



The Stained-Glass Windows in the Entrance Hall of the Rijksmuseum: A Coloured National Art History

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As part of the renovation of the Rijksmuseum, which was completed in 2013, the monumental Entrance Hall – *Voorhal* – has been restored to its former glory. The only features that have remained unchanged since the museum opened in 1885 are the stained-glass windows in the north wall (fig. 1). As early as 1922, the then managing director of the Rijksmuseum, Frederik Schmidt-Degener, had the terrazzo floor with mosaic figures covered over. He also ordered the removal of the wall paintings on canvas, which had only recently been completed by the Viennese artist Georg Sturm (1855-1923) in 1910, and had the decorations in the vaulted ceiling over-painted (fig. 2).¹ Schmidt Degener's radical intervention destroyed the programmatic cohesion of the decoration on the floor, walls and windows, and the focus on the original decoration was diminished. This programme was designed by the three conceptual fathers of the Rijksmuseum building: the architect Pierre Cuypers (1827-1921), the senior civil servant in charge of Art and Science from the Ministry of Interior, Victor de Stuers (1843-1916), and the Professor of Aesthetics and Art History, Joseph Alberdingk Thijm (1820-1889).² With the recent renovation of the museum, there was a growing interest in the original decoration of the Entrance Hall and the symbolism

< Detail of fig. 6a

that had been chosen. Whereas the iconography of the floor and the walls has now received the attention it deserves in the literature, the creation of the windows has barely been studied.³ This article aims to remedy this.⁴

During the construction and the decoration of the Rijksmuseum in the second half of the nineteenth century, Pierre Cuypers worked closely with his brother-in-law and fellow Catholic Joseph Alberdingk Thijm and with Victor de Stuers, who was also a Catholic from Limburg and was the central government's representative. They had bonded through their shared views on Dutch art history and their vision of the meaning of the Rijksmuseum. This common philosophy was dominated by the cultural emancipation of the Catholics, which came about in the Netherlands in 1853 after the restoration of the episcopal hierarchy, and a longing for the Gothic, being the Catholic building style from the period prior to the Reformation.⁵ The three of them were strong advocates of this Catholic emancipation and championed a design for the Rijksmuseum building in which attention was devoted not solely to Protestant Holland during the time of the Republic but to the Catholic medieval past as well. Driven by the ambition to present a much broader vision of Dutch culture than had been disseminated until that



time, they designed a decorative programme for the Entrance Hall that was strongly shaped by their own image of Dutch art history.

The Entrance Hall was intended as a point of departure for visitors, who by way of the Gallery of Honour could reach Rembrandt's *Night Watch*, the highlight of the collection. According to De Stuers, the decoration of the Entrance Hall was inspired by one thought: 'It symbolizes human life and aspiration in a cycle. The floor is devoted to the physical area, the walls and windows to the social, the vaulted ceilings and what is on a level with them to the intellectual.'⁶ In harmony with this, the terrazzo-mosaic floor, in a connected, cosmological programme, showed the signs of the zodiac, the seasons, the times of the day, the elements, the four rivers of Paradise and man's phases of life.⁷ Large wall paintings on canvas by Georg Sturm adorned the walls of the Entrance Hall, referring to art, science and key moments in Dutch history.

The hall is lit by three large arched windows with two smaller rectangular windows between them (fig. 3). These windows are decorated with scenes in stained glass and together form a cycle that as it were encompasses the entire history of art.⁸ From west to east, the subjects of the three main windows are painting, architecture and sculpture, while the two intermediate windows are devoted to pagan and Christian philosophy, and poetry and music respectively. The middle window, on the theme of architecture, is situated directly opposite the Gallery of Honour. This was deliberate, as Cuypers stated that architecture was 'the first or oldest of the arts' and 'therefore entitled to the centre or place of honour'.⁹

Each of the three main windows is crowned by a theological virtue, Faith above the west window, Hope above the east window and Charity above the middle window (figs. 4a, b). Under each of these virtues there are two medallions

dedicated to Dutch glass painters, which celebrate the craft of glass painting. The semi-circular medallions beneath them depict the months of the year. Each of the four rectangular windows underneath shows representatives of the medieval social classes: peasants, tradesmen, merchants, warriors, priests and kings. Together they give expression to Cuypers's belief in the medieval class society and its guild system, in which the arts and sciences flourished.¹⁰ In Alberdingk Thijm's words the middle series of rectangular scenes offers 'a continuous tableau of the practice of the arts and sciences', like miniature painting and the practice of sculpture in marble.¹¹

In the lowest zone of the middle window four allegorical figures in historicized garb represent Classical, Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance architecture. They each carry an architectural model that refers to the style period they represent: the Doric Temple of Paestum, the Romanesque Mariakerk in Utrecht, the Ridderzaal – the Gothic Hall of the Knights – in The Hague and the Renaissance style town hall there. At this height the west window presents four painters and the east window four sculptors, each from a different period of the history of painting and sculpture. In the two smaller intermediate windows there are representatives of Classical and Christian philosophy, poetry and music.

The iconography of the cycle as a whole was determined by the ideas about art, culture and society held by Alberdingk Thijm, De Stuers and Cuypers and infused with Catholicism, in which references to Classical Antiquity, the Catholic Middle Ages and the early modern Low Countries were arranged into a coherent pictorial programme. The windows are based on the notion of a cohesive cultural national identity and, together with the wall paintings and the terrazzo-mosaic floor of the Entrance Hall, present an idealized and homogenized image of Dutch art history.

< Fig. 1
Interior of the
Entrance Hall in the
Rijksmuseum, 2012.
Photo: Jannes Linders.

< Fig. 2
The length of the
Entrance Hall, 1959.
Gelatin silver print,
160 x 230 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
RMA-SSA-F-03891-1.

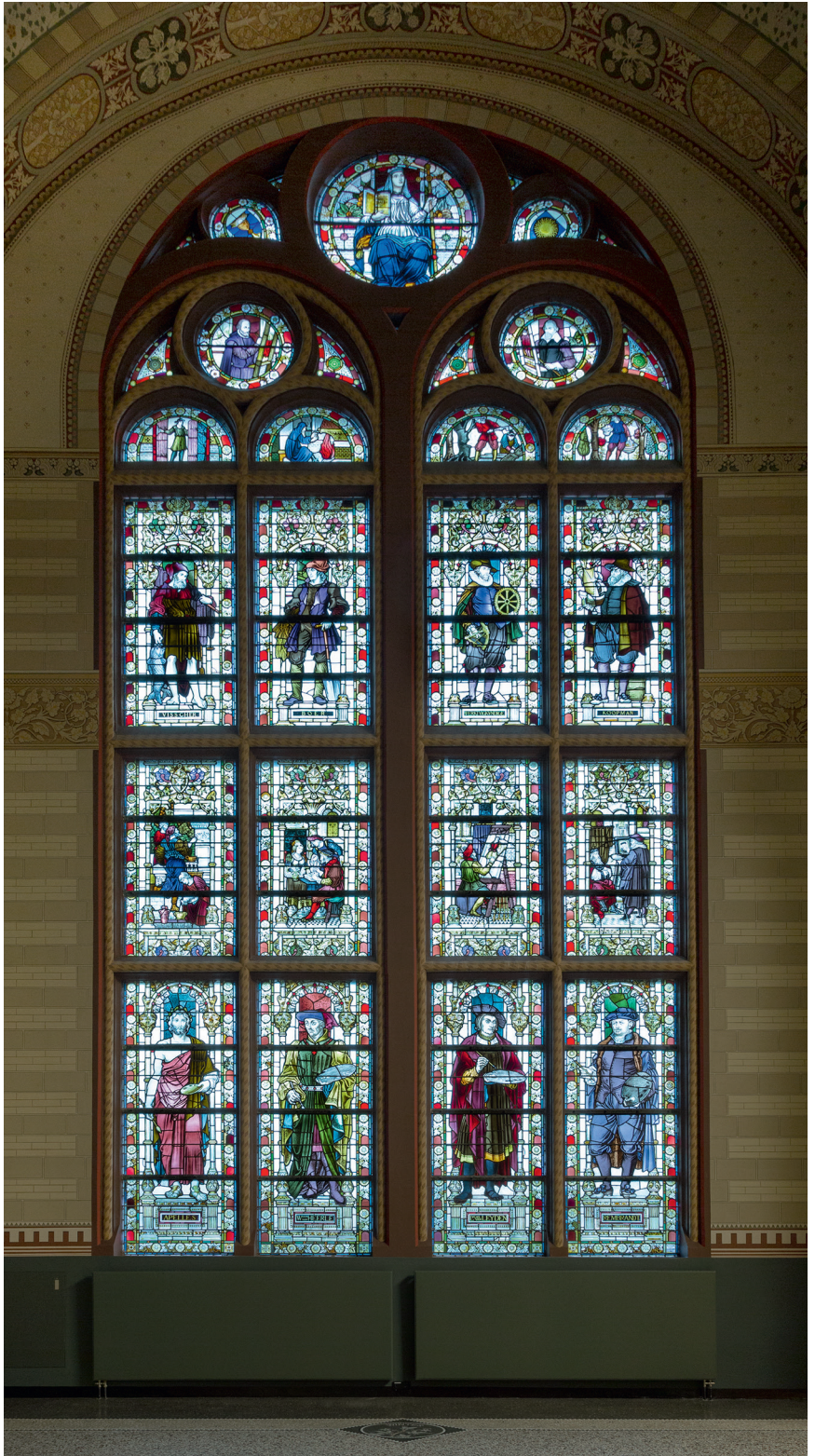


Fig. 3

WILLIAM FRANCIS
DIXON, *Windows
in the Entrance
Hall*, 1883-84.
Stained glass.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum.
Photo: Pedro
Pegenaute, 2012.



Figs. 4a, b
 WILLIAM
 FRANCIS DIXON,
West Window
Representing
Painting,
and
East Window
Representing
Sculpture, 1883-84.
 Stained glass.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum.
 Photos:
 Albertine Dijkema,
 Rijksmuseum.





The Creation of the Stained-Glass Windows

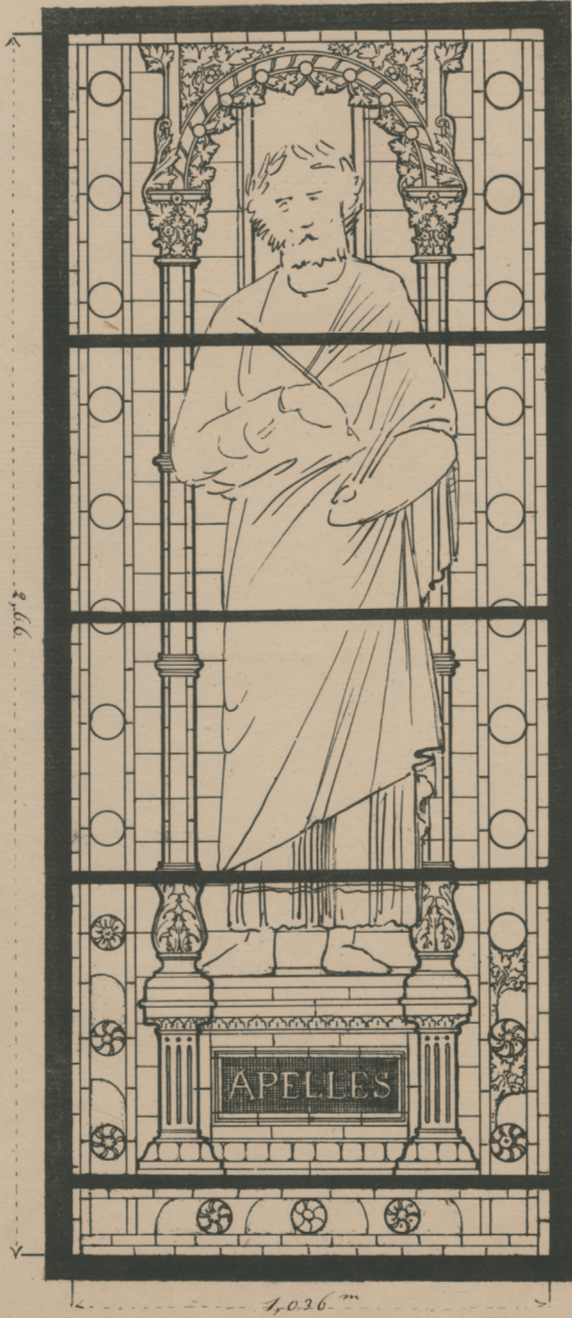
By 1882 the construction of the new Rijksmuseum had progressed so far that it was time to look for an appropriate theme for the windows in the wall facing the Stadhouderskade and for the best person to do the work.¹² Once the annotated plan for the windows drawn up by Cuypers and De Stuers had been partly approved by the Minister of the Interior on 15 November 1882, the search for a suitable candidate began immediately.¹³ Cuypers preferred stained glass to fill the windows, 'which applied art, so flourishing among our ancestors, now seems to be revived in our homeland and is heading for a bright future'.¹⁴ As a Catholic promoter of neo-Gothic architecture, Cuypers himself ran a workshop for ecclesiastical art and designed stained-glass windows for both religious and secular buildings. In the design and decoration of the Rijksmuseum – one of his largest and most lavish projects – this functional, decorative and above all colourful element must not be missing.

Cuypers was authorized by the Minister of the Interior to organize a small-scale competition for the execution of the stained-glass windows.¹⁵ As a test he invited three Dutch and three foreign firms to each make a representation of the Greek painter Apelles in stained glass and to submit them for his approval.¹⁶ The winning test piece would immediately be included in the west window; the other competitors would each receive 200 guilders for their work. The Sodenkamp brothers' glass workshop did not accept the invitation, but the other five companies took up the challenge: H.J.J. Geuer of Utrecht, F. Nicolas of Roermond, Stalins & Janssens of Antwerp, W.F. Dixon of London and the Tiroler Glasmalerei of Innsbruck.¹⁷ Cuypers sent each firm an autograph – a type of lithograph – with the design for the Apelles window (fig. 5). According

to the conditions laid down for the competition, the dimensions of the test window had to be the same as those of the lithograph which had been sent. Requirements were also set for the degree of light transmission of the glass so that the room and its wall paintings would be well lit. The multi-coloured and translucent glass of St John's Church in Gouda was an important example for Cuypers.¹⁸ The architect stated that these 'scenes in stained glass represent the glory of our old art here', in which an impressive image 'of the power that our Dutch society was able to develop in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' has been preserved for posterity.¹⁹ This is why he considered stained glass an appropriate medium for the windows in the Entrance Hall, which had to reflect the glory of Dutch art history. The firms taking part in the competition were required to return the test piece, mounted in a rectangular frame, within two months of the publication of the assignment. Cuypers did, though, allow the competitors a degree of artistic freedom in the execution of the Apelles window: 'The competitors are free to draw the figure as they think the idea is best expressed, while at the same time they have complete freedom in the choice of colours.'²⁰

Cuypers acted as a one-man jury in assessing the five entries. On 27 April 1883 he sent his report to the Minister of the Interior.²¹ In it he informed the minister that he had the windows placed in the Entrance Hall so that he could judge the five pieces that had been submitted in situ. His assessment was highly critical. Cuypers thought that the figure of Apelles had been poorly drawn by most of the workshops and that the colour combinations were not in the least harmonious. The lines of the Apelles submitted by F. Nicolas, for example, were 'not sufficiently noble' and Stalins & Janssens' figure was remarkably large and badly drawn

Fig. 5
PIERRE CUYPERS,
*Drawing for the
Design of a Stained-
Glass Panel with
a Representation
of Apelles, 1882.*
Autograph.
Rotterdam, Collectie
Het Nieuwe
Instituut/RVKs,
inv. no. RYKsd65.

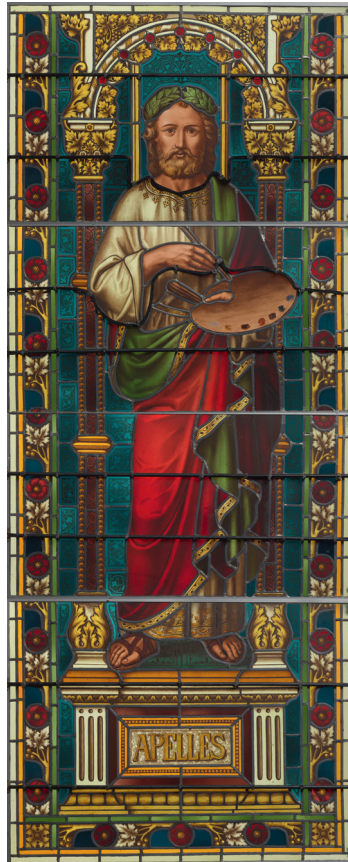


Figs. 6a-e

Five windows with a representation of Apelles, 1882-83, respectively by

- a) F. Nicolas, Roermond;
- b) Stalins en Janssens, Antwerp;
- c) Tiroler Glasmalerei und Cathedralenglashütte, Innsbruck;
- d) H.J.J. Geuer, Utrecht;
- e) William Francis Dixon, London.

Stained glass, 265 x 105 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. nos. BK-1999-87-c to -E, BK-1999-87-B and -A.



(figs. 6a, b). Even more important in Cuypers's opinion were the colour combinations and the degree of light transmission of the glass. While he praised the drawing of the Apelles figure by the Tiroler Glasmalerei, the blue background had a 'cold effect' (fig. 6c). He thought that the colours that Geuer had chosen were not harmonious (fig. 6d) and also that the colour combinations in Stalins & Janssens' window left a lot to be desired: the painter's red cloak contrasted sharply with the surrounding white and the glass as a whole allowed little light to pass through. Nicolas's test window was too bold in colour for the architect. In addition the window lacked brilliance, a quality that was essential in glass painting.²²

The Apelles by the English glass painter William Francis Dixon (1847-1928) was the only design that met Cuypers's expectations (fig. 6e). He thought that the impression of the whole was 'brilliant'. The figure of Apelles was perhaps somewhat too archaic and his face too pale, but Cuypers found the treatment of the ornamental part 'masterly in all respects'. Dixon was the only one who succeeded in achieving great colour harmony with optimal transmission of light through the glass. Furthermore his creation was an example of real glass painting and not merely the imitation of a painting or statue, like those submitted by most of the other competitors. In short, in Cuypers's opinion Dixon had fully utilized the artistic and



technical possibilities glass painting had to offer.²³

Cuypers did, however, warn the painter in a personal letter in September 1883 that his Apelles 'should be drawn less archaically and with more nature and artistic feeling' and sent him as a guideline a drawing of the main figure of Apelles for 'both the position and the way of draping as well as for the treatment of the face' of all the figures.²⁴ A later letter from De Stuers to Cuypers, more about which later, seems to indicate that this drawing was made by the painter Georg Sturm, but his name does not appear in the correspondence between Cuypers and Dixon. Despite his criticism of Dixon's drawing style, Cuypers was convinced in his earlier report that Dixon 'would perform the

work entrusted to him properly and in accordance with the requirements of Art'.²⁵ After receiving the go-ahead from the Minister of the Interior on 20 November 1883 it was a done deal: on 31 December 1883 Dixon was given the commission to deliver and install the stained glass for the five windows.²⁶

William Francis Dixon was originally from Oxford, but had been trained by the renowned glaziers Clayton & Bell in London before establishing his own firm there in 1872.²⁷ In 1876, with Edward Reginald Frampton and Charles Hean, he set up the firm of Dixon, Frampton & Hean.²⁸ However the collaboration was short-lived and from 1880 onwards Dixon's career as an independent glass painter took off.²⁹ He opened several branches all over Great Britain and

made stained-glass windows for, among others, St Margaret's Church in Cardiff, Sheffield Cathedral and the Basilica of St Ursula in Cologne.³⁰ Dixon therefore had the necessary experience as a glass painter when he was commissioned to make the five windows in the Rijksmuseum's Entrance Hall. The production and installation of all the glass in the Entrance Hall – covering a total surface of 140 m² – was a major assignment for the Englishman, which he gladly accepted.³¹ It was eventually agreed that he would receive 25,000 guilders for it, on condition that the work would be completed before 1 September 1884.³²

After the promising start, the creation of the stained-glass windows ran into problems. Dixon had to get all his full-size drawings ('cartoons') approved by Cuypers and De Stuers. From his correspondence with Cuypers it is evident that Dixon often overran the agreed delivery dates.³³ He also did not want to go to Amsterdam for consultations because of the expense.³⁴ De Stuers expressed his great dissatisfaction about this, and about the artistic quality of ten cartoons that Dixon had submitted. On 10 June 1884 he wrote to Cuypers:

You should not approve all Dixon's drawings. Why didn't this oaf follow Sturm's sketch for the Apelles? Make him do that. The Renaissance woman was pretty good. It proves to me that Dixon can't draw! His Rembrandt is awful. The heads are poorly modelled and badly framed. Get Sturm to help you put them right. I am *really* disappointed by these cartoons.³⁵

De Stuers's annoyance was so great that he wrote to Cuypers again two days later to insist that the cartoons submitted had to be corrected. He advised Cuypers to enlist Sturm's help, because, as De Stuers put it: 'You can't *force* Dixon to come over'.³⁶ If Dixon did not want to come, De Stuers advised him to send him Sturm's

sketches for the other cartoons, 'with the request to make new full-size drawings of them'. De Stuers did, though, emphasize that Dixon would have to bear the extra cost.³⁷ In spite of this advice, no documents have been found in the archives to prove that Sturm was involved in the design process. Neither Dixon's cartoons nor Sturm's sketches have survived. It therefore remains uncertain how significant Sturm's contribution to the design of the stained-glass windows had been.³⁸ Looking back on the creation of the wall and glass paintings in the Rijksmuseum, Cuypers stated that he made the sketches for the windows himself, and Alberdingk Thijm explains that the windows were executed 'by Mr Dixon (after drawings by the architect)'.³⁹

A day later De Stuers specified his criticism of Dixon's work. Alberdingk Thijm and De Stuers shared a preference for a rigid, sharply defined manner of drawing and painting.⁴⁰ In De Stuers's opinion Dixon's archaic style was unsatisfactory and showed poor mastery of human anatomy:

Dixon is incapable of drawing a good figure. He knows no anatomy and his drawing is poor. That is the source of his archaism, just as Israels etc.'s lack of knowledge of drawing gives birth to Impressionism. On this basis a rascal will be able to swear that he truly worships the Mexican Style.⁴¹

Dixon took the criticism to heart and continued with his work. On 20 June, Cuypers wrote to the minister that 'the necessary changes have already been made to the cartoons' and that he had also received other cartoons from Dixon in the meantime.⁴² With great satisfaction Cuypers reported that Dixon had come to Amsterdam for the corrections and that 'the further cartoons are now being finished by him here'.⁴³ On 12 August all the cartoons were ready and the stained glass

had 'gone into production'.⁴⁴ Dixon had also promised to send the glass on time after all the setbacks.⁴⁵ The glass painter was true to his word. On 12 September 1884 he supplied ten allegorical scenes in stained glass (we do not know which ones) which were installed 'in addition to the surrounds for one window.'⁴⁶ At the last moment, in light of his earlier criticism, De Stuers checked with Cuypers to make sure he had not used the Apelles that Dixon had sent as a test piece, 'at least not without significant changes in the "mug"', because, in De Stuers's words: 'He looks like a Neapolitan who's got cholera!'⁴⁷ However De Stuers did not come off best this time. On 25 November 1884 all the stained glass was installed, including the original Apelles window.⁴⁸

The Choice of Two Relatively Unknown Artists

The lowest register shows twelve historical figures with, in De Stuers's words, 'as many Dutchmen as possible, who represent the different periods of their art'.⁴⁹ For Painting in the west window these were Apelles, Willem van Heerle, Lucas van Leyden and Rembrandt, and for Sculpture in the east window Phidias, 'Jan or Hans' [Claus] Sluter,⁵⁰ Jan van Terwen and Hendrick de Keyser. In the intermediate windows Plato, Thomas à Kempis, Joost van den Vondel and Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck respectively represent Philosophy, Theology, Poetry and Music. The fact that Hendrick de Keyser and Rembrandt are included in the programme as paragons of Dutch seventeenth-century sculpture and painting respectively needs no explanation. But the choice of Willem van Heerle as a representative of medieval painting and Jan van Terwen as a representative of Renaissance sculpture is, to say the least, remarkable for present-day visitors.

The decoration of the new Rijksmuseum building had to express the purpose of the museum as a whole and, in Cuypers's words, 'contribute to presenting the Art History of our Fatherland to posterity as comprehensively as possible'.⁵¹ To this end, Cuypers, in consultation with De Stuers and Alberdingk Thijm, designed a scheme that they considered appropriate. Alberdingk Thijm made his opinions known in theoretical writings and submitted ideas for the iconographic programmes to Cuypers and De Stuers.⁵² Cuypers translated Alberdingk Thijm's learned prose into practice for the museum building. He made sketches of the scenes and thus was instrumental in the final depiction of the subjects. De Stuers's judgment was often decisive in the choice of subject. He not only acted as a civil servant, he was also a dedicated iconographer, who often had the last word when it came to the content and the execution of the decorative schemes.⁵³ However, the plans always had to be sent to the Minister of the Interior for approval.

It is evident from Cuypers's working drawings that the choice of subject of the windows was constantly modified between 1882 and 1883.⁵⁴ The drawing for the north façade, which Cuypers made for the Minister of the Interior before November 1882, indicates which scene should be placed in which window (figs. 7a-c).⁵⁵ The drawing shows that the overall arrangement of the subjects of the stained-glass windows had largely been settled at that time, but that discussions about which artists should be included in the programme to represent the different periods of art history were ongoing. For the west window, which was devoted to painting, preference had initially been given to Apelles, Fra Angelico, Jan van Eyck and Rembrandt to represent Classical Antiquity, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the seventeenth century respectively.

The choice of Van Eyck is not surprising, as this artist is also depicted in



Fig. 7a
PIERRE CUYPERS,
*Design for the North
Façade of the
Rijksmuseum with
the Arrangement of
the Entrance Hall
Windows, before
November 1882.*
Rotterdam,
Collectie Het Nieuwe
Instituut/RYKS,
inv. no. RYKSD65.

Figs. 7b, c
Details of the west
and east windows
(fig. 7a)

Fig. 8
GEORG STURM
(design) and
VILLEROY & BOCH
(execution),
*Jan van Eyck as
Peintre et Varlet
de Chambre of
John of Bavaria
at the Court at
The Hague, 1885.*
Tile tableau on
the south side of
the Rijksmuseum.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
HA-0034359.

one of the tile tableaux on the outside of the building (fig. 8). Nevertheless, during the discussion of the draft plan of November 4, 1882, his name was replaced with Lucas van Leyden's. Fra Angelico was also removed from the programme at that time, without a replacement being immediately found.⁵⁶ In some subsequent documents there was initially only mention of 'a medieval fresco painter'.⁵⁷ These alterations had probably been suggested by De Stuers; in each case we know that he had made comments on Cuyper's plan. The arrangement and subjects were settled by the minister on 15 November 1882, when the name of the Flemish sculptor Artus Quellinus (the Elder) was changed in passing into Hendrick de Keyser's; Phidias, Sluter and Van Terwen, about whom more later,



were allowed to remain. When the draft agreement with Dixon was drawn up on 20 December 1883 it also finally became clear that Willem van Heerle had been chosen to represent Medieval Painting.⁵⁸

Willem van Heerle's artistic talent was widely praised in nineteenth-century art-historical literature. When the Rijksmuseum was being built, the painter was known as 'the pioneer of the Cologne school'.⁵⁹ On the basis of various Cologne charters dating from 1358 to 1378 and a fourteenth-century Limburg chronicle, it had been assumed that a certain 'Meister Wilhelm von Herle', who supposedly came from Heerlen in Limburg and had lived in Cologne between 1368 and 1378,⁶⁰ was the same person as the 'Meister Wilhelm' whom the chronicler mentions as being active in Cologne around

1380 and described as 'the best painter in German lands'.⁶¹

Based on these references, the German art historian Johann Domenicus Fiorillo presented Meister Wilhelm as 'an excellent artist who had no equal in art'.⁶² It was therefore inevitable that a number of important, but anonymous works from the Cologne region, for example *Muttergottes mit der Wickenblüte* (fig. 9a), were attributed by connoisseurs such as Johann David Passavant and Johann Jakob Merlo to 'Meister Wilhelm', who was, according to some of the sources described above, Willem van Heerle.⁶³ The attribution of the Clarissen altarpiece in Cologne Cathedral to this artist, for example, was contested later, because research has shown that the work dates from 1390. Willem van Heerle was probably already dead by then.⁶⁴

Fig. 9a
MASTER OF
ST VERONICA,
*Muttergottes
mit der Wickenblüte*,
c. 1410-15.
Oil on panel,
centre panel:
59 x 39 cm,
side panels:
59 x 19.5 cm.
Cologne, Wallraf-
Richartz-Museum,
inv. no. WRM 10.
Photo: Rheinisches
Bildarchiv Köln.



Fig. 9b
PIERRE CUYPERS,
Sketch after the
Centre Panel of the
*Muttergottes mit
der Wickenblüte
in Cologne* (attri-
buted to Meister
Wilhelm), 1882.
Pencil, 137 x 88 mm.
Rotterdam,
Collectie Het
Nieuwe Instituut/
CUPP, inv. no.
CUPPT263.

In 2004 the German art historian Robert Suckale went so far as to assert that there was not a single work that could be attributed to Willem van Heerle with certainty. Suckale maintained that the merits of Meister Wilhelm in medieval art are beyond dispute, given what the documents say about him, but that more reliable information is needed to identify him as Willem van Heerle and for certain attributions.⁶⁵

But Cuypers and his colleagues were not bothered by these kinds of modern scientific scruples. Willem van Heerle had already featured in a list of names of artists that Alberdingk Thijm – who we know was familiar with the *Limburger Chronik*⁶⁶ – had submitted to Cuypers as part of his initial thoughts about the decorative programme for the Entrance Hall.⁶⁷ Cuypers himself had studied *Muttergottes mit der Wickenblüte*

attributed to Meister Wilhelm during a trip to Cologne in 1882 (fig. 9b).⁶⁸ And it is quite possible that Cuypers had noticed that Meister Wilhelm was included in the painted dome of the Alte Pinakothek during his visit to Munich in 1877.⁶⁹

From the outset Cuypers wanted the glory of the Netherlandish art of the past to be depicted in the museum with 'images of towns and cities, where the arts especially flourished, and of people from the history of the fatherland who more particularly exerted an influence on the arts.'⁷⁰ A tile tableau on the north side of the building would represent the city of Maastricht, where, in Cuypers's words, 'Master Willem van Heerle originated the Maastricht and Cologne School'. As the iconographic programme of the Entrance Hall had to harmonize with the outside walls, 'everything depicted in the stained glasses of the window should serve as a supplement to achieve the aforesaid objective as fully as possible'.⁷¹ The eventual inclusion of Willem van Heerle as a striking example of a supposed Limburg pictorial art was therefore not entirely unexpected.

A discussion that touches on this concerns the question as to whether the Rijksmuseum (and therefore also the decoration of the Entrance Hall) ought to focus exclusively on artists from the Northern Netherlands or whether artists from the South should also be included. After the secession of Belgium in 1830 the provinces of the Northern Netherlands went in search of their own, purely national symbols that would express the new unity.⁷² Cuypers and his two colleagues strictly applied the criterion of a Northern Netherlandish origin.⁷³ With the exception of Apelles and Phidias, the stained-glass windows were reserved for artists who came from the area of the new Kingdom of the Netherlands, or who had lived and worked there.⁷⁴ Belgian artists were not included, let alone artists from other countries.⁷⁵

This led Cuypers and De Stuers to continually adapt the programme. Van Eyck had to make way for Lucas van Leyden from the Northern Netherlands and Fra Angelico was removed from the draft plan in favour of Van Heerle, who was known in a smaller artistic circle. Cuypers and De Stuers, from Roermond and Maastricht respectively, would have been drawn to 'Meister Wilhelm' because of his supposed Limburg background.

The idiosyncratic choices made by the three men reflect the contemporary debate about the Dutch self-image in history and art history. As self-assured Catholics with a predilection for the Middle Ages – the historical heyday of

their faith – Alberdingk Thijm, Cuypers and De Stuers campaigned against the primarily Holland-centric and Protestant-tinged historiography of their time. They believed that not only was the prevailing view of the Dutch past, in which the Revolt was regarded as giving birth to the Netherlands, too partisan, so, too, was the construction of the national identity derived from it.⁷⁶ The need to moderate the Protestant imagery and again draw attention to the Catholic medieval past was widely supported.⁷⁷ The aim of the movement that wanted to place more emphasis on the Catholic roots of the Netherlands is apparent from the motto that the magazine *De Katholiek*, founded in 1842, took as its subtitle: 'Vindicamus haereditatem patrum nostrorum' ('We claim the inheritance of our fathers').⁷⁸ This ambition was also the driving force behind such Catholic emancipators as Herman Schaepman, Willem Nuyens and Alberdingk Thijm, who made it their life's work to see Catholics rehabilitated as fully-fledged Dutch citizens.⁷⁹ They knew that the study of history played a crucial role in this campaign. Within this prolonged endeavour to broaden the historical perspective, Alberdingk Thijm, together with Cuypers and De Stuers, designed a decorative scheme for the Entrance Hall that focused not only on Protestant Holland at the time of the Republic, but on the Catholic medieval past as well.⁸⁰ The three men tried to portray the cultural past of the Dutch nation in a more inclusive way. In the pictorial programme of the stained-glass windows, they not only brought together the best artists and art products from different time periods and provinces, but shed light on precisely those times and people who had previously remained more in the shadows.⁸¹ The choice of Willem van Heerle fits in well with this.

The choice of a suitable representative of seventeenth-century sculpture in

Fig. 10
South Choir Stall,
1538-40.
Dordrecht,
Grote Kerk.
Photo: Vereniging
van Vrienden van
de Grote Kerk
in Dordrecht.





the east window was also reviewed from this perspective. The design for the north façade shows that this spot was originally assigned to the Flemish sculptor Artus Quellinus (see fig. 7c). However, in the programme Cuypers submitted to the six glass firms on 18 November 1882 this name was finally replaced by Hendrick de Keyser's.⁸²

Viewed in this light, the choice of Jan van Terwen to represent Northern Netherlandish Renaissance sculpture is downright astonishing. This Jan van Terwen – a Dutchification of Jeannin de Teruene – was born around 1511 in the Bishopric of Thérouanne in the County of Artois. Evidently in this case, in the absence of a more genuine alternative, it was regarded as sufficient that around 1539 this artist had supposedly worked on the famous carving of the choir stall in the church in Dordrecht and in so doing would have introduced the Renaissance style into Northern-Netherlandish sculpture (fig. 10).⁸³ While nowadays, given the many differences in the style of the carving, experts doubt that the choir stall was made by a single artist, this attribution was still proudly maintained

in the nineteenth century.⁸⁴ Cuypers and his colleagues' decision to implicitly present Van Terwen as a Northern Netherlandish sculptor had been decided upon from the outset.⁸⁵ Depicted working on the choir stalls in Dordrecht, he also features alongside Claus Sluter and Hendrick de Keyser in the tile tableau on the south side of the building honouring Dutch sculpture (fig. 11).

Visual Sources of Inspiration

The notion of a creatable art-historical past also played a role in the search for visual sources that could help in the styling of those representative figures of art who have no reliably documented portraits. There are no surviving drawings or detailed studies of the scenes in the stained-glass windows in the Cuypers archives nor in those of De Stuers and Alberdingk Thijm. The precise development of the design process of the twelve stained-glass portraits is consequently unclear.⁸⁶ Cuypers, with De Stuers and Alberdingk Thijm in the background, tried in his designs to get as close as possible to the true appearance and garb of the historical figures.⁸⁷ Cuypers and De Stuers looked for and

Fig. 11
GEORG STURM
(design) and
VILLEROY & BOCH
(execution),
*Claus Sluter, Jan
Aerts van Terwen
and Hendrick
de Keyser, 1885.*
Tile tableau on
the south side of
the Rijksmuseum.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
HA-0034356.



Fig. 12a
 WILLIAM FRANCIS
 DIXON, *Portrait*
of the Painter
Lucas van Leyden,
 1883-84.
 Stained-glass
 window, part of
 the west window in
 the Entrance Hall.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum,
 inv. no. BK-2022-5.
 Photo: Albertine
 Dijkema and
 Staeske Rebers,
 Rijksmuseum.

Fig. 12b
 LUCAS VAN LEYDEN,
Young Man with a
Skull, 1517-21.
 Engraving,
 185 x 146 mm.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum,
 inv. no. RP-P-OB-1773.





Fig. 12c

WILLIAM FRANCIS DIXON, *Portrait of the Painter Rembrandt van Rijn*, 1883-84. Stained-glass window, part of the west window in the Entrance Hall. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-2022-6. Photo: Albertine Dijkema and Staeske Rebers, Rijksmuseum.

Fig. 12d

JACOB GOLE after a design by REMBRANDT VAN RIJN, *Self-Portrait of Rembrandt van Rijn*, 1670-1724. Mezzotint, 322 x 236 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1906-3164.





Fig. 13a

WILLIAM FRANCIS DIXON, *Portrait of the Musician Jan Pietersz Sweelinck*, 1883-84. Stained-glass window, part of the right-hand rectangular window in the Entrance Hall. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-2022-7. Photo: Albertine Dijkema and Staeske Rebers, Rijksmuseum.

Fig. 13b

JAN HARMENSZ MULLER, *Portrait of Jan Pietersz Sweelinck*, 1624. Engraving, 229 x 141 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-32.132.





Fig. 14a

WILLIAM FRANCIS DIXON, *Portrait of the Sculptor Hendrick de Keyser*, 1883-84. Stained-glass window, part of the east window in the Entrance Hall. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-2022-8. Photo: Albertine Dijkema and Staeske Rebers, Rijksmuseum.

Fig. 14b

JONAS SUYDERHOEF, *Portrait of Hendrick de Keyser*, 1623-86. Engraving, 208 x 158 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-60.737.





found suitable visual sources for this primarily in the Rijksmuseum's Print Room. This is evident from the portraits of Lucas van Leyden, Rembrandt, Sweelinck and De Keyser, which were copied almost exactly from old prints. The stained-glass portrait of Lucas van Leyden, for example, was borrowed from a supposed self-portrait of the painter dating from 1517-21 (figs. 12a, b). The portrait of Rembrandt follows a print by Jacob Gole (figs. 12c, d) and Sweelinck's derives from one by Jan Harmenszoon Muller dating from 1624 (figs. 13a, b). A print by Jonas Suyderhoef served as the example for Hendrick de Keyser (figs. 14a, b). Poses were reversed from the examples and attributes of their

trades were added to produce suitable designs.

Cuypers had to work more creatively, however, when it came to the portrayal of Willem van Heerle and Jan van Terwen, since there were no known portraits of these artists. Rijksmuseum curator Frits Scholten has already demonstrated that the portrait of Willem van Heerle, appropriately adjusted, was borrowed from one of the twenty-four bronze *pleurants* – weepers – that adorned Isabella of Bourbon's tomb in Antwerp in 1476 (figs. 15a, b).⁸⁸ Ten of them were in the Prinsenhof in the Oudezijds Voorburgwal in Amsterdam from 1808 until they were transferred to the Rijksmuseum

Fig. 15a
WILLIAM FRANCIS DIXON, *Portrait of the Painter Willem van Heerle*, 1883-84. Stained-glass window, part of the west window in the Entrance Hall. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-2022-9. Photo: Albertine Dijkema and Staeske Rebers, Rijksmuseum.

Fig. 15b
JAN BORMAN THE YOUNGER and RENIER VAN THIENEN, *Weeper Dressed in a Long Outer Garment*, from the Tomb of Isabella of Bourbon, 1475-76. Bronze, h. 55 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-AM-33-D; on loan from the City of Amsterdam.

Fig. 16a

WILLIAM FRANCIS DIXON, *Window with a Representation of a Physician*, 1883-84. Stained-glass window, part of the middle window in the Entrance Hall. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, HA-0012517.



Fig. 16b

JAN BORMAN THE YOUNGER and RENIER VAN THIENEN, *Weeper Dressed in a Cloak and with a Fur Hat and Crown from the Tomb of Isabella of Bourbon*, 1475-76. Bronze, h. 54.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-AM-33-C; on loan from the City of Amsterdam.



in 1887. It is certain that Cuypers and De Stuers were already familiar with the statuettes and regarded them as fine examples of Catholic medieval sculpture: they brought another *pleurant* back in the role of a physician in the middle window (figs. 16a, b). De Stuers also had himself proudly portrayed with one of the statuettes (fig. 17). It was historically correct to have the attire of a *pleurant*, which was worn from around 1350 to 1490, appear on the window with Willem van Heerle. Through the simple addition of a palette and brush, Cuypers transformed the fifteenth-century nobleman into a fourteenth-century painter.

Fig. 17

HENDRIK JOHANNES HAVERMAN, *Victor de Stuers with a Weeper in the Background*, 1896. Reproduction after a lithograph, 230 x 159 mm. The Hague, Collection RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History/IB, inv. no. 2005635.





him in the window as a Dordrecht sculptor. In sum, the stained-glass portraits of the major representatives of Dutch art history depicted in the Entrance Hall are the result of a process of recycling, reflection, transformation and invention.

A Coloured History of Art

Cuypers, Alberdingk Thijm and De Stuers wanted to use the pictorial programme of the stained-glass windows in the Entrance Hall to showcase highlights of Dutch art history. This overview had nationalist pretensions and served an educational and evocative purpose. After all this time, however, the story that the windows tell us about the Netherlands' national cultural past is no longer self-evident to every modern-day visitor. The idiosyncratic decision to present a national art history with a remarkable emancipation of the Roman Catholic Middle Ages and a prominent role for unknown artists like Willem van Heerle and Jan van Terwen can be explained by the Catholic background of Cuypers and his associates and their preference for pre-Reformation history. Driven by the ambition to bring about a revision of Dutch art history, they shaped the programme of the stained-glass windows according to their own interpretation. By choosing artists almost exclusively from the Northern Netherlands, some of whom are practically unknown or may even have been fictitious, and the way the three men invented and composed their portraits, makes it crystal clear that as far as the conceptual fathers of the Rijksmuseum building were concerned, the art-historical past was malleable.

Fig. 18a

WILLIAM FRANCIS DIXON, *Portrait of the Sculptor Jan van Terwen*, 1883-84. Stained glass, part of the east window in the Entrance Hall. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-2022-11. Photo: Albertine Dijkema and Staeske Rebers, Rijksmuseum.

Fig. 18b

PETER VISCHER THE ELDER, *Self-Portrait in a Niche on the East Side of the Shrine of St Sebald*, 1507-19. Bronze. Nuremberg, Church of St Sebald. Photo: Theo Noll, 2019.

The bronze figurines provided a rewarding source of inspiration for the design of the glass windows, as Jan van Terwen's headdress was also borrowed from a *pleurant*. The *métier* of the sixteenth-century sculptor and the fact that he was active fifty years later, made the Burgundian attire unsuitable for this window. Cuypers probably used another tomb sculpture for the tools of Van Terwen's trade. This was the bronze self-portrait of the sculptor Peter Vischer the Elder (1455-1529) on his shrine of St Sebald in the church of the same name in Nuremberg (1507-19), which Cuypers had sketched in 1850.⁸⁹ The figures stand in the same positions and wear the same sculptors' smocks, pouches on their belts and slouch boots (figs. 18a, b).⁹⁰ The sculpture also originally had a hammer and chisel.⁹¹ Cuypers stripped the bronze caster of his helmet and beard and returned

ABSTRACT

Little attention has thus far been paid to the creation of the stained-glass windows in the Rijksmuseum's Entrance Hall. However, a study of the pictorial programme for the windows reveals some remarkable choices. Driven by the ambition to present a broader overview of Dutch culture than had been disseminated until that time, the Catholic trio of Pierre Cuypers, Victor de Stuers and Joseph Alberdingk Thijm designed an iconographic programme for the stained-glass windows in the Entrance Hall. The programme for the stained-glass windows gives an overview of the major representatives of Dutch art history. Striking among them are two artists from the Northern Netherlands – Willem van Heerle and Jan van Terwen – who played almost no role in the Dutch art-historical canon at that time. The fact that these relatively unknown artists feature in the pictorial programme for the windows clearly indicates that the emphasis lies on the Roman Catholic Middle Ages and shows that it is a coloured version of Dutch art history.

NOTES

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- 1 Gijs van der Ham, *200 jaar Rijksmuseum. Geschiedenis van een nationaal symbool*, Zwolle 2000, pp. 248-49.
- 2 For the original explanation of the decoration scheme of the Entrance Hall see [Joseph Alberdingk Thijm,] *Toelichting der stoffeering van Voorzaal en Rembrandtzaal van het Rijksmuseum*, Amsterdam 1885, pp. 3-9; Frederik Obreen, *Wegwijzer door 's Rijks Museum te Amsterdam*, Schiedam 1887, pp. 20-29; Victor de Stuers and Pierre Cuypers, *Het Rijks-Museum te Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 1897, pp. 32-34.
- 3 For the creation and the iconography of the floor and the walls see also Carien de Boer-van Hoogevest, 'Reconstruction of the Cuypers Floor in the Entrance Hall', *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 61 (2013), pp. 60-78; Rob Delvigne and Jan Jaap Heij, *In de schaduw van Cuypers. Georg Sturm (1855-1923), monumentaal decorateur*, Amersfoort 2017, pp. 90-119. For the stained-glass windows see also Jochen Becker, "'Ons Rijksmuseum wordt een tempel". Zur Ikonographie des Amsterdamer Rijksmuseums', *Nederlands Kunst-historisch Jaarboek* 35 (1984), pp. 227-327,

esp. pp. 281-85; Carlo Huijts et al., *Het Rijksmuseum: ontwerpen, bouwen en verbouwen 1863-1885-1985*, The Hague 1985, pp. 36-39.

- 4 This article focuses on the design, the execution and the choice of subject of the stained-glass windows in the Entrance Hall, aspects which have remained neglected in the very limited literature about the windows. This research is therefore mainly based on primary source material from Het Nieuwe Instituut Rotterdam, Dordrecht Regional Archives, Roermond Municipal Archives, the Catholic Documentation Centre, Nijmegen and the North-Holland Archives. Even though the windows are a facet of the greater iconographic programme of the Entrance Hall, and should also be studied in this context, this article will not discuss the creation of the decorative programme of the Entrance Hall as a whole, as this has already been described in detail (see previous note). For the role and meaning of the stained-glass windows in relation to the shapes of the spaces of the building see also Aart Oxenaar, *P.J.H. Cuypers en het gotisch rationalisme. Architectonisch denken, ontwerpen en uitgevoerde gebouwen 1845-1878*, Rotterdam 2009 (diss. University of Amsterdam), pp. 454-60.
- 5 Victor de Stuers, 'P.J.H. Cuypers', in Ewaldus Daniël Pijzel (ed.), *Mannen en vrouwen van betekenis in onze dagen*, Haarlem 1897, pp. 187-228, esp. pp. 188, 194-95; Jo Tollebeek, *De IJkmeesters. Opstellen over de geschiedschrijving in Nederland en België*, Amsterdam 1994, pp. 158-67; Wies van Leeuwen, *Pierre Cuypers, architect (1827-1921)*, Zwolle 2007, pp. 180-83. For the history of the emancipation of the Roman Catholic Church and the renewed interest in the Middle Ages see also Gerard Brom, *Romantiek en katholicisme in Nederland*,

- vol. 1, Groningen 1926; Albert van der Zeijden, *Katholieke identiteit en historisch bewustzijn. W.J.F. Nuyens (1823-1894) en zijn 'nationale' geschiedschrijving*, Amsterdam 2002 (diss. University of Amsterdam).
- 6 'Zij symboliseert in een cyclus het menselijk leven en streven. De vloer is gewijd aan het stoffelijk gebied, de wanden en vensters aan het maatschappelijke, de gewelven en wat daarmee op eene hoogte is, aan het verstandelijke.' De Stuers and Cuypers 1897 (note 2), p. 32.
- 7 Alberdingk Thijm 1885 (note 2), p. 4.
- 8 Haarlem, North-Holland Archives, accession no. 476, Rijksmuseum Archives and legal predecessors in Amsterdam, inv. no. 2234, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam General Management Archives, Items concerning the ceremonial opening of the Rijksmuseum on 13 July 1885. Quoted from an anonymous, handwritten article that describes the building and the collection of the new Rijksmuseum.
- 9 'de eerste of oudste der Kunsten'; 'daarom komt haar de eere- of middenplaats toe'. Rotterdam, Het Nieuwe Instituut (hereafter HNI), Rijksmuseum Archives (Building Records P.J.H. Cuypers) (hereafter Rijksmuseum Cuypers Archives), inv. no. RYKSD66, esp. 24 October 1883, no. 1689; The Hague, National Archives of the Netherlands, accession no. 2.04.13, Inventory of the archives of the Ministry of the Interior: Arts and Sciences Department, 1875-1918 (hereafter NA, BZ, KW Archives), inv. no. 1668, 4 November 1882, no. 1429, continuation of the document of 29 May 1880, no. 831, concerning 'Ikono-grafie der versiering van het Rijks museum'.
- 10 Becker 1984 (note 3), pp. 282-83; Van Leeuwen 2007 (note 5), p. 182.
- 11 'doorlopend een tafereel van de uitoefening dier kunsten en wetenschappen'. Alberdingk Thijm 1885 (note 2), p. 8.
- 12 NA, BZ, KW Archives, inv. no. 1668, 4 November 1882, no. 1429 (note 9).
- 13 Ibid., 15 November 1882, no. 2916, continuing the correspondence of 4 November 1882.
- 14 'welke kunstindustrie, bij onze voorouders zoo zéér in bloei, thans in ons vaderland weér schijnt te herleven en eene schoone toekomst tegemoet gaat'. HNI, Rijksmuseum Cuypers Archives, inv. no. RYKSD241, 'Memorie van Toelichting bij het gewijzigd ontwerp voor de Museum gebouwen te Amsterdam', 18 April/31 May 1877.
- 15 NA, BZ, KW Archives, inv. no. 1668, 15 November 1882, no. 2916 (note 13).
- 16 HNI, Cuypers Office Archives, inv. no. CUBA copy book 2, nos. 1434-38, 1444. There are no indications in the work archives of Victor de Stuers (National Archives of the Netherlands, The Hague) that De Stuers interfered with the selection of the glass workshops.
- 17 NA, BZ, KW Archives, inv. no. 1668, 27 April 1883, no. 1562.
- 18 Bernadette van Hellenberg Hubar, *De Nieuwe Bavo te Haarlem: Ad Orientem – Gericht op het oosten*, Zwolle 2016, p. 273; Wies van Leeuwen, *De maakbaarheid van het verleden, P.J.H. Cuypers als restauratie-architect*, Zwolle 1995, p. 92.
- 19 'tafereelen in gebrand glas den roem onzer oude kunst hier vertegenwoordigen ... den kracht dien onze Nederlandsche maatschappij in de xv en xvte eeuw heeft kunnen ontwikkelen.' HNI, Cuypers Office Archives, inv. no. CUBA copy book 10, 17 June 1897, no. 1534.
- 20 'De mededingers zijn vrij het figuur zoo te teekenen als zij denken dat het denkbeeld het best uitgedrukt wordt, terwijl hun tevens volkomen vrijheid gelaten wordt in de keuze der kleuren.' Ibid., CUBA copy book 2.
- 21 HNI, Rijksmuseum Cuypers Archives, inv. no. RYKSD65, 27 April 1883, no. 1562.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 'minder archaïstisch en [met] meer natuur en artistiek gevoel geteekent [moest] worden' ... 'zooel den stand en de wijze van drapering als voor de behandeling van het gelaat'. HNI, Cuypers Office Archives, inv. no. CUBAG2004 draft missives, letter from Pierre Cuypers to William Francis Dixon, 27 September 1883.
- 25 'het aan hem toe te vertrouwen werk deugdelijk en overeenkomstig de eischen der Kunst zou uitvoeren'. HNI, Rijksmuseum Cuypers Archives, RYKSD65 (note 21).
- 26 NA, BZ, KW Archives, inv. no. 1668, authorization agreement, 20 November 1883, no. 3233; *ibid.*, 31 December 1883, no. 3707; HNI, Rijksmuseum Cuypers Archives, inv. no. RYKSD66, 31 December 1883, no. 589.
- 27 Martin Harrison, *Victorian Stained Glass*, London 1980, p. 61.
- 28 With thanks to curator Martin Harrison, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London (FSA).
- 29 Dixon worked in the same style as Edward Coley Burne-Jones, who was closely connected to the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. Direct contacts with John Ruskin and William Morris of the Arts and Crafts movement cannot be proved.
- 30 North Devon Record Office, Barnstaple, inv. no. 3054A/PW25, 'accounts of restoration 1875-1884', undated letter from William Francis Dixon to 'Mr Gould'.

- 31 HNI, Rijksmuseum Cuypers Archives, RYKSD66, letter from William Francis Dixon to Pierre Cuypers, 23 June 1883; HNI, Cuypers Office Archives, inv. no. CUBA copy book 10, letter from Pierre Cuypers to William Francis Dixon with evidence of his work, 26 July 1897, no. 1534.
- 32 NA, BZ, KW Archives, inv. no. 1668, 31 December 1883, no. 3707.
- 33 HNI, Rijksmuseum Cuypers Archives, RYKSD66, undated letter from William Francis Dixon to Pierre Cuypers.
- 34 Roermond Municipal Archives, accession no. 5004, Cuypers Family Archives (hereafter GAR, Cuypers Family Archives), inv. no. 19, index card 10, no. 223, letter from Victor de Stuers to Pierre Cuypers, 12 June 1884.
- 35 'De teekeningen [van] Dixon moogt gij niet alle goedkeuren. Waarom volgde die vlegel niet de schets van Sturm voor den Apelles? Dwing hem daartoe. De Renaissance vrouw was vrij goed. Mij blijkt dat Dixon niet teekenen kan! Zijn Rembrandt is ellendig. De koppen zijn slecht gemodelleerd en slecht gecharpenteerd [gekaderd]. Laat Sturm u helpen om dat goed te maken. Die cartons zijn mij erg tegengevallen.' GAR, Cuypers Family Archive, inv. no. 19, fiche 10, no. 222.
- 36 'Gij kunt Dixon niet dwingen over te komen'. Ibid., no. 223.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 The Cuypers Archives in Rotterdam do contain Sturm's designs for the four stained-glass windows above the main entrances with allegorical female figures that depict Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and Music. These stained-glass windows were not executed by the glazier Jan Schouten (1852-1937) until 1905. For the designs see HNI, Kunstwerkplaats Cuypers & Co, Archives, inv. nos. CUCOT251.1-251.4.
- 39 '(naar teekeningen van den bouwmeester) door den Heer Dixon'. Cf. statement by P.J.H. Cuypers about the design of the wall and glass paintings in the Rijksmuseum, quoted by A.J. Derkinderen, in Rudolph Peter Johann Tutein Nolthenius and Victor de Stuers, *Het levenswerk van Jhr. Mr. Victor de Stuers: herdacht door zijne vrienden*, Utrecht 1913, p. 54: 'Ik heb al de schetsen gemaakt, terwijl ik die met hem [De Stuers] verder heb nagegaan, en dikwijls hebben zeer juiste opmerkingen van hem aanleiding gegeven tot wijzigingen' ('I have made the sketches, while I have further checked them with him [De Stuers], and very correct remarks made by him have often given rise to changes'). Alberdingk Thijm 1885 (note 2), p. 8.
- 40 For the art and culture critique by Alberdingk Thijm and De Stuers see Bernadette van Hellenberg Hubar, *Arbeid en bezieling. De esthetica van P.J.H. Cuypers, J.A. Alberdingk Thijm en V.E.L. de Stuers, en de voorgeving van het Rijksmuseum*, Nijmegen 1997 (diss. University of Nijmegen), p. 206; Jos Perry, *Ons fatsoen als Natie. Victor de Stuers 1843-1916*, Amsterdam 2004, pp. 69-78.
- 41 'Dixon is niet in staat een goede figuur te teekenen. Hij kent geen anatomie, en teekent gebrekkig. Dat is de bron van zijn archaïsme, precies zooals het gebrek aan teekenkennis bij Israëls enz. het impressionisme doet geboren worden. Een kwajongen zal op dien voet kunnen beweren dat hij den Mexikaanschen Stijl hoog vereert.' GAR, Cuypers Family Archives, inv. no. 19, index card 10, no. 224, letter from De Stuers to Cuypers, 13 June 1884. On 16 April 1884 De Stuers had already urged Cuypers to remind Dixon that as the 'Surintendant des Beaux Arts' De Stuers insisted that the models supplied by Dixon had to be inspected in accordance with the contract; *ibid.*, index card 10, no. 205.
- 42 'de noodige wijzigingen in de ontvangen cartons reeds zijn aangebracht'. HNI, Cuypers Office Archives, inv. no. CUBA copy book 3, 20 June 1884, no. 1874.
- 43 'de verdere cartons door hem thans hier worden afgemaakt'. Ibid.
- 44 'in uitvoering'. Ibid., no. 1919, monthly survey of works, 12 July 1884 to 12 August 1884.
- 45 HNI, Rijksmuseum Cuypers Archives, inv. no. RYKSD66, undated letter from William Francis Dixon to Pierre Cuypers.
- 46 'benevens de encadrements voor één raam'. Ibid., inv. no. RYKSD17, monthly survey of works, 12 August to 12 September 1884.
- 47 'althans niet zonder aanmerkelijke veranderingen in het "smoelwerk"'; 'Hij ziet eruit als een Napolitaan die de cholera krijgt!' HNI, P.J.H., J.T.J. and P.J.J.M. Cuypers Archives, inv. no. CUYD66.2, letter from De Stuers to Cuypers, 20 September 1884.
- 48 HNI, Rijksmuseum Cuypers Archives, inv. no. RYKSD66. The last payment to Dixon was made on 27 October 1885.
- 49 'zooveel mogelijk Nederlanders, die de verschillende perioden hunner kunst vertegenwoordigen'. De Stuers 1897 (note 2), p. 33.
- 50 Cuypers's notes indicate that in November 1882 it was already clear that 'Jan or Hans' Sluter would represent medieval sculpture. However art-historical literature makes no mention of an artist called 'Jan Sluter' or 'Hans Sluter'. In 1885 Thijm also explains the choice of 'Claus Sluter' as follows: 'Neder-

- lander, die te Dijon gewerkt heeft, 1500' (A Dutchman who worked in Dijon, 1500). Cuypers clearly made a mistake when designing the programme. See NA, BZ, KW Archives, inv. no. 1668, 4 November 1882, no. 1429 (note 9); Alberdingk Thijm 1885 (note 2), p. 6.
- 51 'ertoe bijdragen om de Kunstgeschiedenis van ons Vaderland, zooveel mogelijk op bevattelijke wijze aan het nageslacht voor oogten te stellen'. HNI, Rijksmuseum Cuypers Archives, inv. no. RYKSD224, iconographic programmes for the façades, Gallery of Honour and Entrance Hall of the museum building, esp. p. 1. The first part contains comments by Alberdingk Thijm and De Stuers.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Pieter Geurts et al. (eds.), *J.A. Alberdingk Thijm 1820-1889. Erflater van de negentiende eeuw*, Nijmegen 1992, pp. 126, 142, 154-55; Van Leeuwen 1995 (note 18), pp. 92-93; Perry 2004 (note 40), pp. 212-13.
- 54 For the first draft plan in which Praxitiles represents Classical Antiquity instead of Apelles and in which Michelangelo was replaced by 'Hans Sluter (nederl beeldhouwer XIV eeuw)' as the representative of medieval sculpture, see NHI, Cuypers Office Archives, inv. no. CUBAG2004, undated letter from Pierre Cuypers to William Francis Dixon.
- 55 For the undated design drawing of the façade with the arrangement of the windows of the Entrance Hall see HNI, Rijksmuseum Cuypers Archives, inv. no. RYKSD65.
- 56 NA, BZ, KW Archives, inv. no. 1668, 4 November 1882, no. 1429 (note 9).
- 57 'een midden-eeuwsche frescoschilder'. HNI, Cuypers Office Archives, inv. no. CUBA copy book 2 (note 16); NA, BZ, KW Archives, inv. no. 1668, sketch of the windows in the Entrance Hall, 14 November 1883.
- 58 HNI, Rijksmuseum Cuypers Archives, inv. no. RYKSD66, draft contract Dixon, 20 December 1883.
- 59 'de pionier van de Keulse school'. Joseph Crowe and Giovanni Cavalcaselle, *The Early Flemish Painters: Notices of Their Lives and Works*, London 1857, pp. 91, 312-15.
- 60 Karl Schaefer, *Geschichte der Kölner Malerschule mit 131 Tafeln*, reprint no. 99, Lübeck 1923, p. 7.
- 61 'der beste maler in Duschlanden'. The chronicle of Tilemann Elhen von Wolfhagen (1347/48-after 1402) was published for the first time in 1617, see Johann Faust von Aschaffenburg, *Fasti Limpurgensis*, Heidelberg 1617, p. 81. Subsequently by Arthur Wyss, see *Die Limburger Chronik des Tilemann Elhen von Wolfhagen*, Hanover 1883 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, vol. 4/1), pp. 25-96, esp. p. 75.
- 62 'ein vortrefflicher Meister, der in der Kunst seines gleichen nicht hatte'. Johan Fiorillo, *Geschichte der zeichnenden Kunst in Deutschland und den Vereinigten Niederlanden*, vol. 1, Hanover 1815, pp. 417-18.
- 63 See for the attributions: Johann Passavant, 'Nachrichten über die alte Kölner Malerschule', *Kunstblatt* 10 (1833), pp. 37-48, esp. pp. 38-40; Johann Jakob Merlo, *Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Werken Kölnischer Künstler*, Cologne 1850, pp. 509-14.
- 64 Mela Escherich, *Die Schule von Köln*, Strasbourg 1907, pp. 16, 24, 26. These attributions were already being disputed in 1895, see Eduard Firmenich-Richartz, *Kölnische Künstler in alter und neuer Zeit. Johann Jacob Merlos neu bearbeitete und erweiterte Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Werken kölnischer Künstler*, Düsseldorf 1895, pp. 947-62.
- 65 Robert Suckale, 'Zur Chronologie der Kölner Malerei der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts', in Thomas Schilp and Barbara Welzel (eds.), *Dortmund und Conrad von Soest in spätmittelalterlichen Europa*, Bielefeld 2004 (*Dortmunder Mittelalter-Forschungen*, vol. 3), pp. 45-72, esp. pp. 59, 62-63.
- 66 Nijmegen, Catholic Documentation Centre (KDC), Alberdingk Thijm Family Archives, inv. no. 1641, Notes about costume, 1882.
- 67 HNI, Rijksmuseum Cuypers Archives, inv. no. RYKSD224 (note 51).
- 68 HNI, Cuypers Archives, P.J.H., J.T.J. and P.J.J.M, inv. no. CUYPT263; Van Leeuwen 2007 (note 5), p. 296.
- 69 Peter Böttger, *Die Alte Pinakothek in München. Architektur, Ausstattung und museales Programm*, Munich 1972, pp. 185-86; Van Leeuwen 2007 (note 5), p. 294; Rijksmuseum guides' syllabus, with thanks to curator Jenny Reynaerts.
- 70 'beelden der steden, waar de kunsten bijzonder hebben gebloeid en van personen uit de Vaderlandsche geschiedenis die meer bepaald invloed op de Kunsten hebben uitgeoefend.' HNI, RYKSD224 (note 51), p. 2.
- 71 'Meester Willem van Heerle, de Maas-trichtsche en Keulse school ontsproot'; 'op de glazen der vensterramen, al datgene [afgebeeld worden] wat ter aanvulling kan dienen om het voormelde doel, zoo volledig mogelijk te bereiken'. Ibid., pp. 2, 10.
- 72 Becker 1984 (note 3), pp. 237-38.

- 73 HNI, Rijksmuseum Cuypers Archives, inv. no. RYKSD224, letter from Adrianus de Vries to Pierre Cuypers, 15 January 1880: 'Hierbij het lijstje den graveurs. Uit een briefje van den hr. Thijm bemerkte ik dat Belgische kunstenaars bepaald geweerd worden...' ('Herewith the list of engravers. From a letter from Mr Thijm I note that Belgian artists are specifically excluded...')
- 74 NA, BZ, KW Archives, inv. no. 1661, 2 December 1877, no. 360, letter to the board of the 's Rijks Adviseurs voor de Monumenten van Geschiedenis en kunst, betreffende 's Rijks Museum te Amsterdam: 'Blijkens deze omschrijving schijnt men te moeten aannemen dat aan de geschiedenis, welke in het Nederlandsch Museum behoort vertegenwoordigd te worden geen anderen grens is gesteld dan die van het geographisch gebied, wat Nederland heeft...' ('According to this description it appears that one has to assume that the history that will be represented in the Nederlandsch Museum is determined by no other border than that of the geographical area of the Netherlands...')
- 75 Van der Ham 2000 (note 1), p. 150.
- 76 The historian Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer played an important role in the development of the Calvinist historical image. He argued that the Netherlands was a Protestant country: Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer, *Handboek der Geschiedenis van het Vaderland*, Amsterdam 1876. See also Gerrit Schutte, 'Nederland een calvinistische natie?', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 107 (1992), pp. 690-702.
- 77 Brom 1926 (note 5), pp. 3, 8-12, 62-70. Brom pointed to the key role that the historian Willem Bilderdijk had unconsciously played in the emancipation of the Catholics. Through his detailed description of the (Catholic) Middle Ages he was influenced by 19th-century Catholic historiography and was an important example for Catholics like Nuyens and Alberdingk Thijm. See also Ronald van Kesteren, *Het verlangen naar de Middeleeuwen. De verbeelding van een historische passie*, Amsterdam 2004 (diss. University of Amsterdam).
- 78 Tollebeek 1994 (note 5), p. 158.
- 79 *Ibid.*, pp. 159-60, 165-67; Jo Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin. Denken over geschiedenis in Nederland sinds 1860*, Amsterdam 1996, p. 28; Van der Zeijden (note 5), pp. 101-16; Johannes Antonius Bornewasser, 'Geschiedbeoefening en katholieke geloofsovertuiging in verschuivend perspectief', in Pieter Antoon Marie Geurts and Antoon Edmond Maria Janssen, *Geschiedbeoefening*, The Hague 1981 (*Geschiedschrijving in Nederland*, vol. 2), pp. 229-48, esp. pp. 229-32.
- 80 Van Hellenberg Hubar 1997 (note 40), p. 82.
- 81 HNI, Rijksmuseum Cuypers Archives, inv. no. RYKSD224 (note 51).
- 82 See also NA, BZ, KW Archives, inv. no. 1668, 15 November 1882, no. 2916, note accompanying the missive from the Minister of the Interior dated 15 November 1882, with a comment by the permanent secretary of the ministry: 'Als vertegenwoordiger van de 4e type der beeldhouwkunst schijnt H. de Keyser de voorkeur te verdienen boven Quellinus' ('As the representative of the fourth type of sculpture H. De Keyser seems to be preferred over Quellinus'). De Stuers made a note on the memo: 'Dit heb ik met den heer C [Cuypers] besproken' ('I have discussed this with Mr C [Cuypers]').
- 83 For the origin of this notion: Matthys Balen, *Beschryvinge der Stad Dordrecht, vervatende [sic] haar begin, opkomst, toeneming, en verdere stant*, Dordrecht 1677, p. 109. See also Gillis Schotel, *Een keizerlijk en stadhouderlijk bezoek in de O.L. Vrouwe Kerk te Dordrecht*, Amsterdam 1859, pp. 23, 27-28; Christiaan van Balen, *De blijde inkomst der Renaissance in de Nederlanden*, Leiden 1930, pp. 59-61.
- 84 See for example Louis Gompertz, 'Dordrechts koorbanken', *Bijdrage voor de geschiedenis van het Bisdom Haarlem* 8 (1880), p. 16; Cuypers had this publication in his possession. See also Joseph Alberdingk Thijm, *Over nieuwere beeldhouwkunst, vooral in Nederland*, Rotterdam 1886, p. 10, where Jan van Terwen is lauded as the man who 'de fraaie bāreliēfs der Dordtsche choorbanken beitelde' ('carved the fine bas-reliefs of the Dordrecht choir stalls').
- 85 HNI, Rijksmuseum Cuypers Archives, inv. no. RYKSD224 (note 51); NA, BZ, KW Archives, inv. no. 1668, 4 November 1882 (note 9).
- 86 Cf. Statement by Pierre Cuypers 1913 (note 39), p. 54.
- 87 See NHI, Cuypers Office Archives, CUBAG2005, letter from Cuypers to Monseigneur Otto Spitzén, 23 August 1884, in which he asks the Thomas à Kempis expert for a suitable text for the book the canon holds in the window.
- 88 Frits Scholten, *Isabella's Weepers: Ten Statues from a Burgundian Tomb*, Amsterdam 2007, pp. 36, 53, 56.
- 89 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-T-00-472-10(R).
- 90 With thanks to Frits Scholten.
- 91 Cf. Alberdingk Thijm 1886 (note 84), pp. 4-5.