representative of Jelgerhuis's acting style in general. As an example of Jelgerhuis's thought process, I selected two topics — both related to *waarheid* and *waarschijnlijkheid* (verisimilitude or plausability) — from his unpublished study of Avogaro, in *Gaston en Bayard*: thoughts on character, and the concept of the fourth wall in soliloquies.

1.5.4 School for civilization and the preparation of a role

In-depth research and the internal creation of a role are essential to the process of preparation for most stage performers, but few Dutch actors' accounts of their creation process in the early nineteenth century remain. The *Ton(n)eel Stu(û)dien* manuscripts cast light on Jelgerhuis's search for the motives behind the actions of characters he portrayed. Several descriptions show Jelgerhuis's urge to inform the reader of the thought process behind the creation of Avogaro, a character whose behaviour is (to Jelgerhuis) far from ideal: 'Zie daar al wat ik mij te binnen bragt om de Wraak over het geleeden leed . - [sic] de list en laagheid Eener 't Zaamensweering verschoonlijk te maaken' (Behold all I brought to my mind to excuse the revenge for the pain suffered - the deception and baseness of a conspiracy).¹⁵² As in the following passage, Jelgerhuis shows a need to justify the missteps in Avogaro's behaviour to the audience:

*Zie daar het Character van Avogaro - zie daar al wat te gelijk in mij om moest gaan, om dit wel af te beelden, en hoe affgrijslijk zijne woede zij, die was't mogelijk bij mijne aanschouwer te regtvaardigen*¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ The costume is identical to the illustration of Avogaro in both versions, but the posture of the Avogaro in the *Tonneel Stúdien* is less active and the figure is wearing a hat; The portrait of Leentje Snoek is probably Helena Snoeck (born Snoek) (1764–1807), actress and sister of the actor Andreas (also Andries) Snoek. See Anna de Haas, *Snoek, Helena*, in: *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*, <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/SnoekHelena> (accessed 30 July 2025). In composition and features it strongly resembles the portrait of this actress in a stipple engraving of 1808 by Ludwig Gottlieb Portman. See the Rijksprentenkabinet, *Portret van Hélène Snoeck*, object number RP-P-OB-65.665 <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.227904> (accessed 6 May 2024).

¹⁵¹ De Haas, 'Opvoeringen', pp. 159–160. De Haas refers in this article to Jelgerhuis's study of the Bode, published by Albach, in 'Johannes Jelgerhuis over zijn rollen', p. 427.

¹⁵² Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 36.

¹⁵³ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 37.

behold Avogaro's character - regard everything that had to happen in me simultaneously to express this properly, and, however abhorrent his anger may be, it was possible to justify it [his anger] to my audience.

These passages suggest Jelgerhuis's sense of responsibility for representing truth on-stage as well as his concern with presenting the inner struggles of humans (and mythological figures) through what he considered the right lens. Jelgerhuis's search for a rendition which shows the character truthfully and completely does not merely consist in a clean delivery of the text; it also entails searching the play-text (and context) for a psychological explanation. This explanation may be found in the character's past or present circumstances, that make the character's anger, rage, or the path leading him to commit evil deeds, more understandable to the audience.¹⁵⁴

Jelgerhuis explains, for instance, the reason behind Avogaro's behaviour as indicated in the text by the playwright: Avogaro's hunger for revenge stems from having seen his wife and son being murdered before his eyes, the same reason that triggers his anger and makes Jelgerhuis take his voice to an extreme volume.¹⁵⁵ He also writes how the pain behind Avogaro's anger can persuade the audience to take pity on the tyrant (even after his frightful tirade) but only until he goes too far in the very next section.¹⁵⁶ Although Jelgerhuis describes the fright and the compassion potentially experienced by the audience during Avogaro's outburst of anger, he mentions neither catharsis, nor the eighteenth-century belief that the '*nuttige*' (useful) function of plays and of the theatre should include a process of purification through the passions of fright and compassion.¹⁵⁷ It is not certain if Jelgerhuis's representation of the tyrant in this manner comes purely from his desire to understand and show the character to its fullest, or whether his choice of representing the passions and character in this way is influenced by his faith in the actual ability of actors to contribute to increasing the moral values of the audience.

1.5.5 Soliloquies and the fourth wall

Another aspect of the actor's responsibilities as described by Jelgerhuis, is to make the story clear to the audience. In a reflective passage he explains how soliloquies can serve, 'however unnatural' they may be, to show 'the development of the character's thoughts' and to clarify 'the further continuation [of the play] to the spectator'.¹⁵⁸

Daar dezelfven [...] Slechts tot het spel behooren [...], mag men mijns oordeels dezelve ook Zoo ver van de natuur verweijderen, dat men die bij 't luyde gesprek aan zijne aanschouwers Richt, alsof men vooronderstellen moet met Engel, Eene gewaande Muur die het toneel sluijt.*¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ Many of his roles represented men known through historical sources or mythology, however inaccurate at times. For purely fictional characters there was no context except the play-text.

¹⁵⁵ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, pp. 36, 43.

¹⁵⁶ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, pp. 36, 37, 42.

¹⁵⁷ De Haas, 'De wetten', pp. 243, 262–270.

¹⁵⁸ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 50.

¹⁵⁹ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, pp. 50–51; Jelgerhuis himself inserted a footnote here: '**Kunst van Nabootzing*', referring to Engel, *De kunst van nabootzing*, transl. Konijnenburg, vol. 2, p. 179.

As they [the soliloquies] [...] belong only to acting [...], one is allowed, in my opinion, to remove them so far from Nature, that one directs them at the spectators while speaking out loud, as if one should presume with Engel* that an imaginary wall closes off the stage.

Where Jelgerhuis refers to (the Dutch translation of) Engel's treatise, Engel rightfully refers back to Denis Diderot (1713–1784), who is still considered today as the first to introduce the idea of an imaginary fourth wall in his *Discours sur la poésie dramatique* of 1758.¹⁶⁰ This sequence of citations shows how this concept, which was developing throughout Europe in Jelgerhuis's time, also reached the Netherlands. The fourth wall, which typically excludes interaction with the audience, may be a self-evident concept for actors today, but for Jelgerhuis in 1811 this concept was an aid in his finding a compromise between what was considered natural in Nature (in real life) and on stage. Jelgerhuis's repeated mentioning of monologues as being 'unnatural' seems, similar to the precarious asides, to be based on eighteenth-century ideas related to *waarheid* and *waarschijnlijkheid* as discussed by Anna de Haas in 'De wetten van het treurspel', on avoiding (long) monologues in plays. Her citations on this topic show the opinion that soliloquies were not allowed unless the character was out of his mind, or affected by heightened and (preferably) varied emotions.¹⁶¹ Decades later, Jelgerhuis is still searching for solutions to make the monologues acceptable to his reader and convincing to the audience, and even, perhaps to himself. The combination of the separate reality that is the theatre and the fourth wall made it more plausible to speak the verses as loudly as required in the theatre even though this would rarely correspond with real life:

*de mensch vervoerd of door droefheid off door vreugde of Swanger gaande gedagten van een groot ontwerp en alleen gelaaten zal wel enkele woorden uyten maar niet luyde spreken [.] Van deeze Waarheid eenigzints afftedwaalen vordert het Toneel.*¹⁶²

A person, transported by sadness or by joy, or pregnant with great thoughts, and, left alone, will utter some words, but will not speak loudly. To diverge slightly from this Truth is what is needed in Theatre.

As discussed in the sections above on *waarheid* and 'Jelgerhuis's costumes' Jelgerhuis aims for the representation of Truth on-stage while being aware of practical elements inherent to stagecraft, which require slight deviations from what was described as *nature*. Having introduced the concept of the fourth wall and its implications for monologues to his reader, Jelgerhuis presents the way of acting as another essential element for performing monologues well:

¹⁶⁰ The original concept as written by Diderot: '*Imaginez sur le bord du théâtre un grand mur qui vous sépare du parterre. Jouez comme si la toile ne se lavoit pas*' (imagine a large wall along the edge of the stage, which separates you from the audience. Play as if the curtain had not risen). See Denis Diderot, 'Discours sur la poésie dramatique' in *Le père de famille: comédie en 5 Actes, et en Prose, avec un Discours sur la poésie dramatique* (Amsterdam, n. pub., 1758), p. 86.

¹⁶¹ De Haas, 'De wetten', pp. 143–147, in particular, p. 144, footnote 8.

¹⁶² Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 51.

*Hoe onnatuurlijk de alleenspraaken ook zijn, Zoo Zijn Zij echter voor den Toneelspeeler hoogst belangrijk . - [sic] kragt en geest van voorstelling word al vast in deeze verEijst, het is een Compleet Schilderij met welk wel afftebeelden Een levendige geest alleen te regt kan koomen en in waarheid hier kan de Schilderij niet te levendig worden voorgedragen [:] sterke teekening der levendige gemoeds vreugde op het gelaat en standen en gesticulatie zijn de middelen om dit wel te speelen.*¹⁶³

However unnatural the soliloquies may be, they are highly important to the actor, for which the strength and imagination are primary requirements; it is a complete Painting which one can only depict well with a lively mind, and in truth, the Painting cannot be presented vividly enough. Strongly expressed exuberance in the face and in stances and gesticulation are the means of conveying/performing this well.¹⁶⁴

The monologue is the point at which one actor/actress is responsible for creating the full picture on-stage (within the context of stage sets, lighting, audience) through stances, gestures, imagination, facial expression, and declamation. From Jelgerhuis's writings in the *Toneel Studien*, it becomes clear that he prepared and studied these moments with care. His emphasis on the need of an actors's creative invention, their imagination, and expression of specific emotions is important when viewed in light of interpreting the teaching practices of Jelgerhuis's time in secondary sources, such as the following of 1977: 'Nergens werd de acteur—althans voorzover wij weten—op zijn fantasie, zijn gevoel en zijn eigen creatieve vermogen gewezen' (Nowhere was the actor - at least to our knowledge, - called upon to use his imagination, his feeling and his creative ability).¹⁶⁵ Although the author was well-informed, and cited various works by Jelgerhuis including the 1808 document, his remark shows that Jelgerhuis's documents on teaching must be compared with his manuscripts to appreciate his approach and his in-depth study of his roles beyond the visual aspect of the performance.

In the following chapters on stagecraft, imagination is the core element for the staging processes as well as acting exercises. In my first case study (Chapter 3), I discuss one of Jelgerhuis's monologues in detail and describe the process of putting this monologue into practice by using elements of acting as described in both his *Theoretische lessen* and his study of Siméon (from the play *Omasis, of Jozef in Egypte*) in the *Toneel Studien*. In both case studies (Chapters 3 and 4), I aim for a style of acting that is graceful and beautiful, yet natural according to my conception of *waarheid* (truth), in service of the higher aims of the stage.

¹⁶³ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 52.

¹⁶⁴ With 'sterke teekening der levendige gemoeds vreugde' (strongly expressed exuberance, [literally: strong depiction of exuberance]) Jelgerhuis seems to refer to Avogaro's monologue, in the final scene of Act II in De Belloy, *Gaston en Bayard, Treurspel* [...], Dutch transl. by Jan Gerard Doornik (Amsterdam: J. Helders en A. Mars, 1785), p. 44.

¹⁶⁵ Hans H. J. De Leeuwe, 'De toneelspelersopleiding in Nederland in de negentiende eeuw', in *Scenarium*, 1 (1977), 9–33 (pp. 12–13).

1.6 JELGERHUIS, THE TEACHER

This section on teaching unites Jelgerhuis's skills in painting, costume, and acting, as I consider these elements in connection with his teaching, as well as his ambitions for the improvement of the theatre, and of acting, in particular. By discussing examples from the *Theoretische lessen* I anticipate the subsequent chapters on stagecraft, in which I put Jelgerhuis's theory into practice and explore most of the actor's tasks.



Figure 13, Jelgerhuis, *Vrouwelijke personificatie van Theoretica / Bespiegeling* (1785–1836),
etching, object number: RP-P-1878-A-2124,
<https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200209073>

Because sharing acting techniques and concepts based on Jelgerhuis's *Theoretische lessen* through teaching is a significant aim of Chapter 2 in particular, I also revisit the terms such as *waarheid* and *welstand* with reference to teaching. I then investigate the timespan of the concepts and techniques as taught by Jelgerhuis as well as their influence on following generations. To shed light on Jelgerhuis's developing thoughts and aspirations concerning an acting school and its potential curriculum, I introduce a transcription, translation, and discussion of his unpublished and rarely discussed manuscript *Consepten* (c. 1822). This document enables observation of the consistency in his ideas over time, as it optimizes comparison with his earliest documented ideas on teaching of 1808 with his subsequent lessons and his *Theoretische lessen*. On a larger scale, Jelgerhuis's thoughts

on teaching cast light on his ideas of an ideal education for the actor, thereby revealing more about the actor's profession and responsibilities than can be concluded from reading his separate works out of context.

1.6.1 The purpose of an acting school and education

When Jelgerhuis began his acting profession, there was no acting school connected with the Amsterdam Schouwburg. Young actors learned the craft in amateur theatre companies, and/or were taught privately by a more experienced actor until they were ready for their debut at the theatre.¹⁶⁶ The level of acting at the Amsterdam Schouwburg, however, was not consistent and did not reach the standards Jelgerhuis desired. Jelgerhuis's ideas for the improvement of the theatre through an organized structure for the education of young actors can be traced back to 1808, but only in 1824 were some of his ideas realized, after which his teaching endeavors were crowned with the publication of his *Theoretische lessen* between 1827 and 1830. Tracing the topic of education in Jelgerhuis's works generates insight into Jelgerhuis's approach to education and his developing ideas regarding the curriculum. This in turn allows for comparison between Jelgerhuis's ideas and 1) the opinions of more amply researched famous French actors such as Clairon and Lekain on how acting education should be structured, and 2) the curriculum of later acting schools in the Netherlands.¹⁶⁷ The opinions of these actors matter not only because they often had a direct influence on the actual curricula, but also because they show one of the conundrums that would continue to exist into the twentieth century: if the actors' career and success depend on their inborn genius/talent, then what is the purpose of an acting school and education?¹⁶⁸ Jelgerhuis discusses this problem, too, and although he is aware of the difficulties that come with teaching acting, as early as 1808 he is decidedly in favour of an acting school:

¹⁶⁶ De Leeuwe, 'De toneelspelersopleiding', pp. 10; In 1805, Jacob Hartog Dessauer (spelled also as Dessaur) founded what was probably the first acting school in Amsterdam. This school was, however, not connected with the Amsterdam Schouwburg but served the 'Joodsch Hoogduitsche Tooneelgezelschap' and was called the 'Dramatische en lyrische kweekschool'. See De Leeuwe, 'De toneelspelersopleiding', p. 30, and Klaartje. E. Groot, 'Geliefd en gevreesd: Duits toneel in Nederland rond 1800', doctoral dissertation, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Groningen (2010), p. 67.

¹⁶⁷ Lekain, also known as Henri-Louis Cain (1729–1778) was a famous actor at the Comédie Française, who planned to set up a drama school in 1759 (a school for actors was not founded until 1784). His *Mémoires* were published posthumously in 1801. See the bibliography of Lekain on the website of the Comédie-Française, Portail Documentaire La Grange: <https://comedie-francaise.bibli.fr/ark:/63615/bnwpnnsj> (Accessed 16 July 2025).

¹⁶⁸ Marlies E. Ruijter, 'Het Voorportaal van het Amsterdamse Toneel' in *Ons Amsterdam*, (December 1999), 320–326 (p. 22), <https://onsamsterdam.nl/uploads/files/OA-1999-12-Het-voorportaal-van-het-toneel.pdf> (accessed 8 May 2024); In his chapter 'Training or talent: The Classical Debate', David Wiles discusses the relationship between acting techniques and talent, the latter also referred to as 'soul' by Lekain. See Wiles, *The Players' Advice*, see in particular p. 301, 329. Jelgerhuis uses the word talent as well as natural disposition, genius, and '*kracht van ziel*' (literal translation: 'strength of the soul') Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. v–vii. Golding translates this into 'spiritual power'. See Golding, *Classicistic Acting*, p. 238).

*Maar kweekelingen te vormen in eene kunst zonder regelen, is een der moeilijkste leeringen; want deze kunst is alleen genie en geen regelmatige daad. Echter is dit de eenige weg, die moet worden ingeslagen, ten einde tot eene volkomene verbetering te geraken.*¹⁶⁹

But to train students in an art without rules is one of the most difficult things to teach; for this art is only genius and not a system. However, this is the only way, which must be taken in order to achieve a definite improvement.

It is possible that Jelgerhuis's remark about 'art without rules' in 1808 was already influenced by his reading *Gedenkschriften*, published in a Dutch translation in 1799 after the original *Mémoires* by Clairon.¹⁷⁰ Jelgerhuis later refers directly to Clairon's writing in the preface to his *Toneel Studien* of 1811 and cites her take on rules concerning the art of acting in the introduction to his lessons and his treatise (1827–1829).¹⁷¹ Clairon's *Mémoires* are indeed not without rules ('*principes*', in her own words) and can serve the purpose of private study for actors. Yet, Clairon was against the conservatoire or school model: acting should be learned from an actor and by practice on-stage, not in the classroom.¹⁷² Jelgerhuis on the other hand, evidently in favour of the school (and even the academic) model, explains the balance between talent and the application of knowledge:

*De lessen alleen, maken den Kunstenaar niet; maar daar, waar de natuurlijke dispositie gevonden wordt, daar vermogen de lessen veel, ongemeen veel, om het ruwe, vurige en heftige, te beschaven, te wijzigen en tot het ware doel te leiden, hem gratie en edelheid te geven, in alle zijne daden der uitvoering.*¹⁷³

The lessons alone do not make the Artist; but there, where the natural disposition is found, there the lessons can do much, uncommonly much, to polish, modify and lead to the true purpose the rough, the ardent and the vehement, to give him grace and nobility in all his deeds during the performance.

Lessons on theory, then, are not enough: the students need to possess an element of talent, yet they will still benefit from additional information to complement their acting classes and to bring their craft to the highest level possible. For this purpose, and in the service of grace and nobility on-stage, Jelgerhuis shared his knowledge and the many sources on costume, acting, and painting in his lessons on theory.

1.6.2 Timeline

Learning about the reasons behind and the content of Jelgerhuis's acting education helps to interpret his *Theoretische lessen* as well as other sources contemporary to its time, such as theatre reviews and other treatises on acting. For theatre practitioners working with Jelgerhuis's sources, establishing when his techniques were used on-stage is essential for making choices regarding HIP,

¹⁶⁹ Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', p. 122.

¹⁷⁰ Clairon, *Gedenkschriften*, transl. Wolff, p. 23; for the French original, see Clairon, *Mémoires*, p. 27.

¹⁷¹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. vii.

¹⁷² Wiles, *The Players' Advice*, p. 328.

¹⁷³ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. vii.

as this knowledge informs the selection of the appropriate techniques corresponding to the right repertoire and time period. This section therefore presents Jelgerhuis's documents and activities relating to teaching over time. As a point of reference for the discussion below, the following list presents key events in chronological order.¹⁷⁴

- 1808 Jelgerhuis's earliest documented aspiration for an acting school.¹⁷⁵
- 1820 Founding of Het Genootschap voor Uiterlijke Welsprekendheid (Society for Public Eloquence), of which Jelgerhuis was a member.¹⁷⁶
- 1820–1821 c. *Consepten* [...] (see Appendix G).
- 1821 Founding of the Fonds ter opleiding en verdere onderrichting van Tooneelkunstenaars voor den Stads Schouwburg te Amsterdam (hereafter referred to as 'Fonds').¹⁷⁷
- 1824–1828 Jelgerhuis teaches theory in the winter months, from 21 October 1824 to 5 March 1828 at the 'Fonds'.¹⁷⁸
- 1827–1830 Publication of Jelgerhuis's acting manual: *Theoretische lessen over de Gesticulatie en Mimiek*.
- 1836–1841 Final phase and closure of the acting school.¹⁷⁹
- 1874 Founding of the Amsterdamse Toneelschool.¹⁸⁰

1.6.3 Jelgerhuis's aspirations for an acting school, 1808–1821

Envisaging judicious investments in the future of acting, Jelgerhuis considers in his document 'Antwoord op de vraag' of 1808 the creation of an acting school in connection with the Theatre.¹⁸¹ He writes that the oldest and most skilled actors should teach the students, with tragedy and comedy being taught separately and by different teachers, so as to avoid tragedians performing in comedies and vice versa, often with unsatisfactory results.¹⁸² Jelgerhuis also reflects on international treatises (translated into Dutch) that could be used as teaching material: Blair's *Lessen over de redekunst*, Engel's *Over de gebaarden* and *De kunst van Tooneelspelen* by 'Reccorbonis [sic] and

¹⁷⁴ This concerns only his teaching related to acting.

¹⁷⁵ Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', pp. 122–123.

¹⁷⁶ For the organizers and the curriculum of this society, see De Leeuwe, 'De toneelspelersopleiding', p. 13.

¹⁷⁷ For more about the 'Fonds', see Ruitenbeek *Kijkcijfers*, pp. 88–92.

¹⁷⁸ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. iii; Ruitenbeek, *Kijkcijfers*, p. 46, footnote 17.

¹⁷⁹ Ruitenbeek, *Kijkcijfers*, p. 91.

¹⁸⁰ For the curriculum and more information about this school, see De Leeuwe, 'De toneelspelersopleiding', pp. 20–21.

¹⁸¹ Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', pp. 122–123.

¹⁸² Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', p. 123.

Raimond'.¹⁸³ The subjects Jelgerhuis deems essential in 1808 are dance, drawing, and music, for 'zonder deze voorloopige kundigheden heeft men geen zekerheid, of het geluid buigzaam is, of de geest vatbaar is voor het begrip van stand, contrasten en actie van het menscheeld' (without these preliminary skills one has no certainty, whether the sound is flexible, whether the mind is amenable to the understanding of stance, contrasts and the movements of the human figure).¹⁸⁴ According to Jelgerhuis, the students's improvement in these subjects would show their potential in these basic requirements while potentially also revealing which students' minds might bring forth 'nieuwigheden' (innovations).¹⁸⁵ Only then, he continues, would there be hope for the shouting on-stage to be suppressed, as people would become 'vatbaar [...] voor fijn spel' (sensitive [...] to refined acting).¹⁸⁶ Jelgerhuis further desired a situation in which 'the actors should have more freedom to follow the prompting of their genius': 'de Tooneelspelers meer vrijheid hebben, de roeping van hun genie te volgen; oude gewoonten mogen hen daarin niet hinderen' (old habits should not be allowed to hinder them in this).¹⁸⁷ These words suggest not only Jelgerhuis's wish for innovation, but also hint at his frustration with the current practices and the level of competence at the theatre, such as the shouting on-stage and the casting errors mentioned above.

In his desire for improvement, Jelgerhuis's aspirations went beyond a mere school. He conceptualizes the theatre as becoming part of an Academy of the Arts, as a 'Tooneel-Academie' a (stage academy) with a library in which professors of *belles lettres* educate the students with history and other subjects (Jelgerhuis uses the word '*wetenschappen*' (sciences) relevant to acting).¹⁸⁸ Such an institution would guarantee the instruction of 'goede, kundige, Tooneelisten [...] die de waarheid tot leidsvrouw houden en de schoone natuur weten waar te nemen in hunne vertooningen' (good, competent actors, [...] whose guide is truth and who are able to respect beautiful nature in their performances).¹⁸⁹

More than a decade passed before Jelgerhuis would see some of his practical ideas (though on a reduced scale) come into being, but his ideal of informed students who aim for truthful, natural, and beautiful acting was not weakened with the passing years. His next document concerning an acting school is the more practical *Consepten van opvoeding*, an unpublished document (c. 1821), in which he lists elements of his previous ideas as proposal for the curriculum of future acting students. The full transcription in Dutch and an English translation of this document can be found in Appendix G.

¹⁸³ Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', p. 122; Hugo Blair, *Lessen, over de redekunst en fraaie letteren door Hugo Blair [...] Tweede, vermeerderde en verbeterde druk*, vol. 1 (Utrecht: G.T. van Paddenburg en zoon, 1804), transl. by Herm. Bosscha. With Engel's 'Over de gebaarden', Jelgerhuis refers to Engel, *De kunst van nabootzing*, transl. Konijnenburg. With 'De kunst van tooneelspelen' Jelgerhuis probably refers to Ploos van Amstel's *Aanleiding*.

¹⁸⁴ Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', p. 122. On page 278 of the *Theoretische lessen*, Jelgerhuis cites Clairon regarding her observations on dance and drawing. See Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 278.

¹⁸⁵ Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', p. 123.

¹⁸⁶ Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', p. 123.

¹⁸⁷ Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', p. 124.

¹⁸⁸ Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', p. 123.

¹⁸⁹ Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', p. 123.

1.6.4 *Consepten*, c. 1820–1821

‘*Consepten* . . . van opvoeding voor den tans voorhanden zijnde kweekeling. . In toepassing te brengen voor Anderen [...] *Ontworpen voor t genootschap van welsprekenheyd te Amsterdam. en gesteld in handen des bestuurs. door J: Jelgerhuis Rzn.*’¹⁹⁰ The title of Jelgerhuis’s *Consepten* states that he constructed this document for Het Genootschap voor Uiterlijke Welsprekendheid (Society for Public Eloquence) of which Jelgerhuis had been an honorary member since 1820. It is possible that he wrote the *Consepten* for the curriculum of the Society itself, but as this Society already had a curriculum, it is more likely that the *Consepten* were intended for the curriculum of the ‘Fonds’ (the acting school), which was founded the next year. Strikingly, the French actor Jean-François Talma’s impact on Jelgerhuis is shown again in *Consepten*. The very first item on the list is the students’ acquisition of English and French, not only to read the required sources in their original language (Dutch), but to see Talma perform, if he were still alive.¹⁹¹ Item two consists in the practice of these three languages. The next subjects in Jelgerhuis’s *Consepten* are geography of the ancients (for a better understanding of high tragedy) and drawing lessons (to organize the students’ stances with *welstand*, to make them knowledgeable about painting and engravings, and to develop their taste as to costume and the composition of ensembles).¹⁹² Jelgerhuis suggests he might teach this subject, for which he proposes sources such as the *Fabelkunde* by Christian Tobias van Dam and Jean-Baptiste-Claude Delisle de Sales, and adds its mythology as a topic for discussion in the lessons.¹⁹³ Point five includes dancing lessons (to stand, to walk, to sit, and to move well) and attending fencing lessons (more to observe than for active participation). He also recommends the students’ free admission to the theatre, once a week, to see everything, including dance. Jelgerhuis also proposes himself as teacher of theory lessons, another weekly class in which the students would read selections from Blair,¹⁹⁴ Engel,¹⁹⁵ Clairon,¹⁹⁶ and Ploos van Amstel.¹⁹⁷ These lessons were to include discussions with the teacher about the materials read and examinations concerning declamation. At the last stage of the students’ apprenticeship, a small stage should be rented for practice in preparation for the real stage. Lastly, a role from a tragedy should be chosen (for examples of such roles, see Appendix G), so that the student might experience playing a full five-act play.

¹⁹⁰ See Jelgerhuis, *Consepten* in Appendix G and Jelgerhuis’s written works in Appendix H.

¹⁹¹ For the complete and more detailed list, see Appendix G.

¹⁹² Although the students of the ‘Fonds’ did not receive drawing lessons, Jelgerhuis’s lessons on theory can be seen as a substitute, in which he recommended that they observe paintings as inspiration for the groupings of actors on stage. See Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 113.

¹⁹³ Christian Tobias Damm, *Einleitung in die Götter-Lere und Fabel-Geschichte* [...] (Berlin: Wever, 1776 [5th edn]), translated by anonymous author as *Inleiding in de Fabelkunde* [...] (Leyden, W. H. Gryp, 1786); Jean-Baptiste-Claude Delisle de Sales, *Histoire générale et particulière de la Grèce* [...] 13 vols (Paris, n. pub., 1783), transl. of vols 1–2 by Samuel Iperuszoon Wiselius as *Geschiedenis van Oud-Griekenland* [...] *met aanmerkingen en bijvoegzelen vermeerderd* (Amsterdam: Johannes Allart, 1808).

¹⁹⁴ Hugo Blair, *Lessen*, transl. Bosscha.

¹⁹⁵ Engel, *De kunst van nabootzing*, transl. Konijnenburg.

¹⁹⁶ Clairon, *Gedenkschriften*, transl. Wolff.

¹⁹⁷ Ploos van Amstel, *Aanleiding*.

1.6.5 Comparisons

Several of the subjects proposed by Jelgerhuis in *Consepten* are the same as those mapped out by Wiles in his comparison of the basic skills Lekain and Clairon listed for actors to ‘support the art of tragic declamation.’¹⁹⁸ Both Lekain and Clairon considered dance, language, history, geography, and music important. Lekain adds fencing to the list, whereas Clairon (as cited in section 1.3.2 on costume) thought drawing improved the expertise of actors.¹⁹⁹ This suggest that whether these actors promoted the concept of an acting school (Lekain and Jelgerhuis) or not (Clairon), their ideas about the basic skills required for actors were similar.²⁰⁰

Compared with the 1808 document, all the elements except music are included in Jelgerhuis’s *Consepten*.²⁰¹ Yet the *Consepten* do not refer to any practical lessons by private teachers, nor to the division between lessons for comedy and tragedy, which Jelgerhuis discusses in the 1808 document. It is likely that the individual practical lessons with an experienced actor were a self-evident core element of the training, and/or that this element of the curriculum had already been agreed upon. Jelgerhuis already wrote in 1808, for instance, that the first actress had invited apprentices; and at the ‘Fonds’, which opened in 1821, the actors Wattier, Snoek, Mayofski, and others were in charge of the individual acting lessons, divided into comedy and tragedy, as Jelgerhuis had pictured.²⁰² Jelgerhuis’s idea of 1808 concerning an acting department of an academic institution was not taken up. Apart from his lessons on theory (1824–1828) it is unclear how many subjects proposed in the *Consepten* were included in the curriculum of the ‘Fonds’, but he mentions the most important things to be learned from dance and fencing classes, touches on most theoretical points, and advises the students to see theatre performances. Foreign languages and drawing seem not to have been part of the curriculum at the ‘Fonds’.

1.6.6 *Theoretische lessen*, 1824–1830

As stated in the general introduction to this dissertation, Jelgerhuis’s treatise *Theoretische lessen* documents the material he discussed in his lessons at the ‘Fonds’. Having compared his sketches for the *Theoretische lessen* with the engravings in the work itself, and judging by Jelgerhuis’s precision in copying text on other occasions (making minimal or no alterations), the content of the

¹⁹⁸ Wiles, *The Players’ Advice*, p. 329.

¹⁹⁹ Wiles, *The Players’ Advice*, p. 329. See also Clairon, *Mémoires*, pp. 62–65 (and Clairon, *Gedenkschriften*, transl. Wolff, pp. 49–51); Clairon specifies that actors without drawing skills were to consult painters and sculptors. See Clairon, *Mémoires*, p. 62 (and Clairon, *Gedenkschriften*, transl. Wolff, p. 49).

²⁰⁰ For a list of the founding of the earliest acting schools in Europe and Russia, see De Leeuwe, ‘De toneelspelersopleiding’, pp. 9–10.

²⁰¹ According to Ruitenbeek, a music school opened in 1826, intended for the education of singers, teachers of music including singing, and singers in the genre ‘*zangspel*’. She indicates that some students attending the music school attended Jelgerhuis’s lessons. See Ruitenbeek, *Kijkcijfers*, pp. 91–92.

²⁰² Jelgerhuis, ‘Antwoord op de vraag’, p. 124 (the published text of 1808 has a few sentences in common (although these sentences seem to have been edited) with a loose page of the *Tonneel Stúdien* in Antwerp. The latter text is longer and less comprehensible, but the beginning of the text is the same). For the teachers at the Kweekschool, see *Theoretische lessen*, p. v.

Theoretische lessen probably closely resembles his actual lessons. I therefore occasionally cite material from the treatise referring to the lessons and vice-versa. In the Introduction to the *Theoretische lessen*, Jelgerhuis positions his subject within the acting school curriculum, explaining what he will teach, and how his lessons on theory will be useful. This information is important for this dissertation, as it helps to position his *Theoretische lessen* amidst his unpublished writings, and to understand why Jelgerhuis's manuscript *Toneel Studien* and the *Theoretische lessen* overlap on so few points.

Jelgerhuis makes the intention clear to share his knowledge (acquired through his education and profession as a painter) without interfering with the material taught in the students' individual, practical lessons (including declamation and diction of prose) given by the main subject teachers.²⁰³ Indeed, Jelgerhuis does not cross the border of the student's practical acting lessons by discussing topics such as declamation and character building. This is where, for instance, Jelgerhuis's reference to sources on acting and declamation, such as Clairon, Larive, and Blair, mentioned in his other works of 1808 and 1811 are valuable indications for those interested in the practical application of the *Theoretische lessen*.

His idea of 1808 concerning the acting school as a means to improve the level of the theatre, is still present in his *Theoretische lessen*: he expresses his hope that his lessons will contribute '*tot bevordering der ware Tooneelbeschaving en voortplanting van gratie en edelheid in standen, bewegingen en sierlijke daden op het Tooneel*' (to the improvement of the true refinement of the stage and the advance of grace and nobility in stances, movement and elegant actions on the stage).²⁰⁴ To this end, he gives examples from a wide range of sources on painting and acting, drawing a parallel between the painter and the actor: as they both aim '*de waarheid te doen gelooven, daar zij er ondertusschen niet is*' (to represent the truth where/although it is not actually present).²⁰⁵ The stage is the living canvas, in which the acting students are the figures; they must gain a physical awareness to create '*Eene aaneenschakeling van aanhoudende schilderachtige beweging [...] hetwelk men met zich zelve maakt*' (a concatenation of continually painterly movement [...] that one makes with one's own self).²⁰⁶ Jelgerhuis draws examples of statues and paintings to advance the students' perception of the rules of art, such as *welstand* and *contrast*. Concerning sculpture as inspiration for noble movement, he remarks: '*Slechts de oppervlakkige kennis van den Griekschen Apollo, - of van den Laocoon, [...] geeft ons de beste denkeelden, van onder pijn en smerten, nog edele en groote schilderachtige bewegingen, voortstellen*' (even the superficial knowledge of the Greek Apollo or of the Laocoon [...] gives us the best idea of how to represent noble and grand movements as in a painting, even while in great pain and suffering).²⁰⁷ With practice, the attitudes and gestures of these figures can be used on-stage, as the actor '*schildert met zijn eigen persoon*' (paints with his own person).²⁰⁸

²⁰³ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. vi.

²⁰⁴ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 87.

²⁰⁵ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. vi.

²⁰⁶ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. xiii, 42, 77.

²⁰⁷ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. viii.

²⁰⁸ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. xiii.

Another part of the living painting is the costume. Jelgerhuis points out its importance concerning the different historical eras and peoples represented in the plays.²⁰⁹ He advises his students to assemble a portfolio of prints, not expecting them to buy or own the sources discussed in the lessons.²¹⁰ Regular study and observation of the prints would improve their taste regarding poses and stances, and would inform their knowledge of dress and the pleating of mantles.²¹¹ Jelgerhuis himself assembled such a portfolio, entitled *Studiën van klederdragen voor alle tyden en volken* (Studies of dress and costume for all times and peoples), which provides an idea of what he intended. This unpublished work of fifty-nine pages, contains illustrations by himself, as well as more than fifty assembled pages with engravings by others such as Cochin and Jan de Bisschop (1628–1671).²¹² The *Studiën van klederdragen* was to serve actors and painters as study material pertaining to men and women of all eras, ranks, and cultures.²¹³

Costumes, *welstand*, and contrast serve the beauty of perfected nature, but they must be conducive to ‘representing the truth’. Sources on painting and the historical accuracy of the costume belong to the research which Jelgerhuis deemed mandatory for the informed actor, and in the service of the improvement of the theatre. These, and other elements such as facial expression, perspective, and even a hint of anatomy seem to have been the ‘scientific matters’ for which Jelgerhuis wished to provide a library accessible to the students, and to connect an acting school to the academy of fine arts. Knowledge is of the essence both to improve *welstand* on the stage and to find reasons behind the actors’ and the characters’ actions:

*Wij hebben het geluk wederom bij elkander te komen, om ons bezig te houden met wetenschappelijke zaken, die ons op het Tooneel zoo zeer van dienst kunnen zijn [...]. Het is eene afgedane zaak, hoe meerdere algemeene kennis de Tooneelspeler in zich vereenigt, hoe meerder gemak hij ondervindt, redenen van zijne handelingen te kunnen geven. Het is de bron der kracht waardoor hij zelf schept en daartelt. Het gevoel alleen vermag dat niet, want de kennis moet het regelen, of het is woestheid.*²¹⁴

We are so fortunate as to meet again, to occupy ourselves with scientific matters that can be of such great service to us on stage. [...] It is an established fact that the greater the general knowledge an actor unites within himself, the easier he will find it to give reasons for his actions. It is the source of strength through which he himself creates and represents. Feeling alone cannot achieve that, for knowledge must regulate it, or else it is untamed [*woestheid*].

²⁰⁹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 186.

²¹⁰ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 188.

²¹¹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 58–59.

²¹² For Cochin, see Dandré-Bardon, *Gewoonten der aloude volken*, transl. anonymous. Jan de Bisschop was also known as Janus or Johannes Episcopus (1628–1671). His prints of antique statuary were published between 1668 and 1669 under the title *Signorum Veterum Icones*. For an example of these prints, see *Signorum Veterum Icones Per D. Gerardum Reynst Urbis Amsteladami Senatorem ac Scabinum dum viveret Dignissimum Collecta. Afbeeldingen Der Oude Beelden Bij een vergadert door De Heer Gerhard Reijnst in syn Leven Hoogwaardig Raad en Schepen der Stadt Amsteldam* (Amstelodami: Nicolai Visscher, n. d.) <http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN661108252> (accessed 13 March 2024).

²¹³ Jelgerhuis, *Studiën van klederdragen*.

²¹⁴ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 185–186.

In sharing his theory with the students, Jelgerhuis hopes to enrich and unlock the talent they already possess, and to empower them to express and conceive their stage creations within an idealized acting style. His treatise is not only filled with praise for the sources he uses; he also criticizes and corrects other authors. Although praising and citing Engel's work, for instance, Jelgerhuis distances himself from Engel by pointing out a lack of understanding of the actor's craft, which only an actor — not a professor — can provide. According to Jelgerhuis, following Engel's manual too closely might result in '*automatische stijve bewegingen*' (automatic, stiff movements).²¹⁵ The value of Jelgerhuis's treatise in fact lies in the insertion of chapters on theatre perspective, make-up, and his extensive section on costume, and perhaps most importantly in the combination of the theoretical and the practical, with his own writing and illustrations, as seen through the lens of both painter and actor.

1.6.7 The Amsterdamse Toneelschool and Jelgerhuis's legacy, 1874

The 'Fonds' closed its doors in 1841, and it was more than thirty years before the next acting school opened. The Amsterdamse Toneelschool, founded in 1874, featured a three-year program, which included most of the lessons Jelgerhuis envisioned throughout the years: languages, mythology, singing, declamation, drawing, dancing and fencing, theatre history, art history and aesthetics, history of costume, character, facial expression, the passions, stage make-up, dress, and finally, full performance.²¹⁶ Jelgerhuis's legacy is apparent in nineteenth-century writings on the stage. His *Theoretische lessen* is amply cited and discussed in Kalf's *Schoonheidsleer des Tooneelspelers* of c. 1876 and Jelgerhuis's granddaughter Maria Johanna Kleine-Gartman (1818–1885), a famous actress in her time, taught '*voordracht en oefeningen op het toneel*' (delivery and exercises on the stage).²¹⁷ In Kleine-Gartman's teaching, searching for nature, naturalness, and truth in performance was still essential. She uses the latter two concepts specifically in a letter of 1884 to one of her students:²¹⁸

Lieve Adèle!
Denk altyd aan deze waarschu-
wing "meer eenvoudig en bescheiden
denk nooit "er al te zyn, maar studeer
steeds voort, en laat de natuur Uwe
richting zyn, blyf altyd waar!
tracht de waarheid aan het Effect te
verbinden wat het tooneel en ook
het Publiek noodig heeft, máár offer
*nooit de waarheid aan het Effect!*²¹⁹

²¹⁵ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. xii–xiii.

²¹⁶ De Leeuwe, 'De toneelspelersopleiding', pp. 20–21.

²¹⁷ Martin Kalf, *De Schoonheidsleer des Tooneelspelers door Martin Kalf. Met platen* (Haarlem: W. C. De Graaf, c. 1876).

²¹⁸ Albach, *Helden*, p. 166; De Leeuwe, 'De toneelspelersopleiding', p. 21.

²¹⁹ Passage of a letter by Maria Johanna Gartman (widow Kleine), to her student Adèle Godoy, 1884, cited in Ben Albach, *Duizend jaar toneel in Nederland* (Bussum: C. A. J. van Dieshoeck, 1965), p. 72. For additional citations of Gartman, see De Leeuwe, 'De toneelspelersopleiding', p. 28.

Dear Adèle!
Always remember this warning: “simpler and more modest
never think “you are there already, but
always continue to study, and let nature be your
aim, always remain true!
Try to connect the truth to the Effect,
which the stage and also
the public need, but never sacrifice
the truth to Effect!

In the importance Kleine-Gartman attributes to nature and to finding the right balance between truth and effect, we can still recognize the lessons of her grandfather. But at the same time, there were new aspects to her teaching that indicate a moving away from the older style of Jelgerhuis and his colleagues. Albach, for instance, in his *Duizend jaar toneel in Nederland*, draws attention to a certain holding back compared with the passionate contrasts of the past, as seen in her letter above, as well as in her phrase ‘*alles waar het woordje té voor staat, deugt niet*’ (everything preceded by the word *too*, will not do) and to her preference for speaking clearly but quickly.²²⁰ In her search for a more natural way of acting, Albach suggests that her work was pivotal in the newer developments, once again, towards more naturalism.²²¹ Still, or again, acting was moving towards the more naturalistic style, this time the acting style of the turn of the twentieth century.

²²⁰ Albach, *Duizend jaar toneel*, p. 73.

²²¹ Albach, *Duizend jaar toneel*, p 71.

1.7 CONCLUSION

Although Jelgerhuis's teaching can be seen as conservative — following the traditions of the previous decades and the aesthetic ideals based on rules dating back to Antiquity — his approach to costume was modern and he desired improvements to the theatre that were innovative, such as a more natural way of declaiming, staging and casting practices, and an acting school.

1.7.1 International context

The terms and concepts Jelgerhuis used (to describe visual ideals and decorum such as contrast, naturalness, and so on) in painting, acting, and teaching, were not confined to his own practice, to the Amsterdam Schouwburg, to Dutch theatre practice, and not even to Jelgerhuis's time: many of these terms (in their equivalent translations) can be found in European writings on art in the centuries previous and after Jelgerhuis's career. Dutch stage practice copied and followed French theatre practice, in particular. Jelgerhuis's concepts for teaching, although new for the Netherlands, were similar to those proposed in Paris by Lekain and Clairon, and were probably inspired by the writings of the latter. Jelgerhuis's *Consepten* shows that he was convinced by Talma's way of acting. So strong was his admiration of the French actor that he deemed observation of Talma's acting beneficial to acting education. Suggesting the students' attendance of Talma's performances (even if this meant traveling to Paris) was an active step towards achieving Jelgerhuis's ideals of the innovation and improvement of Dutch acting: it may have persuaded young actors that shouting did not have to be part of fame and excellence on-stage. The idea of acquiring foreign languages as a means to check the sources in their original language shows Jelgerhuis's awareness that elements may be lost or changed in translation and suggests his desire to receive correct information. It is also indicative of his idealism to give the future generations tools which he had not received in his own education.

1.7.2 Theory and practice

Both the 1808 document and the *Consepten* hint at Jelgerhuis's belief in a combined practical and theoretical education, which was confirmed in the introduction to his *Theoretische lessen*. He did not interfere with the practical side of acting taught by his colleagues, yet his thoughts on the practical aspects of the actor's craft are expressed in his unpublished documents. The idea of a small stage, on which students can get used to the sets, to walking on stage, and to experience the demands of playing a five act tragedy, demonstrates Jelgerhuis's endeavor to include practical experience in acting education. The acting school envisioned by him would have allowed for those who had had less experience to join the professional stage better prepared and at a higher level, potentially raising the overall standard of any production.

Placing Jelgerhuis's ambition of advancing truthfulness/*waarheid* into the context of costuming provides a way to assess his position on early nineteenth-century costume reform on the Amsterdam stage. This pursuit of more *waarheid* on-stage is an important motive behind Jelgerhuis's search for knowledge in painting treatises and in costume history and his interest in conveying this information to others. His search for *waarheid* in costume also demonstrates his active participation in conceiving holistic and truthful, yet dramatically effective creations of his

roles. By observing his attention to *waarheid*, we can also discern when Jelgerhuis's decisions align with new ideas in historical costuming and when he makes exceptions. Staying alert to and allowing for (unexpected) incongruencies with the rules of historical stage practice (once one has arrived at an interpretation of them) is important when balancing out aesthetic and practical choices. Section 1.3 on costume shows how Jelgerhuis negotiates between his ideals, the lack of historical information, and the practicality of the theatre—compromises which also occur today, not only in historically informed productions but in any production which needs to balance ideals, budget, and other practical concerns. Similarly, the information on Jelgerhuis's acting in the previous sections suggests how, of all the information in his documents on teaching and his private journals, nothing prepares the reader or scholar to suspect the intense acting style that he reveals in his *Toneel Studien*.

I keep this in mind as I explore the practical side of Jelgerhuis's teaching and acting style in the following chapters: I adapt elements of his theoretical lessons into exercises for stage performers in Chapter 2; in Chapter 3, I analyse and stage three scenes as described by Jelgerhuis in his *Toneel Studien*; in Chapter 4, I combine my knowledge garnered thus far with other techniques and in a different genre than Jelgerhuis's esteemed high tragedy. In Chapter 2 and 3, I focus on how I created elements of staging and training (as applied to teaching and collaborating with colleagues), informed by the concepts, rules, and ideals hitherto discussed. In Chapter 4, I apply the elements of training based on the rules to the creative processes prior to performance and in performance, so as to learn through experience when to bend or break them.

Part Two

Chapter 2, *Theoretische lessen* in practice

The previous chapter introduced concepts such as *welstand*, contrast, *attitudes*, naturalness, and *waarheid*, which form the basis of Jelgerhuis's acting style.¹ In this chapter, I draw attention to the relevance of these concepts for physical artistic practice — along with other aspects of stagecraft as described in the *Theoretische lessen* — and apply them to training and teaching. My focus, here, is mainly on chapter nine (on gesticulation), and chapters thirteen to twenty (on the expression of the passions) of the *Theoretische lessen*. Though these chapters contain information on movement, they lack — even when aided by illustrations — physical examples demonstrated in real time by a teacher or by actors performing or rehearsing on-stage.² In my aim to make the illustrations and the written material of the theoretical lessons useful to my own performance practice and more accessible to others, and thus to move from page to stage, I developed three exercises based on information from the abovementioned chapters in the treatise. The first two are short basic exercises on gesticulation and attitudes for the genres of comedy and tragedy; the third and more complex one is a series of passionate attitudes. Working with these exercises, as the first part of my practice-based research processes, aimed at answering two key questions posed at the beginning of this thesis:³

- How does physical and mental training in the *Theoretische lessen* and the study of Jelgerhuis's other works add to my acting practice, both in the preparation process and in performance?
- Which acting tools can I extract from such training, and how can I make them available and useful for other performers?

I designed the two basic attitude exercises as simple and accessible tools that help the actor to become familiar with the concepts of beauty and contrast not only by reading about *welstand* or by observing illustrations and sculptures, but also by experiencing them through practice in their own body. Having mastered the basics, teachers, students, and performers can then expand on the exercises. The paragraphs following the basic exercise structure feature examples of how these basics can be developed and adapted to the level of the performer, enriched with information from other sources, and used in different genres. The third, more complex exercise is a compilation of twenty-one attitudes from Jelgerhuis's chapters on the passions, which, apart from its initial silent

¹ For full definitions and discussions of the terms *welstand* ('that which looks good'; a concept referring to beauty in form, harmonious proportions, and/or expression), *attitudes* (full body stances, including gestures and facial expressions, which follow the rules of contrast and *welstand*), and *waarheid* (truth), see Chapter 1, the sections on 'contrast', 'attitude', 'welstand', and 'waarheid'.

² These are not the only chapters in which Jelgerhuis discusses movement. For entrances and exits, see Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, chapter 2; for stabbing oneself or collapsing after having been stabbed, see pp. 59–60, plate 11; and for the use of ballet and fencing for actors, see pp. 19–113.

³ For the full presentation of the research questions, see the Introduction.

form, also advances into combinations with music, spoken text, and singing. I used the two basic exercises in my general preparations and in my training of the actors in the first case study (Chapter 3), whereas the third exercise served as preparation for my own staging in the second case study (Chapter 4). The present chapter is therefore to be seen as an introduction to both case studies.

The examples visible in video fragments and pictures in this chapter are not intended as a presentation of *the correct way* to render or interpret Jelgerhuis's oeuvre: each example is a unique outcome by a single/individual performer at a specific point in their artistic development. Rather than a *how to* guide for others to follow, I add these examples to complement my description of the practical aspect of this research, which is so difficult to do justice in words. I encourage research by others on this topic, and hope that those who come to different interpretations of Jelgerhuis's sources will likewise share their approach and/or outcomes.

The word 'gesture' and its Dutch equivalent '*gebaar*' can refer to movements of the arms and hands as well as movements of the head, the eyes, taking a step, or similar (combinations of) actions which are an aid to express the character's words and/or state of mind on-stage. When using the word 'gesture' in the following chapters, I refer to gestures with the hand(s), possibly together with the arm(s), and will specify all other gestures, such as movements of the eyes, facial expression, the head, taking a step, and so on.

As I make use of stereotypes and elements of codified stage behaviour in the exercises presented in this chapter, I briefly discuss two points of attention. As mentioned in the Introduction, I am aware of the limitations in research and staging performances when one attempts, as theatre studies scholars Magnus Tessing Schneider and Meike Wagner articulate, 'to establish codified behaviour of the past' without taking into (enough account) other aspects of theatre, such as the audience's experience and ideals of the time.⁴ Balancing the information in visual documents and rhetorical treatises within its context, and observing from time to time the influence of my own (modern) stage habits and taste on my practice, is therefore a recurring part of my studies. One of the reasons why this remains a challenge is firstly, because the information left today is limited, and secondly because a certain amount of codified behaviour *is* one part of historical acting as presented in treatises and other sources (as it is in acting today). This codified language is part of conveying the characters' emotions and thoughts to the audience. In HIPPP, one must consider that historical codes also change depending on the time period and culture, and not all messages in gestures, attitudes, and other forms will be recognized by the audience today.⁵

Regarding the generation of actors previous to Jelgerhuis, Albach refers to a bet between two spectators in the second half of the eighteenth-century in the Netherlands, in which both spectators attempted (and succeeded) to predict the next gestures of the actor on-stage.⁶ This

⁴ Tessing Schneider & Wagner, 'Introduction', in *Performing the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 7–8.

⁵ Where clenched fists today may still be recognized as an indication of anger, for instance, it is less likely for the audience to recognize the gesture Jelgerhuis connotes with pity. Similarly, few audience members are aware of the various messages that could be conveyed by holding a fan in a specific position, open, closed, or semi closed.

⁶ Albach, *Jan Punt en Marten Corver*, p. 126.

anecdote and other descriptions of the Dutch acting style preceding and during Jelgerhuis's time suggest not only that using certain elements of codified behaviour was common practice on-stage, but also that, when becoming repetitive and automatic, this was not appreciated nor considered good acting. As briefly touched upon in Chapter 1, the actor Marten Corver in the Netherlands — just like the actors Talma and Clairon in France — had contributed to a more natural acting style: more faithful to the character, and less to the conventional stage practices. Judging by early nineteenth-century treatises such as Austin's *Chironomia* and Jelgerhuis's *Theoretische lessen*, these changes in acting conventions increased the actors' creative possibilities regarding their personal choice of gestures. As Jed Wentz mentions in his 'Mechanical rules versus *abnormis gratia*: revaluing Gilbert Austin's *Chironomia* as a source for historical acting techniques' of 2015, Austin explained that the gestures he annotated in his treatise are chosen to exemplify his notation system, but that the manner of delivery chosen for his texts 'might have been varied in a thousand ways'.⁷ Similarly, in his *Theoretische lessen*, Jelgerhuis advises his students to freely combine his examples for gesticulations and attitudes, and to study works of art as well as people as inspiration for their acting.⁸

In Jelgerhuis's treatise, there are no gestures attributed to precise words. It is possible that those colleagues who were in charge of acting and declamation at the acting school, worked more in detail on this aspect of the craft. Because, to my knowledge, they have not documented this information, I focus here on the information available to me, which is Jelgerhuis's treatise. Iconic or stereotypical behaviour depicted and described in his lessons lies mainly in general gestures (including examples for indicating oneself, the gods, and clasping the hands in surprise or prayer) and in expressing the passions.⁹ I contend that when these passions and their coded expression have been fully embodied, actors can adapt the gradation of that passion to the situation on-stage or in a concert, so that it appears natural within its context.¹⁰ Such elements of codified stage behaviour are effective tools in the learning and teaching process and can be applied in staging. That said, representing or conveying codified messages of gestures, attitudes, or passions is not the only aim of my practice. Building up a vast vocabulary of gestures and attitudes, allowing for overlapping passions and emotional transitions, in combination with the imagination and the

⁷ Austin, *Chironomia*, pp. 362–363, 368, cited in Wentz, 'Mechanical rules', p. 49.

⁸ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 68, 72.

⁹ For more examples of general gestures and shaping the hands, see Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 101–103, plates 25–27.

¹⁰ The examples of passionate attitudes and gestures as depicted by Jelgerhuis are one way of expressing that passion and do not preclude other ways or varieties of expressing that same passion. Anger, for instance, is often depicted with folded arms, with one or two clenched fists, held higher or lower, away from the body or pressing to the body, with more or less torsion in the torso, and so on. In addition, (as suggested in *Toneel Studien*) there may be anger building up already in the attitudes, facial expression, and gestures leading up to that specific angry attitude, and after it. Having worked with these techniques in practice, in teaching and with other actors, I have found that new habits, rules, codes, and even vocabulary are naturally created to discuss certain phenomena (a gesture is nicknamed after the person using them in a particular way, for instance), while others become so obvious that they are rarely discussed. Although I have not discussed these particulars in this dissertation, they exist and enable the variation and improvisation that I allow for when reading between the lines of Jelgerhuis's description of the basics in his treatise.

specific circumstances of each character in the context and situation of the play, safeguards variety of movement and leaves space for improvisation. This approach allows for acting inspired by historical sources and enriched by practice while taking into account the uniqueness of each performer and each character, which is also essential for adapting to various genres, while maintaining a sense of truthfulness to the audience and the actor. The imagination and adaptability of the actor are a means to apply elements of historically informed acting tools to modern productions that are not or little historically inspired.

2.1 NATURE PERFECTED: THE IMAGINATION, NATURALNESS, AND *WELSTAND* IN PRACTICE

My understanding of Jelgerhuis's ideal balance between an imitation of real life on-stage and *welstand* is pieced together from fragments of information in his works, and is directly linked to the relationship between the actor's mind and body — namely, their imagination and the movements on-stage. Jelgerhuis comments on the imagination in his treatise as well as in other works. All versions of the exercises in this chapter benefit from the use of imagination, as it generates the *reason why* a specific action should be taken, thereby usually making it appear more natural. Imagination and the thought work behind the passions and actions of a character were already mentioned in Chapter 1 (section 1.5.5, 'Soliloquies and the fourth wall'), and will be treated more extensively in the first case study (Chapter 3).

Although Jelgerhuis's manuscripts reveal his own work on imagination, he argues in his treatise that using imagination alone is not enough for the actor.¹¹ By following one's feelings only, without knowledge, one risks being overcome by one's emotions, performing actions that are clumsy or invisible for the audience, or that do not fit the propriety of the stage.¹² According to Jelgerhuis, actors are better served by knowing what to do and how to improve their art by learning how one's facial expressions appear to the audience, how to deploy makeup to one's advantage, and how to portray situations as they occur in real life, but adjusted and perfected for the stage by *welstand*.¹³ Portraying an image of truth by natural acting, described in Chapter 1, is one of the actor's goals: '*wijl wij niet de waarheid, maar de afbeelding der waarheid geven; en naar mate die natuurlijker is, naar mate heeft men meer het doel bereikt*' (because we do not give the truth, but an image of the truth, and the more

¹¹ Jelgerhuis refers to Dutch actor Marten Corver's commentary on acting and imagination: '*Een geacht Tooneelliefhebber schreef aan den Tooneelspeler CORVER, hoe best in de rol van Cato te sterven; het antwoord was: verbeeld U dat gij sterft. Dit was een sober onderrigt.*' (An esteemed amateur wrote to the actor Corver, how best to die in the role of Cato; the answer was: *imagine that you die*. This was a meagre instruction). See Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 163–164.

¹² For Jelgerhuis's advice on dying after being stabbed, see *Theoretische lessen*, p. 60; for collapsing on a table, see p. 64; for becoming a victim of one's feelings, see p. IX.

¹³ He writes '*Al ware nu de levendigste verbeelding in staat de zaak te gevoelen, zoo zoude zoodanig Acteur zich nog verrijkt zien, met de kennis van hetgeen welstandig zij, en wat hij door kunst zoude kunnen toebrengen op het Tooneel*' (Even if the most lively imagination were able to feel it [that which one wishes to portray], then still such an actor would see himself enriched with the knowledge of that which has *welstand*, and which he can apply on-stage by his art). See Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 133.

that is natural, the more one has reached the goal).¹⁴ To improve the student's depiction of truth on-stage, he gives examples, for instance of letting the head fall in front when portraying a character dying in a sitting posture, explaining that letting the head fall backwards is not true to reality.¹⁵ Seemingly contradicting himself, he warns against portraying other actions too much according to real life. Fragments of Jelgerhuis's criticism, on the one hand, of stage actions lacking truth, and, on the other, of actions that are too realistic (too rough, without reason, or ugly), are scattered throughout Jelgerhuis's treatise as well as in his private works.¹⁶ Instead of a contradiction, however, the criticism as well as the different pieces of advice offered by Jelgerhuis fit together into one style: one that searches for an imitation of truth, but is filtered through the lens of ideal comportment worthy of the elevated topics and characters treated in tragedies. In comedy and other less elevated genres, actors still search to represent truth, but in order to educate the audience and to improve its taste, they are to reduce or filter out the banalities and rough behaviour. Ideally, the sum of these concepts would then result in a balance between naturalness, grace, and beauty (i.e., manifested in *welstand* and ease of movement). It would be genuinely inspired by nature, and therefore truthful, without representing a crude copy of real life.¹⁷

The exercises in this chapter are based on the following structure: by a combination of observing and creating mental images of good examples and through practice, moving according to *welstand* becomes what Roodenburg describes as 'a pre-reflexive, habitual process': thus *welstand*, 'resulting from habit, becomes in itself a habit, a habitual state'.¹⁸ Though Roodenburg uses these terms to define elegant behaviour in real life, naturalized over time, the same process applies in adopting *welstand* as natural stage behaviour for the performer. Once a process of naturalization has been achieved, one's actions, guided by imagination, are at once truthful yet part of that dimension of aesthetic representation within the realm of *welstand*. In time, the performer expands their repertoire of movement, creating a repertoire of embodied practices and bodily 'habitual memory'.¹⁹ The imagination and the internalized embodiment of behaviour through practice are

¹⁴ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 133.

¹⁵ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 164.

¹⁶ Jelgerhuis's praise and criticism of other actors relating to the conceptions of naturalness, ease, and gracefulness is discussed in Chapter 1.

¹⁷ For a discussion of imitation versus copying, see Terry F. Robinson, "'The Glass of Fashion and the Mould of Form': The Histrionic Mirror and Georgian-Era Performance' in *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 39/2 (2015), 30–65 (pp. 54–58).

¹⁸ Roodenburg cites Saccone (1983), here, who uses this phrase regarding the courtier's grace and virtue: 'virtue, resulting from habit, becomes in itself a habit, a habitual state'. See Roodenburg, *The Eloquence*, pp. 13, 180, 198.

¹⁹ Roodenburg follows the terms 'repertoire' as defined by Diana Taylor (2003) and 'habitual memory' by Paul Connerton (1989). See Roodenburg, *The Eloquence*, pp. 18, 177, 199. Kyropoulos refers to this repertoire as the 'thesaurus histrioniae: a depository of acting-related conceptual and procedural knowledge such as general principles, gestures, movements, routines and mnemonics, which would serve as building blocks for an approach to acting that feels spontaneous and natural in application from the point of view of the performer, but as with artful improvisation in rhetoric, may also be effective in producing a result that feels natural and spontaneous from the point of view of the audience, while making use of many of the aesthetic and rhetorical conventions, improving its overall beauty and power.' See Kyropoulos, 'Teaching Acting to Singers', pp. 196–197.

used to bring to life every action on-stage in a way that is natural and according to truth. Another balance to be found, and which the exercises in the current chapter allow for, is between gestures and facial expressions that are larger than life, so as to be recognisable from a distance (on larger stages), while avoiding becoming grotesque.²⁰

2.2 TWO BASIC EXERCISES: *THEORETISCHE LESSEN*, CHAPTER 9

The following two basic exercises are derived from Jelgerhuis's lesson on gesticulation in the *Theoretische lessen*, which includes two illustrations with examples of gestures for tragedy and comedy. The plates accompany his written explanation. In order to move from his theory to my own practice, the set up for these exercises includes his definitions of gesticulation as well as selected elements from his introduction: together, they serve as a theoretical scaffolding to facilitate the explanation of the exercises developed here.

Jelgerhuis deemed his students ready for his discussion of gesticulation only after dedicating many of his previous lectures to good bearing in attitudes and the search for contrast in the body.²¹ He precedes chapter nine of his treatise with the following remark:

*Zoo zijn wij dan zoo verre gekomen, met de Attitudes en Standen, met de Contrasten en Zwier, en den Draai des ligchaams; om over de Gesticulatie eenen aanvang te maken.- Dat is die versnelde beweging, die met goed beleid voortgebracht, eene aaneenschakeling van standen, in beweging uitmaakt.*²²

We have progressed far enough with the attitudes and stances, with the contrasts and elegance, and the torsion of the body to commence with the gesticulation. That is an accelerated movement, which, when properly managed, constitutes a concatenation of stances in movement.

This passage reveals that gesticulation is not to be considered separately from the other elements and previously described concepts, as it is rooted in the attitudes and stances (which in turn are based on those subjects previously discussed). Gesticulation is part of the interplay between movement and suspension of movement: in moving a hand from, for instance, a low position to a higher position, it creates (part of) a transition from one attitude to the next. The concepts relating to ideal deportment are not enough here to achieve the variety and the right quality of actors' movements on-stage. Jelgerhuis's second and more precise definition of gesticulation also links gesture and its amplification to emotion in this often-cited passage:

²⁰ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 133. Actors today must also cultivate a sense of adapting their facial expressions, movements, and gestures in order to fit different genres and different sizes of venues and situations: more nuanced and subtle facial expressions are usually to be preferred when recorded on camera, grander movements and facial expressions for large stages, and a balance of both for a performance befitting the intimate atmosphere and small audience of a house concert.

²¹ Jelgerhuis's lessons were delivered in a lecture format and did not include the practical element; students observed, listened, and (if they followed his advice) practiced at home.

²² Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 76.

*Gesticulatie,- Dit is, zich bewegen met goed verstand op het Tooneel, en wat is dit? niet anders dan zijne rede met meer dan gewoon, met meer verheven gevoel, door gebaren verzellen, naardat de storm der hartstogten woedt. Ik hoop, dat de Kweekelingen zullen beseffen, dat de bewegingen ten Tooneele, nu niet anders zijn, dan eene versnelde opvolging van standen, of als het ware eene aaneenschakeling van aanhoudende schilderachtige beweging van armen en handen, beenen en voeten, draaijing des hoofds, bij de standen des geheelen beelds, hetwelk men met zich zelve maakt, waarin men nu de toepassing der reeds geleerde contrasten moet waarnemen.*²³

Gesticulation, - That is moving on-stage with common sense, and what is this? Nothing other than accompanying one's words with gestures, with more than usual, with more elevated feeling, according to how the storm of the passions rages. I hope the students will realize that movements on-stage are nothing other than an accelerated succession of stances, or as it were a concatenation of continuous painterly movements of the arms, hands, legs, and feet, the turning of the head; with the stances of the entire image that one makes with oneself, wherein one must now perceive the application of the previously learned contrasts.

The gestures and the text are closely connected, both following the emotional intensity of the passions. Yet the stage requires a 'more than usual', 'more elevated' feeling than one would see in daily life: a higher level of expression, befitting the emotional intensity of the narration (the '*storm der hartstogten*' [storm of the passions]), the distance to the audience, and the painted stage sets of the theatre. This elevation is to be kept in mind particularly for those who are not (yet) accustomed to working in large theatres. Today, the presence of cameras allows (and often requires) actors — not only on the screen, but also on-stage when performances are recorded — to act in a manner that includes nuanced expressions and more closely resembles our behaviour in daily life. Moreover, the eyes of most of us today are more familiar with acting or singing viewed on a screen and with modern theatre performances, which means that contemporary eyes (for the observers) and bodies (for the performers) may have to adapt to the gesticulation and attitudes proposed here.

Before moving to a detailed explanation of Jelgerhuis's plates for tragedy (Figure 1) and comedy (Figure 2), I have selected additional guidelines, in a paraphrased translation:

2.2.1 Guidelines to plates 20 and 21 on gesticulation

- Jelgerhuis used a male figure in both plates, so that the legs are visible, but female students are equally encouraged to make the given examples their own to improve their practice.²⁴
- The use of the right and the left hand should be varied. One can create this variation by expressing everything which is '*groots, goed en edel*' (grand, good, and noble) with the right hand, and everything '*verachtelijk en afkeerwekkend*' (despicable and revolting) with the left, including passions such as '*misprijzen, verachten, verwerpen, benijden, haten*' (disdain, to

²³ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 77.

²⁴ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 84, 86.

despise, to reject, to envy, to hate).²⁵ Similarly ‘turning the head to the left and to the right side, according to the nature of the subject, will contribute much to grace and *welstand*’ and will avoid stiffness.²⁶

- The movements and posture should match the character the actor portrays.²⁷
- Too much gesticulation should be avoided. As an initial guideline, Jelgerhuis suggests ‘to move with judgement not at every line, which one utters, but every sentence’.²⁸

All the attitudes mentioned in the previous lessons can be considered as the basis for the gesticulation in these plates. In fact, the instructions for tragedy are to be seen, as Jelgerhuis puts it, as a ‘mere opening on the track, which must be expanded through continuous study’.²⁹ He advises, following Gerard de Lairese’s lesson for painters, ‘*om het goede Attitude en beweging van het antieke beeld, op het burgerlijke leven toetepassen, door hetzelfde koncept te behouden, maar de bewegingen slechts minder uitgebreid te maken*’ (to apply good Attitude[s] and movement[s] inspired by antique statues to real life by keeping the concept, but reducing the amplitude of the movements). Jelgerhuis extends this advice to acting, as it can be used (with good judgement) for navigating the difference in movement between Comedy to Tragedy and vice versa.³⁰

- The movements in tragedy are generally wider/bigger than those in comedy:³¹ the difference in the circumference of arm movements in both genres is shown by the dotted circles on both plates.³² However, the exception is essential to the rule: one should not be afraid to exceed the smaller circle of movement in comedy, particularly in more vehement (*hevige*) passages, as they already tend more towards the tragic, in and of themselves.³³

²⁵ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 78–79, 83. For comparison of gestures for the right and left hand in other sources, see Kyropoulos, ‘Teaching Acting to Singers’, pp. 107–108.

²⁶ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 78.

²⁷ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 79. Kyropoulos gives examples of additional sources mentioning the concept of breaking the rules. He embraces this concept as a key feature of his New Teaching Method. See Kyropoulos, ‘Teaching Acting to Singers’, pp. 150–153.

²⁸ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 79.

²⁹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 82.

³⁰ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 81.

³¹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 82, 84–85. For the dotted lines, see plates 20 and 21 (Figures 1 and 2 of the present chapter).

³² Gilbert Austin refers to the difference in arm movement between the epic style and the colloquial style, stating that the elevations and extensions of the arm in the colloquial style are to be less bold, with a bent joint of the elbow. See Austin, *Chironomia*, pp. 313–314, plate 4, figures 34–36. See also Austin’s descriptions for the magnificence of gesture, in which ‘the centre of motion is the shoulder’, while the upper arm is detached from the body and the arm is unfolded (see p. 453) and colloquial gesture, in which ‘the upper arm [...] is barely detached from the side; and the elbow, instead of the shoulder, becomes the principal centre of motion’ (see pp. 458–459). The difference in this aspect of gesticulation between the two styles, manifesting in the extension of the arm and the distance of the upper arm to the torso, is also visible in Jelgerhuis’s plates 20 and 21 for gesticulation in tragedy and comedy (Figures 1 and 2).

³³ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 84–85.

Jelgerhuis cites Engel's treatise, stating that '*waarheid de eerste wet te zijn*' (truth should be the principal law), yet he argues that '*men wijkt geenszins van de waarheid, door zich goed en gratieus te bewegen, en daarop acht te leeren slaan*' (one does not move away from the truth by moving well and with grace, and by learning how to pay attention to this).³⁴

The separate depictions of lower arms and hands on both sides of the main figure on plate 20 (Figure 1) are Jelgerhuis's illustrations to accompany written instructions on arm and hand movement by the author and actor Antoine-François Riccoboni (1707–1772).³⁵ The latter's instructions strike Jelgerhuis as '*uitpluizerij*' (nitpicking). They detail in what order the different parts of the arms should be activated in order to move the arms gracefully, but Jelgerhuis is not in favour of this technique. Instead, he advocates 'moving naturally and freely, according to rules of *welstand*, and combining *welstand* with truth, while searching to avoid stiffness'.³⁶

*weg met deze uitpluizerij, - bewegen wij ons natuurlijk en vrij, en geven regelen van welstand, zonder acht te slaan op deze nietige regelen, paren wij den welstand aan de waarheid en zoeken wij alle stijfheid te ontgaan, en door onze toonbeelden de aanwijzingen in het geheugen te planten.*³⁷

away with this nitpicking, - let us move naturally and freely, giving tenets of *welstand* without paying attention to these futile rules. Let us combine *welstand* and truth and [let us] attempt to avoid all stiffness, and by our example, plant the evidence in the memory.³⁸

Earlier in the treatise, Jelgerhuis gives instructions on how to avoid stiffness: he presents examples of stances and actions (explaining how to optimize *welstand* in each of them), pointing out that these are to be planted '*diep in het geheugen*' (deeply in one's memory), and '*dikwerf in eenzaamheid te beoefenen, opdat men, vrij van alle stijfheid, zich dezelfde eigen doet worden*' (to be practiced often in solitude, so that one makes them one's own, free of all stiffness).³⁹ The visual example must be applied to physical practice, so that performers may become fluent in the embodiment of attitudes, gestures, and movements, in preparation for the stage. Jelgerhuis urges his students to follow de Laire's advice to young students to improve their actions and attitudes in front of a mirror:

LAIRESSSE, [...], raadt de jonge Schilders aan, omtrent welgekozene Actiën, zich in eenen spiegel den besten stand uit te kiezen; hoe veel te meer moet men dit den jongen Tooneellist aanraden, om zich zelven

³⁴ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 81. Engel in this passage praises the famous German actor Conrad Ekhof (1720–1778): '*Waarheid was zijn eerste regel, gelijk het behoort te wezen*' (truth was his first rule, just as it should be). See Engel, *De kunst van nabootzing*, transl. Konijnenburg, vol. 1, p. 65.

³⁵ On page 81 of his *Theoretische lessen*, Jelgerhuis gives a shortened and slightly edited citation from the Dutch translation of Engel's treatise *Ideen zu einer Mimik*. See Engel, *De kunst van nabootzing*, transl. Konijnenburg, vol. 1, pp. 67–68. Engel, in turn, in his *Ideen zu einer Mimik* (vol. 1, pp. 76–77), refers to Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's German translation of Riccoboni's *L'Art du Théâtre* of 1750. For the original passage, see Antoine-François Riccoboni, *L'Art du Théâtre à Madame **** [...] (Paris: C. F. Simon Fils et Giffart Fils, 1750) pp. 11–12.

³⁶ Unlike Engel and Jelgerhuis, Austin, citing the passage in the original language, approves of Riccoboni's instructions. See Austin, *Chironomia*, p. 375, footnote 1.

³⁷ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 82.

³⁸ The word '*toonbeelden*' can also be interpreted as the illustrations Jelgerhuis used in his lessons.

³⁹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 55.

*voor eenen spiegel, in fraaije Attitudes te oefenen; want ofschoon ik hier niets anders doe dan aantoonen, zoo zoude zonder de oefening en proeve, mijne lessen geen nut doen.*⁴⁰

regarding well-chosen actions, Lairesse [...] advises young painters to select the best stance for themselves in front of a mirror; this advice is of even more importance to the young actor, to practice beautiful/striking attitudes; for, as I can do no more than to demonstrate, my lessons would be of no use without practice and experimentation.

It is clear from these three passages that observation of the images is combined with practice to create a mental storehouse of examples from which to draw inspiration in a body that moves with ease and grace. Jelgerhuis's students were to observe and remember the attitudes and gestures illustrated in the lessons, and make them their own through practice.

⁴⁰ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 55. For Gerard De Lairesse's advice to practice in front of a mirror, see De Lairesse, *Het Groot Schilderboek*, vol. 1, p. 49.

2.2.2 Jelgerhuis's guide to plate 20, on gesticulation in tragedy

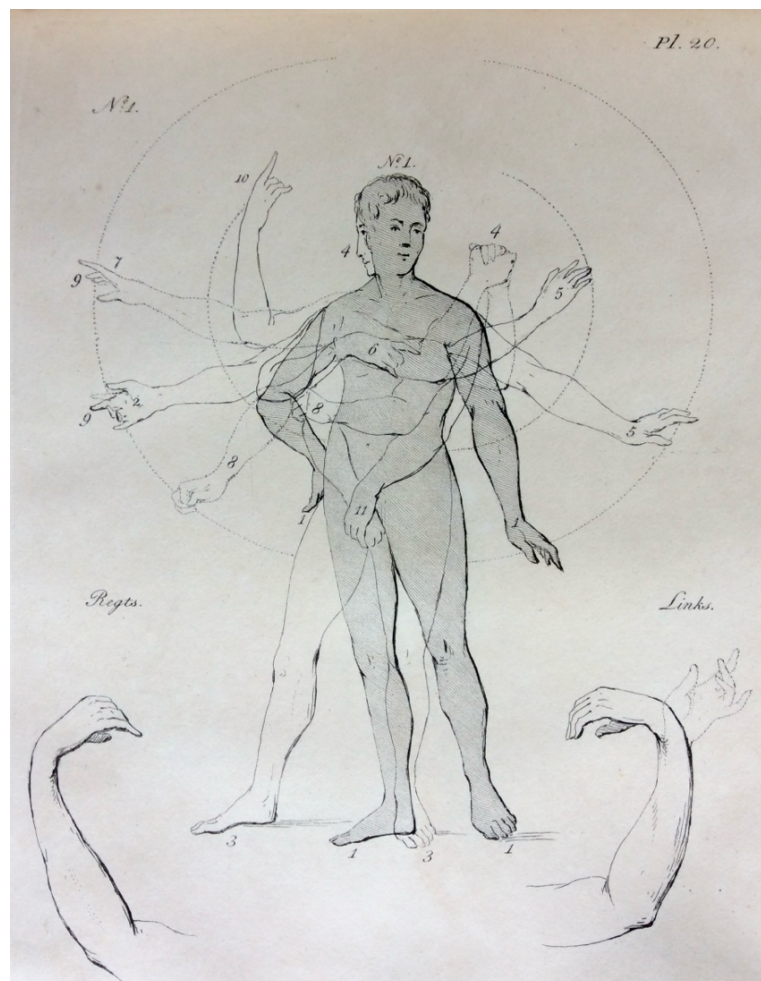


Figure 1, Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, plate 20.

Translation of Jelgerhuis's guide to interpreting plate 20 (Figure 1).⁴¹

1. 1–1–1–1 [the hands and feet with numbers 1 together create the first attitude]
2. movement to speaking.
3. moved feet in order to keep 1–1 and 3–3.
4. surprise on seeing an object, with face 4.
5. Lairese's '*verachting*' (contempt/scorn), with face 4.⁴²
6. hand on chest, applicable with all left hands
7. to give an order.
8. anger with the face N. 1 to the side, with fists.

⁴¹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 83.

⁴² De Lairese, *Het Groot Schilderboek*, vol. 1, p. 30, plate C, figure 2.

9. way of giving an order, higher or lower, when the left hand is raised, so that the hand is placed in the side
10. pointing towards heaven, while speaking to someone else.
11. silent wonder, hands together with hanging arms, and the legs and feet 1 and 3 together.

Jelgerhuis adds to these instructions the following remark on movement and contrast, applicable to all the attitudes and gesture combinations in plate 20:

Dit alles nu volgt elkanderen in beweging op, geschikt naar hetgeen voortedragen valt; - het zijn wenken, die ik hoop dat begrepen zullen worden, om voorttestreven. Merkt nu wel op: de contrasten, den zwier, den draai, heft zich het eene, dan daalt het andere; zoo ook wil ik het verzetten der voeten begrepen hebben; niets eveneens, altoos tegenstelling.⁴³

All of these elements now follow one another in a succession of movement, arranged in agreement with what is to be portrayed on-stage. These are suggestions which I hope shall be understood, so that one can continue progressing. Now mark this: the contrasts, the elegance, the turn of the body, as one [element] is lifted, then the other descends; I want the positioning of the feet to be understood in the same way; never both sides at once, always opposition.

This passage shows that the body and gestures are to be composed in a succession of movements, according to the character's situation on-stage, while remaining within the realm of graceful deportment, in which the rules of contrast as well as the turn of the body are to be observed. Moving to the illustrations for comedy, Jelgerhuis deems repetition of all the previous gestures in the comedy plate redundant, and only gives a few examples to demonstrate that the gestures in comedy should be smaller. He adds, moreover, that the more laughter is supposed to be caused by one's words, the smaller one's gestures can be.⁴⁴

⁴³ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 84.

⁴⁴ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 85.

2.2.3 Jelgerhuis's guide to plate 21, on gesticulation in comedy



Figure 2, Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, plate 21.

Translation of Jelgerhuis's guide to interpreting plate 21 (Figure 2).

2. The right hand is placed on the chest, in the vest or in the camisole, the left hangs loosely, with the feet in 1 and 2.
3. for speaking, 3 with the right hand
4. to give an order, 4.
5. pointing heavenwards, 5.
6. command someone to leave, 6.
7. disdain/contempt, 7 and 7, the face, 7 added.
8. to change the character, for instance to make the farmer or farmer's wife a bit comical, one can adjust: the stance more bent, the head as in 8, the legs, 9 and 10, the hands initially in 11 and 6, but all the other movements are also possible.

Jelgerhuis gives this last example (8) to stress the importance of the student's awareness of the body's posture, and its influence on the character and movements.⁴⁵ He adds that the circumference of a comedian's movement can be even smaller when his *delivery* must evoke laughter, and not his movements.⁴⁶ Similarly, a parallel position of the legs, feet, and gestures should be avoided unless for the purpose of creating a deliberately ridiculous moment, or situation.⁴⁷ Jelgerhuis writes that the positions of the arms and legs on this plate can be combined as desired, for each combination will result in a good stance (again, the gestures of the arms and the hands are not seen as separate, but they create a full body image with the rest of the body).⁴⁸ The plates are to be seen as a mere starting point from which the actor can develop any combination of the given arm gestures and foot positions. He further specifies that '*men dient zoo lang daar op te zien, tot men de eene uit de andere als het ware ziet voortvloeyen, en als Gesticulatie voor het oog zeeven zien*' (one is to observe these images until one can see one gesture flow into the next, as it were, as gesticulation, floating before one's eyes).⁴⁹ This is an essential point for creating a 'concatenation of continuous painterly movements'⁵⁰: by mentally practicing the transitions from one image to the next, the imagination becomes a direct tool for transforming one or more drawings (or any other still image or sculpture) into movement in the mind, which the body can then execute. The actor's training therefore combines the tools of imagination and physical practice.

With this in mind, I created the basic exercises, following the order of the arm gestures of each plate, and combining them with varying foot positions according to what felt logical at the time.⁵¹ My initial embodied version of the plate needed correcting to resemble the illustration as much as possible.⁵² At this stage, feedback from others was helpful to create the correct muscle memory corresponding to each attitude or gesture. Such adjustments could range from tilting the head slightly more to the left, to raising the right elbow and hand, turning out the foot more, and so on. It is unlikely that Jelgerhuis intended the order of the gestures and foot positions to become a fixed series: he does not mention any order; on the contrary, every option is possible. Moreover, the numbering of the feet and hands in the comedy plate is incomplete. However, as I practiced the movements Jelgerhuis describes, adding a few small adjustments, in time they became two short series of moving gestures and attitudes that I found useful for my own practice — for training purposes and for teaching. I will refer to these as series T1–11 (movements drawn from the tragedy plate) and series C1–11 (movements drawn from the comedy plate).

⁴⁵ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 86.

⁴⁶ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 85, my emphasis.

⁴⁷ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 87. Jelgerhuis dedicates plate 22 to parallel gestures and leg positions, which should be avoided on-stage. See Chapter 1, section 1.2.2 on '*Contrast*', Figure 2 (left).

⁴⁸ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 86.

⁴⁹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 86.

⁵⁰ For the full citation, see page 83 above, or Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 77.

⁵¹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 86.

⁵² I did not adopt the manner of moving the arms and hands as described by Riccoboni, visually represented by Jelgerhuis's separate illustrations of hands and underarms in plate 20 (Figure 1).

2.2.4 The basic tragedy series: T 1–11

Figure 3 below is a miniature overview of the tragedy series, featuring five voice students from the Early Music department at the Conservatorium van Amsterdam, who attended the ‘Declamation and Gesture’ group lessons in 2024.⁵³ Appendix F contains the separate attitudes in pictures with the annotated action written in words. In order to give momentum to the opening attitude, one can start with the weight on the left leg, and move into the first attitude by shifting one’s weight to the right leg for T1:



Figure 3, The basic tragedy series performed by students of the Conservatorium van Amsterdam, 2024, photo credits, Andrea Friggi

- T 1. legs and hands in 1–1–1–1.
- T 2. only the right hand moves to 2.
- T 3. this number was skipped, as shifting the legs happens at other moments (moving into T1, T4, T6, and T8).
- T 4. moving back in surprise at seeing the object on one’s left, the feet retiring to 3–3 and the hands in 4.
- T 5. in order make the transition from T4 to T5 feel more natural, it can be helpful to first turn one’s eyes to the left side: this makes it possible to imagine or see the object at the left that is to be rejected. Then the head moves to 4, and the arms to the left in 5–5.
- T 6. placing the right hand in 6, lowering the left to 1, then moving the feet to 1–1.

⁵³ I want to express my gratitude to each of these students and to Andrea Friggi (photography and editing), whose participation made the creation of Figure 3 and Appendix F possible.

- T 7. the right hand in 7, the left hand in 1, the feet stay in 1–1.
- T 8. moving the hands into 8 and 8, retiring to foot position 3–3.
- T 9. this attitude is divided into ‘low nine’ (feet stay in 3–3, right hand in the lower 9 position and the left hand moves up, resting on the hip) and ‘high nine’ (the only change is the right hand moving up to the higher position of 9).
- T 10. the feet stay in 3–3, the right hand moves to 10, the left hand stays on the hip.
- T 11. the left foot stays in place 3; the right foot is retracted, taking the 1 position which is usually taken by the left foot: this places the legs and feet together, as Jelgerhuis suggests; the right arm is lowered, and the left hand covers the right, both in 11.

2.2.5 The basic comedy series: C 1–8

Jelgerhuis did not number all the foot positions on plate 21 (Figure 2), or the hands in their initial position (the left in the vest and the right hanging by the side, both coloured grey).

- C 1. This series starts with the position of the legs and feet that are left uncoloured (the right foot in 9 and the left foot without numbering), the right hand in the vest, the left hanging down, but with the little finger sticking out slightly, as one can see in the illustration.
- C 2. shifting the weight to arrive with the feet in 1 and 2, keeping the hands in place (the entire body is as coloured grey).
- C 3. the right hand moves to 3 (speaking).
- C 4. the right hand moves to 4 (giving an order).
- C 5. the right hand moves to 5 (pointing heavenwards).
- C 6. the right hand moves to the hanging position, the left hand moves to 6 (commanding someone to leave).
- C 7. the hands move to 7 and 7, the head moves to the right 7, for disdain/contempt.
- C 8. (C 8–11:) the left foot moves to 10, the right foot to 6, the knees slightly bent and the lower back curved slightly (as can be seen in the dotted lines of the upper legs and pelvis: moved slightly backward), the right hand moves to 11, the left hand to 6, and the head tilts to 8.

Jelgerhuis does not give an alternative for the placement of the right hand for female characters in C1 and C2, yet their costumes do not have the vertical opening of a vest (unless playing a breeches role). Earlier in the treatise, however, he describes various options to create contrast between the arms in comedy: if one hand is lowered, the other hand, held higher, could carry a fan, hold the tip of their apron (for the farmer’s wife), touch the ribbons of their hat/bonnet, and so on.⁵⁴ The last two options work particularly well as substitutes for the hand in the vest during the starting position of the comedy series. Holding a fan is also possible, but one must find a reason to let go of the fan before the gestures start from C3 onwards (for a comical effect, bordering on farce, one could gesticulate with the fan in the right hand, depending on the play and the character).

⁵⁴ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 41. For illustrations of characters holding an apron in the high hand see plates 7, and 81, 87; for the farmer’s wife holding the tip of her apron, see plate 8, N1.

I recorded the basic tragedy series (T1–11) on video in 2018 in two venues in Český Krumlov in the Czech Republic: Video A, in a small room of the Studijní Centrum Český Krumlov (see also Figure 4, showing T7), and video B, on the stage of the Český Krumlov Palace Theatre (Figure 5, showing T2).⁵⁵



Figure 4, Video still of Video A, recorded at the Studijní Centrum Český Krumlov, in 2018.

Play Video A



Figure 5, Video still of Video B, recorded at the Český Krumlov Palace Theatre, 2018.

Play Video B

⁵⁵ This video was taken during a research workshop organized by the research group Performing Premodernity in 2018, which allowed for scholars and artists to explore the archival collections of the State Castle Český Krumlov and experiment in the Palace Theatre.

The differences between performing in a small room and on a (raked) stage can be seen when comparing these examples. The facial expression, for instance, would be easier to see in Video A (there is daylight in the room and observers would be sitting closer by) than in Video B). Moreover, the inclination of the body changes due to the raked stage on Video B (one has to compensate one's balance slightly on a raked stage in order not to tilt forward, as if one were standing on heels). At the time these videos were recorded, I was experimenting with performing the series in both directions, for the purpose of expanding my own vocabulary and to offer my students a mirrored example while teaching. This practice in progress is visible in Videos A and B and in the video stills, where I execute the attitudes in the opposite direction as those presented by Jelgerhuis (here, my left arm is the main arm indicating in T-7 and T-2, whereas on Jelgerhuis's plate 20 the right is the principal arm for these gestures). I ask the reader to observe my experiments in these and the following videos as work in progress: there are many points of improvements in terms of stage deportment, *welstand*, posture, and timing, some of which I point out below in section 2.6.5, 'Reflection on the borders of *welstand*'.

2.2.6 Character: age, sex, social status, circumstance

Having established a sequence of movements and attitudes which follow the rules of contrast and *welstand* advocated by Jelgerhuis, the series can be adapted to fit different characters. Jelgerhuis mentions character on several occasions in the treatise, for instance to urge the students to adapt their attitudes and their way of walking during the entrances and exits to the character portrayed.⁵⁶ But here he goes into more detail by citing the different characteristics for different characters in the poem which he attributes to the Dutch painter Van Mander.⁵⁷ This passage includes the differences in age, social status, sex, circumstance, and culture.⁵⁸ The first four in particular are no uncommon parameters to define or shape a character in historical painting and acting treatises, as nuances in each parameter can influence and thereby reveal important information about posture and movement. I started practicing with two imagined female characters: one older, serious character of high rank (Video C) and a young, more sweetly dispositioned character of slightly lower rank (Video D). I recorded the tragedy series with these characters in 2020 during the COVID-19 pandemic in my own apartment.

⁵⁶ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 34, 38, 41, and plates 3, 4.

⁵⁷ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 79–80. I have not been able to locate the poem Jelgerhuis cites in van Mander's *Het Schilder-Boeck*. Golding points out that part of its content is a poetic paraphrase, corresponding to stanzas 38 and 39 in chapter IV of Mander's *Het Schilder-Boeck* (fol. 14^v). See Golding, *Classicistic Acting*, p. 305.

⁵⁸ For age, rank, and circumstance, see, for instance, De Lairese's *Het Groot Schilderboek*, pp. 52–53; For examples of acting treatises mentioning this topic, see Kyropoulos, 'Teaching Acting to Singers', pp. 240–241. For social decorum of the characters on the eighteenth-century Dutch stage as well as for age, sex, social status, and emotional state of mind, see De Haas, 'De wetten', pp. 183–185, 256.



Video C, The basic tragedy attitude series in progress

Play Video C



Video D, The basic tragedy attitude series in progress

Play Video D

In these two videos, I execute the series as depicted on plate 20; the right hand is now the dominant hand for most of the gestures. However, in attitudes T–5 (0'16" in Video D, 0'30" in Video C) and T–7 (0'26" in Video D, 0'45" in Video C) my arms are lower than the arms on plate 20. One of the most important transitions, which one notices in practice, is the movement of the eyes between T–4 and T–5. In order to move from something seen on one's right to rejecting something on one's left, the eyes have to move first, so as to see or imagine the rejectable object, an actual person or a thought before moving away from it (see Video D, 0'12" –0'17" and Video C 0'22"–0'30"). This example also indicates a difference in timing depending on the character (the transition on Video D is much quicker than the one on Video C). Both videos are examples of the experimental stage of this sequence. For example, after the full sequence in Video D, I started the sequence again, this time on the opposite side. In Video C I added an entrance and an exit, and in the attitude T–8 (0'55") I shift my weight, demonstrating a variation on this attitude. In comparison with Video D (0'30"), the expression of anger in Video C is bolder, and the arms are, in Jelgerhuis's wording, more '*theatraal*' (theatrical, as in better suited for the stage).⁵⁹ I think that both expressions of T–8 can be equally functional as long as they resonate with the character and their situation on-stage. The accentuated eyebrows in Video C are an example of my experimentation with Jelgerhuis's instructions on painting eyebrows to aid the visual impact of facial expression.

2.3 TEACHING

Both series soon proved to be useful in teaching, in my own practice, and in training with others. I used various characters, including those proposed by Jelgerhuis in the *Theoretische lessen*. The treatise features examples of different basic characters and some examples of posture or behaviour specific to them, such as the farmer and the farmer's wife; a lady; a nobleman, a hero, and a gentleman, '*vorstelijke rollen*' (royal/regal roles), a '*grijsaard*' (greybeard), and so on.⁶⁰ Such characters fitted in with the casting system in use at the Amsterdam Schouwburg at the time that Jelgerhuis was first employed, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This casting system followed that of the Comédie Française, where each player's was hired for a specific type of '*emploi*' (in Dutch also spelled as '*emplooy*' and '*emplot*' at the time).⁶¹ Each *emploi* comprised a set of stage characters, and required a player's predisposition for the specific acting style, including the physical build and the voice associated with that *emploi*.⁶² The '*première amoureuse*', for instance, would generally

⁵⁹ See Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 144.

⁶⁰ For examples, see the following in the *Theoretische lessen*: the farmer and a farmer's wife, see plate 8, N1, p. 53 as well as the abovementioned N8 of Jelgerhuis's guideline to the comedy plate 21; for a lady, see plate 7, p. 53; for a nobleman, a hero and a gentleman, see plate 4, A, p. 43; for royal/regal roles, plate 6, p. 51; and for a greybeard, see p. 34, 46 and plates 1, 4 C, plate 9.

⁶¹ Many German theatres also followed the French model. For more on the development of *emplois* (*Rollenfächer*) in Germany before and during Goethe's time, see Ulrike Müller-Harang, *Das Weimarer Theater zur Zeit Goethes* (Weimar: Klassikerstätten zu Weimar, 1991), pp. 45–47.

⁶² Arthur Pougin defines *emplois* and provides a list of the French *emplois*. See Arthur Pougin, *Dictionnaire historique et pittoresque du théâtre et des arts qui s'y rattachent [...]* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et C^{ie}, 1885), p. 326, 772. Sabine Chaouche refers to these typologies as stereotypes that were present in many plays at the time. See Sabine Chaouche, 'The Phenomenology of Acting:

have a more delicate physique and a higher voice than the ‘mère noble’. The players might continue to play the same *emploi* throughout their entire career, or change, in time, to an *emploi* that was better suited to their age.⁶³ The same system was also used in comedy and opera (the types of *emploi* varying slightly for each genre) and corresponded to most characters in plays and operas of the time. In the course of Jelgerhuis’s career, the *emplooy* system was discontinued, and new plays featured a larger variation of characters. Yet it is difficult to say exactly when and how strictly the new rules were adopted. In her *Kijkcijfers*, theatre historian Henny Ruitenbeek describes the seeming incongruity between the officially documented changes and the actual course of events concerning role divisions at the Amsterdam Schouwburg itself.⁶⁴ Jelgerhuis still speaks of *emploi* in his treatise of 1827–1829, written in the last decade of his lifetime and acting career, but only in the introduction, because his lessons were intended for all the acting students and open to additional public.⁶⁵

Inexperienced performers seem to benefit from portraying and identifying with clear-cut and contrasting characters first, such as those mentioned in Jelgerhuis’s lessons, before moving on to psychologically complex and multilayered characters. Other examples of such basic characters may include: an evil queen, a young prince, a witch, a wise druid or priest, an innocent shepherdess, to name a few. Having explored some of these basic characters, the passions are added, and the characters as well as the imagined circumstances can become more and more complex, to increase nuance and variation.⁶⁶ These variations increase the performer’s vocabulary of movements and expand their mental storehouse of options and images, which can later be recalled on-stage.⁶⁷

Just as it is practical to start with clear and contrasting, well-known passions such as joy, anger, and sadness, before moving on to more complex passions, or overlapping combinations of passions, these stereotypes were practical aids, helpful in introducing new students to the material. However, the binary gender division in these stereotypes, based on historical sources, does not represent the variety in gender as we know it today; they also lack the variety and complexity of actual human characters. In the classroom, I alternate assigning a specific character and gender to the students (not necessarily corresponding to the gender with which they identify), with letting them create characters of their own (including all elements belonging to a character: gender, age,

Cognitive and Creative Spaces in 18th-Century Theories’, in *The Stage and its Creative Processes*, vol. 1, ed. by Sabine Chaouche, special issue in *European Drama and Performance Studies*, 13 (2019–2), 69–90 (p. 71).

⁶³ For more information on the *emplooy* system in Amsterdam and at the Comédie Française during and before Jelgerhuis’s time, see Albach, *Helden*, pp. 56–60, 97–100.

⁶⁴ For more details about the *emplooy* system at the Amsterdam Schouwburg, see Ruitenbeek, *Kijkcijfers*, pp. 64–70.

⁶⁵ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. v.

⁶⁶ For a historical source discussing the study of specific characters and their societal circumstances (in this case, regarding acting/pantomime for singers), see François Boisquet, *Essais Sur L’art du Comedien Chanteur* [...] (Paris: Longchamps, 1812), pp. 102–131. For accounts of performances by theatre critics, see, for instance, Hazlitt, ‘On Actors and Acting’. For a famous actress describing her creation of specific roles, see Clairon, *Mémoires*. On pages 42 to 53 of her *Mémoires*, Clairon describes specific *emplois*, such as ‘Tyrens’, ‘Rois’, ‘Premier rôle d’Homme’, ‘Jeunes premiers Rôles d’hommes’, ‘Confidens’, ‘Mères’, ‘Rôles forts’, ‘Rôles tendres’, and ‘Confidentes’.

⁶⁷ Golding calls this process ‘image-recall technique’. See Golding, *Classicistic acting*, pp. 106–108.

social status, and their set of passions). This has needed no explaining so far to the students, as the environment of the classroom seems to feel safe enough for them to experiment with any character of interest to them. As historical plays and operas can feature roles *en travestie*, exploring characters of different genders is not only useful to explore a wider range of expression, but may also be useful in their professional lives on-stage.⁶⁸

In addition to variations in character, there are many other parameters that influence the series, from the viewpoint and perception of the performer and/or observers. Naturally, each parameter can be added to help create specific traits for a chosen character. Like Jelgerhuis, I present these examples as a mere starting point, a previously-mentioned ‘opening on the track’ to enriching one’s vocabulary of gestures and attitudes. I use the term ‘performer’ in the following examples to describe the person who executes the series, whether student or professional, including actors, singers, dancers, or others interested, for themselves at home or with observers, in class or in other types of practice. Both series feature a small number of attitudes or movements to which Jelgerhuis assigned a passionate state (T4, T5, T8 and T11) (C7). The remaining attitudes and gestures, although they have not been labelled with a specific emotion, may have a specific function (such as pointing heavenwards, giving an order, and so on). Both the passions and the function may be affected by changing small units of movement and thought. The elements of variation in the following list do not necessarily need to be combined with a character, but in order to create the different nuances and gradations, while avoiding a combination of mechanical movements for the sake of merely performing the exercise/task, it is essential that a performer use their imagination to create the *reason why* a certain gesture or movement is performed in the way the exercise prescribes.⁶⁹ Training the imagination as an active acting tool not only for envisioning movement but also as a generator of the acting itself is therefore required from the very beginning.

⁶⁸ Regarding inclusivity on other levels, I ask that this dissertation and the exercises proposed be read with the intention of including everyone, including (inter)national students, and students with injuries and/or chronic impairments. My work with students with physical impairments or injuries thus far has shown that each person already was accustomed to finding solutions to adapt to most situations in their daily life, and that they knew their bodies well enough to find solutions also in the lessons. Such solutions included, for instance, working from the imagination, or performing this series while seated, or with lower arm positions. With students whose sight was impaired, working with touch, text, and the imagination made it possible to exchange the information needed to create an embodied understanding of gestures and facial expressions. One student’s sight was limited to the ability to differentiate a light and dark space, yet often had paintings described to them by others. This allowed them to draw inspiration from their trained mental storehouse of images. Combining discussions of the dramatic content, the passions, and movements with physical examples given by touch (by touching my hands, and following the movement of my clasped hands, for instance, from a lower position to a higher one, the student was able to recall and reproduce this movement when the passion awakened by their own imagination required it. Similarly, this student was accustomed to touch people’s faces as a means of recognition, and by touching my face, I could help them recognize the expression of passions in their own face), so as to make the passions recognizable to the audience.

⁶⁹ Boisquet describes an exercise for singers to create nuances in the passions and the expressive poses of their character. See Boisquet, *Essais*, pp. 160–161. For the English translation of this passage and a discussion of acting practices for singers in France, see Laura Moeckli, “Nobles dans leurs attitudes”, pp. 23–25.

2.3.1 Variations

The following is a list of variations on the tragedy and comedy series of the two basic exercises, based on Jelgerhuis's plates 20 and 21:

- **smaller/bigger gestures** – varying the amplitude of the gestures, for instance by performing the series as if persuading an audience of thousands (using elevated and grand gestures) or as if speaking in secret to one person (with small gestures). The smaller gestures should however, as Jelgerhuis points out, always be within the realm of elevation needed on-stage).⁷⁰
- **tempo** – executing the sequence varying the gradations of speed.
- **draai** (turn/flexure), **zwaai**, and **zwier**⁷¹ – sweep and stylish/graceful movement. Experimenting with the *draai* is done by increasing or decreasing the torsion/flexure of the body.⁷² This can be executed slowly at first, to observe the effect each minimal adjustment has on the expression of the entire figure. When moving from a position in which most of the body is faced forward, frontally, a slight increase of torsion will add elegance to the posture, or can express a character's shyness. When one continues to increase this torsion, the effect will generally increase in elegance until reaching the point beyond which it becomes exaggerated. Strong torsion of the figure can work well for characters such as a witch or those with bad intentions or something to conceal. In exercises of 'zwaai' and 'zwier', the students practice the movement of gestures, and how to achieve a seemingly effortless graceful and/or stylish quality.
- **contrast: body, head, and eyes** – first exploring contrast between direction of the head and the torso. This is achieved, for instance, when the torso is turned slightly towards the right side (the right shoulder turns a little away from the audience), while the face is turned towards the audience. Continuing from the previous example, even more contrast is created by turning the eyes towards the left: the body, the head, and the eyes each facing different directions. (Increased contrast of all three units simultaneously is especially useful for shy or jealous characters, or those with hidden intentions).⁷³

⁷⁰ Jelgerhuis emphasizes using gestures big enough to be visible, while not following each other up too quickly so as not to present too much at once to the spectator ('*dat onze bewegingen op het tooneel groot moeten zijn, zullen dezelve zichtbaar wezen, en nimmer elkander te spoedig moeten opvolgen, opdat niet aan den beschouwer op eens te veel worde voorgesteld*'). See Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 164.

⁷¹ For an extensive list of definitions for *zwier* in Dutch, see *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, s.v. 'zwier', <https://gtb.ivdnt.org/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=WNT&id=M090589&lemma=zwier&domein=0&conc=true> (accessed 7 April 2025).

⁷² For additional examples of 'zwier', 'draai', and/or 'wending', see Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 65, and Jelgerhuis's attitude descriptions of his colleague Snoek as Achilles (p. 66), the sculptures of Antinous (p. 68) and the gladiator (p. 74). There is a limit, however, to the desired amount of 'zwier' and 'draai' (p. 67).

⁷³ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, plate 7, B (p. 52); plate 8, figure 2, pp. 53–54; plate 15, figure 2 (p. 67), plate 16, figures 4 and 6 (pp. 68–70). See also the figures depicting the lady and the farmer's wife on plate 7, C and plate 8, No. 1 (pp. 53–54). For contrast between the direction of the eyes and the head, see Antinous, plate 15, figure 3 (p. 68).

- **tilting the head** – by tilting the head slightly to one side, the performer exercises nuances which support or have a different effect on the intended facial expression. Jelgerhuis describes this as ‘*een oog hemelwaarts*’ (one eye heavenwards), meaning that one eye is higher than the other: a way to increase *welstand*.⁷⁴
- **eyes first** – starting every transition to the next gesture or attitude with the movement of the eyes: the eyes see something which triggers a reaction (thought/emotion) and the subsequent movement.
- **emotion first** – from each position, the character’s own thoughts or emotions change first: this causes the eyes to look in the direction of the object of their thoughts/emotions, and the physical action follows.
- **noting (accentuating) or flowing** – when noting or accentuating, each movement has momentum and strength, as well as a clear starting point and an accent at its point of arrival. When flowing, the gestures and/or attitudes are more continuous; they can be gentle, and their exact moment of transition is less defined.
- **varying the legs** – improvising by performing the series without changing the position of the legs during the exercise. Another option is improvising with different moments to change the positions of the legs.
- **steps** – improvising by adding a few steps to some or all of the transitions (this gives the transition direction and intent towards or away from the object of focus).
- **timing** – dividing each transition into smaller units, and spreading those out in time. For instance, the eyes move first, a reaction and a change of facial expression follows, accompanied by the breath; this is followed by turning (and perhaps tilting) the head, turning the torso, changing the foot position, then one hand, then the another. It may also be that one or both hands precede the movement of the feet. Spreading out a transition over time is useful especially when much time must be covered without a big change in affect, for instance during the many textual and musical repetitions in an aria in ABA’ form, or during musical preludes, interludes, and so on. To keep this from becoming mechanical or ‘merely pretty’, it is essential that the performer keeps his imagination and expression alive. It is also helpful to vary the speed and/or quality of movement between at least a few of the given units.
- **passions** – Jelgerhuis mentions examples of passions (surprise: T4, disdain: T5 and C 7, and anger: T8), but one can vary and extend emotional expression in all the attitudes and transitions by using Jelgerhuis’s illustrations of facial expressions in chapters 13–20 of his *Theoretische lessen* and in sources he recommends (for instance those by Charles Le Brun and Gerard de Lairese).⁷⁵
- **all-in-one-passion** – performing the entire series in one passion, for instance in sadness or in joy.⁷⁶ As T4, T5, T8, and C7 already have emotional connotations, these emotions

⁷⁴ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, plate 4, figure B, p. 45.

⁷⁵ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 117–170. Probably Jelgerhuis refers to the Dutch translation of Le Brun’s treatise. See Le Brun, *Afbeelding der Hertstogten*, transl. De Kaarsgieter; for the original French treatise, see Le Brun, *Methode*. See also, De Lairese, *Het Groot Schilderboek*,

⁷⁶ My thanks for this exercise to João Luís Paixão, whose idea it was to perform the Tragedy series in sadness during the Historical Acting Summer Academy of 2019 at Leiden University.

will be coloured by the selected overarching passion. In some cases, this is more straightforward than in others. If, for instance, one performs the tragedy series with sadness as its main passion: T4 (surprise) will be a surprise within the state of sadness, T5 (disdain/contempt) will be contempt generated by sadness, and T8 (anger) may be only a moment's impulse towards anger, and is likely to be a weaker version of anger than usual (the muscle tone in sadness is generally less than in anger; therefore, it may take the performer more time to reach or suggest the muscle tension associated with anger). Alternatively, executing the tragedy series in joy, however natural in combination with T4 (surprise), may need a playful twinkle in the eye to make the T5 (contempt) milder or of little consequence (more like a short frown than actual contempt). The attitude of T8 (anger), in combination with joy often transforms into an expression of energetic courage or decisiveness. Practicing the series by varying the overarching passion trains not only the physical transitions but also the imagination; performers must find within themselves the motive to make the next action seem plausible or even unavoidable.⁷⁷

- **passions in pairs** – similar to the previous exercise, but now the overarching passions are two, and the series is performed while alternating the passions in pairs (for example: T1–T2 in joy, T4–T5 in jealousy, T6–T7 in joy, and so on). Again, this is a useful training for the imagination and the transitions from one emotion to the next.

By creating these exercises and expanding the material in Jelgerhuis's treatise through reference to additional sources, I was able to expand my own acting practice and to develop a tool for exploring and improving specific roles and smaller units, such as orations, arias, monologues, and songs. The physical and mental knowledge gained from this work is also useful in collaboration with others, as I am more flexible in creating and adapting my role in accordance with the style of a regisseur or ensemble, in spoken and sung repertoire as well as in silent roles. Knowing which choices I made to create an atmosphere or character, helped me convey my ideas to the musicians and/or conductor. After working alone, I found that alternating teaching with my own practice enabled me to give students guidance not only in expressing that which they envisioned, but also to improve their general presentation and confidence, for instance when speaking in public. The listed elements of variation prepare the student with various gradations of *welstand*, to be adapted using their own judgement in different genres (from recitals, declaimed poems, spoken theatre, oratorio, to fully staged theatre performances). After years of working with the basic attitude exercises, I started to read the *Theoretische lessen* in a different way. My practice allowed me to recognize options for nuances of movement in the text as well as in the illustrations, which (though I had not been able to see it in my first years of study) yet which greatly expand an actor's options.

⁷⁷ Kyropoulos explains this process with an added analysis of the specific muscle tension associated with the overarching passion and of the way that muscle tension influences the other passions. See Kyropoulos, 'Teaching Acting to Singers', p. 237.

2.3.2 Exercises with two people or more

2.3.2.a The regisseur

Once performers are familiar with at least one of the basic series, they can modify the order of gestures and attitudes to any combination. In this exercise, one person performs (A) and another person (B) functions as regisseur. B calls out any number, between T1–T11 or C1–8, and A moves into the corresponding attitude or gesture. B then calls out a new number, and A makes a transition to the new attitude or gesture. Depending on the time available and the level of both participants, the series of transitions can contain anything between 3 and 10 different gestures/attitudes. The exercise challenges the improvisation and transitioning skills of the performer (A). At the same time, B trains their imagination by envisioning the next attitude. Then the participants swap roles (A takes the role of B and vice versa). In doing so, both learn how to choose the attitudes in an order that creates the amount of contrast and movement befitting a specific situation and/or character. When working with more than two participants, one person will take the role of the performer (A), one person is selected among the group as regisseur to call out the numbers (B), and the rest of the group (C) functions as the audience. Whether working with only two or with a group, rotating the functions enables the participants to experience the physical side of the exercise (A) and the visual and mental side (B and C). The exercise can be further extended by having performer (A) choose a specific character to perform the called-out attitudes and gestures. They can also adopt any of the parameters of variation listed above to explore different facets of that character, such as variation in passions, ample circumference of all gestures, and so on.

2.3.2.b Attitudes *en scene* with entrances and exits

After practicing the attitudes/gesticulation and their transitions in any order (as proposed by B), elements from the previous exercises can be combined easily with information from Jelgerhuis's second chapter on entrances, exits, and the manner of walking on-stage.⁷⁸ Many guidelines in his second chapter (for instance, on entering in a manner that matches one's character, and paying attention to contrast in the body) have been incorporated in the guidelines and exercises above. The present exercise invites the participants to apply this information to their entrances and exits, considering the following additional instructions from this second chapter. On entering the stage, the performer can prevent swinging one's arms (which are to be avoided on-stage) by holding one's hands behind one's back, folding them, or by keeping contrast in the arms.⁷⁹ The attitude, chosen to match the character, should remain '*eenvoudig en natuurlijk [...], ver van alle gemaaktheid*' (simple and natural, avoiding all affectation).⁸⁰ Walking on-stage is done in curved lines instead of straight ones, as the latter make the stage seem small (the faulty lines are dotted in the illustrated examples of Figure 6).⁸¹

⁷⁸ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 33–42.

⁷⁹ For swinging arms and examples of arm positions for entering the stage, see Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 38–39.

⁸⁰ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 39.

⁸¹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 36, 38, plate 3.

The manner of walking, the speed and the size of the steps are adjusted to the character (see plate 3 for examples of different characters).⁸² When working on an actual stage, performers should leave enough space between themselves and the flats they enter from: (tightly squeezing around the flats will not look good).⁸³ No entrances are allowed through the flats representing walls or closed doors, walking through a fully opened door is allowed.⁸⁴

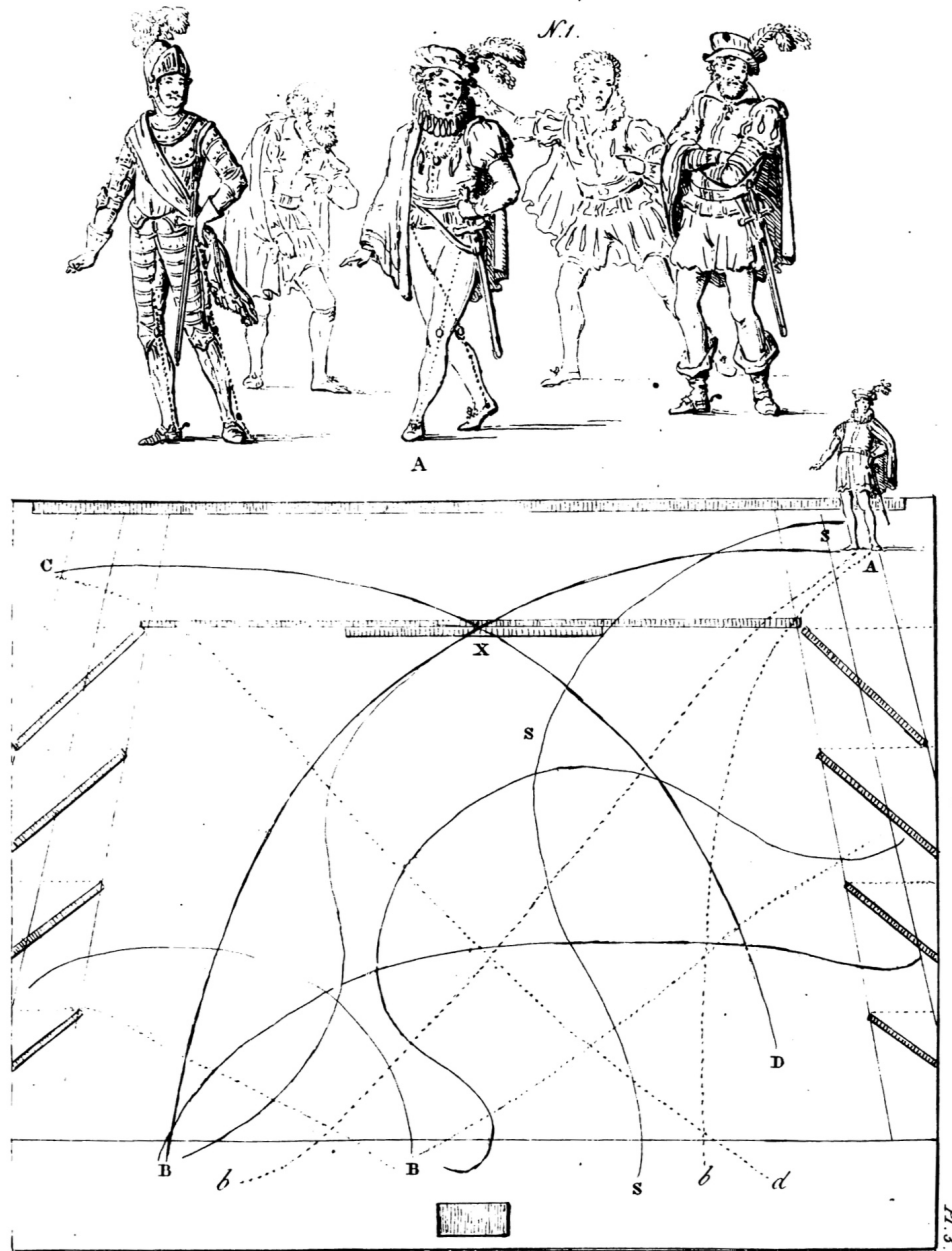


Figure 6, Entrances and exits in Jelgerhuis's *Theoretische lessen*, plate 3

⁸² Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 34, 35, 36.

⁸³ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 38.

⁸⁴ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 37–38. For Jelgerhuis's comments on French actors entering through the walls, see Neuman, 'Three Jelgerhuis Manuscripts', pp. 130–131.

2.3.2.c Exercise for entrances, exits, and attitudes

Performer A chooses a character and an initial attitude for entering the stage.

- having arrived on their chosen position on-stage, A assumes a second attitude, facing the audience as much as possible.⁸⁵
- B similarly chooses a character and an initial attitude, and enters from the opposite side of the stage, approaches A, and comes to halt in a second attitude.
- On perceiving B, A reacts, changes their attitude, and subsequently leaves the stage.
- B changes their attitude as a reaction to this small event and also proceeds leaving the stage, either following in the direction of A, or exiting on their own side of the stage.

Many short stories can be told with this exercise, but the characters, the emotions and the situation must be clear in the mind of the participants. The more the intention of one character is expressed by the full range of facial expression, the manner of movement, the posture, and so on, the easier it becomes for the other participant to react. The dramatic stage situation and the attitudes for each character can be defined beforehand, but when the participants are more advanced, the scene can also be fully improvised. In both cases, the participants learn to adapt their movements and reactions to another player on-stage.

2.3.3 Hybrid exercises

I extended the two attitude series by combining Jelgerhuis's instructions with information from other historical sources on acting, including, as described in the following three exercises, the attitude plates or the notation system from Gilbert Austin's *Chironomia*, Aaron Hill's exercises on the passions in 'An Essay on the Art of Acting', and the facial expressions based on Charles Le Brun's *Methode pour apprendre a dessiner les passions*.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 44.

⁸⁶ Hill, 'An Essay', pp. 353–414.

2.3.3.a Aaron Hill

Aaron Hill, in ‘An Essay on the Art of Acting’, lists and describes the expression of the eyes and the intensity of muscle tension (see Figure 7) relating to ten selected passions: anger, fear, grief, hatred, jealousy, joy, love, pity, scorn, and wonder.⁸⁷

JOY is expressed by muscles intense --- and a smile in the eye.
ANGER, by muscles intense --- and a frown in the eye.
PITY, by muscles intense --- and a sadness in the eye.
HATRED, by muscles intense --- and aversion in the eye.
WONDER, by muscles intense --- and an awful alarm in the eye.
LOVE, by muscles intense, --- and a respectful attachment in the eye.
GRIEF, by neither muscles, nor eye intense --- but both languid.
FEAR, by muscles and look both languid --- with an alarm, in eye, and motion.
SCORN, by muscles languid and neglected --- with a smile in the eye, to express the *light*, or a frown in the eye, for the *serious* species.
JEALOUSY, by muscles intense, and the look pensive; or the look intense, and muscles languid, interchangeably.

Figure 7, Ten passions and the muscle tension and eye expression ascribed to them by Aaron Hill in ‘An Essay on the Art of Acting’, p. 401.

His analysis can be useful for training the awareness of the eyes and of muscle tension in every transition from one passionate attitude to the next. The application of this technique works well with the exercises listed above in section 2.3.1 ‘Variations’ as ‘passions’, ‘all-in-one-passion’, ‘passions in pairs’, and in section 2.3.2.a ‘The regisseur’. In the ‘all-in-one-passion’ exercise, for instance, one can perform the series T1–T11 with the overarching passion of anger, which, according to Hill’s analysis, is expressed by ‘Muscles intense, A frown in the eye’. This muscular intensity and expression of the eyes influences the way the other attitudes are performed. When using Hill’s list in practice, it is important to consider his remark that the imagination must always precede the action:

⁸⁷ For comparison with Jelgerhuis’s equivalents of these passions in his treatise (*Toorn, Vreze, Droefheid, Haat, Jalouzy, Vreugde, Liefde, Medelijden, Spijt/verachting*, and *Verwondering*), see Appendix E, or see Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, chapters 13–21, pp. 117–172.

To act a passion, well, the actor never must attempt its imitation, 'till his fancy has conceived so strong an image, or idea, of it', as to move the same impressive springs within his mind, which form that passion, when 'tis undesigned, and natural.⁸⁸

Hill's analysis of the ten passions is a useful tool, but the imagination must be the first generator of the action. Regarding Hill's analysis and facial expression, Jed Wentz points out in his 2010 dissertation 'The Relationship between Gesture, Affect and Rhythmic Freedom in the Performance of French Tragic Opera from Lully to Rameau' that Hill himself warns actors against copying facial expressions without activating their imagination, as this would result in a 'scholastic and technical confusion'.⁸⁹ Kyropoulos elaborates on this in his 'Teaching Acting to Singers' by specifying that certain muscles of facial expression cannot be activated on command, but can be engaged by mentally envisioning a situation or feeling, allowing the imagined feeling to naturally manifest in the facial expression.⁹⁰ By using the imagination when practicing with Hill's list for the ten passions, the performers train their muscle memory and the awareness of their technique in direct relation with their imagination.

2.3.3.b Gilbert Austin: The sculpting exercise

This exercise is undertaken with participants who have already mastered both of the basic attitude series and are familiar with the basics of the notation system created by Gilbert Austin's in his treatise *Chironomia* of 1806.⁹¹ The division between the participants is again: performer (A), regisseur (B). In the case of more than two participants, those that are not active as performer or regisseur become observers (C) until the roles are rotated. The person who functions as regisseur now has more options than in the basic regisseur exercise: they can call out any number of the selected attitude series or add additional gestures or foot positions by describing them using Austin's terms for notation. One regisseur (B) can suggest a change of foot positions, for instance: R2. Once the performer (A) has made this change, the next regisseur (B) might suggest, for instance: right hand to *vertical elevated oblique* (veq-) and left hand to *vertical horizontal across* (-vhc). By expanding their options from the attitude series T1–T11 and C1–C11 based on Jelgerhuis's treatise with Austin's foot positions and vast range of gestures, the participants can create almost endless combinations of gestures and attitudes. Performer A must unify the directions for physical movement with their imagination to generate a convincing transition from the previous attitude to the new one. Depending on the situation, one may also need to change emotion, and thus facial expression and muscle tension, to achieve the desired effect.

⁸⁸ Hill, 'An Essay', p. 355.

⁸⁹ Wentz, 'The Relationship', p. 144; Wentz, "'And the Wing'd Muscles, into Meanings Fly'". Practice-Based Research into Historical Acting Through the Writings of Aaron Hill', in *European Drama and Performance Studies*, 19 (2022–2), *Historical Acting Techniques and the 21st-Century Body*, 243–304 (pp. 287–289).

⁹⁰ Kyropoulos, 'Teaching Acting to Singers', pp. 215–220.

⁹¹ I have not added the basics of Austin's notation system here, as these can be found in several places other than in Austin, *Chironomia*, pp. 293–372. For a practical summary of the basics, see, for instance, Barnett, *The Art of Gesture*, pp. 441–454; and Kyropoulos, 'Teaching Acting to Singers', pp. 96–98 and <https://www.kyropoulos.com/austin.html> (accessed May 2025).

2.3.3.c Charles Le Brun – Sebastiaan Le Clerc: The passion challenge

The participants receive a handout with Charles Le Brun's illustrations of facial expressions, engraved by Sebastiaan Le Clerc (1637–1714).⁹² I use this version because each passion is indicated in Latin, German, Dutch, and French, which helps the students connect to the passion in the language(s) with which they feel most comfortable.⁹³ After studying in class a selection of the facial expressions depicted on the handout (for instance: sadness, joy, jealousy, desire, fear, wonder, scorn, courage, love, horror, laughter, and anger), the passion challenge can commence, taking a week's time. I send the participants one illustration of a passion a day, asking them to take a selfie, or have someone else take a picture of them in that specific passion. Each then shares their selfie or picture with the group, and they are invited to add other pictures taken from TV series, sculptures, paintings, or anything else that they associate with the passion of that day. Once the week is over, the students usually have an improved memory of six passions (the day of their lesson is not included), and the facial expressions practiced over that week are then practiced in class with the group, in various formats. For example, they can be first applied to the format of 'the regisseur', (focusing on calling out passions only), then to calling out the numbers of the basic attitudes and gestures series, and subsequently in combination with gesture combinations from the 'sculpting' exercise described above. When these options are combined, a sequence of eight cues given by the regisseur(s) might sound like this: 'jealousy..., T8..., R2..., love..., both hands *supine elevated oblique...*, rR1..., fear..., right hand *vertical elevated oblique...*, and left hand *vertical horizontal forward contracted*.' Although these codes may look complicated, the basics of the Austin notation and both basic attitude series are usually quickly learned by the participants. Comprehension of these codes creates a mutual language between regisseur, observer and performers. It allows for rapid communication about movements and attitudes, which, in practice, can be noted down by all parties in their texts or music scores.

⁹² Sebastiaan Le Clerc, *Effigies et Repraesentatio Affectionum animi juxta delineationes D. Le Brun a D Clerico aeri incisae. / Abbild oder Vorstellung der Gemüths Regungen Nach abzeichnung des vortrefflichen Mons^r. le Brun. u. von Mr. le Clerc. in kupffer gebracht. / Aftekening en verbeelding der Hartstogten, naer de tekeningen van Mons^r. le Brun, in 't koper gebragt door Mr. le Clercq* (c. 1657–1714), etching, (P: Schenck Scult: Reg: Pott'. exc: Amstel', cum priv', n.d.), Teylers Museum, Tvb G 5501.

⁹³ This exercise can also be done with a selection of Le Brun's original illustrations. Jelgerhuis's illustrations in chapters 13–21 on facial expressions (see Appendix E for a summary) can be used as well, but Jelgerhuis omits illustrations of 'zeer zachte' (very soft/subtle) facial expressions for love, desire, hope, and joy, which he deems more suitable for the painter than for the actor, '*devijl zij zich meer tot een innendig harts- of zielsgevoel bepalen, dan wel door uiterlijke bewegingen worden aangetoond, meer door woorden dan door daden bewezen*' (because they are more confined to an inner feeling of the heart or the soul, than shown by outer movements, more proven by words than by deeds). See Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 147, 149. His decision is probably founded on his stage experience, which mainly featured roles in his own '*emploi*'. Although Jelgerhuis was initially hired at the Schouwburg as '*raisonneur*', many roles in which he excelled (such as Avogaro, Siméon, and Nero) were characters with a disposition for negative emotions (see Chapter 1). I wonder if actors or actresses specialized in the '*emploi*' of '*premier amoureux*', or '*première amoureuse*', would have agreed with Jelgerhuis: I suspect that they would be more inclined to give a detailed account of those 'softer' passions. I included the softer passions in the passion challenge, as I think they belong to the full range of passions needed for a performer.

The act of taking a picture while portraying a specific passion and comparing the virtual image of one's own facial expression in that passion to that of others, creates awareness of the different results in different faces. In addition, this process seems to assist the participants in memorizing the passions in a different way than when working live. Presumably, this is because the picture is a still image, which one can take time to observe, as opposed to analysing the facial expression of a person in front of you, who moves in and out of the facial expression. The fleeting moment of the facial expression is soon in the past and cannot be recalled in exactly the same way. Moreover, the week of practice removes the initial difficulties some participants experience in having their face scrutinized up close by a fellow participant (something they must get accustomed to for working on-stage), and the passion challenge gives them time to practice in private and feel more confident. Although the result of each passion on the participants' faces is different, the whole of each passion's pictures has those characteristics in common that represent recognizable variations of the passion in question.

2.3.4 The imagination: training the mental storehouse

The exercises with multiple participants are stimuli to consider the viewpoints of both the observer/regisseur and the performer. Participants practice composing series of movements or stances that work well together, that seem a logical next step. For instance, in dramatically complex moments it may be effective to let two contrasting attitudes follow each other; in more composed moments, a smaller gesture may be enough to accompany the next emotion or line of thought. The 'sculpting' exercise, in particular, allows participants to draw from their mental storehouse or '*thesaurus histrionae*' (in this case, for instance, of paintings and sculptures) and to recognize and/or recreate those visual images in attitudes. This, in turn, reinforces the information previously gathered in their mental storehouse, and potentially adds new images (for instance, of a fellow participant performing an attitude or transition in a memorable way). This process can also stimulate their understanding and intuition of *welstand* as a shared dimension between the visual arts and the theatre.

2.3.5 Singing, speaking, and working in silence

Working on the attitudes and other historically inspired acting techniques that do not involve the singing voice can be beneficial to singing students who want to improve their acting skills. The main focus of most singing students is on their vocal technique. Students therefore often have trouble in letting go of the habit of focusing on their vocal production at all times. When their concern with their technique is visible in their facial expression and in their eyes, this becomes problematic: one can see that their thoughts are not on the story/aria/text, and, occasionally, their bodies are held in a way that may be functional for the voice but inhibits physical expression. Naturally, a balance between muscular tension in the body, on the one hand, and relaxation on the other hand, is essential when singing: the singing body should not be tense, yet must produce sufficient energy to regulate the breath, the volume, and so on. By not using the voice at times during the exercises, the singers can concentrate on their acting technique without being distracted by how their voice sounds. Working in silence can be useful to find an ease of movement in the body, graceful gestures, a free use of the breath, and to search for facial expressions. Once this

ease is found, the voice can be added in alternate exercises in silence, with spoken text, or singing, so as to find the optimal balance between the muscular activity needed for singing, while the body and mind are more available to focus on telling the story.

A regularly recurring reaction to the two basic series, when working with more than two participants, is their surprise at how different performers, using the same material, produce different results. The participants' observation seems to stem from the contrast between the impression I make when performing the attitudes, and what happens when they try it themselves. Having seen the illustrations (plate 20 or 21) and my demonstration of the series, the expectation of inexperienced performers is to see a similar result not only in themselves but also in their fellow participants. When the group is then divided in observers and performers, the observers' reaction time and again is astonishment (even before having worked on character consciously) at the variation in characters, created by the differences in physical appearance, their way of moving, and other qualities each person brings to the exercise.⁹⁴

2.3.6 Time Frame and development

My work on the basic series of attitudes and gesticulation in tragedy and comedy (T1–11 and C1–11) described here, initially preceded the staging project of my first case study (Chapter 3), then evolved alongside it and continues now. The basic series can be used to work with information from solely the *Theoretische lessen*, to study Jelgerhuis's instructions in that source. At the same time, they are adaptable to variations that go beyond Jelgerhuis's treatise and other works: the hybrid exercises described above (which combine the attitude series with Gilbert Austin's notation system and Aaron Hill's analysis of ten passions, as well as Le Clerc's engravings of the passions in facial expression by Le Brun) are merely examples. Apart from contributing to the first case study's training process, the two series also underwent a number of adaptations and variations because of additional information from other sources and the interaction with other actors. The feedback I later received from researchers and stage performers in different fields and at various stages of their artistic careers was another factor in this fine-tuning process. Both series are tools to strengthen one's improvisation skills and have the quality of technical exercises that evolve as the performer grows. The more one masters one's skills, the more profound and detailed the work becomes: the transitions become more interesting, and the characters more rounded. I used both the attitude series for teaching and experimentation purposes in various countries from 2018 onwards, with and without variations (of character, passions, staging, and so forth).

2.4 PLATE 20 IN HISTORICAL EUROPEAN CONTEXT

The attitudes and gestures in Jelgerhuis's plates for tragedy and comedy are not isolated examples. The same and similar attitudes are also found in illustrations throughout the rest of his treatise and in several of his lesser-known works, such as his individual costume designs and *Schetzende*

⁹⁴ I noted these reactions among, for instance, students from the Conservatories in Amsterdam and in The Hague as well as participants at the Historical Acting Summer Academies in Leiden of 2018 and 2019.

Herinneringen.⁹⁵ Seen in their wider context, these attitudes and gestures correspond to precepts of ideal deportment in the Netherlands and in Europe in Jelgerhuis's time.⁹⁶ Most of the attitudes from the tragedy plate are recognisable in theatre-related treatises, theatre iconography, and the visual arts throughout Europe, ranging from antique sculptures to late nineteenth-century stage practice, and in between touching on artistic genres including opera, spoken theatre, dance, and the visual arts.⁹⁷ The attitudes T1, T2, T6, T8, and T9 are frequently found in costume sketches depicting figures in theatre costumes (dancers, actors, and opera singers) and on engravings and prints representing performers on-stage in specific scenes. The other attitudes, such as T4 and T11, are more rare. Figures 9a and 9b feature examples taken from various genres (costume designs, paintings, and other sources) in Europe and Russia, illustrating all the attitudes in the tragedy series.⁹⁸ Figures 9a and 9b include abbreviated reference details, full information is provided in Appendix I.

The three examples for T4, for instance, are depictions of this attitude in sources from three different countries and offer information not only on the attitude itself but also on its interpretation. Figure 8 (left) is a costume design or study for Louis IX of France by the Dutch painter François Joseph Pfeiffer jr. The hands are held in a more central position compared to Jelgerhuis's plate 20, but the head is similarly turned to the side. Figure 8 (centre), shows T4

⁹⁵ Examples of illustrations and attitudes and gestures in the *Theoretische lessen*: for T1, see plates 3, 64, 68, 85; for T2, see plates 69, 76; T9: 79; for T5, see plates 39, 41; for T6, see plates 58, 81; for T8, see plates 8, 44; for T10, see Plate 60, 61; for T11, see plate 34). Examples in other works: for T1, T2, T5, T9 high, see Jelgerhuis, *Schetszende Herinneringen*; for T1, see Johannes Jelgerhuis, 'Kostuumontwerp voor een Oosterling', (n.d.), drawing, watercolour, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, t000731.000, KD7-16; for T2, see Johannes Jelgerhuis, 'Kostuumafbeelding van mevrouw Sardet als Josabeth in Athalia', (n.d.), hand-coloured etching, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, g003506.000, GD109-13; for T9 (high), see Johannes Jelgerhuis, 'Kostuumontwerp voor Berosus in Zoroaster' (n.d.), drawing, pencil and wash, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, t000812.000, GD11-1.

⁹⁶ For earlier international sources and their influence on ideal comportment in the Dutch Republic (1588–1795), see Roodenburg, *The Eloquence*.

⁹⁷ For the influence of beauty, *welstand*, and contrast in the visual arts and in ideal (stage) behaviour in the Netherlands, see sections 1.1, 'Terms and definitions' and 1.2, 'Jelgerhuis - the painter' in Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

⁹⁸ The illustrations in Engel, *De kunst van nabootzing*, transl. Konijnenburg (the Dutch translation of Engel's treatise *Ideen zu einer Mimik*) contain only two of this basic attitude series. These illustrations also appear in the English translation of Engel's *Ideen zu einer Mimik* by Henry Siddons. See Siddons, *Practical Illustrations* (1807). For the passionate attitude T5, see Engel, *De kunst van nabootzing*, transl. Konijnenburg, vol. 1, plate XVI and Siddons, *Practical Illustrations*, p. 110; for a variation of T8, see Engel, *De kunst van nabootzing*, transl. Konijnenburg, vol. 2, plate XXX and Siddons, *Practical Illustrations*, p. 276). For this and other comparisons of attitudes in the treatises of Jelgerhuis, Engel, Siddons, and Gilbert Austin, see Barnett, *The Art of Gesture*, pp. 59, 67–68. The treatises of both Engel and Siddons contain more examples of other full body passionate attitudes used by Jelgerhuis in the *Theoretische lessen*, some of which I inserted in the third exercise described below. For joy, see Engel, *De kunst van nabootzing*, transl. Konijnenburg, vol. 1, plate XVII and Siddons, *Practical Illustrations*, p. 136); for sadness/dejection, see Engel, *De kunst van nabootzing*, transl. Konijnenburg, vol. 1, plate XX, figure 1 and Siddons, *Practical Illustrations*, p. 178; and for apprehension, see Engel, *De kunst van nabootzing*, transl. Konijnenburg, vol. 1, plate XX, figure 2.

represented as attitude for sadness in the *Dissertatio de actione scenica*, a treatise on acting of 1727 by Franz Lang. This interpretation of T4 differs from the ‘surprise’ associated with this attitude by Jelgerhuis. The variation in emotional expression also shows in the position of the head, which is tilted to the side of the heart. The third Figure 8 (right) in these examples of T4 is a print of the English actress Ann Street Barry (1733–1801) in the character of Lady Randolph during Act III, Scene I of the play *Douglas* by John Home. She is portrayed in T4 as she expresses her astonishment upon the recognition of her long-lost son as she exclaims the line ‘Tis he, tis he himself, it is my son!’ (visible on the print).⁹⁹ Precise indications such as those by Lang, Jelgerhuis, and those on the print of Barry, corroborate the versatility of these attitudes as I experienced and continue to encourage, for instance in the exercises ‘all-in-one-passion’ and ‘passion in pairs’ (in section 2.3.1 of this chapter). For instance, apart from surprise and sadness, T4 can also be associated with pity or despair, but also with malicious plotting, delight, rapture, and imploring. The hands can be folded or clasped, lifted and lowered, and can be hidden from the view of another character by turning away the torso and hands (in malicious plotting or secretive delight).¹⁰⁰



Figure 8, (left) François Joseph Pfeiffer jr., costume design or study, annotation: ‘Philippo, Louis 9, 1226’ (1800–1900), drawing, pencil and wash, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, t003616.000; (centre) Anonymous artist, illustration in Franz Lang, *Dissertatio de actione scenica* (Munich: Mariae Magdalenae Riedlin, Viduae, 1727), figure vii; (right) ‘Mrs. Barry, in the character of Lady Randolph’ (1780), print, published by Harrison and Co., London, V&A, Harry Beard Collection, S.61-2013, detail.

⁹⁹ The tragedy *Douglas* by John Home premiered in 1756 and was published in 1757.

¹⁰⁰ For a discussion on these and other attitudes in the visual arts and on the stage, see Mickaël Bouffard-Veilleux, ‘Attitudes de théâtre, civilité et dispositif narratif dans la peinture d’histoire française entre 1700 et 1760’, in *Le Tableau et la Scène: Peinture et mise en scène du répertoire héroïque [...]*, in *Annales de l’Association pour un Centre de Recherche sur les Arts du Spectacle aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, 5 (2023), 11–39.

T1



Boquet, costume design for opera singer (French)
 Francois J. Pfeiffer jr., costume design, (Dutch)
 Lepautre after Berain, costume design (French)

T2



Jelgerhuis, a French actress on stage, (Dutch)
 Boquet, costume design for a ballet (French)
 Del Bianco, costume design for a ballet (Italian)

T4



Francois J. Pfeiffer jr., costume design (Dutch)
 Anonymous, illustration in acting treatise (German)
 The actress Ann Barry as Lady Randolph (English)

T5



Francois J. Pfeiffer Jr., costume design (Dutch)
 Girodet, illustration in *Phèdre* by Racine (French)
 Meil, illustration in acting treatise (German)

T6



Lortzing, illustration in periodical (German)
 Anonymous, singer in opera comique (Russian)
 Videostill from a cartoon (Russian)

T7



Boquet, costume design for ballet (French)
 Cruickshank, the actress Sarah Siddons (English)
 Atelier Ziesenis, stage illustration of actor (Dutch)

Figure 9a, The short attitude series in a historical European context: T8–T11

T8



Atelier Ziesenis, stage illustration of actor (Dutch)

V.M., illustration in acting treatise (Italian)

Terry, the actor Spranger Barry as Varanes (English)

T9



Burnacini, set design for festa teatrale (Italian)

Bonnard, singer in opera (French)

Bertoli, costume design (German)

T9



Per Krafft the Younger, painting (Swedish)

Huot after Briulov, singers in opera (Russian)

Anonymous, illustration in acting treatise
(German)

T10



Laireisse, illustration in painting treatise (Dutch)

V.M., illustration in acting treatise (Italian)

Geoffroy, illustration in *Mahomet* by Voltaire
(French)

T11



Atelier Ziesenis, stage illustration of actor (Dutch)

Anonymous, illustration in periodical (German)

Anonymous, the actress Kleine-Gartman as Medea (Dutch)

Figure 9b, The short attitude series in a historical European context: T8–T11

The captions of two examples from the Museum of Theatre and Music in Saint Petersburg (showing the attitudes T6 and T9 above) reveal an international interchange of artists: Figure 9a, T9 (centre) shows Giovanni Battista Rubini, Pauline Viardot, and Antonio Tamburini in the opera *Bianca and Gualtiero* of 1844 by Alexei Lvov, (Saint Petersburg, 1845). Figure 9b, T6 (centre) shows the singer Vassili Samoylov as ‘the hermit’ in the opera comique *Le Solitaire* of 1822 by Michele Carafa.¹⁰¹ Based on my observation of historical sources depicting singers, actors, and actors who sang occasionally, I argue that, for early nineteenth-century repertoire, acting techniques such as facial expression, gesture, and attitudes as described in this chapter can be used in opera repertoire too.¹⁰² This is taking into consideration the problematic side to using iconographic sources as indicators of theatrical events and varieties in style in different countries.¹⁰³

2.5 CREATING THE PASSIONATE ATTITUDES SERIES: THEORETISCHE LESSEN, CHAPTERS 13–21

After a year of training and teaching with the two basic attitudes series, and having come to understand the importance of the transitions between the attitudes, I took a similar approach to exploring Jelgerhuis’s chapters on the passions. Chapters thirteen to twenty of his treatise concentrate on facial expression and postures for a selection of passions. Jelgerhuis uses examples from, among others, Gerard de Lairese’s *Het Groot Schilderboek*, Charles Le Brun’s *Methode pour apprendre a dessiner les passions*, Johann Jakob Engel’s *Ideen zu einer Mimik* (the latter two in Dutch translations), and his own examples, to illustrate and describe the characteristics of each passion in the face and in the body.¹⁰⁴ He advises the students to observe and reflect on the examples he

¹⁰¹ As a point of interest and to observe the presence of this gesture in later times, I add a videostill of a Russian cartoon of 1951, in which the character’s attitude recalls the movements of a fairytale princess of the past. For the video, see Ivan Ivanov-Vano & Y. Olesha (directors), *Skazka o mertvoj tsarevne i o semi bogatyrjah* (The tale of the dead princess [*tsarevna*] and the seven knights [*bogatyr*s]), adapted from the epic poem by Alexander Pushkin of 1833 (Moscow: Soyuzmultfilm, 1951).

¹⁰² There are many examples of connections in theatre practice between singers and actors. In the Netherlands, for instance, the Dutch Theodorus Majofski ([baptized 1771]–1836) performed as actor in various genres and sang in operas by, for instance, Rossini and Mozart. See Albach, *Helden*, pp. 106–107). As mentioned in Chapter 1, some students attending the music school attended Jelgerhuis’s lessons on acting theory. See Ruitenbeek, *Kijkcijfers*, pp. 91–92. For a discussion of opera singers’ acting practices and education in France, see Moeckli, “Nobles dans leurs attitudes”, pp. 14–18, 23.

¹⁰³ I am aware that isolated examples of costume designs and other iconographical sources often are insufficient to measure actual acting practices on-stage. However, the fact that these attitudes appear so frequently in various genres — such as various theatrical genres, (history) painting, sculpture, and treatises on acting — and continue to be used throughout centuries, suggests that they held recognisable visual messages of reference to depict certain characteristics related to a character or situation. For a discussion of iconographic sources as indicators of stage practices in nineteenth-century France, see Anette Schaffer ‘Der beredte Leib: Das Bild und die französische Schauspielpraxis des 19. Jahrhunderts’, in *Sänger als Schauspieler: Zur Opernpraxis des 19. Jahrhunderts in Text, Bild und Musik*, 5, ed. by Anette Schaffer, Edith Keller, Laura Moeckli, and others (Argus, 2014), 41–73.

¹⁰⁴ De Lairese, *Het Groot Schilderboek*; Engel, *De kunst van nabootzing*, transl. Konijnenburg; Le Brun, *Methode* and its translation into Dutch: Le Brun, *Afbeelding der Hertstogten*, transl. De Kaarsgieter.

provides and to imitate the illustrations in the lessons in order to become familiar with them.¹⁰⁵ The majority of the examples depicting facial expressions in the *Theoretische lessen* are accompanied by illustrations of full body attitudes, associated with a certain passion, such as fright, relief, sadness, shame, and spite (see Figure 10).

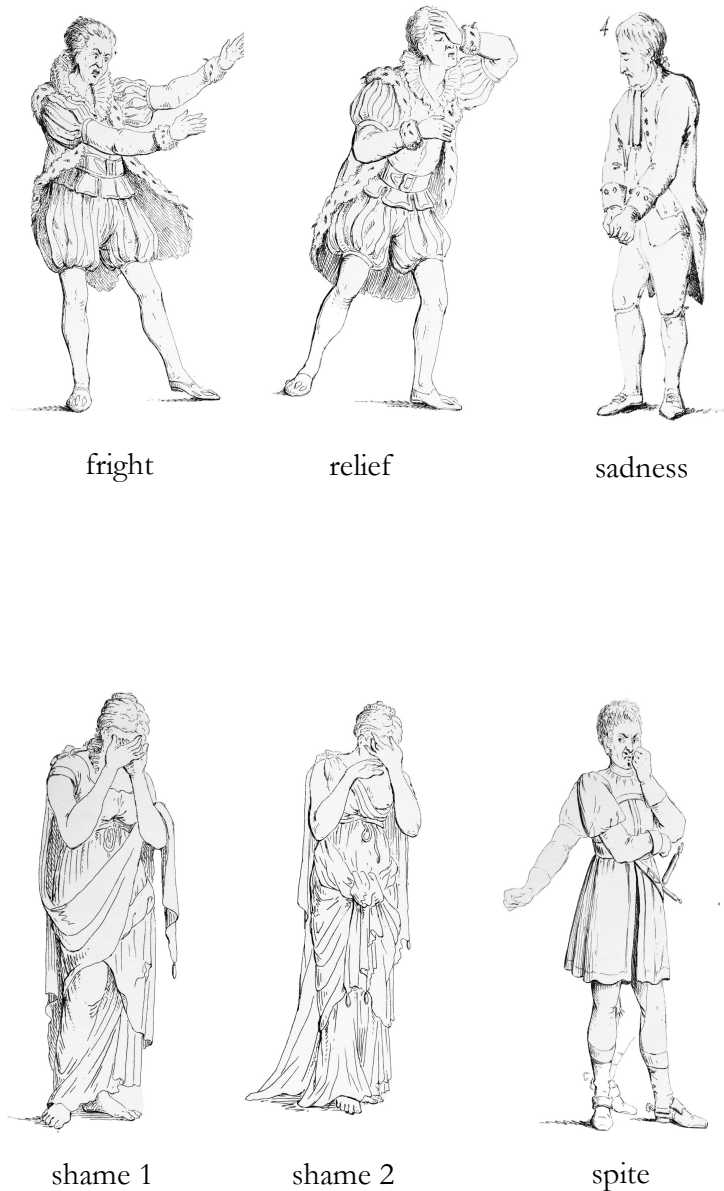


Figure 10, Engravings of passionate attitudes.

See Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, fright and relief, plate 42, detail; sadness, plate 45, detail; shame 1 and 2, plate 23, detail; spite, plate 40, detail. Author's collection.

¹⁰⁵ 'De bespiegeling dezer zaken kunnen niet anders dan den Tooneelspeeler nuttig zijn, die dikwerf te beschouwen, natelezen, natemaken en er eigen mede te worden, is het doel dezer lessen.' (Reflection of these matters cannot be other than useful to the player; to observe them frequently, to read, to imitate, and to make them one's own, is the aim of these lessons). See Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 138.

My embodiment of these attitudes can be seen in Video E, below. The attitudes of fright and relief are of particular interest, as they not only demonstrate how two attitudes can be linked together, but they also document the way Jelgerhuis's colleague Andreas Snoek (1766–1829) performed them on-stage.¹⁰⁶ Jelgerhuis writes how the attitude of fright can be anticipated by fleeing backwards with trembling hands. In the subsequent relief, the hands move to the heart and the head, where the feeling was suffered the most, and afterwards, one might sit down on a chair. These were examples of attitudes which surprised me with their beauty and effectiveness in practice, perhaps because I found these two illustrations somewhat awkward on the page, and I had not envisioned the additional movements. The transition in between these attitudes requires more time than I had expected, and felt more convincing when moving one hand to the head first, and only then the other to the heart (or vice versa, but not both hands at once). Similarly, Video E shows how I use shame 1 and shame 2 on Figure 10 in sequence. Jelgerhuis adds several other written descriptions of characteristic movements applicable to a particular passionate attitudes, such as stamping one's foot in spite or in rage; restlessly walking back and forth in apprehension; pressing one's arms against the body in fear or in jealousy; and, on turning away from a person in contempt/scorn, measuring them with a movement of the eyes from low to high.¹⁰⁷ Although today attitudes are often conceived of as being static poses, Jelgerhuis's indications of movement in specific attitudes suggest that they can be dynamic: not only is movement a feature of transitions, the attitude itself can also be a manifestation of a passionate state *in movement*, and can be extended in time according to the actor's needs in a given scene.

To better understand Jelgerhuis's chapters on the passions, I studied both the facial expressions and the attitudes by imitating his illustrations and translating the textual descriptions into my body and imagination. I combined a series of passionate attitudes so that I could practice the attitudes and the transitions between them. The series includes attitude combinations between 'neighbouring' passions (moving from pity to sadness, for instance) as well as transitions between contrasting passions (for instance, joy and fear). The following list contains the attitudes I selected:

Hartstocht	Passion	Plate nr
verrukking 1	rapture 1	37
verrukking 2	rapture 2	37
medelijden (hoog)	pity (high)	51
medelijden (laag)	pity (low)	51
droefheid/treurigheid	sadness	45
schaamte1	shame 1	23
schaamte 2	shame 2	23
schrik	fright	42

¹⁰⁶ The attitudes of 'schrik' (fright) and 'zich hernemen van de schrik' (relief) Andreas Snoek in the role of Hamlet. See Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 146, plate 42, figures 1 and 2.

¹⁰⁷ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*: stamping foot: 125, 144, 151; walking back and forth: 125, 151; pressing the arms against the body: pp. 150, 153; turning away and moving the eyes in scorn: p. 143.

zich hernemen	relief	42
het lachen	laughter	50
de vreugde	joy	37
vrezen	fear	43
lang duchten	prolonged apprehension	44
lichamelijke smart	physical pain	47
tegenstand	resistance, opposition ¹⁰⁸	41
spijt/haat	spite/hatred	40
jalousij	jealousy	44
hoogachting	esteem	35
eerbied	veneration	36

2.5.1 Choice and order of the images

In preparation to constructing a series with Jelgerhuis's passionate attitudes, I spent a few weeks cleaning, cropping, printing and then cutting the images that I wanted to use.



Figure 11, Selected images from Jelgerhuis's *Theoretische lessen*, in their final arrangement of the passionate attitude series.

¹⁰⁸ While working on the series, I had mistakenly interpreted '*tegenstand*' (resistance or opposition) as courage. Although this did not follow the instructions in the *Theoretische lessen*, it shows that, as I stated above regarding performing the basic series (T1–11 and C1–8) in various passions, these attitudes often can function to express more than one emotion.

When I had the cut-out figures ready, wondering in which order to organize them, part of me had absorbed or understood the images better than I thought. I had, without realizing it, ‘observed these images’ as Jelgerhuis suggests in his chapter on gesticulation, ‘until [I] could see one gesture flow into the next’ through the process of cropping and cutting.¹⁰⁹ I was surprised at my acquired feeling for arranging an order which made physical sense (see Figure 11); if one of the attitudes did not fit, this would become clear quickly. This process also reminded me of Jelgerhuis’s comment on the importance of illustrations, and how much easier it is to learn about the attitudes with the aid of illustrations, as compared to reading written instructions.¹¹⁰ Having passively observed those drawings for so long, I now feel that my body and mind had learned something that I had been unaware of.

The subsequent learning process was as follows: 1) creating a mental image by observing the depicted attitude and its facial expression, 2) embodying a single attitude, 3) practicing a sequence of two or more attitudes until the series was complete. To correct, at this early stage, any details differing from the visual sources I was imitating (for instance, the angle of the head, the position of the hands, the direction of the eyes, and so on), I regularly worked with a mirror or with feedback from colleagues. Practicing in front of a mirror is advised by Jelgerhuis, and the practice itself and discussions in favour and against it are documented by many others before him, going back to the ancient orators.¹¹¹ Yet working with a mirror was more helpful when alternated with practice away from the mirror; the act of observing oneself and adjusting can take place simultaneously with moments of artistic free practice, in which the imagination informs the passions and the movements; but, more often, observing oneself limits the creative process. Good solutions or unknown expressions were frequently found through intuition rather than by planning. In addition, the expression of the eyes can rarely be checked in the mirror: to see oneself, one’s eyes have to be on the mirror, whereas in order to practice the attitudes and their transitions, the body, the head, and the eyes constantly change direction.

2.5.2 Facial expression challenge

To reinforce my knowledge of Jelgerhuis’s instructions on facial expression, I set myself the following challenge: I selected eighteen illustrations and their accompanying text (see Appendix E for the illustrations and a shortened version of the text), following the order in which they are presented in the *Theoretische lessen*. My task was to practice one facial expression a day, so as to ‘become acquainted with these images’, following Jelgerhuis’s advice: ‘*maak U bekend met deze afbeeldingen, dat ze gemakkelijk voor den geest komen onder het spelen, en bedien uw altoos van de beste*’ (acquaint yourself with these images, so that they come to mind easily while playing, and always avail yourself of the best [option]).¹¹² During this period, I alternated moments of analysing the illustration of

¹⁰⁹ Edited citation. For the full citation, see footnote 49, or Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 86.

¹¹⁰ *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 39–40.

¹¹¹ For a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages for actors of practicing in front of a mirror for eighteenth-century actors, see Robinson, “‘The Glass of Fashion’”, pp. 33, 38–40, 45–47. Kyropoulos cites Jelgerhuis and gives other examples of theorists, actors and ancient orators famously known to use mirror for practicing and ancient orators. See Kyropoulos, ‘Teaching Acting to Singers’, pp. 41–42, 168, 177–178, 192.

¹¹² Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 142 (regarding facial expression).

the day and its corresponding text with practicing the facial expression in the mirror.¹¹³ Relying only on my memory of the image, I then practiced using my imagination to trigger the passion. I experimented with high and low gradations of each passion, because Jelgerhuis warns against making expressions so quickly or so minutely that they would be lost on the audience due to the distance to the audience and the size of the stage.¹¹⁴ At the same time, Jelgerhuis advises to use his examples ‘*met beleid en goed verstand*’ (with discretion and with good judgement) to keep *welstand* in the facial expressions while at the same time remaining natural and consistent with the character.

115

Today, one can only guess at the ideal balance intended between these pieces of Jelgerhuis’s advice, so I relied on my own taste and on feedback from others to find expressions that are grand enough to be recognisable on-stage, while seeming natural and true to the character. It was a struggle at first to get certain facial expressions to resemble their illustration, but my efforts improved when I accentuated and expanded my eyebrows with makeup, following Jelgerhuis’s illustrations and instructions (see Appendix E). This was needed, in particular, to resemble the illustrations of ‘rapture’ and ‘crying’, where the head of the eyebrows on the illustrations move upwards. Yet I had also seen colleagues the head of whose eyebrows move upwards easily and seem to have an actual predisposition for passions such as rapture and sadness. It became clear to me that the aim of this practice should not be to produce a near exact copy of the illustration, but that through observation and imitation one becomes more aware of one’s own possibilities regarding one’s muscles of facial expression.¹¹⁶ This awareness and practice are helpful to adapt one’s facial expressions when one’s own natural instinct of a passion does not result in renditions that are effective on-stage. For instance, some actors, in attempting to portray love, may appear sad from the viewpoint of the (distant) audience, while others, as Jelgerhuis points out, may seem to be laughing when they want to express crying, and vice versa.¹¹⁷ Knowing the disposition of one’s face not only makes performers aware of which expressions to improve through practise, but also allows them to manipulate their facial expression (enhancing certain elements with makeup to hide others) so as to achieve the desired effect from a distance.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ This challenge inspired me to propose the passion challenge exercise as part of the ‘gesture and declamation’ classes at the Conservatorium van Amsterdam, from November 2021 onwards.

¹¹⁴ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 133.

¹¹⁵ For natural facial expression with *welstand*, see Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 119 (see also Chapter 1, on ‘naturalness, ease, and gracefulness’); for ‘*beleid en goed verstand*’, see pp. 127–128.

¹¹⁶ For an example of actor/researcher João Paixão’s experimentation with facial expression based on historical sources, see João Luís Paixão, ‘Facing the Passions: An Embodied Approach to Facial Expression on the Eighteenth-Century Stage’, in *Historical Acting Techniques and the 21st-Century Body*, ed. by Jed Wentz, special issue in *European Drama and Performance Studies*, 19 (2022–2), 153–187.

¹¹⁷ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 119.

¹¹⁸ One aspect of facial expression Jelgerhuis chose not to teach the students is the anatomy of the facial muscles, as he deemed this science/knowledge more of service to painters. See Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p.136.

*men moet de grootheid des Tooneels, den afstand der aanschouwers bedenken, en [...] waar het behoeft, door schildering ondersteunen en te hulp te komen, op onze aangezichten. Nu is de kennis der deelen, den weg en aanwijzing waar men schilderen, en wat men beweegen moet.*¹¹⁹

One must consider the size of the stage and the distance to the audience, and [...], where necessary, use the help and support of paint, on our faces. The knowledge of the parts [of the face], shows the way and indicates where to paint, and what to move.

To support by painting, Jelgerhuis suggests thickening the eyebrows when needed, and indicates how to accentuate the eyebrows and lines on the face in order to fit the stage character to be portrayed or, as I experienced with the passions rapture and sadness, an emotional state.¹²⁰ For students or performers as yet inexperienced at working on a historical stage with candle light or a modern imitation, it is valuable to realize how much makeup needs to be added so that one's own face conveys the facial expressions to the audience properly. This knowledge is relevant particularly in small productions in which the performer must apply their own makeup. Through awareness of one's own facial traits, its tendencies towards certain passions and the potential effect of one's facial expressions on the audience, the performer is more likely to manifest the character and portray emotions as they envisioned them.

2.5.3 The passionate attitude series

Having gained sufficient command of the facial expressions, I applied them to the passionate attitudes series. I noticed how not only the awareness of my facial muscles had increased, but also how the larger variety of nuances in facial expression connected with the entire body: the full attitudes and especially the transitions. I became more courageous both in prolonging certain attitudes, and in taking time in transitioning between them. The breath and the imagination were essential tools for keeping these suspended attitudes and facial expressions from becoming static. In fact, the imagination and the breath were key in enacting all the passions and transitions, while the attitudes themselves triggered my imagination further. Each element influenced the other, and yet they merged at the same time into a unity. Having reached this stage, I felt ready to combine the passionate attitudes with music, later with spoken text, and eventually with singing. The following video recording of 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ogut09So6DM>, shows the series of passionate attitudes (see Figure 12) based on Jelgerhuis's illustrations, accompanied by a musical improvisation by fortepianist Artem Belogurov:

Play Video E

Like Jelgerhuis's illustrations, the video stills below each show one moment of the sequence, whereas the video also shows the transitions. On Figure 12, the second attitude shows the head and eyes lowered (as figure number 3 on Jelgerhuis's plate 36 (Figure 13, number 3), and then with the head

¹¹⁹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 133.

¹²⁰ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 146.

and eyes raised as the seated figure (Figure 13, number 2). The third picture in Figure 12 shows the attitude of '*lang duchten*', (apprehension).



Figure 12, Video stills from Video E, 'A Sequence of Passionate Attitudes after Jelgerhuis' (2021), featuring attitudes of jealousy, veneration, and apprehension.



Figure 13, Engraving by Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, plate 36.

When observing the engraving only, one not necessarily suspects the instructions on movement given in Jelgerhuis's accompanying text, which include a tense walking back and forth as visible on Video E.¹²¹ In time, the series underwent two changes compared to the initial concept, which can be seen when comparing the passions listed above and Figure 11 with the video. I exchanged the order between hatred and jealousy, and I opened and closed the series with the attitude depicting silent wonder (T11) from the basic tragedy series. The two main differences I experienced between attitudes performed in silence versus attitudes performed with music had to do with the timing and the imagination. In silence, I had to rely on my own thoughts as the stimulus for the enactment. With the music playing, my thoughts were joined with the emotion and the impulses stimulated by the music, and they both came together to inform my movements. I then united the movements in the passionate attitude series to spoken text. To add words that would correspond precisely to each attitude's passion and transition, I chose the lines 'I don't love, but I could'. This gave me the freedom to improvise each transition, varying the timing and intensity of each passion in the moment. Later, I expanded the text slightly by adding, for instance: 'I don't love, but I should', 'you don't love, but you should', and so on, increasing my options to tap into different qualities of passion combinations. I then added the singing voice to this format, by singing the same lines of text on a basic melody that I repeated with variations according to the passion expressed. The passionate attitude series was shown, in its different stages — live without music, the video recording with music (Video E), live with spoken text, and sung — and was incorporated in lectures and in publications, with the aim of demonstrating the difference between Jelgerhuis's illustrations and the effect of the embodied attitudes, and of the transitions between the attitudes.

2.5.4 Stage right and stage left

In retrospect, I realize that I have not been consistent in observing Jelgerhuis's advice to place positive passions on one's right and the negative passions on one's left: I had composed the passionate attitudes into a varied sequence which moved well in the space. Reflecting on how to adapt the series in accordance with this rule raised the following question: how can one respect this rule when the very object causing the emotional transition is the same, and therefore comes from the same direction? For instance: I place fright on the left side (as if imagining something moving in the dark — a monster?); then I realize that the supposed monster is a person (fright turns to relief, and then to laughter); on seeing more clearly, I recognize in the person a long-lost beloved friend (laughter turns to joy); I advance to welcome my friend, at which point my friend unveils herself as the Goddess of rage and madness (I shrink back in fear). I still lack a definite answer to these questions, but the rules laid down by Jelgerhuis allow for exceptions when required by the context on-stage (for instance in the difference between the circumference of the gestures in comedy and tragedy, or in other instances where he clearly repeats 'as much as possible').¹²² There are many

¹²¹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 151, plate 44, figure 4.

¹²² For other examples in the *Theoretische lessen* see the following citations and references: '*zich tot eene wet stellende, om zoo veel mogelijk, (ik zeg zoo veel mogelijk), aan de tegen hem over zijde, naar binnen te gaan en op te komen*' (to make it a rule for oneself, to exit on the opposite side of the stage as much as possible [I repeat, as much as possible]), p. 37; for turning 'as much as possible' to the audience, see p. 44; on avoiding hiding the legs under a table when sitting at a table: '*het spreekt van zelve, dat ik uitzonderde de gevallen, waarin de noodzakelijkheid deze wet verbreekt*' (it goes without saying that I make an exception for the cases in which necessity breaks this rule), see p. 46.

examples in plays performed in his time in which a character sees or envisions something or someone transforming unexpectedly, during which the actor would show their change of emotion accordingly.¹²³ In other situations, an actor might reveal their character's secret change of mind during an aside, showing their change of intention and facial expression to the audience without changing the direction in their body. Such examples of stage practice in plays of the time persuaded me not to change the directions of the passions in the passionate attitude series, yet this experience gave me a stronger sense of how and when to apply the rules for stage left and right in the situation on-stage.

2.6 CONCLUSION

2.6.1 How to keep the attitudes from becoming static, and how to make the transitions seem natural?

Of the different processes pertaining to the application of Jelgerhuis' illustrations of attitudes, gesticulation, and facial expression as didactic tools, finding appropriate connections and transitions between these elements is perhaps the most difficult and at the same time the most rewarding. Even if the performer has studied the previous chapters in Jelgerhuis's treatise and has developed a sense of how to keep *welstand* in the body and facial expression at all times, it is in bringing the attitudes to life and in transitioning that the experience of the performer and the observer can radically differ.¹²⁴ An experienced performer imitating a clumsy-looking illustration may actually make them look good, whereas an inexperienced performer may make a graceful figure look inept and stiff. Similarly, each transition can range from results that seem awkward, stiff, and/or disengaged, to results that come across as natural and touching.

2.6.2 Imagination - emotion - breath - direction - transition

In Roodenburg's *The Eloquence of the body*, he refers to the Dutch Painter Samuel Van Hoogstraeten (1627–1678), who stated that the audience will not be moved unless there is a suggestion of movement in a painting.¹²⁵ Roodenburg also explains that movement could be of the body and the soul. In acting, the physical imitation of an image is likely to become more exact and more moving when one moves into the attitude from a previous position, using one's imagination. Each transition can manifest in various orders and combinations, ideally containing imagination (triggering the emotion), breath, eyes, direction (feeling attracted towards the object of one's imagination, or the desire to reject/move away), and physical transition (all elements within the

¹²³ See, for instance, Racine's *Athalie*, second act, scene five. Speaking of a terrible nightmare, Athalie relives her desire to approach the vision of her mother. Athalie reaches out to her, only to see her mother devoured by hounds before her own eyes in the next moment. See Jean Racine, *Athalie*, Act II, Scene 5 in *Oeuvres complètes de J. Racine* [...], 5th edn, 6 vols (Paris: Lefèvre et Furne, 1844) vol. 3, pp. 396–400.

¹²⁴ Roodenburg points out that transitions are 'a problem facing any actor drawing inspiration from prints and paintings', Roodenburg, *The Eloquence*, p. 158.

¹²⁵ For van Hoogstraeten's treatise on painting, see Samuel van Hoogstraeten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der Schilderkonst* [...] (Rotterdam, Fransois van Hoogstraeten, 1678), pp. 292–293. See also Roodenburg, *The Eloquence*, p. 120.

realm of *welstand*).¹²⁶ For instance, it is possible that first the eyes see something which triggers an emotional and physical reaction, but in another scenario, say, when someone is kneeling with eyes cast low, the inner thoughts and imagination may have a stronger impact on the character than what the eyes see: an inner emotional reaction is triggered, after which the physical reaction follows (for instance, the eyes look up and the character moves to standing. Movement, even the slightest, is essential for a lively rendition of any attitude or passion. This involves keeping the imagination going, ensuring that the breath, the muscle tension, and the expression in the eyes are compatible with the imagined passion or character's circumstances. This is even more important for attitudes which are meant to look still (momentarily suspended) but not stiff or empty.

2.6.3 Creating a role

A sequence such as the passionate attitude series is an exercise in the attitudes as much as in transitions, and can also be useful for the preparation of a role. In the process of creating a role and its staging, the performer can combine a specific series of attitudes befitting the character to be portrayed. By exploring the way this character moves into an attitude, how the character would sustain it, and how they would transition into the next, one gets to know and shape their character's physicality, extending their imagination and mental storehouse of possibilities for this character. The key elements for transitioning, including imagination, breath, gaze, and so on, as mentioned above, are part of the process. Examples of experimenting with the character can include the variations listed in section 2.3.1, such as the size of the character's gestures, the speed and manner of motion, intensity, muscle tension, and so on. By varying the passions and their intensity, different emotional tendencies of the character may be revealed, which can later be useful on-stage. The attitudes and especially their transitions may be rehearsed intensively, but the embodied understanding of *welstand* allows for the freedom to make small changes or adaptations within the style when needed or desired during the performance. If any of the attitudes or gestures in the created series fit the character or a precise situation in the play/opera, parts of the series can be established as anchor points in the blocking of the scene. Such anchor points can consist in a stage action: an attitude or an element of an attitude, such as a change of passion, a gesture, or a change in vocal colour (if the series contains text).

2.6.4 Balancing identification and passions

If desired, the interpretation can be intensified through identification with the character or by intensifying a passion, and lowered in intensity by shifting back one's focus to thoughts or physical aspects, which might be called technical — muscle tension, the voice, and so on. The latter option may be required when one has entered the passion of, for example, sadness so deeply that one loses control of the voice, thereby risking the inability to deliver the text in the desired manner. By focusing on external or other physical elements, one lowers momentarily the grip of the imagination and emotion on oneself. Once the balance has been restored, the performer again

¹²⁶ Kyropoulos organizes the order of movements, informed by historical sources, for analysis and improvement of movements that do not feel organic or natural to the performer, while taking into account Jelgerhuis's advice not to over-analyse movement. See Kyropoulos, 'Teaching Acting to Singers', pp. 143–146.

invites elements of the character — or becomes the character — depending on the measure of identification they desire.

2.6.5 Reflection on the borders of *welstand*

In Chapter 1, I discussed various definitions of the term *welstand*, but the limits of the realm of *welstand* also require attention. On the one hand, focusing on *welstand* only in its meaning of aesthetic propriety or decorum, may result in a performance lacking in ‘truth’, as well as in ‘naturalness’. On the other hand, portraying realism, (natural behaviour as observed in daily life without improving it through *welstand* is not considered satisfactory to the informed observer either, as it displays too much ‘nature’. The following examples are markers on paper of the borders as I understand them between depicting realism (reflecting behaviour as seen in daily life without adapting it for the stage) and acting based on nature (on behaviour in daily life) but with *welstand*: a lack of decorum in acting or costume (as in what looks good and is proper); involuntary repetition of (a particular) movement; a lack of gracefulness and ease (rigid movements or stance); exaggeration of emotion (also in the voice); exaggeration in physical contortions; depiction of physical deformity; a lack of contrast in the body.¹²⁷

However, in practice, it takes time to gain awareness of the external effect of one’s movements and facial expressions. What is more, Jelgerhuis’s examples (following Le Brun and de Lairese) of facial expressions such as anger, fright, fear, and weeping, do not strike me as merely pleasant depictions of those passions.¹²⁸ They are stronger than I imagine when reading the ideals of keeping nobility and *welstand* in the face, even in the most horrible situations.¹²⁹ This is probably influenced

¹²⁷ This list concerns the genre of tragedy. In other theatrical genres, some of these points may be used for a comical effect.

¹²⁸ For these illustrations, see Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*: anger, see plate 32 (figure 4); fright, see plate 33 (figure 4) and plate 42 (figure 1); fear, see plate 43 (figure 1); and weeping, see figure 1 on plate 45).

¹²⁹ I insert two international examples regarding this topic. The first example is the following passage in the *Encyclopédie Méthodique. Musique*, vol. 1, ed. by Framery and Ginguene (Paris, Panckoucke, 1791), p. 49: ‘*tous ses mouvements annoncent la plus horrible souffrance; & cependant, dans cette situation si violente, son attitude est belle, & son visage conserve sa noblesse. Voilà les modèles qu’il faut étudier; c’est par cette étude que l’acteur se formeroit à lui-même des principes pour apprendre à donner de l’énergie à l’action* [italics in original] *théâtrale en conservant la grace & la beauté, même dans les situations extrêmes de la tragédie.* (all his movements betoken the most horrible suffering; and yet, in this situation [which is] so violent, his attitude is beautiful, and his face preserves its nobility. These are the models which must be studied; it is through that study that the actor would acquire for himself some principles for learning to give some energy to theatrical *action* while maintaining grace and beauty, even in the extreme situations of tragedy). This English translation is by Barnett, who cited this text in his ‘The Performance Practice of Acting’, part V (1980), p. 4. The second example is by Jean-Nicolas Servandoni d’Hannetaire who writes (regarding the actors ‘le Sieur de la Rive, la Dlle Rosalide Dhan’) ‘*cet Acteur & cette Actrice, dans le désordre des plus vives douleurs, sembloient ajouter encore à la beauté de leur figure. Combien d’autres, dans de pareilles situations, ne savent rendre la leur, que grimacière, convulsive & même rebutante.*’ (this actor and this actress, troubled by the most acute pains, seemed to add even more to the beauty of their countenance. How many others, in similar situations, do not know how to render theirs other than grimacing, convulsive and even repelling). See Jean-Nicolas Servandoni d’Hannetaire, *Observations Sur L’art Du Comedien* (Paris: Ribou, 1776 [1st edn 1764]), p.

by my having grown accustomed to the naturalness in movies and series at the cinema and on computer screens today. It is possible for one's perception of exaggeration, however, to adapt in relation to the visual circumstances at hand (such as the space on-stage, the distance to the audience, and lighting). The more time I spend in a (historical) theatre (as opposed to a studio or smaller rehearsal spaces), whether in the audience or on-stage, the more my concept of *welstand* allows for and even requires more intense (facial) expression.¹³⁰

In retrospect, my first renditions of the basic tragedy exercise recorded on in 2018 (see Video 1) lack the attention to detail that I developed later. At some moments, the chin is too high, for instance, and my transition from T4 (surprise) to T5 (contempt/scorn) is too vehement in the context of its preparation and continuation. Of the three video stills taken from the 2018 video (Figure 14), I consider the third video still beyond *welstand* for a small stage or for a video recording. The whiteness of the eyes might be effective on a candlelit stage such as that of the Český Krumlov Palace Theatre (see Figure 5) but my mouth is distorted. Were I standing near the footlights, my chin and jaw would obscure the light from below, creating further optical distortions in the face. Jelgerhuis warns against lifting the head too high, as, due to the footlights, the face would be dark, and the facial expression lost.¹³¹

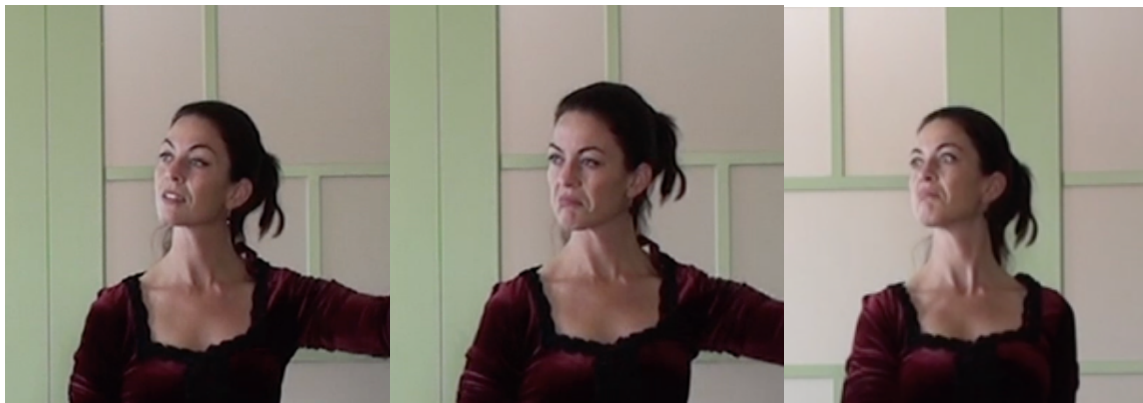


Figure 14, Video stills of Video A, capturing headshots taken in different moments of the basic tragedy series, recorded in the Studijní Centrum Český Krumlov in 2018.

The limit of *welstand* in facial expression or other physical actions also depends on the circumstances and timing: as Jelgerhuis writes, an ungraceful attitude of sadness is allowed as long as it is kept for a short period of time only. Similarly, this idea of not lingering in extreme

275 <https://archive.org/details/observationssur00dhagoog/page/n289/mode/2up> (accessed 14 April 2024).

¹³⁰ In the section titled ‘Amplified’, Kyropoulos cites sources by Luigi Riccoboni (1676–1753), Aaron Hill (1685–1750), and Jelgerhuis in searching for the balance between ‘natural behaviour’ and the amount of exaggeration (amplification) needed for the stage. See Kyropoulos, ‘Teaching Acting to Singers’, pp. 127–130. Kyropoulos also cites Denis Diderot (1713–1784) for an eighteenth-century vision of how stage gestures must be adjusted when performing in a smaller room. See Kyropoulos, ‘Teaching Acting to Singers’, pp. 128–129.

¹³¹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 164.

expressions should be observed in the third facial expression on Figure 14.¹³² My recording of the passionate attitude series of 2021 is within the realm of *welstand* as I understand it at present. In time, my own idea regarding the limits of *welstand* had become more defined, and I have learned to bring together the image in my mind of what I want to express and the actual result on the outside. I continue to explore the balance between those moments in which I remain within the borders of *welstand*, and those where trespassing is acceptable or even desired within the on-stage circumstances.

2.6.6 Coda

Working with the attitudes, gestures and facial expressions as described in Jelgerhuis's *Theoretische lessen* is an ongoing learning process. The embodiment of the illustrations reveals unexpected qualities of emotion or gracefulness, but the performer must also interpret the continuation of the suspended moment represented in the illustration. In the transition from one image to the next, the interaction between the embodiment and the imagination can generate countless different outcomes. The attitudes and gestures of the two basic attitude series (T1–T11 and C1–C11) proved to be useful for personal practice and as didactic tool — a practical approach to introduce performers to basics of physical embodiment of gestural attitudes, while using concepts such as *welstand*, naturalness, and truth, through physical experience. The order of the attitudes in these series is only an example: any order can be created to suit the needs of a performer. By varying different elements of acting (such as the addition of passions, characterization, the amplitude of the gesture, the speed of transitions, and the separate smaller components which together constitute *welstand*, naturalness and truth), the series become a tool to expand one's acting horizon within a specific style and to experiment in the creative space that combines the imagination and the physical, potentially also feeding into or bringing about different facets of a character.

An example of this process is described in the first case study (Chapter 3): the two basic attitude series, both in their basic form and with alterations, are used as warm-up and training tools during a project that features the staging of three scenes of a play in which Jelgerhuis performed. The sequence of passionate attitudes in its basic form is an exercise in transitioning between various passionate states. My experiments with this sequence included the interconnection with music, spoken text, and singing, yet future development could also include teaching, preferably with experienced participants, who are familiar with historically informed or inspired stage practice and the concept of *welstand*. Although Jelgerhuis does not discuss the influence of the costume in movement, this sequence is also useful to practice with one's costume and anticipate its movements, with specific accessories such as a veil, a cape, a cane, and so on. In the second case study (Chapter 4), I apply the knowledge gleaned through my study described in the present chapter, but particularly through the work on the passionate attitude series, to additional images of attitudes by Jelgerhuis and other artists, in a full staging created for the character of Goethe/Eberwein's *Proserpina* of 1815. Experimentation with the influence of costume on movement is included in this study, while I merge Jelgerhuis's attitudes with different gestural attitudes by women, to explore his acting tools in a broader context.

¹³² Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 156.

Chapter 3, case study 1

Staging Siméon: the manuscript *Toneel Studien* in practice

This chapter focuses on the lesser-known side of Jelgerhuis's techniques and acting style, and investigates how actors today can make use of his manuscripts as a supplement to his *Theoretische lessen* in historically informed performance. To this end, I describe the process of comparing and combining information from one of Jelgerhuis's studies in the *Toneel Studien* manuscript of 1811 with the *Theoretische lessen*, to create and stage a character based on Jelgerhuis's oeuvre.¹ The short basic exercise I devised based on Jelgerhuis's instructions for gesticulation and attitudes in tragedy, as described in Chapter 2, will serve as training material for two of the staged scenes. By mapping out a selection of Jelgerhuis's thought processes in creating and giving expression to a stage character, I cast light on aspects of his acting that I deem indispensable for a more nuanced comprehension of his characterization method and acting style. In so doing, I challenge the notion that Jelgerhuis's approach to acting focused predominantly on the 'external forms and techniques' presented in his treatise.² This supports my argument that Jelgerhuis limited his lessons to the theoretical topics assigned to him (by focusing mainly on external form), but that he did not consider this the integral work of an actor: he reveals the internal work of the actor, including character creation and the reasons behind the emotions of the character, in his *Toneel Studien*. The following paragraphs document the processes of engaging with both the *Toneel Studien* and the *Theoretische lessen* through analysis, comparison, and artistic practice. I thereby focus on one particular study from the *Toneel Studien*, by setting up a project to stage three scenes involving Jelgerhuis's role as Siméon in the five act tragedy *Omasis, of Jozef in Egypte* (a Dutch translation of Pierre-Marie-François Baour-Lormian's *Omasis, ou Joseph en Egypte*).³ I selected the role of Siméon for the staging experiments in this case study for the following reasons: Jelgerhuis was passionate about this role, he provides detailed descriptions about it, and links practical information on acting to specific lines of the dramatic text.⁴

It is important to note that the manuscript's text records Jelgerhuis's acting like a camera zooming in on one detail of his performance at a time. His passionate style of writing, full of strong

¹ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, pp. 138–140.

² HIP stage director Sigrid T'Hooft's discusses these 'external forms and techniques' and the use of Jelgerhuis's *Theoretische lessen* in stage practice, in 'Sigrid T'Hooft in an interview with Laura Moeckli: Using Historical Treatises and Iconography in Opera Staging Today', in *Sänger als Schauspieler: Zur Opernpraxis des 19. Jahrhunderts in Text, Bild und Musik*, 5, ed. by Anette Schaffer, Edith Keller, Laura Moeckli, and others (Argus, 2014), 142–150 (p. 149).

³ See Baour-Lormian, *Omasis*, transl. Westerman and Baour-Lormian, *Omasis*. The Dutch première took place on 28 April, 1810. See Abraham Louis Barbaz, *Mengelwerken van A. Barbaz; in nederduitsche en fransche vaerzen. Eerste deel* (Amsterdam: Willem van Vliet, 1810), p. 159.

⁴ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, pp. 115–180. I refer mainly to the *Toneel Studien* manuscript in Amsterdam. As the study of Siméon in particular contains very few differences (mainly in spelling) in comparison with the *Tonneel Stúdien* manuscript in Antwerp, I only mention the latter when a difference in content seems relevant to this chapter.

adjectives, captivates readers and sweeps them through a succession of details. But because of this focus on individual details, the reader does not experience the range of simultaneously occurring acting parameters that an actor requires to execute the scene described. The challenge for actors staging scenes from *Omasis, of Jozef in Egypte* in line with Jelgerhuis's writing, lies in attempting to create as complete a picture as possible of the actor's actions on stage.

3.1 TONEEL STUDIEN, THE FIFTH STUDY: SIMÉON IN CONTEXT

In Chapter 1, I have introduced the *Toneel Studien* manuscripts, in which Jelgerhuis documented his experience with various roles he has performed in the Amsterdam Schouwburg. His study of Siméon amply surpasses the other roles in terms of the scenes described in detail as well as the amount of pages: the role of Siméon counts sixty-five pages, whereas the others each cover between fifteen and thirty-five. Jelgerhuis singles out the role of Siméon for its unique quality and its goal 'de folteringen van een kwaad geweeten levendig voor te draagen de woorden daartoe zijn wel gekoozen en geeven den Acteur gepaste gelegenheid zig te kenmerken' (to display the tortures of a bad conscience in a lively manner, through well-chosen words, which give the actor the appropriate opportunity to distinguish himself).⁵ Praising the '*de achtbaarheid van het onderwerp*' (the respectable subject) of the play, Jelgerhuis recounts his preparatory research into the background, costume, and character of this cherished role.⁶ To help contextualize the many examples relating to the play and the role of Siméon in this case study, I provide here a summary of *Omasis, of Jozef in Egypte*:

3.1.1 *Omasis, of Jozef in Egypte*, Synopsis (of the Dutch translation by Westerman)

Fifteen years before the day on which the play takes place: Siméon, envious of his father's preference for his brother Joseph, almost murdered the latter. But instead, Siméon and his brothers sold Joseph as a slave. Siméon then told their father Jacob that Joseph had been killed by a lion. Only the youngest son Benjamin did not know about this. **Fifteen years later**, Siméon is still filled with remorse, and his father Jacob has never stopped grieving for his supposedly dead son. Joseph, meanwhile, has been appointed second-in-command by the pharaoh (in the city of Memphis), since he (Joseph) had protected the city by explaining the pharaoh's dream, which he said predicted seven years of abundant harvest followed by seven years of famine. The city had prepared for the famine, unlike other places. Among the many who come to beg for help during the famine, Joseph (known as Omasis at court) recognizes his brothers but keeps his identity a secret. He learns from them that their father is still alive and keeps his two brothers Siméon and Benjamin at court, until the other brothers bring him Jacob. **Acts I and II:** Omasis is about to marry Almaïs, the sister of Ramnes, a prince at the same court. Siméon is secretly in love with Almaïs. Ramnes, having lost the pharaoh's favor after Omasis appeared at court, is envious of Omasis's excellent prospects and plans a coup. Ramnes tries to persuade Siméon to join the conspirators and kill Omasis, but Siméon resists. Siméon hides his love for Almaïs, as well as his remorse for (he thinks) murdering his brother Joseph. **Act III:** Almaïs tells Siméon that Omasis might lift Siméon's burdens. He confesses that his only wish is for his freedom. She is offended, and tells him she will never speak

⁵ Underscored emphasis as in the original, see Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 116.

⁶ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 115.

to him again. **Act III, Scene 3:** Siméon's monologue. Siméon, grieving the loss of Almaïs's respect, and having thus lost everything, decides to join Ramnes's plot to kill Omasis. He blames Heaven for not leaving him in peace after fifteen years of remorse, saying he will act on Heaven's orders, if it will free him from remorse. **Act III, Scenes 4–7:** Ramnes again tries to persuade Siméon, who resists until Ramnes offers him Almaïs' hand in marriage (Ramnes had discovered Siméon's hidden passion for her). Omasis, wanting to find out if Siméon is remorseful about his past crime, asks Siméon about the cause of his sadness, but Siméon, suspicious, does not confide in Omasis. Their mutual frustrations trigger the anger of both. Omasis leaves, disappointed, and Siméon is now resolved to join Ramnes. Benjamin tells Siméon about the arrival of their father Jacob. Siméon is alarmed: he fears that Benjamin has found out what he is about to do, and does not dare to face their father. He leaves in dismay, telling Benjamin to keep away from him. **Act IV:** Jacob has arrived in Memphis and is reunited with all his children except Siméon (and his lost son Joseph). Omasis joins them, and, moved by his father's grief about Joseph, almost discloses his identity. Then Azaël enters, recounting that Ramnes and his conspirators are on their way, Siméon leading them. **Act V:** Nephtalia narrates how Ramnes was captured by the people during an uproar, and killed himself. Omasis has Siméon captured. Omasis comes to speak with Jacob and his other sons, and Siméon is brought in, in chains. Omasis must decide if Siméon should be punished or forgiven. Siméon declares that he should be killed for his crime, as he almost killed an innocent man (Omasis), but before he dies, he wants to confess to another crime: he almost killed his brother Joseph, and the other brothers (except Benjamin) also confess their guilt. Omasis then reveals that he is the lost son Joseph, and he and Jacob forgive Siméon and his brothers.⁷

3.1.2 Jelgerhuis's creation of Siméon

While Jelgerhuis refers to the Bible as a source to contextualize the play in terms of the time, the place, and Siméon's age, he turns to the visual arts, treatises on costume, and illustrations in his quest for historically accurate costumes and Siméon's hairstyle and beard. For instance, he consults engravings by Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715–1790) in *Gewoonten der aloude volken* as a reference for Siméon's costume.⁸ Several pages of this book can be found in Jelgerhuis's *Studiën van klederdragen* portfolio, containing a collection of drawings and prints intended as study material for actors and painters.⁹ Jelgerhuis also examined etchings of biblical scenes by Jan Luyken as point of reference for Siméon's costume, mentioning in particular a plate depicting Joseph selling corn to his brothers.¹⁰ He even allowed himself to 'follow him [Luyken] blindly', the more so as Cochin himself stated that he had copied his plates on Egyptian costume from Luyken.¹¹ Jelgerhuis added

⁷ Compared to the biblical narrative, Baour-Lormian added the part regarding Almaïs to this five-act tragedy. For a Dutch synopsis and commentary on the play by theatre critics in 1817, see *De Tooneelkijker*, 3 (1818), pp. 34–40.

⁸ For Cochin's engravings of Egyptian costume see, for instance, Dandré-Bardon, *Gewoonten der aloude volken*, transl. anonymous, vol. 3, plates 72, 74–75, pp. 33, 34.

⁹ Jelgerhuis, *Studiën van klederdragen*. See also Chapter 1, section 1.6.7, 'Theoretische lessen, 1824–1830'.

¹⁰ Johannes (Jan) Luyken, *Joseph verkoopt Koorn aan syn Broeders* (1708), Amsterdam Museum, object number A 52503, <http://hdl.handle.net/11259/collection.61417> (accessed 22 October 2021).

¹¹ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, pp. 117–118.

two illustrations to his study of Siméon; one of his portrait in profile, clearly showing the style of Siméon's headdress and beard (Figures 1 and 2), and the other of his costume (Figures 4 and 5).¹²



Siméon's headdress and beard illustrated and engraved by Jelgerhuis.

Figure 1 (left), *Toneel Studien* (Amsterdam), detail; Figure 2 (centre), *Toneel Studien* (Antwerp), detail; Figure 3 (right), *Theoretische lessen*, plate 64, detail.

Almost twenty years later, Jelgerhuis included these two illustrations as engravings in the publication of his *Theoretische lessen* (Figures 3 and 6). It is interesting to see that Jelgerhuis elaborated upon but did not change the concept of Siméon's headdress and costume in the timespan between the writing of the manuscript (1811) and the publication of his treatise (1827–1829). The illustrations from the manuscripts in Amsterdam (Figures 1 and 4) and in Antwerp (Figures 2 and 5) are examples of Jelgerhuis's ability to make almost identical copies. The minor elaborations of these illustrations for the publication of his treatise therefore seem to have been deliberate choices.¹³ His coloured illustrations in the manuscripts add information to that provided in the *Theoretische lessen*, in which Jelgerhuis makes no suggestion for the colours of Siméon's costume.¹⁴

¹² The red sleeves, the red trousers, and the blue tunic in Figure 4 and 5 are also visible in Jelgerhuis's costume design for Sofar in Ninus (see Chapter 1, section 1.3.5, 'Unpublished costume designs'), where he refers to the tunic and trousers as his own.

¹³ The engraving in the *Theoretische lessen* shows a change in gesture and posture (the changes made add to the three-dimensionality of the figure and improve the posture: the left foot is placed more to the left side and the left hip and shoulder are dropped slightly, creating a C-shaped curve to the body. There is 'draai' (torsion/flexure) in the torso, the right hand is open to the side). The acorn-shaped pendants (*akers*) hanging from the red sash applied to the waist are omitted in the engraving and the cane is added.

¹⁴ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 208–209. For more on Jelgerhuis's studies on costume, see Chapter 1, section 1.3, 'Jelgerhuis - the costume designs'.



Costume designs for Siméon, illustrated and engraved by Jelgerhuis
 Figure 4, (left) *Toneel Studien* (Amsterdam); Figure 5, (centre) *Tonneel Stúdien*, (Antwerp);
 Figure 6, (right) *Theoretische lessen*, plate 64.



Figure 7, (left) Johannes (Jan) Luyken, *Joseph verkoopt Koorn aan syn Broeders*, (1708),
 Amsterdam Museum, A 52503, detail; Figure 8, (centre) Engraving by Charles-Nicholas
 Cochin in Dandré-Bardon, *Gewoonte der aloude volken*, transl. anonymous, vol. 3 plate 74, detail;
 Figure 9, (right) Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, plate 63, detail.

The same treatise also contains costume illustrations for two other roles from the same play: Jacob and Joseph/Omasis).¹⁵ Not only the costume, but also the entire picture of the latter is clearly copied directly from either Cochin or from Luyken's engraving of 1708 (see Figures 7 to 9).¹⁶

After describing his choices regarding Siméon's costume, Jelgerhuis discusses various aspects of Siméon's character. He writes about his creation of a sad, sombre Siméon oppressed with painful remorse who painstakingly tries to conceal his inner thoughts and feelings: a Siméon given to sudden passionate outbursts at the smallest offence and oversensitive to everything, including the beauty of Almaïs.¹⁷ Jelgerhuis even decided not to add '*roodsel*' (rouge) to Siméon's make-up, so that his pallor might mirror '*de inwendige foltering der Ziel*' (the inner torture of the soul).¹⁸ His preparation of the character, then, is a complete creation, involving the outer aspects as well as the role's historical and emotional background, Jelgerhuis's feelings of the moment, and, as he himself repeatedly puts it, even his character's soul.

Once Jelgerhuis has outlined Siméon's background, costume, make-up, and character, he describes the staging. Starting with Siméon's first entrance on stage, Jelgerhuis writes about the character's state of mind, his gestures, and emotions. But more significantly, Jelgerhuis relays his own thoughts about the motivation behind Siméon's actions: the thoughts or words triggering the emotions that make him react, recoil, lash out, and lower or raise his voice. The intensity of Jelgerhuis's writing is heightened in the more dramatic scenes, which show instances of a profound identification with Siméon's character. The following passage gives an idea of Jelgerhuis's involvement with his subject (and the character); the most dramatic moments in his writing are marked by confusing phrases, almost breathless successions of his actions and thoughts, and a remarkable alternation between the personal pronouns '*ik, mij*' (I, me) and '*zijn*' (his).¹⁹ '*Daar nu Almaïs [...] van haar aanstaande Huwlyk Spreekt met Omasis, word eenen minnenijldigen trek op zijn gelaat gebooren, de oogen dan eensklaps opslaande en Brandende van de Eene naar de andere Zijde wendende, deed ik ontwaaren wat in mij omging*'.²⁰ Jelgerhuis then continues:

¹⁵ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 209. For the costume illustrations for Jacob and Joseph/Omasis, see plate 63; Siméon, plate 64.

¹⁶ Luyken, *Joseph verkoopt Koorn*. See also Dandré-Bardon, *Gewoonten der aloude volken*, transl. anonymous, vol. 3, plate 74, pp. 33 and 34.

¹⁷ *Zoo was voor mij in acht te neemen, dat bij Zijne Schunheid en treurige, Sombere, Pynlijke Wroeging, Zeekere opbrujsingen van drift plaats moesten hebben, bij [122] bij de geringste belediging, voorts hoogst gevoelig voor alles, en dus ook voor de vrouwlijke Schoonheid van Almaïs*. (Thus, I had to take into account, that together with his [Siméon's] shyness and sad, somber, painful remorse, certain outbursts of temper had to take place, at [122] at the slightest offence, furthermore highly sensitive to everything, and therefore also to the female beauty of Almaïs). Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, pp. 121–122.

¹⁸ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 119.

¹⁹ Jelgerhuis's manuscript is grammatically confusing in some places, making translation problematical, as certain passages or words can be interpreted in several ways. In order to stay as closely as possible to the original text, I have prioritized the meaning of Jelgerhuis's words or phrases over English grammar, even when this occasionally results in a slightly awkward translation.

²⁰ 'As Almaïs now speaks of her coming marriage with Omasis, an expression of jealousy is born in his face, the eyes then suddenly opening, burning, and turning from side to side, I showed what was happening inside of me.' Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 138.

*maar een Electricque Schok greep my aan door met de geheele Lighaams gestalte de felle Spijt uittedrukken op het hooren bevestigen dat zijn Vader en broeders in Waarheid koomen Zullen de handen dan tot Vuijsten brengende en de spieren spannende, de oogen Vinnig opwaarts heffende met een Eenigsints agter over geworpen hoofd, en de trek der Spijt op het gelaat maalende, drukte ik de Woedende Spijt uijt die Simeon alle de felle gemoeds drift opbruischend deed gevoelen, met eene Sterk onderscheidenden toon en Luijder Stemme Welke ontzetting baarde, vergat ik de teedere gevoelens tot almais en gedroeg mij als of ik al wilde verslinden Wat Zig op dat oogenblik by mij bevond.*²¹

but an electric shock went through me, by expressing the furious spite with my whole body, on hearing that his father and brothers truly would arrive [. M]y hands forming fists, and my muscles tensing, lifting my eyes furiously with my head slightly inclined backwards, and painting the image of spite on my face, I expressed the furious spitefulness that caused Siméon to feel the escalating fury of his passion. [Speaking] with a special tone [of voice] and a loud voice, which caused consternation, I forgot my tender feelings for Almaïs, and behaved as though I wanted to devour everything that was at that moment in my vicinity.

Passages such as these may also explain why the role of Siméon left Jelgerhuis emotionally drained after a performance. He writes, ‘*Veelen Mijner Rollen geeven dien Lighaams Vermoejing teevens Welke afmat, maar in deese Rol was mij altoos over eene Vermoejing der Ziel welke naa afloop der taak naar rust Snakte*’ (Many of my roles cause extreme physical fatigue, but in this role there was an enervation of the soul, gasping for rest after this task).²² His exhaustion is not surprising when one takes his manner of acting into account: not only does Jelgerhuis move between various emotional states more than one hundred and twenty times in this role, but the high level of physical and emotional tension also indicates an extremely intense acting style.²³

3.2 ANALYSIS OF JELGERHUIS’S ACTING STYLE

The paragraphs pertaining to this section of the dissertation are a continuation of the paragraphs which focused on Jelgerhuis’s acting in Chapter 1. The focus here sharpens on Jelgerhuis’s acting style in the role of Siméon, so as to examine the tools Jelgerhuis adopted to shape this specific role. Analysis of the other roles in the *Toneel Studien* would lead to variations in the outcomes here described. I have analysed Jelgerhuis’s study of Siméon according to six subjects. For the sake of brevity, legibility, and equity, I will use the term ‘actor’ to refer to persons of all genders.

1. Direct references to lines from the play text.
2. Jelgerhuis’s own interpretation of Siméon’s character and the thoughts and mental images behind his acting.
3. Emotions/passions (the term passion can be understood as a strong but specific emotional state, such as love, hate, joy or anger).
4. The voice: declamation, vocal colour, pitch, and volume.

²¹ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, pp. 138–140.

²² Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 179.

²³ See Appendix A for a list of the passions described by Jelgerhuis in his study of Siméon.

5. Notes on the physical: eye movements, gestures, muscle tension, stance, and so on.
6. Indications concerning blocking: i.e., the actor's position and movements on stage.

3.2.1 Direct references to lines from the play text

In the process of studying Jelgerhuis's words in relationship with the play text, I worked in parallel with the following texts: a) the published text of the play *Omasis, of Jozef in Egypte* (hereafter *Omasis*); b) Jelgerhuis's study of Siméon in the *Toneel Studien* manuscript; c) Jelgerhuis's quotations from the *Omasis* play text in the manuscript; d) a working document (Appendix B) composed by myself that combines passages from these three sources (a, b, and c).²⁴

The quotations that Jelgerhuis inserted in the manuscript made it clear which stage actions and emotions he performed in which scenes and lines, occasionally with exact words of the play text. These could be lines and words of Siméon's speech, as well as words spoken by the other characters. Jelgerhuis's thoughts on his interpretation clarify why certain actions and emotions came together in specific lines of text – not only when he speaks but also when he listens and reacts to the other characters in the play. He mostly underlines the quotations of the *Omasis* play text, as can be seen in Figure 10.²⁵

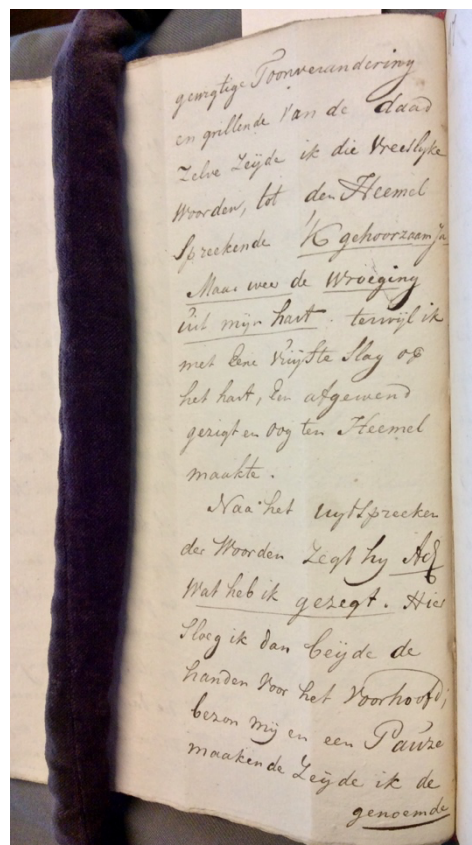


Figure 10, Example of Jelgerhuis's manuscript *Toneel Studien*, (Amsterdam), p. 146

²⁴ In order to work from a manageable text, I transcribed both the *Toneel Studien* manuscript in Amsterdam and the *Omasis* play text.

²⁵ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 146.

In other sections, he describes a certain passage in his own words (often transformed or merged with Siméon's thoughts), making it more difficult to identify the exact lines of the play text that he refers to in his manuscript. In order to stay as close as possible to Jelgerhuis's descriptions in the manuscript during the staging process, I selected the fragments that directly concern passages in the play and inserted them between the corresponding lines in the play text, thus creating a single working document. The more Jelgerhuis goes into detail regarding a certain passage, the more this can be done with precision. Appendix B features a selection from this document, corresponding to the third act of the play, so as to give context for Scenes 3–5, discussed in this case study. Using the working document proved to be more efficient than moving back and forth between the published text of the play and the manuscript. Jelgerhuis also listed several passages (quotations) from the *Omasis* text that illustrate Siméon's character:²⁶

*“die Simeon, dien we onzen blik zien schroomen
 “die mijmerende en verdiept in zijne sombere droomen
 “in de eenzaamheid verschuijlt op dat hy ons ontga..[...]*

*“ik Spreek met Simeon in Zijn verbrijzelt hart
 “ding ik tot de oorzaak van zijn verkropte Smart
 ===
 “gij kunt dien Simeon, gij kunt Zijn Woeste Zeeden
 ===*

*“Simeon is het hooft van Een dier woeste horden
 “die nu Eens herders zyn zig dan in 't harnas gorden [...]
 “Wel dra Zal ik zijn woede ontembaar bruijschen Zien
 “vergeefs sch bestrijd hy t vuur, waardoor hij word verslonden,
 “hij blaakt voor Almais ———*

*(“that Siméon, whom we see avoiding our glances
 “who pondering and deeply sunk in his sad dreams
 “hides in solitude so as to avoid us.. [...]*

*“I speak with Siméon[;] in his shattered heart
 I reach the core of his suppressed pain
 =====
 “you know that Siméon, you are aware of his wild ways
 =====
 “Siméon is the leader of one of those savage hordes
 “who are sometimes shepherds, and sometimes gird themselves for battle [...]
 “soon I will see his anger boil uncontrollably
 “in vain he tries to conquer the fire which devours him, he burns for Almais.)*

²⁶ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, pp. 120–121.

These are mostly lines spoken by other characters, but are indicative nevertheless as they depict Siméon's 'verbrijzelt hart' (shattered heart), his 'verkropte smart' (suppressed pain), his potentially uncontainable anger, and a fire which he tries to conquer in vain (his secret love for Almaïs), but 'waardoor hij wordt verslonden' (which devours him). Jelgerhuis emphasizes the importance of this secret, in addition to the secret of Siméon's conscience: '*dit was inzonderbeijd voor my een bedenkelijk voorstel, dewijl hij [Siméon] Niemand dit gehejm ooit ontdekt had, en zoo wel versmeeg als het feit, dat hem 't geweeten knaagf*' (for me, this in particular was a significant matter, as he [Siméon] never revealed this secret to anyone, and concealed this as well as the fact that his conscience gnaws at him).²⁷

By analysing the text of the play in this manner, and in accord with an understanding of Siméon's past, Jelgerhuis created and assembled thoughts and mental images that later served him on stage. He wrote, addressing himself directly to the reader:

*Beoordeelt hoe veel verbeeldengs kragt 'er verEyst word om zulk Een mijmerende Zin verwarring wel aftebeelden [...] Wat kan daar toe lijden, dan alleen het geheele Character alle de Omstandigheeden voor af klaar te doorgronden en te vatten, al eer men Zehs tot het memoriseeren der Rol overgaat. — en dan levendige denkebeelden en geestkragt door naadenken optezamen om het vermoogen van voorstelling te verkrijgen.*²⁸

Judge how much imagination is necessary to represent well such a pensive and confused state of mind. How else can one achieve this, other than by grasping, and thoroughly understanding in advance [...] the entire character and situation before one even starts to memorize the role. — and then through reflection to gather lively mental images and strength of mind in order to acquire the ability to imagine.

This passage reveals Jelgerhuis's awareness of the preparatory processes behind his acting, as well as his desire to share this knowledge with readers/his potential audience. His ambition to note down the work of the actor, both behind the scenes and with the aim of publication, also shows Jelgerhuis's pride in his craft, in his creation and interpretation of this role.

3.2.2 Jelgerhuis's own interpretation of the character and the thoughts and mental images behind his acting

Jelgerhuis's approach to acting reveals different levels of engagement: his interpretation of Siméon, his thoughts on technical concerns (ensuring control over the voice, preparing a transition, and so on), and his construction of Siméon's inner thoughts. This preparatory process, based on the understanding of Siméon's character, enabled Jelgerhuis to draw on a mental storehouse of thoughts and images when he wanted to trigger a particular emotional reaction in the character.

²⁷ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 122.

²⁸ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 136. My choice to translate 'denkebeelden' as 'mental images' in this context stems from my personal acting experience and practice. Alternative translations could include 'thoughts' or 'ideas'. The word 'voorstelling' could mean 'imagination' as well as 'to represent'; for more on the choices and issues related to the translation of Jelgerhuis's works, see the Introduction to this dissertation.

Having created a Siméon whose main emotion is remorse, he worked with a character who repeatedly relives the past in his mind. In the following example, Jelgerhuis uses Siméon's vivid childhood memories, provoked by a dialogue between Omasis and Siméon, to generate feelings of remorse and anger in the latter:

dit nadenken bragt hem levendig voor den geest, [...] het beginzel van de Oorzaak zijner wroeging, snel gelijk een bliksem straal schiet dat gevoel hem door de Zinnen. – en hoorende onderwijl Een voorstel van het geen hem tans door de Zinnen Zweeft, Zegt hij in volle woede, geheel in zig zelve gekeerd, met donderende wrevel en woede de tanden op Elkander slaande en trillende van razernij als in een vlaag van geheel zig Zelfen te vergeeten, en nu niets meer om zig heen bespeurende de Zeer opmerksaame Reegels²⁹

This thinking vividly brought to his mind's eye, [...] the source of the cause of his remorse. Swiftly, this feeling strikes like lightning through his senses, and at the same time hearing [Omasis] describe exactly what is on his [Siméon's] mind, he, in a full rage, completely withdrawn into himself, gnashing his teeth with thundering resentment and anger, and trembling with rage as if in a fit of complete self-abandonment, and not noticing anything around him anymore, speaks the very remarkable lines

Through the process of imagination, Jelgerhuis created Siméon's character and inner world to such an extent that he could move seamlessly between his own thoughts and memories and those of Siméon. The thoughts Jelgerhuis activated through his imagination feed into Siméon's character, guiding and provoking his emotions and actions. Jelgerhuis's preparatory work on building Siméon's character and 'gathering lively images' as described in the previous two citations shows parallels with the following fragment from Stanislavski's chapter on the imagination:

We must have, first of all, an unbroken series of supposed circumstances in the midst of which our exercise is played. Secondly we must have a solid line of inner visions bound up with those circumstances, so that they will be *illustrated for us. During every moment we are on the stage, during every moment of the development of the action of the play, we must be aware [...] of an inner chain of circumstances which we ourselves have imagined in order to illustrate our parts. [...]*³⁰

Jelgerhuis's preparation created an 'inner chain of circumstances', of thoughts and 'lively images' or 'inner visions', which also continued during the lines of his fellow actors, so that he could react accordingly and build up the right tension for speaking his next lines.³¹ In the third act, for instance,

²⁹ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, pp. 155–156.

³⁰ I find it astonishing how often Jelgerhuis's notes on acting and preparation brought to mind passages from Stanislavski's *An Actor Prepares*. Much has changed between the acting style of Jelgerhuis and that of Stanislavski and his contemporaries, yet there are essential elements that lie at the core of acting that seem not to register the passing of time. Italics in this citation are as in the original. See Constantin Stanislavski, *An Actor Prepares*, translated by Elizabeth Reynolds Hapgood, introduction by John Gielgud, 33rd printing (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1979), p. 60.

³¹ In the role of Avogaro (the second study in the *Toneel Studien*), Jelgerhuis even describes the mutual understanding between himself and another actor through their eye contact, although their characters have no lines in the play at that moment. See Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 60. For more

he constantly navigates between Siméon's feelings of anger and offence – sometimes triggered by the words of another character, sometimes by his own thoughts – and the dissimulation of these emotions by looking away, or by a sombre mien and a soft tone of voice. Jelgerhuis is also aware of how the development of events in the play directly affect the development of his role, increasing Siméon's range of emotions. Regarding the beginning of the fifth act, he writes: '*we vinden nieuwe Stof tot de bewondering over dit Character*' (we find new material leading to admiration of this character).³² When Siméon appears on stage in chains, knowing that his conspiracy with Ramnes has been discovered, he experiences shame and disgrace. Jelgerhuis explains: '*dit had hij [Siméon] nog niet ondergaan. Dit gevoel is nieuw voor hem*' (he had not felt this way before. This feeling is new to him). Observations such as these reveal why Jelgerhuis made certain choices in his interpretation of this role. In understanding the thought processes behind Jelgerhuis's creation of the role of Siméon, and how he guided his imagination to achieve the passions he saw as fitting for the lines in the text, one can get an idea of the mental work and preparation he deems requisite for actors.

3.2.3 Emotions / passions

By separating the emotions Jelgerhuis mentions in his manuscript from the other parameters regarding acting mentioned above (concerning the voice, eye movements, gestures, muscle tension, stance, and indications concerning blocking), I observed additional supplements to the information in the *Theoretische lessen*. I noticed, for instance, that Jelgerhuis goes through a large number of passions in various sections of Siméon's role and that he predominantly describes combinations of emotions not listed in the *Theoretische lessen*. In the treatise, Jelgerhuis includes almost thirty passions – such as joy, anger, and fear – that he mostly explains and compares separately, giving transitions for some.³³ But his study of Siméon displays a broader range of passions, including those mixed with and coloured by other passions, such as '*Woedende Spijt*' (furious spitefulness); '*moedige trots*' (courageous pride); '*Wanhoopende Razernij*' (despairing rage); and the combination of '*Schrik en Schaamte en hartverscheurende Wroeging*' (fright, shame, and heart-wrenching remorse).³⁴ In the manuscript, combinations of passions such as these can rapidly follow each other within a few lines of text, suggesting Jelgerhuis's thorough command of the actor's craft. In fact, there are more than seventy-five different passions and combinations of

on Jelgerhuis in the role of Avogaro, see Chapter 1, section 1.5.4, 'School for civilization and the preparation of a role'.

³² *Nu tot de ontwikkeling van het 5 de Bedrijff koomende vinden wy nieuwe Stof tot de bewondering over dir Character [...] de Samensweering is ontdekt en Simeon in boeyens aldus verschijnt hij nu. Bedenkende dat nu eene vermeerdering van gevoel gebooren is, Schaamte en Schande, dit had hij nog niet ondergaan. Dit gevoel is nieuw voor hem.* (Now coming to the development of the 5th act, we find new material to admire in this character. The conspiracy has been discovered and Siméon now appears in chains. Realizing that an increase of feeling is born, shame and disgrace, this he had not experienced before. This feeling is new to him). Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, pp. 170–171.

³³ For examples of transitions between or combinations of different passions, see rest-wonder-surprise-fright: *Theoretische lessen*, plate 33, pp. 125–126; '*verrukking en overgang tot vreugde*' (rapture and the transition to joy), p. 140; de 'herneming van de schrik' (relief after fright), p. 146; for examples of passion combinations, see '*schrik [...] met verbaasdheid vermengd*' (fright [...] mixed with surprise), pp. 125–126, and '*verbaasdheid met vreugde gemengd*' (surprise mixed with joy), p. 140.

³⁴ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, pp. 139, 172, 145, and 171.

passions in his description of Siméon's scenes.³⁵ Where such emotional states of mind are accompanied by Jelgerhuis's (or rather, Siméon's) thoughts, vocal colour, facial expression, gestures, postures, and movements, they reveal the layered and complex construction of Jelgerhuis's approach to acting and to perceiving his role. However, passion combinations such as those used by him are no novelty. Aaron Hill, for instance, writes in 'An Essay on the Art of Acting' that love is 'a Passion, the true name whereof might be *Legion*; for it includes all the other, in all their degrees and varieties'.³⁶ And although Jelgerhuis decided not to include Charles Le Brun's combined passions in his *Theoretische lessen*, the latter's *Methode pour apprendre a dessiner les passions* does offer illustrations for expressing '*Colere meslée de rage*' [sic] (anger mixed with rage) and '*Étonnement avec frayeur*' (astonishment with fright).³⁷ The value of observing these combined passions in Jelgerhuis's manuscript, then, lies in its application into practice, adding to the information in the *Theoretische lessen*, in which the passions are mostly didactically separated from the other layers of acting. In contrast, the *Theoretische lessen* contains illustrations and basics of posture and gestures that are lacking in the manuscript. As discussed in Chapter 2, Jelgerhuis's lessons on the passions provide examples of facial expression and postures for the passions he deemed appropriate for the stage. Jelgerhuis thus shares his knowledge of the basic passions, but there is no indication in the treatise of how to achieve variation in the passions, or how to convert the given information into a role. His descriptions in the Siméon study, despite being composed at an earlier date, can be seen as the key to the next level of the curriculum, as private lessons with a teacher of acting, and as a glimpse of what happens on stage as well as in the actor's studio.

3.2.4 The voice: declamation, vocal colour, volume, and pitch

In this respect, every aspect of Jelgerhuis's description of the voice in the Siméon manuscript directly enriches the *Theoretische lessen*. Jelgerhuis states in his treatise: '*ik handel van Gesticulatie en Mimiek, en mag dus van geen spreken gewagen; dit is anderen aanbevolen.*' (I deal with gesticulation and facial expression, and therefore cannot speak of speech; this is dealt with by others).³⁸ In the manuscript, however, he wrote freely about speech. He describes the vocal colour of Siméon's lines, emphasizing emotion, volume, articulation, contrast, and also describes passages requiring '*opklimming*' (climbing), and indications such as '*holle*' (hollow) and '*zuivere*' (pure) tones.³⁹ In several passages, he expresses Siméon's emotional state by adding sighs, whispers, stammering, or pauses in his text, sometimes combined with tears.⁴⁰ Naturally, the precise interpretation of such indications is subjective, but by using them as a guideline, the actor's vocal progression of the spoken lines changes significantly. The observation of the vocal indications and their application throughout the Siméon study unveils a style of delivery marked by contrast. Jelgerhuis achieved this by rapid alternations of contrasting passions, but also by a slow crescendo of emotion and

³⁵ Repeating passions are not included in this number. For a full list of the passions in Jelgerhuis's study of Siméon, see Appendix A.

³⁶ Hill, 'An Essay', p. 388.

³⁷ The French original as well as the Dutch translation feature the plates with double passions. See Le Brun, *Methode*, figures 34–35; and Le Brun, *Afbeelding der Hertstogten*, figures 34–35.

³⁸ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 108.

³⁹ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, pure tones: pp. 145; hollow: pp. 131, 168, 169.

⁴⁰ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, sighs: pp. 123, 124, 128–130, 158, 170; whispering: pp. 148, 169; stammering: p. 141; pauses: pp. 126, 146, 162; tears: p. 141, 160, 161, 167, 176, 177.

volume and/or pitch throughout an entire passage, reaching an extreme against which yet another contrast could be placed. He even made use of vocal colour to emphasize the contrast between single words within the same sentence. For instance, in the following line ‘*Zoo keert de kalmte in ’t eijnde in mijn Verscheurd gemoed*’ (thus calm finally returns to my torn/lacerated heart):⁴¹

*deese Reegel gaf ik dan de Onderscheijding waar voor hij vatbaar is, naamlijk in den wenschenden en verlangenden toon te paaren, het gepaste geluid der stem Zagtheijd op kalmte en daar teegen overstaande Ruuwen toon voor ’t woord verscheurd en vermeerderde alzo eene toonwisseling die my voorkwam Zoo te behooren.*⁴²

I gave this line the differentiation of which it is capable, namely combining it with a wishing and longing tone. The appropriate soft tone on [the word] calm and in contrast the rough tone for the word torn thus increased a change of vocal colour which I deemed appropriate.

Descriptions of rapid changes such as these indicate Jelgerhuis’s attention to detail in creating a particular dramatic effect: short accents that tell the audience more about Siméon’s inner stirrings, although the overall emotion remains of a wishing, longing quality. Similarly, Jelgerhuis used vocal expression to hide or reveal Siméon’s true feelings. In Scene 5 of Act III, for instance, the words spoken by Omasis anger Siméon; instantly forgetting that someone else is with him, he raises his voice in dismay but quickly checks himself by disguising his anger behind a softer tone of voice: ‘*Zelfs met eenige lieflijke voorgewende Zoet vloeiendheid*’ (even with a lightly feigned dulcet, sweetly flowing quality).⁴³

In his search for a differentiated performance, Jelgerhuis organized his vocal build-up to achieve the desired effect on the audience. Knowing which passages were the most moving, and which ones ‘*ontzetting baarde*’ (caused dismay), he ensured that such moments were well prepared.⁴⁴ He also made sure to be perfectly understood during important moments by placing himself centre stage when the situation allowed for it, and by articulating clearly.⁴⁵ Yet Jelgerhuis hides neither the difficulty he experienced in performing certain passages to perfection, nor the fact that he does not always succeed. He discusses one passage in the third act, so touching that he would almost be overwhelmed by his own emotions. Here, Jelgerhuis writes that he feared not being able to speak the simple words ‘*o ja*’ (oh yes) in the right tone of voice, and needed to muster all of his concentration to suppress his true feeling and postpone his tears until after he had uttered those words.⁴⁶ Keeping the voice under control seems to be the technical element which allows Jelgerhuis not to be overcome by his or the character’s emotions. Where Golding suggests that

⁴¹ Underscored emphasis as in the original: Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, pp. 137.

⁴² Underscored emphasis as in the original: Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, pp. 137–138.

⁴³ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 155; for the entire passage, see pp. 152–155.

⁴⁴ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 140.

⁴⁵ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 143; standing center stage has both the visual and auditive advantage. For Meike Wagner’s description of experimentation with stage positions and their effect in the auditorium on the historical stage of Drottningholm, see Meike Wagner, ‘On a Praxeology of Theatre Historiography’, in *Performing the Eighteenth Century: Theatrical Discourses, Practices, and Artefacts*, ed. by Magnus Tessing Schneider & Meike Wagner (Stockholm: Stockholm University Press, 2023), 21–45 (pp. 38–40).

⁴⁶ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, pp. 159–161.

actors in the centuries previous to Jelgerhuis used ‘figures of rhetorical conventional behaviour’ and image-recall technique to modify and control the personification process, Jelgerhuis does this also by focusing on a reliable vocal production.⁴⁷

3.2.5 Notes on the physical: eye movements, gestures, muscle tension, and so on

The previous quotations from the Siméon manuscript show that Jelgerhuis’s thoughts and emotions are also reflected in his descriptions regarding acting such as eye movements, muscle tension, gestures, and full body postures. Jelgerhuis mentions the intensity of the eyes (wide open, burning, fiery, vacant, direct) as well as their direction (eyes cast down, heavenwards, darting from side to side, looking away, and so on). And again, he also explains the expression of the eyes by indicating the emotion (boldly looking forward, casting the eyes down in sadness). Some stage actions seem to reflect an instinctive consequence of the emotion felt in that moment: covering the face with both hands in shame, anxiously wiping the forehead with the hand, recoiling in fear, and clenching the hands into fists during an angry passage. Other passages describe entire, full body sequences of movements, the physical action always being preceded by the emotion:

*mijne Reeden gestuijt ziende door Haar, deed ik Eene allerfelste ontroering, door het geheele gestel ontwaaren, die mij [...] het vermoogen benam om Zonder Steun punt te blyven, Ja geheel ontzet greep ik de bystaande Zeetel om my te ondersteunen, de hand op 't hart leggende en met het hoofd op de andere hand neederdaalende op den Rug des Zeetels, trilde ik met het geheele Ligbaam.*⁴⁸

‘seeing my words interrupted by her, I felt a most vehement emotion throughout my system, [...] which impeded my capacity to remain standing without support. Yes, in full dismay I grabbed the chair near, to support me, placing my hand on my heart and lowering my head onto my other hand on the back of the chair, my entire body trembled.’

These relatively instinctive movements on the one hand, and extremely dramatic sequences of movements on the other, are essential for a better understanding of Jelgerhuis’s acting style. The treatise might give the impression that this acting style features only an aesthetically elevated and balanced alternation of carefully planned contrasting poses or gestures, yet by highlighting these examples I want to demonstrate that the manuscript also shows outer representations of emotion that are still recognisable, and may even, although perhaps stylized in their form, still seem natural to an audience today. The following paragraph will provide similar examples regarding stage behaviour between two characters.

3.2.6 Indications concerning blocking: the actor’s position and movements on stage

The *Theoretische lessen* focusses mainly on an individual actor’s acting technique and less on interacting with other characters, apart from a section on groupings and the advice to avoid

⁴⁷ Golding, *Classicistic acting*, p. 106.

⁴⁸ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, pp. 140–141.

standing on stage exactly like one's counterpart.⁴⁹ Another essential aspect of acting on stage covered only briefly in the treatise is movement in the space, not as gestures or attitudes, but as a walking from point A to B. The lesson on entrances and exits does show the curved lines in which an actor should walk to make the stage seem bigger, and indicates that each entrance and exit should correspond to the emotional state of the character.⁵⁰ In chapter eleven, Jelgerhuis advocates using the entire stage, warning against the beginner's mistake of playing on only a small portion of it.⁵¹ That said, the *Toneel Studien* manuscript provides more information on *when* Jelgerhuis might have moved on stage and on *how* to interact with other actors. Given the information provided in the treatise, it is not surprising that Jelgerhuis describes how Siméon crosses the stage in a half circle. Nor is it surprising that an actor would place himself centre stage at the beginning of an important monologue, as Jelgerhuis does in the third act of *Omasis*.⁵² But the manuscript also casts light on more dynamic stage movements. Jelgerhuis recounts how, in Siméon's monologue in Act III, he left the initial mid-stage position: '*naar eene Zijde snellende, en ontzet met alle de Schrik op het bezef der misdaad als Eene geoopende affgrond, waande ik die te zien en deijnsde agterwaards*' (hastening to one side, and filled with horror at the realization of the crime as an abyss, I imagined seeing this, and recoiled).⁵³ The rapid succession of movements caused by intense emotion and imagination does not prevent the actor's speaking and moving simultaneously. This is also visible in Act III, Scene 7 with Siméon's young brother Benjamin: '*week ik eijzende van Benjamin af, agter uyt, en verliet woest het Toneel onder het uijtrocpen van de Woorden Zorg voor al dat gy mijn Schreeden vlied*' (I shuddering shrank back from Benjamin, moved backwards, and furiously left the stage while crying out: 'above all, make sure that you keep away from me').⁵⁴ A subsequent stage direction in the *Omasis* play text does indeed indicate Siméon's exit after that line: '*Hij vertrekt in verbijstering*' (he leaves in dismay).⁵⁵ By leaving slightly earlier, as he speaks his final line in the scene, Jelgerhuis adds momentum and drama to the moment, while he turns the presence of the second actor into a trigger for Siméon's emotional reaction, his recoiling, and his exit. As in most cases throughout the manuscript, this scene displays seemingly straightforward physical interaction between the actors. Even when performed with decorum, the actions themselves are still uncomplicated expressions of communication. Such examples include Siméon pushing Omasis away from him with both hands; Ramnes seizing Siméon's hand; Siméon placing his arm around Benjamin's neck; Siméon dragged forward in chains '*met die decentie welke de Sombere Ernst van dit Toneel vordert*'⁵⁶ (with that decorum which the somber seriousness of this scene requires) and thereafter being unchained on stage; and Benjamin assisting Siméon to reach the arms of his father, who receives him in his arms and lifts him up.⁵⁷

⁴⁹ For Jelgerhuis on contrast between actors on-stage, see Chapter 1, section 1.2.2, '*Contrast*', or Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 90.

⁵⁰ See Chapter 2, section 2.3.2b, '*Attitudes en scene* with entrances and exits', and Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, second chapter, pp. 33–42.

⁵¹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 106.

⁵² Jelgerhuis mentions both stage movements in his description of Act III, Scene 3 of *Omasis*.

⁵³ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 144.

⁵⁴ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 170.

⁵⁵ Baour-Lormian, *Omasis*, transl. Westerman, Act III, Scene 7, p. 52.

⁵⁶ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 171.

⁵⁷ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, pp. 147, 158, 168, 171, and 178.

3.2.7 Remaining information

The cited passages in the previous paragraphs exemplify the six points of analysis I outlined above, and serve to illustrate those elements of Jelgerhuis's acting technique that represent additions to his instructions in the *Theoretische lessen*. I contend that addressing these aspects of acting can significantly augment the possibilities of movement and interpretation for actors working with the treatise, as they include freedom of timing, stage interactions between several actors, and various means of expression in movement and declamation. Because the examples above are only a selection, I have listed a more complete overview of staging details from the Siméon study in Appendix A. This list also features information from the manuscript that did not fit into the six categories above. The six categories covered almost the entire text of the Siméon study (see Figure 11). The remaining text (left uncoloured in Figure 11) amounted to Jelgerhuis's introductory description of his research on the context of the play, as well as the costume, headdress, and those contemplations aimed at the reader, most of which were mentioned in the previous paragraphs.

<p>omtrent den grijzen Jacob Wroeging veroorzaakte en wat die op het gestel van den mensch doet, Naamlijk te Wenschen om den dood, Welke Wensch geen gehoor</p>	<p>en wisseling van toon maakende in laage Holle klank, nam ik voor haar te ontwijken en in 't bezef der Ellende van mijn hart besloot ik in mijne Sombere treurigheid te Rug keerende, en in dien Stemtoon weeder needer daalende, het geringe overschot, mijner deugd te behouden. — Zoo folterende in 't hart, het geweeten Wroegt Zoo folterende, werkende denkbeel= =den, hoe veel word des niet gevraagd om dat wel te</p>	<p>133 ik nam dan de Reegels die hy hier zegt by zyn verscheijnen . — Ja ik verwin mij zelf ik wil de Liefde smart En haat ter Eener tyd ver= Smooen in mijn Hart in de agtergrond des Toneels naa een voorafgaande Pantomime op Almais doelende, — welke zig</p>
<p>130 vond, maar Eenen Beul in 't hart agter liet. - nu een oogenblik ademhaalende dagt ik aan de bijkoomende Hartstogt der Liefde welke Zijne Ellende vergroot, en hem nog Rampzaliger maakte, dan de flikkering van hoop, om haar te bezitten, die deese hartstogt in hem werkte, doet hem weeder aan het voorstel van Ramnes denken en voorneemen om daar in te deelen, Zuchtende in verrukking om Almais, de teedere en voorafgaande denkende toonen der Stem bragten mij nu gereed tot</p>	<p>132 kunnen voordragen. — ik bedagt dat de teederheid der Zenuwen van den Mensch door Smarten en voor al die door Wroegingen veroor= Saakt worden, Zoodanig gestel Zeer gevoelig maakt dat aan eenen inwendige Zielsknaaging ten prooij is en zijne kragten ondermijnd in het 3de Bedrijf verschijnd hij in diepe gedachten verzonken wandेलende in de Zaaen</p>	<p>134 tot hem wend en hem aanspreekt. — treurig en met needer geslaagen oogen naaderde ik den voorgrond . — verneemende dat Almais de hoop hem toevoegen wil zijn verdriet door Omazis verzagt te zien, — is zijn antwoord Zoo verward - als teevens opmerkzaam in een Soort van Verbystering zegt hy Liever door haar beklaagd te zijn, als weldaaden van hem te genieten, momenteel daar op herneemt hy zig en zegt. - Maar Neen ik moet voortaan de Godde=</p>
<p>131 die ontzetting welke hem daar weeder doet afzien. -</p>		

Figure 11, selected passages from Jelgerhuis's *Toneel Studien*, pp. 129–134, transcribed and marked as follows:

legend for the colour markings in Figure 11

- 1) yellow - direct references to lines from the play text
- 2) light blue - Jelgerhuis' interpretation, the thoughts and mental images behind his acting
- 3) pink - emotions/passion
- 4) purple - the voice: declamation, vocal colour, pitch, and volume
- 5) dark blue - notes on the physical: eye movements, gestures, muscle tension, stance, and so on
- 6) green - indications concerning blocking: i.e., the actor's position and movements on stage
- white - remaining text

The information in these uncategorized passages was an unexpected addition to the initial analysis, yet I consider it at least as important as the other six. Here, Jelgerhuis's insight into his personal thoughts on the physical and mental challenges of the craft is of an (almost) autobiographical nature. It sheds light on his emotional involvement and identification with the role, his compassion with the character of Siméon, his feelings regarding certain events in the play, and the way he thinks about certain words or sentences ('I said those terrible words'). He reflects on the way emotions and acting affect the soul, and on the psychological and emotional complexities of human nature.

By discussing my analysis of Jelgerhuis's study of Siméon, I have now added a fourth layer of information, which complements the terms and concepts introduced in Chapter 1, the short basic attitude series in Chapter 2, and the contextual discussion of Jelgerhuis's *Theoretische lessen* in Chapters 1 and 2. Together, these four layers provide both the practical and theoretical underpinnings for the first case study's research project.

3.3 METHODOLOGY AND COMPASS

This section serves to contextualize and clarify the reasons behind certain choices I made at the onset of this case study, which was aimed at staging selected scenes from *Omasis* with three actors, while using Jelgerhuis's *Toneel Studien* and other sources as guidelines.

3.3.1 Training versus performance

This first case study keeps the experimentation, training, and staging process open to unexpected outcomes without aiming for a definitive and polished HIP production. The development of this project remained within the studio, receiving occasional feedback from attending colleagues, but the studied scenes were not presented in a theatre before a larger audience. My findings concerning this case study's creative phase are therefore to be considered within this working format — namely, as the experimental stages of preparation and research as if preceding performance. As a more thorough assessment of Jelgerhuis's performance, they are incomplete; Jelgerhuis's acting includes the presence of the audience, the costumes, the theatre space, lighting, and so on. However, the absence of these elements and of a performance-driven schedule allowed the actors and myself the time, firstly, to assimilate the information in Jelgerhuis's manuscript, and secondly, to embody, through training, an acting style based on Jelgerhuis works. Even though actual

costumes and sets could not be included in the project, I will present my preliminary research on sets and costumes for the play, as this background information served to inform the imagination of the actors and myself.

My functions in this project were several and involved research as well as practical work, including leading the project, carrying out analysis and returning to the sources previous to and in between the practical sessions, preparing the materials to work with, and training with the participating actors. In retrospect, these different functions can be divided in different categories, although tasks occasionally overlapped:

- **researcher:** carrying out background research of the historical sources relevant to the practical work previous to, during, or as a result of the sessions; providing information from the sources when questions arose, or to potentially improve the staging. Examples of this preparation are the acting analysis above, transcribing and translating the manuscript, locating Jelgerhuis's comments in the play text, photographing illustrations in the archive as inspiration for the characters, and so on. Later in the process, this involved drawing conclusions from my observations and adapting these into the written format of an article, a lecture, and finally, this chapter.⁵⁸

- **project manager:** organizing sessions for experimentation with the individual actors and the workshop sessions, providing training materials partly described in Chapter 2 as well as working documents (including Appendices B, C, E and Figures 13a, 14b, and 14).

- **active participant:** although this was my project, the sessions with the other actors were very much a team effort. We could build upon a foundation of mutual respect and inspiration resulting from years of working together, and I joined the actors during some parts of the training.

- **observer and staging guide:** planning the entrances and exits for Act III, providing feedback, and inviting discussions between the actors, myself, and, when available, other observers. As mentioned in the Introduction and in Chapter 2, I consider observation of other actors/students/colleagues at work a valuable tool to develop my own practice. Observing other actors is an essential part of learning, yet today, the opportunities of seeing historically informed actors on-stage in the Netherlands are few. This project allowed me to guide the actors in their endeavours, suggest improvements based on the sources, learn by observing, and reflect on my own practical experiments in process.

The working environment during the staging sessions was similar to the format deployed at the meetings of the Dutch Historical Acting Collective (DHAC), in which the group members take turns to present selected texts, while the other members function as audience and provide

⁵⁸ The lecture, titled “‘De storm der Hartstogten’: Passionate Expression in Body and Voice’ was part of the series ‘What’s New’, at the Early Music Festival Utrecht, The Netherlands, 27 August 2019. For the article, see Laila Cathleen Neuman, “Despairing Rage” and “Courageous Pride”. Exploring the Acting Style of Johannes Jelgerhuis Through Practice-Based Research’, in *Historical Acting Techniques and the 21st-Century Body*, ed. by Jed Wentz, special issue in *European Drama and Performance Studies*, 19 (2022–2), 113–151.

feedback, with the aim of learning from and with one another.⁵⁹ It was therefore unproblematic to program working sessions for Scene 5 during the DHAC winter workshop of 2020. The feedback other DHAC members offered – whether contradicting, confirming, or adding to my own observations – was a valuable addition to my own assessment/evaluations. Moreover, I consider the experience the actors gained from this project part of the dissemination of my work on Jelgerhuis. In order to keep my description of this case study as transparent as possible, I will provide footnotes to mark the different functions I took on at the various stages of the project.

3.3.2 From page to practice and back again

Here I return to the problematic sides, touched upon in the general introduction, of transforming written text into physical action and putting the results of artistic practice back into written words. Both the interpretation of the source and the description of artistic research are, although subjective, essential for an understanding of the physical and mental processes the actor engages in when preparing a role. Historically informed artistic practice is by default performed by a different person, usually in a different physical surrounding (the costumes, sets, and theatre) than in the original version, and in front of a contemporary audience. This means that in searching for ‘historically informed staging’, I must be able, at least on reflection, to distinguish the actual indications in the source from my own additions. As interpretation and imagination are a substantial part of this work, the actor needs to make their choices during preparation and performance. These may be conscious choices, as well as moments of (informed) intuition and inspiration during rehearsals or on stage, often generated by the (tacit) knowledge gleaned through experience. My aim in this project has therefore not been to recreate a historical event, to show ‘how it was done’, but rather to learn both from the sources and about them by doing, and to recognize tendencies in the acting style as Jelgerhuis describes it. In this way, the interpretation, the artistic choices, and the creation on-stage issue from a body and mind that have adapted this style as a second language. In order to stage the scenes in the style of the early nineteenth-century Dutch stage, the actors were to base their stances, gestures, and other elements inherent to acting on their knowledge of and experience with historical treatises on acting and painting, both before and during Jelgerhuis’s time. The actors and I were to optimize our interpretation of Jelgerhuis’s acting style by working with the material in his *Theoretische lessen* – such as the examples concerning facial expression, contrast in the body and gestures, *attitudes*, and *welstand*.⁶⁰ I argue that the process of creating such a foundation of vocabulary in a specific acting style, allows for and even requires the moments of intuition and imagination mentioned above.

The following questions, directly linked to the first research question of this thesis (‘How can a study of Johannes Jelgerhuis’s lesser-known works add to a more complete understanding of Jelgerhuis’s treatise *Theoretische lessen*, of his approach to acting and of his acting style, and how can this contribute in turn to historically informed performance practices’), were the basis of my

⁵⁹ For reference to DHAC, see the Introduction.

⁶⁰ In this chapter, *welstand* is intended in its overarching sense (‘that which looks good’; a concept referring to beauty in form, harmonious proportions, and/or expression). For full definitions of the terms *welstand* and *attitudes* (full body stances, including gestures and facial expressions, which follow the rules of contrast and *welstand*), see Chapter 1, sections ‘contrast’, ‘attitude’, and ‘welstand’.

investigations: how could the process of staging three scenes from *Omasis* contribute to my conception of preparing and staging a role in agreement with Jelgerhuis's writings? And following Jelgerhuis's indications in his study of Siméon, how could I extend my understanding of the *Theoretische lessen* and consequently of the acting style in the Amsterdam Schouwburg in the early nineteenth century? The answers to these questions were sought through experimentation and comparison with other sources, generally in the following succession: question, research (whether through artistic practice or consulting and comparing sources), discussion, hypothesis, experimentation, reflection, answer, or new question. This project's approach to rehearsing, analysing, documenting, discussing, and experimenting is not a historical one, but an opportunity to engage with and obtain an understanding of Jelgerhuis's interpretation of Siméon. This was the role I had the most information about, and the interpretation of the other characters was adjusted in order to align with the information in Jelgerhuis's manuscript. I selected the scenes in which he was the most generous in his descriptions – Act III, Scenes 3, 4, and 5 – with the aim of incorporating as many details from the manuscript as possible. As these scenes only involved three roles, this selection also made the project more manageable in terms of participants, time, and – as 2020 and 2021 presented the complications caused by COVID-19 – logistics. The aim of this project was not to obtain a perfectly finished end product but to create a situation in which the actors and I might freely experiment with the information in the sources.⁶¹

3.3.3 The project's participants

In order to stage the selected scenes from the manuscript according to the ideals of decorum and stage behaviour of the early nineteenth century, I wanted to work with actors who would be willing to use historical acting techniques. Jed Wentz, João Louís Paixão, and Andreas Gilger, three colleagues from the DHAC who in previous years had studied and trained according to various principles in the *Theoretische lessen*, kindly agreed to collaborate. With their cooperation, the project could commence with a collective understanding of the *Theoretische lessen*. Moreover, they were familiar with other treatises (such as Gilbert Austin's *Chironomia* and Aaron Hill's 'An Essay on the Art of Acting') and had experience with acting techniques as described in these sources.⁶² This facilitated communication and group work, as we could easily refer to a mutual frame of reference regarding decorum, techniques, and sources. Our focus during this staging process, however, was on sources directly concerning or mentioned by Jelgerhuis. The *Theoretische lessen* was the main manual of reference and our guide to staging the gestures and attitudes described in the manuscript, according to Jelgerhuis's ideals of stage practice. His other works (such as other roles in the *Toneel Studien* and his document of 1808) have been consulted in search of answers to the questions that arose during the preparation and staging process.

⁶¹ I leave aside comparison between Westerman's Dutch translation of *Omasis, of Jozef in Egypte* of 1810 and the French original, or the much earlier Dutch translation by Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679) *Jozef of Sofompaneas* of 1635 (after the Latin of Huig de Groot), as such comparisons are, at this stage, beyond the scope of this project.

⁶² See Austin, *Chironomia*; and Hill, 'An Essay'.

3.3.4 Preparatory research

To compare Jelgerhuis's own experience with those of the theatre critics, I sought out reviews of performances by Jelgerhuis and his colleagues, as they appeared in Abraham Louis Barbaz's *Mengelwerken* of 1810, the *Tijdschrift van kunsten en wetenschappen* (1812), *Het kritisch lampje* (1823) and *De Tooneelkijker*.⁶³ Although the latter three sources date after Jelgerhuis's *Toneel Studien*, they contained valuable background information for this case study, as the comments also discuss aspects such as the play text, its translation, the costumes, the stage sets, and the various casts.⁶⁴ Comments on pronunciation, however, by Jelgerhuis and the theatre critics regarding pronunciation are limited to critique on personal defects (such as the inability to pronounce the 'r' properly, or dialect – Jelgerhuis, born the North of the Netherlands, had a slight Frisian accent). With the limited time at our disposal, I decided not to add historical Dutch pronunciation (with a Frisian accent for one of the actors) to the training of the actors. I focused only on those parameters of delivery which had a direct link to Jelgerhuis, such as those discussed in reviews and in Jelgerhuis's manuscript, including vocal volume, pitch, and colouring the voice through affect.⁶⁵ However, I consulted historical dictionaries to help us understand the Dutch vocabulary in which the play text and manuscript were written.⁶⁶

3.3.5 Poetic metre

The parameter of vocal delivery here discussed concerns the question of how to deliver the poetic metre. *De Tooneelkijker* provides some information directly related to the performances of the play *Omais* where the *Theoretische lessen* offers none. The authors of *De Tooneelkijker* suspected a hasty translation of the play, resulting in disturbing irregularities of the prosody. They particularly criticized the inconsistency in the placement of the names of Almaïs and Siméon, causing different

⁶³ Barbaz, *Mengelwerken* (1810), pp. 159–160; and the *Tijdschrift van kunsten en wetenschappen Mengelwerk, voor 1812. Met keizerlijke vergunning* [...] (Amsterdam: de Bruyn, Leeneman van der Kroe en IJntema, 1812), pp. 683–684. See also *De Tooneelkijker*, 4 vols (1816–1819); and *Het kritisch lampje, Lectuur voor alle standen* (Amsterdam: J. C. van Kesteren, 1823), ascribed author: Anton Cramer 1785–1833. For more information on this periodical, see Ruitenbeek, *Kijkcijfers*, p. 293.

⁶⁴ The cast of 1817: Jozef/Omais - Snoek, Siméon - Jelgerhuis, Ramnes - Rombach, Jacob - Westerman, and the actresses Almaïs - Grevelink, Siméon's young brother Benjamin was played by the actress Kamphuijsen (also spelled as Kamphuizen and Kamphuyzen). See *De Tooneelkijker*, 3, (1818), pp. 40–41. The record of the cast in 1812 is less complete but similar: Jozef/Omais - Andries Snoek, Siméon - Jelgerhuis, Ramnes - [?], Jacob - Westerman, [Almaïs?] - Grevelink, Benjamin - Kamphuizen. See *Tijdschrift van kunsten* (1812), pp. 683–684. Barbaz documents the cast of 1810: Jozef/Omais - Andries Snoek, Siméon - Jelgerhuis, further mentioning the actors Rombach, Westerman en actresses Grevelink en Kamphuyzen. (It is likely that the latter four performed the same roles as mentioned in the later review of 1817). See Barbaz, *Mengelwerken* (1810), p. 160. The review of 1823 mentions only Jelgerhuis as Siméon and Jelgerhuis's daughter as Benjamin. See *Het kritisch lampje* (1823), p. 50.

⁶⁵ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 107–108. On Jelgerhuis's Frisian accent, see Albach, 'Johannes Jelgerhuis over zijn rollen', pp. 5, 9.

⁶⁶ See the historical Dutch dictionaries on the website of the Instituut voor de Nederlandse Taal (Institute for the Dutch language), <https://gtb.ivdnt.org/search/> (accessed 4 April 2025).

syllables to be stressed (Alma^äis in some passages and Alma^zis elsewhere).⁶⁷ In fact, the inconsistencies not only occur in the stress of the names of Alma^äis and Siméon, but also in the stress of Omasis (as *Omasis* and *Omasis*) and other words. However, *De Tooneelkijker*'s observation that irregularities in the poetic metre are audible and disturbing was one reason for me to ask the actors for some accentuation of the meter instead of a naturalistic prose-like delivery, even if the faulty accentuation can be unsettling to modern ears too.

To make decisions regarding the metric delivery of the text, I also consulted Jelgerhuis's document of 1808, in which he discusses the state of Dutch theatre, past, present, and future.⁶⁸ In this document, Jelgerhuis denounces the old way of delivering verse in a '*dreunende galm*' (thumping, bellowing roar) and praises the actors Marten Corver (1727–1794) and Carel Passé (1741–1790) for acting and declaiming with good taste, avoiding the *ostinato*.⁶⁹ Alternatively, in an illustrated manuscript of 1817, Jelgerhuis criticizes the actor for his prosaic delivery of certain verses, stating that '*wanneer men zoodanig de verzen op 't toneel behandelt, dan behoeven 't geen vaerzen te zijn*' (if one treats verse on stage in such a fashion, verse is not needed).⁷⁰ This suggests that even if one searches for a more natural delivery than the (by then dated) *declamatory* style as practiced by Dutch actor Jan Punt (1711–1770) and his contemporaries, the verse should also not be spoken as if it were prose. Clearly, not even the combined sources on this subject could tell us exactly what Jelgerhuis's ideal delivery would have sounded like, but they did provide two extremes to avoid. My request to the actors was therefore not to speak as naturally as one would in prose, but to retain the rhythm of the verse while only subtly marking the caesura, where this 'felt right' in the context (subjective, grammar) – all the while avoiding that '*dreunende galm*' caused by excessive emphasis on the metre.

3.3.6 Limitations regarding costumes and theatre sets

At this stage of the project, I neither could provide the opportunity to work in a theatre nor to have actual costumes made, but I still wanted to get an idea of the costumes for the characters, and possible stage designs. Firstly, because I still hoped for a continuation of the project at the Valtice Castle Theater after the COVID-19 pandemic, and secondly because the knowledge of the character's costume and surroundings on stage are important for the imagination and can thereby influence the speed or manner of gesticulating and walking, even when one works in modern dress and in a different space.

Costumes. Jelgerhuis's costume illustrations for Jacob, Omasis, and Siméon provided an idea of the style of costume and headdress to envision for these characters (see Figure 12).

⁶⁷ *De Tooneelkijker*, 3 (1818) p. 40.

⁶⁸ Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag'.

⁶⁹ Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', p. 106–107. For more information on Corver, Passé and Punt, see Chapter 1, section 1.4.2, 'Developments in acting style'.

⁷⁰ Jelgerhuis, *Beschouwingen*.



Figure 12, engravings of costumes by Jelgerhuis in his *Theoretische lessen*; Jakob (left) and Joseph/Omasis (centre), plate 63, details; Siméon (right), plate 64, detail.

Jelgerhuis's costume and headdress (for Siméon) were even praised in a review after the Dutch première of *Omasis* in 1810, for being 'more than delightful' and for 'meeting the requirements'.⁷¹ Information on costumes for the other roles was more difficult to trace down. I have found no information, for instance, on the costume for Ramnes. In 1812, however, theatre critics found fault with two other costumes. They deemed the costume of Almaïs's confidante's (Zamé) more fit for a '*marchande de modes*' than an inhabitant of Egypt, while they questioned what they termed Benjamin's '*hoofdsiersel*' (head decoration) for potentially being 'a little too feminine'.⁷² It would be interesting to learn how Benjamin would have been dressed, as this role was documented as played by actress Kamphuyzen in the *reviews* of 1812 and 1818 and the actress '*meisjevrouw Jelgerhuis*' in 1823.⁷³ I am not aware of illustrations by Jelgerhuis depicting costumes for actresses playing a breeches role. Given that the review of 1812 questions whether Mrs Kamphuyzen's head

⁷¹ The original description in Dutch is '*overheerlijk gemaskeerd en naar eisch gekostumeerd*'. See Barbaz, *Mengelwerken* (1810), p. 160.

⁷² *Tijdschrift van kunsten* (1812), p. 683.

⁷³ With '*meisjevrouw Jelgerhuis*', the author of *Het kritisch lampje* of 1823 probably refers to Jelgerhuis's daughter Catherina Hessalina (1792–1843), who made her debut at the Amsterdam Schouwburg in 1808. See D'Ailly, 'Johannes Jelgerhuis Rienksz', pp. 225, 228–229, 244; and see Johannes M. Coffeng, *Lexicon van Nederlandse tonelisten* (Amsterdam: Polak & van Gennep, 1965), p. 98 (in the latter, her name is spelled Catharina Hessalina). The French *Omasis* play text of 1807 mentions the actress Mlle. Mars playing the role of Benjamin alongside the famous French actors Talma as Joseph/Omasis and Damas as Siméon. See Baour-Lormian, *Omasis*, transl. Westerman, p. 2.

decoration was not too feminine for Benjamin, I presume that the actresses playing this role did not wear a dress but a costume similar to that of Benjamin's brothers (therefore similar to the tunic of Siméon), as Jan Luyken's plate depicts all the brothers dressed in the same.

Stage sets. Because Jelgerhuis does not mention stage sets in his study of Siméon, I returned to the theatre critics in *De Tooneelkijker* to discover which kind of sets were used for *Omasis* at the Amsterdam Schouwburg. The theatre critic Barbaz as well as the authors of *De Tooneelkijker* comment on sets depicting a '*romeinsche hofzaal*' (Roman court hall) in the *Omasis* performances of 1810 and August 1817, respectively. Although the former found the old sets at the time of the Pharaoh '*binderlyk voor deskundigen*' (a nuisance to the expert) and the latter deemed the Roman court hall '*weinig passende voor den tijd*' (not very suitable for the time), I used their descriptions to search for similar sets designed for the Amsterdam Schouwburg in the early nineteenth century.⁷⁴ Whether the critics approved of them or not, these were the sets Jelgerhuis would have known and performed in as Siméon. The Allard Pierson collection in Amsterdam holds set designs for a court hall and a court gallery by the Dutch set painter François Joseph Pfeiffer Jr., who worked for the Amsterdam Schouwburg in Jelgerhuis's day.⁷⁵ Should the research project see a revival, the Van den Berghe collection holds a full stage set entitled *Zwarte zuilen* (black columns) which could show the visual effect of the performed scenes in front of such a stately background.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ See Barbaz, *Mengelwerken* (1810), p. 160; and *De Tooneelkijker*, 3 (Amsterdam: Delachaux, 1818), p. 41.

⁷⁵ François Joseph Pfeiffer jr., 'Decorontwerp voor hofgalerij', t003448.000, and 'Decorontwerp voor een hofzaal', t005787.000, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection. The Allard Pierson collection also holds images of sets depicting a court hall from before Jelgerhuis's time, including 'De Aloude Hofgallerij' by Gerard De Lairese, which had burned down with the previous Schouwburg in 1772, but of which many prints remain, such as Adolf van der Laan's 'Het coulissendecor "De Aloude Hofgallerij" met scène uit *Het huwelijk van Orondates en Statira*', (1738–1742), coloured engraving, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, g002183000, and various designs by Pieter Barbiers, such as a court hall dated 1781–1785 for the miniature Slingelandt theatre. See Pieter Barbiers, 'Decor "de hofzaal" voor het Slingelandttoneel', Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, p00022.008.

⁷⁶ In today's world, where so few historical theatres and stage sets are available, it is rare to see all the elements required for a full theatre production come together at equal levels of expertise. I am aware that conclusions drawn from working on one specific aspect of the theatre (in this case, acting) are incomplete without the whole (the theatre, sets, costumes, a historical audience, and so on). Yet, each research project within their own specific field may contribute something in time to the others, if the dialogue remains open, documentation is transparent, and outcomes are shared. By focusing on Jelgerhuis's acting style and manuscript in a containable environment, within the circumstances of the available modest options, I aim to contribute to my part of the field, not only through the dissemination of the outcomes in written form (this dissertation and the articles published during the process) but also through the artistic outcomes and experience gained by my colleagues, my students, and myself. For more on the Van den Berghe collection, see Bruno Forment, *Droomlanders: Toveraars van het geschilderde toneeldecor* (Davidsfonds/Standaard Uitgeverij nv: Leuven/Antwerpen, 2021), pp. 85–94.

3.3.7 Reviews

As most of this chapter and consequently the staging project described in the paragraphs hereafter are based on Jelgerhuis's study of Siméon, I want to try and answer the following questions before I continue:

- To what extent did Jelgerhuis actually produce the effects and realize the depiction of Siméon's character as described in his manuscript?
- How can his (subjective) experience, the quality of his performance on stage, and the reception of his performance at the time, be verified?

The reviews of the performances of *Omasis* at the Amsterdam Schouwburg were my only source. Luckily, there were several throughout the years (1810, 1812, 1817, and 1823) and by different authors. The following selection provides extracts from these reviews (underlined emphases are my own):

Première: 28 April, 1810

*overheerlijk gemaskeerd en naar eisch gekostumeerd, hetwelk, gepaard met zyne uitmuntende karakterschildering, de sterkste begoogcheling en toejuigching heeft voortgebracht.*⁷⁷

most delightfully disguised and dressed according to the requirements, which, together with his excellent character portrayal, has generated the strongest enchantment and acclaim.

September or October 1812

*De eer van deze vertooning, nogtans, komt, onzes oordeels, den Heere JELGERHUIS toe. Heerlijk, heerlijk heeft hij ons den Simeon vertoond: gelaat, houding, spraak, alles maalde ons den door gewetensangst gemartelden mensch af. Bij de algemeene toejuiching, hem dien avond ten deel gevallen, beden de onze te voegen, is voor ons eene zeer aangename verplichting, van welke wij ons volgaarne kwijten.*⁷⁸

The honours of this performance, however, belong to Mr Jelgerhuis. Delightfully, delightfully he performed Simeon for us: facial expression, attitude, speech, in everything there was portrayed for us the man who is tortured by his conscience. To add ours [our acclaim], today, to the general acclaim which he received that evening, is our very pleasant duty which we gladly fulfill.

⁷⁷ Barbaz, *Mengelwerken* (1810), p. 160.

⁷⁸ *Tijdschrift van kunsten* (1812), pp. 683–684.

23 August, 1817

Jelgerhuis heeft in de rol van Siméon uitgeblonken: minnenij, hoogmoed, hoop, wroeging van het geweten waren in stem, houding en gebaren sprekend te lezen; en hoezeer wij in het vijfde bedrijf, bij de bekentenis van de op het hart brandende misdaad, meer bedaardheid en innige weemoedigheid verlangd hadden, boven zijn ontzettend geschreeuw, zettende zijne duidelijke uitspraak (iets, dat niet altijd bij hem het geval is,) zijn spel, dezen avond, niet weinig luister bij.⁷⁹

Jelgerhuis excelled in the role of Siméon: jealousy, haughtiness, hope, remorse were clearly to be observed in [his] voice, posture, and gestures; and however much we would have preferred more calmness and inner melancholy to his terrible shouting in the fifth act, at the confession of his heart-searing crime, his excellent diction (something which is not always the case with him) added lustre to his performance on this evening.

25 January, 1823

Ijskoud was het Zaterdag den 25sten in den spaarzaam, ja, zeer spaarzaam bezetten schouwburg, alwaar men Omasis of Jozef in Egypte voorstelde. In pelzen en kraagjassen (karrieken) gewikkeld, zagen wij JACOB met zijne zonen op de planken bibberen. [...] JELGERHUIS, als SIMEON, heeft hitte genoeg aangebracht. Zijn hartstochtelijk spel, dat in dezen door velen geprezen werd, was niet minder belangrijk dan anders. Zijn verschrikkelijke blik, zijne gebaren waren voldoende voor hen, die begrijpen, dat zulks zoo wezen moest.⁸⁰

It was freezing cold, on Saturday the 25th, in the sparingly, yes, very sparingly attended theatre, where *Omasis of Jozef in Egypte* was performed. Wrapped in furs and overcoats, we saw Jacob and his sons shivering on the stage. [...] Jelgerhuis, as Simeon, provided heat enough. His passionate way of acting, praised by many, was as impressive as ever. The terrible look in his eyes and his gestures were enough for those who understand that this was the way it should be!

The criticism of Jelgerhuis's shouting in the fifth act (which will be discussed in more detail below), is the only negative comment on Jelgerhuis's rendition of Siméon I have come across. Apart from this particular, all other reviews are only positive. To answer the first question posed in this section ('to what extent did Jelgerhuis actually produce the effects and realize the depiction of Siméon's character as described in his manuscript?'), I highlight a few topics covered by the reviews that were also discussed in the analysis of Jelgerhuis's acting style (section 3.2): Jelgerhuis is depicted as a performer with a 'passionate acting style', which is visible in his eyes, his facial expressions, his gestures and postures. His costume and headdress are praised as part of a complete package, which includes Siméon's character and emotions. One can even recognize specific aspects of Siméon's character as well as several emotional states that Jelgerhuis aimed to deliver, such as haughtiness, hope, jealousy, and most importantly the *remorse* of a Siméon, *tormented by his conscience*. The reviews

⁷⁹ *De Tooneelkijker*, 3 (1818), pp. 41, 43.

⁸⁰ *Het kritisch lampje* (1823), pp. 49, 50. (January is not specified in the review itself, but the review appeared between those of January 18 and February 1st, 1823).

therefore confirm that several aspects of Jelgerhuis's acting were not only part of his own experience as documented in the manuscript, but were also corroborated in the theatre critics's observation of Jelgerhuis's performance. The reviews of 1810 and 1812 state that their praise is shared by the audience, marking him (particularly in addition to the positive reviews of other roles outlined in Chapter 1, section 1.5.1, 'Jelgerhuis's acting described by others') as a well-received and popular actor.⁸¹ Jelgerhuis's rendition of Siméon is even cited after his death as one of his best roles. According to his introduction to the *Toneel Studien*, Jelgerhuis did not reach for this level in all of his roles. As he considered several roles a hindrance to focusing on those he was more passionate about, the kind of in-depth research, observable, for instance, in the *Toneel Studien* was not worth his efforts, and seems even to have been impossible due to limited preparation time.⁸² Indeed, reviews of Jelgerhuis's performances in other plays than *Omasis* mention his not being word-perfect.⁸³ The resulting contrast between under-rehearsed roles and brilliant ones, corresponds with the seeming uneven quality of the productions at the Amsterdam Schouwburg. Theatre critics alternate reviews of superior and poor productions, citing the latter for ineptness, on stage accidents, or unsatisfying performances by individual players.⁸⁴ The less successful events are ascribed to (inexperienced) actors and actresses who are not 'rolvast' (word-perfect), the quality of the repertoire, faulty characterization, visual incongruencies in the sets and costumes, and so forth.⁸⁵ Reviews of *Omasis* point out various flaws and/or irregularities, including non-matching costumes, sets that are not quite appropriate for the play, and a bland performance by one of the actresses who may have been unwell.⁸⁶ One therefore cannot deduce that the praise of Jelgerhuis in this role corresponds to the excellence of the entire production, yet the sum of the information gleaned from the reviews of Jelgerhuis's Siméon deepened my interest in Jelgerhuis's study of this role as a source for staging the planned scenes in *Omasis*. The intensity of Jelgerhuis's portrayal described both by himself and corroborated by the various reviews convinced me of the expressive potential of his acting style, elements of which may serve actors (and excite audiences) today. The reviews not only confirm that Jelgerhuis's Siméon study reflects a mastery of stagecraft, but they also contributed as a source of reference to the experimental trajectory with the three actors in this case study.

⁸¹ See also a biography of Jelgerhuis in 1847 in *De Nederlandsche Kunst-spiegel, XII afleveringen, Tweede Jaargang* ('s Gravenhage: Leopold Loebenberg, 1847), pp. 203–204.

⁸² See Jelgerhuis's preface to *Toneel Studien*, p. 1.

⁸³ *De Tooneelkijker*, 1 (1816), pp. 56, 157, 165.

⁸⁴ For instance, Jelgerhuis's daughter 'enters the stage through a wall' and 'steps over the corpse of Claudius, immediately thereafter asking after him'. See *De Tooneelkijker*, 1 (1816), pp. 152–153. The acting of Cornelius Evers (ca. 1798–1849) was criticized for being so passionate that he accidentally knocked off Jelgerhuis's wig during the play. See *De Tooneelkijker*, 1 (1816), p. 158. Another wig accident and a child's tunic being lifted repeatedly, showing the child's bottom, were cause for laughter in the audience during the tragedy *Monzongo*. See *Het kritisch lampje* (1823), p. 132.

⁸⁵ On not being 'rolvast' (word-perfect) or mention of the prompter, see, for instance, *De Tooneelkijker*, 1 (1816), pp. 38, 45, 76, 81, 93, 101, 481; and *De Tooneelkijker*, 2 (1817), pp. 35, 36, 174.

⁸⁶ *De Tooneelkijker*, 3 (1818), p. 41.

3.3.8 The role of ‘staging guide’ explained

Rather than seeing myself as the director of the staging process, it was my aim to let Jelgerhuis’s manuscript be my compass, while I took on the function of staging guide. I intentionally avoid the title stage director here, firstly because this concept did not yet exist in Jelgerhuis’s time, and secondly, because I aimed at prioritizing Jelgerhuis’s instructions over my own. I suggested working on elements of the staging, such as entrances, exits, and so on, and assisted the actors to insert most of Jelgerhuis’s descriptions into their staging in the appropriate acting style. But there was one complication: I soon realized that I needed to be mindful of the distinction between voicing Jelgerhuis’s indications and interpreting them. I was more familiar with this material than the other actors through my previous research on Jelgerhuis and my experience as a performer and teacher of acting techniques based on the *Theoretische lessen*. This meant that I could provide suggestions accordingly, yet at the same time they had their own expertise which I valued, and their artistic intuition might also enrich my interpretation of Jelgerhuis’s directions. The actors were to adopt every movement and/or indication in Jelgerhuis’s descriptions to approach his style as much as possible, merging the previously mentioned layers of emotion, text, and thought into one coherent entity. But they had the double role of copying someone else’s way of acting, and to create their own version based on that material, similar to the practice of an acting student copying from a teacher. All the while, they were to search for *welstand* in their delivery at all times. From my own perspective, creative tension, arising the aim of following Jelgerhuis’ directions on the one hand, and seeing them applied not only through the interpretation of another actor, but to another actor centuries later, with a modern body and mind, is at the same time frustrating and fascinating. The frustration originates in the thought that even when following the sources closely, one will never know how Jelgerhuis performed Siméon, and the excitement is generated when witnessing how the characters take shape, and how convincing some moments are when performed by actors today. It is fascinating to see how moving certain passages can be, and how awe-inspiring others, and how some techniques described by Jelgerhuis just worked for these actors, while others do not.

3.4 THE STAGING PROCESS

3.4.1 Act III, Scene 5

The first project was to prepare and stage Act III, Scene 5 of *Omasis, of Jozef in Egypte* with Jed Wentz as Siméon and João Louís Paixão in the role of Omasis.⁸⁷ Because Wentz had the main part in the project, he and I started with eight preparatory sessions – between July 2019 and January 2020 – which included reading the Siméon manuscript and sections of the *Theoretische lessen*, experimenting with attitudes and Jelgerhuis’s instructions on using make-up to enhance facial expression. These sessions were followed by two preparatory sessions with Wentz and Paixão in February 2020, and almost daily sessions with both actors during the DHAC Winter Academy of 27 February to 2 March 2020, held at Leiden University. The sessions at DHAC consisted of staging experimentation with other DHAC members present. They observed the staging process

⁸⁷ My main function in this section: project manager.

and joined in the discussions following the experiments. Their feedback was either directly taken on board to prepare the next session, or added as food for thought.

Preparatory sessions with Wentz and Paixão. In order to follow Jelgerhuis's directive to 'thoroughly understand the entire character before even starting to memorize the role', the actors and I read the play and the manuscript together and discussed the characters and their function in the play.⁸⁸ Wentz and Paixão then memorized their own parts as well as Jelgerhuis's descriptions from the manuscript corresponding to their specific lines, as can be seen in the working document I prepared: Appendix B, pp. 13–20. Another reading followed in which they incorporated the descriptions concerning affect and vocal colour in their declamation. Only then did we proceed to the actual staging.

DHAC Winter Academy, Leiden University. Throughout the staging process at the DHAC Winter Academy, the actors followed Jelgerhuis's basic advice on contrast as presented in the *Theoretische lessen*.⁸⁹ This entailed searching for contrast not only within the actors's own posture and gestures, but also between two actors on stage: mirroring one another or immediately adopting each other's attitude or gesture had to be avoided at all times.

The stage directions for Scene 5 in the printed *Omasis* text are mostly for Siméon, who has two asides, after one of which he is to speak loud again, and two indications regarding his state of mind: 'verward' (confused) and 'buiten zichzelf' (beside himself). Omasis has one aside at the very end of the scene. Comparison between the printed stage directions for Scene 5 in the *Omasis* text and Jelgerhuis's manuscript shows not only that the printed stage directions were carried out in this scene by the actors on stage, but in some cases also gives the context by describing what happens preceding, during, and after the particular stage direction, and how. Jelgerhuis describes, for instance, the tender state and the tears that accompany the moment at which Siméon is 'beside himself', and the following words spoken aside, when he is so. He then narrates how he turns to Omasis again, boldly looking him in the eye, to speak the following lines (marked as 'loud' in the play text) with 'een meer moedigen en Straffen toon' (a more courageous and severe tone of voice).⁹⁰ (Although Jelgerhuis does not mention the increase in volume as such, the combination of the bold body language, the passions, and the vocal tone Jelgerhuis describes here, point to a stronger volume). Later, Jelgerhuis writes about making a gesture that made it clear 'nu niets meer te willen hooren' (that he wanted to hear nothing else): this gesture gives a reason (not indicated in the play text) for Omasis to interrupt himself and change the topic. Jelgerhuis then turns away, which gives Omasis the space for his aside.⁹¹

It becomes clear from these examples that Jelgerhuis integrated the given stage directions in his interpretation of the scene, by adding his thoughts and additional movements so as to make the staging logical. To incorporate all of these various elements into the staging, the two actors had to

⁸⁸ Edited citation. For the full citation, see section 3.2.1, p. 138, or Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 136.

⁸⁹ My main functions in this section: staging guide and observer.

⁹⁰ See Appendix B, p. 16 (Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, pp. 158–162; and Baour-Lormian, *Omasis*, transl. Westerman, p. 47).

⁹¹ See Appendix B, p. 20; (Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 164; Baour-Lormian, *Omasis*, transl. Westerman, p. 49).

work in different ways: Wentz, as Siméon, had to insert a multitude of Jelgerhuis's descriptions into his acting, whereas Paixão had very few descriptions for Omasis, but interacted with Wentz by anticipating and acting in a way that made Siméon's actions and reactions more plausible. During these sessions, I provided feedback regarding the blocking, the balance of attitudes and gestures, entrances and exits, and continuously compared their scene with Jelgerhuis's written cues (Appendix B, pp. 13–20), raising attention towards elements that were missing or could be improved. It took adjusting for both actors to create the asides and the right emotional build-up and tension between the characters, but this process enabled Wentz to obtain the desired vocal colour, affects, gestures, eye movements, and accentuation of specific words.

3.4.2 Volume

As Scene 5 began to take shape, the dramatical construction of the text, guided by Jelgerhuis's remarks, propelled Wentz and Paixão into an ever-increasing intensity of passions.⁹² The resulting volume of their dialogue reached a high level, recognized not only by myself and the actors, but also by the other members of DHAC. As the play text of Scene 5 indicates that only five lines be spoken loudly, and only by Siméon, the question emerged whether the general loudness did not exceed the limits of stage decorum in Jelgerhuis's time.⁹³ In search of an answer, I continued my research on volume touched upon in Chapter 1. Both Jelgerhuis's document of 1808 and *De Tooneelkijker* provided information on vocal volume on stage. As mentioned above, in *De Tooneelkijker*'s review of his performance as Siméon in 1817, the only criticism Jelgerhuis received concerned his excessive shouting.⁹⁴ *De Tooneelkijker*'s observation on shouting was no exception. As discussed in Chapter 1, Jelgerhuis had been criticized for the same tendency on several other occasions. This may seem unexpected, considering that Jelgerhuis himself had already written in 1808 that too much shouting took place among the tragedians of the Amsterdam Schouwburg.⁹⁵ Yet his writing reveals how one actor induced another to shout, particularly at the end of an important line, and how this habit persisted because it was applauded by the audience. Jelgerhuis provides the following explanation:

*Hij, die het waagt, daarvan af te kijken, verliest het openlijk handgeklap en vervalt dus, tegen beter weten in, tot navolging. Hoe moeilijk is het, deze dwaling te overwinnen! [...] Het natuurlijk verheven spel, dat de zinnen betoovert, ontbreekt nog geheel.*⁹⁶

He, who dares to diverge from this, loses the applause and, against his better judgement, is reduced to conforming. How difficult it is, to master this error! [...] The naturally elevated way of acting, which enchants the senses, is as yet entirely missing.

⁹² My main functions in this section: researcher and staging guide.

⁹³ Baour-Lormian, *Omasis*, transl. Westerman, Act III, Scene 5, p. 47.

⁹⁴ *De Tooneelkijker*, 3 (1818), p. 41.

⁹⁵ *De Tooneelkijker*, 2 (1817), pp. 19 and 433. See also Neuman, 'Three Jelgerhuis Manuscripts', pp. 127–128 or Chapter 1, section 1.4.3 on "Naturalness", "ease", and "gracefulness".

⁹⁶ Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', p. 111.

The importance of applause for the actor was already generated in the Amsterdam Schouwburg's auditioning practice at the very start of an actor's career: employment at the theatre depended on the amount of applause received at the actor's three debut performances. Tiffany Stern points out in *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan*, the importance of the applause in earlier English theatre practice, not only for the actors but also for the authors of newly written plays. Authors would be eager to have their new play performed at least three days in a row, as the third night resulted in a financial benefit for them.⁹⁷ For this reason, playwrights might even craft their plays with the moments that should win the applause in mind (also known as 'clap-trap'), and it was not uncommon that actors would raise their voices to ensure the applause. Stern gives the example of Marsilia, a character in the play *The Female Wits*, who, as the playwright had not included 'a genuine rousing moment in her text (known as a 'clap-trap'), [...] tries to force the actors to bring about applause by ranting'.⁹⁸

Not all actors, however, seem to have molded their volume excessively to ensure the applause. As discussed in Chapter 1, section 1.4.3 on "Naturalness", "ease", and "gracefulness", Jelgerhuis compared the Dutch actors' stage behaviour with the acting of the famous François-Joseph Talma (1763–1826). This French actor impressed Jelgerhuis in his role as Nero, in which he seemed to remain 'in het vermogen zijner kracht' (within the bounds of his power) during the entire performance.⁹⁹ Jelgerhuis added:

*Angst en wroeging was het hoofddoel van zijn spel, en ofschoon hij bij al den eenvoud van zijn spel dikwerf deed ijzen, schreeuwde hij nooit. Zulks was om nimmer te vergeten! Zonder hier iemand te noemen, zeg ik alleen, dat men van niet één onzer Hollandsche Tooneelsten hetzelfde zeggen kan.*¹⁰⁰

Fear and remorse were the main aim of his acting, and although he often caused cold chills by the simplicity of his acting, he never shouted. This was unforgettable! Without naming names, I only say that one cannot say the same of any one of our Dutch actors.

These examples suggest that Jelgerhuis was aware of the current imperfections, but also conscious of the difficulty in eliminating bad habits within the acting company, given that the audience's approval was crucial to the actor's career. Desirous of change, Jelgerhuis reflected upon solutions to improve both the audience's taste and the acting level. However, judging by his own *Toneel Studien* of 1811, *De Tooneelkijker's* reviews between 1816 and 1819, and even a review in *Melpomene en Thalia*, 1834, the issue of shouting on stage had not yet been resolved. These reviews still mention Jelgerhuis's excessive shouting, but also decry this tendency as a general flaw among the actors of the Amsterdam Schouwburg.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Tiffany Stern, *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan* (Oxford: Clarendon press, 2000), p. 173.

⁹⁸ Tiffany Stern, *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan*, p. 173.

⁹⁹ Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', p. 121. It is likely that Jelgerhuis here refers to one or several of Talma's performances in Amsterdam in 1797, 1803 and 1806 mentioned in Chapter 1. See section 1.4.2 on 'Developments in acting style', footnote 94.

¹⁰⁰ Jelgerhuis, 'Antwoord op de vraag', p. 121.

¹⁰¹ See *De Tooneelkijker*, 1 (1816), p. 29; *De Tooneelkijker*, 2 (1817), p. 19; *Melpomene en Thalia, Tijdschrift voor beminnaren van den Schouwburg, eerste aflevering* [...] ('s Gravenhage: A. Kloots, 1834), p. 80.

Once I knew of the tendency among the Dutch actors to raise their volume to a level described as shouting, I faced that dilemma which so often tortures historically informed performers: were the actors to offer an interpretation of what I think actually happened in the performance (reality), or an interpretation of what the performer (in this case Jelgerhuis) may have desired had it been possible? As the passionate moments in Scene 5 naturally induced Wentz and Paixão to raise their voices, I decided not to ask them to limit their volume. The impact of their vocal crescendo created a contrast with moments of sensibility and asides, which I found effective. Vocal volume is one of the elements I hope to experiment with in an actual theatre, when the occasion arises, particularly with regard to Siméon's behaviour in Act V, which had given rise to *De Tooneelkijker's* criticism.

3.4.3 Preparation for Scenes 3 and 4

The second project involved staging Scenes 3 and 4 of Act III with Wentz as Siméon and Andreas Gilger as Ramnes.¹⁰² This time I proposed sessions including training and experimentation in combination with the actual staging. Due to COVID-19 restrictions, all meetings were held online. The preparations took place in nine online sessions between 8 May and 30 September 2020. I then organized a more intense workshop format (eleven hours in three days: 22–24 October), which were followed by more than forty short meetings between 24 October 2020 and 25 February 2021. In alternation with the process of combining images with the text of Scenes 3 and 4, Wentz and Gilger agreed to preparatory readings and discussions of the text, similar to the work done earlier on Scene 5. Apart from understanding and creating the characters before staging the scene (in the months of preparation), I wanted us to think more profoundly about the notion of *welstand* and incorporate Jelgerhuis's advice to create lively images in the mind, as he describes it in both the manuscript and the *Theoretische lessen*. Following my own experimentations on creating attitude series from images as described in Chapter 2, I asked both Wentz and Gilger to select visual images as inspiration for their characters, attitudes, and gestures. These images were mainly paintings and illustrations mentioned or drawn by Jelgerhuis, most of which I provided, but also included other contemporary sources. Wentz and Gilger inserted these images into their text, creating a visual roadmap for their movements and attitudes, while reflecting on a possible route for the passions behind these movements. Appendix D is an example of the images of attitudes Gilger chose and inserted in the text for his interpretation of Ramnes in Scene 4.

3.4.4 Training

In the virtual workshop sessions (October 2020), I prepared elements of physical training in combination with readings, discussions, and videos made of Scenes 3 and 4 (the online format via Zoom facilitated the recording of these scenes). The training consisted of exercises – based on Jelgerhuis's lessons in the *Theoretische lessen* on gesticulation, full body attitudes, and facial expression (see Appendix E for a summary of the latter) similar to those described in Chapter 2, as well as work on embodiment of the images Wentz and Gilger had selected. As the exercises closely follow the instructions in the *Theoretische lessen*, they were intended not only as training, but also as a potential means to lead to intuitive moments on stage within the ideal aesthetic realm of

¹⁰² My functions in this section: project manager, (providing material), active participant, observer and stage guide.

welstand. In the exercises, I occasionally actively participated, joining Wentz and Gilger.¹⁰³ This was an opportunity for the three of us to learn not only by carrying out the exercise on our own person but also by observing each other. For instance, all three of us practised the short basic attitude series (T1–11) for tragedy based on Jelgerhuis’s guidelines on gesticulation, described in Chapter 2, section 2.2.4, ‘The basic tragedy series: T1–11’. Gilger and Wentz had already practiced the short basic series with me at the Historical Acting Summer Academy, held at Leiden University.¹⁰⁴ All three of us then took turns in performing the series, while adding variations by performing the sequence of attitudes in different characters and passions. By using the exercise titled ‘the regisseur’ (also described in Chapter 2) we also improvised other, shorter series: one of us would begin an attitude, and the two would take turns in calling out the next attitude to execute, oftentimes in combination with a passion. Doing so resulted in new series, such as: T5 in anger (T5 is the fifth attitude in the T[ragedy] series, which normally is connotated with the act of rejecting), T9 in pride, T11 in humility, T8 in disgust.¹⁰⁵ The various combinations improved our transitions between attitudes and led to variety in improvisations during the training.

To improve my own study and practice of attitudes that may have been used predominantly in masculine roles, I continued to take active part also in the more specific exercise training, which consisted in combining the short basic attitude series T1-11 series with passions and attitudes specifically intended for and inspired by the roles of Ramnes and Siméon. This part of the process was very much a creative team effort, including experimentation with passions and character traits of Siméon as described in the manuscript, and traits and passions that seemed fitting for the role of Ramnes. Wentz, for instance, executed the variation to the tragedy series T1-11, described as ‘all-in-one-passion’ in Chapter 2 with the sense of inner ‘*foltering*’ (torment), and later with ‘*teederheijd*’ (tenderness).¹⁰⁶ Wentz, Gilger and I each performed different versions of the series T1-11 described as ‘passions-in-pairs’ in Chapter 2, in which emotions alternated every two attitudes. For instance, two attitudes in ‘*donderende wrevel*’ (thundering resentment), the next two ‘*tot zig zelve keerende*’ (to contemplate), the subsequent two returning to ‘*donderende wrevel*’, and so forth.¹⁰⁷ Gilger used the T1-11 series as well as part of the attitude series he had created for Ramnes (Appendix D), alternating, for instance, pride, surprise, and scorn. After the workshop sessions, Wentz, Gilger, and I continued to develop the attitudes online, frequently at first, almost on alternate days (twenty-seven sessions in November-December 2020). Another eleven sessions followed in January-February 2021. These meetings had a substantial impact on my development as a teacher. In its repeatability, the Tragedy attitude series allowed for endless variation, and was adaptable not only to the characters of Ramnes and Siméon, but to any character and any combination of

¹⁰³ My functions in this section: project manager and active participant.

¹⁰⁴ As mentioned in the Introduction, the Historical Acting Summer Academy was organized by Jed Wentz, and held at Leiden University (see page 11, footnote 28 of this dissertation). Jed Wentz, João Paixão, and I taught historically informed acting techniques, based on sources on acting including Aaron Hill’s ‘An Essay’; Charles Le Brun’s *Methode*; Gilbert Austin’s *Chironomia* and Jelgerhuis’s *Theoretische lessen*. As these courses were intended for the development of the teachers as well as that of the students, the teachers attended each other’s group classes.

¹⁰⁵ See Chapter 2 for more information on training exercises based on Jelgerhuis’s attitudes.

¹⁰⁶ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, for ‘*foltering*’, see pp. 131, 133; ‘*teederheijd*’, pp. 132, 176.

¹⁰⁷ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, for ‘*donderende wrevel*’, see p. 156; ‘*tot mij zelve keerende*’, p. 128; ‘*tot zig zelve keerende*’, p. 135. See also Chapter 4, section 4.5.4, footnote 88.

passions (admittedly, some more difficult to render plausible than others). Gilger and I also took turns in practicing the Comedy series, for variety. Several of his original and playful ideas for characters in unusual situations pushed my imagination further in this genre, with which I had less experience.

3.4.5 Working online

The online format became problematical in the final stages of recording Scene 4 (October 24–26, 2020). Wentz and Gilger were working from their respective homes in differently shaped rooms, impeding their moving at the same distance from the camera. This resulted in video recordings with disproportionate images of Wentz and Gilger: one of the two looked significantly smaller, while on stage they would be standing near one another. Both actors were also restricted in their movements, as certain movements could cause a part of the body to be left out of the frame. In addition, the unstable internet connection occasionally hindered the dialogue, causing delays, and even momentarily blacking the video entirely. Not having better options at the time of the recording (larger rooms with a better internet connection), I decided to keep these recordings only to document our work in progress, rather than add them as an addendum to this chapter as planned.

3.4.6 *Theoretische lessen* and the manuscript complement each other

Early on in the project it became clear how the information in the manuscript and the *Theoretische lessen* complemented each other in providing answers in the search for an acting style based on Jelgerhuis's own sources. Take the delivery of anger as example: Jelgerhuis writes in the manuscript about Siméon's expressing 'anger' in a passage in Scene 5 with Omasis. In search of a historically informed rendition of 'anger', the actors and I turned to the chapter featuring anger in the *Theoretische lessen*.¹⁰⁸ Following the instructions in the acting manual, we studied and experimented with the expression of anger in the face, as well as with embodiment of the illustrations of full body attitudes. Having gained a basic idea of the style and two options for attitudes to express this emotion on stage, Wentz implemented this version of anger in the sentence spoken by Siméon, as notated in the manuscript. The manuscript provided additional details to colouring the voice, trembling of the body, and movement of the eyes, which made the basic form of anger more intense. However, following Jelgerhuis's instruction in the *Theoretische lessen*, even the most vehement passions - and therefore supposedly also the anger described in the manuscript - should be checked by *welstand*. The full expression of anger now created was therefore the result of experimentation and the two sources combined. The acting manual had provided the basic elements needed to attempt a physical interpretation of the manuscript, while the manuscript's information on detail and placement of the passion in the text expanded the basic information on portraying anger in the *Theoretische lessen*.

¹⁰⁸ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 156.

3.4.7 Staging examples: Act III, Scene 3

Siméon's monologue in the third act offered an opportunity to look into and experiment with the movements on stage during a monologue, as well as with specific gestures and a specific aspect of delivery: 'opklimming' (climbing).¹⁰⁹ Wentz (interpreting the role of Siméon) and I (here in the function of researcher, providing materials, stage guide, and observer) soon realized that this would be a virtuoso task. Jelgerhuis dedicated more than five pages to the seventeen lines of text, starting with the following introduction:

*deezē plaats uyt het werk verschaft mij de grootste zorge, ik houde haar voor de moeilijkste uijt de geheele Rol, Zij is de blinkend=Ste [sic] en dient Zoo te geschieden dat zij diep in het geheugen der aanschouwers blyfft. — deezē Clauze is door derzelver hartstogtelijken Stemming ver booven al het overige en doorgaande der Rol verheven [;] yder woord is yshyk*¹¹⁰

this place in the play gives me the most trouble, I consider it the most difficult in the whole role, it is the most brilliant and should be done in such a way that it remains deep in the minds of the audience. — This passage is, because of its passionate atmosphere, far superior to all the rest and the following parts of the role [;] every word is petrifying.

To make Jelgerhuis's descriptions easier to work with, I reduced the working document (Appendix B), to a document specific for Scene 3 and its transition into Scene 4 (see Figures 13a–13b), in which I listed (and numbered for later reference in this paragraph) only the direct physical acting cues and the essential sequences of thought and emotion. Figures 13a–13b show how many such sequences Wentz had to internalize before speaking certain lines (an English translation of these figures is attached as Appendix C).¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ My functions in this section: staging guide, researcher, observer.

¹¹⁰ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 142–143.

¹¹¹ Explanatory note for Figures 13a–13b: this document is a transcript of Act III, Scene 3 from Baour-Lormian, *Omasis*, transl. Westerman, pages 39–40 (in black) with inserted fragments from Jelgerhuis's study of Siméon in his manuscript *Toneel Studien* of 1811, pages 141–147 (in green italics). The latter is a shortened version of the descriptions in the manuscript, and has been paraphrased and set in the third person singular masculine (corresponding to Siméon), for clarity during the staging process. These are therefore not exact citations, but indications intended as a working document. For the more complete version of his text, including Jelgerhuis's spelling as copied from his manuscript, see Appendix B, Act III, Scene 3.

DERDE TOONEEL

- (1) *Stamelend met afgebroken zachte toon: De ontzetting [...]. staken*
(2) *langzaam bedarende in tranen uitbarstende, zich beklagend in haar haat vervallen te zijn en alles ontvallen te zien wat hem nog overig was.*

SIMÉON.

De ontzetting doet mijn bloed zijn loop in de aadren staken;
Dit slechts ontbrak mij nog, haar haat mij waard te maken.

- (3) *tot herstel komend brengt hij zich haar huwelijk met Omasis te binnen*
(4) *zijn woeste opbruising ontvlamt opnieuw.*

Ziedaar dan uw vaarwel. Rampzalig door uw schoon;
Zou 'k dien gevloekten echt getuigen tot mijn' hoon!

- (5) *De moeilijkste en blinkendste plaats uit de hele rol, zo uit te voeren dat zij diep in het geheugen der aanschouwers blijft:*
(6) *Gij Hemel.. - tot het Einde: hartstochtelijke stemming, ieder woord is ijselijk.*
(7) *Zich in het midden des toneels plaatsend, sprekend met nadruk en helderheid.*
(8) *Wel onderscheidende: een leed van 15 jaar berouw, zonder de Hemel te kunnen bevredigen doch om bescherming smekende, daar hij alle hoop mist.*

Gij, hemel, die me in toorn het licht hebt opgedragen;
Die mijn geduld beproeft door zoo veel strenge slagen;
Gij die behagen vindt, daar gij mij wreed kastijdt;
Door vijftien jaar berouw nog niet bevredigt zijt;
Bescherm mij in het eind, daar ik niet meer mag hopen.

- (9) *Onder: het Misdrieff Sleept¹ my voort snelde hij naar één zijde, ontzet, met alle schrik op het besef der misdaad als een geopende afgrond, wanend die te Zien en achterwaarts deinzend*

Het misdrijf jaagt mij voort. 'k Zie d' afgrond voor mij open!
Ik wilde vlieden. . . Gij belette 't mij. . . Welaan!

¹ Jelgerhuis writes 'sleept mij voort' (drags me onward), the *Omasis* text 'jaagt mij voort' (chases me onward).

- (10) *Een steeds klimmende toon der ontzetting en sterkte;*
 (11) *voortgaand met het ijselijke voorstel om ‘Blinddelings [...] bloot te willen staan, en Zig aan zijne woede overtegeven.- en zijne gruwelen aan de Wil des Hemels Zelve te wijten’.*

’k Wil blindelings ten prooije aan uwe gramschap staan;

- (12) *de steeds klimmende ijselijkheden vorderen een toon der stemme daaraan geevenredigd,*
 (13) *al zijn krachten parende bij de uitdrukking, het vermoogen der wanhopende razernij voor-stellend en daar in den overijlende resolutie om den moord aan Omazis te volbrengen.*

’k Zal slechts de schrikbre stem van mijne woede hooren:
 De gruwlen die ik pleeg zijn uit uw’ wil geboren!
 Gij eischt den dood van een’ tijran wiens trots mij tart?

- (14) *Tot dit uijterste gekoomen had hij de uiterste vermogens van stem verheffing [...] doen opklimmen.*
 (15) *een gewigtige toonverandering:*
 (16) *grillende van de daad zelf zegt hij, tot de Hemel sprekende K gehoorzaam ja.[...] hart*
 (17) *met eene vuisteslag op het hart,*
 (18) *Een afgewend gezigt en oog ten Hemel.*

’k Gehoorzaam, ja! . . Maar weêr de wroeging uit mijn hart.

- (19) *beijde de handen voor het voorhoofd slaan,*
 (20) *zich bezinnen*
 (21) *een Pauze makende zegt hij: Ach Wat heb ik gezegd, met de uitdrukking van het angstig herroepen van het geheugen*

Ach, wat heb ik gezegd!

- (22) *van zich zelf gruwende nu in geheel sombere gedachten stortende,*
 (23) *terugkerend in de mijmering waarin Simeon zich het eerst vertoonde*
 (24) *In mijmering voort wandelende met een halve ronde overgang over den voorgrond ontmoet hem Ramnes*
 (25) *Op zijn zicht, zwoegt hij van deze ruwe bestorming en deinst een weinig terug*
 (26) *Ramnes grijpt zijn hand*
 (27) *Klam angst zweet stelt hij nu voor zich uit te breken met een handveeg over het voorhoofd*
 (28) *Tevens enige rust zoekende in den aanvang van dit gesprek door stille stand en stem tonen die een angstig fluisteren gelijk zijn*
 (29) *Zekere hartklopping vertonend die angst en gejaagdheid verraden en de zinnen op nieuw beroeren.*

Figure 13b

Figure 14 shows the document I prepared as visual aid for the blocking of this sequence, featuring Siméon's stage position and movements on the left, and the text on the right side.

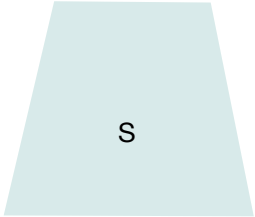
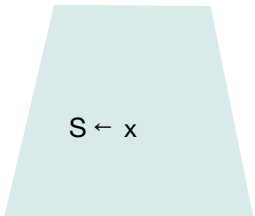
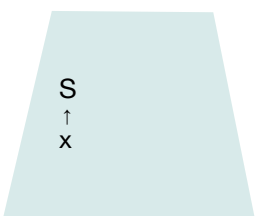
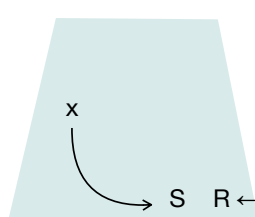
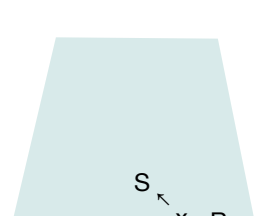
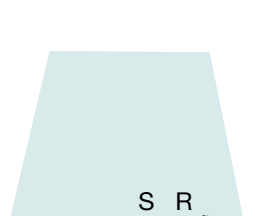
	<p>Zich het midden van het toneel plaatsend, sprekend met nadruk en helderheid</p> <p>(Placing himself centre stage, speaking with emphasis and clarity)</p>
	<p>Onder: <u>het Misdrijf Sleep</u> my voort naar één zijde snellende</p> <p>(Hastening to one side during: <u>Misdeeds drive me onward</u>)</p>
	<p>Met alle schrik op het besef der misdaad als een geopende afgrond, waant Siméon deze te zien en deinst achterwaarts</p> <p>(Filled with horror at the realization of the crime as an abyss, imagining seeing this, and recoiling)</p>
	<p>In sombere gedachten en in zijne gewone mijmering voort wandelende met een halve ronde overgang over den voorgrond ontmoet hij Ramnes [overgang tot het vierde toneel]</p> <p>(In a pensive state he walks in a semi-circle across the front of the stage, where he is met by Ramnes [transition to scene 4])</p>
	<p>Op het zien van Ramnes, deinst Siméon een weinig terug</p> <p>(On seeing Ramnes, Siméon retreats slightly)</p>
	<p>Ramnes grijpt de hand van Siméon: <u>Welnu, mag ik mij strelen</u></p> <p>(Ramnes seizes his hand: <u>Well now, may I flatter myself</u>)</p>

Figure 14, Staging sequence for the roles of Siméon (S) and Ramnes (R) in Act 3, Scene 3, and transitioning into Scene 4. The 'x' indicates their previous positions. The top of the trapezium is upstage, the bottom is downstage. The written indications are selected and paraphrased sentences from Jelgerhuis's *Toneel Studien*, pp. 143–147. The English translation follows the Dutch.

Siméon commences the monologue by positioning himself centre stage, then moving to the side and recoiling, and finally walking in a semi-circle across the front of the stage, where he is met by Ramnes.¹¹² Jelgerhuis's version of this monologue takes Siméon from soft stammering and tears to a build-up that moves through dismay and fear, anger, to despairing rage; from there, collapsing into fearful recognition of what he has said, and returning to an anxious, somber state in which he encounters Ramnes. Three times Jelgerhuis describes a build-up using the terms '*klimmende*' or '*opklimming*' (building to a climax) to indicate an increase in events, and/or volume. To provide information about this term, I cite from two sources which Jelgerhuis may well have known in the time of writing his manuscript: Jacob Ploos van Amstel's *Aanleiding tot de uiterlijke welsprekendheid* (he refers to Ploos van Amstel's work later in his life as a suitable source for teaching acting students) and the periodical *Algemeene Konst- en letterbode*.¹¹³ Ploos van Amstel refers to *opklimming* also as '*trapspreuk*', and the equivalents, already used by the ancient orators, '*climax*' (from the ancient Greek *κλίμαξ* [ladder]) and '*gradation*' (from the Latin '*gradus*' [step]).¹¹⁴ The latter two terms provide a direct link to earlier sources, such as David van Hoogstraten's *Beginselen of kort begrip der rederykkunst* in the Netherlands — and to international sources, such as Austin's *Chironomia* and Jean Mauduit Larive's *Cours de déclamation*.¹¹⁵ The term in its various forms ('climax', 'graduer') indicates a gradual increase (often associated with a ladder or steps, as the meaning of the words implies) of the dramatic content. The way this general idea of increase manifests (for instance, in poetry or in declamation), is explained in various ways in the sources. Some explanations include the repetition of a word, which every time is intensified in some way (for instance by volume, energy, gestures, pitch, and/or emotion).¹¹⁶ Ploos van Amstel's definition combines climbing of the content with that of the vocal delivery (volume), and marks the difficulty of this aspect of delivery.¹¹⁷

Eindelijk de Opklimming of Trapspreuk, welke van graad tot graad iets voegt bij de deugd of ondeugd van een daad, eischt in den beginne een stoute en volle stem; en moet vervolgens van sterker tot sterker oprijzen tot aan het laatste lid van deeze woordgestalte. Dit maakt, wanneer zij lang is, dat weinige in

¹¹² For my analysis and description of this sequence, see section 3.2.6, 'Indications concerning blocking: the actor's position and movements on stage'.

¹¹³ Ploos van Amstel, *Aanleiding*. For Jelgerhuis's reference to Ploos van Amstel, see Jelgerhuis, *Consepten*, No. 7, in Appendix G. See also *Algemeene Konst- en letterbode voor het jaar 1806, I. deel met platen* (Haarlem: A. Loosjes, Pz, [1806]).

¹¹⁴ Climax is not intended in its modern meaning of highest point, but rather as defined in the OED: 'A rhetorical device consisting of a series of related ideas or statements arranged in order of increasing force, intensity, or effectiveness[...]' See *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. 'climax, n., sense 1.a', <https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/8401543222>, (accessed 30 August 2023).

¹¹⁵ See David van Hoogstraten (1658–1724), *Beginselen of kort begrip der rederykkunst, ten dienst der Tael- en Dichtlievenden opgesteld door David van Hoogstraten* (Amsterdam: Gerard onder de Linden, 1725); Austin, *Chironomia*; and Jean Mauduit Larive, *Cours de déclamation prononcé a l'Athénée de Paris [...], tome second, première partie* (Paris: Delaunay, 1810).

¹¹⁶ For climax manifested by 'encrease [sic.] of energy' in voice and gesture, see Gilbert Austin's instructions for executing Young's *Night thoughts*, in Austin, *Chironomia*, pp. 547–548. For examples of 'graduer' in semi-tones, word repetition, volume, and/or emotion, see Larive, *Cours de Déclamation*, pp. 87–88, 152–153, 240, 295, 340, 348.

¹¹⁷ Ploos van Amstel, *Aanleiding*, pp. 112, 256, 265–266.

*staat zijn [266] om het onderscheid van toon te bespaaren, noodzakelijk om alle deelen van de Trapspreuk te ontwarren.*¹¹⁸

Finally, the Ascent or Climax, which adds, step by step, to the virtue or the vice of an act, initially requires a bold and full voice; subsequently it must rise, stronger and stronger, until the last syllable of this passage. This is why, when [the passage] is long, few are able [266] to retain the differentiation of tone which is necessary to distinguish between the various steps of the progression.

That this technique was not easy to master is clear from Jelgerhuis's records of his own acting experience and in another review of 1806, about the Dutch actor Schouten:¹¹⁹

*Zomnylen echter gaat het hem als de meeste Hollandsche Schouwspelers, dat hy niet in staat is de stem naar eisch te doen klimmen, en in den beginne den toon te hoog neemt om dien, wanneer het 'er op aankomt, nog hooger te brengen.*¹²⁰

Sometimes, however, he suffers from the same [phenomenon] as most Dutch actors, in that he is unable to make his voice rise to the required level, and he begins on too high a tone to raise it even higher when it becomes necessary.

This passage makes clear that the *opklimming* could also be expressed by climbing in vocal pitch. Wentz and I therefore agreed in his adding this aspect of the climbing technique to intensify the dramatic content and volume while working on this monologue. By adding this aspect to the previously chosen attitudes and Jelgerhuis's other descriptions (Figure 13b, cues 10–14), Wentz created an increase in intensity towards the final lines of Siméon's monologue. Here, I was interested in seeing and hearing in Wentz's rendition the two following moments of contrast in voice and movements as described by Jelgerhuis (visible in Figure 13b, cues 15–23). Having reached the extremity of volume and despairing rage, Jelgerhuis wrote about a change of tone to speak the next line as follows:

*grillende van de daad Zelve Zeijde ik die Vreeslyke Woorden, tot den Heemel spreekende K geboorzaam Ja, Maar weer de Wroeging uit mijn hart terwijl ik met Eene vuijste slag op het hart, Een afgewend gezigt en oog ten Heemel maakte.*¹²¹

while shuddering from the deed itself, I spoke those terrible words, speaking to heaven I obey, yes!.. but banish remorse from my heart, while I struck my heart with [my] fist, with averted face and one eye cast heavenwards.¹²²

¹¹⁸ Ploos van Amstel, *Aanleiding*, pp. 265–266.

¹¹⁹ Jelgerhuis discusses keeping his emotions at bay, so that he could perform the '*opklimming*' this role required. See Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 194.

¹²⁰ *Algemeene Konst- en letterbode* (1806), p. 188.

¹²¹ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 146.

¹²² As in Chapter 3, I have translated '*een oog ten hemel*' as 'one eye heavenwards' because Jelgerhuis uses this expression in the *Theoretische lessen* to indicate the tilting of the head to one side, during which one eye is higher than the other.

In addition to the vocal effect, Jelgerhuis's interpretation of this passage is manifested in physical action (striking his heart with a fist, and the angle of his face and his eyes), in thought and emotion (while shuddering from the deed itself), as well as Jelgerhuis's own opinion of Siméon's text '*Zeijde ik die Vreeslyke Woorden*' (I spoke those terrible words). After this passage, he mentions a gesture and a pause before speaking the next line, '*Ach Wat heb ik gezegt*' (Alas, what have I said):

*Hier Sloeg ik dan beijde de handen voor het voorhoofd; bezon mij en een Pauze maakende Zeijde ik de genoemde Woorden, onder de Uytdrukking van angstig herroepen van't geheugen, en van zig zelven gruwende nu in Een geheele Sombre gedagten Stortende, kwam ik tot die gewoone mijmering te rug, waarin ik mij het Eerst vertoonde.*¹²³

Here I clapped both hands to my forehead, reflected, and pausing, I spoke those words, while expressing the fearful memory of the recollection, and disgusted with myself, now plunging into [...] entirely sombre thoughts, I returned to that habitual pensive state, in which I had appeared at first.

As an informed observer and staging guide, who had only read and studied Jelgerhuis's account of his performance, but not experienced it by witnessing an embodied performance, I found myself more moved than I had expected during Wentz's interpretation. The act of striking his heart with his fist at the pinnacle of the slowly built up vocal crescendo added to the desperation and rage Wentz expressed, and I was convinced by the contrast of this climax with the subsequent pause and breakdown as well as by Siméon's/Wentz's initial vulnerable stammering and tears. My conclusion regarding Wentz's embodiment of this scene is as follows: not only are the gestures in this monologue an addition to the vocabulary of gestures in the *Theoretische lessen*, but Jelgerhuis's description of words, gestures and vocal effects also casts light on the timing. Jelgerhuis's use of gestures while speaking the text is at least as valuable to the actor working with the manuscript as the gestures that occur in silence. Regarding the matter of timing, the 'how long' and 'how short' will remain inexact variables. But the fact that there was a pause at all, and that the pause was filled with a gesture and with Jelgerhuis's/Siméon's thoughts, is crucial to the interpretation of the entire role. The options of an expressive pause, and of movements in silence, give actors the freedom to construct their timing according to their interpretation, also between lines of text.

3.4.8 Staging examples: Act III, Scene 4

In the online workshop sessions of October 2020, I guided the staging experiment of Scene 4 (between Siméon and Ramnes) with Wentz and Gilger.¹²⁴ As can be seen on Figures 13b and 14, Siméon's previous monologue transitions into this scene. Siméon walks in a half circle downstage, to where I asked Gilger as Ramnes to enter from the left side of the stage (as seen from the actor's viewpoint). Again, I invited Wentz and Gilger to follow as much as possible Jelgerhuis's descriptions in the manuscript. Jelgerhuis depicts Siméon's interaction with Ramnes at the beginning of this scene: '*Op Zijn gezigt, swoegt hy [Siméon] van deeze ruwe bestorming en deijnst een weijnig*

¹²³ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, pp. 146–147.

¹²⁴ My functions in this section: staging guide, providing feedback, working materials, and background information, observer.

te rug, waar op deeze [Ramnes] hem aan de hand grijpt. (On seeing [Ramnes], [Siméon] gasps, owing to this rough assault and retreats slightly, upon which [Ramnes] seizes his hand).¹²⁵ These stage directions are not in the published *Omasis* play text, but they were sufficient for Wentz and Gilger to work with. To prepare Ramnes's entrance at the beginning of Scene 4, Gilger selected Figure 15 from the examples I provided, an illustration from Jelgerhuis's study of Avogaro into the play text (for the illustrations inserted into the entire scene, see Appendix D).¹²⁶



Figure 15, Jelgerhuis, illustration of himself as Avogaro, *Toneel Studien*

Once he had embodied his interpretation of this illustration, his entrance was energetic and suited the described sense of ‘assault’, mentioned above. Ramnes enters from stage left: his right hand is free to grab Siméon’s left hand while Siméon attempts to retreat. I asked Gilger to intensify this effect in order to trigger for Siméon’s anxiety in the first passages of his dialogue with Ramnes. Jelgerhuis continued using the pantomimic element of gestures and expression in Siméon’s part during this dialogue:

¹²⁵ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 147.

¹²⁶ This illustration is present in both the *Toneel Studien* manuscript (in Amsterdam) and the *Tonneel Stúdien* manuscript (in Antwerp).

*Het klamme angst sweet stelde ik nu voor mij uijtzebreeken. eene handveege over het voorhoofd was de uijtdrukking daar van tevens eenige Rust Zoekende door Stille Stand en stem toonen die nu in den aanvang van dit gesprek Een angstig fluijsteren gelijk waaren [;] deeze voorstelling paarde ik met Zeekere hartklopping te vertoonen die angst en gejaagdheid verraaften.*¹²⁷

I now imagined breaking out in a cold sweat. Wiping my forehead with my hand was the expression thereof [;] at the same time searching for some calmness though a motionless stance and (soft) tones of voice, which at the beginning of this dialogue were like fearful whispering [;] I combined this representation by exhibiting some [possibly unmistakable] palpitations of the heart, which revealed fear and agitation.

This sequence of Simeon's actions proved to be more complicated to interpret than the previous ones. Firstly, because expressing palpitations and breaking out in a cold sweat, apart from the hand's movement on the brow, may be performed in many different ways, and secondly because it is not evident from this passage during which lines of the play text this manifestation of anxiety should take place. In search of a solution, Wentz tried out various moments at which to act out the gestures and whispering that Jelgerhuis refers to. Some versions felt slightly better than others to him, Gilger, and myself as I observed the scene, yet from our different viewpoints, we all found most versions convincing as long as they arose from Siméon's underlying anxiety and agitation. In both projects it became clear how, by changing each acting parameter, a scene could alter entirely, oftentimes resulting in more than one acceptable and unexpected outcome.

3.5 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Throughout the entire staging period and its preparation, the search for new information and answers to my questions was undertaken through a combination of artistic experimentation and comparison between sources. The continuous rotation between experimentation, comparison, and reflection was a creative process in itself, a fertile ground for various outcomes. This formula allowed me to come one step closer to answering the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter:

- How could the process of staging three scenes from *Omasis* contribute to my conception of preparing and staging a role in agreement with Jelgerhuis's writings?
- Following Jelgerhuis's indications in his study of Siméon, how could I extend my understanding of the *Theoretische lessen* and consequently of the acting style in the Amsterdam Schouwburg in the early nineteenth century?

The process of exploring by doing, from the training to staging Scenes 3 to 5, exposed certain gaps in the information drawn from Jelgerhuis's manuscript and the *Theoretische lessen*. Yet in time, my understanding of both works increased and their application as complementary sources brought the results of the staging project into clearer focus: the manuscript served as a guide to creating

¹²⁷ Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, p. 148.

the characters and how their actions connected to the play text, whereas the treatise provided the physical basics and more general but important concepts (such as *contrast* and *welstand*). Meanwhile, the additional sources including Jelgerhuis's study of other roles in the *Toneel Studien*, reviews by theatre critics, and Jelgerhuis's document of 1808, were useful aids in constructing other historically informed pieces of our puzzle. These additional sources answered questions we encountered concerning general elements of acting, decorum, and the interaction with the audience, which helped us understand Jelgerhuis's comments and encouraged us to experiment in areas that might otherwise have been left unexplored. The sources combined with the experience of the actors contributed to a rendition of the three scenes in an acting style which I deemed congruous with what I had read.

Each individual actor learned to inhabit physically their own interpretation of the ideals pertaining to the acting style in the Amsterdam Schouwburg in the early nineteenth century, gaining confidence and ease in delivery and movements within the realm of *welstand*. By practicing the outer form – inspired by historical sources – and especially by aligning this form with the characters' emotions and underlying motivations behind each movement, the imagination and the body merged into a unified expressive language. Because the form became embodied through practice, the mind can turn more fully to interpretation.

3.5.1 Building blocks

The following list is the result of this project (including its preparation) and summarizes (my interpretation of) the building blocks needed to create a character according to the acting style Jelgerhuis describes. The building blocks represent the constant and repeatable elements that allow for the unrepeatable outcomes intrinsic to the ephemerality of artistic creation (no rehearsal or performance can ever be repeated exactly). The order is not fixed, as it will vary for each performer and each character, and most of these steps are interrelated. Elements of this list may seem like an obvious part of a modern actor's routine, but research is necessary as one cannot merely assume that this routine was the same in the early nineteenth century on the Dutch stage, since many of the acting treatises of that time do not include all the aspects listed here.¹²⁸

Tools derived from Jelgerhuis's study of Siméon to build up this character are as follows:

- Analyse the play text (including lines of the other characters) to find indications of the character, including key factors such as age, social status, and circumstance.
- Study historical facts or narratives (and/or additional sources such as the Bible) to understand the character's background and the context of the play.
- Use the information above to create the character's/actor's thoughts and emotions and to accumulate lively images in the imagination, which can be recalled on stage.
- Base the hair, headdress, and costume on historical sources and the visual arts, and adapt them, along with the make-up, to suit the age and the character of the part/role.
- Vary expression in the voice through the emotions and the dissimulation of emotions.

¹²⁸ For a discussion of earlier examples of role analyses for actors by Aaron Hill and Felix Aristippe Bernier de Maligny, see Golding, *Classicistic acting*, pp. 105–106, 214.

- Organize the build-up of the role while consciously planning its effect on the audience. (The passages that will move the audience most are well-prepared and articulated with care.)
- Seek to balance between emotion and technique, in order to represent the emotion sufficiently to move the audience, while attempting to stay in control of one's voice.
- Use nuanced transitions as well as contrasts of affect and effect. Use artistic freedom in timing while speaking and between lines, even as the continuity of thought guides one's expression of character throughout the play.
- Consider including striking attitudes and gestures, pantomime, and physical exchanges between the actors (this can include taking someone's hand, pushing, and so on). For more details: see Appendix A.
- Respect the stage directions in the play text, attempting to integrate these as part of the interaction between the characters and their dramatic development.

Modern actors using these building blocks can increase their understanding of historically informed acting techniques and an acting style based on Jelgerhuis's writings by:

- Training based on information in the *Theoretische lessen* (such as basic attitudes, examples of *welstand*, gestures, and facial expression), enhanced with information from the *Toneel Studien* manuscript (additional gestures, mental images, and emotions).
- Incorporating additional examples and inspiration (for attitudes, gestures, and postures, etc.) from the visual arts.

This list was devised taking into consideration the following subjects, to be treated hereafter: imagination, dissimulation, and declamation.

3.5.2 Unity: the imagination, images, and the mental archive

The Siméon study reveals Jelgerhuis's use of imagination to create the thoughts and passions at the core of his character, which may be built up from elements such as the character's age and character traits, the historical context in which the character is set, and so on. Once the actor has established this core, all of the acting elements, including gestures, eye movements, vocal delivery, and vocal colour, can interact and become a unity: *they are connected, as they are generated by the same source*. This does not imply that practice or preparation have become superfluous; an actor can practise all these elements together or separately, as long as they come together to fit into the full picture on stage, which includes costume, fellow performers, and the stage set. Starting from the unity described here, the actor can work with extreme contrasts as well as nuanced transitions and *crescendi* in vocal colour, volume, and passion. Moreover, Jelgerhuis's study indicates a certain freedom regarding timing between lines for expressive pantomime, for movement on stage during a monologue, and for physical interaction with other actors. The continuity of thought (as described in the manuscript) links these elements together and results in acting and reacting not only during one's own lines but also during one's entrances and exits, or while another actor is speaking. I found that these guidelines resulted in a greater sense of artistic freedom for the actor as compared to working with the *Theoretische lessen* only, and that this can be important for the construction or creation of other roles.

3.5.3 Dissimulation, the audience, emotion versus technique

In Scenes 3-5, staged in this project, the three characters are feigning most of the time. Their real emotions can be revealed momentarily during an aside, a monologue, when hiding their intentions from the other characters by looking away, or when the characters agree (as when Ramnes and Siméon's ambitions become the same, albeit for different personal reasons). The actors must ensure that the audience can perceive the difference between the character's emotional disguise and glimpses of the character's emotional sincerity. In the case of Siméon, the actor has to balance out three levels: the character's true emotions, the emotions the character wishes to show, and the emotions the character wants to hide. In addition, they need to consider the emotions the character tries to hide but that become visible when they overwhelm their own better judgement. Meanwhile, the actor (behind the character's emotions) continuously monitors their own feelings, kept in check through technique as much as possible. Among all these layers of real emotion and make-believe, the moments that Jelgerhuis signals as most touching also stood out in our staging; they are those few moments in which the character opens up, shows their vulnerability, or is overcome by their feelings.

It seems clear from Jelgerhuis's own description that on stage, after all the preliminary work on thought and practice, he passionately dedicated his thoughts, emotions, and (in his experience) even soul, to his performance of Siméon. Yet he also openly draws the reader's attention to particular passages in which he struggled to keep his emotions in check. And even though strong emotions could be a hindrance to expressing himself on stage artfully (to speak the text as he had envisioned it), he engaged with the emotional situation on stage, even at the risk of being overwhelmed. This suggests a prioritization (whether this was a conscious choice or not) of the passionate engagement with his role over technical perfection, at least in the most dramatic passages.¹²⁹

For modern actors engaging with the acting style as described by Jelgerhuis in the manuscript, this is an invitation to explore the fine line between one's own feelings and technique – another addition to the *Theoretische lessen*. Furthermore, the preparation and build-up of an actor's role include taking into account the passages that will move the audience most, and ensuring that such passages are well-prepared and articulated with care. This preparation not only involves gestures and attitudes but also skill in managing the various layers of emotional engagement between the actor and their character.

3.5.4 Declamation

Jelgerhuis's descriptions in the manuscript do not provide answers to all the questions concerning declamation on stage in the early nineteenth century: elements such as the pronunciation and the speed of delivery would require additional time to explore. But his search for contrast in the different passages, and the variety of descriptions regarding the voice, including sighs, pauses, stammering, and vocal quality coloured by emotion, reduce the gaps in the information on declamation in the *Theoretische lessen*. The staging process shaped my ideas on voice colour, volume, and pitch, and confirmed the emotional effect on the participating actors (and on the observers)

¹²⁹ Possibly only valid in roles with which he felt particularly connected, and not in those roles he considered a waste of his time.

of the nuanced build-up, ‘*opklimming*’ and vocal contrasts (even between two words) described in the manuscript. The instinctive loud vocal delivery occurring in the dialogue between Paixão and Wentz in Scene 5 led us to address and investigate the delicate balance between a loud voice and shouting.

The research on these elements of delivery in the Amsterdam Schouwburg allows for future, more detailed comparison with international sources on declamation such as those by Jean Mauduit Larive, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and so on, for a more complete image of declamation practices in European theatres in the early nineteenth century.

3.5.5 Results of the training

Another unexpected result was the recognition of the importance of the training for Scenes 3 and 4, and the way that training developed during and after our work. As the actors and I alternated between working with the sources, stage work, and training, our understanding of the attitudes and mental images deepened, changing the training itself. Initially conceived as general preparation, the training became applicable to our specific needs during the staging process, and was transformed as our embodied knowledge of the sources and the practical work developed. Instead of a predefined preparation routine, it became flexible, ready to be fine-tuned as needed in order to shape and understand the characters of Siméon and Ramnes.

The training and staging allowed me, personally, to study (physically and mentally) those attitudes and other acting skills that Jelgerhuis links to male characters in the *Toneel Studien* manuscript and in the *Theoretische lessen*. As my stage experience had featured mainly female roles, this was less known terrain for me. This project gave me an opportunity to explore techniques and characteristics that can be used to create roles such as Omasis, Ramnes, and Siméon, which I might have otherwise left unexplored. I now use this knowledge regularly for staging and teaching purposes. Its value is not confined to creating male roles with (strong) character traits resembling those of the three roles above: elements of these physical and mental tools (including those listed in Appendix A) can be used as training material and adapted to fit both male and female characters. Moreover, to create a specific role in a play, opera, or melodrama, the elements can be combined with the building blocks listed above on pages 42–43.

A next step described in the *Theoretische lessen* is to adapt images and movements from daily life to extend their repertoire of movements and expressions. The advice given by Jelgerhuis to the aspiring acting student is to learn from excellent actors, statues and paintings, and then to turn to nature for further inspiration (such as an existing person’s gesture, posture, or facial expression).¹³⁰ The examples taken from observing other people are then to be adapted for the stage and perfected through the ideals of decorum, *contrast* and *welstand*, so that they are represented in their highest

¹³⁰ ‘*Intusschen hoop ik reeds getoond te hebben, dat wij geen beeld, geen schilderij, geen print, en eindelijk geen mensch moeten beschouwen, zonder toepassing op onze kunst*’ (I hope to have demonstrated already, that we must observe no statue, no painting, no print, and ultimately no human being, without application to our art). See Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 72.

form, through art.¹³¹ This could give the actor *carte blanche* to bridge any gap in the historical information on staging. Here, again, the *result* cannot be called historical, as the modern actor creates in present time, but the *method* is. I did not ask the actors to take this last step, because I deemed it important to see the gaps first, thus creating awareness of both the gaps and the moments filled in with nature-inspired movement and expression. Staying as close to the sources as the actors and I did in this project exposed these gaps, some of which may be reduced by future research projects.

The descriptions in the manuscript demonstrate how the stage directions as printed in the play text were respected in the scenes discussed in this case study, and how they were acted out. Yet Jelgerhuis reveals more stage action than prescribed in the play text. Although not surprising in itself (the prescribed directions are not many), this information allows for comparison between the stage action based on the analysis of Act III, Scenes 3–5, the stage action in other plays in the *Toneel Studien*, and onwards. The more that can be discovered about the difference between the published staging instructions and what actually happened on-stage, the more those interested in historically informed performance practice can cultivate a sense of when and how to take artistic license when staging a performance in the acting style as described by Jelgerhuis.

Even when informed by sources, acting remains a living process, in which the results cannot be pinned down as unchangeable facts. Wentz's experimentation with Siméon's expression of anxiety at the beginning of Scene 4 revealed several acceptable outcomes for the same scene. This reconfirmed the value of exploring by acting out the scenes physically, as active participation leads to different outcomes than when they are studied only through reflection or comparison of the sources. Although the actors worked with the same descriptions in the manuscript, knowing exactly which actions and reactions to aim for, the resulting staging and atmosphere differed slightly every time. Similarly, the dramatic tension and energy in Wentz and Gilger's rendition of Scenes 3 and 4 was very different when preceded by a reading of previous scenes. Ideal would be to eventually stage the whole play, so as to attain an understanding of the impact of earlier scenes on Scenes 3 to 5 of Act III. Having experienced the limitations of working and recording online, however, I would certainly not stage a bigger project in a virtual format. The more so because the elements I want to explore further – such as vocal volume, timing, and staging scenes that involve more than one actor – cannot be simulated online in the same way, without the physical presence or interaction between the actors and the acoustics of a larger (preferably historical) working space. Other steps could comprise including historical pronunciation and costumes based on Jelgerhuis's illustrations, to see how they affect the actors' gestures and delivery. In addition, Pfeiffer's illustrations of the court hall and court gallery could be used as a point of reference in choosing stage sets, should the project be revived in a theatre setting, as was intended for May 2020 in the restored Valtice castle theatre (due to COVID-19 this project was cancelled).

¹³¹ 'Alleen moet nu van onze zijde eene theatrale welstand niet uit het oog worden verlooren, welke den Tooneelspeler zoo zeer door de kunstregelen wordt bevolen, die op zijne kunst zoo geheel zonder uitzondering toepasselijk zijn, daar hij het levende beeld in het Tooneelschilderij uitmaakt' (Yet we must not lose sight of theatrical *welstand*, by which the rules of art govern the player, and must be applied without exception to his art, as the player is the live image in the painting that is the stage). See Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 150.

3.6 CONCLUSION

Jelgerhuis's study of Siméon reveals that he was a passionate craftsman who recorded not only his manner of creating and performing a role but also the difficulties he experienced in achieving his conception of an ideal performance. The reviews documenting his renditions of Siméon indicate that Jelgerhuis's performances were successful with the critics as well as the audience. His notes therefore cast light on the techniques, thoughts, preparations, and acting style of a successful performer in his time, and, relatedly, on the taste of the theatre audience in Amsterdam during the first decades of the nineteenth century.

Analysis of Jelgerhuis's study of Siméon has provided a conception of his rendition of this role, which allows for (future) comparison with his other roles in the *Toneel Studien* and, eventually, with successful roles performed by international actors such as Hyppolite Clairon, François-Joseph Talma, Sarah Siddons, August Wilhelm Iffland, and so on. Each step in this case study contributed to answer the question of how to build a character in Jelgerhuis's style, a style based on the principle of painterliness and *welstand*, in which nuanced passages alternate with strong contrasts in motion and emotion, and in which thoughts, imagination, and emotions are the core of every stage action, providing unity to the many aspects of an actor's delivery.

The following case study (Chapter 4) includes various performances of the melodrama *Proserpina*. Covering a timespan of more than two years, the second case study allowed me to observe the discussed techniques in the context of a present-day performance. As the performance factor adds a step to the research processes carried out in the first case study, the production and my research on *Proserpina* are in turn to be seen as a possible starting point for further investigations.

Chapter 4, case study 2

Jelgerhuis extended: Staging *Proserpina*

This second case study extends my previous experience with techniques drawn from Jelgerhuis's oeuvre and explores how these techniques can be useful for performers today.¹ While starting from Jelgerhuis's works as a source for acting techniques to prepare and stage a performance, I push the boundaries of the techniques, hitherto acquired and described in Chapters 2–3, by integrating them with techniques drawn from other historical sources, in a theatrical genre distinct from the spoken theatre as practiced by Jelgerhuis.² The monodrama *Proserpina* of 1815 by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) and the composer Franz Carl Eberwein (1786–1868) offers a range of challenges well suited to this objective.³ Composed of spoken text and music, the genre of melodrama (monodrama when featuring a solo actor) provides interaction between music and delivery as new components in my practice.⁴ Moreover, scholarship on this monodrama — by Kirsten Gram Holmström, Lorraine Byrne Bodley, Gabrielle Bersier, and others — provides information on its historical context, which richly contributes to this case study.⁵

¹ Elements of this chapter's content were presented at the symposiums 'Tanz als Musik- Zwischen Klang und Bewegung' (Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, 2021), and 'Actio! Actio! Actio! European Acting Techniques in Historical Perspective' (Leiden University, 2022), and partly published as an article. See Laila Neuman, 'Performing Goethe's *Proserpina* (1815): A Practice-Based Study of Gestural Attitudes, Movement, and Music,' in *Tanz & Musik. Perspektiven für die Historische Musikpraxis*, ed. by Christelle Cazaux, Martina Papiro, and Agnese Pavanello, in *Basler Beiträge zur Historischen Musikpraxis*, 42 (2023), 299–320. A word of thanks is due to Martina Papiro for her dedication to the layout details of this article, and to Lorraine Byrne Bodley for her supportive encouragement of my research on *Proserpina*.

² *Proserpina* was most likely unknown to Jelgerhuis. I have not found Goethe's melodrama version of *Proserpina* on the playbills of the Amsterdam Schouwburg during Jelgerhuis's lifetime and he does not mention the monodrama in his works.

³ Eberwein was the musical director at Goethe's house and later the musical director at the Weimar Opera. See Wilhelm Bode, *Goethes Schauspieler und Musiker: Erinnerungen von Eberwein und Lobe [...]* (Berlin: Mittler & Sohn, 1912), p. 16; Gaynor G. Jones, 'Eberwein, (Franz) Carl (Adalbert)' in *Oxford Music Online* <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.08501> (accessed 28 February 2023).

⁴ The melodrama genre, in its basic form of spoken text and music, such as Jean Jacques Rousseau's (1712–1778) melodrama *Pygmalion* of 1770, gained in popularity particularly in the German speaking countries, which can be seen in examples such as Georg Benda's (1722–1795) *Medea* and *Ariadne auf Naxos* (both of 1775).

⁵ Kirsten G. Holmström, *Monodrama, Attitudes, Tableaux Vivants: Studies on Some Trends of Theatrical Fashion, 1770–1815* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1967). See also Lorraine Byrne Bodley, *Proserpina: Goethe's Melodrama with Music by Carl Eberwein*, ed. and transl. by Lorraine Byrne Bodley (Dublin: Carysfort Press 2007). And see Gabrielle Bersier, "Hamiltonian-Hendelian" Mimoplastics and Tableau of the Underworld: The Visual Aesthetics of Goethe's 1815 *Proserpina* Production', in *Goethe Yearbook*, 23, ed. by Adrian Daub, Elisabeth Krimmer, and Birgit Tautz (2016), 171–194.

Eberwein's score was not the first that was composed to accompany Goethe's text: *Proserpina* had already been set to music by Karl Siegmund von Seckendorff (1744–1785) and performed in 1779.⁶ But the *Proserpina* production of 1815, which premiered on 4 February at the Weimar Court Theatre, reflected various creative and artistic trends of its time important enough to be recorded by several authors, including Goethe himself.⁷ A tableau vivant and a chorus were added to the final scene of *Proserpina*, and the performance of the actress Amalie Wolff (1780–1851) featured a particular use of costume and movement. Pivotal to the development of this case study were Goethe's following thoughts on his creation, expressed in a letter to his friend Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758–1832) in May 1815:

*Meine Proserpina habe ich zum Träger von allem gemacht, was die neuere Zeit an Kunst und Kunststücken gefunden und begünstigt hat: 1) Heroische, landschaftliche Decoration, 2) gesteigerte Recitation und Declamation, 3) Hamiltonisch-Händelische Gebärden, 4) Kleiderwechslung, 5) Mantelspiel und sogar 6) ein Tableau zum Schluß, das Reich des Pluto vorstellend, und das alles begleitet von der Musik, die du kennst, welche diesem übermäßigen Augenschmaus zu willkommener Würze dient.*⁸

I made my Proserpina the messenger of all the art and artifacts found and promoted by our new era: 1) heroic landscape setting, 2) enhanced recitation and declamation, 3) Hamiltonian-Hendelian gestures, 4) costume changes, 5) mantle craft, and even 6) a final tableau, representing the kingdom of Pluto, and all of that accompanied by the music that you are familiar with, to add pleasant spicing to this lavish visual banquet.⁹

This list was published with few alterations in the *Morgenblatt* of May 1815, followed by Goethe's detailed description of these points relating to the performance (and possible future productions) of *Proserpina*.¹⁰ This chapter mainly focuses on points three to five, (Hamiltonian-Hendelian gestures, costume changes, and mantle craft) as they directly refer to movement.¹¹ Information on these various points follows throughout the chapter, but point three, the 'Hamiltonian-Hendelian gestures', requires immediate attention as it directly affects this case study's structure: Goethe's mention of these gestures refers to the 'attitude' genre practiced by Emma Hamilton (1765–1815) and the actress Henriette Hendel-Schütz (1772–1849), both of whom used costume for expressive purposes in their performances. The attitudes they performed can be defined as expressive, full

⁶ See Petra Maisak, "Theater-Effekte: Bilder zu Goethes "Proserpina"", in *Goethezeit — Zeit für Goethe. Auf den Spuren deutscher Lyriküberlieferung in die Moderne [...]*, ed. by Konrad Feilchenfeldt and others (Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2003), 111–129 (p. 111).

⁷ Goethe was the director of the Weimar Theatre between 1791 and 1817. See Harang, *Das Weimarer Theater*, p. 21.

⁸ Letter to C. F. Zelter, 17 May 1815, *Goethes Werke* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1901), WA 4.25, pp. 328–329.

⁹ Transl. by Bersier, in Bersier, "'Hamiltonian-Hendelian" Mimoplasticity', p. 173.

¹⁰ 'Proserpina. Monodrama von Goethe mit Musik von Carl Eberwein' in *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*, 136 (8 June 1815), 541–544 (pp. 542–543). This article was also published in *Goethes Werke* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1901), WA 1.40, 106–118 (pp. 108–115).

¹¹ In *Mantelspiel* (mantle craft), elements of the costume, such as a mantle or veil, are an integral part of the performer's movements and expression.

body stances, incorporating the use of shawls or a mantle to imitate paintings and classical sculpture. Both women were famous in Goethe's time for their individual series of gestural attitudes, which differed from Jelgerhuis's stage attitudes (described in Chapter 1). The attitudes performed by Hamilton and Hendel-Schütz can be described as expressive postures referring to works of art, featuring the use of shawls and mantles as a means of expression. As this attitude genre and its characteristic use of costume seemed in line with my objectives, I included the study of this genre and its use of costume in my research, as complementing elements to the acting techniques described by Jelgerhuis. The search for *welstand* in every moment on-stage is again an important guideline.¹²

The following guiding questions inform my investigations: how might the genre of attitudes and the use of costume as practiced by Hamilton and Hendel-Schütz add to the attitudes and other techniques described by Jelgerhuis, in creating a staged performance of *Proserpina*? And how might other fragments of the documentation on *Proserpina* combined with early nineteenth-century sources on acting contribute to the preparation process and performance? With Goethe's words and these questions as guidelines, this chapter illustrates the process preparatory to staging a historically inspired rendition of *Proserpina* as performed at the Utrecht Early Music Festival of 2021 and at the Leiden Overacting Theatre Festival of 2022. In doing so, I am building on the research done by theatre scholars, in offering an approach to Goethe's monodrama from a performer's perspective. As stated in the Introduction, section 'Terminology', I use the term historically 'inspired' intentionally: the style and performances resulting from combining these sources today cannot and are not intended to be the recreation of a historical event. For instance, the work with the costume and particularly with the dance-like movements go beyond Jelgerhuis's instructions in his treatise. However, the core of this dissertation centres around Jelgerhuis's works and acting skills. As I did in the first case study (Chapter 3), I continue to prioritize those elements Jelgerhuis addresses over those he leaves unmentioned. This approach also allowed me to concentrate on elements of acting I was able to engage with for longer periods of time (such as the costume and acting skills), as opposed to production elements (such as lighting, acoustics, and sets), which were available only during the very last rehearsal. In areas where Jelgerhuis provides no explicit guidance, I make informed choices based on available research and aligned with the practical and artistic needs of my creative process. The original contribution to existing knowledge added by this case study thus consists in combining acting techniques as described in Jelgerhuis's published and unpublished works with the attitudes as practiced by Hamilton and Hendel-Schütz both as training tools and to create an aesthetic, expressive, and moving stage language. Performers and stage directors have used Jelgerhuis's treatise *Theoretische lessen* in combination with other sources to stage historically informed performances, but the use of additional unpublished sources by Jelgerhuis in combination with the sources on Hamilton, Hendel-Schütz, and Goethe, has not as yet been attempted. Although Goethe and Eberwein's *Proserpina* has been produced in recent decades – this production was, to my knowledge, the first to attempt a historically inspired

¹² I use the word *welstand* here in its general, overarching sense (defined in Chapter 1, section 1.2.4 on '*welstand*') as 'that which looks good', a concept referring to beauty in form, harmonious proportions, and/or expression.

performance of the monodrama based on practice-based research.¹³ The order of the following paragraphs closely follows that of the research process as it alternates between research sections related to the sources, sections on practice, experimentation, reflection, and so on. It presents as closely as possible the steps I took to progress 1) from a physical understanding of the attitudes executed in silence, 2) to using attitudes as foundations for staging spoken text 3) to creating a unity between attitudes, movement, and music in a unified performance. The processes of artistic creation and other types of research (acting, reading, writing, and experimenting) in reality frequently overlapped, but an attempt to reflect this in writing, if at all possible, would make this chapter more difficult to read.

4.1 PREPARATION

The first preparatory steps included basic research of the Proserpina myth in its various forms through time, both in written form and in the visual arts. This helped me to create images in my mind not only of the various mythical characters of whom Proserpina speaks in Goethe's libretto, such as Pluto,¹⁴ Ixion, Demeter, and the Danaids, but also of the objects and surroundings described: Tartarus, the pomegranate tree, the fields where Proserpina played with her friends, and so on. The story of Demeter's daughter Proserpina (Persephone in Greek mythology), which inspired Goethe's text, is generally seen as an allegory of the changing seasons. The myth is about the young Proserpina, picking flowers with her friends in the fields of Enna, when she is suddenly abducted by Pluto and brought to the underworld. Demeter searches for her in vain, and Demeter's sadness causes the earth to suffer (as symbolized by the seasonal shift to winter). Proserpina's father Jupiter then makes a pact with Pluto: Proserpina may return to the land of the living, but only if she has not eaten. Proserpina, unaware of the pact, sees a pomegranate tree and eats a few seeds (versions vary in the number of seeds) of the pomegranate fruit. Because she ate of the fruit, she may return to the land of the living part of the year (during which her mother's happiness results in spring and summer) but must return as queen of the underworld and Pluto's wife for the remaining months (versions vary between four and six months). In the months Proserpina spends in the underworld, Demeter mourns the absence of her daughter (the winter months symbolizing Demeter's sadness).

Goethe begins his version of the narration after the abduction. Proserpina finds herself alternating between her present role as queen of the Underworld, her memories, and her hopes and longing of being returned to the land of the living. The moment she eats the pomegranate seeds, a choir

¹³ For the dates and details of three different *Proserpina* productions in 2007, 2009, and 2010, which used Bodley's *Proserpina* edition with Eberwein's music, see Lorraine Byrne Bodley, 'From Mythology to Social Politics: Goethe's Proserpina with Music by Carl Eberwein', in *Musical Receptions of Greek Antiquity: From the Romantic Era to Modernism*, ed. by Katerina Levidou, Kaitē Rōmanu, and George Vlastos (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 35–67 (p. 1). *Proserpina* was also performed in 2016 in München, Germany, with the Münchner Symphoniker and Salome Kammer in the title role. Kammer can also be heard in as Proserpina in a CD recording of 1997, with the Wuppertal Symphony Orchestra and the conductor Peter Gülke.

¹⁴ I use the Roman names throughout this chapter, as Goethe uses these in his libretto.

of Fates (*Parzen*) sing her fate, and she unwillingly takes her place as Queen of the underworld. Goethe's monodrama ends in anger and hopelessness; there is no liberation.¹⁵

4.1.1 Stage indications in other melodramas

Other melodramas, such as Rousseau's *Pygmalion* and Georg Benda's *Ariadne auf Naxos* and *Medea* contain stage directions for the actors and occasional directions for the voice, such as those for Ariadne: '*Sie ruft laut*' [...] '*Sie ruft*' (She calls aloud [...] She calls out); '*Sie sinkt zur Erde*' (She sinks to the ground); '*sie fährt plötzlich auf, indem sie auf der hohen See ein Schiff erblickt, das schnell vorüber eilt*' (she suddenly stands up, as she sees a ship hying away on the high seas).¹⁶ Some directions also take into account the stage set, for instance, examples for Medea and Jason: '*Sie lehnt sich an eine Säule*' (She leans against a pillar); '*er will in den Palast und bebt zurück*' (he wants to enter the palace and recoils, trembling).¹⁷ In *Pygmalion*, Rousseau not only notes the staging, but also inserts passions preceding a passage or sentence, such as '*avec plus d'attendrissement encore*' (with even more tenderness) and '*vive indignation*' (vivid indignation).¹⁸ Neither Goethe's libretto nor Eberwein's score offer any such clues for the actress except the moment when Proserpina picks a pomegranate and eats a few seeds. Contriving the stage action therefore relies on the interpretation of the libretto and the music, while piecing together elements from other documentation of the piece and its performance.

I identified a vast range of emotions in Goethe's poetic text, including sadness, joy, despair, hope, pity, anger, helplessness, courage, rapture, and hatred. The text can be interpreted in many ways, although the music influences the mood and atmosphere, and therefore the passions. I mapped out the sequence of passions in the text to obtain a better understanding of Proserpina's emotions and consequently of her actions. I then noted the passions in the musical score, knowing that they affect the vocal colour, the timing of the spoken text, and the interaction with the music. To give an idea of such a passionate sequence I feature, here, my interpretation of Proserpina's passions (influenced by the musical score) in the following synopsis:

Proserpina cannot find a way to escape from the underworld (anxiety to sadness). She remembers her innocent days of playing with her friends in the fields of Enna (longing and

¹⁵ For a summary of Goethe's version of the narrative, see 'Proserpina: Melodram von Goethe, Musik von Eberwein' in *Journal für Literatur, Luxus und Mode*, 30 (Weimar: Carl Bertuch, April 1815) pp. 232–241.

¹⁶ For the musical score, see Georg Benda, *Ariadne auf Naxos: Ein Duodrama von Georg Benda, vollständige und verbesserte Partitur* (Leipzig, im Schwickertschen Verlage, n. d.), in *Ariadne auf Naxos* [...], introduction by Thomas Bauman (New York & London: Garland publishing, 1985), 4, pp. 62, 70, 73.

For the libretto, see Georg Benda, *Ariadne auf Naxos: Ein Duodrama mit Musick* (Gotha: n. pub., 1775), pp. 6–7, in *Digitalisierte Sammlungen der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB000006E0600000000> (accessed January 2025).

¹⁷ Georg Benda (1722–1795), text by Friedrich Wilhelm Gotter (1746–1797) *Medea 'ein mit Musik vermi[s]htes Drama zum Gebrauche gesellschaftlicher Theater [...]*', ed. from the autograph manuscript by Enrico Gatti (2014), p. 14, bar 195 and p. 62, bar 848.

¹⁸ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Horace Coignet, *Pygmalion; Scène Lyrique*, ed. by Jacqueline Waeber (Genève: Éditions Université Conservatoire de Musique, 1997), pp. 39, 51.

joy), but also the abduction by Pluto (pain, anger). She would like to free Tantalus, Ixion and the Danaides from their tortures (pity to hope), but although she is a queen now, she has no power to do so (helplessness). She imagines her mother's searching for her in vain (hopelessness), and envisions sending her mother Demeter to her father Jupiter, the one who knows where Demeter can find Proserpina (hope). Proserpina implores her father to send Demeter to the underworld (courage) to free her (hope). The underworld transforms and comes to life, and Proserpina sees a pomegranate tree (wonder) and eats of the fruit (rapture). At that moment she hears thunder and is struck by unbearable pain (fear). The fates call her, represented by the chorus offstage (disillusionment-despair), and (rage-hatred) she accepts her fate as queen of the underworld.¹⁹

This interpretation shows the passions arranged in contrasts (joy to anger, rapture to fear) as well as in subtle gradations of intensity (hope-courage-hope, wonder-rapture). To become familiar with the text and the music, and to come to a mutual agreement on the progression of passions, Artem Belogurov and I organized several rehearsals in which I declaimed the spoken text and Belogurov played the music on a fortepiano. Other objectives in these rehearsals were: memorisation (on my side) and experimenting with different tempi and vocal colours. We used the piano reduction in Byrne Bodley's 2007 edition of *Proserpina* for this first rehearsal period, as well as a copy of the *Proserpina* manuscript currently kept at the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv in Weimar.²⁰ There are small differences in the text between the Weimar fair copy of the manuscript and the various published versions of Goethe's *Proserpina* text in prose and verse from 1778 onwards. My citations in this chapter follow the *Proserpina* text as published in the *Journal für Literatur, Luxus und Mode* of 1815.²¹

4.1.2 Images and text

To avoid corrections later, I turned to professionals for coaching sessions on German pronunciation early on in the process. Leila Müller, Barbara Tanze, and Andreas Gilger corrected my German pronunciation, and Claus Weimar kindly gave me his insight on the historical pronunciation of the mythical figures and terms (names of rivers, surroundings, and so on). Once I had obtained a first impression of Proserpina's character and emotions by studying the text, the music, and the myth, I created a visual 'road map' as an inspiration and guide for attitudes and gestures, by inserting pictures of illustrations and engravings into a word document with a transcription of Goethe's text (see Figure 1). The first version of this visual road map primarily featured pictures from selected works by Jelgerhuis, including the *Theoretische lessen, Tooneelkledingen van den Koninglyken Schoonburg te Amsterdam*, the manuscript *Schetzende Herinneringen*, and his portfolio *Studiën van Klederdragten*.²² I chose illustrations and other depictions of actors in full body

¹⁹ Laila Neuman, Narrative interpretation of *Proserpina*, used to guide the staged performances of 2021 and 2022. Unpublished.

²⁰ Byrne Bodley, *Proserpina*, pp. 122–170. For the manuscript, see *Proserpina. Monodrama von Goethe mit Musik von Carl Eberwein*, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Klassik Stiftung, Weimar, GSA 32/61 (45 double pages).

²¹ See 'Proserpina', in *Journal für Literatur*, 232–241.

²² For the full reference to Jelgerhuis's four works mentioned here, see Appendix H.

attitudes, as well as those intended as costume designs (many costume designs are shown to suit a character, often in action). In order to expand my repertoire of gestures and attitudes, which in the first case study had been based predominantly on male figures, I now prioritized using and studying gestures and attitudes of female figures.

Warum öffnestest du sein Herz

Auf einen Augenblick?

Und warum nach mir?

Da du wußtest,

Es werde sich wieder auf ewig verschließen?



Warum ergriff er nicht eine meiner Nymphen

Und setzte sie neben sich

Auf seinen kläglichen Thron?

Warum mich, die Tochter der Ceres?



O Mutter! Mutter!

Wie dich deine Gottheit verläßt

Im Verlust deiner Tochter,

Die du glücklich glaubtest,

Hinspielend, hintädelnd ihre Jugend!



Figure 1, A section of my 'roadmap'. A passage from Goethe's *Proserpina* text with added images.

From top to bottom: Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, plate 73, detail; Jelgerhuis, 'Twaalf studies van acteurs en actrices' (c. 1800–1820), drawing, pen and black ink, grey wash, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen Collection, MvS 153 (PK), detail; Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, plate 42, detail; Jelgerhuis, costume designs for Badeloch and Adelgunde in *Gijsbrecht van Aemstel*, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, t000748.000; Heinrich Sintzenich, (1781), Esther Charlotte Brandes as Ariadne, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek

This was also a way to lay the physical and mental foundation for Proserpina's character, which represents various facets of womanhood. I also included in this first draft the attitudes and gestures in plate 20 of the *Theoretische lessen*, of which Jelgerhuis states he depicted a male figure to make the position of the legs visible, while the examples can also be used by women.²³

The preparatory procedure of assembling and arranging images of attitudes followed my work on the full body passionate attitude series, as described in Chapter 2, during which I had experienced the rapid response of my mind and body to visual images. By creating this visual plan – a sequence of images corresponding to the text – before doing any bodywork, the process of putting the images into the body was made easier. The choice to follow as much as possible the rule of representing the persons and surroundings carrying negative connotations on Proserpina's left, and the positive images on her right (so as to refer to and gesticulate with respectively the left and the right hand), was a decisive factor in this first set-up.²⁴ For instance, Proserpina sees and addresses her playing friends, her father Jupiter, and the pomegranate tree on her right, whereas she indicates Pluto's horses, Amor (whom she blames for her pain and abandonment), and the Fates, on her left.

4.1.3 Training 1

Having created the first attitude road map (images of attitudes inserted in the Proserpina text), I practiced the attitudes in silence, before connecting them with the text and the music. This was done in several steps, similar to the passionate attitude series preparation described in Chapter 2 (section 2.5.1, 'Choice and order of the images'): 1) observation of the depicted attitude and creation of a mental image; 2) embodiment of a single attitude; 3) combining these single elements in a sequence of two or more attitudes, emotions, or vocal colours, for instance; 4) executing sections while declaiming the text or during a musical passage. I often added the layer of emotion, and/or the transitions between the various passions in stages 2, 3, or 4. The emotion influenced the imagination, muscle tension, facial expression, and movement.

The embodiment process consisted not only in training and repetition but also in periods which might be called 'playing'. By 'playing' I mean practicing an attitude or sequence while leaving my body and my imagination free to explore the timing and quality of each movement and its transition to the next, or to find their own way to new movements or images. For me, playing, just like training through imitation, is part of creating a solid technique and embodied understanding. Moreover, when playing resulted in a new attitude or transition which might be useful in the future, I tried to master that particular component through repetition. The newly discovered element

²³ See Chapter 2, section 2.2.1, 'Guidelines to plates 20 and 21 on gesticulation', or Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 84 and 86.

²⁴ Jelgerhuis mentions the alternation of left and right as follows '1°. *Neem alles wat groot, goed, en edel is regts; - met den regter hand.* 2°. *Alles wat verachtelijk en afkeerwekkend is, links, met den linker hand [...]* 3°. *En het hoofd nu regts, dan links draaijende, naar den aard der zake, brengt in dezen veel toe, tot gratie en welstand* (1°. Take all that is great, good, and noble on the right side; - with the right hand. 2°. All that is despicable and revolting, left; - with the left hand [...]) 3°. And turning the head now to the left, now to the right, according to the nature of the subject, adds much to grace and *welstand*). Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 78–79.

could then become part of my physical and mental repertoire. Having learned, during earlier practice, that observation is important to adjust minor differences between my attitudes and those on the illustrations, I regularly worked with a mirror and feedback from colleagues online (particularly during the pandemic) or in person, as well as by watching video recordings of my own practice.²⁵

When the passions, gestures, the sequences of attitudes, and their transitions thus far conceived for *Proserpina* had become unified with the text and the music, I showed my progress to my colleagues of the Dutch Historical Acting Collective (DHAC). I handed them the visual road map with the text and the images, and performed the first half of the text. In four interactive sessions, I used their feedback – with them present – to improve various elements of this first version. This exchange between myself and the group members as my audience also encouraged experimentation with new ideas. The sum of their advice was invariably to go further than I thought, whether in pronunciation, speed of delivery, or vocal range. For instance, Andreas Gilger encouraged me to exaggerate my German pronunciation; Gilger’s and Anne Smith’s experiments with speed of recitation based on the treatise of Seckendorff inspired me to try certain sections much slower or much faster than I had done; and Jed Wentz motivated me to increase both the pitch levels and the volume. The presence of Anne Smith provided an added opportunity to work on various aspects of acting using Alexander Technique. Her recommendations helped improve my vocal quality and physical expression. I became aware of the possibility of executing certain attitudes or stage actions with less physical tension. This augmented my physical possibilities, invariably leading me to much more ease of movement and vocal freedom, while simultaneously resulting in increased expression.

4.1.4 Training 2

Later on, I added details to the staging road map and inserted more images into the word document between sections of the text, also taking into account the musical interludes. I now used depictions of male as well as female figures and photographs of engravings and art works that were not by Jelgerhuis, although they were direct extensions of his technical instructions (to derive inspiration from sculptures and paintings). Some images spurred me on to more complex movements than others. Achieving the position visible in this drawing by Jelgerhuis (Figure 2), for instance, worked better when divided into two gestures.²⁶ The two hands are pointing in different directions. Instead of swiping both arms simultaneously into this position, I used the gestures separately in a passage spoken by Proserpina’s mother: ‘*Will keine Stunde ruhen, bis ich sie finde, | Will keinen Gang scheuen | Hierhin und dorthin?*’ ([I] will not rest a single hour until I find her, will shun no path, hither/this way or thither/that way).

²⁵ For Jelgerhuis on practicing attitudes in front of a mirror, see Chapter 2 or Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 55.

²⁶ Johannes Jelgerhuis, ‘Twaalf studies van acteurs en actrices’ (c. 1800–1820), drawing, pen and black ink, grey wash, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen Collection, Rotterdam, MvS 153 (PK).



Figure 2, Jelgerhuis, 'Twaalf studies van acteurs en actrices' (c. 1800–1820),
drawing, pen and black ink, grey wash,
Museum Boijmans van Beuningen Collection, MvS 153 (PK), detail.

Doing so resulted in contrasting movements, gave emphasis to the words, and created momentum in this passage fuelled with anger. Video F shows how I inserted this sequence in the 2021 *Proserpina* performance. Because of the direction I moved in, I inverted my gestures (compared to Jelgerhuis's depiction on Figure 2): I first moved my left hand into the horizontal position across my body at the word '*hierbin*' (hither/this way), and then flung the right hand into the higher position at the word '*dorthin*' (thither/that way).

Play Video F

The passions added at the beginning (mainly corresponding to the passions as described in the *Theoretische lessen*) were not sufficient for the range of passions I read in Goethe's *Proserpina* text.²⁷ I therefore inserted combinations of passions like those described in Jelgerhuis's study of the role of Siméon, in his *Toneel Studien* manuscript of 1811 (see Chapter 3, case study 1). Adding precise passionate states – such as '*woede in stilte gebonden*' (anger contained in silence) and '*langzaam opbruiscende woede*' (slowly increasing ebullition of anger) – helped me to break down longer sequences of attitudes into precise emotional progressions. These progressions could also contain combinations of different passions (joyful hope, despairing rage) and different shades within the main passions, such as disappointment, abandonment and helplessness as nuances of sadness, and '*zijn verwardheid*' (bewilderment) as a nuance of wonder. Having multiple points absolutely clear in my mind, in a way that provided a more detailed roadmap, facilitated the transitions and made the story-telling more varied. I followed Jelgerhuis's advice to search for gracefulness and *welstand* even in passions such as sadness, as transpires in his description of Madame Anatole's performance:²⁸

*Zij heeft ons al die hartstogten voor oogen gesteld, die wij juist doorloopen hebben. [...] Laat ik U liever doen aandachtig wezen, met hoeveel gratie zij steeds, tot hare diepe droefheid en tot het storten van tranen gekomen, het gelaat geheel heeft weten te bedekken nu eens met eene en dan met beide de handen; wel wetende dat het schrijven het gelaat geheel misvormt, zoo als ik aanwees.*²⁹

She brought all the passions before our eyes, which we have just discussed. [...] Let me bring to your attention with how much grace she, when brought to tears by deep sadness, covered her face every time, now with one hand, then with both hands; well aware that crying disforms the face.

This passage shows Jelgerhuis's ideal of beauty on stage, even in moments of great suffering.³⁰ I experienced once again (as I had done in the experiments described in Chapter 2) that following this ideal need not take away from the vehemence of the emotion itself, as the passion of sadness can be suggested by other physical phenomena, such as the way of breathing and the body's muscle tension. To continue with the example of sadness (without hope), for instance, there is an absence of physical support caused by slack muscles. This emotion creates not only a posture devoid of muscle tone or strength but also directly affects the information the voice transmits. The audience is influenced by various levels of information, such as the music playing softly, the body language, and the weak, lamenting voice, which does not arrive in a steady flow, but in waves, with sighs and pauses. Whether conscious or not, the audience will recognize, (physically or otherwise) the state simulated by the actor. Madame Anatole, however, was a mimist/dancer, and therefore did not have to combine such gestures with spoken text, thereby compromising the audibility of the voice.

²⁷ In order to extend my variety of passions, I could have also used treatises on declamation such as those by John Walker, *Elements of Elocution* (London: 1799, part 2) and James Burgh, *The Art of Speaking* (1761); both sources feature extensive lists with passions, but the solution of combining passions gave me the full range of passions I needed while staying close to Jelgerhuis's works.

²⁸ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 171. It is possible that Jelgerhuis speaks of the French ballet dancer Constance-Hippolyte Gosselin (dates 1793–18[?]), also known as Madame Anatole.

²⁹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 171–172.

³⁰ For *welstand* in contempt and hatred, see Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 144; *welstand* in fright, p. 146; *welstand* in fear, p. 150.

The moments at which I covered part of my face with one or two hands in moments of shame and sadness (see Figure 3), were musical moments in which Proserpina does not speak: for instance, in the music before she exclaims, ‘*Heruntergerissen | In diese endlosen Tiefen! | Königin hier! | Königin? | Vor der nur Schatten sich neigen!*’ (Snatched down | Into these endless depths! | To be Queen here! | Queen? | Before whom only shades will bow!) and once during the chorus’s accusations to her.³¹



Figure 3, (left) Engraving by Charles-Nicholas Cochin in Dandré-Bardon, *Genoonte der aloude volken*, transl. anonymous, vol. 1, plate 43, detail; (middle) Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, plate 23, details; (right) video still taken from one of the 2021 *Proserpina* performances.

The second road map saw changes and improvements until the final rehearsals, and was enriched with a third stage of research, centring around two essential aspects of the *Proserpina* production of 1815: the Hamiltonian-Hendelian gestures and the costume.³²

4.2 ATTITUDES AS AN ART FORM:

EMMA HAMILTON, HENRIETTE HENDEL-SCHÜTZ AND IDA BRUN

To get a better understanding of the attitudes as performed by Emma Hamilton and the actress Henriette Hendel-Schütz, I referenced written and visual sources in combination with physical practice and experimentation. The written sources included documents by Goethe and other contemporaries concerning the 1815 *Proserpina* performance, as well as secondary sources (articles, biographies, lectures) relating to both the production and the genre of attitudes as performed by

³¹ Transl. Byrne Bodley, *Proserpina*, p. 174.

³² See the citation of Goethe’s Letter to Zelter, 17 May 1815 (page 180 of the present chapter).

Hamilton, Hendel-Schütz, and others. The visual sources consisted of drawings, paintings and engravings, vases, sculptures, and other objects originating in, or inspired by (Greek and Roman) Antiquity. Kirsten Gram Holmström's book *Monodrama, Attitudes, Tableaux Vivants: Studies on Some Trends of Theatrical Fashion, 1770–1815* provided more insight into this genre of attitudes, the historical context, and its performers.³³ Holmström offers information not only on Hamilton and Hendel-Schütz, but also on the Danish artist Ida Brun (1792–1857).³⁴ All three women used shawls or veils to imitate classical sculpture and paintings or to refer to myths, and their attitudes were captured in engravings, paintings, and drawings.³⁵ The beauty of Brun's attitudes persuaded me to add them to my research for *Proserpina*, even though they were not mentioned by Goethe.

The following short biographies provide insight into the different performance styles of these three women. **Emma Hamilton** mainly performed her attitudes in the private sphere. She was known for her dramatic expression in series of rapidly contrasting attitudes including Niobe, a nymph, Maria Magdalena, and the muse of dancing. Her attitudes are depicted in engravings by Friedrich Rehberg, etchings by Pietro Antonio Novelli, as well as paintings by George Romney and others.³⁶ Romney also depicted her in attitudes showing general affects mentioned by Birgit Jooss, such as *sensibility* and *absence*.³⁷ **Hendel-Schütz** also performed for larger audiences, throughout Europe, for instance at the city hall in Weimar in 1810 (it was in this time that Goethe saw her perform) and at Riddarhuset in Stockholm in 1812.³⁸ She created programs, which included religious themes, and she occasionally introduced her attitude scenes by reading poetry or stories from mythology. The engravings of her attitudes by Joseph Peroux, *Pantomimische Stellungen von Henriette Hendel [...]*, published in 1809, show Hendel-Schütz in attitudes portraying an odalisque, a caryatide, and mythical figures such as Ariadne and Cassandra, but the majority are narrative scenes from the life of the Virgin Mary.³⁹ **Ida Brun** occasionally performed her attitudes with music, and, like Hamilton, mainly on private occasions. Her mother, Friederike Brun, wrote a memoir of Ida's upbringing, entitled '*Idas ästhetische Entwicklung*' (Ida's aesthetic development).⁴⁰ In this document, she describes the way she stimulated Ida's talents, which, if accurate, would mean that Ida's inspiration for her attitudes was cultivated during her youth, being taught stories from mythology, and shown images of ancient Greek (art) objects from Antiquity. Brun's attitudes are depicted in

³³ See Holmström: *Monodrama*.

³⁴ Adelaide Caroline Johanne Brun (known as Ida Brun and later as Ida (de) Bombelles).

³⁵ For a detailed portrayal of these three women and their attitudes, see Holmström, *Monodrama*, 110–208.

³⁶ Rehberg, *Drawings Faithfully Copied*; Novelli, *Emma performing her attitudes*; see also Pietro Antonio Novelli, etching, late eighteenth century, H. Beard Print Collection, Theatre and Performance Collection, s. 5154-2009, <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1153249/h-beard-print-collection-print-novelli-pietro-antonio/> (accessed 2 March 2023).

³⁷ For reproductions including the drawings by Rehberg, the etchings by Novelli, and paintings by Romney and others, see *Emma Hamilton: Seduction and Celebrity*, ed. by Quintin Colville and Kate Williams (London: Thames & Hudson: 2016): George Romney, *Emma as Sensibility*, 1780s, oil on canvas, Jean Johnson Kislak Collection, see p. 87; for George Romney, *Emma as Absence* (c. 1786), oil on canvas, National Maritime Museum, p. 83. For Jooss's citation, see p. 193 below.

³⁸ Bersier, "Hamiltonian-Hendelian" Mimoplastics', 173; Holmström, *Monodrama*, p. 185.

³⁹ Peroux, *Pantomimische Stellungen*.

⁴⁰ Friederike Brun, *Wahrheit aus Morgenträumen und Idas ästhetische Entwicklung [...]* (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1824), pp. 193–270.

drawings by Christoph Heinrich Kniep (1755–1825) and assembled by Friederike Brun in a book with drawings and paintings on various subjects.⁴¹ The actress Hendel-Schütz toured with more extensive programs, and all three women performed in the private sphere.

To avoid confusion in the following discussion, I will differentiate between two styles of attitudes, which I, for the purpose of this dissertation, have termed as ‘stage attitudes’ (attitudes used by actors and other performers in plays, opera, and so on) and ‘artistic attitudes’ (performed mainly outside of the theatre by women who used the costume as an expressive tool inherent to their performances).

4.2.1 Stage attitudes

Chapter 3 focused on the attitudes illustrated and described by Jelgerhuis, which I will hereafter refer to as stage attitudes. Jelgerhuis devotes considerable attention in his treatise to stage attitudes as they are one of the actor’s key means of expression. Actors can learn and draw inspiration from the visual arts based on Greek and Roman myth, not with the aim of creating direct imitation of figures in art on stage but to acquire, through observation, the standard skills required for the stage, such as contrast, *welstand*, a variety of stances, and graceful, painterly ways of turning the head and shaping the hands.

I maintain that these qualities of expression must then be adapted to the theatrical genre and the character the actor portrays. The inspiration drawn from classical iconography and Greek and Roman myth, for instance, must be modified to fit the role and the costume of a king or a queen in a tragedy situated in the courts of Northern countries. To portray a character of lower rank or a character in a comedy or farce, an actor or actress must lessen the grandeur and grace of the Hellenistic statues or refuse its style entirely, depending on the character. In this case, paintings of later periods and more quotidian genres can be useful.⁴² Although Jelgerhuis’s *Theoretische lessen* includes sixteen chapters on costume, he does not advocate active use of the costume to create dramatic effects in (sequences of) the attitudes. Many costumes, particularly those for tragedy, included mantles and veils, but their use seems to be a part of the character’s costume throughout the play (also indicating rank and character), and any variations in the costume or the movements thereof, would be a natural consequence of the character’s developing emotional states.⁴³

⁴¹ Kniep. *Attitudes de la Ida Brun*, in ‘Friederike Brun’s book’, nineteenth century, Frederiksborgmuseerne, Bakkehuset Collection, Denmark, Photographer: Stewart McIntyre, (Napoli, 1810), pen and ink on paper, Bak 0021x0068 and (n.d). pencil on paper, Bak 0021x0091–0021x0099.

⁴² Jelgerhuis advises to observe paintings as inspiration for different passions and mentions the Dutch painter Jan Steen (1626–1679) as an example for facial expression and make-up in the genre of comedy. See Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 128.

⁴³ These assumptions are based on my study of Jelgerhuis’s costume designs, his manuscripts and the *Theoretische lessen*.

4.2.2 Artistic attitudes

Alternatively, the artistic attitudes as performed by Hamilton, Hendel-Schütz, and Brun, were neither part of a play nor necessarily intended for the stage. These attitudes were performed in silence or with musical accompaniment but not with spoken text. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the costume had multiple functions in these artistic attitudes. A simple dress in the Greek classical style was often a basis upon which were added one or more veils and in some cases a mantle. The veils and/or mantles could serve in the creative transformations from one scene, emotional state, or character, to the next. The performers of these attitudes not only derived inspiration from the visual arts, but also created a direct physical reference to the art object itself by creating an imitation of the picture or sculpture with their pose and costume. These art objects included classical sculpture and paintings, but artistic attitudes could also refer to mythological stories or religious themes. Lorenzo Hammarsköld (1785–1827), cited in Holmström, defined these attitudes as ‘representing plastic works of art by mimic means, gestures and draping, and transforming their local and existing life into a successive temporal one’.⁴⁴ Depending on the audience, spectators could recognize the work of art and experience it as momentarily brought to life.⁴⁵ There might be several characters or works portrayed in one performance, or a single character in various stages of a story known to the audience (such as Hendel-Schütz’s attitudes depicting various stages in the life of the Virgin Mary). Another definition of these attitudes is provided in an article by Birgit Jooss, entitled ‘Zwischen Kunstideal und sinnlicher Pose; Lebende Bilder und Attituden der Goethezeit’:

*Attitüden, auch als mimo-plastische Kunst bezeichnet, zeigen in ihrer Reinform Posen von Einzelfiguren frei nach antiken Statuen sowie allgemeine menschliche Affekte. Sie werden in einem schnellen Wechsel durch eine einzelne Darstellerin vorgestellt. [...] die Attitüden [fordern] das Talent der Selbstenszenierung. Die Künstlerin ist Bildnerin und Bild zugleich.*⁴⁶

Attitudes, also known as mimo-plastic art, in their pure form exhibit poses of single figures loosely based on antique statues as well as general human affects. They are presented in rapid alternation by a single performer. [...] the attitudes [demand] the talent of self-staging. The artist is both the maker of the image and the image itself.

Although Hamilton and Hendel-Schütz occasionally also interacted with other persons in their series of attitudes, particularly with children, most of the attitudes were indeed performed and

⁴⁴ Transl. by Holmström, in *Monodrama*, p. 119.

⁴⁵ This may mostly have been the case in specific private occasions which united audience members with an interest in and knowledge of the Greek Mythology and/or the visual arts. For an example, see the memoirs of the Comtesse de Boigne (Louise-Eléonore-Charlotte-Adélaïde d’Osmond 1781–1866) — cited in Holmström, *Monodrama*, p. 114 — in which she recalls the audience exclaiming: ‘Bravo la Médéal’ and ‘Viva la Niobé!’, after Hamilton’s performance. See Madame de Boigne, *Récits d’une tante : mémoires de la comtesse de Boigne, née d’Osmond, Publiés d’après le manuscrit original, par M. Charles Nicollaud*, 5th edn, 4 vols, (Paris: Plon, 1907 [1908?]), 1, p. 115.

⁴⁶ Birgit Jooss, ‘Zwischen Kunstideal und sinnlicher Pose: Lebende Bilder und Attituden der Goethezeit’, in *Stillstand und Bewegung: intermediale Studien zu Theatralität von Text, Bild und Musik*, ed. by Günther Heeg and Anno Mungen (2004), 103–113 (p. 109).

staged by a single artist.⁴⁷ Jooss's definition of attitudes as creating an image (sculpting, painting, embodying) recalls Jelgerhuis's description of: '*het beeld zelve, 't welke men op het Tooneel met zich zelve moet maken, om [...] de beelden in de Schilderij te zijn*' (the figure itself, 'which one must make on stage with oneself, to be [...] the figures in the Painting').⁴⁸ This was a sensation which I had already experienced in my previous work on the attitudes – combining the passionate attitude series described in Chapter 2, for instance, when staging sections of an aria or recitative on-stage, and in the process of 'play' during practice as described above – but this idea of the artist as sculptor or painter in real time, also influenced my study of the attitude prints of Hamilton, Hendel-Schütz, and Brun. The experience of putting a two-dimensional visual image or observation of any plate into a physical pose, involved a certain embodied awareness and leap of the imagination from the visual object before the eyes into the many possibilities of executing the following transition and the next pose. By viewing the prints and anecdotes through this lens, the artistic attitudes were a vast source of inspiration: from each attitude, a multitude of others could follow, and the styles of Hamilton, Hendel-Schütz and Brun each offered variations, which further increased my options.⁴⁹

That the artistic attitudes attained popularity in Goethe's time is discernible not only in his letter to Zelter (see page 180 above) but also in Friedrich Wilhelm Riemer's written accompaniment to Goethe's text, published in the *Journal für Literatur, Kunst, Luxus und Mode*, April 1815.⁵⁰ According to Riemer, this art form had become so well-known that the audience would feel its absence if it were not included in a performance:

*Die Kunst, das Ideelle der Plastik und Malerei in Formen, Stellung, Bekleidung, Beleuchtung wieder zur Natur und Wirklichkeit zu machen, diese Kunstmimik, damals noch im Werden, ist seitdem durch die Bestrebungen einer Hamilton, einer Händel=Schütz [sic] und die an mehreren Orten veranstalteten Bilderscenen, so in Aufnahme gekommen, daß unser Auge, wie an einen gewissen Luxus gewöhnt, sie bei manchen Gelegenheiten sogar zu vermissen anfängt, und sie beinahe eben so erheischt, als das Ohr einen vollkommenen Rhythmus.*⁵¹

The art of reviving the ideal of nature and reality in painting and sculpture through shapes, attitudes, clothing and lighting, this imitative art to which we have since become so accustomed through the efforts of Hamilton, Händel-Schütz, and the tableaux vivants

⁴⁷ For Hamilton with children, see Novelli, *Emma performing her attitudes*, (after 1791), etching, Victoria and Albert Museum e-253-2000, <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O63626/the-attitudes-of-lady-hamilton-print-novelli-francesco/> (accessed 2 March 2023). See also Friedrich Rehberg (drawings) and Tommaso Piroli (engravings), *Drawings Faithfully Copied from Nature at Naples, and with Permission Dedicated to the Right Honourable Sir William Hamilton [...]*, ([n.p.] 1794), plates 8 and 12; and Holmström, *Monodrama*, 114. For Hendel-Schütz see, for instance, Joseph N. Peroux, *Pantomimische Stellungen von Henriette Hendel [...]*, in *Kupfer gestochen durch Heinrich Ritter [...]*, (Frankfurt am Main: Selbstverlag 1809), plates 11 and 25.

⁴⁸ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 42.

⁴⁹ For a detailed description of these women and their styles of attitudes, see Holmström, *Monodrama*, pp. 110–145; for Brun, see pp. 145–182; for Hendel-Schütz, see pp. 182–208.

⁵⁰ 'Aufführung des Trauerspiels Zenobia, nach Calderon, und des Melodrama Proserpina, neu motivirt von Göthe', ascribed author: Friedrich Wilhelm Riemer, in *Journal für Literatur, Luxus und Mode*, 30 (Weimar: Carl Bertuch, April 1815), 226–232.

⁵¹ 'Aufführung' in *Journal für Literatur*, 226–232, (p. 227); English transl. by Dr. Julia Muller.

performed at several venues, that our eyes, as if they had been somehow indulged, even start to feel the want of it, almost demanding it as the ear would demand an ideal rhythm.

This account suggests that the time was right for **Amalie Wolff**'s rendition of Proserpina: to my knowledge, all written accounts of her rendition agree on her creating a convincing performance (Riemer, Gries, and Goethe). While remaining in the single character of Proserpina, Wolff seems to have infused her acting style with elements of the artistic attitudes. With this in mind I continued searching for an acting style befitting the artistic characteristics of a time in which various neighbouring art forms such as the melodrama, *tableau vivant*, attitudes, and ballet-pantomime were combined, and when the aesthetic ideals of the classical visual arts were represented in performances in private houses as well as on stage.

4.2.3 Training 3: Artistic attitudes and costume practice

My initial approach to practicing the attitudes of Hamilton, Hendel-Schütz and Brun was similar to practicing Jelgerhuis's attitudes (see Chapter 2 and section 4.1.3, 'Training 1' of this chapter), mainly by creating a mental image first, followed by an embodied pose and eventually a series of poses. In addition, testimonies and anecdotes about the artistic attitudes gave food for thought and inspired further experimentation. For instance, reviews of Hamilton's rapid transitions between the attitudes (including extreme changes of facial expression⁵²) inspired me to increase the tempo of my attitude series. Quicker transitions enhanced the contrast between attitudes or passions, and forced me to anticipate a precise mental concept of the next pose before moving into it. The imitation of the artistic attitudes by Hamilton, Hendel-Schütz and Brun also called for experimentation with the costume and the concept of *Mantelspiel* (mantle craft), mentioned in the introduction. As advised by Jelgerhuis, I observed the print to acquire a taste for draping.⁵³ Yet in practice, the addition of draping veils or a mantle in the attitudes was a challenge, particularly when attempting to copy exactly the original engraving or drawing. To get a garment (especially a light, slippery textile) to move precisely into the shape it has on the image, requires an understanding of the fabric's movement. Spontaneous beautiful results were quite frequent, even from the beginning, but learning to anticipate the fabric's behaviour, envisioning the visual effect on the observer, and developing a serendipitous gesture into a repeatable item of stagecraft and into a harmonious whole until, as Goethe writes, the 'moving elegance of the figure and the garment merge into one, so that the spectator doesn't know anymore how to separate them' – was a time-consuming process.⁵⁴

Pictures taken of the first experiments showed rather disappointing results. While Anne Smith and I were examining these, she pointed out to me that in most, the drape (particularly with thicker, opaque fabrics) hid my limbs completely, so that the lines and angles necessary to show movement

⁵² Holmström, *Monodrama*, 119.

⁵³ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 58–59, also cited in Chapter 1, section 1.6.7, 'Theoretische lessen, 1824–1830'.

⁵⁴ Citation translated from German in *Goethes Werke*, WA 1.40, p. 112: 'bewegliche Zierlichkeit der Gestalt und Kleidung flossen in eins zusammen, so daß der Zuschauer, weder in der Gegenwart noch in der Erinnerung, eins von dem andern abzusondern wußte noch weiß.'

and contrast were lost. In Figure 4 (right), for instance, there is no visible articulation between the neck and shoulders; my left elbow, upper torso, legs, and knees are hidden by the fabric which is not supple enough to indicate their position. In this drawing of a similar attitude by Ida Brun (Figure 4, left) Kniep suggests the bodily articulations by drawing the many pleats in the fabric.



Figure 4, (left) illustration by *Kniep*. *Attitudes de la Ida Brun*, pencil on paper, (n.d.), Frederiksborgmuseerne - Bakkehuset, Denmark, Bak 0021x0097, photo: Stewart McIntyre; (right) experimentation with an attitude inspired by Ida Brun.



Figure 5, Picture of a kneeling attitude

Other pictures, such as Figure 5, were slightly better: although the left knee articulation is still hidden, and the position of the hips and torso not evident, the right elbow, the right knee and the shoulders are free, and create contrast with the flowing veil on the left.

In time, I learned how to make the garment follow the movement: how fast to move, which fingers to use to hold the fabric, and what small adjustments can be made out of sight (behind one's back, or on the side of the garment invisible to the audience) to achieve the desired visual effect. Experimentation with garments made of different textiles and in different sizes also showed the importance of the choice of fabric. Heavy textile hides the physical movement and articulations more than transparent fabrics do. Moreover, the fabric influences the quality and speed of the movements. Most gestures, steps, and other movements cause the garment to soar upwards, flow, or drop. In these cases, the garment's movement ends later in time than the physical movement (gesture, step, kneeling) itself. On the other hand, if the goal is to make the garment flow or fly up, a certain speed of movement is necessary. As a consequence, the entire tempo of transitions between attitudes, gestures, and so on, changes when working with veils or shawls. This in turn influences the tempo of the delivery. In general, the addition of the veil made the attitudes and transitions more flowing. The most graceful combinations of the fabric and the body were those in which it seemed that the draping had spontaneously followed the physical movement. These were often caused by movements which had originated in an emotional state or passion, rather than an idea of 'aesthetic draping': the more the garment became part of the story, the more natural the result was.

The artistic attitudes served as inspiration only. As with Jelgerhuis's stage attitudes, the aim was neither to refer to works of art or mythical characters on stage (other than Proserpina) nor to create copies of stances and movements recognisable as attitudes by Hamilton, Hendel-Schütz and Brun. Instead, the aim was to generate stances and movements appropriate for Proserpina's character. The work on the artistic attitudes broadened my repertoire, enriched my acting style, and increased my confidence in working with the costume as a means of expression. My interpretation of the artistic attitudes in comparison with Jelgerhuis's stage attitudes resulted in a softer, more fluid style with moments of stronger contrast. When I felt that I sufficiently understood the impact of the costume on expression and movement, I had a costume made for the performance.

4.3 THE COSTUME

To create a historically informed costume for Proserpina would have been a research project of its own (including research on the costuming practice at the Amsterdam Schouwburg and/or the Weimar theatre in the early nineteenth century, and on their sewing techniques and specific use of fabrics). I have no expertise in this subject and such a project is beyond the scope of my dissertation. However, the effect of the costume on the acting styles described above, along with the importance Goethe attached to the costume in Wolff's performance, persuaded me to attempt the creation of a combination of garments that would suit Proserpina and increase my expressive options. In 1815, Johann Heinrich Meyer (1760–1832) was in charge of the costume and theatre

sets of the *Proserpina* production.⁵⁵ Unfortunately, to my knowledge, there is no visual evidence of Wolff's costume. I therefore searched the written accounts of the 1815 performances for more information. Goethe's description of Wolff's costume included a mantle, pleated robes, veils, and a diadem.⁵⁶ Because the trend of historically correct costumes had reached Weimar at this time, I first looked for sources by authors who shared this interest in historical costume, such as Jelgerhuis and Dandr -Bardon.⁵⁷ Examples of the garments mentioned by Goethe can all be found in Jelgerhuis's illustrations and descriptions of classical Greek and Roman costume in his *Theoretische lessen*, in addition to which I consulted Jelgerhuis's *Tooneelkledingen* of 1810 (depicting a dress, veil and diadem in Greek style) and Dandr -Bardon's *Gewoonten der aloude volken*.⁵⁸ I also studied the dresses of Hamilton, Hendel-Sch tz, and Brun, as well as costumes on antique bas-reliefs, vases, and sculptures. My aim was to create a simple dress with little ornamentation, to suit Proserpina's youth and innocence. There was no need to include a corset with this costume, Jelgerhuis even clearly advised against it:

*Ik moet nu doen opmerken dat de dames, in Grieksche of Romeinsche kostuum, zoo veel mogelijk zich moeten passeren van rijglijven of korsetten, of zoo zij die niet kunnen ontberen, ten minste dezelve in dat kleed zoo veel mogelijk trachten te verbergen.*⁵⁹

I must remark that the ladies, in Greek or Roman costume, must avoid laced bodices and corsets under costumes in the Greek and Roman style as much as possible, or if they cannot do without them, at least hide them as much as possible in that garment.

⁵⁵ See Maisak, 'Theater-Effekte', p. 112.

⁵⁶ 'Proserpina' in *Morgenblatt*, p. 542; see also *Goethes Werke*, WA 1.40, p. 111.

⁵⁷ For 'historische Korrektheit' on the Weimar stage, see Maisak, 'Theater-Effekte', p. 124.

⁵⁸ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 201–203 and plate 58. See also Fedra vervuld door Mev. Ziesenis geb. Wattier' in Johannes Jelgerhuis Rz, *Tooneelkledingen van den Koninglyken Schouwburg te Amsterdam. Getekend en ge  st door J. Jelgerhuis Rz. Acteur van gemelden schouwburg* (Amsterdam: J. Groenewoud en Zoon, 1810).; and see Dandr -Bardon, *Gewoonten der aloude volken*, transl. anonymous, vol. 1, plate 77 (as stated in Chapters 1 and 3, Jelgerhuis repeatedly refers to this last source).

⁵⁹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 199.

I based the concept of Proserpina's dress, mantle, and veil on the combination of the three dresses on plate 58 (Figure 6) and the second figure on plate 23 (Figure 7).⁶⁰



Figure 6, Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, plate 58

This concept was discussed and realized with Myriam Pol and Shari Terwisscha van Scheltinga of Atelier Gerritsen Theaterkostuums. Following this discussion, Terwisscha van Scheltinga first made the *toile* – ‘a pattern for a garment made up in muslin, cotton, or the like, for fitting or for use in making copies’ – with an option for a short sleeve.⁶¹ The third figure on plate 58 (Figure 6) has a short sleeve on her left arm, and no sleeve on her right. The figures on plate 23 (Figure 7) also show both styles. During the fitting of the *toile*, Pol, Terwisscha van Scheltinga and I decided in favour of the sleeveless option because the bare arms and the simple dress gave a more youthful and vulnerable impression. The neckline was also taken from the third figure's dress, whereas a high waistband was based on the second figure, as were the length of the veil and the positioning

⁶⁰ Figure 6 (right) is Jelgerhuis's copy of two of the four caryatides by Artus Quellinus (1609–1668) on the Amsterdam Paleis op de Dam. Jelgerhuis depicted the caryatides more dressed than the originals, for the sake of propriety in the lessons, see Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 91, 92.

⁶¹ For this definition of *toile* see the *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. ‘*toile*, n.1., sense 3’, www.oed.com/view/Entry/202916 (accessed 23 March 2023).

of the veil and diadem. The length and simple hem of the dress are visible on the first figure. A decoration was added onto the shoulders, where the mantle could be attached (Figure 7, second figure).

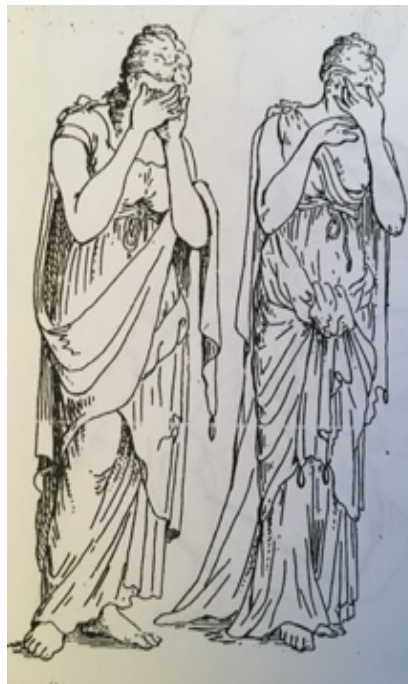


Figure 7, Jelgerhuis, engraving from *Theoretische lessen*, plate 23, detail



Figure 8, Mantle worn by the actress Joanna Cornelia Ziesenis Wattier, (c. 1800–1850), cotton, gold thread and gold fringe, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, kt00035.000b.

The veil, waistband, and decorations on the shoulders were trimmed with a narrow golden ribbon. I had seen a similar combination of gold and red on two still existing costume items: a mantle (Figure 8) and peplum kept at the Allard Pierson in Amsterdam. This peplum and mantle were worn by Jelgerhuis's colleague, the Dutch actress Wattier, and are decorated with a gold fringe and embroidery in gold thread.

Gold is also the predominant decorative colour in two coloured versions of Jelgerhuis's etching of Wattier in the role of Fedra (Figure 9).⁶²



Figure 9, (left) Etching by Jelgerhuis, depicting the costume of Johanna Cornelia Ziesenis-Wattier in the role of Fedra (undated), hand-painted etching, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, g002917.0000;

(right) Etching by Jelgerhuis, depicting the costume of Johanna Cornelia Ziesenis-Wattier in the role of Fedra, coloured with gold, in Jelgerhuis, *Tooneelkledingen*.

A simplified version of a triangular diadem was embellished with paste gems in various colours, as shown in the second coloured example (Figure 9, left). My hair was arranged with a combination of braids, ribbons, and loose curls (Figure 10, left), based on engravings in *Gewoonten der Aloude Volken* and in the *Theoretische lessen* (Figure 10, right).⁶³

⁶² Figure 9 (right) holds a closer resemblance to the written description in the publication, which includes the coloured gems, and gold embroidered linen, but no red mantle.

⁶³ For braids, see Dandr -Bardon, *Gewoonten der aloude volken*, transl. anonymous, vol. 1, p. 23 and plate 77, figure G; for 'banden' (ribbons), see *Theoretische lessen*, p. 202. For braids, ribbons and loose curls, see *Theoretische lessen*, plate 58.



Figure 10 (left) Detail of a video still of one of the 2021 *Proserpina* performances.
Hair styled by Pilo Pilkes;
(right) Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, plate 58, detail (flipped). (Author's collection)

Fabrics: I wanted a fabric that would flow and drape itself around my movements, yet strong enough to last through multiple performances without fraying. I was advised not to use silk, as this would probably prove too fragile, nor cotton, probably too inflexible. I suggested the use of a light wool for the mantle, but the costumière decided on another fabric due to the availability of colour ranges and fabric weights available at that moment: the COVID-19 situation had reduced the stock and prevented our choosing the fabric together in the shop. The dress was made with two layers of supple textiles; the hems of the lower layer and the almost transparent upper layer were not attached, to give a naturally flowing quality to the costume, which was enhanced by movement. Figure 11 shows how the pleated dress and mantle add to the movement.



Figure 11, Video stills showing the movements of the costume during a performance of *Proserpina*,
Leiden Theatre, 2022

In retrospect, the dress followed the movements as I had envisioned, it was comfortable, and I was satisfied with the visual effect. However, the modern synthetic fabrics used for the mantle and veil were more slippery than the natural textiles I had practiced with: cotton, silk, and wool. This had positive and negative sides. On the one hand, the veil made of a polyester chiffon, for instance, was so slippery I had to slow down my arm movements to prevent it from falling down. On the other hand, the same slippery quality was practical when removing the crown and veil in dance-like movements: it did not get stuck in my hair or the crown, and it slid off my shoulder and arm, where I caught it in my hand. If a future production budget and time allow, I would like to attempt a similar result with natural fabrics that would have been available in Jelgerhuis's time.

Apart from the use of modern fabrics, I deviated from historically informed options in several other costume-related items for various practical reasons. The most important choices involved *akers*, skin-coloured undergarments, and sandals.

Akers: In all the examples here depicted by Jelgerhuis, small decorative pendants are attached to either a veil, a mantle, or a waistband. Jelgerhuis mentions these pendants in the *Theoretische lessen* as 'akers' (acorns),⁶⁴ which according to the description in the Middle Dutch Dictionary (MNT) were 'acorn-shaped tassels which adorned handkerchiefs and scarves, sometimes made of gold or silver thread'.⁶⁵ These akers were not added to the Proserpina costume, for lack of time to find historical Dutch examples to copy from. I suspect, however, that depending on their weight, these decorative elements also influence the draping of the veil.

Undergarments: It is possible that skin-coloured undergarments were worn to cover the neckline and bare arms and legs on-stage in the beginning of the nineteenth century, but I did not have information about this practice in the Netherlands. Jelgerhuis annotates the third dress on plate 58 with 'ontblootte borst en schouders' (bare neckline and shoulders) 'zonder mouwen, ook met ontblootte schouders' (without sleeves, also with bare shoulders).⁶⁶ It may be that Jelgerhuis does not mention specific stage undergarments, either because it was basic practice to wear them or because it was not. He does mention long sleeves (actual sleeves, not of the undergarment) for old actors.⁶⁷ I finally decided to perform with bare arms and a low neckline.

⁶⁴ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 202.

⁶⁵ *Aker*. 'Een eikelvormig versiersel, bij wijze van een kwastje afhangende, zooals voorheen de mannen aan de koordjes van halskragen en beffen, de vrouwen aan de uiteinden van hals- en neusdoeken plachten te dragen; hetzij van linnen garen, hetzij van goud- of zilverdraad enz., soms zeer kostbaar en kunstig bewerkt' (an acorn-shaped ornament, hanging like a tassel, such as the men used to wear on the strings of collars and bands, the women at the ends of handkerchiefs and neckerchiefs; either of linen thread, or of gold or silver thread, etc., sometimes very costly and artfully decorated). See *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, s.v. 'aker', sense 2.a, <https://gtb.ivdnt.org/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=WNT&id=M003210&lemmodern=aker&doein=0&conc=true> (accessed 3 March 2023).

⁶⁶ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 202. Jelgerhuis does not specify which dress he refers to, but I deduce that he means the dress and the peplum of the third figure on plate 58; it is the only costume on the plate with bare shoulders and without sleeves.

⁶⁷ Jelgerhuis suggests long sleeves in certain circumstances: 'Lange tot op de hand, somtijds voor bejaarden' (long [sleeves] down to the hand, sometimes for the old). See Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 202.

Sandals: Both plate 58 and the engraving of Wattier show sandals under the costume. Such sandals can easily be bought today, but mostly with plastic or hard leather soles. These are often noisy when walking, which on stage can be distracting. I did not succeed in having stage sandals made in time, so I used a beige open dancing shoe with a soft leather sole, which was inconspicuous and barely audible when walking.

Interestingly, the final version of my costume for Proserpina was very similar to this description by August Wilhelm von Schlegel, cited in Holmström, of Mme de Staël's costume for Phèdre:

einem weissen gold gestickten Gewände ohne Aermel und ohne allen Zuschnitt, auf den Schultern durch Agraffen und unter dem Busen durch einen Gürtel gehalten, und rings umher faltig auf die Füße herabfallend; der königliche Purpurmantel, ebenfalls ohne allen verkünstelnden Zuschnitt, viereckig, und auf die einfachste Weise befestigt und getragen; dann die ächte Sandale [...]; das von Edelsteinen strahlende in der Mitte zugespitzte Diadem, und anfangs den golddurchwirkten Schleier nicht zu vergessen, den sie bei den Worten abwirft: Que ses vains ornements, que ces voiles me pèsent.⁶⁸

a white gold-embroidered robe without sleeves and without a particular cut, held on the shoulders by clasps and under the bosom by a belt, and falling down all around the feet in folds; the royal *Purpurmantel*, likewise without any pretentious/sophisticated cut, square, and fastened and worn in the simplest way; then the genuine sandals [...]; the diadem, radiant with precious stones, pointed in the middle, and not to forget in the beginning, the veil interwoven with gold thread, which she casts off at the words: 'how these vain ornaments, these veils weigh me down'.

This description differs from my costume for *Proserpina* only in the use of real sandals. I based the colours for Proserpina's dress on a combination of Jelgerhuis's indications and my own taste. Jelgerhuis mentions various colour options for the Greek/Roman costumes. For example:

Prachtige sluijers op het hoofd, was een van de sieraden der vrouwen, die dan van doorschijnende stoffe waren; de kleur was meest wit, zoo ook het kleed en de mantel rood; ook de peplone, het kleed purper zijnde.⁶⁹

Splendid veils on the head were one of the ornaments for women, which were then made of transparent material; the colour was mostly white, the dress too, if the mantle is red. The peplum is white too, if the dress is crimson [*purpur*].

My costume was white, red, and gold: the white dress to symbolize Proserpina's youth and innocence, the mantle and transparent veil in different shades of deep red to create contrast with the dress. I could have taken my experiments a step further by using even more garments: One

⁶⁸ For the citation, see Holmström, *Monodrama*, footnote 83, pp. 256–257. For more on Mme de Staël's acting as described by Ida Brun's mother, Frederikke Brun, see Holmström, *Monodrama*, pp. 169–172.

⁶⁹ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, p. 203.

eyewitness's review of the 1815 *Proserpina* production mentions veils in three different colours, which Wolff placed on the bushes and trees on-stage:

*Nicht weniger als drei Shawls hatte sie um und an sich, die sie an den Bäumen und Büschen umher aufhing, und wovon sie, nach Maßgabe des Textes, bei den majestätischen Stellen den purpurnen, bei den tragischen den dunkelfarbigen, bei den heitern den himmelblauen gebrauchte.*⁷⁰

She had no fewer than three shawls on and about her, which she draped on the surrounding trees and bushes, and which she changed according to the text, from crimson for the majestic parts, to darker colour for the tragic ones, and sky blue for the happy moments.

Goethe also mentions more than one garment, though, in the 1815 *Morgenblatt*, he focuses on the movement with one main garment throughout the performance, omitting the colour and number of shawls:

*sie [...] ergreift eins der Gewänder, mit welchem sie den größten Theil der Vorstellung über ihre Bewegungen begleitet, sich bald darein verhüllt, sich bald daraus wieder entwindet und zu gar mannichfaltigem pantomimischem Ausdruck, den Worten gemäß, zu benutzen weiß.*⁷¹

she [...] takes hold of one of the garments with which she accompanies her movements for the greater part of the performance, sometimes wrapping herself in it, sometimes unwinding herself from it, and knows how to use it for a very varied pantomimic expression, with reference to the words.

For various practical reasons I decided to stick with one veil, while using the mantle for specific expressive moments.⁷² The idea of garments in different colours to express various emotional states gave me food for thought, however. Finally, various passages in the monodrama reflecting different emotional states (according to my interpretation of the text and music), were instead suggested by the lighting at the performance venue in 2021.⁷³ Although I had practiced the artistic attitudes with various garments before the costume was made, the visual effect and physical sensation of the full costume changed the way I walked and moved and, just as importantly, the picture I had of Proserpina in my mind's eye. The combination of the various garments influenced the quality of movement. Certain gestures seemed more majestic when the arm was covered by the drapery of the veil, and transitions from one attitude to another appeared to be augmented in movement and in time, as the fabric of the dress continued moving when the body was already still. To avoid stepping on the dress when moving quickly (particularly when walking backwards), I had to lift the dress or go on my toes. This gave Proserpina a lighter step than I had imagined. The bare arms, which I associated with summer, gave me a both a physical and a mental feeling of

⁷⁰ Eye witness account by Johann Diederich Gries, written to Bernhard Rudolf Abeken on February 7, 1815, edited transl. and citation reference in Bersier, "Hamiltonian-Hendelian" Mimoplastics', p. 172.

⁷¹ *Goethes Werke*, WA 1.40, p. 112.

⁷² For more details, see section 4.6. "Two venues: the stage and the performance".

⁷³ For more details, see section 4.6. "Two venues: the stage and the performance".

lightness and freedom of movement as compared to wearing a costume with long sleeves. At the same time, the bare arms and light dress made me feel vulnerable when Proserpina is fearful, easily cold and shivery. The more I developed the character, and therefore the movements and reactions of Proserpina, the more instinctively I wanted to cover myself by the mantle or veil, particularly in situations of fear or shame. Now I could work on the entire staging with the full costume.

4.4 QUALITIES OF MOVEMENT

Exploring how costume could serve as a means of expression for Proserpina also required considering other aspects of Wolff's acting style and quality of movement. I returned to working on the road map I had created for staging *Proserpina*. The different facets of Proserpina's character started to take shape, and I started working more on details. I searched for ways to merge the artistic attitudes with stage attitudes, by adding *Mantelspiel* (mantle craft) and other elements to the sequence. At the same time, I became aware of a difference between my interpretations of the various styles of the performers I had studied: although the visual sources show only minor differences in posture (depicting the body more or less upright, for instance) or in the torsion of the bodies kneeling and standing, my experience of embodying the attitudes brought about a division between the attitudes of Hamilton and Brun on the one side and those of Hendel-Schütz and Jelgerhuis on the other. My physical and mental experience and interpretation were influenced by the written accounts of performances and by the illustrations. The resulting difference in my stylistic execution is therefore also shaped by stylistic differences of the various illustrators (such as Peroux, Jelgerhuis, Kniepp, and Rehberg) and the authors of the written accounts. The draping of the costumes depicted on the prints showing Hamilton and Brun, for instance, suggested more movement than the costumes in the engravings of Jelgerhuis and Hendel-Schütz. In general, there seemed to be more torsion in my body and more fluidity of motion when my attitudes and movements were inspired by the attitudes of Hamilton and Brun than that of Hendel-Schütz. The attitudes of the latter seem more akin to Jelgerhuis's stage attitudes, in which the movement of the garment is less essential and the dramatic effect is strongest in powerful, static moments with slow transitions. This awareness did not prevent my merging the different styles of attitudes, but was useful for creating and intensifying different aspects of Proserpina's emotional states. In scenes that required Proserpina's moments of innocent playfulness or delicate sadness, for instance, the fluid quality of movement I had come to associate with the illustrations of Hamilton and Brun could be used to soften and complement the more sculptural attitudes and transitions inspired by Hendel-Schütz and Jelgerhuis. At this stage, I started looking into other descriptions of Wolff's performance, focusing in particular on the terms that connote movement. On one occasion, Goethe mentions Wolff's '*edelbewegte plastische Darstellung*' (nobly moving plastic representation).⁷⁴ In the *Morgenblatt*, he emphasizes the importance of transitions between the different aspects intrinsic to this melodrama and describes a delicate balance between movements, spoken words, music, and even a 'dance-like' quality of movement:

⁷⁴ 'Edelbewegte plastische Darstellung', in *Goethes Werke, Tag- und Jahreshefte [...]* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1893), WA 1.36, p. 89; also cited in Waltraud Maierhofer, 'Goethe on Emma Hamilton's "Attitudes": Can Classicist Art Be Fun?', in *Goethe Yearbook*, 9 (1999), 222–252 (p. 243).

[...] *die melodramatische Behandlung hat das große Verdienst mit weiser Sparsamkeit ausgeführt zu sein, indem sie der Schauspielerin gerade so viel Zeit gewährt, um die Gebärden der mannichfaltigen Uebergänge bedeutend auszudrücken, die Rede jedoch im schicklichen Moment ohne Aufenthalt wieder zu ergreifen, wodurch der eigentlich mimisch=tanzartige Theil mit dem poetisch=rhetorischen verschmolzen und einer durch den andern gesteigert wird.*⁷⁵

the [...] melodramatic treatment has the great merit of being carried out with wise parsimony, in that it allows the actress just enough time to meaningfully express the gestures of the many transitions, and yet to grasp the speech again at the right moment without interruption, whereby the actual mimic and dance-like part is fused with the poetic-rhetorical part, and one is intensified by the other.

4.4.1 Dance-like movements

It is difficult to say to what extent Wolff used lighter, dance-like steps in her performance, but Goethe's descriptions 'nobly moving' and 'mimic-dance like' inspired me to seek out a quality of movement that I had neither previously encountered in Jelgerhuis's works nor explored in my practice-based research into historical acting techniques so far. Jelgerhuis refers to dance (ballet and contradance) mainly from the viewpoint of its usefulness to the actor. Actors might benefit from dancing lessons to learn some basics, such as improvement of the actor's posture, bowing properly when paying one's compliments, and at least the *pas de bourrée* step. With these basics, actors can join in the few dances, such as minuets and contradances, in little operas and other theatrical pieces '*opdat hij [...] niet benard sta*' (so that he [...] does not awkwardly stand about).⁷⁶ Jelgerhuis is also in favour of attending ballet performances (*Consepten* N° 6) to observe what was learned in the dancing lessons and to learn about grouping multiple actors with contrasting postures to create a balanced visual effect on-stage.⁷⁷ Furthermore, only some ways of positioning the feet can be used by actors, but most movements of this art form (such as pirouettes), he writes, are too exaggerated for the actor.⁷⁸ These instructions were not sufficient to investigate how I might incorporate Goethe's description into my movements. I therefore returned to the engravings and drawings of Hamilton and Brun for inspiration, and to explore the boundary between acting and dance movements. Although Holmström states that the anecdotes of Hamilton's attitudes reveal 'no mention whatever of dance-like movements as a connecting link between the different attitudes, or of any musical accompaniment', the images shown in Figure 12 illustrate moments within a series of attitudes which also suggest dance.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ 'Proserpina' in *Morgenblatt*, p. 543; see also *Goethes Werke*, WA 1.40, pp. 112–113.

⁷⁶ Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 112–113.

⁷⁷ For groupings and other benefits of dancing lessons, see *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 112–113 and plates 30, 31; for the curriculum including lessons and attending performances see *Consepten*, N° 5 and 6, in Appendix G.

⁷⁸ For Jelgerhuis's positions of the feet, see *Theoretische lessen*, pp. 104–105 and plate 28.

⁷⁹ Holmström, *Monodrama*, p. 115.



Figure 12, (left) Emma Hamilton in a dancing attitude, from Rehberg, *Drawings faithfully copied from nature at Naples [...]* (1794), plate 6, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-2010-34; (right) C. H. Kniep: Ida Brun in a dancing attitude, from 'Kniep, attitudes de la Ida Brun' undated, pencil on paper, Frederiksberg museerne, Bakkehuset Collection, Denmark, Bak 0021×0091, Photographer: Stewart McIntyre.

The uncomplicated, natural movements (as opposed to ballet steps or techniques, for instance) seemed to fit in with the music and the sequences of attitudes conceived for *Proserpina*, as they are based on the same ideals of beauty inspired by antique statuary. The two following scores show examples of the moments in Eberwein's composition which I deemed well-suited to incorporating such movements. The music in bars 272–290 (Score 1), in 6/8 measure, would have been a perfect moment for Proserpina to transition from her previous, dark thoughts to lighter reminiscences of her happy past in the meadows with her friends, and to break into dance, but there was one complication: Goethe was quite specific about a moment of costume change:

Proserpina tritt auf als Königin der Unterwelt; prächtige, über einander gefaltete Mäntel, Schleier und Diadem bezeichnen sie; aber kaum findet sie sich allein, so kommt ihr das Nymphenleben wieder in den Sinn, in das Thal von Enna glaubt sie sich versetzt, sie entäußert sich alles Schmucks, und steht auf einmal blumenbekrönt wieder als Nymphe da. Daß nun dieses Entäußern der faltenreichen Gewänder zu den schönsten mannichfaltigsten Gestaltungen Anlaß gebe [...], wird niemanden entgehen.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ 'Proserpina' in *Morgenblatt*, p. 542, see also *Goethes Werke*, WA 1.40, p. 111.

Proserpina appears as the Queen of the Underworld; she is characterized by splendid mantles folded over one another, veils, and a diadem. But the moment she finds herself alone, her life as a nymph comes back to her mind, she believes she is back in the valley of Enna, she relinquishes all jewellery and suddenly stands there as a flower-wreathed nymph again. That this relinquishing of the richly pleated robes gives rise to the most beautiful and varied shapings [...] will not escape anyone.



Score 1, Fragment from *Proserpina*, based on Lorraine Byrne Bodley's piano reduction in *Proserpina: Goethe's Melodrama with Music by Carl Eberwein*, ed. and transl. by Lorraine Byrne Bodley, Dublin: Carysfort Press 2007, 136

Eberwein's 6/8 measured interlude seems the only possible moment to enact the costume change in Goethe's description: 'She relinquishes all jewellery and suddenly stands there as a flower-wreathed nymph again'. In search of Goethe's 'beautiful and varied' movements with a noble quality, I enhanced the practical action of removing the crown, veil, and the mantle, until the movements became flowing, while also serving the symbolic dramatic purpose of the Queen of the Underworld transforming into the nymph. The removal of the emotional and physical weight of the crown and garments gave way to a feeling of lightness, which increased until Proserpina's steps could transition effortlessly into a few simple dance movements at the end of the following text: 'Und die Sonne | Riß leichter nicht aus ihrem Silberbette | Sich auf, als wir, voll Lust zu leben, | Früh im Tau die Rosenfüße badeten' (And the sun did not rise more easily out of its silver bed | Than we

returned early, full joy for life, | To bathe our rosy feet in the dew).⁸¹ The music of bars 291–295 (Score 1b) is still in 6/8 measure, but *un poco più allegro* (a little faster), and now in a minor tonality. This was one of many examples in which the musical interlude precedes the transition to the following affect in the text. As can be seen on Video G, Proserpina’s moment of blissful dance is almost instantly brought to a halt in bar 295, as Proserpina suddenly is aware again (the music guiding her thoughts and feelings) of the present reality.

Gespielinnen!
 Als jene blumenreiche Täler
 Für uns gesamt noch blühten,
 Als an dem himmelklaren Strom der Alpheus
 Wir plätschernd noch im Abendstrahle scherzten,
 Einander Kränze wanden
 Und heimlich an den Jüngling dachten,
 Dessen Haupt unser Herz sie widmete,
 Da war uns keine Nacht zu tief zum Schwätzen,
 Keine Zeit zu lang,
 Um freundliche Geschichten zu wiederholen,
 Und die Sonne
 Riß leichter nicht aus ihrem Silberbette
 Sich auf, als wir, voll Lust zu leben,
 Früh im Tau die Rosenfüße badeten.

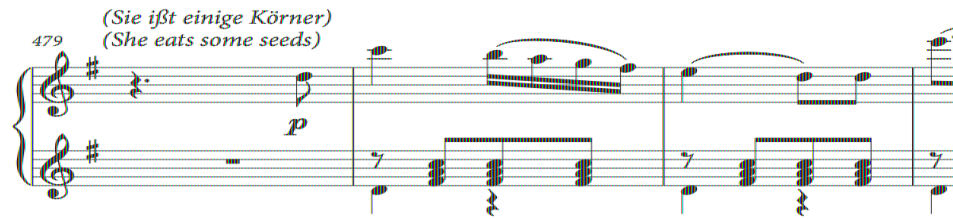


Score 1b, Fragment from *Proserpina*, based on Lorraine Byrne Bodley’s piano reduction in *Proserpina: Goethe’s Melodrama with Music by Carl Eberwein*, ed. and transl. by Lorraine Byrne Bodley, Dublin: Carysfort Press 2007, p. 137

Play Video G

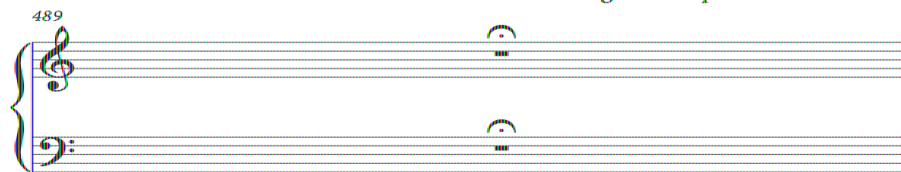
I added another example of dance-like movement just before the final scene of the monodrama (Score 2, bars 479–486), immediately after the decisive moment when Proserpina tastes the pomegranate fruit and exclaims in wonder and rapture, alternating with the melody of the flute: ‘*Labend! Labend!*’ (Refreshing! Refreshing!). Her rapture in this moment invited an open, joyous movement, which I articulated by spinning gently with the fruit in my hand. Doing so helped to set up the contrast with the next moment (bars 487–488), in which Proserpina contracts in fear and pain, as her fate begins closing in on her.

⁸¹ Transl. Byrne Bodley, *Proserpina*, p. 174.



Wie greift's auf einmal
Durch diese Freuden,
Durch diese offene Wonne
Mit entsetzlichen Schmerzen,
Mit eisernen Händen
Der Hölle durch! —

But how is it
That abysmal pains
And the iron hands of Hell
Penetrate all at once
through these joys,
Through these open bliss! —



Score 2, Fragment from *Proserpina*, based on Lorraine Byrne Bodley's piano reduction and translation in *Proserpina: Goethe's Melodrama with Music by Carl Eberwein*, ed. and transl. by Lorraine Byrne Bodley, Dublin: Carysfort Press 2007, p. 157, 178.

Such transitions into dance-like movements arose from emotions suggested by the text and the music and did not seem to disturb the balance between the other elements of the monodrama, such as the costume change, the attitudes, the transitions, and the interaction with the chorus. Having avoided an actual choreography, in which dance steps and arm movements suggest a specific dancing style, the dancing movements I used were semi-improvised, differing slightly over the course of various performances. Rather than inserting yet another genre (dance) into this already eclectic art form (monodrama), my goal was for these movements to appear as a natural extension of Proserpina's emotional expression.

4.4.2 'Nobly-moving' quality

My search for a nobly-moving element of performance is more difficult to describe, as it depends on interpretation of the character as well as on physical aspects. In my estimation, the term 'noble' in Proserpina's case has nothing to do with social rank, but with a nobleness of heart (her fortitude and empathy). This, for me, is the essential difference between a Proserpina who seems to complain for twenty-five minutes, and one who honestly and deeply experiences suffering in her situation. If the text is not read and conveyed through the eyes of Proserpina's noble feelings, the piece will not fulfil its role of 'school for civilization', discussed in Chapter 1, in which the behaviour of the heroine is a didactic example for the audience. Consequently, my source of inspiration for movements with a noble quality stemmed from Proserpina's goodness and innocence, and, from there, was physically manifested in aspects such as the poise of the head – the way the eyes move and the muscle tension around the eyes, the eyes being the mirror of the soul and the heart – the upright and at the same time flexible softness of the posture, as well as the gracefulness of almost all the movements (kneeling, walking, reaching, dancing, and so on). This quality must permeate all the attitudes and passions, even if it may not be recognisable (and even visible) as such to the audience at all times. For instance, Proserpina's noble heart may not be as evident in the passion of fear, but it will show in the relief from fear.

In some moments I found it difficult to find a sense of nobility. One was the sentence: '*Warum ergiff er nicht eine meiner Nymphen*' (why did he not seize one of my nymphs) and its continuation: '*Und setzte sie neben sich Auf seinen kläglichen Tron*' (and [why did he not] sit her down by his side upon his wretched throne).⁸² In the first rehearsals I used a tone of self-pity and envy for the first line, ending in an angry, despising tone of voice. But the more I practiced and performed the role, the more my interpretation changed from 'I wish he had abducted one of my friends instead of me' into an honest, open question: 'why did it happen in this way, why did he choose me?' And the more I felt the second half: '*und setzte sie neben sich auf seinen kläglichen Tron*' as a feeling of profound sadness and horror. The transformation of my interpretation from self-pity and anger to wonder and sadness was not a matter of principle for me; one should not claim a character's innocence or nobility at all costs when this is not true to the text. A character may fail at their noble intentions, perform evil deeds, or may have no noble intentions at all. But this shift made it easier to find a noble quality of expression and created more contrast in the final scene, when Proserpina loses her battle and all hope, and gives in to hatred and despair.

4.5 THE MUSIC

Just like the dance-like movements and the artistic attitudes were elements foreign to Jelgerhuis's practice, so was the music. Yet the music in *Proserpina* not only shaped the passages with dance-like movements; it bore upon all the aspects of acting. Each choice concerning the music was connected with the quality of movement and vocal delivery on-stage. I will provide examples of

⁸² Transl. Byrne Bodley, *Proserpina*, p. 175. For this passage in the fair copy, see *Proserpina*, Weimar, GSA 32/61, fol. 27^v.

such choices (many of which are intrinsic to the genre of melodrama), ranging from the musical adaptation of the piece to the relationships between the music, movement, and vocal delivery.

4.5.1 Orchestration

To suit the number of musicians for the 2021 *Proserpina* production, Artem Belogurov adapted Eberwein's orchestral score. Belogurov worked from the copy of the Weimar manuscript and consulted the 2007 edition by Bodley, selecting those instruments which would, even in a smaller ensemble, still represent all the musical colours and affects needed to emphasize the images created in Goethe's text and stimulate the imagination of the audience.⁸³ The final version of this adaptation was for an extended version of Postscript — a chamber music ensemble that bases performance practice on historical sources, using historical instruments — and featured a string quartet with the addition of a flute, a double bass, a piano, and four singers: a mezzosoprano, a tenor, and two basses.⁸⁴ Belogurov and I initially intended to include eight singers to create the effect of a double chorus as indicated in the Weimar fair copy of *Proserpina*,⁸⁵ but for practical reasons the score was finally adjusted for four voices.⁸⁶ The fortepiano used for this production belongs to Museum Geelvinck and was made in Vienna by Conrad Graf in 1836. The tuning was at 430 Hz.

4.5.2 Collaboration and aim

The collaboration with Postscript was one of joint efforts and ideas. There was no conductor: the musical cues were given by the leading instrumentalist in each passage, from an impulse corresponding to a particular movement or gesture, or from the rhythm in the words. Postscript and I worked together closely, searching for ways to let the text and movements interweave with the music and complement each other. Finding this balance did not imply creating harmony between these separate elements at all times, but rather, it entailed establishing a condition of constant interaction and communication. The goal was to let the voice, movements and music reflect (and/or contradict) Proserpina's wide range of passions, and to bring out the different aspects of this role. The various musical themes and their individual colour, created by the instrumentation as well as the way in which the musicians play, emphasize the text and correspond to different aspects of Proserpina's character as well as her roles in life: she is a mother's daughter, a father's daughter, queen and wife, victim, a heroine, and a young girl. For instance, the themes concerned with Proserpina's carefree youth with her friends is represented by the sound of the flute; the Fates, represented by the chorus, with their low range and almost spoken quality, suggest at once both a threat and a prayer; the section in which Proserpina speaks of the tortured souls surrounding her, while lamenting her incapacity to help them, is accompanied by string instruments only.

⁸³ *Proserpina*, Weimar, GSA 32/61; Byrne Bodley, *Proserpina*.

⁸⁴ For more information on Postscript, see <https://www.postscriptensemble.com> (accessed 3 March 2023).

⁸⁵ *Proserpina*, Weimar, GSA 32/61, fols 37^r, 38^r, 40^r, 43^v.

⁸⁶ Reasons included availability of singers during the Covid-19 pandemic as well as placement in the venue, which had changed due to Covid-19.

Eberwein's composition and the spoken text alternate mostly in a kind of dialogue. In a few passages they coincide, however: the dramatic effect is intensified, as the actress speaks over the music. As is common in melodramas, Eberwein deploys mainly three types of structures:

1. musical passages alternating with longer fragments of text;
2. short sentences spoken in alternation with chords (similar to a *recitativo secco* in opera. See, for instance, p. 155, and the example above: p. 146;
3. longer musical passages coinciding with the text (pp. 143–144) (similar to a *recitativo accompagnato*).

The role of the music increases in the finale: the chorus is added, and the musical blocks and Proserpina's text accelerate and intertwine – alternating, coinciding, or overlapping. As Postscript and I looked for balance in the alternation of music and text, we discovered that often the best way to maintain the dramatic tension was not by waiting for one another at the connection points, but by actively chaining one element to the other, with the music cutting in on the text or the other way around. Naturally, the better the musicians understood the German text, the better their way of playing resonated with my lines and movements, creating an uninterrupted flow of storytelling.

4.5.3 Emotion and movement, timing and delivery

In general, the atmosphere evoked through Eberwein's music confirmed my *basic* interpretation of the passions in the text. Yet each musical passage requires its own *precise variation* of the passion, which was often decisive for the exact impulse, quality and tempo of the attitudes, gestures, transitions, and facial expression (grand or small, quick or slow, forceful or graceful, contracted or expanded posture, and so on). Similarly, the music strongly influenced the timing of the delivery and vice versa. I have discussed the freedom to use pauses and forms of differentiation for expressive purposes in acting in Chapter 3 on Jelgerhuis's *Toneel Studien*. I now continued to use and develop these principles in combination with Eberwein's music. My interpretation of the text included moments of silence, *accelerandi* [acceleration] and *rallentandi* [slowing down], to which the instrumentalists adapted. At the same time, the musical rendition automatically affected the speed, volume, and other aspects of my delivery, such as articulation and colour. We experimented with these ideas to optimize communicating the meaning of the text and its emotional content. Doing so was particularly relevant in recitative-like sections, in which the text alternates with short musical interjections.

In Score 3, bars 360–378, for instance, the harmony in each chord suggests a different passion, influencing the timing and the musicians' rendering of the chord (long or short, with emphasis, or softly, for instance).⁸⁷ The way they played determined, in turn, how long I waited before speaking again.

⁸⁷ Byrne Bodley, *Proserpina*, p. 146, bars 369–381.

369 Ist's auf seinen düstern Augenbraunen,
Im verschlossenen Blicke? Magst du ihn Gemahl nennen?

Is it in his dark eyebrows,
In his closed face? Are you pleased to call him your husband?

(quasi recit.)

372 Und darfst du ihn anders nennen?
And dare you call him by any other name?

375 Liebe! Liebe!
Warum öffnestest du sein Herz
Auf einen Augenblick? Und warum nach mir?
Da du wußtest,
Es werde sich wieder auf ewig verschließen?

Love! Love!
Why did you open his heart
For a moment? And why to me?
Since you knew
That it would close again forever?

Score 3, Fragment from *Proserpina*, in Lorraine Byrne Bodley's piano reduction in *Proserpina: Goethe's Melodrama with Music by Carl Eberwein*, ed. and transl. by Lorraine Byrne Bodley, Dublin: Carysfort Press 2007, p. 157.

4.5.4 Turning inward in moments of transition

A piece with as many emotional build-ups as *Proserpina* requires just as many moments to reduce the tension, whether positive or negative, and return almost inward, as it were, and, from there, to navigate again towards a new thought and thus a new emotional sequence. Jelgerhuis describes such moments in various roles of his *Toneel Studien* manuscript as 'zich bezinnen' (to reflect), 'tot zich zelf keren' (to contemplate), 'zich hernemend' (to recover).⁸⁸ Such transformations from a highly

⁸⁸ See Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*. For 'Zig intussen ogenblikkelijk herneemende', see the role of Avogaro, p. 62; 'mij herneemende', role of Gijsbrecht van Aemstel, p. 87; 'mij herneemende', role of Siméon, p. 126; 'tot mij zelve keurende Zonk ik Een poos in gedachten over 't geen gepasseert was, – mij bezinnend' role of

passionate state to recovery require attention in preparation as they often take time. In spoken theatre, an actor or actress can take as much time as needed in a monologue, but when two or more characters on stage interact, the actors ideally adapt their timing to each other. In monodramas there is no interaction with other actors, but the transitions for recovery are often accompanied, anticipated, or followed by the music, and must therefore be well prepared with the ensemble.

4.5.5 Imagination and atmosphere

In some passages, the music (musical theme and colour of instrumentation) created a particular atmosphere, which I interpreted with a corresponding affect, while my interpretation of Goethe's text indicated another affect. For instance, the text may suggest anger/sadness even as Eberwein's music illustrates a contrasting passion through a tonality in major. In such cases, which prevails, the music or the text? Contrasting interpretations of the text and the music usually demanded going deeper (into one's imagination), and looking for another layer within the story. The solution was either found during the rehearsals – through experimentation and by discussing the various viewpoints of Proserpina's situation – or in moments of reflection in between rehearsals. It was often a question of recalibrating whether the music had a following or a guiding function. In case of the music as a following function, Proserpina's text propels the action, which the music deepens or comments on. The guiding function in the music can be seen as an upbeat to Proserpina's next thought, or a foreshadowing of the next passage: preparing, even warning the audience, while Proserpina herself is yet unaware of the imminent change. (Again, both cases can be compared to an aside or a line spoken by another character in a play, whereas in a monodrama, it is the music informing the audience.)

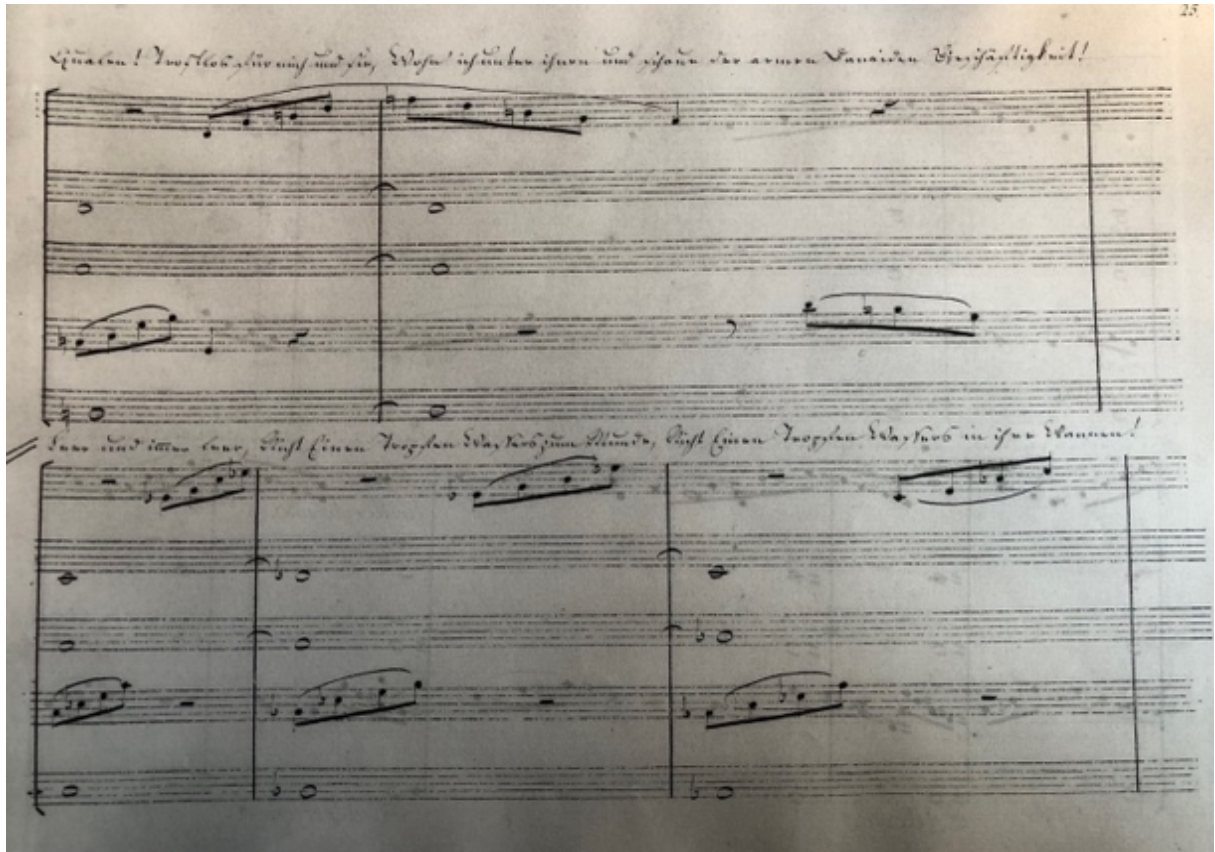
4.5.6 The manuscript and the *Proserpina* edition

In the case of differences between the 2007 Byrne Bodley edition and the Weimar manuscript, we tried to favour the latter. Those differences were few and minor, however, and I will only mention the two examples that had the biggest impact on our rendering of the monodrama. In the 2007 edition, the text is printed and distributed differently over certain bars in comparison with the handwritten version (for the latter, see Score 4).⁸⁹ Although both in her editorial note and in a footnote to the score Byrne Bodley explains that the text is to be delivered freely according to the interpretation of the performer, seeing the linear distribution of the text in the manuscript was still helpful. (Score 4 shows the visual effect of the continuous flow of words written out above the musical score). As Byrne Bodley describes it, 'performers take charge of the inflection and especially of the placement of their speech against the musical background, which can radically

Siméon, p. 128; '*weederom tot zig zelve keerende*', role of Siméon, p. 135. For the citation of a similar description by the French actor Francois-Joseph Talma of taking time for a character's thoughts and/or feelings, see Dene Barnett, *The Art of Gesture*, p. 375.

⁸⁹ See, for instance, *Proserpina*, Weimar, GSA 32/61, fols 24^v and 25^r of the Weimar manuscript and Byrne Bodley, *Proserpina*, pp. 142–143.

alter the meaning of the work'.⁹⁰ Indeed, the exact timing of the words on the music was crucial to obtaining the desired atmosphere, particularly in the following passage. In bars 333–336 (Byrne Bodley, *Proserpina*) the harmony changes while Proserpina says: '*Ach, das fliehende Wasser | Möcht ich dem Tantalus schöpfen, | Mit lieblichen Früchten ihn sättigen! | Armer Alter! | Für gereiztes Verlangen gestraft!*' ('Oh, I would like to draw the fleeing water | For Tantalus! | Satisfy him with sweet fruits! | Poor old man, | Punished for provoked craving!').⁹¹



Score 4, *Proserpina. Monodrama von Goethe mit Musik von Carl Eberwein.*
Klassik Stiftung, Weimar, Goethe-und Schiller-Archiv, GSA 32/61, fol. 25r,

The initial arpeggios in B flat Major (the first two bars) lend Proserpina's wish a positive (hopeful longing) tone, but the tonality changes into b flat minor, which, when timed with '*armer Alter*', gives these words a beautiful sadness with the warmth of compassion (pity). This is also a more meaning-based solution for the timing within the given four bars. The first three (hopeful longing) lines are spoken faster, within the first two bars, leaving more time to express compassion/pity in the last two. Another difference between the two scores was the omission of the text '*wie sie schöpfen und füllen! Leer und immer leer!*' ('empty, [and] always empty! How they draw and fill!')⁹² in the Weimar manuscript (see Score 4). Goethe's published text and Bodley's edition includes these lines:

⁹⁰ Byrne Bodley, *Proserpina*, p. xiv, xvi; for an example in the orchestral score: p. 64; in the piano reduction: p. 142.

⁹¹ Transl. Byrne Bodley, *Proserpina*, p. 174.

⁹² Transl. Byrne Bodley, *Proserpina*, p. 175.

Leer und immer leer!
 (Wie sie schöpfen und füllen!
 Leer und immer leer!)
Nicht einen Tropfen Wassers zum Munde,
Nicht einen Tropfen Wassers in ihre Wannen!
Leer und immer leer!
Ach, so ist's mit dir auch, mein Herz!

In order to declaim this text with the given music, however, one would need to speak quickly, slow down the tempo of the musical accompaniment, or add a bar to the score. Byrne Bodley provides an example of the latter practice in her editorial note to *Proserpina*, mentioning repeated bars to accommodate the right delivery in Liszt's melodrama *Lenore*.⁹³ In our production of *Proserpina* performed in the Netherlands at Gasthuis Leeuwenbergh in Utrecht in 2021, Belogurov and I chose this option: he inserted a bar (a repetition of the arpeggio in the previous bar), and I spoke the complete text. In preparation of the 2022 performance at the Theatre Festival Overacting in Leiden, I tried the version with the shortened text: the extra bar was left out, and the timing of music and speech was harmonious.

In retrospect, both options worked. The threefold repetition of '*Leer und immer leer*' in the first version enhances the hopelessness of the situation, but requires a decrease in volume, which in the first performance venue was possible, though less so in the Leiden theatre where the acoustic was dry. The shorter version was thus a good solution for the Leiden theatre. The concern of remaining audible with the speaking voice against the music is recurrent in many melodramas. Apart from finding the right balance between the instruments and the voice and employing a clear articulation, moving to the front of the stage provided another solution to this problem.

4.6 TWO VENUES: THE STAGE AND THE PERFORMANCE

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, Postscript and I performed *Proserpina* in the Netherlands one year later than planned, at Gasthuis Leeuwenbergh in Utrecht in 2021 and at the Leiden theatre in 2022. The choices related to each venue, such as the lighting, the placement of the musicians, the sets, and the positioning of the chorus, directly influenced the performances.⁹⁴

4.6.1 The first venue

Gasthuis Leeuwenbergh is a historical venue, part of a late sixteenth-century pesthouse, renovated in 2020 and equipped with the newest technology to manipulate the lighting and even the acoustics.⁹⁵ I decided to use everything this modern venue has to offer to create the atmosphere

⁹³ Byrne Bodley, *Proserpina*, p. xiv.

⁹⁴ I owe sincere and grateful thanks to Xavier Vandamme, who invited me co-curate an exhibition on acting, and gave me the opportunity of performing *Proserpina* at the Festival Oude Muziek Utrecht 2021. Without him, this second case study would not have been the same.

⁹⁵ <https://leeuwenbergh.me> (accessed 3 March 2023).

most fitting to our conception of Proserpina's story. This concert venue, created within a huge space, was acoustically favourable to the speaking voice; I could make use of louder and softer tones in my delivery, which would be heard by the audience as long as I kept articulating clearly. The musicians were seated on the same level as the audience, and there were windows on one side of the seats. As the performances took place in daytime, the audience and musicians were visible, and the effect of the stage lighting was not as strong as it might have been, had it been possible to darken the auditorium. I created a lighting plan with the help of the venue's technician, which was not based on historical sources (my research did not include investigations of footlights, chandeliers, or other lighting systems in the Weimar theatre in 1815).⁹⁶ The lighting was devised to enhance the atmosphere created in the text and the music, and to differentiate the various stages of Proserpina's story, reflecting the different situations in the dramatic development of the piece. For instance: Proserpina's happy childhood memories in the field of Enna (a warm soft yellow), the abduction (darker), the prayer-like section in which Proserpina addresses her father (dark with a spotlight from above), one for the enchantment of the pomegranate (a warm pink), and red flaming lights for the final section, increasing in strength each time the chorus sings to Proserpina.

Placing the chorus: There were complications concerning the placing of the singers as described in the sources. The Weimar manuscript indicates a first and second chorus, placed on the right and left side of the theatre, first singing in alternation, then together.⁹⁷ Bodley's edition mentions '*unsichtbar*' and 'off-stage' for the chorus entries, and Riemer describes his experience of this effect as '*Wie ein unsichtbares Geisterchor so schienen die Stimmen von allen Seiten einzudringen*' (the voices seemed to invade from all sides, like an invisible chorus of ghosts).⁹⁸ For various reasons, the singers could not be placed behind both sides behind the stage. Instead, to create part of the ghost-like atmosphere described by Riemer, the chorus started singing from an area invisible to the audience but beside it, moving closer as they continued to sing. This increased the volume of the voices as they approached, and had the effect of an invasion as the singers became visible standing near the audience.

The acoustical construction and the depth of the stage did not allow for theatre sets, or for a tableau to be revealed behind a second curtain on-stage. Without the sets, we decided against the '*geforderte Granatbaum*' (the required pomegranate tree) mentioned by Goethe⁹⁹ and other trees or bushes on stage, mentioned in the eye-witness account by Gries.¹⁰⁰ As mentioned in section 4.3 on costume, this determined my choice to use one, instead of three veils, in the performances. Without the trees and bushes to hang the veils on, I would have had to carry all three veils at all

⁹⁶ As this dissertation focuses on the works of Jelgerhuis, I decided to concentrate on those aspects Jelgerhuis has written about. His comments on lighting in describing his portrayal of Koning Lear in 1832 were not enough sufficient to plan the lighting for a full performance. See Jelgerhuis, *De tooneelspeler J. Jelgerhuis* R_z, pp. 15, 18.)

⁹⁷ *Proserpina*, Weimar, GSA 32/61 'Erster Chor auf dem Theater zur Rechten', fol. 37^r; 'Zweiter Chor auf der linken Seite des Theaters', fol. 38^r; 'Zweiter Chor, Erster Chor', fol. 40^r; 'Erster und 2^{ter} Chor', fols. 41^v and 43^v.

⁹⁸ The word '*unsichtbar*' (Byrne Bodley, *Proserpina*, p. 160) is in keeping with the libretto. See 'Aufführung', in *Journal für Literatur*, p. 23; and '*Proserpina*', in *Journal für Literatur*, p. 239.

⁹⁹ 'Proserpina' in *Morgenblatt*, p. 542; see also *Goethes Werke*, WA 1. 40, p. 110.

¹⁰⁰ See the citation by Gries above in section 4.3, 'The costume'.

times, or to lay them on the stage floor, which would have been neither a practical nor an elegant option. The stage set in the Leiden theatre, one year later, did include bushes and trees, but again I decided against the multiple veils, as there was no time to practice hanging and picking them up.

4.6.2 The second venue

The Leidse Schouwburg, built in 1705, is the oldest theatre in the Netherlands that is still in use as a theatre. It has been renovated many times, but in 1997 the auditorium was reconstructed to resemble the interior of 1865.¹⁰¹ Performing at this theatre offered an opportunity to work with historical stage sets from the Van den Berghe collection.¹⁰² Although both the sets and the theatre are of a later date than the 1815 *Proserpina* production, they created a harmonious visual unity with the Schouwburg interior, my costume, and my movements.



Figure 13, Video still of the *Proserpina* performance at the Leidse Schouwburg, 2022 showing the stage sets ‘De Grot’, part of the Van den Berghe collection.

Photo by Marieke Wijntjes.

In agreement with Jed Wentz, who was in charge of the organization and the stage sets, I selected a set called ‘Rotsen’ (Rocks) (visible in Figure 13), with a cut out backdrop and two shutters, to represent ‘Eine öde, felsigte gegend, Höhle im Grund, auf der Seite ein Granatbaum mit Früchten’ (A desolate,

¹⁰¹ See ‘Informatie over theater’ on Theater.nl, <https://www.theater.nl/leiden/leidse-schouwburg/#Impressie> (accessed 3 March 2023).

¹⁰² Photo: Marieke Wijntjes. For Wentz’s blog on the Van den Berghe stage sets, see Jed Wentz, ‘What goes where’, [on the Van den Berghe stage sets](#) (accessed 15 August 2025).

rocky region, a cave in the background, on one side, a pomegranate tree with fruit) described in early versions of the libretto.¹⁰³ Behind this was a backdrop showing a mountain and a lake.¹⁰⁴ Supplementary poplars, rocks, and a pomegranate tree completed the set. The pomegranate tree had cut-outs to allow the fruits to light up at the moment that hell turns to spring. This model was based on a similar construction of a painted orange tree (Figure 14, left) and grape vines (Figure 14, right) which I had seen at the Český Krumlov Palace Theatre.



Figure 14, Stage set pieces of an orange tree (left) and grape vines (right), (c. 1765–1770), spruce wood, painted with tempera. Slots (oranges, grapes) are covered from the reverse with waxed paper, with tempera painting. At the reverse, small hooks were fixed for little candles, so the painted and translucent fruits were shining. Pictures displayed with the permission of the collections of the State Castle Český Krumlov, administered by the Czech National Heritage Institute.

The set-up resulted in a shallow stage area, front to back. Not only did this strengthen the feeling of Proserpina's entrapment in hell, but it probably also reflected historical practice: with this set-up there would have been space behind the backdrop to reveal a final tableau vivant.¹⁰⁵ In this theatre, the musicians played from the pit, except for the traverso player, who was seated in the nearest box (and the person manipulating a thunder sheet, who stood on the first balcony, across from the stage). The four singers now sang from the pit, unseen. We would have needed a much larger chorus to create a stereo effect as described above while remaining audible from backstage in this acoustic.

¹⁰³ See, for instance, *Goethes Sämtliche Werke*, 5 (Leipzig: Der Tempel [n.d.]), p. 123; and 'Proserpina, ein Monodram', in *Der Teutsche Merkur*, (Weimar: February 1778) 1/4, p. 97 (this version of Goethe's text is in prose). The English transl. I used here is taken from Byrne Bodley, *Proserpina*, p. 173.

¹⁰⁴ For information on what the sets may have looked like, see Maisak, 'Theater-Effekte'. For Goethe's commentary on the sets, see 'Proserpina' in *Morgenblatt*, p. 543; see also *Goethes Werke*, WA 1. 40, pp. 109–111.

¹⁰⁵ See *Goethes Werke*, WA 1. 40, pp. 113–116. For information on the final tableau vivant and how it may have looked, see Maisak, 'Theater-Effekte', pp. 125–129.

A different lighting plan was created for this performance: there were fewer changes in the general atmosphere but additional other effects. Apart from the pomegranates lighting up to draw Proserpina's attention to the tree, we added the sound of a thunder sheet to simulate thunder and lightning (before and after Proserpina's words '*Im fernen Schoße des Abgrunds* | [scheinen] *Dumpe Gewitter tosend sich zu erzeugen*' ([it seems like,] in the womb of the abyss, | muffled thunderstorms are beginning to roar!) towards the end of the monodrama. Although these effects were based on historical stage practices, to my knowledge, no back-lit pomegranate or thunder effects were mentioned by Goethe or other members of the audience in 1815. Adding them to the *Proserpina* performance, then, was an example of my artistic freedom. As discussed in Chapter 1, 'Jelgerhuis's costumes', Jelgerhuis described choices of artistic freedom (as opposed or as addition to the information in the consulted sources) in favour of the dramatic effect or good taste. My choices in this performance were based on the content of the libretto and served both to increase the dramatic effect and to help convey the story to the audience. The thunderstorm in particular had a positive impact on the performance in Leiden. It changed the timing of the music and the spoken text and intensified my interpretation of that last scene. For instance, as neither the musicians nor I knew exactly when the lightning or thunder would occur, it added an element of unpredictability. At some moments, the musicians had to play louder to balance the volume of the thunder sheet. Moreover, I had to wait for the sound of the thunder to pass before speaking again so that I be heard by the audience. The threat and violence created by the unexpectedness and the volume made me recoil into a fearful attitude, protecting myself by covering myself with part of the mantle. The surrounding stage sets not only added to my imagination but also allowed for different stage actions: entering the scene from upstage, the larger space allowed for bigger steps and thus more movement of the costume. I could place my crown, veil, and mantle on the set pieces representing rocks – this changed my movement as I did not need to kneel down to place them on the stage floor. The curtain was closed during the overture, opening just before my entrance, and closed again with the last chords of the music after Proserpina's last words. In my estimation, these staging aspects added to the magic of the performance. Without a curtain, the audience already takes in the atmosphere while they are entering and talking. This merges the world on-stage with the real world. With the curtain, the audience is allowed a view into Pluto's underworld only for the duration of the story, after which, they return to reality again. However simple, this theatrical principle is important and situationally ideal. However, the separation between these worlds can also be created in venues without a stage or a curtain: the narration initiates when the music starts (as was the case at Gasthuis Leeuwenbergh), for instance, or when the lights are turned on or off.

4.6.3 Audience

Ultimately, my hope was to find a practice-based acting style through which the audience (in 2021 and 2022) would experience the attitudes and transitions not only as aesthetically pleasing, but also as emotionally stirring.¹⁰⁶ Although today's audience is different from an early nineteenth-century

¹⁰⁶ My aim was to allow the piece to realize its potential — a moment of enchantment (visual, audible, emotional, and cognitive) — as I came to envision it within this style, in which the imagination of the performers and the audience is immersed in the story. By performing in this acting style and sharing its particularities with the audience, I hope to contribute to a broader diversity within 21st-century performance practice.

one, I tried not to adapt the staging of *Proserpina* to my idea of its potential reception. However, in retrospect I made at least the following decisions with the modern audience's reception in mind: firstly, a short lecture-introduction held by Wentz previous to the performance was intended to give the audience a minimum of context as to the story and the research behind the performance. Secondly, I added the lighting plan in Gasthuis Leeuwenberg (2021) as well as the lighting pomegranate tree and thunder in Leidse Schouwburg (2022) to visually and audibly support the story for the non-German speaking part of the audience. Prior to the 2021 performances, notwithstanding Byrne Bodley's positive account on the reception of the Proserpina myth with contemporary audiences, I was concerned that today's audience might feel detached when viewing a performance based on nineteenth-century aesthetic ideals. Instead, many of the audience's reactions indicated otherwise.¹⁰⁷ I do not know what the entire audience thought during or after each performance (even a survey cannot guarantee this knowledge). My impression of the event is subjective and based on the quality of attention and silence, reactions in the audience during the performance (their facial expressions and body language during the applause), reviews, feedback from colleagues, scholars, and audience members previously unknown to me. Given the sum of these elements, it now seems to me that the narrative and music of *Proserpina* still have the power to move present-day audiences, and that many nineteenth-century attitudes, when embodied in performance, can still convey and even strengthen the emotional portrayal and reception of this monodrama.

4.7 FUTURE RESEARCH

Conducting future, practice-based research on *Proserpina* could entail adding other aspects of the descriptions regarding the 1815 production to present-day *Proserpina* performances. For instance, staging the final *tableau vivant* and/or adding a double chorus (singing from both sides backstage) could influence both the performance and the audience's experience of the drama. The space on-stage at the Gasthuis Leeuwenberg did not allow for the final tableau, and staging the tableau at the Leidse Schouwburg would have required additional costumes, actors, an additional stage set, and mostly more time in the theatre, which were no option within the context of this production. Because the tableau takes up only the very last moments of *Proserpina*, I suspect that adding it would strengthen the final dramatical impact of the melodrama, yet omitting it did not disturb the story line. Moreover, I am curious how a raked stage, historically informed lighting, and the use of veils in different colours, would affect a performance of *Proserpina*. My experience on historical stages taught me that a raked stage has a slight influence on one's manner of walking and posture, for instance. This might influence my sensation as a performer, but might not be visible to the audience. Differently coloured veils, on the other hand, mainly have a symbolic meaning and not a practical one. The organization of placing and removing the garments for symbolic reasons could appear awkward and unnatural to a Western-European audience today. This is a presumption, and would benefit from actual testing.

¹⁰⁷ For a discussion of the Proserpina myth and its reception by audiences today, see Byrne Bodley, 'From Mythology to Social Politics', pp. 36, 67.

4.8 REFLECTION ON NINETEENTH-CENTURY SOURCES IN PERFORMANCE PRACTICE TODAY

In retrospect, the work inspired by the sources mentioned above changed various aspects of my performance practice. A time span of more than two years (comprising the research, the preparation, and the performances in different venues) had allowed for experimentation with and development of the various acting tools. Where my practice based on Jelgerhuis's *Theoretische lessen* had given me a basis of stage attitudes, and the *Toneel Studien* taught me the importance of contrast in delivery, my work on the artistic attitudes and the merging of the different styles further expanded my expressive options. I enriched my repertoire of attitudes, and the work on movement, vocal delivery, costume, and the interaction with the musicians taught me to push my creative boundaries in the transitions from one attitude to another, whether working in silence, with spoken text, or with music. My search for a rendition of *Proserpina* guided by the ideal of beauty inspired by antiquity (shared by Jelgerhuis and Goethe), linked the historically unrelated sources, resulting in a unified acting style. Images including costume designs, statues, and paintings, functioned as clear examples for direct imitation, whereas the transitions between the images in terms of tempo, fluidity, and contrast left more artistic freedom and more responsibility to the present-day performer. Yet in order to express Proserpina's thoughts and feelings, meaningful transitions were required. The acting style, inspired by antique statuary and featuring the expressive use of costume as well as noble and dance-like movements, had to become so familiar to my body and mind that the complex interplay between thought and imagination, text and music, emotion and movement could merge into a multi-layered yet unified flow. Only then could each moment and movement on stage become a natural consequence of the dramatic content.

Conclusion

In this dissertation I recounted my trajectory in search of new knowledge regarding the works of Johannes Jelgerhuis as sources of stagecraft for the historically informed performer. I investigated how Jelgerhuis's lesser-known works could contribute to a better understanding of his treatise *Theoretische lessen* and of his acting style, and how this in turn could contribute to the field of HIPP; how a training based on Jelgerhuis's works could enrich my own artistic practice; and how I could transform my newly acquired knowledge and techniques into training materials intended to guide and inspire other performers.

My original contribution to knowledge touches on theoretical and practical fields of study and consists in

- casting light on Jelgerhuis's lesser-known works as a means to aid (through contextualization, analysis, and comparison) an informed present-day interpretation of his treatise *Theoretische lessen*;
- describing how Jelgerhuis's lesser-known works add to the information in his treatise, and how combining these sources can provide new (that is, currently forgotten) knowledge for the theatre historian, the performer, and others interested in HIPP of the early nineteenth century;
- applying my knowledge of Jelgerhuis's sources to inform my own training and performance practice
- creating acting tools for performers based on Jelgerhuis's sources.

I will follow this order as much as possible in the following sections, asking the reader to consider that elements of these four aspects overlapped in my study and practice, as they do in this Conclusion. Before elaborating on the four aspects, however, I would like to share the following general reflection:

Jelgerhuis's legacy provides a combination of material related to interconnecting disciplines, as it contains elements of education, theory, art, and practice. My exploration of the versatility of his works shows him balancing between and finally uniting multiple talents and professions as they intersected on different levels, similar to the balance in the professional lives of artist-researchers and/or artist-teachers today. A thorough understanding and interpretation of Jelgerhuis's published and unpublished works entails a consideration of layers of information pertaining to these disciplines; particularly so when one aims to apply elements of his oeuvre to physical practice.

It would be a misrepresentation to see Jelgerhuis's *Theoretische lessen* as a complete manual for stagecraft: the manuscripts (in particular *Toneel Studien*) must also be taken into account. The treatise is technical and provides basic knowledge for aspiring actors, whereas the manuscripts document Jelgerhuis's interpretation of specific roles. When viewed through the lens of his lesser-known works, *Theoretische lessen* proposes rules to inform, rather than to rigidly constrain the actor's art, allowing for adaptations of the rules to differences between stage characters and their emotions within the context of 'high art', or nature perfected. The world of the stage as presented by

Jelgerhuis combines rules of acting and costuming, which occasionally can be broken for practical reasons or to improve the dramatic effect, as long as *welstand* and *waarheid* are respected.¹ The actors' awareness and application of *welstand* in costuming and movements contributes to the visual harmony of the '*the schilderij*' (the painting) on-stage, while *waarheid* safeguards the ideal of representing characters whose emotions, movements, and costume correspond to the play text.

My practice of interlacing information from Jelgerhuis's oeuvre with physical work led me to the following conclusion regarding my two main sources: if the *Theoretische lessen* prepares the actor's body, the *Toneel Studien* prepares their mind and emotions. In other words, these two sources complement each other. While Jelgerhuis's documentation, in the manuscript, of his own acting significantly broadens the repertoire of emotional transitions and expands the information on timing, vocal delivery, and physical interaction between characters on-stage, the *Theoretische lessen* provides a foundation for stage behaviour by providing basic concepts and physical examples. This means that, although Jelgerhuis did not propose a didactic function for the 1811 *Toneel Studien*, elements of this manuscript can be used as teaching material, following the tradition of learning through imitation. Jelgerhuis's lesser-known works therefore deserve to be employed alongside the *Theoretische lessen* as a source for HIPP and in the discussion of European theatre history of the early nineteenth century. Both in research and in practice, his writings may bring us one step closer to understanding early nineteenth-century acting techniques in the Netherlands and contribute to a better comparison between acting practices across Europe at the time.

Bringing manuscript and manual together

The material from Jelgerhuis's manuscripts as treated in this dissertation only shows the tip of the iceberg: I focused on one of Jelgerhuis's seven *Toneel Studien* and have merely mentioned his other manuscripts and costume designs. However, a significant development has been made at the dissemination of Jelgerhuis's unpublished illustrated journals, as I transcribed most of the manuscripts in the archives and analysed the roles of Avogaro and Nero as I have done with the Siméon study.² Throughout the previous chapters I have addressed several gaps, mentioned in the Introduction, regarding information on acting in the *Theoretische lessen*. By establishing a deeper understanding of Jelgerhuis's oeuvre and its relevance for stage practitioners, this dissertation also lays the groundwork for further inquiry into other aspects of his legacy. The process of staging scenes from the play *Omasis, of Jozef in Egypte*, based on his descriptions of Siméon in the *Toneel Studien* manuscript (described in the first case study) convinced me of the effectiveness of practice-based research for this purpose. This form of experimentation exposes problems, raises questions, but also yields results that cannot always be foreseen by theoretical study of the texts alone. I suspect that future practical studies of Jelgerhuis's other six theatre studies can fill in more of the gaps in information concerning the stage practices in his acting style, specifically regarding

¹ For the purpose of this dissertation I have translated *welstand* as 'that which looks good'; a concept referring to beauty in form, harmonious proportions, and/or expression. For contextualization and translation of the terms *welstand* and *waarheid* (truth), see Chapter 1, sections 1.2.4 and 1.3.1, respectively.

² For the role of Avogaro, see Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*, pp. 35–69; for Siméon, see pp. 115–180; for Nero, see pp. 181–195.

blocking, declamation, and the timing of words to gestures. His thoughts on acting are reflected in his indications regarding e.g. the imagination, the passions, eye movements, muscle tension, gestures, and full body attitudes. The stage actions described in his manuscripts contain natural, everyday elements as well as features particular to Jelgerhuis's time and acting style. His style is marked by alternating passages—those revealing strong contrasts between the passions on the one hand, and slow, nuanced build-ups of tension on the other. Both manifest in all the acting parameters such as the voice, attitudes, and gestures; yet, however strong the passions may become, *welstand* and *waarheid* are essential to create a visual harmonious unity with the other actors, with the costumes, and the stage sets. Returning to the acting parameters not or barely mentioned in the *Theoretische lessen*, as listed in the Introduction, my research was able to shed light on the following:

- declamation (vocal contrast, volume, colour, articulation, pauses, timing)
- timing: word to gesture
- quality of execution (flowing or emphatic, quick or slow, and so on)
- blocking and interaction with other actors
- implementation of attitudes in the context of a scene on-stage
- use of imagination
- the creation of a character and the preparation of a role

My study of Jelgerhuis's manuscripts did not provide sufficient information to inform the last two aspects of acting listed in the Introduction. However, through experimentation — building on my practical artistic vocabulary grounded in the available material in his works, and by incorporating information from sources contemporary to Jelgerhuis, I was able to address them in Chapter 4:

- a mention of softer, more positive passions (such as longing and hope)
- the use of costume in practice (for instance of a mantle or a veil)

Additional aspects of stagecraft drawn from the manuscripts and discussed in this dissertation included the actor's relationship to the character, depth and limits of identification, the fourth wall, asides, soliloquies, tears and the voice, additional combinations of passions, additional gestures, stage entrances, claptrap, and decorum.

I have demonstrated, for example, how Jelgerhuis sought solutions to make the soliloquies and asides more plausible, how the vast variety of passions and transitions he described directly stemmed from his interpretation of and identification with the role, and how he approached the limits of identification (for instance, concerning the state of sadness in which tears impede the capacity to remain audible). In short, Jelgerhuis's manuscripts have allowed me a glimpse into the variety and intensity of an acting style that may seem (when based on the *Theoretische lessen* alone) merely visually artificial, repetitive, and static.

Historically informed acting techniques in 21st-century research and performance practice

Having experienced the fertile environment created when theatre practitioners join efforts with theatre historians, people specialized in theatre-related crafts, and scholars from other fields, I am convinced that discussion between these different fields of expertise is essential for historically informed productions. By exploring and by sharing information among colleagues (opening discussion among performers, theatre scholars, students, and teachers), those involved reciprocally inform and enrich their results and research. By documenting this work, elements of the outcomes and processes that may be useful in future projects are made available to others. A complicating factor regarding this exchange in research and practice in HIPP is exactly that historically informed theatre productions require expertise on numerous planes, and that they are expensive. Because in our present time governmental funding for the arts rarely suffices to cover the costs of entire historically informed productions, focusing on separate aspects of the craft may be the only viable option for many research projects (as it was for the case studies in Chapters 3 and 4). Although this division is not ideal, I believe that working on separate elements has advantages of its own (depth and focus of the research) and is worth pursuing. Such smaller projects can provide unexpected outcomes and can result in eventually inviting knowledge and techniques from the past in HIP as well as in other genres and art forms.

Whether in large-scale productions or more narrowly concentrated research projects, staying open to challenge prevailing ideas and modes in historically informed performance practice should be considered as an intrinsic part of investigating theatre practices based on historical sources. Awareness of an inevitable contemporary biased view of past practices need not impair engagement with historical material but instead may lead to additional in-depth exploration and appreciation of their present-day value; present-day interpretations and integrations of source-based practices can offer inspiring and empowering material for re-creation. My study of Jelgerhuis's works increasingly led me to view historically inspired research and practice with the following question in mind: 'What can I learn from studying craftsmanship of the past, and which elements can again flourish in the varied theatre landscape of the present?'

Unlocking the potential of attitudes and transitions

Here, I want to draw attention once more to the transitions between the various passions. Or to be more specific: the transitions through the various passions. By this second formulation I want to restate my belief that an embodied passion is, when performed well, and as indicated by Jelgerhuis, not static. The danger of applying historical information from the page to physical practice in our present time is the lack of kinetic examples, and if the actors are not given enough time to fully integrate the movements into their body and imagination, this can result in a stiff acting style in which performers mechanically shift from one passion or attitude to the next. Both in Jelgerhuis's manuscript and his treatise the bodily attitudes, although often inspired by statues are not described as motionless. Jelgerhuis warns against stiffness in acting and describes potential movements on different planes: both internal and external, providing material to work from the inside out (the imagination, the breath, the impulse) as well as from the outside in (the outer physical form and its effect on the imagination). Moreover, in his manuscript he describes how the character's thoughts are awakened to trigger an emotional transition into the next line of text,

and how thoughts concerning technical elements of acting can keep the emotions at bay when needed. Each actor is attentive to the text spoken by the other characters, using their imagination to act and react, thereby keeping the performance alive in the moment, not only for oneself, but also for the other actors as well as the audience, so that the entire picture lives. This use of the imagination, described in the *Toneel Studien*, in combination with practice, is the path to keeping each attitude alive. Although the use of the imagination is nothing new in the history of acting and actors, it is important to emphasize that the theoretical elements in the *Theoretische lessen* are to be viewed with the role of the actor's imagination in mind.

***Welstand* and *contrast* in practice**

Over the course of the research period, my conceptions of *welstand* and *contrast* have changed. Today the term *welstand* is used mainly for indicating well-being in life, often associated with material comfort and health. Having learned the difference between this material connotation and the concept of *welstand* as proposed in this thesis, my conception transformed in stages: after my first reading of the *Theoretische lessen*, I mainly noticed substantial adjustments, for instance of contrast between arm and leg positions. In time, my perception shifted increasingly towards *welstand* as indicator of harmony between the various elements, including imagination and *waarheid* as generators for physical outer changes. It became more related to an idea than to a recipe or formula for standing. When someone performs an attitude and then is asked to think of *welstand*, it is not only the outer shape of the performance that is altered. Ideally, it affects the various acting parameters from the inside out and can therefore also be perceived in very subtle alterations, for instance in the quality of movement, the gaze, or a minimal release of tension in the shoulders.

As with the concept of *welstand*, my interest in and sensibility for *contrast* developed over time. *Contrast* has become a tool of its own as an important vehicle of expression in the acting style based on Jelgerhuis's sources: one to employ in most of the discussed acting parameters (i.e. in alternating passages, and in smaller units such as the body, the voice, between attitudes, and between passions).

Naturalness and adaptability

Reflecting on the preparation, staging processes, and performance in my own work and in that of others, I conclude that gestures, attitudes and other acting tools/techniques strike me as unnatural or unfit for the stage when they are not yet quite integrated in the physical vocabulary and the imagination of the actor/student/performer. Once the vocabulary has become second nature to the performer, it can create a unification with the costume and theatre sets that results in the '*schilderij*' ('painting') to which Jelgerhuis often refers. This thespian painting has the function of transporting and enchanting us, and just as we accept costumes and theatrical entourages that are not part of our usual environment and fashion, the gestures and attitudes, when performed with such ease as seemingly to belong to that character, will seem natural in their environment, pulling an audience further into the theatrical enchantment. Ideally, gestures and stage behaviour in a particular style can become a tacit agreement between the audience and the performer to immerse themselves in an illusion together. They are part of the means whereby theatre art is expressed,

just as skates are for ice skating, singing for opera and musicals, pointe shoes for ballet, and specific harmonic frameworks to specific musical styles.

The ideal of natural stage behaviour is an ever-changing concept, influenced throughout the centuries by many factors. As others before me have pointed out, what is natural acting to us today is far from what it may have been to early eighteenth- and nineteenth-century actors and their audience. What is important, is to choose the acting vocabulary and style for a particular production or scene, and, unless one aims for a specific effect, to stick to it. Performers who do not specialize in a single style can be confronted with a time gap of centuries between productions. They would benefit from getting a sense of the gestures and facial expression appropriate for historically informed performances by candlelight, while also being able to adapt to modern productions in which, occasionally, each detail of facial expression is projected onto gigantic screens, and/or captured on video. Accordingly, most actors, performers, or students, will be well-served by cultivating a vast and flexible physical and mental archive of movements and images—firstly, so that their prepared part looks and feels natural (as if speaking another well-known language); secondly, so that they may draw upon a broad vocabulary to avoid repetition; and thirdly, so that they can improvise when necessary or desirable during a performance. The exercises and my research in the two case studies were steps or ways to expand this vocabulary, not only for my own practice, but also for other performers.

Bodily contrast, welstand, and confidence

I have seen in colleagues, students and myself how, with practice, the knowledge and physical understanding of *welstand* and *contrast* can help performers to feel more confident in their own bodies (on-stage as well as in daily life) by increasing one's awareness of their own body and its potential freedom of expression; notwithstanding the search for asymmetry, their body is balanced. Moreover, the amplitude of large gestures required for various attitudes, trains performers to feel comfortable also when their arms, chest, and shoulder region are free and open. This sense of physical confidence is not self-evident with less experienced performers and can be of use on-stage as well as in speaking in public and similar situations.

Historical acting education: past - present - future

The research process described in this dissertation broadened my expressive vocabulary and my sense of freedom on-stage as a professional singer. By submitting my body and mind to practical training based on information in Jelgerhuis's *Theoretische lessen* and other works, I developed a different way of reading historical dramatic texts and libretti as indicators for specific aspects of the studied acting style (such as contrasting attitudes and their transitions). This practice-based research trajectory became important in my teaching historical acting techniques to singers, as it enabled me to provide them with acting tools while ensuring that their vocal technique was not jeopardized. I believe that students who have experienced these basics at conservatories, will be more flexible in adjusting to historically informed performances as well as modern productions, and will feel more empowered in expressing and performing with ease. Historical stagings may increase in quality when the focus during rehearsal can be more on dramatic content and

expression, and less on form or style (as the performer is accustomed to delivering with naturalness and ease in this style). I therefore join Dionysios Kyropoulos in his plea to include acting techniques based on historical sources in the conservatories' curricula for singers, particularly, in both the early music and classical departments.³

Future development of my training material

Some of the most accessible results of my study are likely to be the exercises and the information drawn from Jelgerhuis's works as inspiration for didactic tools, training, and performing. The stereotypical characters presented in the *Theoretische lessen*, which are often useful for inexperienced actors, can be extended into varied and profound characterizations with information drawn from Jelgerhuis's manuscripts (the first case study, Chapter 3, is an example of this process). The exercises (Chapter 2) and the building blocks for creating a character (Chapter 3) can be used for training both the physical techniques and the imagination of students and professional performers, so as to aid them in finding ways of expressing the character they wish to portray on-stage with ease and freedom of expression within their desired gradation of *welstand*. In this way, these tools are an addition to other historically informed acting techniques, but more specifically a way to adopt and understand the acting style inspired by attitudes deployed not only in the early nineteenth century in the Netherlands, but throughout Europe.

The exercises, other elements of training, and the results presented here are not intended as the only way to achieve historically inspired acting. They can now be compared further with other sources on historical theatre and acting practices, and I am hopeful that they will continue to be applied in practice as a means to stimulate students and performers to develop their own style, but with a solid basis to rely on, in which their own specialities can flourish. My aim is to pass on all stylistic options in a manner that they become so comfortable for the performer that they experience a sense of freedom, in which each option becomes so connected with their imagination and taste that they can decide for themselves how to adjust to each situation to achieve their expressive goals. The techniques and exercises leave ample space for further development of the tools based on Jelgerhuis's sources. Separate elements can be combined with other methods, techniques, and sources relating to theatre or visual arts, to adapt these tools to earlier or later styles and different genres. The one element that is crucial in any combination is the imagination, as only this will allow for binding all the others together. If a historically informed performance is the aim, a notion of *welstand*, contrast, and ease in performing are required, the amount of which is to be adapted to the character portrayed.

Order and methodology

Working on Jelgerhuis's *Theoretische lessen* resulted in methodological insights, eventually changing my method of presenting teaching material. This development was influenced by the work of Anne Smith and her perspective on the body and historical acting as a teacher of Alexander Technique. Having received my own training in acting techniques based on Austin's treatise *Chironomia* as one of the main sources, I perhaps stuck to this source too closely in my first years of teaching. As

³ Kyropoulos, 'Teaching Acting to Singers', pp. vii, 307–308.

Austin's notation system requires the ability to distinguish different but precise shapes of the hands, I used to introduce the students to these shapes (with a notion of painterliness) early in the process. This occasionally resulted in tension in the hands, and at times artificial-looking gestures, as the rest of their body and mind were not yet free and available to shape the hands and fingers with naturalness and ease in the heat of a specific passion or situation. I had put *welstand* before ease of motion—or in modern terms: style before substance. I then realized the benefit of the order and methodology in the *Theoretische lessen*, in which the balance of the whole body (contrapposto and contrasts) is presented first, and the hands later. I now introduce the details for specific hand positions later in the teaching process, and less explanation is needed. When the students' bodies are free, they mostly already shape their hands in various painterly ways, as they have seen examples in paintings, in my movements, or in those of advanced fellow students. Their gestures then originate from their own imagination: they contain *welstand* while they look easy and seem natural. At this stage, working with attitudes as well as Austin's notation is an efficient working method, both for teaching and in my own performance practice.

Pitfalls and proposed solutions

The following reflection regarding the sequence of acting tools and terminology (*waarheid* and *welstand*, discussed in Chapter 1) is intended for performers that are new to historically informed acting techniques and to adapting the creative processes to their individual needs. **Pitfalls:** the danger of prioritising *welstand*, painterliness, or gracefulness early in the physical practice lies in an artificial result of only outer body and style, when imagination and *waarheid* are not yet integrated with movement. If only *waarheid* and imagination are prioritized, the passions may claim the body and one may not express the best results for a historically informed production: *welstand* and technique are lacking. **Proposed solution:** Rotating between small building blocks to stimulate a physical and cognitive understanding through embodiment and observation of visual examples. The initial focus, for instance, can include *contrast* and *welstand* through work on attitudes and the imagination. This creates a sense of balance of the body. When naturalness and ease are found in standing, sitting, and walking, and painterliness and gracefulness have become clear concepts through visual observation, all elements can progressively be combined to portray the character with *waarheid* and *welstand*. The exact sequence of presenting the various building blocks will vary slightly between different groups or individuals and can be combined with (teaching) material from other sources. **To summarize:** in general, isolating and focusing on solely one term until it is fully integrated before moving to the next is likely to be counterproductive. The solution lies in presenting the various elements in small alternating building blocks, and in returning cycles, increasingly overlapping and combining, until all elements have become a unity. When one building block returns, it has been enriched in the meantime by the others in between.

Perfecting and perfectionism

Perfectionism today is often considered a negative influence on people's well-being (potentially contributing to anxiety, procrastination and impostor syndrome).⁴ However, performers are pressed to produce faultless material (for websites, pictures, audio and video recordings,) to promote their artistic skills as a product. It may be important to emphasize that this is not the idea of perfection I want to promote today when citing Jelgerhuis's call for perfection in Chapters 1, 3, and 4 or my own references to the phrase 'nature perfected.' My aim for perfecting one's acting skills is to try to improve one's practice and performance by understanding and working with the idiosyncrasy of each performer, including their own distinctive qualities and boundaries. I hope that my research will not inspire performers to see perfection in their practice as a finished product, but that it will instead encourage the idea of an ongoing journey of practice to obtain and develop freedom of expression on-stage. As renditions of the dramatic repertoire of the past require an understanding of the means whereby it can be conveyed with a strong effect and to a high level, this freedom of expression can then be deployed to make performances more exciting and moving. Similarly, the practical examples in this research are not intended as a perfect or 'correct' product or formula. It is my aim to share my experience to inspire others in finding their own versions and combinations of the proposed material and to create hybrid techniques.

Coda

Film actress Natalie Portman says in the introduction to her online masterclass on acting: "This is a job about your imagination."⁵ She explains that putting oneself in the place of the character, whether from the perspective of the audience or the actors, is 'an act of empathy.' These citations of Portman resonate with descriptions in Jelgerhuis's *Toneel Studien* manuscript. Just as Jelgerhuis recalls how he imagined himself in the footsteps of the character, thinking of the possible motives behind a character's actions for a truthful rendition on-stage, actors today, in preparing a role, learn to see through the eyes and emotions of this other human (or deity, animal, or mythological) character. The capacity to understand, recognize, and execute the facial expressions and muscle tension relating to various passions are additional ways to portray a character on-stage. This skill serves to recognize and react to expressions of fellow actors while they develop their characters in real time on-stage, potentially lifting the interaction between the characters (and therefore lifting the performance) to another expressive level. By discussing these aspects of Jelgerhuis's oeuvre, and by sharing his description of these acting skills, I wanted to draw attention not only to the differences but also the similarities at the core work of creating a character. Although centuries have passed and acting styles change, I am confident that elements of the past can still be useful for stagecraft today and can contribute to a generation of performers who continue moving and sharing the passions through the arts and on the living painting of the stage.

⁴ For an example of literature discussing the positive and negative sides to perfectionism, especially for students, see Mirjam Pol, *Van Stress naar success. Praktische wegwijzer voor studenten* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2022), pp. 86–125.

⁵ Trailer for 'Natalie Portman Teaches Acting', on Masterclass.com, <https://www.masterclass.com/classes/natalie-portman-teaches-acting> (accessed 12 July 2025).

References

Sources before 1900

‘Aufführung des Trauerspiels Zenobia, nach Calderon, und des Melodrama Proserpina, neu motivirt von Göthe’, ascribed author: Wilhelm Friedrich Riemer, in *Journal für Literatur, Luxus und Mode*, 30 (Weimar: Carl Bertuch, April 1815), 221–232.

Algemeene Konst- en letter-bode voor het jaar 1806, I. deel met platen (Haarlem: A. Loosjes, Pz., 1806).

Austin, Gilbert. *Chironomia; or, a treatise on rhetorical delivery: comprehending many precepts, both ancient and modern, for the proper regulation of the voice, the countenance, and gesture. Together with an investigation of the elements of gesture, and a new method for the notation thereof; illustrated by many figures* (Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, In the Strand; by W. Bulmer, and co.: Cleveland-Row, St James’s, London, 1806).

Barbaz, Abraham Louis. *Mengelwerken van A. Barbaz; in nederduitsche en fransche vaerzen. Eerste deel.* (Amsterdam: Willem van Vliet, 1810).

Benda, Georg. *Ariadne auf Naxos: Ein Duodrama mit Musick* (Gotha: n. pub., 1775).

Blair, Hugo. *Lessen, over de Redekunst en Fraaie Letteren [...] Twede, vermeerderde en verbeterde druk*, vol. 1 (Utrecht: G.T van Paddenburg en zoon, 1804), Dutch transl. by Herman Bosscha.

Boelen, Hendrik Theodoor. ‘Johannes Jelgerhuis, Rienkzoon’, in *Noord- en Zuid-Nederlandsche Tooneel Almanak voor 1878* (Bom, 1878), 138–157.

Boisquet, François. *Essais Sur L’art du Comédien Chanteur par M. F. Boisquet [...]* (Paris: Longchamps, 1812).

Brun, Friederike. *Wahrheit aus Morgenträumen und Idas ästhetische Entwicklung [...]* (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1824).

Burgh, James. *The Art of Speaking* (London: Longman, Buckland, and others, 1761).

Camper, Petrus. *Redenvoeringen [...] over de wyze, om de onderscheidene hartstogten op onze wezens te verbeelden, uitgegeeven door zynen zoon, Adriaan Gilles Camper* (Utrecht: Wild en Altheer, 1792).

Clairon, Claire Hippolyte de la Tude, *Gedenkschriften van den actrice Hippolite Clairon en aanmerkingen over de tooneelkunde door haar zelf uitgegeven [...]*, Dutch transl. by Elizabeth Bekker, widow Wolff (The Hague: Isaac van Cleef, 1799).

Clairon, Claire Hippolyte de la Tude. *Mémoires d’ Hyppolite Clairon et réflexions sur l’art dramatique, publiés par elle-même* (Paris: F. Buisson, year VII [1798–1799]).

Corver, Marten. *Tooneel-aantekeningen vervat in een omstandigen BRIEF, Aan den Schrijver van het Leven van JAN PUNT [...]* (Leyden: Cornelis Heyligert, 1789).

D’Hannetaire, Jean-Nicholas Servandoni. *Observations Sur L’art Du Comedien* (Paris: Ribou, 1776 [1st edn 1764]).

- Damm**, Christian Tobias. *Einleitung in die Götter-Lere und Fabel-Geschichte der ältesten Griechischen und Römischen Welt [...]* (Berlin: Wever, 1776).
- Damm**, Christian Tobias. *Inleiding in de Fabelkunde [...]*, Dutch transl. by anonymous author (Leyden, W. H. Gryp, 1786).
- Dandré-Bardon**, Michel-François. *Costume des anciens peuples a l'usage des artistes [...]* (Paris: Jombert jeune, 1784).
- Dandré-Bardon**, Michel-François. *Gewoonten der aloude volken [...]*, Dutch transl. by anonymous author (Amsterdam: Allart en Holtrop, 1786).
- De Grimarest**, Jean-Léonor. *Traité du récitatif: Dans la Lecture, Dans l'Action Publique, Dans la Declamation, Et dans le Chant. Avec un Traité des Accens, de la Quantité, & de la Ponctuation* (Paris: Jaques le Fevre, [...] Et Pierre Ribou [...], 1707).
- De Lairese**, Gerard. *Het Groot Schilderboek door Gerard de Lairese [...]* 2 vols (Amsterdam: By de Erfgenamen van Willem de Coup, op 't Rokkin, bij de Valbrug, 1707).
- De Nederlandsche Kunst-spiegel, XII afleveringen, tweede Jaargang* ('s Gravenhage: Loebenberg, 1847).
- De Sainte Albine**, Pierre Rémond. *Le Comédien, ouvrage divisé en deux parties, par M Raimond de Sainte Albine* (Paris: Desaint & Saillant, 1747).
- De Tooneelkijker*, 4 vols (Amsterdam: Delachaux, 1816), 1.
- De Tooneelkijker*, 4 vols (Amsterdam: Delachaux, 1817), 2.
- De Tooneelkijker*, 4 vols (Amsterdam: Delachaux, 1818), 3.
- De Tooneelkijker*, 4 vols (Amsterdam: Delachaux, 1819), 4.
- Delisle de Sales**, Jean-Baptiste-Claude. *Geschiedenis van Oud-Griekenland [...] met aanmerkingen en bijvoegzelen vermeerderd*, Dutch transl. by Samuel Iperuszoon Wiselius (Amsterdam: Johannes Allart, 1808).
- Delisle de Sales**, Jean-Baptiste-Claude. *Histoire générale et particulière de la Grèce, avec toutes les cartes et les planches de monuments nécessaires [...]*, 13 vols (Paris, n. pub., 1783).
- Diderot**, Denis. 'Discours sur la poésie dramatique' in *Le pere de famille: comédie en 5 Actes, et en Prose, avec un Discours sur la poésie dramatique* (Amsterdam: n. pub., 1758).
- Encyclopedie Methodique. Musique*, vol 1, ed. by Framery and Ginguene (Paris: Panckoucke, 1791).
- Engel**, Johann Jacob. *De kunst van nabootzing door gebaarden; door J. J. Engel*, 2 vols, Dutch transl. by Jan Konijnenburg (Haarlem: J. van Walré, 1790–1791).
- Engel**, Johann Jacob. *Ideen zu einer Mimik von J. J. Engel* (Berlin, Auf Kosten des Verfassers und in Comission by August Mylius, 1785).

Engel, Johann Jacob. *Practical Illustrations of Rhetorical Gesture and Action, Adapted to the English Drama. From a work on the same subject By m. Engel, Member of the royal Academy of Berlin. By Henry Siddons [...]*, English transl. by Henry Siddons (London: printed for Richard Phillips, No.6, Bridge-street, Blackfriars, 1807).

Goethes Sämtliche Werke, 5 (Leipzig: Der Tempel, n.d.).

Goethes Werke (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1901), WA 1.40.

Goethes Werke (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1901), WA 4.25.

Goethes Werke, Tag- und Jahreshefte [...] (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1893), WA 1.36.

Het kritisch lampje, Lectuur voor alle standen, ascribed author: Anton Cramer (Amsterdam: J. C. van Kesteren, 1823).

Hill, Aaron. ‘An Essay on the Art of Acting’, in *The Works of the Late Aaron Hill, esq; In four volumes, consisting of Letters on Various Subjects, and of Original Poems, Moral and Facetious [...]*, 4 vols (London: printed for the benefit of the family, 1753), 4, 353–414.

Jelgerhuis, Johannes Rz. ‘Antwoord op de vraag: Welke was de verleden staat van het Nederlandsch Tooneel; welke is de tegenwoordige, en welke zoude die behooren te zijn? 1 Januarij 1808’, ed. by Floris van Westervoort, in *Noord- en Zuid- Nederlandsche Tooneel-Almanak voor 1877*, onder redactie van N. Donker, (Amsterdam: G. Theod. Bom, 1877), 104–126.

Jelgerhuis, Johannes Rz. *2de Rollen Boeken. gespeelde Rollen. aantekeningen van de dood van Vele Acteurs en Actrices en gebeurde Zaken* (1817–1830), manuscript, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, XI G 6.

Jelgerhuis, Johannes Rz. *Beschouwingen door J. Jelgerhuis RZ. Hollandsch Acteur* (1817), manuscript, Amsterdam Municipal Archives, 15030, 2893.

Jelgerhuis, Johannes Rz. *Consepten . . . van opvoeding voor den tans voorhanden zijnde kwekeling. In toepassing te brengen voor Anderen[.] Ontworpen voor t genootschap van welsprekenbeyd te Amsterdam. en gesteld in handen des bestuurs. door J: Jelgerhuis Rz, (c. 1821)*, manuscript, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, 31 Bp 12.

Jelgerhuis, Johannes Rz. *Copy van eenige authentique Aanteekeningen van J. Jelgerhuis Rz,* (n.d.), copied by unknown author, manuscript, Amsterdam Municipal Archives, 30579 / 927 KLAB01683000001– KLAB01683000023.

Jelgerhuis, Johannes Rz. *De tooneelspeler J. Jelgerhuis Rz, in zijne voornaamste Treurspel-Rollen, op den Amsterdamschen Schouwburg vertoond sinds 25 jaren* (Amsterdam: Gebroeders van Arum, 1832).

Jelgerhuis, Johannes Rz. *Iets over het Engelsche Toneel waargenoomen in de maanden Meij en Junij 1814, Door J: Jelgerhuis Rz. Hollandsch Acteur . . . te Amsterdam* (1814), manuscript, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, IV D 23.

Jelgerhuis, Johannes Rz. *Rollen Boek. Gespeelde Rollen als Acteur te Amsterdam [...]* (1805–1818), manuscript, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, XI G 7.

Jelgerhuis, Johannes Rz. *Studiën van klederdragten voor alle tyden en volken tot nazigt van den Tooneelspeler of Kunstschilder verzameld door J: Jelgerhuis Rz.* (n.d.), portfolio, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, t000725.000.

Jelgerhuis, Johannes Rz. *Theoretische lessen over de gesticulatie en mimiek, gegeven aan de kweekelingen van het fonds ter opleiding en onderrigting van tooneel-kunstenaars aan den stads schouwburg te Amsterdam; door J. Jelgerhuis, Rz. Acteur, en lid van het fonds aan voornoemden schouwburg, en van de koninklijke academie der beeldende kunsten aldaar* (Amsterdam: P. Meyer Warnars, 1827–1829).

Jelgerhuis, Johannes Rz. *Toneel Studien Bevattende Ontwikkelingen der Gedachten van Onderscheydene Toneel Studien Welke slegts tot op de helft van het Voorgenomen plan zijn afgeschreeven door den Hollandschen Toneel Speeler J: Jelgerhuis Rz. Dezelven zijn meestal geschreeven by ziekte mijner huisgenoten, en zittende tot derzelver oppassing en gezelschap* (1811), manuscript, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, BK-B-10.

Jelgerhuis, Johannes Rz. *Tonneel Stúdien. bevattende Ontwikkelingen Der Gedachten van Onderscheydene toneel studien welke slegts tot op de helft van het voorgenoomen plan zijn afgeschreven, door den Hollandsche Toneelspeeler J: Jelgerhuis Rz. dezelve zijn meestal geschreven bij ziekte myner huisgenooten . en zittende tot derzelver Oppassing en Gezelschap*, manuscript, Bibliotheek Koninklijk Conservatorium, Antwerpen, S-TN-JELGE-handsch-1.

Jelgerhuis, Johannes Rz. *Tooneelkledingen van den Koninglyken Schouwburg te Amsterdam. Getekend en geëst door J. Jelgerhuis Rz. Acteur van gemelden schouwburg* (Amsterdam: J. Groenewoud en Zoon, 1810).

Jelgerhuis, Johannes Rzn. *Schettzende Herinneringen van de Representatie: gegeven in October 1811 door de Fransche Acteurs en Actrices Talma, Damas, Duchinois, en Bourgoïn op het Hollandsche Toneel te Amsterdam. Waargenomen door J: Jelgerhuis Rzn Hollandsch Acteur, Ter Geleghendheid dat de fransche Keijzer Napoleon Zig in de stad Amsterdam bevond* (1811), manuscript, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection BK-B-10-A.

Journal für Literatur, Luxus und Mode, 30 (Weimar: Carl Bertuch, April 1815), 221–232.

Kalff, Martin. *De Schoonheidsleer des Tooneelspelers door Martin Kalff. Met platen* (Haarlem: W. C. De Graaf, c. 1876).

Larive, Jean Mauduit. *Cours de déclamation prononcé a l'Athénée de Paris [...], tome second, première partie* (Paris: Delaunay, 1810).

Le Brun, Charles. *Afbeelding der Hertstogten, of middelen om dezelve volkomen te leeren afteekenen, door de Heer Le Brun [...], Dutch transl. by François de Kaarsgieter* (Amsterdam: François van-der Plaats, 1703).

Le Brun, Charles. *Methode pour apprendre a dessiner les passions, Proposée dans une Conference sur l'expression ge'ne'rale et particuliere [...]* (Amsterdam: Chez François van der Plaats: Marchand Libraire, 1702).

Melpomene en Thalia, Tijdschrift voor beminnaren van den Schouwburg, eerste aflevering, 16 September 1834 ('s Gravenhage: A. Kloots, 1834).

Ploos van Amstel, Jacob. *Aanleiding tot de uiterlijke welsprekendheid, op den kansel, voor de balie, in 't bijzonder leezén, doch voornaamlijk op het Tooneel* (Amsteldam: Izaak Duim, 1766).

Pougin, Arthur. *Dictionnaire historique et pittoresque du théâtre et des arts qui s'y rattachent Poétique, musique, danse, pantomime, décor, costume, machinerie, acrobatisme [...]* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et C^{ie}, 1885).

‘Proserpina, ein Monodram’, in *Der Teutsche Merkur*, 1/4 (Weimar: February 1778).

‘Proserpina: Melodram von Goethe, Musik von Eberwein’ in *Journal für Literatur, Luxus und Mode*, 30 (Weimar: Carl Bertuch, April 1815) 232–241.

‘Proserpina. Monodrama von Goethe mit Musik von Carl Eberwein’ in *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*, 136 (8 June 1815), 541–544, https://digipress.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb10531671_00565_u001?page=1 (accessed 15 June 2025).

Proserpina. Monodrama von Goethe mit Musik von Carl Eberwein, manuscript, Klassik Stiftung, Weimar, Goethe-und Schiller-Archiv, GSA 32/61.

Reynolds, Joshua. *Discourses*, ed. by Edward Gilpin Johnson (Chicago: McClurg, 1891).

Riccoboni, Antoine-François. *L’Art du Théâtre à Madame*** par François Riccoboni* (Paris: C. F. Simon Fils et Giffart Fils, 1750).

Riccoboni, Luigi. *Dell’arte rappresentativa capitoli sei di Luigi Riccoboni* (London: n. pub., 1728).

Signorum Veterum Icones Per D. Gerardum Reynst Urbis Amstelædami Senatorem ac Scabinum dum viveret Dignissimum Collectæ. Afbeeldingen Der Oude Beelden Bij een vergadert door De Heer Gerhard Reijnst in syn Leven Hoogwaardig Raad en Schepen der Stadt Amsteldam (Amstelodami: Nicolai Visscher, n.d.).

Styl, Simon. ‘Het leven van Jan Punt’, in *Levensbeschrijving van eenige voornaame meest Nederlandsche mannen en vrouwen, [...] negende deel* (Amsterdam: van der Plaats, 1781).

Tijdschrift van kunsten en wetenschappen van het departement der zuiderzee. Mengelwerk, voor 1812. Met keizerlijke vergunning [...] (Amsterdam: de Bruyn, Leeneman van der Kroe en IJntema, 1812).

Van Halmael Jr., Arent. *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het Tooneel, de Tooneelspeelkunst, en de Tooneelspelers, in Nederland* (Leeuwarden: Suringar, 1840).

Van Hoogstraeten, Samuel. *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der Schilderkunst [...]* (Rotterdam, Francois van Hoogstraten, 1678)

Van Hoogstraten, David. *Beginselen of kort begrip der rederykkunst, ten dienst der Tael- en Dichtlievenden opgesteld door David van Hoogstraten* (Amsterdam: Gerard onder de Linden, 1725).

Van Mander, Karel. *Het Schilder-Boeck waer in Voor eerst de leerlustighe Ineght den grondt der Edel Vry Schilderconst in Verscheyden deelen Wort Voorgbedraghen Daer nae in dry deelen t’Leuen der vermaerde doorluchtighe Schilders des ouden, en nieuwen tyds Eyntlyck d’wtlegghinghe op den Metamorphoseon pub. Ouidij Nasonis [...]* (Haerlem: voor Paschier van Wesbvsch, 1604).

‘Verslag der Tooneelvertooningen van W. Bingley, te Amsterdam; door de schrijvers van den Tooneelkijker’ (Amsterdam: Delachaux, 1817).

Von Akáts, Franz. *Kunst der Scenik in ästhetischer und ökonomischer Hinsicht theoretisch, praktisch und mit Plänen [...] Als Handbuch für Intendanten, Privat-Direktoren, Kompositeure, Kapellmeister, Regisseure, Opernsänger, Schauspieler, Theatermacher und Meister, und für Alle, die bei der Leitung des T h e a t e r s betheilligt sind* (Wien: Anton Mausberger, 1841).

Walker, John. *Elements of Elocution* (London: Cooper and Wilson, 1799).

Plays

Baour-Lormian, Pierre-Marie-François. *Omasis, of Jozef in Egypte; Treurspel [...]*, Dutch transl. by Maarten Westerman (Amsteldam: Abraham Mars, 1810).

Baour-Lormian, Pierre-Marie-François. *Omasis, ou Joseph en Egypte, Tragédie en cinq actes en vers [...]* (Paris: Didot l'aîné, 1807).

Brifaut, Charles. *Ninus de tweede, treurspel [...]*, Dutch transl. by Jan van 's Gravenweert, (Amsterdam, Abraham Mars, 1815).

De Belloy, Pierre-Laurent Buirette de. *Gaston en Bayard, Treurspel. Naar het Fransche, van den heere De Belloy*, Dutch transl. by Jan Gerard Doornik (Amsteldam: J. Helders en A. Mars, 1785).

De Crébillon, Prosper Jolyot. *Rhadamistus en Zenobia, treurspel; door A. Bogaert*, transl. by Abraham Bogaert (Amsterdam: Erven Jacob Lescailje en Dirk Rank, 1713).

De Marre, Jan. *Jacoba van Beieren, Gravin van Holland en Zeeland. Treurspel* (Amsteldam: Izaak Duim, 1736).

Fuss, Franz. *De Snijder en zijn Zoon, Blijspel, in twee Bedrijven [...]*, *Tweede egte uitgave*, Dutch transl. by anonymous author (Dordrecht: Wanner, 1797).

Iffland, August Wilhelm, *Het Geweten, Tooneelspel. Naar het Hoogduitsch van Aug. Wilb. Iffland*, Dutch transl. by Jan Willem Jacobus Steenbergen van Goor (Amsterdam: Dóll, 1802).

Legouvé, Gabriel-Marie. *Epicharis en Nero, Treurspel. Het Fransche van Legouvé vrij gevolgd door Pieter Johannes Uylenbroek*, Dutch transl. by Pieter Johannes Uylenbroek (Amsteldam: Uylenbroek, 1718).

Racine, Jean. *Athalie*, in *Œuvres complètes de J. Racine avec les notes de tous les commentateurs. Cinquième édition publiée par L. Aimé-Martin, avec des additions nouvelles*, 5th edn, 6 vols (Paris: Lefèvre et Furne, 1844).

Shakespeare, William. *Koning Lear, Treurspel in Vyf Bedryven. Gevolgt naar het Fransch, door mevrouwe M. G. de Cambon gebooren van der Werken. Tweede druk*, Dutch transl. by Maria Geertruid de Cambon from the French adaptation by Ducis, after Shakespeare's original play, 2nd edn ('s Gravenhage: Leeuwenstyn, 1791).

Voltaire, *Mohamet, Treurspel. Gevolgd naar het Fransche door den Heere De Voltaire* (Amsteldam: Izaak Duim, 1770) Dutch transl. by Anthony Hartsen.

Voltaire, *Zaïre, Treurspel* (Amsteldam: Izaak Duim, 1777), Dutch transl. by Johannes Nomsz.

Voltaire, *Het Weeskind van China*, Dutch transl. by Johannes Nomsz (Amsteldam: Jan Helders, 1782).

Vondel, Joost van den. *J. V. Vondels Gysbrecht van Aemstel; Treurspel. Gelyk het op den Amsterdamschen Schoumburg vertoond word* (Amsterdam: Jan Helders, 1781 [1st edn, 1637]).

Works of art, prints, objects

‘Mantel gedragen door Mevrouw Joanna Cornelie Ziesenis Wattier’ (‘mantle worn by Mrs Joanna Cornelie Ziesenis Wattier’), (1800–1850), designer unknown, cotton, gold thread and gold fringe, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, kt00035.000b.

Barbiers, Pieter. ‘Decor ‘de hofzaal’ voor het Slingelandttoneel’, (1781–1785), Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, p00022.008.

Callot, Jacques. ‘Cicho Sgarra - Collo Francisco’, in *Balli di Sfessania*, (c. 1622), etching, new York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 57.650.304(10).

Callot, Jacques. ‘Smaruolo cornuto - Ratsa di Boio’, in *Balli di Sfessania* (1622), etching, RISD Museum, 49.080.4.

Jelgerhuis, Johannes. ‘28 tekeningen door Jelgerhuis voor “Theoretische Lessen over de Gesticulatie en Mimiek”’ (1827–1830), ink, pencil, oiled paper, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, GD246, t00001085.000.

Jelgerhuis, Johannes. ‘Kostuumafbeelding van Johanna Cornelia Ziesenis-Wattier als Fedra’ (n.d.) hand-coloured etching, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, g002917.0000.

Jelgerhuis, Johannes. ‘Kostuumontwerp voor Berosus in Zoroaster’, (n.d.), drawing, pencil and wash, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, t000812.000, GD11-1.

Jelgerhuis, Johannes. ‘Kostuumontwerp voor een Oosterling’, (n.d.), drawing, watercolour, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, t000731.000, KD7-16.

Jelgerhuis, Johannes. ‘Twaalf studies van acteurs en actrices’ (c. 1800–1820), drawing, pen and black ink, grey wash, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen Collection, MvS 153 (PK).

Jelgerhuis, Johannes. ‘Zelfportret van Johannes Jelgerhuis als waanzinnige Koning Lear’, (1805), Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, t000785.000, GD3-36.

Johannes, Johannes. ‘Kostuumafbeelding van mevrouw Sardet als Josabeth in Athalia’ (n.d.), hand-coloured etching, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, g003506.000, GD109-13.

Kniep, Christoph Heinrich. *Attitudes de la Ida Brun*, in ‘*Friederike Brun’s book*’, nineteenth century, Frederiksborgmuseerne – Bakkehuset Collection, Denmark, pen and ink on paper (Napoli, 1810), Bak 0021x0068; pencil on paper (n.d.), Bak 0021x0091–0021x0099. Photo: Stewart McIntyre.

- Le Brun**, Charles. *La bataille d'Arbelles*, (c. 1668–1669), oil painting, (Musée du Louvre), INV 2895, MR 1916.
- Le Clerc**, Sebastiaan. *Effigies et Repraesentatio Affectionum animi juxta delineationes D. Le Brun a D Clerico aeri incisae*. [...] *Aftekening en verbeelding der Hartstogten, naer de tekeningen van Mons^r. le Brun, in 't koper gebragt door Mr. le Clercq*, (c. 1657–1714), etching (P: Schenck Scult: Reg: Pott'. exc: Amstel', cum priv.', n.d.), Haarlem, Teylers Museum, Tvb G 5501.
- Luyken**, Johannes. *Joseph verkoopt Koorn aan syn Broeders, 1708*. Amsterdam Museum, A 52503, <http://hdl.handle.net/11259/collection.61417> (accessed 15 July 2025).
- Novelli**, Pietro Antonio. *Emma performing her attitudes*, etching by Francesco Novelli, after Pietro Antonio Novelli (1791), London, Victoria and Albert Museum, e-253-2000.
- Novelli**, Pietro Antonio. *Emma performing her attitudes*, etching by Francesco Novelli, after Pietro Antonio Novelli (late eighteenth century), London, Victoria and Albert Museum, H. Beard Print Collection, s. 5154-2009.
- Perox**, Joseph N. *Pantomimische Stellungen von Henriette Hendel [...], in Kupfer gestochen durch Heinrich Ritter [...]*, (Frankfurt a. M.: Selbstverlag 1809).
- Pfeiffer jr.**, François Joseph. 'Decorontwerp voor een hofzaal', (n.d.), (ink and wash), Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, t005787.000.
- Pfeiffer jr.**, François Joseph. 'Decorontwerp voor hofgalerij', (n.d.), (pencil and wash), Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, t003448.000.
- Portman**, Ludwig Gottlieb. *Portret van Hélène Snoeck* (1808), Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-65.665 <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.227904> (accessed 6 May 2024).
- Punt**, Jan. 'J. Punt, in het Character van Achilles 't Laatste Toneel des Vierden Bedryf' (1770), Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, print, RP-P-1906-153, FMP 4310.
- Rehberg**, Friedrich (drawings) and Tommaso Piroli (engravings). *Drawings Faithfully Copied from Nature at Naples, and with Permission Dedicated to the Right Honourable Sir William Hamilton [...]*, (1794), Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-2010-34, plate 6.
- Rehberg**, Friedrich (drawings) and Tommaso Piroli (engravings). *Drawings Faithfully Copied from Nature at Naples, and with Permission Dedicated to the Right Honourable Sir William Hamilton [...]*, (n.p.: n.pub., 1794).
- Van der Laan**, Adolf (engraver) and Hendrik de Leth (drawing) 'Coulissendecor "De Aloude Hofgalerij" met scène uit *Het huwelijk van Orondates en Statira*', (1738–1742), coloured engraving, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, g002183000.
- Video about Johannes Jelgerhuis, created with collaboration of Eric Alexander (author), Thijs Ockersen, Paul Blom, Robert Prager, and Karina Holla, (1969), Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, VB 1910.

Sources after 1900

- Albach**, Ben. “de volmaakste Acteur, die ik tot nog toe zag...”, *Schetsende herinneringen van de representatiën: gegeven in October 1811, door de Fransche acteurs en actrices Talma, Damas, Duchinois, en Bourgoin op het Hollandsche Tooneel te Amsterdam* [.]. Waargenomen door I: Jelgerhuis RZN Hollandsch acteur ter gelegenheid dat de Fransche Keijzer Napoleon zig in de stad Amsterdam bevond, introduction and annotations by Ben Albach, in *Scenarium* 10, ed. by E. Alexander, R. L. Erenstein and W. Hoogendoorn (Amsterdam: Nederlands Theater Instituut, 1985).
- Albach**, Ben. ‘A Dutch Actor’s Experiences with English Theatre in Amsterdam, May-July 1814’, in *Western Popular Theatre*, ed. by David Mayer and Kenneth Richards, translated by Mrs E. de Wijs-Maher (Methuen, 1977), 75–90.
- Albach**, Ben. ‘Johannes Jelgerhuis over zijn rollen in *Gijsbrecht van Aemstel*: twee van zijn Toneelstudien ingeleid en uitgegeven’, in *Spektator*, 17 (Foris publications, 1987–1988), 5, 415–430.
- Albach**, Ben. *Duizend jaar toneel in Nederland* (Bussum: C. A. J. van Dieshoeck, 1965).
- Albach**, Ben. *Helden, Draken en Comedianten: Het Nederlandse toneelleven voor, in en na de Franse tijd* (Amsterdam: Holland, 1956).
- Albach**, Ben. *Jan Punt en Marten Corver. Nederlandsch tooneelleven in de 18e eeuw* (Amsterdam: P. N. van Kampen en zoon N. V., 1946).
- Barnett**, Dene. ‘The Performance Practice of Acting: The Eighteenth Century Part I: Ensemble Acting’, *Theatre Research International*, 2 (1977), 157–186.
- Barnett**, Dene. ‘The Performance Practice of Acting: The Eighteenth Century Part V: Posture and Attitudes’, *Theatre Research International*, 6 (1980), 1–32.
- Barnett**, Dene. *The Art of Gesture: The practices and principles of 18th century acting*, with the assistance of Jeanette Massy-Westropp (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1987).
- Benda**, Georg, text by Friedrich Wilhelm Gotter. *Medea ‘ein mit Musik vermischtes Drama zum Gebranche gesellschaftlicher Theater [...]*’, edited from the autograph manuscript by Enrico Gatti (2014).
- Benda**, Georg. *Ariadne auf Naxos: Ein Duodrama von Georg Benda, vollständige und verbesserte Partitur* (Leipzig, im Schwickertschen Verlage, n. d.), in *Ariadne auf Naxos, Georg Anton Benda: Ino: Johann Friedrich Reichardt*, introduction by Thomas Bauman (New York & London: Garland publishing, 1985), 4.
- Bersier**, Gabrielle. “Hamiltonian-Hendelian” Mimoplastics and Tableau of the Underworld: The Visual Aesthetics of Goethe’s 1815 *Proserpina* Production’, in *Goethe Yearbook*, 23, ed. by Adrian Daub and Elisabeth Krimmer (North American Goethe Society, 2016), 171–194.
- Bithell**, Caroline. ‘Early Music, Views from Ethnomusicology’, in *Early Music in the 21st Century*, ed. by Mimi Mitchell (Oxford University Press, 2024), 9–31.
- Blin**, Gilbert Rémy. ‘The Reflections of Memory: an account of a cognitive approach to historically informed staging’, doctoral dissertation, Leiden University, Leiden (2018).

- Bode**, Wilhelm. *Goethes Schauspieler und Musiker: Erinnerungen von Eberwein und Lobe [...]* (Berlin: Mittler & Sohn, 1912).
- Bouffard-Veilleux**, Mickaël. 'Attitudes de théâtre, civilité et dispositif narratif dans la peinture d'histoire française entre 1700 et 1760', in *Le Tableau et la Scène: Peinture et mise en scène du répertoire héroïque [...]*, in *Annales de l'Association pour un Centre de Recherche sur les Arts du Spectacle aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, 5 (2023), 11–39.
- Brandt**, George W. **Hogendoorn**, Wiebe. *German and Dutch theatre, 1600–1848* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
- Byrne Bodley**, Lorraine. 'From Mythology to Social Politics: Goethe's Proserpina with Music by Carl Eberwein', in *Musical Receptions of Greek Antiquity: From the Romantic Era to Modernism*, ed. by Katerina Levidou, Kaitē Rōmanu, and George Vlastos (2016), 35–67.
- Byrne Bodley**, Lorraine. *Proserpina: Goethe's Melodrama with Music by Carl Eberwein*, ed. and trans. by Lorraine Byrne Bodley (Dublin: Carysfort Press 2007).
- Caddy**, Ian. *Baroque Gestures: An introduction to the original style in baroque opera and on the dramatic stage*, DVD, Ian Caddy copyright 2009 (transferred from VHS, original copyright 1988); <http://www.baroquegestures.com> (accessed on 6 November 2024).
- Chaouche**, Sabine. 'The Phenomenology of Acting. Cognitive and Creative Spaces in 18th-Century Theories', in *The Stage and its Creative Processes*, vol. 1, ed. by Sabine Chaouche, special issue in *European Drama and Performance Studies*, 13 (2019–2), 69–90.
- Chevalley**, Sylvie. 'Politique et Théâtre. Une visite impériale en Hollande en 1811', in *Revue d'Histoire du Théâtre*, 152 (1986–4), 370–394.
- Coffeng**, Johannes M. *Lexicon van Nederlandse tonelisten* (Amsterdam: Polak & van Gennep, 1965).
- D'Ailly**, Antoine Everard. 'Johannes Jelgerhuis Rienksz', in *Vijf en dertigste Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, 35 (1938), 221–251.
- D'Ailly**, Antoine Everard. 'Ryze door Brabant A° 1816 Antwerpen, Gent, Brussel', preface by A. E. d'Ailly, in *Historia, maandschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 4 (1938), pp. 80–94.
- De Boigne**, Comtesse (Louise-Eléonore-Charlotte-Adélaïde d'Osmond). *Récits d'une tante : mémoires de la comtesse de Boigne, née d'Osmond, Publiés d'après le manuscrit original, par M. Charles Nicollaud*, 5th edn, 4 vols (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1907 [1908?]), 1.
- De Haas**, Anna S. 'De wetten van het treurspel. Over ernstig toneel in Nederland, 1700–1772', doctoral dissertation, Universiteit van Amsterdam, (1997).
- De Haas**, Anna. 'Opvoeringen van Vondels *Gysbrecht* in de achttiende eeuw' in *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 39 (2016), 1, 157–172.
- De Haas**, Anna. *Helena Snoek*, in *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*, <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/SnoekHelena> (accessed 30 July 2025).
- De Leeuwe** Hans H. J. 'De toneelspelersopleiding in Nederland in de negentiende eeuw', in *Scenarium*, 1 (1977), 9–33.

- De Vries**, Lyckle. 'Gerard de Lairese: The Critical Vocabulary of an Art Theorist', in *Oud Holland – Journal for Art of the Low Countries*, 117 (2004), 1/2, 79–98.
- De Vries**, Lyckle. *Gerard de Lairese: An Artist between Stage and Studio* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998).
- De Vries**, Lyckle. *How to create beauty: De Lairese on the theory and practice of making art* (Leiden: Primavera Press, 2011).
- Dobbin**, Elizabeth. 'In search of a politesse du chant: Rediscovering salon vocal performance practice through the lens of the airs sérieux in the Recueils d'airs sérieux et à boire de différents auteurs, 1695–1699', doctoral dissertation, Leiden University, Leiden (2021).
- Een theatergeschiedenis der Nederlanden: Tien Eeuwen drama en theater in Nederland en Vlaanderen*, ed. by Rob L. Erenstein. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996).
- Emma Hamilton: Seduction and Celebrity*, ed. by Quintin Colville and Kate Williams (London: Thames & Hudson: 2016).
- Forment**, Bruno. *Droomlanders: Tvenaars van het geschilderde toneeldecor* (Davidsfonds/Standaard Uitgeverij nv: Leuven/Antwerpen, 2021).
- Golding**, Alfred Siemon. *Classicistic acting: two centuries of a performance tradition at the Amsterdam Schouwburg: to which is Appended An Annotated Translation of the 'Lessons on the Principles of Gesticulation and Mimic Expression' of Johannes Jelgerhuis*, RZ (Lanham: University Press of America, 1984).
- Groot**, Klaartje E. 'Geliefd en gevreesd: Duits toneel in Nederland rond 1800', doctoral dissertation, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Groningen (2010).
- Hazlitt**, William, 'On Actors and Acting' (1817), in *Hazlitt on Theatre*, ed. by William Archer and Robert Lowe (New York: Hill and Wang, 1957).
- 'Henri-Louis Lekain (1729–1778), Comédien·ne', in Comédie-Française, Portail Documentaire La Grange, <https://comedie-francaise.bibli.fr/ark:/63615/bnwpnnsj> (Accessed 16 July 2025).
- Holmström**, Kirsten G. *Monodrama, Attitudes, Tableaux Vivants: Studies on Some Trends of Theatrical Fashion, 1770–1815* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1967).
- Ivanov-Vano**, Ivan & Yury **Olesha** (directors). *Skazka o mertvoj tsarevne i o semi bogatyryah* (The tale of the dead princess [*tsarevna*] and the seven knights [*bogatyrs*]), video animation, adapted from the epic poem by Alexander Pushkin of 1833, (Moscow: Soyuzmultfilm, 1951).
- Johannes Jelgerhuis rzn. acteur-schilder, 1770–1836*, ed. by A. G. Schulte (Nijmegen: Nijmeegs Museum Voor Schone Kunsten, 1969).
- Jones**, Gaynor G. 'Eberwein, (Franz) Carl (Adalbert)' in *Oxford Music Online* <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.08501> (accessed 28 February 2023).

- Jooss**, Birgit. 'Zwischen Kunstideal und sinnlicher Pose; Lebende Bilder und Attituden der Goethezeit', in *Stillstand und Bewegung: intermediale Studien zu Theatralität von Text, Bild und Musik*, ed. by Günther Heeg and Anno Mungen (2004), 103–113.
- Kyropoulos**, Dionysios. 'Teaching Acting to Singers, Harnessing Historical Techniques to Empower Modern Performers', doctoral dissertation, New College, Oxford (2023).
- Maierhofer**, Waltraud. 'Goethe on Emma Hamilton's "Attitudes": Can Classicist Art Be Fun?', in *Goethe Yearbook*, 9 (1999), 222–252.
- Maisak**, Petra. 'Theater-Effekte: Bilder zu Goethes "Proserpina"', in *Goethezeit — Zeit für Goethe: Auf den Spuren deutscher Lyriküberlieferung in die Moderne [...]*, ed. by Konrad Feilchenfeldt and others (Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2003), 111–129.
- Moeckli**, Laura and Sigrid **T'Hooft**. 'Sigrid T'Hooft in an interview with Laura Moeckli: Using Historical Treatises and Iconography in Opera Staging Today', in *Sänger als Schauspieler: Zur Opernpraxis des 19. Jahrhunderts in Text, Bild und Musik*, 5, ed. by Anette Schaffer, Edith Keller, Laura Moeckli, and others (Argus, 2014), 142–150.
- Moeckli**, Laura. "'Nobles dans leurs attitudes, naturels dans leurs gestes". Singers as Actors on the Paris Grand Opéra Stage', in *Sänger als Schauspieler: Zur Opernpraxis des 19. Jahrhunderts in Text, Bild und Musik*, 5, ed. by Anette Schaffer, Edith Keller, Laura Moeckli, and others (Argus, 2014), 11–40.
- Müller-Harang**, Ulrike. *Das Weimarer Theater zur Zeit Goethes* (Weimar: Klassikerstätten zu Weimar, 1991).
- Muller**, Julia and Frans **Muller**. 'Epilogue' on https://www.julieandfransmuller.nl/epilogue_eng.html, (accessed on 6 December 2024).
- Neuman**, Laila Cathleen. "'Despairing Rage" and "Courageous Pride". Exploring the Acting Style of Johannes Jelgerhuis Through Practice-Based Research', in *Historical Acting Techniques and the 21st-Century Body*, ed. by Jed Wentz, special issue in *European Drama and Performance Studies*, 19 (2022–2), 113–151.
- Neuman**, Laila. 'Performing Goethe's *Proserpina* (1815): A Practice-Based Study of Gestural Attitudes, Movement, and Music,' in *Tanz & Musik. Perspektiven für die Historische Musikpraxis*, ed. by Christelle Cazaux, Martina Papiro, and Agnese Pavanello, in *Basler Beiträge zur Historischen Musikpraxis*, 42, (2023), 299–320.
- Neuman**, Laila. 'Three Jelgerhuis Manuscripts', in *The Stage and its Creative Processes*, 1, ed. by Sabine Chaouche, special issue in *European Drama and Performance Studies*, 13 (2019–2), 115–141.
- Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. 'climax, n., sense 1.a', <https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/8401543222>, (accessed 30 August 2023).
- Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. 'toile, n.1., sense 3', www.oed.com/view/Entry/202916 (accessed 23 March 2023).

- Paixão**, João Luís. 'Facing the Passions: An Embodied Approach to Facial Expression on the Eighteenth-Century Stage', in *Historical Acting Techniques and the 21st-Century Body*, ed. by Jed Wentz, special issue in *European Drama and Performance Studies*, 19 (2022–2), 153–187.
- Performing Premodernity**, 'Performing Premodernity 2', <https://performingpremodernity.com/journal/performing-premodernity-2/> (accessed 4 December 2024).
- Pol**, Mirjam. *Van Stress naar success. Praktische wegwijzer voor studenten* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2022).
- Portman**, Natalie. 'Trailer for 'Natalie Portman Teaches Acting'', on Masterclass.com, <https://www.masterclass.com/classes/natalie-portman-teaches-acting> (accessed 12 July 2025).
- Postscript**, 'Our Story', <https://www.postscriptensemble.com/about> (accessed 22 January 2025).
- Roach**, Joseph R. *The Player's Passion. Studies in the Science of Acting* (USA: University of Michigan Press, 1993).
- Robinson**, Terry (F). "'The Glass of Fashion and the Mould of Form': The Histrionic Mirror and Georgian-Era Performance' in *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 39/2 (2015), 30–65.
- Roodenburg**, Herman. "'Welstand" En "Wellevendheid": Over Houdingen, Gebaren En Gelaatsuitdrukking in de Schilderkunst, de Toneelkunst En de Rhetorica: De Inbreng van Het Classicisme' in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art*, 46 (1995), 416–439.
- Roodenburg**, Herman. *The Eloquence of the Body, Perspectives in gesture in the Dutch Republic* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2004).
- Rousseau**, Jean-Jacques and Horace Coignet. *Pygmalion; Scène Lyrique*, ed. by Jacqueline Waeber (Genève: Éditions Université Conservatoire de Musique, 1997).
- Ruijter**, Marlies E. 'Het Voorportaal van het Amsterdamse Toneel' in *Ons Amsterdam* (1999), 320–326.
- Ruitenbeek**, Henny. *Kijkcijfers: De Amsterdamse Schouwburg 1814–1841* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002).
- Schaffer**, Anette. 'Der beredte Leib. Das Bild und die französische Schauspielpraxis des 19. Jahrhunderts', in *Sänger als Schauspieler: Zur Opernpraxis des 19. Jahrhunderts in Text, Bild und Musik*, 5, ed. by Anette Schaffer, Edith Keller, Laura Moeckli, and others (Argus, 2014), 41–73.
- Sluijter-Seijffert**, Nicolette. 'De Amsterdamse schouwburg van 1774', in *Oud Holland – Journal for Art of the Low Countries*, 90/1 (1976), 21–64.
- Stanislavski**, Constantin. *An Actor Prepares*, English transl. by Elizabeth Reynolds Hapgood, introduction by John Gielgud (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1979).
- Stern**, Tiffany. *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan* (Oxford: Clarendon press, 2000).

- Streim, Claudia.** *Historisierende Bühnenpraxis im 19. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2018).
- Tas, E.** ‘Een reis van den schilder-acteur Jelgerhuis’ Aantekeningen gehouden op eene Ryze naar Brabant in den jaare 1816 verrijkt met de noodige schetzen. Te Antwerpen, voorts naar Gent en Brussel en terug naar Holland, door J. Jelgerhuis Rz., Hollands Acteur’, in *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 54 (1939), 485–488.
- Tessing Schneider, Magnus & Wagner, Meike.** ‘Introduction’, in *Performing the Eighteenth Century: Theatrical Discourses, Practices, and Artefacts*, ed. by M. Schneider & M. Wagner (Stockholm University Press, 2023), 1–13.
- Theater.nl**, ‘Informatie over theater’, <https://www.theater.nl/leiden/leidse-schouwburg/#Impressie> (accessed 3 March 2023).
- Théâtre Molière Sorbonne**, ‘Le Théâtre Molière Sorbonne’ <https://moliere.sorbonne-universite.fr> (accessed on 6 June 2025).
- Van Thienen, Frithjof.** ‘Jelgerhuis en het “historisch” of “exotisch” kostuum’, in *Johannes Jelgerhuis rzn. acteur-schilder* (1969), 39–43.
- Van Thienen, Frithjof.** ‘Met vuur en Waardigheid- Johannes Jelgerhuis als acteur’, in *Johannes Jelgerhuis rzn. acteur-schilder* (1969), 33–38.
- Vicentini, Claudio.** *Theory of Acting. From Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*, English transl. by R. Bates and A. Weston (Napoli: Marsilio & Acting Archives, 2012). Original Title: *La teoria della recitazione. Dall’antichità al Settecento* (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 2012).
- Wagner, Meike.** ‘On a Praxeology of Theatre Historiography’, in *Performing the Eighteenth Century: Theatrical Discourses, Practices, and Artefacts*, ed. by M. Schneider & M. Wagner (Stockholm University Press, 2023), 21–45.
- Wentz, Jed.** ‘Mechanical rules versus *abnormis gratia*: revaluing Gilbert Austin’s *Chironomia* as a source for historical acting techniques’, in *Theatrical heritage: challenges and opportunities*, ed. by Bruno Forment and Christel Stalpaert (2015), 41–57.
- Wentz, Jed.** ‘The Relationship between Gesture, Affect and Rhythmic Freedom in the Performance of French Tragic Opera from Lully to Rameau’, doctoral dissertation, Leiden University, Leiden (2010).
- Wentz, Jed.** ‘Wat is DHAC?’, The Dutch Historical Acting Collective <https://jedwentz.com/about-dhac/> (accessed on 27 November, 2024).
- Wentz, Jed.** ‘What goes where’, a blog [on the Van den Berghe stage sets](#) (accessed 15 February 2025).
- Wentz, Jed.** ‘“And the Wing’d *Muscles*, into Meanings Fly”. Practice-Based Research into Historical Acting Through the Writings of Aaron Hill’, in *Historical Acting Techniques and the 21st-Century Body*, ed. by Jed Wentz, special issue in *European Drama and Performance Studies*, 19 (2022–2), 243–304.
- Wiles, David.** *The Players’ Advice to Hamlet: The Rhetorical Acting Method from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal, s.v. ‘*aker*’, sense 2.a,
<https://gtb.ivdnt.org/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=WNT&id=M003210&lemmod=aker&domein=0&conc=true> (accessed 3 March 2023).

Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal, s.v. ‘*attitude*’,
<https://gtb.ivdnt.org/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=WNT&id=S004815&lemma=attitude&domein=0&conc=true> (accessed 3 June, 2024).

Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal, s.v. ‘*waarheid*’,
<https://gtb.ivdnt.org/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=WNT&id=M083319&lemma=waarheid&domein=0&conc=true> (accessed 6 February, 2024).

Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal, s.v. ‘*welstand*’,
<https://gtb.ivdnt.org/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=WNT&id=M085328&lemma=welstand&domein=0&conc=true> (accessed 7 April 2025).

Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal, s.v. ‘*zwier*’,
<https://gtb.ivdnt.org/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=WNT&id=M090589&lemma=zwier&domein=0&conc=true> (accessed 7 April 2025).

Worp, Jacob Adolf. *Geschiedenis van den Amsterdamschen schouwborg; 1496–1772, uitgegeven met aanvulling tot 1872 door Dr. J. F. M. Sterck* (Amsterdam: S. L. van Looy, 1920).

APPENDIX A

A selection of (staging) indications translated and paraphrased from Jelgerhuis's study of Siméon in his 1811 manuscript *Toneel Studien*. Most indications are additions to the *Theoretische lessen*. Exact [translated] citations are placed between single quotation marks. When actions repeat in different scenes, I have not added them twice unless they are relevant in different sections. In some cases, I include several words (divided by a forward slash) to provide various options to a translation. Depending on the context, for instance, I translated the phrases 'zich bezinnend' (to reflect), 'tot zich zelf keren' (to contemplate), 'zich herneemende' (to recover), depending on the context, also occasionally as 'coming to his senses'.

Siméon's stage actions as described by Jelgerhuis

- p. 122 - entrance - hands folded under the face
- p. 125 - facing the audience
- p. 132 - entrance in thought/pondering, sombre
- p. 133 - after his entrance and speaking one line, he performs a pantomime upstage before approaching Almaïs.
- p. 134 - Almaïs turns to him and addresses him. He then approaches the front of the stage
- p. 143 - positioning himself mid-stage
- p. 144 - running to one side
- p. 144 - recoiling (backwards)
- p. 144 - crossing the stage in a half circle
- p. 147 - recoiling, another actor grabs his hand
- p. 157 - he felt the other actor touching him
- p. 158 - pushing the other actor away with both hands
- p. 163 - turning away from the other actor, speaking with vehemence
- p. 164 - turning his back to the other actor
- p. 165 - walking back and forth
- p. 166 - standing as if pegged down/petrified
- p. 167 - standing a while
- p. 168 - speaking with one arm around the other actor's neck
- p. 171 - appearing in chains, accompanied in that decent manner the earnest situation requires.
- p. 171 - being unchained on stage.
- p. 175 - kneeling and bending downwards
- p. 177 - descending in the other actor's arms
- p. 178 - another actor, supporting him, leads him to his father who raises him up and embraces him.

Other notes on acting

- p. 123 - slightly bowing
- p. 123 - casting the eyes down
- p. 124 - facial expressions being made as reaction while the other actor speaks
- p. 126 - attentive listening to other actor and expressing great surprise
- p. 127 - positioning his head straight on his torso, placing his arm in one side

- p. 128, 135 - contemplating or reflecting/coming to his senses
- p. 140 - behaving as if wanting to devour whatever was near in that moment
- p. 146 - striking his heart with his fist
- p. 148 - expressing breaking out in a cold sweat by wiping his forehead with his hand
wiping the hand over the forehead
- p. 150 - being beside himself with rapture
- p. 158 - the tears wrenched from him
- p. 162 - turning towards the other actor, and boldly looking at him
- p. 164 - interrupting the speech of the other actor with his movement, not wishing to hear
anything more
- p. 175 - hitting one hand on the other, remaining in this pose
- p. 176 - raising the hands in front of the face

Vocal effects

- p. 123 - speaking in a sad tone and softly
- p. 124 - sighs / p. 131 - sighing in rapture / p. 170 - sighing
- p. 125 - speaking as a human who is oppressed by his own feelings
- p. 130 - taking a moment, breathing
- p. 141 - stammering in a soft, interrupted tone, while calming himself, breaking into tears
- p. 144 - the voice climbing continuously
- p. 144 - tone of dismay and strength in the voice
- p. 145 - despairing rage - maximum volume in the voice (and pure tones) to prepare a strong
change of tone
- p. 148 - a still attitude and soft, fearful whispering tone of voice
- p. 149 - speaking with an expression of fear and oppression of the soul

Passions or states

The following list features the more than one hundred shifts between passions and inner states that Jelgerhuis moves through in his description of performing Siméon. I have included them with their repetitions in this list, to show the sequences between the different passions and states as well as the frequency of their repetitions. For readability, the Dutch words in this list do not reflect Jelgerhuis's capitalization in the manuscript.

Page	passion in Dutch	interpretation/translation in English
123	1. <i>somber</i>	sombre, sad
	2. <i>verbazing</i>	wonder, surprise
124	3. <i>schuwheid</i>	shrinking/bashfulness/shyness
125	4. <i>verrassend</i>	surprise
126	5. <i>heftig gevoel</i>	vehement feeling
	6. <i>zich hernemende</i>	recovering
	7. <i>niet kunnen geloven</i>	disbelief
	8. <i>hoogste verbazing</i>	utmost surprise/astonishment
127	9. <i>stille nederigheid</i>	silent humbleness
	10. <i>verboovaardiging</i>	arrogance/haughtiness

	11.	<i>edel</i>	noble
128	12.	<i>tot zich zelf keren</i>	contemplating/coming to his senses
	13.	<i>zich bezinnend</i>	recovering/reflecting
	14.	<i>ontzetten</i>	to fill with dismay/horror
	15.	<i>angst</i>	fear
	16.	<i>wroeging</i>	remorse
129	17.	<i>wroeging</i>	remorse
	18.	<i>wroeging</i>	remorse
130	19.	<i>hartstocht der liefde</i>	the passion of love
	20.	<i>rampzalig makend</i>	making one miserable
	21.	<i>verrukking</i>	rapture
	22.	<i>tederheid</i>	tenderness
131	23.	<i>ontzetting</i>	dismay
	24.	<i>beseft der ellende</i>	awareness of misery
	25.	<i>sombere treurigheid</i>	sombre sadness
132	26.	<i>verrassing</i>	surprise
133	27.	<i>foltering</i>	torture
134	28.	<i>treurigheid</i>	sadness
	29.	<i>hoop</i>	hope
	30.	<i>verdriet</i>	grief
	31.	<i>verwarring</i>	confusion/bewilderment
	32.	<i>verbijstering</i>	astonishment
135	33.	<i>tot zich zelf keren</i>	contemplating/coming to his senses
	34.	<i>verwarring</i>	confusion/bewilderment
	35.	<i>eenzaamheid</i>	loneliness
	36.	<i>schrik</i>	fright/alarm
	37.	<i>verwardheid der redenen</i>	confusion of the senses/reason
137	38.	<i>kalmte in het gemoed</i>	calm inside himself
	39.	<i>verlangen</i>	desire
138	40.	<i>minnenijd</i>	jealousy
139	41.	<i>felle spijt</i>	fierce spite
	42.	<i>spijt</i>	spite
	43.	<i>woedende spijt</i>	furious spite
	44.	<i>opbruise felle gemoedsdrift</i>	ebullition of emotion
140	45.	<i>tedere gevoelens</i>	tender feelings
	46.	<i>allerfelste ontroering</i>	the fiercest emotion (being moved deeply)
	47.	<i>verachting</i>	contempt
	48.	<i>ontzetting</i>	dismay
141	49.	<i>ontzetting</i>	dismay
142	50.	<i>woeste opbruising</i>	furious/savage ebullition
143	51.	<i>ijselijkheid</i>	horror/dreadfulness
	52.	<i>leed</i>	grief
144	53.	<i>ontzetting</i>	consternation
	54.	<i>schrik</i>	fright/alarm
145	55.	<i>wanhopende razernij</i>	desperate rage
146	56.	<i>zich bezinnen</i>	reflecting/coming to his senses

147	57.	<i>angst</i>	fear
	58.	<i>van zich zelf gruwen</i>	self-disgust
	59.	<i>somberheid</i>	sombreness
148	60.	<i>angst</i>	fear
	61.	<i>rust</i>	calmness, rest
	62.	<i>angstigheid</i>	anxiety, fearfulness
	63.	<i>angst en gejaagdheid</i>	fear and agitation
	64.	<i>razernij</i>	rage
149	65.	<i>angst en benauwdheid</i>	fear and oppression
	66.	<i>drift</i>	fit of passion/rage/anger
150	67.	<i>buiten zichzelf zijn van verrukking</i>	being beyond oneself with rapture
	68.	<i>woede</i>	anger
152	69.	<i>schrik</i>	fright/alarm
	70.	<i>geschokt zijn</i>	to be shocked
	71.	<i>somberheid</i>	sombreness
	72.	<i>onrust</i>	restlessness
	73.	<i>gevoel van belediging</i>	sensation of offense
154	74.	<i>door gevoel overmeesterd</i>	overpowered by emotion
	75.	<i>woede</i>	anger
155	76.	<i>lieflijke, voorgewende zoet vloeijendheid</i>	charming, simulated sweet ‘flowiness’
156	77.	<i>wroeging</i>	remorse
	78.	<i>in zich zelf gekeerde, volle woede</i>	full anger, turned inwards
	79.	<i>donderende wrevel en woede</i>	thundering resentment and anger
	80.	<i>razernij</i>	rage
157	81.	<i>woede</i>	anger
	82.	<i>stout</i>	boldly
	83.	<i>mij bezinnen</i>	reflecting/come to my senses
158	84.	<i>angstigheid</i>	fear/anxiety
	85.	<i>verbaasde schrik</i>	surprised fright/alarm
159	86.	<i>droefheid</i>	sorrow, mournfulness
	87.	<i>aandoenlijke tederheid (tranen)</i>	touching/moving sensitiveness (tears)
	88.	<i>teergevoeligheid</i>	sensitiveness
162	89.	<i>moedigen, straffen toon</i>	stout/courageous, severe tone
163	90.	<i>hevigheid</i>	vehemence
164	91.	<i>opvliegende passie</i>	irascible passion
165	92.	<i>ontroering</i>	emotion, feeling touched or moved
	93.	<i>moed</i>	courage
	94.	<i>angst</i>	fear
166	95.	<i>besluit</i>	decision
167	96.	<i>tederheid</i>	tenderness
	97.	<i>wroeging</i>	remorse
	98.	<i>zijn verwarrend</i>	confusing the senses
168	99.	<i>angst</i>	fear
	100.	<i>verbijstering</i>	bewilderment
169	101.	<i>zinneloosheid</i>	senselessness
	102.	<i>gevoel van ontzetting</i>	feeling of dismay/consternation
	103.	<i>bezinning</i>	reflection/coming to his senses

170	104. <i>zinneloosheid</i>	senselessness
	105. <i>zinneloze verbijstering</i>	senseless bewilderment
	106. <i>woestheid</i>	furiousness/savageness
	107. <i>gewetens angst</i>	fear of
171	108. <i>schaamte</i>	shame
	109. <i>schande</i>	disgrace/infamy
	110. <i>schrik en schaamte</i>	fright/alarm and shame
	111. <i>hartverscheurende wroeging</i>	heartrending remorse
172	112. <i>grieven</i>	to aggrieve
	113. <i>moedige trots</i>	courageous pride
	114. <i>wanhoopende woede</i>	despairing rage
174	115. <i>schrijende smart</i>	weeping sorrow
175	116. <i>schrik</i>	fright, alarm
176	117. <i>berouw</i>	ruefulness, repentance
	118. <i>ziel tederheid</i>	tenderness of the soul
	119. <i>schaamte</i>	shame
177	120. <i>berouw</i>	ruefulness, repentance
	121. <i>schrik</i>	fright/alarm
	122. <i>zielsverrukking</i>	rapture of the soul
	123. <i>berouw</i>	ruefulness, repentance
178	124. <i>tederheid</i>	tenderness
	125. <i>medelijden</i>	pity

Longer sequences with transitions and combined indications

These sequences combine various elements of acting and concern interpretation, thoughts, passions, gestures, declamation, the expression and movement of the eyes, and stage movements. Some of the following passages repeat single elements listed and grouped above

p. 123 - approaching the front of the stage, bowing slightly ('he, after all, will not lower himself to a reverent bow'), 'I spoke in a sad tone and softly with eyes cast down [...] 'sighing deeply at the words of Ramnes [...] my curiosity was awakened during his speaking, and asked, somewhat surprised, what he desired'

p. 125 - reaction: eruption, stance and gestures expressing a certain alarm, opening the eyes wide and facing the audience, paring a loud voice to the vehement feeling Siméon suffered at the thought of seeing his father and brothers humiliated

pp. 127–128 - making sure his attitude [...] had been brought back to that silent humbleness which the soul's situation causes on the body - he positioned his head straight on his torso, placed his arm in one side, standing in that regal posture of one who believes himself to be of the same rank of kings

p. 138 - a jealous expression on his face, the eyes suddenly opening, turning from side to side

- p. 139 - angry spite: hands to fists, all muscles braced, his eyes turned upwards in anger, his head slightly tilted backwards, and painting the expression of spite on his face, speaking with a loud voice which caused dismay
- p. 141 - unable to stand without support. One hand on his heart, and lowering his head onto his other hand on the back of the chair, his whole body trembled and expressed great dismay
- p. 143 - mid-stage: speaking with such emphasis and clarity so as to assure that he would be well understood
- p.144 - leaving the mid-stage position, hastening to one side - imagining to see an open abyss, and recoiling in fear.
- p. 146 - speaking to heaven: his eyes heavenwards, striking his heart with his fist, his face averted.
- p. 146 - both hands before his forehead, pausing in reflection/coming to his senses
- p. 148 - expressing/imagining¹ the heart's palpitations, revealing fear and agitation
- p. 149 - showing an ebullition of anger, kept in silence
- p. 151 - Omasis enters, Siméon tries to escape, but not daring to disobey Omasis's order to stay, he steps forward again
- p. 152 - the fright striking Siméon's entire body at the sight of the person he will murder must shock him terribly. He tries to disguise this with the usual sombre expression, now however combined with unrest
- p. 153 - Siméon speaks with an insulted tone, but pretends to be pondering again by turning away with his eyes completely cast down so that they cannot be seen
- p. 154 - opening his eyes wide, looking forward, fiery, while shaking. Interrupting this entrancement with a sideward glance at Omasis, which reminds Siméon to disguise his true feelings and answer softly. While speaking, his feelings overrule this disguise, and Siméon forgets that he is not alone, and raising his voice in anger he speaks
- p. 156 - speaking in full rage, completely withdrawn into himself, gnashing his teeth with thundering resentment and anger, and trembling with rage as if in a fit of complete self-abandonment, not noticing anything around him anymore
- p. 157 - anger in the face, all muscles tensed, boldly looking forward
- p. 165 - turning away from the other actor, remaining alone, in a courageous stance. He then brings to his mind as much as he can what has happened, and after a short pause, walks back and forth, while pondering. Now that fear of having said too much, which creeps up on one in nature, crept up on him, wringing the hands, with the expression of rigid pensiveness on the face, he stood a while
- p. 170 - recoiling, away from the other actor, furiously leaving the stage, while shouting

¹ The verb *voorstellen* can be interpreted here as either expressing or imagining.

Reflections

p. 142 - this should be performed in a way that remains deeply engraved in the mind of the audience

p. 150 - the alternating thoughts of this role require true self-control and fully occupy the mind

pp. 159 –161

Wanneer ik dit oogenblik naaderde, moet ik bekennen altoos Eenige vrees te hebben voor het wel gelukken van dit Enkele woord, want het is van Zulk eenen beweglijken aard dat het Zelve mijn aanschouwer roeren moest, het Zelfs gevoel dat mij bijkans geheel overmeesterde en bijkans door Waarachtige traanen buiten Staat bracht, om het zelve wel te kunnen uiten, deed mij altoos vreesen eenen Valschen toon te Zullen Slaan, - het was dan van het hoogste belang, het Waaragtige Menschelijke gevoel Zorgvuldig te onderdrukken en het vermoogen te behouden om de kunst maatige toonen der beweegbare gemoeds aandoeningen voor te brengen, het gewelt het welk dit op mij Zelve koste is van een afmattenden Aard en indien de kunst van den Treurspeeler ooit nadeelig Voor het menschelijk gestel Zy Zoo is het voorzeker onder het Voorstellen Van Zulk een Sterk geschokt gemoed, wanneer nu dit woord gepasseerd was, kon ik mij wel eens overgeven om een traan te Storten op dat ik eenige lugt bekam dan ik verheugde mij altoos indien het Spel Slechts een geringe uijtwerking op mij had, dewijl ik dan altoos meer vermoogen had om den Reegel ter Zijde met meer kunstmaatige toon Vervisseling te kunnen Uytten.

Whenever I approached this moment, I must confess to always having some fear of the successful delivery of this single word, for it is of such a moving nature that it [the word] itself was sure to move my audience [. T]he emotion, which overpowered me almost completely and almost made it almost impossible for me to utter it properly because of real tears, made me fearful of striking a wrong note, - [. I]t was then of the utmost importance to suppress carefully the true human feeling and to retain the ability to produce the artificial tones of shifting [*beweegbare*] emotions [. T]he violence/effort this cost me is of such an exhausting nature and if ever the actor's art be detrimental to the human constitution [,] then it is certainly when representing such a strongly shocked inner state[. W]hen this single word had passed, I could sometimes allow myself to shed a tear so that I could get some air, because I was always glad when the acting had only a little effect on me, because I then was always more able to express the aside with a more artful change of tone.

p. 180 - I believe with certainty that such roles undermine one's constitution

APPENDIX B

Act III from the Tragedy *Omasis, of Jozef in Egypte*¹ (in black), with inserted fragments from Johannes Jelgerhuis's study of Siméon in his manuscript *Toneel Studien*² of 1811 (in green italics). The page numbers of the *Omasis* text are enclosed between em dashes on the left side of the page (—35—); the page numbers of the manuscript are given after each text fragment, between square brackets [p. 134]. The underlined sentences in the *Omasis* text refer to the underlined sections in Jelgerhuis's manuscript.

O M A S I S,

O F

J O Z E F I N E G I J P T E;

T R E U R S P E L

N A A R H E T F R A N S C H

V A N D E N H E E R

B A O U R – L O R M I A N;

D O O R

M. W E S T E R M A N.

[engraving]

T e A M S T E L D A M, b i j

A B R A H A M M A R S, 1810.

Met Privilegie.

¹ Pierre-Marie-François Baour-Lormian, *Omasis, ou Joseph en Egypte* [...] (Paris: Didot l'aîné, 1807), transl. by Maarten Westerman as *Omasis, of Jozef in Egypte* [...] (Amsteldam: Abraham Mars, 1810).

² Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien Bevattende Ontwikkelingen der Gedachten van Onderscheydene Toneel Studien Welke slegts tot op de helfft van het Voorgenomen plan zijn afgeschreeven door den Hollandschen Toneel Speeler J: Jelgerhuis Rz.* [...] (1811), manuscript, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, BK-B-10.

PERSONEN.

J O Z E F, (*onder den naam van O M A S I S*) eerste minister
van Farao.

R A M N E S, *prins van koninglijken bloede.*

A L M A Ï S, *zuster van Ramnes; verlooft aan Jozef.*

A Z A Ë L, *vertrouwing van Jozef.*

F A N O R, *bloedervant van Ramnes.*

Z A M É, *vertrouwde van Almaïs.*

J A K O B.

S I M É O N,	}	<i>kinderen van Jakob.</i>
B E N J A M I N,		
I S S A C H A R,		
N E P T H A L I A,		

D E O V E R I G E N K I N D E	}	R E N
V A N J A K O B,		
V O L K,		
W A C H T E N,		

zwijgende.

DERDE BEDRIJF.

EERSTE TOONEEL.

A L M A Ï S, Z A M É.

A L M A Ï S.

ô Zamél! 'k zie de goôn, bewogen door mijn klagen,
De vrees, die mij beklemd, uit mijne ziel verjagen;
Daar Ramnes woeste toorne in 't einde ontwapent is:
Hijzelf beschermt in 't eind mijn' echt met Omasis.

Z A M É.

Liet gij u niet veelligt door ijdlen schijn bekoren?

A L M A Ï S.

Acht gij het dan zoo zwaar den haat in 't hart te smooren?
Ja, Ramnes is oprecht; zijn hart is edel, groot;
Niet lang staat zulk een hart voor woeste togten bloot.
Kon hij, schoon mijn gewezen hem ook niet mogt verzachten,
De deugd van Omasis en 's konings wil verachten?

Z A M É.

Prinses, dat ik u niet door deze twijfling hoon':
Ach, zag ik uw geluk verzekert door de goon!
En uw' gewenschten echt weldra met glans voltoogen. . .
Men komt.

A L M A Ï S.

't Is Siméon.

Z A M É.

Ontwijken wij zijne oogen;
Men laat' hem aan zijn smart. . .

A L M A Ï S.

En waarom hem te ontgaan?

Een ongelukkige jage ons geen siddring aan.
Ook Omasis toont zich ter zijner hulpe vaardig:
De tedre deerenis was nimmermeer strafwaardig.

TWEEDE TOONEEL.

SIMÉON, ALMAÏS, ZAMÉ.

[Siméon] verschijnt in diepe gedachten verzonken wandelende in de Zaaen van het hof en bevind zig onverwacht bij Almaïs. Derzelver gezigt verrast hem daar hij Nu tot niemand van Zijne heijmelijke liefde gesproken heeft, maar dit als een diep gehejm bewaard bij zijne foltering, zoo koomt hier bij hem op het denkbeeld om zig zelven te verwinnen ik nam dan de Reegels die hy hier zegt by zyn verscheijnen. [p. 132—133]

SIMÉON.

Ja, ik verwin mijzelv': ik wil de liefdesmart
En haat, ter eener tijd, versmooren in mijn hart.

in de agtergrond des Toneels naa een voorafgaande Pantomime op Almaïs doelende, — welke zig tot hem wend en hem aanspreekt. — treurig en met needer geslaagen oogen naaderde ik den voorgrond. [p. 134]

ALMAÏS.

Zult ge eindeloos ten prooije aan wreede folteringen,
De droefheid van uw ziel dan nimmermeêr bedwingen,
En zal die nare zorg, die sombre boezempijn,
Die uw gelaat verbleekt, dan nooit te stillen zijn?

SIMÉON.

Nooit.

ALMAÏS.

De oorzaak van uw smart bleef duister voor elks oogen.
Maar Omasis in 't hart met uwe elend' bewoogen,
Tracht door de stille rust uw smart te zien verpoost:
Ligt dat hij eens uw ziel door nieuwe weldaân troost.

—37—

SIMÉON.

Verneemende dat Almaïs de hoop hem toevoegen wil zijn verdriet door Omasis verzagt te zien, — is zijn antwoord Zoo verward — als teevens opmerkzaam in een Soort van Verbystering zegt hy Liever door haar beklagd te zijn, als weldaaden van hem te genieten [p. 134]

Hoel Omasis? Ach! schenk mij, in mijn wreede smarte,
Veeleer de zoete troost, dat uw gevoelig harte
Mij in 't geheim beklaagt. . .

momenteel daar op herneemt hy zig en zegt. - [p. 134]

Maar, neen, ik moet voortaan,
De goddelijke wraak ten prooije, elks oog ontgaan.

Weederom tot zig zelve keerende van deezen uijtval, koomt hy tot de verwarde voorstelling van de Reeden, die hem aan 't Hof bragt, de Eenzaambeijd der Woestijn, Almaïs, alles stelt zig weeder aan zijnen geest gelijkelyk voor [p. 135]

Ach, op mijn vaders last, bij 't einde van zijn dagen
Door hongernood beklemmt, kwam ik hier bijstand vragen.
'k Zag, ver van de eenzaamheid, mijn smart weleer zoo waard,
Mij duizend kwellingen op nieuw om strijd gebaard.
Alom een vreemdeling, wordt mijn elendig leven
Door storm op storm gejaagd, van strand tot strand gedreven,
Ach, stond de zoete hoop op kalmte me immer vrij;
Wie, buiten Almaïs, schonk immer die aan mij!
Wie anders. . .

en van Almaïs Spreekende Schrikt hij van de verwardbeijd zijne Reedenen en vraagt haar vergiffenis en zig ongelukkig noemende voor Eeuwig. — het bepaald Reeden gebruik missende keert hy te rug tot den aanvang van het gesprek dat hij naamlijk Zig aan het hoff ook nooit gelukkig zien zal. [p. 135]

Ach, verschoon. . . de rede is mij onttoegen.

Voor eeuwig is 't geluk van mijn bestaan vervlogen!
En hier zal ik 't gewis ook nooit herboren zien.

A L M A Ï S.

In naam der groote goôn, doe toch dit schrikbeeld vliên.
Ja, 'k durf een gunstig eind van uwe ramp voorspellen:
De hemel zal niet steeds tot gramschap overhellen.
De tranen hem gewijd ziet hij goedgunstig aan:
Wat wensch van Omasis liet hij nog onvoldaan?
Wat hart voelt op zijn' blik en troostbre stem daarneven
Zich van d'ondraagbren last, die 't drukte, niet ontheven,
Vertrouw op Omasis: eens stilt hij uw geklag.

Voortgaande behield ik nog Steeds die Somberen toon Waar van ik gesproken heb en op nieuws tot Omasis verweesen Wordende, Sprak ik in Een en Eenigzints klimmenden yver van het genot der Vrijbeijd en mijnen eenigsten Wensch.— daarna om in Eenzaambeijd in de Woestijn te weesen, ten eijnde de kalmte in het gemoed te rug te Sien keeren... Zoo keer' de kalme in 't einde in mijn verscheurd gemoed. [p. 137]

S I M É O N.

Wijl hij grootmoedig is, schenk hij mij nog deez' dag

Het goed, het eenigst goed dat ik nog kan beminnen:

—38—

Mijn vrijheid. U tracht ik voor mijn belang te winnen;
Verwerf van Omasis die gunst, die mij bekoort;
Dat ik me op 't oogenblik verwijdere uit dit oord:
Ziedaar al wat ik wensch, de vreugde u afgebeden:
Ver van den Nijl, ten prooije aan nare angstvalligheden,
Snel ik naar een woestijn die men mij derven doet:
Zoo keer' de kalme in 't einde in mijn verscheurdt gemoed.

deezę Reegel gaf ik dan de Onderscheijding waar voor hij vatbaar is, naamlijk in den Wenschenden en Verlangenden toon te paaren, het gepaste geluid der Stem Zagtheijde op kalmte en daar teegen overstaande Ruuwen toon voor 't woord Verscheurd en vermeerderde alzoo eene toonwisseling die my voorkwam Zoo te behooren [p. 137]

Daar nu Almais in 't volgende antwoord Van haar aanStaande Huwlyk Spreekt met Omasis, word eenen minnenijdigen trek op zyn gelaat gebooren, de oogen dan eensklaps opslaande en Brandende van de Eene naar de andere Zeijde wendende, deed ik ontwaaren wat in mij omging, maar een Electricque Schok greep my aan door met de geheele Lighaams gestalte de felle Spijt uittedrukken op het hooren bevestigen dat zyn Vader en broeders in Waarheid koomen Zullen de handen dan tot Vuijsten brengende en de spieren spannende, de oogen Vinnig opwaarts heffende met een Eenigsints agter over geworpen hoofd, en de trek der Spijt op het gelaat maalende, drukte ik de Woedende Spijt uijt die Simeon alle de felle gemoeds drift opbruijschend deed gevoelen, met eene Sterk onderscheidenden toon en Luijder Stemme Welke ontzetting baarde, vergat ik de teedere gevoelens tot almais en gedroeg mij als of ik al wilde verslinden Wat Zig op dat oogenblik by mij bevond, [p. 138–140]

A L M A Ï S.

Gij weigert dus, geneigt uzelv' te wederstreven,
De hand tot uw behoud weldadig opgeheven.
Kunt ge in dit grootsch paleis, bij 't prachtig hofgezin,
Dan de oevers der Jordaan niet bannen uit uw zin?
De rijkste glans zal aan mijn' schoonsten dag zich paren:
Het lieflijk reukwerk stijgt reeds op van de echtaltaren:
'k Word morgen door mijn' stem, mijn hand en hart verknocht,
Aan d' eedlen sterveling, wiens wet ik eeren mogt.
Ligt zult ge, als 't feestgeschal ten hemel op zal stijgen,
Bij 't vrolijk volksgejuich, de stem der smart doen zwijgen.
Terwijl uw gantsch geslacht, daar 't ons omringen mag,
Den glans vermeerderen zal van dien doorluchten dag.

S I M É O N.

Hoel ons geslacht? o' spijt! wat rechten kan hij toonen,
Waardoor hij scheidsman wordt van Jakobs fiere zoonen?
Wij, strelende zyn' trots, wij lijden. . .

maar mijne Reeden gestuijt Ziende door Haar, deed ik Eene allerfelste ontroering, door het geheele gestel ontwaaren, die mij naar maate haare Reeden voortging, en mij meer en meer verachtend trof, het vermoogen benam om Zonder Steun punt te blyven, Ja geheel ontzet greep ik de bystaande Zeetel om my te ondersteunen, de hand op 't hart leggende en met het hoofd op de andere hand neederdaalende op den Rug des Zeetels, trilde ik met het geheele Ligbaam en drukte alzoo die groote ontzetting uit die hy alleen blijvende nu aanbefft. [p. 140–141]

A L M A Ï S.

Vaar niet voort.

Geldt Omasis dien hoon? Heb ik het wel gehoord!
Sints lang vertoonde gij dien aart, zoo woest als woelig;

—39—

Die 't medelijden tergt; voor weldaân ongevoelig,
Die aan mijn oog mishaaft. . . Den rang vermetel hoont,
Waarmêe mijn goedheid, tot bij u zich heeft vertoond.
Gij hebt mij wel gestraft dat ik dus af kon dalen.
'k Spreek voor de laatste maal tot u in deze zalen.
Wat Omasis beveel', zorg dat gij altoos let
Dat niemand zich verneêrt door 't buigen voor zijn wet.

DERDE TOONEEL.

Met een afgebrooken Zagte toon Staamelde ik nu de Woorden De ontzetting doet mij 't bloed Zijn loop in de aadren Staaken terwijl ik langzaam bedaarende in traanen uytharstende my beklaagde in haarer haat vervallen te Zijn en mij alles ontvallen te zien wat mij nog overig was [p. 141–142]

S I M É O N.

De ontzetting doet mijn bloed zijn loop in de aadren staken;
Dit slechts ontbrak mij nog, haar haat mij waard te maken.

tot herstel koomende brengt hij zig te binnen haar Huwlijk met Omasis en Zijne Woeste opbruising ontvlamt op nieuw. [p. 142]

Ziedaar dan uw vaarwel. Rampzalig door uw schoon;
Zou 'k dien gevloekten echt getuigen tot mijn' hoon!

deezē plaats nyt het werk verschaft mij de grootste zorge, ik houde haar voor de moejelijkste nijt de geheele Rol, Zij is de blinkendSte en dient Zoo te geschieden dat zij diep in het gebeugen der aanschouwers blyfft. — deezē Clauze is door derzelver hartstogtelijken Stemming ver booven al het overige en doorgaande der Rol verheven yder woord is yshyk Gy Heemel [...] enz., tot het Eynde. Mij in het midden des Toneels plaatzende Sprak ik met dien nadruk en helderheijd die mij Zeeker deed Zijn van wel verstaan te worden. — daar in wel onderscheidende Een Leed van 15 Jaaren berouw, Zonder den Heemel te kunnen bevreedigen en Echter om bescherming Smeekende, daar hij alle hoop mist. [p. 142–143]

Gij, hemel, die me in toorn het licht hebt opgedragen;
Die mijn geduld beproeft door zoo veel strenge slagen;
Gij die behagen vindt, daar gij mij wreed kastijdt;
Door vijftien jaar berouw nog niet bevredigt zijt;
Bescherm mij in het eind, daar ik niet meer mag hopen.

onder de Woorden het Misdrieff Slept my voort Verliet ik het midden des Toneels, naar eene Zeijde Snellende, en ontzet met alle de Schrik op het bezef der misdaad als Eene geoopende affgrond, Waande ik die te Zien en deijnsde agterwaarts.. [p. 143–144]

Het misdrijf jaagt mij voort. 'k Zie d' afgrond voor mij open!
Ik wilde vlieden. . . Gij belette 't mij. . . Welaan!

met een Steeds klimmenden toon der ontzetting en Sterkte ging ik nu voort met het Yslijke voorstel van Blindlings aan de gramschap des Hemels bloot te willen Staan en Zig aan zijne woede overtegeven.— en Zijne gruwelen aan de Wil des Hemels Zelve te Wijten. — [p. 144]

'k Wil blindelings ten prooije aan uwe gramschap staan;

de Steeds klimmende Yslijkbeeden vorderen Eene Toon der Stemme daaraan geEvenredigt, en alle mijne kragten Paarende bij de Uitdrukking Stelde ik voor het vermoogen der Wanhoopende Razernij en daar in den overeijlende Resolutie om den moord aan Omazis te volbrengen.— [p. 144–145]

'k Zal slechts de schrikbre stem van mijne woede hooren:
De gruwlen die ik pleeg zijn uit uw' wil geboren!

nu tot dit uijterste gekoomen had ik de Uysterse vermoogens van Stem verheffing ook Zoo ver Zuivere toonen toelaaten doen opklimmen en gepaste gelegentheid bekoomen om Eene wending in de Stem te brengen, die dan ook Waarneemende maakte ik Eene geheele gewigtige Toonverandering en grillende van de daad Zelve Zeijde ik die Vreeslyke Woorden, tot den Heemel Spreekende 'K gehoorzaam Ja, Maar weer de Wroeging uit mijn hart terwijl ik met Eene Vuijste Slag op het hart, Een afgewend gezigt en oog ten Heemel maakte. [p. 145–146]

Gij eischt den dood van een' tijran wiens trots mij tart?

—40—

'k Gehoorzaam, ja!. . . Maar weêr de wroeging uit mijn hart.

Naa het uytspreeken der Woorden Zegt hy Ach Wat heb ik gezegt. Hier Sloeg ik dan beijde de handen voor het voorhoofd, bezon mij en een Pauze maakende Zeijde ik de genoemde Woorden, onder de Uytdrukking van angstig herroepen van 't geheugen, en van Zig Zelfen gruwende nu in Een geheele Sombre gedagten Stortende, kwam ik tot die gewoone mijmering te rug, waarin ik mij het Eerst vertoonde [p. 146–147]

Ach, wat heb ik gezegd!

daar in Voortwandelende met een halve ronde overgang over den voorgrond ontmoet hem Ramnes [.] Op Zijn gezigt, Swoegt hy van deeze ruwe bestorming en deijnst een weijnig te rug, waar op deeze hem aan de hand grijpt het klamme angst Sweet Stelde ik nu voor mij uittrebreeken. eene handveege over het voorhoofd

was de uijtdrukking daar van tevens eenige Rust Zoekende door Stille Stand en Stem toonen die nu in den aanvang van dit gesprek Een angstig fluijstereu gelijk waaren deeze voorstelling paarde ik met Zeekere hartklopping te vertoonen die angst en gejaagdheid verraaden en de Zinnen op nieuw beroeren, het welk hij dan ook naar een Paar antwoorden Zelve Zegt

*'K voel door de Raŷernij verbit in 't ondervinden
Door togten Zonder tal om stryd mijn Ziel verslinden
'k wil hen verninnen.— [p.147—148]*

VIERDE TOONEEL.

R A M N E S, S I M É O N.

R A M N E S.

Wel nu, mag ik mij streelen,
Dat ge in de woede die me ontvlamt eens fier zult deelen?

S I M É O N.

Wat is uw oogmerk toch, en waartoe spoort gij me aan?

R A M N E S.

Is 't u nog onbekend?

S I M É O N.

Ik vrees u te verstaan.

R A M N E S.

Laat toch voor mij uw doel niet meer verborgen wezen.
Bedenk dat Omasis ons alles kan doen vreezen,
Dat, zelfs bij 't minst verwijl zijn argwaan ligt ontwaakt;
En ons verheven doel geheel te schande maakt.
Men straffe niet alleen den booswicht dien wij haten;
De laffe Farao, van al zijn magt verlaten;
Hij 't schijnbeeld van een' vorst, insluimrende op den troon;
Volge onzen vijand na in 't duister rijk der doôn.
Dat beiden sneven. . . Ja, reeds branden de eedgenooten,
Ten dienst van ons belang, het wrekend staal te ontbloten.

—41—

S I M É O N.

Mijn wensch verzelt uw doel; verlang toch meerder niet.

R A M N E S.

Waar spruit die ontrust uit, waarin mijn oog uw ziet?

S I M É O N.

'k Voel, door de razernij verhit in 't onderwinden,
Door tochten zonder tal, om strijd mijn ziel verslinden.
'k Wil hen verwinnen.

de angst en benaauwdheid der Ziele, welke ik bij deese Woorden paarde, dog zagte blijvende gepaste Waarheid aan de kort daar op volgende Woorden van Ramnes gaf, naa alvorens weeder een kleijne opwelling van drijft te hebben aan den dag gelegd, die ik Echter in Stilte hield.— [p. 149]

R A M N E S.

't Is te laat daartoe.

S I M É O N.

Hoe nu!

Waant gij dat mij mijn lot afhankelijk maakt van u?

R A M N E S.

Welk een verachtlijke angst kan uwe fierheid smooren!
Moet ik den lagen hoon, de smaad u hier beschoren
Hernieuwen voor uw oog? Kan 't zijn dat gij niet bloost,
Den grijzen Jakob, en zijn deerniswaardig kroost
Hier heen te zien gevoert, door wreede schandbevelen:
Om in de elende van uw ballingschap te deelen?
En daar mijn vrienden, u met drift ter hulp gespoedt,
Reeds branden onzen hoon te wreeken door hun' moed:
U de eer vergunnen aan hun hoofd te zegepralen:
Bevangt de schrik uw ziel en doet u moedloos dralen.

S I M É O N.

Waar op ik dan volgen liet Eene geheele Weijgering van het Voorstel. [p. 149]

Ik heb 't strafwaardig doel van Omasis gedoemt;
Maar zorg dat gij mij nooit bij zijne moordren noemt.

Naa een Zoo vast voorneemen volgt het teegendeel — [p. 150]

—42—

R A M N E S.

Het is genoeg; verkrop uw'smaad: 'k Dring u niet verder:
De slavernij heeft in den koninklijken herder
Den moed geheel verdoofd. Voor 't outer onzer goôn
Bezweer mijn zuster vrij op morgen haren hoon:
Zij moge aan den tiran haar hart ten offer brengen;
En mijnen naam met dien eens lagen slaafs vermengen.

S I M É O N.

Hoe van een slaaf?

R A M N E S.

Ja hij, die in vermeeten waan,
Mijn' stam ten smaad, zijn oog durft op mijn zuster slaan,
Wiens pracht onze oogen tergt. . . hij, ons ten smaad verheven;
Kent in 't verachtlijkst bloed den oorsprong van zijn leven.
Maar, schoon ik zijnen val met moed beramen dorst,
Drukt hij haar, die gij mint, op morgen aan zijn borst.

S I M É O N.

Die 'k min?

R A M N E S.

Dien gloed, dien gij mij wilt ontveinzen,
Ontdekte ik reeds voor lang in 't diepst van u gepeinzen.
Mijn deernis met uw lot, u troostende in uw druk,
Bood u het uitzicht aan op 't schitterendst geluk:
En, zoo ik u bewoog mijn wraak uw arm te leenen.
Wilde ik uw doelwit met het mijn op 't nauwst vereenen:
Almaïs ware uw bruid.

Nauw heeft Ramnes gezegt dat Omazis Slegts van een laage afkomst is en Zig met zyn Zuster Zal verbinden, welke Simeon bemind het welke hij alleen doorzag en ontdekte off hij geraakt in eene geheelevervoering. [p.150]

S I M É O N.

Misleide uw taal mij niet?

—43—

R A M N E S.

'k Bezweer 't u bij de goôn, vereert in dit gebied.
Zie daar het lot, waartoe de glorie u moet leiden;

Voor 't grootst gevaar zal u het schittrendst loon verbeiden.

*die Naam de verzekering heeft vernomen dat Almais de Zijne Worden kan off hij is geheel van verrukking
buiten Zig Zelve en besluit tot den moord met zulk een woede dat men Waanen Zoude die te zien
volbrengen en de verzekering dat dezelve Volbragt Zal worden door Ramnes hem bij Eede afgevergt onnut
maakt, daar de Woorden de prijs die gij mij biedt is borg genoeg voor mij Ramnes ook geheel gerust Stellen
Zijn doel bereijkt te hebben [p. 150–151]*

S I M É O N.

Ach, Almais!

R A M N E S.

Uw heil, dat van Egijptenland;
't Lot van mijn zuster, 't mijn. . . 't rust alles in uw hand.
Het volk, door u verlost, dankt u met zielsöntroering,
En zegent uwen naam.

S I M É O N.

Almais! ô vervoering!

R A M N E S.

Tref. . . zij zal de uwe zijn.

S I M É O N.

Steun op mij in den nood.

R A M N E S.

Dat Omasis. . .

S I M É O N.

Bepaal het uur van zijnen dood.

Dat zelfs tot in zijn hart mijn strenggewroke smarte. . .

R A M N E S.

't Is Almais gemaal die ik thans prang aan 't harte.
Maar dat een plechtige eed me een nieuwe waarborg zij.

S I M É O N.

De prijs die gij mij biedt is borg genoeg voor mij.

R A M N E S.

Ja, gij vervult mijn' wensch, door eenen haat gedreven,
Gaan wij den dwingeland een' wissen doodsteek geven:
Niets kan den trotschen meer zijn vonnis doen ontgaan;
Reeds duizend dolken ziet ge uw wraak ten dienste staan:
Men nadert: — Scheiden wij.

VYFDE TOONEEL.

O M A S I S, S I M É O N.

*Dan welk een toestand word nu gebooren, alleen gebleeven, Ziet hij [Siméon] Omasis welke genaadert
Zijnde hij tragt te ontvlieden, dan het bevel om te blijven durft hij niet wederstreeven en treedt weder voor.*
— [p. 151]

*de Schrik hem door alle leeden geslaagen bij 't naderen van 't voorwerp, 't welk hij moorden Zal, moet hem
deerlyk Schokken, ik legde dan aan den dag Zoo veel ik kon poging om my te vermommen en kwam dus
tot die gewoone Somberheid op nieuw te rug, dog nu met onrust gepaard.* — [p. 152]

S I M É O N.

Hij is 't, ô Alvermogen!

O M A S I S.

Blijf, Siméon. Tot nu verbergt gij voor elks oogen,
Sints dat een hoog bevel u aan dit hof verbindt,
Het innerlijk verdriet dat uwe ziel verslindt.
Ik heb aan dit geheim tot nu geen deel genomen;
Maar 'k zie uw' vader, aan den boord des Nijls gekomen,
Weldra door 't blij gejuich verwelkomt in dees wal;
En 'k wil niet dat zijn blik het eerst zich vesten zal,
Op een' rampzaalgen zoon, verscheurt door wreede smarte;
En dat uw wee de vreugd vergiftigd' in zijn harte.

S I M É O N.

Op zijn gezicht wijkt nooit de smart uit mijn gemoed:
Zijn oogen zijn gewoon aan mijnen tranenvloed.

O M A S I S.

't Is tijd het eind te zien van uw langduurig lijden.
De hoop moog', Siméon, op nieuw uw hart verblijden.

S I M É O N.

Er is geen hoop voor mij: en, die mij troosten wil
Verlevendigt mijn wee; in plaats dat hij het stil.

O M A S I S.

Zou u mijn deernis een ondraagbre last verstrekken?
Gij moet, 't is uw belang, mij ongeveinst ontdekken
Of gij uw' vader schuwt. Bewogen met uw' pijn,
Kan ik uw voorspraak bij dien eedlen grijsaard zijn.
Gij ziet zijn tederheid op nieuw u toebeschoren.

S I M É O N.

deezē vermomming echter duurt kort, reeds word dezelve verbroken door een gevoel van belediging, de Vraagē aan Omazis wie hem Zeijde dat Simeon de Liefde Zijns vaders verloor toont dit klaar ik paarde dit met dien toon, dog mij afwendende Stelde ik voor weeder in gedagten verzonken te geraaken . — dus ik de oogen needersloeg Zoo dat dezelve nu in 't geheel niet konden gezien worden - dit overleg gaf mij de gelegentheid tot 't volgende Spel. [p. 152–153]

En wie zeide u, mijnheer, dat ik die heb verloren?

O M A S I S.

'k Vermoed dit niet. Maar zou een vader ieder uur
Zijn onvermoeide zorg, zijn hartlijk liefdevuur
In evenredig deel zijn kindren verklaren?

*Nauwelijks waaren de Volgende woorden door Omazis gezegt
Heeft Jacob niet veel ligt bij Zyne hooge Jaaren,
Onwillig tot Een Kind zijn voorkeur uytgestrekt, [p. 153–154]*

Heeft Jacob niet veellicht, bij zijne hooge jaren,
Onwillig tot een kind zijn voorkeur uitgestrekt,

of ik Zette der oogen wijd open zag vuurig met een opgericht hooft voor uijt en trilde. deezē geest vervoering deed ik Stuijten door 't Zijdlings oog op Omazis te Slaan, en daadlijk op de gedagten daar door koomen, om mijn waare gevoel te vermommen, en zagtlijk te antwoorden.

*Zijn onbevlekte wet verEenigt al Zijn Zoonen
Daar ze in zijn edel hart gelijk bevoorrecht woonen [p. 153–154]*

En dus u hart bedroeft, en u die smart verwekt?

S I M É O N.

Zijn onbevlekte wet vereenigt al zijn zoonen:
Daar ze in zijn edel hart, gelijk bevoorrecht woonen.

*het gevoel overmeestert nu Spreekende Zijne vermomming en hij koomt tot een ogenblikkelijke vergeeting
dat hij imand bij Zig heeft, en nu mijne Stem verheffende met Zeekere Woede
Maar had Zijn vaardermacht nogtans ons aller Recht
Verblind Een enklen Zoon by voorkeur toegezegd [p. 154]*

Maar had zijn vadmacht nogthans ons aller recht,
Verblind een' enklen zoon, bij voorkeur toegezegd.

*dog daadlijk weeder tot Zig Zelve koomende op het weeder gewaar worden van Omazis ontveinsde ik op
nieuw het Waare gevoel en Sprak de volgende reegels weeder zagter uijt, Zelfs met eenige lieflijke voorgewende
Zoet vleijendheid*

*Dan dwong mij de Eerbied nog en teederheijd te gaader
Elks oog te sluijten voor de zwakheid van Een vaader [p.154–155]*

Dan dwong mij de eerbied nog en tederheid te gader
Elks oog te sluiten voor de zwakheid van een' vader.

—46—

*De opeenStapeling van onderscheijden aandoeningen, haar nu reeds weedervaaren Stort hem in nadenken
en Vestigt het oog op een Punt voor Zig - en dit nadenken bragt hem Levendig voor den geest, het groote
punt het beginzel van de Oorzaak Zijner Wroeging, Snel gelijk een bliksem Straal Schiet dat gevoel hem
door de Zinnen. — en boorende onderwijl Een voorstel van het geen hem tans door de Zinnen Zweefft, [p.
155–156]*

O M A S I S.

Men zag wel meer, door een' wangunstig' overmoed,
De broederen verdeeld, en op elkaar verwoed.
Zij, twistend met elkaar, door spijt en toorn gedreven,
Verbitterden wel meer den ouderen het leven.
Zoo werd van meenig huis de kalme rust verjaagd.
Heeft nimmer een verwijt u hiervan aangeklaagd?

*Zegt hij in volle woede, geheel in Zig Zelve gekeerd, met donderende Wrevel en woede de tanden op Elkander
en Slaande en trillende van razernij als in een vlaag van geheel zig Zelfen te vergeeten, en nu niets meer
om zig heenen bespeurende de Zeer opmerkzaame Reegels*

*En op dat geen verwijt mij immer zouw beladen
Had ik dan 't allen tyd bijt rustig Zelfs versmaaden
Met ongeroerd gelaat geduldig moeten zien
Een vaader al zyn liefde Een Enklen broeder bien [p. 156]*

S I M É O N.

En, opdat geen verwijt mij immer zou beladen,
Had ik dan t' allen tijd, bij 't rustig zelfversmaden,
Met ongeroerd gelaat, geduldig moeten zien
Een' vader al zijn liefde een' andren broeder biën?

O M A S I S.

Met het beeld van Woede op het gelaat en alle de Spieren gespannen gaf ik al de klem door Sterke toonen aan deeze Waarlijk hefftige Passagie en Stout voorwaads Ziende bleeff ik in deese houding tot ik mij voelde aanroeren en de Schok daardoor veroorzaakt, deed mij met oopen monde en opengespalkte oogen omazis herkennen, mij bezinnen, de handen op het voorhoofd brengende en al de verwarring aanduidende, die mij mooglyk Waare nijttedrukken en Sprak dan in den toon Van byzondere onderscheijding Ik heb niets gezegt [p. 157–158]

ô Siméon! 't geheim, uw ondanks, u onttogen,
Ontroert mijn ziel veel meer dan gij zoud denken mogen.

S I M É O N, *verwardt.*

'k Heb niets gezegd.

O M A S I S.

Vaar voort, ontdek mij toch vooral
Dat harte dat nog bloedt, en dat ik helen zal,
't Voegt mij die wrede wond te stelpen, en daarneven
Eens vaders tederheid aan u terug te geven.

Mij nu van Omazis afwendende en zijn aanzigt niet kunnende verdraagen, weerde ik hem met beide handen anstig van mij, — de angst is kenlyk in de Zeijdelinge uitboezeming daar van, met een Zucht tot den Heemel. [p. 158]

S I M É O N.

Wat wilt gij toch? Helaas!

O M A S I S.

Hoe nu, gij weert mij af?
Uw hart verwerpt de gunst die ik u liefdrijk gaf.

—47—

S I M É O N, *ter zijde.*

ô Hemel!

*Eene verbaasde Schrik Schokt hem uit dien angst, op het hooren dat Benjamin zijn geheim Zoo ver het kenlyk was aan Omazis meededeelde, naamlyk dat hij treurt over de dood van Joseph, deese woorden werken Zoo kragtig op hem dat hij als geheel buyten Zig Zelve geraakt, door gevoel van droefheid [.]
Omazis zegt hem*

*de dood Eens Broeders Jaagt U Ziel die Siddring aan
Zijn naam Was Joseph, gij zaagt hem ten graave gaan [p. 158–159]*

O M A S I S.

Benjamin schonk mij meer gul vertrouwen.

S I M É O N.

Hoel Benjamin?

O M A S I S.

ô Ja, hij wilde mij 't ontvouwen.

De dood eens broeders jaagt uw ziel die siddring aan:
Zijn naam was Jozef: gij zaagt hem ten grave gaan?

De aandoenlijke teedere traanen die hem [Siméon] hier ontworpen geeven Zijne Ziel die hooge teedergevoeligheid, welke hem alleen vergunt te kunnen Zeggen. O Ja. [p. 159]

S I M É O N, *buiten zichzelf.*

ô Ja.

wanneer nu dit woord gepasseerd was, kon ik mij wel eens overgeven om een traan te Storten op dat ik eenige lugt bekwam dan ik verheugde mij altoos indien het Spel Slegts een geringe uijtwerking op mij had, dewijl ik dan altoos meer vermoogen had om den Reegel ter Zijde met meer kunstmaatige toon Verwisseling te kunnen Uyten. [p. 161]

*O Josep! naam die Steeds
mij tot vertwijffeling voert*

O M A S I S.

En uwe ziel, door bittren rouw verslonden,
Betreurt zijn vroegen dood: daar u in alle stonden
Het schriklijk beeld. . . ô vreugd! ik zie zijn hart ontroert!

S I M É O N, *ter zijde.*

ô Jozef. . . Naam die steeds mij tot vertwijfling voert.

My nu tot Omasis keerende naar een korte Pauze zag ik hem Stout aan, en Sprak het overige uit op een meer moedigen en Straffen toon, hem verzeekerende mijn gehejm tot de dood te bewaaren . — dit oogenblik moest ik dan aangrijpen, hoe wel Spreekende als een moment van Rust, het is ten minsten vrij van die inwendige gemoeds aandoeningen, die het Lighaam zoodaanig afmatten, en men dient dat ook Zoo aan-teneemen, dewijl kort daar op weeder een oogenblik volgt dat in Ziels aandoening te Rug keert. [p. 162]

Luid.

Wat rechten hebt gij toch om in mijn lot te dringen?
't Geheim van mijn gewezen wanhoop mij te ontwringen?
'k Kon van uw wreede wet mij eindelijk eens ontslaan,

'k Behoor mijzelven nog; mijn smart gaat mij slechts aan.
En voed ik een geheim. . . ver dat ik 't u doe hooren,
Zal ik het met mijn asch in 't duister graf versmooren.

O M A S I S.

Drukt eenig zwaar vergrijp u ligt zoo diep ter neêr?
Helaas! de strenge deugd verloor zichzelf wel meer:

—48—

Maar gij, gij hebt nog hoop: de toekomst streele uw zinnen:
Zij doet u ligt de rust, waarnaar gij smacht, herwinnen.

S I M É O N.

En wat verlangt gij toch?

O M A S I S.

Dat ge alles mij bekend.

Omazis dringt aan om het geheim te weten eijzende Zegt hij ik kan niet [p. 162–163]

S I M É O N.

Ik kan niet.

O M A S I S.

Spreek.

my afwendende voegde ik hem toe met hevigheid Wat Regt hebt gij [p.163]

S I M É O N.

Wat recht hebt gij?

O M A S I S.

Ik wil in 't end'.

ô Siméon! kan 't zijn dat ik uw argwaan voede?

en hem alle vertrouwen door gebaard en Spel weijgerende bekwam ik nu gelegenheid om de Clauze Hoe niets ontwaapend dan uwe Schrikkekyke Woede Hem Zeer gearticuleerd toe te Spreken. — het is opmerkzaam, dat in het eijnde dier Clauze weder aangebaald word dat het Zien van Josep voor de eeste maal Simeon Zoo Vel getroffen heeft het welk ik dan ook tragte wel te doen Verstaan en opmerken. [p. 163]

S I M É O N.

Hoel niets ontwapent dan uw schrikkelijke woede!
Geloofst gij dat gij deelt in mijne onlijdbre smart,
Door keer op keer de dolk te wringen in mijn hart?
Is 't ook uw deernis die mij met uw boei deed drukken?
Ja, die een grijsaard naar dit vreemd gewest durft rukken,
En eeuwig hem van 't erf der vaderen verbant?
Telt gij de slavernij bij weldaân van uw hand?
Ben ik uw offer dan? En waant ge, in 't trotsch vermeten,
Dat ge u mijn ziel geheel moet onderworpen heeten?

alle de aandoening Van dat voor de Eerstemaal Zien afschilderende, Zoo door Woorden als gebaarden Spel, en met al de toonen van opvliegende passie, eindigde ik met hem den rug toe te keeren, in welke een Stand ik dan ook bleef tot het oogenblik waarin Omasis hem raadselagtig Zegt dat hy nog meer Sidderen zoude indien hy de reeden wist, waarom hy Zoodaanig getroffen was doen zy elkander voor 't Eerst Ontmoeteden. [p. 163–164]

Ach! 't was geen ijdele schrik, die mij het harte joeg,
Toen mij uw eerste blik zoo fel met ijzing sloeg:

—49—

De hemel spelde mij dat ge eens door trots gedreven,
Mij, en mijn gantsch geslacht, de schand ten prijs zoud geven.

O M A S I S.

Hoe, gij beschuldigt mij? Heb ik het wel verstaan?
Ik zie dus al de vrucht van mijne zorg vergaan?
Reeds lang zag ik uw hart die schrikbare onrust voeden,
Ik wilde dezen dag u voor uzelfen hoeden. . .
Ondankbaar voor mijn zorg, en voor mijn' stem verdooft,
Hebt gij de vreugd, uw rust herstelt te zien, me ontrooft.
Elendige! ik alleen, ik kon ze u wedergeven.
Verblindt, durft gij mijn zorg baldadig tegenstreven!
Gij spreekt van ijzing, ja. . . Weet gij waarom mijn blik
Uw zwaar bedrukte ziel deed sidderen van schrik?
Zoo gij op 't onvoorzienst ten prooije aan onrust strekte
Hoe sidderde gij niet, indien gij eens ontdekte. . .

als dan verraade ik een Zeeker voorgevoel, en, Eene beweging maakende, nu niets meer te willen hooren, wierd de Reeden van Omasis afgebrooken. [p. 164]

Maar ik moet, zuchtende, u verlaten. Nochtans laat
U nooit vervoeren door een' roekelozen raad.

Met Zeekere Ontroering hoort hij dat Omasis Eenige kennis draagt van de Verstandhouding tussen Ramnes en Simeon, en de daarop gevolgde bedrijsing trotseerende en Zig weeder afwendende blijft hij nu in moedige Stand alleen [p. 165]

Ik weet met hoe veel list, met hoe veel kunstnarijen,
Tot zijn veracht ontwerp, u Ramnes wil verleijen.
Ducht, ducht een' toorn die zich te lang bedwingen liet.

(Ter zijde.)

Ik hoopte op zijn berouw; maar, ach, 'k ontwaarde 't niet!

ZESDE TOONEEL

Hij brengt Zig nu Zoo veel hy kan te binnen wat gepasseerd is, nu ging ik naar eene maatige Rust denkend heen en weeder, mij bekreop nu dien angst, welke hem in de Natuur bekruijpt, die men Zegt dat vrees Zig verpraat te hebben, ik wrong met Strak denkende trekken op 't gelaat de handen en Stond Een poos. dit kwam mij voor de beste houding te Zijn, voegende aan geen voortstellen viel [p. 165–166]

SIMÉON.

Wat eischte hij van mij! wat dorst hij mij doen hooren!

—50—

Waarom tracht toch zijn oog tot in mijn ziel te booren?
Verried mijn onrust, of veelligt mijn taal, ontzind,
Het akelig geheim het welk mijn rust verslindt!

want de klimming der Zaak al voortdenkende, brengt hem nu te binnen, dat, daar 't Zeeker is, dat Jakob koomen Zal hij te vreesen heeft, Om door Omasis betigt te Zullen worden, by Zijn Vaader, het welk hem dan ook doet besluijten den moord te verbaasten, in welke besluit ik het Toneel verlatende Benjamin ontmoete [p. 165–166]

Hoe, hield ik vijftien jaar, in eenzaamheid verscholen, .
Mijn gruwzame euveldaad in 't diepst geheim verholen:
Om voor een grijsaard, in het eind te wreed verlicht,
Thans door een ander dan mijzelf' te zijn beticht.
Die rechter, zoo geducht, wiens tranen ik deed vloeijen,
Zou zijn vervloeking op mijn schuldig hoofd doen gloeijen.
Neen, eer dat Omasis zijn toorn ontvlammen doet,
Zwicht hij voor mijne dolk en smoor' hij in zijn[orig:zijn in] bloed.
Ja, Ramnes wacht me: ik ga.

ZEVENDE TOONEEL

BENJAMIN, SIMÉON.

Deese [Benjamin] berigt hem [Siméon] de aankomst van Jakob, dat hem dermaate ontzet, dat hij in vertwijffeling geraakt en als vast genaageld is op de plaats daar hy Staat. [p. 166]

ik paarde hier by Een opgespalkt paar oogen en Sterke trekken de uijtroepingen waaren met de toonen der Raadloosheijd gepaard. [p. 166–167]

B E N J A M I N.

Een innig welbehagen
Moog thans de droefheid van uw somber aanschijn vagen:
Terstond komt vader hier, die naar dees wallen toog.

S I M É O N.

Wat zegt gij? . . . Jakob! . . . hoe!

B E N J A M I N.

Mijn broeder, welk een oog?

S I M É O N.

Hij komt! . . . dit oogenblik. . . Rechtvaardig opperwezen!

—51—

B E N J A M I N.

Hij mint u teêr.

*ik voegde een toonwisseling aan de Woorden, die ten antwoord Strekken aan het zeggen van Benjamin. —
— Hij mint u teer [p. 176]*

*Zie daar de Straf die ik moet vreesen
u kan hij drukken aan 't vaderlijke hart
Zoo 'k deugzaam waar ontweek ik Zeeker hem met Smart
Tans doet zijn aanblik mij van doodlyke angst verstyven*

S I M É O N.

Zie daar de straf die ik moet vreezen!
U kan hij drukken aan het vaderlijke hart.
Zoo 'k deugzaam waar' ontweek ik zeker hem met smart;
Thans doet zijn aanblik mij van doodlijk' angst verstijven.

*Dan Sprak ik Ras Zagt teeder en in traanen, terwijl ik aan den Laatste Reegel weeder al dat vuur gaf,
die dezelve vraagde, en wel zoo heftig dat zy weeder al de wroeging teekende, die Simeon pijnigt en hem nu
bijkans Zin verwarrend maakt, al waarom ik dan vervolgens Benjamin naaderde, naar vooren bragten in
Stille angstige holle toonen vroeg, met den arm om zijnen hals geslaagen [p. 168]*

B E N J A M I N.

Kan Jakob niet den schrik uit ieder hart verdrijven?
Een vredelievend God verklaart zich door zijn stem;
Maar kan ik zonder u wel naderen tot hem?

Een prachtige optocht zal zijn wankle schreeën geleiden,
Op last van Omasis; die hem aan 't hof zal beiden.
Volg mij.

*Koomt hij hier niet ter Wraak van zijn geweën
Snuijfft de Engel des verdriets niet voor zijn Schreeden heen.³*

S I M É O N.

Komt hij hier niet ter wraak van zijn geweën?
Zweeft de engel des verderfs niet voor zijn schreden heen?

B E N J A M I N.

Vergeet die kwelling toch daar Jakob u zal nadren.

*op het hooren van den enkelen naam zijns vaaders grypt hij en zegt
het bloed Stolt op zijn naam mij reeds van Schrik in de aadren. ——— [p. 168]*

S I M É O N.

Het bloed stolt op zijn' naam mij reeds van schrik in de aadren.
Laat mij. . .

*Ik weerde nu Benjamin af onder toeneemende verbijstering, welke op het hooren van de Woorden
Moordenaar ik voorstelde tot eene hoogte te doen opklimmen, die hem geheel het verstand verwart, dit drukte
ik dan uijt door Wilde oogen en gelaats trekken Benjamin belettende voorttegaan, in die Zinneloosheid
vraagt hij*

Weet gij wat ik beloofde? [p. 169–170]

B E N J A M I N.

Hebt gij uw handen dan bevlekt? Zoo naar
Een wroeging, broeder, pijnt alleen den moordenaar.
Maar gij. . .

—52—

S I M É O N.

Vervolg niet. . .

B E N J A M I N.

'k Zie uw onrust nog verheffen.

S I M É O N.

Weet gij wat ik beloofde?

³ Jelgerhuis uses the words 'snuijfft de engel des verdriets' here, which are similar in meaning to, but not exactly the words in the *Omasis* text.

Den toon van Vertrouwen en Stille dog Scherper fluijsteling, Welke ik hier aangaf, zorgde ik iets ontzettends te gevoelen, Welk ik afwisselde met den toon van bezinning, als niet te kunnen begrijpen wat ik beloofde en vroeg daar na op Eene geheele zinneloze, dog holle en aakelige toon
Ach Benjamin hebt gij dat Naar geheijm gehoord? die dan Neen Zegt.

B E N J A M I N.

En nu?

S I M É O N.

'k Kan 't niet bezeffen. . .

En evenwel 'k geloof dat ik werd aangespoord. . .

(Met ijzing.)

Ach, Benjamin, hebt gij dat naar geheim gehoord?

B E N J A M I N.

Neen.

waar op Eene diepe zucht door my voortgebragt wierd. - met de woorden ik herleef maar momenteel te rug keerende in dien Zinneloze Verbijsteling, week ik eijzende van Benjamin af, agter uyt, en verliet Woest het Toneel onder het uijtroepen van de Woorden
Zorg voor al dat gy mijn Schreeden vlied. — [p. 170]

S I M É O N.

Ik herleef. . . Maar wat het ook moog' wezen,
Ik moet gewis altoos het oog van Jakob vreezen.

B E N J A M I N.

Mijn broeder!

S I M É O N.

Zorg vooral dat gij mijn schreden vliedt.

(Hij vertrekt in verbijsteling.)

A C H T S T E T O O N E E L .

B E N J A M I N.

ô God van Israëll! verlaat, verlaat hem niet!

Einde van het derde bedrijf.

APPENDIX C

This is an English translation of the text in Figure 13a–13b. It contains my transcript of Act III, Scene 3 from *Omasis*,¹ pages 39–40 (in black) with inserted elements from Jelgerhuis's study of Siméon in his manuscript *Toneel Studien* of 1811,² pages 141–147 (in green italics). The green text is a shortened version of the descriptions in the manuscript, and has been paraphrased and set in the third person singular masculine (corresponding to Siméon), for clarity during the staging process. These are therefore not exact citations, but indications intended as a working document. For the more complete version of his text, including Jelgerhuis's spelling as copied from his manuscript, see Act III, scene 3 in Appendix B.

ACT III, SCENE 3

- (1) *Stammering in an intermittant, soft tone of voice: Dismay until the word veins*
- (2) *slowly calming down, bursting into tears, lamenting to have caused her [Almaïs] to hate him and seeing everything which he had left lost to him*

SIMÉON

Dismay makes my blood curdle in my veins;
This was all I lacked: to become the object of her hatred.

- (3) *while recovering himself, he recalls her [Almaïs's coming] marriage to Omasis*
- (4) *his fury is reignited*

Farewell, then. Miserable because of your beauty,
I Would feel shame to be a witness to that cursed marriage!

- (5) *The most difficult and brilliant part of the role, to be performed in such a way that it remains deep in the minds of the audience:*
- (6) *Thou, heaven.. - up until the end: in a passionate state, every word is petrifying.*
- (7) *Placing himself centre stage, speaking with emphasis and clarity: so as to be heard well.*
- (8) *Clearly distinguishing: the grief owing to fifteen years of remorse, without succeeding in satisfying Heaven, but begging for protection, because he has no hope left.*

Thou, Heaven, who created me in wrath,
Who tries my patience by dealing so many severe blows;
Thou, who findeth pleasure, in cruelly chastising me;
[And] still art not satisfied after fifteen years of repentance;
Protect me at the end, for I may hope no more.

¹ Pierre-Marie-François Baour-Lormian, *Omasis, ou Joseph en Egypte* [...] (Paris: Didot l'aîné, 1807), transl. by Maarten Westerman as *Omasis, of Jozef in Egypte* [...] (Amsteldam: Abraham Mars, 1810).

² Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien Bevattende Ontwikkelingen der Gedachten van Onderscheydene Toneel Studien Welke slegts tot op de helft van het Voorgenomen plan zijn afgeschreeven door den Hollandschen Toneel Speeler J: Jelgerhuis Rç.* [...] (1811), manuscript, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, BK-B-10.

- (9) *Hastening to one side during: 'Misdeeds drive me onwards', in dismay, filled with horror at the realization of the crime as an abyss, imagining seeing this, and recoiling*

Misdeeds drive me onwards, I see the abyss open before me!
I wanted to flee. . . Thou didst prevent me. . . Well then!

- (10) *A continuously climbing tone of dismay and strength;*
(11) *continuing with the petrifying resolution to be exposed blindly to the wrath of Heaven, to give in to his anger and blame the will of Heaven for the horrors he commits.*

I will blindly become prey to Thine anger;

- (12) *the continually progressing [klimmende] abominations require a matching tone of voice.*
(13) *combining all his powers in expressing the capacity of despairing rage and therein, the hasty decision to commit the murder of Omasis.*

I will hear only the frightful voice of my rage:
The abominations that I commit are born of your will!

- (14) *Having reached this extremity [...] he had progressed to raising his voice to its utmost capacity.*
(15) *a significant change of tone:*
(16) *shuddering from the deed itself he says, speaking to Heaven, I obey, yes! [...] my heart'*
(17) *while striking his heart with his fist,*
(18) *with averted face and eyes cast heavenwards.*

Thou dost demand the death of a tyrant whose pride provokes me?
I obey, yes! . . . But banish remorse from my heart.

- (19) *Clapping both hands to his forehead,*
(20) *reflecting,*
(21) *and pausing, he says 'Alas, what have I said', while expressing the fearful memory of the of the recollection*

Alas, what have I said!

- (22) *disgusted with himself, now plunging into [...] entirely sombre thoughts,*
(23) *returning to that habitual pensive state in which Siméon had appeared at first.*
(24) *In a pensive state he walks in a semi-circle across the front of the stage, where he is met by Ramnes*
(25) *On seeing [Ramnes], [Siméon] gasps, owing to this rough assault, and retreats slightly,*
(26) *[Ramnes] seizes his hand*
(27) *Siméon imagines [voorstellen]³ breaking out in a cold sweat, wiping his forehead with his hand*
(28) *At the same time initially searching for some calmness through a motionless stance and (soft) tones of voice, [...] which are like fearful whispering*
(29) *Exhibiting some ['zeekere']⁴ palpitations of the heart, which reveal fear and agitation, and which lead to renewed sensibility.*

³ Another translation of 'voorstellend' could be 'expressing' or 'miming'.

⁴ Other possible translations of the word 'zeekere' are 'certain' or 'unmistakable'.

APPENDIX D

This appendix is based on the document that was used as a starting point for the staging preparations of Act III, scene 4 of *Omasis, of Jozef in Egipte*.¹ It shows two fragments of a dialogue between Ramnes and Simeón, with inserted images as inspiration for the attitudes to be taken on by Andreas Gilger in the role of Ramnes. The original document was only in Dutch. Here, the English translation is added on the right side.

¹ Pierre-Marie-François Baour-Lormian, *Omasis, ou Joseph en Egypte* [...] (Paris: Didot l'aîné, 1807), transl. by Maarten Westerman as *Omasis, of Jozef in Egypte* [...] (Amsteldam: Abraham Mars, 1810), pp. 40 (the current page) and 42 (the next page).

R A M N E S.

Wel nu, mag ik mij streelen,
Dat ge in de woede die
me ontvlamt eens fier zult deelen?



R A M N E S.

Well now, may I flatter myself
that you will one day proudly share
the fury which enflames me?

S I M É O N.

Wat is uw oogmerk toch,
en waartoe spoort gij me aan?



S I M É O N.

Pray what is your goal?
And towards what are you urging me?

R A M N E S.

Is 't u nog onbekend?

R A M N E S.

Do you not know it?

S I M É O N.

Ik vrees u te verstaan.

S I M É O N.

I fear I understand you.

R A M N E S.

Laat toch voor mij uw doel
niet meer verborgen wezen.
Bedenk dat Omasis
ons alles kan doen vreezen,
Dat, zelfs bij 't minst verwijl
zijn argwaan ligt ontwaakt;
En ons verheven doel
geheel te schande maakt.



R A M N E S.

Pray let your purpose no longer
be hidden from me.
Be aware that Omasis
can make us fear everything,
That, at even the smallest delay
his suspicions will instantly be aroused;
Bringing shame
upon our elevated cause.

R A M N E S.

Het is genoeg;
verkrop uw' smaad:
k Dring u niet verder:

De slavernij heeft in
den koninklijken herder
Den moed geheel verdoofd.

Voor 't outer onzer goôn
Bezweer mijn zuster vrij
op morgen haren hoon:

Zij moge aan den tiran
haar hart ten offer brengen;

En mijnen naam met dien
eens lagen slaafs vermengen.

S I M É O N.

Hoe van een slaaf?

R A M N E S.

Ja hij, die in vermeetlen waan,
Mijn' stam ten smaad, zijn oog
durft op mijn zuster slaan,
Wiens pracht onze oogen tergt...

hij, ons ten smaad verheven;
Kent in 't verachtlijkst bloed
den oorsprong van zijn leven.



R A M N E S.

Enough;
hide your scorn:
I will not push you further.

Slavery has completely
extinguished the courage
of the royal shepherd.

Before the alter of our gods
Swear to free my sister
of her shame tomorrow:

She may offer her heart
to the tyrant;

And link my name
with that of a lowly slave.

S I M É O N.

What, of a slave?

R A M N E S.

Yes he, who in his audacious delusion,
an insult to my people,
dares to turn his eyes upon my sister,
whose beauty torments our eyes...

he, to our shame elevated above us;
Is, at his life's origin,
of the vilest blood.

Captions for the illustrations in Appendix D



Illustration of Avogaro in *Gaston en Bayard*, in Jelgerhuis, *Toneel Studien*.



Costume design by François Joseph Pfeiffer jr., (1800–1900), pencil and wash, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, t004602.000.



Sketch by Jelgerhuis, after Heinrich Aldergrever, 'Schetsen naar Heinrich Aldegrevier' (n.d.), pen and sepia, Allard Pierson, t000727.000, b'TL274-33.



Engraving from Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, plate 39, Figure A (rejecting), author's collection.



Engraving from Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, plate 27, Figure 33 (clasped hands) author's collection.



Engraving from Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, plate 40, Figure 3 (spijt), author's collection.



Engraving from Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, plate 8, Figure 4, author's collection.

APPENDIX E

A summary of Jelgerhuis's lessons on facial expression from his treatise *Theoretische Lessen*, chapters thirteen to twenty, pp. 124–172. To keep the instructions short, I have paraphrased and abridged the original text and adopted modern spelling in some places. To differentiate between citations of the original text and my adaptations (i.e. interpretations) the original text will be in italics.¹ Jelgerhuis based most of his examples in both the text and the illustrations on the Dutch translation of Charles Le Brun's *Methode pour apprendre a dessiner les passions*.²

The plate numbers are followed by the page numbers of the accompanying text in the treatise. The images with a dark background are taken from a digitized version of Jelgerhuis's *Theoretische lessen*.³ The images with a white background are taken from an online edition of *Theoretische lessen*.⁴

¹ For a discussion in English of facial expression with examples by Jelgerhuis and Le Brun, see Barnett, *The Art of Gesture*, pp. 36–58.

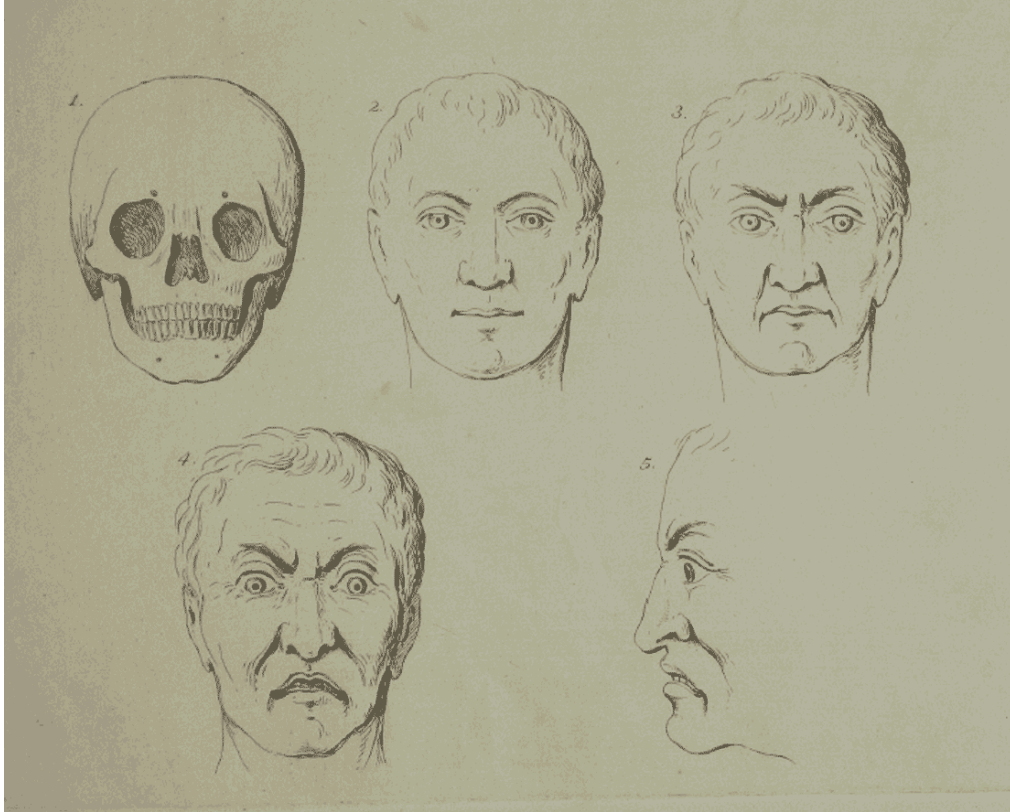
² Le Brun, *Methode*, transl. into Dutch by François de Kaarsgieter as *Afbeelding der Hertstogten*.

³ For this digitized edition on the website of the Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren, see http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/jelg001theo01_01/colofon.php, (accessed 20 June 2025).

⁴ See google books: <https://books.google.ch/books?id=wQddAAAAcAAJ&hl=nl> (accessed 20 June, 2025).

DE TIENDE LES

Toorn, gramschap (plaat 32 / pp. 123–125)



N. 2 en 3. Gelaatsbeschrijving voor toorn:

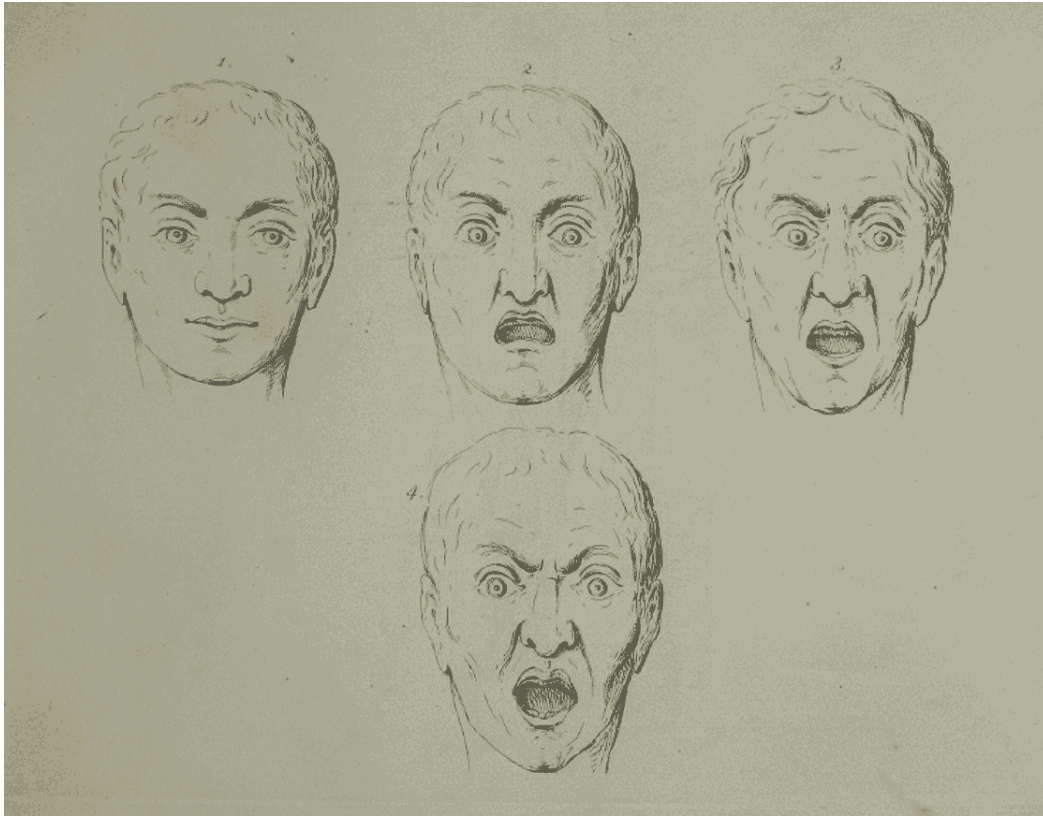
1. *schilder de wenkbrauwen uit hunne inplanting bij den neuswortel in eene schuine rigting naar boven, dik en breed boven op de natuurlijke, welke van zelve nu verloren gaan en geen dekverw behoeven, door den afstand.*
2. *schilder de plooijen der nijd, boven den neus, tusschen de wenkbrauwen.*
3. *De trekken der kwaadaardigheid van de neusvleugels naar beneden aangezet.*
4. *En die in de hoeken der mond ook naar beneden.*

N. 4 en 5. Toorn of gramschap

1. *De wenkbrauwen worden te zamen getrokken aan den neuswortel, waardoor zij rijzen aan de uiterste hoeken.*
2. *Het voorhoofd frons zich.*
3. *De bovenste oogleden verheffen zich, en het oog rust nu op de onderleden, aan de buitenhoeken ontstaan plooijen nedervwaarts, door het zwellen der wangen.*
4. *De neusvleugels zwellen en rijzen, bij de wenkbrauwen ontstaat eene plooï over den neus door het zwellen der wangen.*
5. *Twee zware plooijen ontstaan op de wangen, dalende van de neusvleugels, welke reeds geschilderd, nu sterk uitkomen.*
6. *De mondhoeken openen zich, en dalen door het op elkanderen zetten der tanden, de balsspieren rekken en de onderkaken zetten uit.*

VEERTIENDE LES

Rust - verwondering - verbazing - schrik (plaat 33–34 / pp. 125–126)



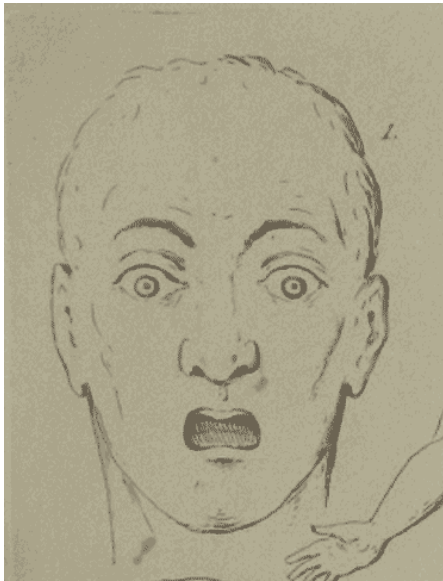
Dit wezen in rust, moet tot verwondering overgaan, komt dit nu in de rol die men spelen moet voor, zoo is het noodig, goede kennelijke wenkbrauwen te schilderen [...]. Leg die wat hooger dan de natuurlijke, breder en wat schuins in de buitenhoeken; het nut der schildering blijkt bij de verwondering, want de wenkbrauwen worden terstond opgeheven en zijn dus zeer zichtbaar.

N. 2, 3, 4.

1. Opgeheven wenkbrauwen
2. Het oog opent zich,
3. de mond insgelijks,
4. de neusgaten worden wijder.

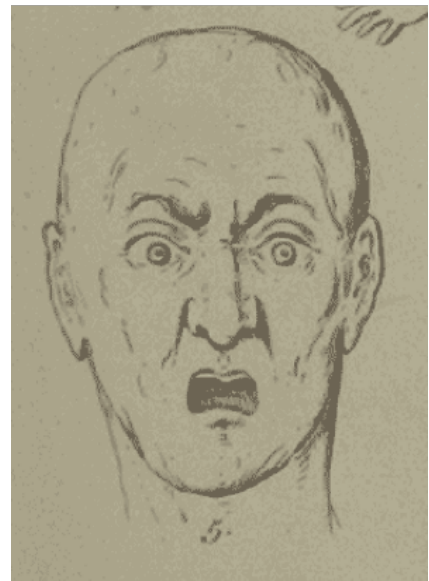
Alles langzaam toenemende, en toenemende tot verbaasdheid [zie N. 3] en gaat over tot een uiterste, [zie N. 4.] indien er afschrik bijkomt, geboren uit hetgeen ons eerst verwonderde, verbaasde en eindelijk afschrik verwekte; maar dit alles, dit uiterste gebeurt in het gelaat eensklaps door den schrik, maar in grootere en sterkere beweging der deelen, zichtbaar in N. 4.

Verbazing, schrik (plaat 34 / pp. 134–136)



N. 1. Verwondering

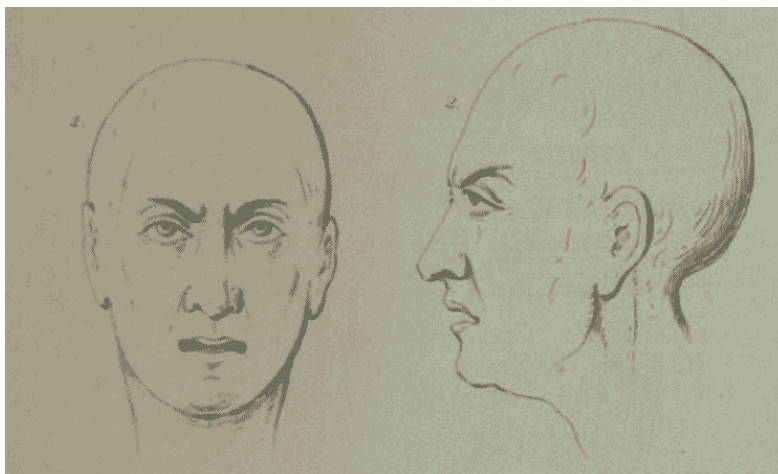
- *Opgetrokken wenkbrauwen.*
- *Geopende oogen, zoo dat den oogappel vrijstaat.*
- *De neusvleugels opgezet.*
- *De mond open.*



N. 5 Verbaasdheid, schrik

Maar de verbaasdheid begint aan schrik te grenzen, zoo als ik hier al eenmaal toonde; zij bestaat in eene meerdere uitzetting of vergrooting van al de bewegingen, zoo wel in het geheele beeld, als in het gelaat.

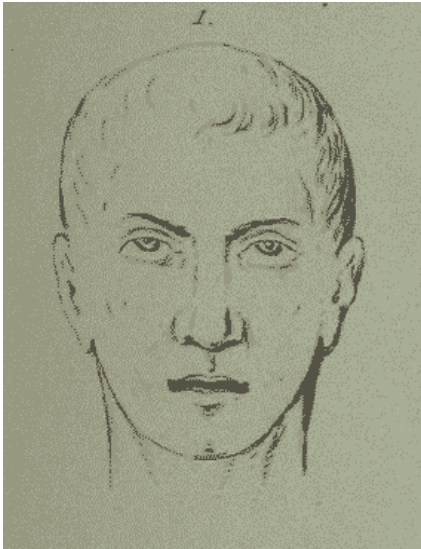
Hoogachting, aandacht (plaat 35 / pp. 136–137)



N. 1 en 2. Hoogachting en aandacht tevens:

1. *De wenkbrauwen tot op de oogen en bij de neus te zamen getrokken.*
2. *Het oog open, de appels opwaards getrokken.*
3. *De mond een weinig open.*

Eerbied (plaat 36 / pp. 137–138)



N. 1.

- *dezelfde kop, alleen met nog meer opgetrokken oogappelen*
- *de oogen kunnen beurtelings nu en dan gesloten, nog al onderscheid geven. Ook zijn de appelen bijkans geheel onder het bovenlid verborgen*

N. 3. Voor- en zijaanzicht.

- *een gebogen hoofd en*
- *gesloten oogen en mond, die eerst een weinig open was*



VIJFTIENDE LES



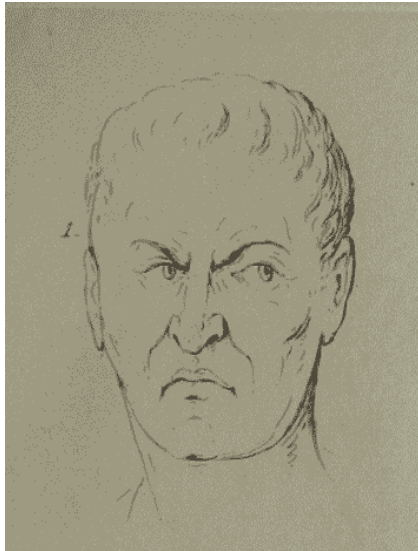
Verrukking (plaat 37 / pp. 139–140)

N. 1.

1. *Het hoofd over de zijde van het hart hangende.*
2. *De wenkbrauw zachtelijk opgetrokken.*
3. *De oogen hemelwaards.*
4. *De mond een weinig open en deszelfs hoeken opwaards.*

Verachting, Haat (plaat 38 / pp. 141–142)

Jelgerhuis legt uit dat Le Brun verachting en haat samenvoegt. Jelgerhuis noemt bij haat en nijd ook afgunst.

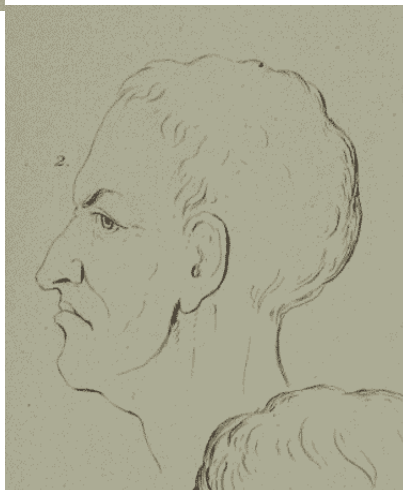


N. 1.

1. *De wenkbrauwen te zamen getrokken bij den neuswortel*
2. *De oogen zijdelings naar het voorwerp.*
3. *De mond gesloten en de hoeken nedervaards.*
4. *De onderlip steekt vooruit.*

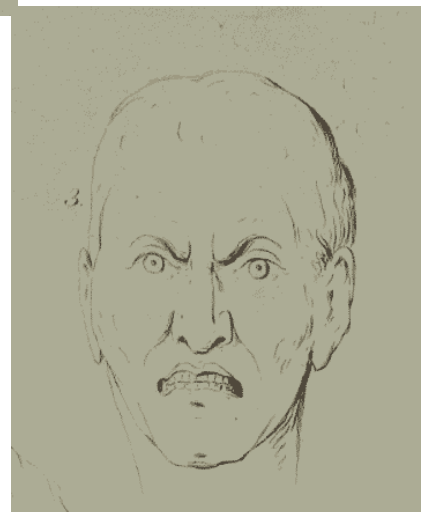
N. 2.

Zijaanzicht van de verachting.



N. 3.

1. *In haat, N. 3. wordt de mond geopend*
2. *de oogen staan regt*
3. *de tanden bloot en gesloten*



Verachting (plaat 40 / p. 143)



N. 1 en N. 2.

Zij aanzicht van de verachting

Haat, schrik, en afschrik (plaat 41 / pp. 144–146)



C. De kop van haat



D. Variatie voor de schrik

- Wenkbrauwen schilderen indien nodig.
- De mond door schrik geheel open

Eenvoudige liefde, verlangen, begeerte, en hoop (p. 147)

Jelgerhuis licht toe waarom hij eenvoudige liefde, verlangen, begeerte, en hoop, overslaat, hoewel Le Brun ze wel behandelt:

[...] dit zijn zeer zachte aandoeningen, die mij alleen voorkomen voor den Schilder geschikt te zijn, en die den Acteur of Actrice minder dienen kunnen om er afbeeldingen of voorschriften van te hooren of te zien; dewijl zij zich meer tot een innwendig harts- of zielsgevoel bepalen, dan wel door uiterlijke bewegingen worden aangetoond, meer door woorden dan door daden bewezen. Het is dan billijk [...] dat men alles met gepaste bescheidenheid voordrage, zoo dat ons deswege geene aanstootelijkheden te last kunnen gelegd worden, en onze bewegingen of edel blijven of eenvoudig, zonder tot uitersten te vervallen.

Vreeze (plaat 42 / pp. 147–148)

Jelgerhuis, verwijzend naar Le Brun

De bewegingen in ons gelaat voor de vreeze worden klaar in onze wenkbraauwen bespeurt, zegt LE BRUN. Oordeel hoe nuttig, die kenlijk te teekenen.



N. 3.

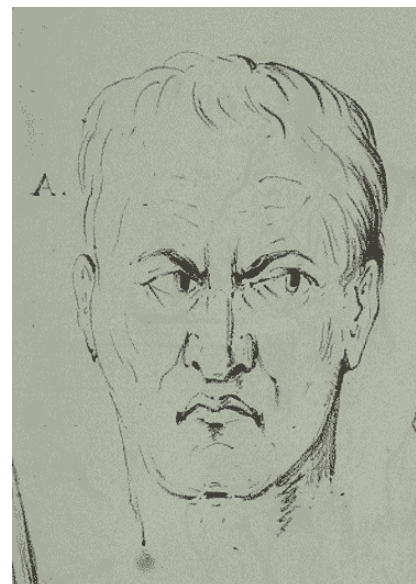
- *Oordeel hoe nuttig die [de wenkbraauwen] kenlijk te teekenen;*
- *zij worden een weinig tegen de neus aangetrokken,*
- *en min of meer daar opgeheven;*
- *het oog open, fiks ziende,*
- *en heen en wedergaande in onrustige beweging.*
- *Eene open mond, veroorzaakt door het achteruittrekken der onderlip,*
- *hoog opgetrokken schouderen.*

Jalouzij (plaat 44 / p. 152)

A.

De wenkbraauwen die hier eene groote uitwerking doen, zijn noodig hier aangeschilderd te worden, indien de natuur niet gunstig genoeg is

- *[De wenkbraauwen] worden meer dan gewoon nedergetrokken, waardoor het voorhoofd gerimpeld is.*
- *Het oog is onder de wenkbraauwen als verscholen.*
- *Zij zien zijdelings naar het voorwerp der jalouzij.*
- *De neusvleugel opgebaald, waardoor de plooiën op de wangen ontstaan, die, door iets te schilderen, sterker werken zullen.*
- *De mond gesloten en de onderlip meer vooruitkomende.*



ACHTTIENDE LES

Droefheid, neerslachtigheid des harten, treurigheid, schreien (plaat 45 / pp. 154–155)

Schreijen is meenaarigheid en gemoedelijk ernstig; daarentegen huilen, grinzē, eene zaak wordt om belagchelijk te zijn. In het eerste geval kan zeker veel gedekt worden, met zakdoek, mantel, slip of kleed naar omstandigheden; maar indien het vertoond wordt ongedekt, staat ons te letten dat wij, in edele gevallen, ons wachten voor het grinzende, huilende gelaat.

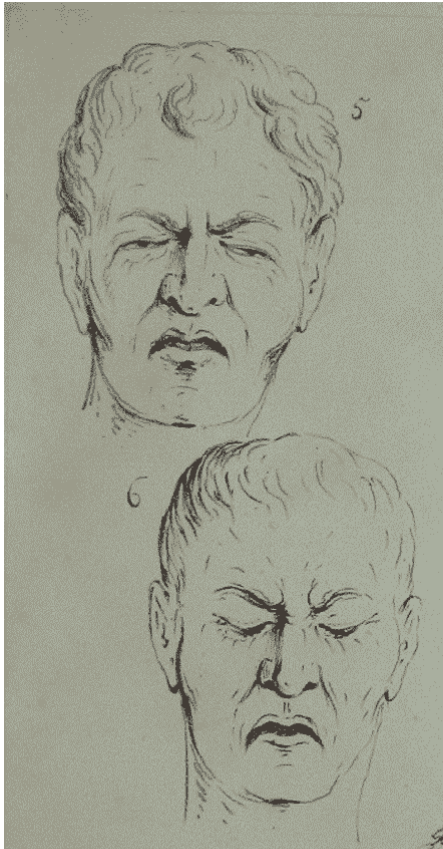


N. 1 en 2.

- [...] naar mate de treurigheid des gemoeds zich in schreijen ontlast, wordt ons gelaat in eene geheel tegenovergestelde beweging gebragt dan in alle andere hartstogten.
- Alles gaat in andere hartstogten naar beneden, hier naar boven.
- De wenkbrauwen verheffen zich aan den neuswortel.
- De oogen opwaards, somtijds geheel onder het bovenlid verborgen.
- de bovenlip onder den neus verheven,
- en de neusvleugels open opgetrokken,
- en de mensch stort droevige tranen.

Huilen (plaat 46 / pp. 156–157)

Zien wij nu het huilen, en het zal blijken dat wij de edele droefheid moeten nemen voor het Treurspel, en ons moeten wachten voor de bespottelijke plooiën daarvan.



N. 5. Jelgerhuis, verwijzend naar Le Brun

LE BRUN, huilen: men kan zeker zijn, dat men met zulk een gelaat, nimmer belang, maar wel gelach verwekken zal.

- *de wenkbrauwen zakken omtrent het midden des voorhoofds,*
- *de oogen zijn bijna gesloten en nedergesakt,*
- *de wangen gerezen, de neusvleugels opgezet,*
- *de aderen en spieren des voorhoofds zijn gespannen,*
- *de mond half open, de hoeken nedervaards;*
- *de onderlip geheel naar buiten omgekruld, zal zich uitstekend vertoonen;*
- *het geheele aangezicht gefronst en gerimpeld;*
- *oogen, neus en wangen worden rood.*

N. 6. Jelgerhuis, verwijzend naar Petrus Camper⁵

- *in het huilen werken al de spieren van het gelaat*

Het huilen is dan eene grinzende vertooning, die den Comiekspeler betreft.

Laat het gevoel ons niet vervoeren om een huilend, grinzend gelaat aantenemen, wanneer wij den ernst moeten bewaren en het gevoel onzer aanschouwers moeten opwekken, die wellicht om ons door gevoel verwekt, grinzend gelaat zouden lagchen, daar het oogmerk was te doen weenen, voor het minst deernis te verwekken.

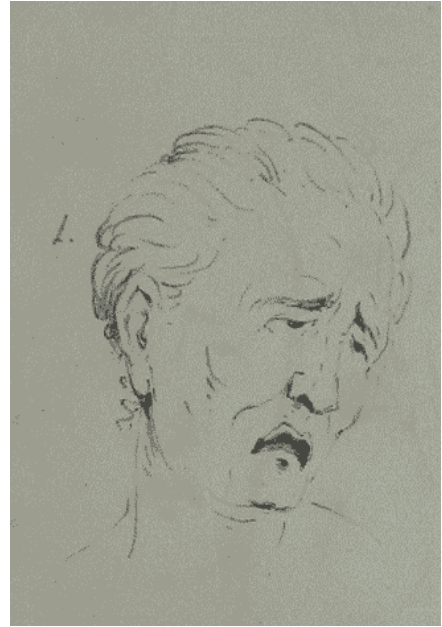
⁵ Petrus Camper, *Redenvoeringen [...] over de nyze, om de onderscheidene hartstogten op onze wezens te verbeelden, uitgegeeven door zynen zoon, Adriaan Gilles Camper* (Utrecht: Wild en Altheer, 1792).

NEGENTIENDE LES

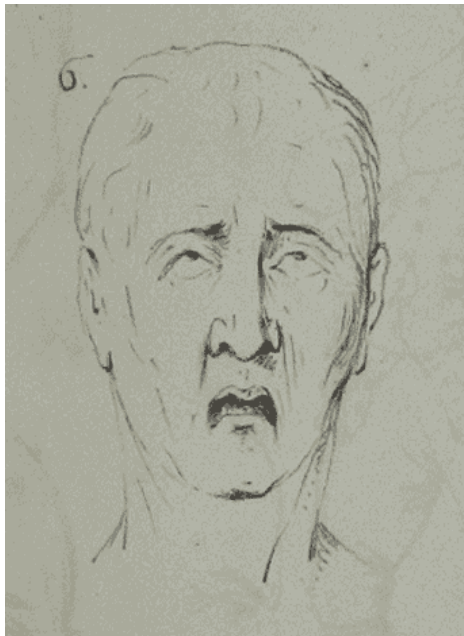
Smart (plaat 47 / p. 160–161)

N. 1. Jelgerhuis, verwijzend naar Le Brun

- *al de trekken des gelaats zullen boekig en puntig zijn in de smart,*
- *de wenkbrauwen meer dan ooit naar boven getrokken aan den neuswortel,*
- *de oogappelen geheel onder het lid verborgen,*
- *de neusgaten geopend en opgetrokken, ingetrokken wangen,*
- *de mond is wijder open dan in droefheid,*
- *al de deelen des aangezigts maken meerder beweging, naar mate de grootheid der pijn of smart.*



Het sterven (plaat 49 / p. 163)



N. 6 Jelgerhuis, verwijzend naar Petrus Camper⁶

- *alle spieren van den hals den mond opentrekken,*
- *de beide oogen omtrent verborgen tot elkanderen trekken.*
- *Maar de trekken van den neus naar beneden,*
- *desgelijks aan den mond, tusschen de wenkbrauwen,*
- *de holle kaken,*
- *de bleekheid,*
- *de blaauwheid onder de oogen,*
- *de blaauwe lippen,*

zijn alle voordeelen, die wij op ons gelaat kunnen schilderen, eer wij als stervende op het tooneel verschijnen.

⁶ Petrus Camper, *Redenvoeringen [...] over de nyze, om de onderscheidene hartstogten op onze wezens te verbeelden, uitgegeeven door zynen zoon, Adriaan Gilles Camper* (Utrecht: Wild en Altheer, 1792).

TWINTIGSTE LES

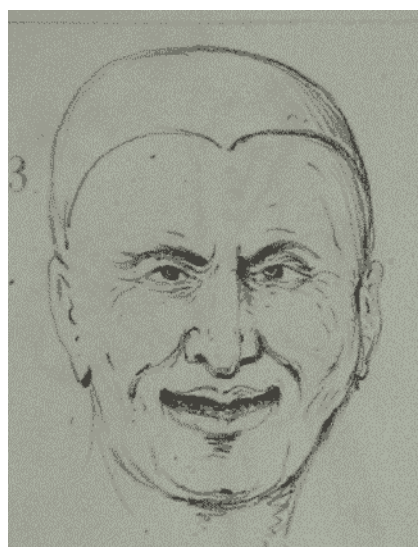
Het lachen (plaat 50 / p. 166–168)

wij moeten lagchen zonder reden van lagchen, en dat mededeelen aan onze aanschouwers, en hiertoe komt het veelal op het aangename aan van het geluid. Komt het in de rol voor uitbundig te moeten lagchen, laat de beweging van ons geheele beeld meer onze aandacht trekken dan wel het gelaat. Vele menschen uit de natuur lagchen als of zij weenen, en omgekeerd [...], hier voor dien ik te waarschuwen. Bespeurt de Tooneelspeler dat zijn gelaat iets van dien aard heeft, dat hij dan zorgvuldig, lagchende, door beweging zijn gelaat verberge.

N. 3.

- Welvoegelijk te blijven zij onze eerste zorg.
- De gematigdheid, fatsoenlijk te blijven, moet hier voorts vooral gelden;
- den mond slechts gematigd te openen,
- dien met de hand op eenen kleinen afstand te dekken

De heer, de meid, de knecht, de dame, de kamenier, zullen, naar onderscheiden character, opgemaakt uit de rol, zeer zeker met veel onderscheid lagchen. Dit met alle zorg gadeteslaan, optemmerken in de natuur, met onzen evenmensch tot studie te nemen en kunstmatig beoordeeld, of de voorwerpen der studie waardig zijn, is iets dat ik nu Uwlieders gezond oordeel, [...] moet overlaten, en Uwen (naar ik hope) door onze lessen gevorderden goeden smaak mag aanbevelen.



Medelijden (plaat 51 / p. 169)

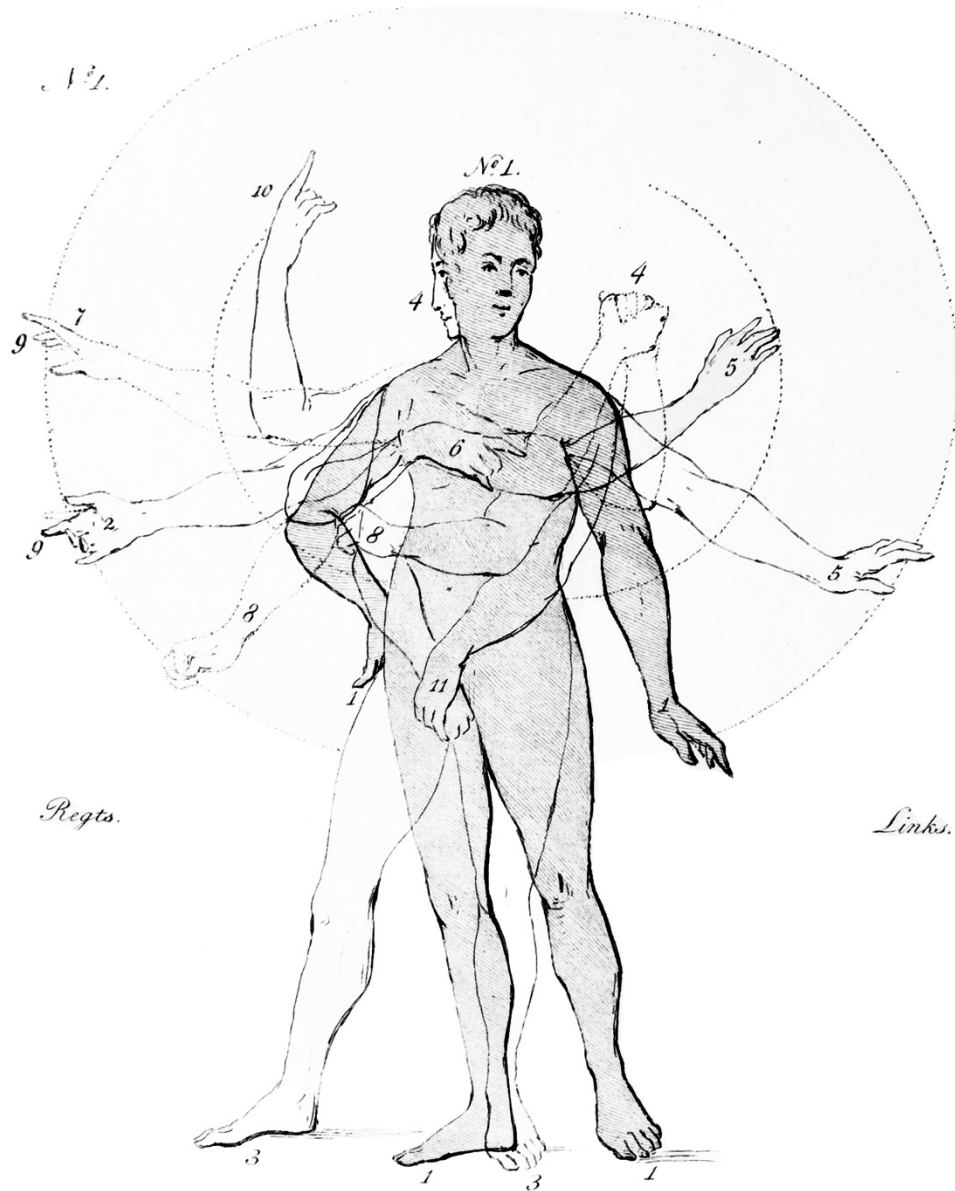
Het medelijden, eene zeer edele aandoening, de nabootsing is daarom altoos zwaar, omdat de oorzaak van medelijden nooit voor ons aanwezig is.



- *Wagen wij het nu om eene verklaring van dit gelaat te beschrijven, welks houding gerigt schijnt te zijn naar het voorwerp, hetwelk het medelyden veroorzaakt of inboezemt, en welk voorwerp men vooronderstelt dat nevens ons gezeten is in eenen stoel:*
- *De wenkbrauwen trekken te zamen bij den neuswortel;*
- *het oog is open, starende op het voorwerp;*
- *de mond is zachtelijk geopend, de onderlip achterwaarts getrokken*

APPENDIX F

This appendix contains the short basic tragedy series T 1–1, described in Chapter 2, divided into eleven separate attitudes based on Jelgerhuis's illustration for gesticulation in tragedy: *Theoretische lessen*, plate 20. This series of pictures features five singing students from the Early music department at the Conservatory of Amsterdam, who attended the 'Declamation and gesture' group lessons I gave in 2024. In order of the photographs: Elena Roce, Mariela Florez, Gaia Szames, Gabriel Belkheiri, Līga Zirina. Photography and editing: Andrea Friggi, 2024.



Jelgerhuis, *Theoretische lessen*, plate 20, author's collection.

To give momentum to the opening attitude, this series opens with a zero posture with the weight on the left leg, hands 1–1 and legs 3–3 at first. In commencing this way, one can move into the first attitude by shifting one's weight to the right leg.



T0. Feet in 3–3, legs in 1–1



T1. Legs and hands in 1–1–1–1.



T 2. Only the right hand moves to 2.



- T 3. This number was skipped, as shifting the legs happens at other moments (moving into T1, T4, T6, and T8).
- T 4. Moving back in surprise at seeing the object on one's left, the feet retiring to 3–3 and the hands in 4.



- T 5. In order make the transition from T4 to T5 feel more natural, it can be helpful to first turn one's eyes to the left side: this made it possible to imagine or see what is there to be rejected. Then the head moves to 4, and the arms to the left in 5–5.



T 6. Placing the right hand in 6, lowering the left to 1, then moving the feet to 1–1.



T 7. The right hand in 7, the left hand in 1, the feet stay in 1–1.



T 8. Moving the hands into 8 and 8, retiring to foot position 3–3.



T 9. This attitude is divided into ‘low nine’ and ‘high nine’. In ‘low nine’, the feet stay in 3–3, right hand in the lower 9 position and the left hand moves up, resting on the hip.



T9. 'High nine' (the only change is the right hand moving up to the higher position of 9).



T 10. The feet stay in 3–3, the right hand moves to 10, the left hand stays on the hip.



T 11. The left foot stays in place 3; the right foot is retracted, taking the 1 position, which is usually taken by the left foot. This places the legs and feet together, as Jelgerhuis suggests; the right arm is lowered, and the left hand covers the right, both in 11.

APPENDIX G

Transcription and English translation of Jelgerhuis's document *consepten* (c. 1821). I have kept the original layout of the sentences, Jelgerhuis's use of capitals, small letters, and the dots and dashes in his text, even when they do not seem to indicate rules of punctuation. References to the footnotes have been applied to both the Dutch and the English text, so as to avoid repetition.

*Consepten . - . van opvoeding voor den tans voorhanden
zijnde kwekeling. . In toepassing te brengen voor Anderen*

*Ontworpen voor t genootschap van welspreken
heyd te Amsterdam. en gesteld in handen des bestuurs.
door J: Jelgerhuis Rzn. ————— .*

Educational concepts for the presently
apprentice[s]. Applicable to others

Devised for the society for the Rhetorical Society
of Amsterdam and given into the hands of the board of directors.
By J: Jelgerhuis Rzn. -----.

<p>N 1. Buyten en behalven de nodige kennis aan Fransche en Engelsche taal zoo nodig om den geene te lezen die over het toneel geschreven hebben. en de origeneelen te kunnen nazien waar toe men alleen vertaalingen heeft, is de Eerste taal boven al . onontbeerlyk. te meer daar mijn Consept zoude zijn. den kwekeling den toneelspeler Talma te laten zien en hem met Goede Adressen Een wijl der waard te zenden eer hij Acteur wierd. en dien Acteur dan nog leefde¹</p>	<p>N 1. Aside from and except for the necessary knowledge of the French and English language, so necessary to read those who have written about the stage, and in order to check the originals of which one has only translations, the first language [Dutch] above all, is indispensable. all the more, since my Concept would be, to have the apprentice observe the actor Talma and send him there for a while with good references before he became an actor, and if that Actor were still alive.¹</p>
---	---

¹ François-Joseph Talma (1763–1826) was a leading actor at the Comédie Française.

<p>N 2. de oeffening dier talen bij de juystheyd van zyn ygen taal houd hem voor Eerst genoeg bezig.</p>	<p>N 2. the exercise of practicing those languages along with the correct use of his own language, will keep him busy enough for the time being.</p>
<p>N 3. De Geographie der ouden hem te doen onderwijzen zoo nodig voor het goede verstand van het hooge Tragedie dit te beginnen met de tegen woordige in aplicatie met de oude. - .</p>	<p>N 3. To have him taught the geography of the ancients [is] most necessary for a good understanding of high tragedy, starting with the present-day [theatre] and applying that [knowledge] to the ancient works. - .</p>
<p>N 4. hem te doen teekenen onder Een Kundig Schilder. die hem Leert teekenen zoo veel als nodig is voor een Acteur. - . dat is om de . Standen te Regelen in welstand hem kennis te doen dragen van de Schilderkunst en de Gravures om zyn Smaak te vormen voor het Costuum en de zamenstelling der groepen hem alle de Antiken goed te doen kennen. en bij naame opdat hij met zig zelve kan aan duyden hoe die Standen zyn en hoe die die beelden er uyt zien</p>	<p>N 4. to make him (allow him to?) draw under the guidance of a skilful painter. who teaches him to draw as much as is needed for an actor. - . that is to organize the stances in <i>welstand</i>² to make him knowledgeable about painting and the engravings; to develop his taste as to costume and the composition of ensembles; to make well known to him all the Ancients, by name, so that he can indicate with himself how their stances are and what their statues look like.</p>

² For a discussion on the term *welstand* and its translations, see Chapter 1, ‘terms and concepts’, where I define *welstand* for the purpose of this dissertation as ‘that which looks good’, a concept referring to beauty in form, harmonious proportions, and/or expression.

<p>No 5. danszen door Een kundig balet meester niet om te dans zen maar om goed te Staen te gaan en te zitten en zig te bewegen. — Even zoo. Eenige lessen van Een Scherm meester . - . dog meer beschouwende dan werkzaam ik ben van gevoelen dat het bijwoonen van de lessen van Een scherm school indeezen. geheel voldoende zyn. -</p>	<p>No 5. Dancing by a skilled ballet master, not to dance, but in order to stand, to walk, to sit, and to move well. Likewise, some lessons with a fencing master. - . though more to observe than to act[.] I feel that attending the lessons at a fencing school are fully sufficient for this purpose. -</p>
<p>N 6 De vrije Toegang in den Schouwburg. en aldaar . Een vastplaats en niet hun en weer loopen . - . en aldaar. eens ter week koomen . - . en dan alles zien ook. voor. al. dan den dans. dat hem de lessen van den dans meester bekomt. . .</p>	<p>N 6 Free admission to the theatre, and there, a permanent seat and no walking back and forth. - and to come there once a week. - . and furthermore, to see everything. especially the dancing, so that he may benefit from the lessons of the dancing master</p>
<p>N 7. Per kweekeling Een Theoretisch Collegie te doen houden.. en hem daar niet alle poespas door Elkander te doen haalen. maar hem . . <u>voor Eerst</u> te doen leezen. en door kundige handen te doen. uyt zoeken . — . alles wat hem kan betreffen uyt <u>Blair</u>³</p>	<p>N 7. To have each student give a theoretical lecture.. and not to have him do everything in a mishmash in random order. but to have him . . read <u>first</u>. and [helped] by a skilled hand to figure out . — . everything that can concern him from <u>Blair</u>³</p>

³ Hugo Blair, *Lessen, over de redekunst en fraaie letteren door Hugo Blair [...]*Tweede, vermeederde en verbeterde druk, vol. 1 (Utrecht: G.T van Paddenburg en zoon, 1804), transl. by Herman Bosscha.

<p>daar na. uyt <u>Engel</u>⁴ daar na. uyt <u>Clairon</u>⁵ dan <u>Ploos van Amstel</u>⁶</p> <p>die werken geheel te leezen is overboodig - Zie daar weeder de <u>School</u>. want Een on middelyk gesprek moet . met den onder wyzer volgen. over het geleezene dat moet in proeven over geven van declamatie. bij den onder wyzer.⁷</p>	<p>then. from <u>Engel</u>⁴ then. from <u>Clairon</u>⁵ then <u>Ploos van Amstel</u>⁶</p> <p>To read those works in their entirety is unnecessary - See here once again the <u>school</u>. for immediately, a conversation must follow with the teacher. about the materials read which must [happen] in exams about declamation. given by teacher.⁷</p>
<p>N 8. Eyndelijk moet, gehuurd worden. Een klyn toneel voor hem Teegen den tyd dat hij zal verschijnen daar moet hij beproeven Toneel matig te gaan te Staan te doen te Spreken het denkbeeld van Colises. Eene Toneel.vloer. enz. zyn dingen die men niet kan. vertellen zij moeten de oogen ingaan . – . dan kan zoo imand voorbeyd worden tot het Groote Toneel . .</p>	<p>N 8. Finally, a small stage must be rented for him when the time approaches at which he will make his appearance [.] There he must show himself able to walk in the manner of the stage to stand, to act, to speak the concept of stage sets. A stage floor. etc. are things, which one cannot explain, they must enter through the eyes. – . Then such a person can be prepared for the larger Stage . .</p>

⁴ Johann Jacob Engel, *De kunst van nabootzing door gebaarden; door J. J. Engel*, 2 vols (Haarlem: J. van Walré, 1790–1791) transl. by Jan Konijnenburg.

⁵ Claire Hippolyte de la Tude, (Clairon), *Gedenkschriften van den actrice Hippolite Clairon en aanmerkingen over de tooneelkunde door haar zelf uitgegeven [...]* (The Hague: Isaac van Cleef, 1799), transl. by Elizabeth Bekker, widow Wolff.

⁶ Ploos van Amstel, Jacob, *Aanleiding tot de uiterlijke welsprekendheid, op den kansel, voor de balie, in 't bijzonder leezen, doch voornaamlijk op het Tooneel*. (Amsteldam: Izaak Duim, 1766). This work is mainly based on the translations of three sources: Pierre Rémond de Sainte Albine, *Le Comédien [...]* (Paris: Desaint & Saillant, 1747); Jean-Léonor de Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif [...]* (Paris: Jaques le Fevre, and Pierre Ribou, 1707); and Luigi Riccoboni, *Dell'arte rappresentativa [...]* (London: n. pub., 1728).

⁷ I am not certain about the meaning of the sentence 'dat moet in proeven over geven van declamatie . bij den onder-wyzer'. My translation in English is an attempt at its interpretation.

<p>al het voorlopige het welk de kweekeling tans en tot nog toe verzigt/verzugt⁸ is gelyk aan . hem die men. de teekeningen en. penzeelen Geeft. om alvast daar van de behandeling te be- koomen... zal zyn onderwijs verder gaan. dan. moet naar al het voorgaande. Een Character gekozen worden om . hem te doen leeren in een Treurspel en . dat te Speelen. – . de keuze hier van moet zyn naar zyne Leeftyd . bij voorbeeld - Zeïd uyt mahomet⁹ nerestan uyt Zaire¹⁰ enz - het denkbeeld van het Speelen van Een geheele . Rol . door 5 bedrijven is een veryschte van het uysterste gewicht..</p> <hr/> <p>Ik Staa inde ver- beelding dat. N 7. nu mij betrefft. en . den jongeling nu bepaalde tyd dient te zetten om bij mij te koomen om over het geen ik hem te leezing zal hebben Gegeven. Een Uur per week . gesprek te houden. voortduurend. . idem ook</p>	<p>All the previous [things], which the student currently and for the time being sighs for⁸ is like him that one gives the drawings and [paint] brushes so that he can already become familiar with them. Should his education continue, then, based on all the previous, a character must be chosen, for him to learn in a tragedy and act [in] it. – . The choice here [of this character] must be [made] in accordance with his age. For instance - Seïd from Mohamet⁹, Nerestan from Zaire¹⁰ etc. - The concept of playing an entire role throughout five acts is a necessity of the greatest importance..</p> <hr/> <p>I imagine that N. 7. applies to me and that the youngster now must reserve a certain time to come to me in order to have a conversation of an hour weekly about that which I will have given him to read. continuously. . the same also</p>
---	--

⁸ The word *verzughten* (*verzuchten* in modern Dutch, which in its positive sense can mean ‘to sighingly wish for’ and in its negative sense ‘to lament with a sigh’) is difficult to read in the manuscript. It could also be deciphered as *verzigten* (*verzichten*), which does not have an official meaning in Dutch, but which in German means ‘to do without’.

⁹ For the role of Seïd see Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), *Mohamet, Treurspel. Gevolgd naar het Fransche door den Heere De Voltaire* (Amsteldam: Izaak Duim, 1770), Dutch transl. by Anthony Hartsen.

¹⁰ For Nerestan, see Voltaire, *Zaire, Treurspel* (Amsteldam: Izaak Duim, 1777), Dutch transl. by Johannes Nomsz.

<p>zoo N 4. omtrent lessen inde teekenkunst. waar bij de . Fabelkunde . van <u>dam</u>¹¹ koomen moet... en del de Sales¹² t welk . al teekenende best onderweezen word dewyl het gesprek . de geschiedenis dier goden en godinnen moet verklaaren — . .</p>	<p>applies to N 4. concerning the lessons in the art of drawing to which the <i>Fabelkunde</i> by van Dam¹¹ must be added. . . and Del de Sales¹² which is best taught by means of drawing, while the conversation must explain the history of its gods and goddesses — . .</p>
---	---

¹¹ Christian Tobias Damm, *Einleitung in die Götter-Lere und Fabel-Geschichte* [...] (Berlin: Wever, 1776 [5th edn]), translated into Dutch by anonymous author as *Inleiding in de Fabelkunde* [...] (Leyden, W. H. Gryp, 1786).

¹² Jean-Baptiste-Claude Delisle de Sales, *Histoire générale et particulière de la Grèce* [...], 13 vols (Paris, n. pub., 1783), transl. of vols 1–2 into Dutch by Samuel Iperuszoon Wiselius as *Geschiedenis van Oud-Griekenland* [...] *met aanmerkingen en bijvoegzelen vermeerderd* (Amsterdam: Johannes Allart, 1808).

APPENDIX H

This appendix contains gives an overview of Jelgerhuis's written works, including his unpublished manuscripts, the works published during his lifetime and those published posthumously.¹ The capitals and punctuation in the titles of Jelgerhuis's unpublished works follow the original.

1810	<i>Tooneelkledingen van den Koninghyken Schoumburg te Amsterdam. Getekend en geëist door J. Jelgerhuis Rzn. Acteur van gemelden schoumburg</i> (Amsterdam: J. Groenewoud en Zoon, 1810).
1811	<i>Toneel Studien Bevattende Ontwikkelingen der Gedachten van Onderscheydene Toneel Studien Welke slegts tot op de helft van het Voorgenomen plan zijn afgeschreeven door den Hollandschen Toneel Speeler J: Jelgerhuis Rzn. Dezelven zijn meestal geschreeven by ziekte mijner huisgenoten, en zittende tot derzelver oppassing en gezelschap</i> (1811), manuscript, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, BK-B-10.
1811	<i>Tonneel Stúdien. bevattende Ontwikkelingen Der Gedachten van Onderscheydene toneel studien welke slegts tot op de helft van het voorgenoomen plan zijn afgeschreven, door den Hollandsche Toneelspeeler J: Jelgerhuis Rzn. dezelve zijn meestal geschreven bij ziekte myner huisgenooten . en zittende tot derzelver Oppassing en Gezelschap</i> , manuscript, Bibliotheek Koninklijk Conservatorium, Antwerpen, S-TN-JELGE-handsch-1.
1811	<i>Schettzende Herinneringen van de Representatien: gegeven in October 181.1 door de Fransche Acteurs en Actrices Talma, Damas, Duchinois, en Bourgoin op het Hollandsche Toneel te Amsterdam. Waargenomen door J: Jelgerhuis Rzn Hollandsch Acteur, Ter Geleghendheid dat de fransche Keijzer Napoleon Zig in de stad Amsterdam bevond</i> (1811), manuscript, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection BK-B-10-A. ²
1814	<i>Iets over het Engelsche Toneel waargenoomen in de maanden Meij en Junij 1814, Door J: Jelgerhuis Rzn. Hollandsch Acteur . – . te Amsterdam</i> (1814), manuscript, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson - The Collections of the University of Amsterdam, IV D 23.
1816	<i>Ryze door Brabant. A° 1816 Antwerpen, Gent, Brussel. J: Jelgerhuis Rzn</i> (1816), manuscript, Amsterdam Municipal Archives, 15030, 133084.
1816	<i>Vervolg en slot van Eene Ryze door Brabant. A° 1816. J: Jelgerhuis Rzn</i> (1816), manuscript, Amsterdam Municipal Archives, 15030, 133085.

¹ For a more extensive list of Jelgerhuis's works, including letters and other documents, see the exhibition catalogue *Johannes Jelgerhuis rzn. acteur-schilder, 1770–1836*, ed. by A. G. Schulte (Nijmegen: Nijmeegs Museum Voor Schone Kunsten, 1969), pp. 202–203, 211–216.

² A copy of this manuscript, written by Jelgerhuis for the actor Andries Snoek in 1812, is mentioned in *Johannes Jelgerhuis rzn. acteur-schilder* (1969), p. 202. I have not been able to retrieve this copy.

1817	<i>Beschouwingen door J. Jelgerhuis RZ. Hollandsch Acteur</i> (1817), manuscript, Amsterdam Municipal Archives, 15030, 2893.
1805–1819	<i>Rollen Boek. Gespeelde Rollen als Acteur te Amsterdam [...]</i> (1805–1818), manuscript, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, XI G 7.
1817–1830	<i>2de Rollen Boeken. gespeelde Rollen. aantekeningen van de dood van Vele Acteurs en Actrices en gebeurde Zaken</i> (1817–1830), manuscript, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, XI G 6.
1821 c.	<i>Consepten . . . van opvoeding voor den tans voorhanden zijnde kweekeling. In toepassing te brengen voor Anderen[.] Ontworpen voor t genootschap van welsprekenbeyd te Amsterdam. en gesteld in handen des bestuurs. door J: Jelgerhuis RZ, (c. 1821), manuscript, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, 31 Bp 12.</i>
undated	<i>Studiën van klederdragen voor alle tyden en volken tot nazigt van den Tooneelspeler of Kunstschilder verzameld door J: Jelgerhuis RZ. (n.d.), portfolio, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, t000725.000.</i>
1827–1829	<i>Theoretische lessen over de gesticulatie en mimiek, gegeven aan de kweekelingen van het fonds ter opleiding en onderrigting van tooneel-kunstenaars aan den stads schouwburg te Amsterdam; door J. Jelgerhuis, RZ. Acteur, en lid van het fonds aan voornoemden schouwburg, en van de koninklijke academie der beeldende kunsten aldaar</i> (Amsterdam: P. Meyer Warnars, 1827–1829).
1832	<i>De tooneelspeler J. Jelgerhuis RZ, in zijne voornaamste Treurspel-Rollen, op den Amsterdamschen Schouwburg vertoond sinds 25 jaren</i> (Amsterdam: Gebroeders van Arum, 1832).
undated	<i>Copy van eenige authentique Aanteekeningen van J. Jelgerhuis RZ, (n.d.), copied by unknown author, manuscript, Amsterdam Municipal Archives, 30579 / 927 KLAB01683000001– KLAB01683000023.</i>

Published posthumously (some of the following authors have published selections of a manuscript).

1808	1977	‘Antwoord op de vraag: Welke was de verleden staat van het Nederlandsch Tooneel; welke is de tegenwoordige, en welke zoude die behooren te zijn? 1 Januarij 1808’, ed. by Floris van Westervoort, in <i>Noord- en Zuid- Nederlandsche Tooneel-Almanak voor 1877</i> , onder redactie van N. Donker, (Amsterdam: G. Theod. Bom, 1877), 104–126.
------	------	--

1811	1985	Albach, Ben. “de volmaakste Acteur, die ik tot nog toe zag...”, <i>Schettzende herinneringen van de representatien: gegeven in October 1811, door de Fransche acteurs en actrices Talma, Damas, Duchinois, en Bourgoin op het Hollandsche Tooneel te Amsterdam</i> [.] <i>Waargenomen door I: Jelgerhuis RZN Hollandsch acteur ter gelegenheid dat de Fransche Keijzer Napoleon zig in de stad Amsterdam bevond</i> , introduction and annotations by Ben Albach, in <i>Scenarium 10</i> , ed. by E. Alexander, R. L. Erenstein and W. Hoogendoorn (Amsterdam: Nederlands Theater Instituut, 1985).
1811	1915	Mendes da Costa, M. B. ‘Tooneelherinneringen uit 1811, een onuitgegeven handschrift. J. Jelgerhuis en zijn oordeel over Talma’, in <i>De Amsterdammer, Weekblad voor Nederland</i> (17 October, 1915), 7–8, Amsterdam Municipal Archives, 30579 / 927 KLAB01683000091– KLAB01683000093. ³
1811	1986	Chevalley, Sylvie, ‘Politique et Théâtre. Une visite impériale en Hollande en 1811’, <i>Revue d’Histoire du Théâtre</i> , 152 (Paris: Société d’histoire du théâtre, 1986–4), 370–394.
1811	1987–1988	Albach, Ben. ‘Johannes Jelgerhuis over zijn rollen in <i>Gijsbrecht van Aemstel</i> : twee van zijn <i>Toneel-studien</i> ingeleid en uitgegeven’, in <i>Spektator</i> , 17 (1987–1988), 5, 415–430.
1816	1938	D’Ailly, Antoine Everard. ‘Ryze door Brabant A° 1816 Antwerpen, Gent, Brussel’, preface by A. E. d’Ailly, in <i>Historia, maandschrift voor Geschiedenis</i> , 4 (1938), 3, 80–94. The illustrations in this publication are not complete.
1816	1939	Tas, E. ‘Een reis van den schilder-acteur Jelgerhuis’ Aantekeningen gehouden op eene Ryze naar Brabant in den jaare 1816 verrijkt met de noodige schetzen. Te Antwerpen, voorts naar Gent en Brussel en terug naar Holland, door J. Jelgerhuis Rz., Hollands Acteur’, in <i>Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis</i> , 54 (1939), 485–488.
1827–1829	1984	Golding, Alfred Siemon. <i>Classicistic acting: two centuries of a performance tradition at the Amsterdam Schouwburg: to which is Appended An Annotated Translation of the ‘Lessons on the Principles of Gesticulation and Mimic Expression’ of Johannes Jelgerhuis, Rz</i> (Lanham: University Press of America, 1984).

³ The exhibition catalogue of 1969 also mentions the previous and subsequent parts of this article, published on 10 October and 7 November 1915, see *Johannes Jelgerhuis rzn. acteur-schilder* (1969), p. 203.

APPENDIX I

Captions for figures 9a and 9b

The short attitude series T1–T11 in a historical European context.

T1.



Louis-René Boquet, 'La Venitienne avrille 1768, Mr Legros Octave' (1768), drawing, ink and wash, Paris, BNF, Bibliothèque - Musée de L'opéra, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8455009q> (accessed 12 August 2025).



François Joseph Pfeiffer jr., 'Kostuumontwerp voor *Le prince de Neubourg*' (n.d.), drawing, sepia, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, t003423.000, <https://theatercollectie.uva.nl/Details/collect/9658> (accessed 12 August 2025).



Jacques Lepautre(?) after Jean Berain, 'Costume d'Égyptienne pour l'apothéose d' Isis' (1677), drawing, pen and brown ink, gray wash, traces of black chalk, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, 2517 DR/Recto, <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl020554738> (accessed 15 August 2025).

T2.



Johannes Jelgerhuis, 'Schetse van Eufemia in Gaston en Bayard by herinnering na JRZ octob. 1811', illustration in Jelgerhuis, *Schettzende Herinneringen* (1811), drawing, pencil and wash, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, t005884.000.



Louis-René Boquet, 'Ballet. Jeunesse athenienne', (1790), drawing, black chalk, pen, ink, and wash, Paris, BNF, Bibliothèque - Musée de l'Opera, D216 IX-81, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8455064x> (accessed 15 August 2025).



Baccio del Bianco, 'Contadina p[er] Ballo' (1619–1656), drawing, pen and brown ink, with watercolour, over black chalk, London, British Museum, 0502.62., https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1887-0502-62 (accessed 15 August 2025).

T4.



François Joseph Pfeiffer jr., costume design (1800–1900), drawing, pencil and wash, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, t003616.000, <https://theatercollectie.uva.nl/Details/collect/18203> (accessed 30 June 2025).

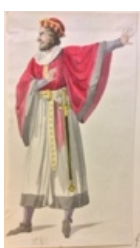


Unknown artist, illustration in Franz Lang, *Dissertatio de actione scenica, cum figuris eandem explicantibus, et observationibus quibusdam de arte comica* (Munich: Mariae Magdalенаe Ridlin, Viduae, 1727), Figure VII, p. 50.



Unknown artist, 'Mrs. Barry, in the character of Lady Randolph' (1780), engraving, printed ink on paper, published by Harrison and Co., London, V&A, Harry Beard Collection, S.61-2013, <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1259785/mrs-barry-in-the-character-print-unknown/> (accessed 30 June 2025).

T5.



François Joseph Pfeiffer jr., costume design (c. 1800–1900), drawing, pencil and wash, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, theatre collection, t004604.000, <https://theatercollectie.uva.nl/Details/collect/18231> (accessed 30 June 2025).



Girodet (inv.), Lefèvre (sculp.), illustration in *Phèdre* by Jean Racine, in *Œuvres complètes de J. Racine avec les notes de tous les commentateurs. Cinquième édition publiée par L. Aimé-Martin, avec des additions nouvelles*, 5th edn, 6 vols (Paris: Lefèvre et Furne, 1844), 1, p. 134.

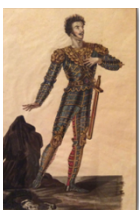


Johann Wilhelm Meil, illustration in Johann Jacob Engel, *Ideen zu einer Mimik von J. J. Engel. Erster Theil [...]* Mit erläuternden Kupfertafeln (Berlin: Auf Kosten des Verfassers und in Commission by August Mylius, 1785), Figure 12, p. 131.

T6.



Lortzing (del.), Schwerdgeburth (sc.), 'Hr. Karl Ludwig Oels als Muley, Feldherr des Königs von Fez' (1811), illustration in *Journal des Luxus und der Moden 1786–1827*, *Analytische Bibliographie* [...], ed. by Doris Kuhles and Ulrike Standke, 3 vols (Munich: K. G. Saur, 2003), 2, p. 1318, 07699, Kupfertafel, Bd. 26. T. 32.



Unknown artist, 'V. Samoilov as "Hermit"', [in] *Le Solitaire* of 1822 by M[ichele] Carafa. Bolshoi (Kamenny) theatre ?? (1st quarter of the nineteenth century), St Petersburg, Museum of Theatre and Music.



I. Ivanova-Vano & Y. Olesha, *Skazka o mertvoj tsarevne i o semi bogatyrjah* (The tale of the dead daughter of the tsar and the seven knights [*bogatyr*s]), adapted from the epic poem by Alexander Pushkin of 1833, (Moscow: Soyouzmultfilm, 1951).

T7.



Louis-René boquet, costume design for 'Turnus', in *Habits de Costume pour différents caractères. De Danse, D'Opéra, de comédie, tragédie, et de bal. Dessinés par Mr. Boquet dessinateur des menus plaisirs du Roy de France*, vol IX (Louisbourg: 1766), plate 5, Warsaw, University of Warsaw Library, <https://crispa.uw.edu.pl/object/files/620871/display/Default> (accessed 18 July 2025).



I. R. Cruickshank (del), Roberts (sculpt.), 'Mrs Siddons as Lady Randolph, in Douglas' (c. 18th century), print, London, V&A, Harry Beard Collection, S.2422-2013, <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1264767/mrs-siddons-as-lady-randolph-print-sherwin/> (accessed 15 January 2025).



Atelier Ziesenis, 'Uit de Malabaarsche weduwe' (1781–1810), drawing, ink and wash, in *Album Ziesenis*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, FOL-O ICO-3 (74), detail, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53146174v> (accessed 18 July 2025).

T8.



Atelier Ziesenis, 'Uit 't treurspel Fenelon, of de Kameryksche kloosterlingen' (1774–1810), drawing, ink and wash, in *Album Ziesenis*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, FOL-O ICO-3 (29), detail, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53146113x> (accessed 18 July 2025).



V. M. (dis^o), Salucci (lit.), illustration in Antonio Morrocchesi, *Lezioni di declamazione e d'arte teatrale di Antonio Morrocchesi* [...] (Florence: Tipografia all insegna di Dante, 1832), plate 2.



Terry (sculpt.), 'Mr. Barry in the Character of Varanes [...]' (1779), coloured engraving, London, V&A, S.362-1997, <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1138819/mr-barry-in-the-character-print-harrison--co/> (accessed 15 July 2025).

T9-low.



Ludovico Burnacini (del.), Matthaeus Küsel (sculpt.), 'Arsenal of Mars; a group of soldiers standing across from a group of women in an arsenal; ships off in the distance; set design from "Il Pomo D'Oro"' (1668), etching, New York, The Metropolitan museum of Art, 53.600.3550, detail, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/700482> (accessed 15 August 2025)



Robert Bonnart, 'Rodolphe, ou le jaloux de l'Opera, Noble Venitien Amoureux d'Isabelle' (c. 1700), coloured print, Paris, BNF, estampes et Photographie.



Antonio Daniele Bertoli, costume design in Joseph Gregor, *Denkmäler des Theaters: Inszenierung, Dekoration, Kostüm des Theaters und der grossen Feste aller Zeiten: nach Originalen der Theatersammlung der Nationalbibliothek, der Albertina und verwandter Sammlungen* [...], 12 vols (R. Piper & Co. Verlag, München, n.d), 3.

T9-high.



Per Krafft the Younger, 'Hertig Karl (Karl XIII) i slaget vid Hogland' (c. 1810), painting, oil on canvas, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, Drottningholm collection, NMDrh 772, <https://collection.nationalmuseum.se/en/collection/item/79316/> (accessed 15 August 2025).



Huot after K. Briullov, 'G. Rubini, P. Viardot, and A. Tamburini in the opera *Bianca and Gualtiero* of 1844 by Alexei Lvov, Imperial Italian company, Saint Petersburg' (1845), lithograph, St. Petersburg, Museum of Theatre and Music, detail.



Anonymous artist, illustration in Franz Lang, *Dissertatio de actione scenica, cum figuris eandem explicantibus, et observationibus quibusdam de arte comica* (Munich: Mariae Magdalenae Riedlin, Viduae, 1727), Figure II, p. 26.

T10.



Gerard De Laireesse and/or Jan de Laireesse, illustration in Gerard de Laireesse, *Het Groot Schilderboek*, (Amsterdam: By de Erfgenamen van Willem de Coup, op 't Rokkin, bij de Valbrug, 1707). plate A, pag. 28.



V.M. (dis°), Salucci (lit), illustration in Antonio Morrocchesi, *Lezioni di declamazione e d'arte teatrale di Antonio Morrocchesi* [...] (Florence: Tipografia all insegna di Dante, 1832), plate 13.



Edmond Aimé-Florentin Geoffroy (del), Monnin (sc), illustration in *Mabomet, le Fanatisme* by Voltaire, in *Théâtre complet de Voltaire*, [...] *ornée de vingt portraits en pied coloriés, dessins de M. Geoffroy, sociétaire de la Comédie Française* (Paris: Laplace & Sanchez, 1874), p. 176.

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=chi.19251391&seq=237&q1=fanatisme>, (accessed 12 August 2025).

T11.



Atelier Ziesenis, 'Uit 't toneelspel, *De Hnygelaar*' (1774–1810), in *Album Ziesenis*, drawing, ink and wash, Bibliothèque nationale de France, FOL-O ICO-3 (68), detail, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b531461346>, (accessed 18 July 2025).



Unknown artist, 'Darstellungen menschlicher Gebärden', in *Journal des Luxus und der Moden 1786–1827, Analytische Bibliographie [...]*, ed. by Doris Kuhles and Ulrike Standke, 3 vols (Munich: K. G. Saur, 2003), 2, p. 736, 06607, 1805, Kupfertafel H. 11. T. 33, Figure 15.



Unknown photographer. Picture of the Dutch actress Maria Johanna Kleine-Gartman (Jelgerhuis's granddaughter) as Medea, in Benjamin Hunningher, *Een eeuw Nederlands toneel, met 167 illustraties* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1949).

Acknowledgements

Firstly, let me thank Prof. dr. Henk Borgdorff, my promotor Prof. dr. Marcel Cobussen and my supervisors Dr. Jed Wentz and Dr. Terry Robinson, for their questions, their encouragement, and their time, and Dr. Rosalien van der Poel for making things possible. My heartfelt thanks to Jed Wentz are due on many levels, including his faith in my work, his generosity, and words of wisdom. The inspiring events and the summer Academies he organized at the Academy of Creative and Performing Arts, Leiden University, enabled me to perform, teach, present my findings on Jelgerhuis, and to learn from others. My gratitude is extended to Dr. Terry Robinson for her invaluable-feedback, not only with the chapters of this dissertation, but also with editing my published articles, especially the first one.

A larger team stood by my side during these years, helping me with different aspects of the research. I am most profoundly thankful and indebted to Dr. Julia Muller-van Santen and Frans Muller who have provided me with their books, knowledge, experience, and guidance. Juul edited my entire first draft and helped me with the challenging task of translating Jelgerhuis. Jurriaan Grootes and Cecilia Oomes too, spontaneously and generously gifted books that were useful for my studies. I want to thank all Postscript and DHAC members for their participation and/or insight on my experiments, and in particular João Luís Paixão, Andreas Gilger, and Jed Wentz, for their contribution to the Second Case Study's staging project. A special word of thanks goes out to Anne Smith, who so generously advised me and helped me toward achieving my goals while working on the attitudes and *Proserpina*. My warm thanks to fellow students Emma Williams, Tamar Hestrin Grader, Eduardo Gaspar Polo Baader, Irina Marinaş, and João Carlos Santos — for their readiness to exchange ideas and doubts, and also for the comfort of studying in their good company. I also want to acknowledge and thank my first teacher Margit Legler, and my students throughout the years from whom I have learned so much, for their enthusiasm, trust, and creativity.

I owe sincere and grateful thanks to Xavier Vandamme, who gave me the opportunity to co-curate the exhibition 'Let's Act' with Jed Wentz and Nora Leijen, and to perform *Proserpina* at the Festival Oude Muziek Utrecht 2021. I also want to thank Jed Wentz, Erik Viskil and Rosalien van der Poel for organizing the Overacting Festival, which included my *Proserpina* performance at the Leidse Schouwburg in 2022.

The following archives and organizations have provided me with most images and with information on Jelgerhuis and his contemporaries essential to this study: the theatre collection of the Allard Pierson, the Amsterdam Municipal Archives, the Bibliotheek Koninklijk Conservatorium Antwerpen, the Bakkehuset Museum and the Klassik Stiftung Weimar.

I am immensely grateful to my parents, my family, and my friends for giving me their support and for respecting my absences, and to Daniel, for his patience, for reading and correcting my first paragraphs, and for cheering me on. Finally, I deeply thank Dr. Anton Vos, the surgeon without whom I could not have carried out this study. There are many more I feel indebted to, for sharing their inspiration knowledge and expertise, for their patience and kindness.

Summary

The Dutch actor and painter Johannes Jelgerhuis Rienkszoon (1770–1836) is known today mainly for his paintings and his treatise on acting theory *Theoretische lessen over de gesticulatie en mimiek* (“Theoretical lessons on gesticulation and facial expression”), published between 1827 and 1829. Less known, however, are his unpublished manuscripts and costume designs. In this dissertation I investigate how the study of Jelgerhuis’s unpublished works can cast new light on his acting style as well as his *Theoretische lessen*, and how this in turn can contribute to the acting practice of historically informed performers today. Throughout four chapters, one on theory and three on stagecraft, the following research questions guided my study:

1. How can a study of Johannes Jelgerhuis’s lesser-known works add to a more complete understanding of Jelgerhuis’s treatise *Theoretische lessen*, of his approach to acting and of his acting style, and how can this contribute in turn to historically informed performance practices?
2. How can a physical and mental training following the *Theoretische lessen* and the study of Jelgerhuis’s other works add to my own artistic practice, both during the preparation process and in performance?
3. Which acting tools can I develop from such training, and how can I make them available and useful to other performers?

In search of a better understanding of Jelgerhuis’s treatise and acting style, Chapter 1 has at its centre a discussion of selected works by Jelgerhuis within the context of the various disciplines he practiced, and the changes occurring in the Amsterdam theatre in the early nineteenth century. As part of this investigation and in preparation for Chapters 2–4 on stagecraft, I contextualize and discuss eight terms — *schilderachtigheid*, *contrast*, *attitude*, *welstand*, *waarheid*, *naturalness*, *gracefulness*, and *ease* — frequently adopted by Jelgerhuis and his contemporaries.

Chapters 2–4 focus on how physical and mental training based on the *Theoretische lessen* and the study of Jelgerhuis’s other works inform my practice, both in the preparation process and in the actual performances, which acting tools I acquire from such training, and how I make them available and useful to other performers. The eight terms are here applied within practice-based research.

In Chapter 2, I adapt information from the illustrations and written text in the *Theoretische lessen* to create basic physical acting exercises, not only to increase the understanding of this source but also to facilitate a practical path of embodiment and practice for myself and other performers. The importance of the imagination to generate the reason why a character executes any movement or stage action is an essential part of these exercises and of the training and staging processes in the following case studies.

Chapter 3 commences with an analysis of Jelgerhuis's acting style as described in his manuscript *Toneel Studien* of 1811. This information is then used in practice. Two actors and I go through a training based on the exercises proposed in Chapter 2, and three actors stage three scenes from a Dutch play by meticulously following clues and details in Jelgerhuis's manuscript and information from *Theoretische lessen*. The analysis, training, and staging processes demonstrate the benefits of combining information from the treatise and the manuscript. Both sources complement each other, illuminating different but equally important aspects of Jelgerhuis's acting style. Another result of the analysis carried out in this chapter is a list of preparatory building blocks for creating a character for the stage according to Jelgerhuis's ideas.

In Chapter 4, I review my study of the acting techniques hitherto presented in a broader perspective, by combining them with international source material of Jelgerhuis's time. The focal point of this case study is the preparation process of creating a historically inspired performance of the German melodrama *Proserpina* by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) and Franz Carl Eberwein (1786–1868). Investigation into the original production of 1815 leads, for example, to the concept and creation of a costume for Proserpina, and to merging techniques based on Jelgerhuis's sources (his stage attitudes) with artistic practices (artistic attitudes) of Lady Emma Hamilton (1765–1815), Henriette Hendel-Schütz (1772–1849), and Ida Brun (1792–1857).

The conclusion distills my original contribution to knowledge, consisting in three key points: 1) demonstrating how the combination of Jelgerhuis's lesser-known works and his treatise *Theoretische lessen* can provide new knowledge for the theatre historian, the performer, and others interested in HIPP of the early nineteenth century; 2) describing how my study of Jelgerhuis's sources enriched my own training, teaching, and performance practice; and 3) proposing a series of exercises based on Jelgerhuis's sources that can be used as training and acting tools for (historically informed) performers today.

Samenvatting

De acteur Johannes Jelgerhuis Rienkszoon (1770–1836) is vooral bekend door zijn schilderijen en zijn handboek *Theoretische lessen over de gesticulatie en mimiek*, dat werd gepubliceerd tussen 1827 en 1829. Zijn ongepubliceerde kostuumschetsen en manuscripten daarentegen, zijn minder bekend. In dit proefschrift onderzoek ik hoe de studie van deze minder bekende werken kan bijdragen tot een beter inzicht in zowel de acteerstijl van Jelgerhuis als zijn *Theoretische lessen*, en hoe dit kan bijdragen aan de historisch geïnformeerde uitvoeringspraktijk van hedendaagse podiumkunstenaars.

Op basis van een aantal onderzoeksvragen heb ik onderzocht hoe de minder bekende werken van Jelgerhuis kunnen bijdragen aan een vollediger begrip van zijn traktaat *Theoretische lessen*, van zijn acteerstijl en zijn visie en methodiek met betrekking tot het acteren; hoe een training, gebaseerd op het werk van Jelgerhuis mijn artistieke voorbereidingsproces en uitvoeringspraktijk konden verrijken; en hoe ik mijn opgedane kennis en nieuw ontwikkelde technieken kon omzetten in trainingsmateriaal voor andere uitvoerende kunstenaars.

In het eerste hoofdstuk plaats ik de geselecteerde werken van Jelgerhuis in de context van zijn leven, zijn verschillende beroepen, en de veranderingen die plaats vonden aan de Amsterdamse Schouwburg in het begin van de negentiende eeuw. Ter verdieping van de concepten die Jelgerhuis veelvuldig gebruikt in zijn oeuvre, bespreek ik acht termen die in zijn tijd gebruikt werden in aan visuele kunsten en het theater gerelateerde zaken: *schilderachtigheid*, *contrast*, *attitude*, *welstand*, *waarheid*, *natuurlijkheid*, *gratie*, en *gemak*. De uiteenzetting van en reflectie op deze termen fungeert tevens als voorbereiding op hoofdstukken 2–4.

In hoofdstukken 2 tot en met 4 bespreek ik hoe een fysieke en mentale training gebaseerd op de *Theoretische lessen* en andere door Jelgerhuis geschreven en geïllustreerde werken kan bijdragen aan mijn eigen uitvoeringspraktijk, zowel bij de voorbereiding als op het toneel. Aan de hand daarvan presenteer ik technieken en oefeningen die ik heb ontwikkeld door deze training, en hoe deze ten dienste gesteld kunnen worden van studenten mede-uitvoerenden. De bovengenoemde acht termen worden hier concreet in praktijk gebracht.

In hoofdstuk 2 stel ik drie fysieke basisoefeningen samen, op grond van de informatie uit geselecteerde illustraties en teksten in de *Theoretische lessen*. Deze oefeningen dienen als concreet hulpmiddel om de *Theoretische lessen* beter te leren begrijpen, en om de overgang te vergemakkelijken van de theorie naar de praktijk voor mijzelf en andere acteurs, zangers, en dansers. De verbeeldingskracht komt hierbij naar voren als een essentieel element om de redenen achter de bewegingen en handelingen van een personage te vinden.

In hoofdstuk 3 analyseer ik aan de hand van een eerste case study de acteerstijl van Jelgerhuis zoals door hemzelf beschreven in zijn manuscript *Toneel Studien* van 1811. Uit deze analyse distilleer ik een lijst met ‘bouwstenen’ om een toneelpersonage te creëren volgens de beschrijvingen van Jelgerhuis. Het tweede deel van dit hoofdstuk is gericht op het ensceneren van drie verschillende scènes uit een Nederlandse tragedie, waarbij de aanwijzingen van Jelgerhuis over zijn eigen

interpretatie en uitvoering nauwkeurig en tot in detail worden opgevolgd. Dit project omvat ook de voorbereiding van deze enscenering, waarin twee acteurs en ik het oefenmateriaal zoals beschreven in hoofdstuk 3 gebruiken voor trainingsdoeleinden. Ik laat zien hoe Jelgerhuis' traktaat en diens manuscript elkaar aanvullen en hoe het combineren van informatie uit beide werken bijdraagt aan de training en het ensceneringsproces.

De verschillende aspecten van de acteerstijl zoals Jelgerhuis die beschrijft vat ik als volgt samen: de *Theoretische lessen* gaat over de idee van het toneel als schilderkunst, over de voorbereiding van het lichaam en de gezichtsuitdrukkingen van acteurs bij specifieke emoties. De *Toneel Studien* kan worden gezien als het tweede deel van het curriculum: hier worden gebaren toegevoegd aan het vocabulaire uit de *Theoretische lessen*, en worden zowel de timing en handelingen tussen acteurs op het toneel besproken, als ook meer complexe emoties en gedachten.

In hoofdstuk 4 doe ik middels een tweede case study verder onderzoek naar de al besproken acteertechnieken door ze te plaatsen in een bredere en internationale context. Dit dient als voorbereiding op en het tot stand brengen van een historisch geïnformeerde uitvoering van het melodrama *Proserpina* van Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) en Franz Carl Eberwein (1786–1868). Mijn studie van primaire en secundaire bronnen over de oorspronkelijke productie in 1815 dient onder andere als inspiratie voor de vervaardiging van een kostuum voor Proserpina. Ook leidt dit verdere onderzoek tot een acteerstijl waarin ik technieken combineer uit het oeuvre van Jelgerhuis (attituden voor het toneel) en de uitvoeringspraktijk van Lady Emma Hamilton (1765–1815), Henriette Hendel-Schütz (1772–1849), and Ida Brun (1792–1857).

Uit mijn theoretische en praktische onderzoek heb ik tenslotte de volgende conclusies getrokken: 1) hoe de combinatie van de gepubliceerde en minder bekende werken van Jelgerhuis kennis toevoegt aan de theatergeschiedenis, en hoe dit kan dienen ter informatie en inspiratie van uitvoerenden en andere geïnteresseerden in de (historische geïnformeerde) uitvoeringspraktijken aan het begin van de negentiende eeuw; 2) hoe informatie uit het oeuvre van Jelgerhuis mijn training, uitvoerings- en lespraktijk heeft verrijkt en veranderd; 3) hoe oefeningen gebaseerd op het werk van Jelgerhuis gebruikt kunnen worden voor trainings- en acteerdoeleinden voor hedendaagse (historisch geïnformeerde) uitvoerenden.

Curriculum Vitae

Having completed with honours both my Bachelor in singing at the Conservatorio di Musica ‘Giuseppe Verdi’ in Milan (2008) and my Masters degree *Lied und Oratorium* at the Universität Mozarteum in Salzburg (2011), I specialized in historically informed acting techniques with Margit Legler and Reinhold Kubik.

Since then, my work as a historical performer has included performances and workshops at historical theatres such as the Český Krumlov Castle Theatre in the Czech Republic, as well as the Ulrikdals Palace Theatre Confidencen and Drottningholm Court Theatre in Sweden. For instance, as an associate of the historically informed research group Performing Premodernity from 2015-2019, I performed in *Le Devin du Village* and *Pygmalion* by Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

I became an active member of the Dutch Historical Acting Collective (DHAC) in 2015, bringing my expertise on Jelgerhuis’ work into the group sessions. In 2021, I gave four performances in the title role of Goethe/Eberwein’s melodrama *Proserpina* with ensemble Postscript at the Utrecht Early Music Festival. In the same year, together with Jed Wentz, Nora Leijen and Xavier Vandamme, I co-curated the exhibition ‘Let’s Act’. This interactive exhibition was in part based on my research into the works of Johannes Jelgerhuis and complimented the Utrecht Early Music Festival’s theme for that year, ‘Let’s Talk’. In 2022 I again performed *Proserpina* during the Overacting Theatre Festival in the Netherlands, this time using historical decors from the Van den Berghe collection.

Since 2014 I have taught at summer academies in Finland, the Czech Republic, France, and the Netherlands, and since 2021 I have been teaching historically informed acting techniques and declamation at the Conservatorium van Amsterdam and at the Koninklijk Conservatorium in The Hague.

After starting my doctoral trajectory in 2017, I have given lectures on the works of Johannes Jelgerhuis at musicological and theatre studies conferences such as ‘The London Stage in the 19th-Century World’ at New College, Oxford, ‘Tanz als Musik - Zwischen Klang und Bewegung’ at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, Basel, and ‘Actio! Actio! Actio!: Historical Acting and Theatre’, at the Academy of Creative and Performing Arts, Leiden University.

