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

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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 As I started to assess the oeuvre of this actor/painter and realized how much was left unpublished and undiscussed (most likely because it is in Dutch), I wanted to contribute to the dissemination of his work and explore how the study of his works could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The skills and experience garnered from his various professions are discernible throughout his oeuvre, published and unpublished, which includes paintings, sketches, illustrated journals, notebooks and, most famously, a treatise entitled: *Theoretische lessen over de gesticulatie en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 kast*’. 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 Representatien: 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 representatien: 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. Dezelve 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 (*Schetsende 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 schetsen. 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 Grüner 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 ontbee=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).