



Rehabilitation for Georg Sturm

• ROB DELVIGNE AND JAN JAAP HEIJ •

One of the most high-profile aspects of the restoration and renovation of the Rijksmuseum is without doubt the replacement of Georg Sturm's wall paintings in the Gallery of Honour and the Entrance Hall. It is a logical consequence of the ambition to restore part of the building to its original condition, as conceived by its architect, Pierre Cuypers (1827-1921). Yet one can well ask oneself – and that happens from time to time – whether a nineteenth-century concept is still appropriate for a museum of the twenty-first century. For example the philosopher Ger Groot recently wrote in the Dutch daily *NRC Handelsblad* that this has made the refurbishment of the Rijksmuseum 'even more provocative than it already seemed. Once again the building compels one to ponder: about what we think of art, its place in the world and hence the world in general.'¹

Groot does not appear to realize that the original decorations have not returned to the galleries and that the renovation of these has, on the contrary, been done in a reserved fashion, with a subdued colour scheme conceived by the interior designer Jean Michael Wilmotte, in order to let the works of art speak for themselves as much as possible. His response is therefore somewhat over the top. Yet the fact that he felt the need to react in this way indicates that Cuypers's

Detail of fig. 10

concept, over a century after construction was completed, is still controversial in the perception of some observers. As far as that is concerned little has changed, because many of Cuypers's contemporaries also had problems with the lavish decoration of the interior, which in their view provided too much competition for the works of art on display. Not everyone working in the museum was happy with it either. Even before the decoration was complete – everything was not ready until 1910 – there were attempts to make the interior more neutral here and there. In 1903, for example, Adriaan Pit, director of the Netherlands Museum for History and Art (as the part of the Rijksmuseum concerned was called at the time), had a painted wall covered up because he believed that it did not fit with the objects on show. It was not, incidentally, one of Sturm's wall paintings. This prompted questions in the Lower House of Parliament from Victor de Stuers, who as a senior official in the Ministry of the Interior had been one of the most important champions of the new building. He was very upset about this 'high-handed' action by Pit, who had not consulted the architect about it.²

De Stuers's protest was to no avail. Views about how art should be presented had changed significantly since 1885 and were continuing to

change. Little by little, starting in the 1920s, the decorations were hidden from view and, where possible, removed. The last decorations finally disappeared during the restoration and renovation of the building in the 1950s.³ Director Frederik Schmidt Degener, who was in charge of the museum from 1922 to 1941, played a particularly important role in this. He disliked Sturm's paintings so intensely that he not only had them removed, he actually gave instructions to have them destroyed.⁴ Fortunately this was not done. The paintings were rolled up and kept. A few years ago they were restored by the Stichting Restauratie Atelier Limburg under the supervision of Jos van Och and it will soon be possible for everyone to see them in their original positions.⁵

Who was Georg Sturm?

Little is known about Georg Sturm despite his not inconsiderable oeuvre (fig. 1). He was always more or less hidden in Cuypers's shadow and, as far as we know, he was not particularly concerned about this. Apparently he did not like being in the limelight. He joined the artists' association *Arti et Amicitiae* soon after his arrival in Amsterdam, but there, too, he never played an active role.⁶ He did, though, take part in exhibitions with a degree of regularity.⁷

He similarly did not play a prominent role, at least as far as the outside world was concerned, as a teacher of decorative painting at the *Rijkschool voor Kunstnijverheid* (National Decorative Arts School), a position he held in addition to his work as a designer of monumental decorative paintings. Some of his pupils became quite well-known artists – among them Gerrit Dijsselhof, Dirk Filarski, Piet van der Hem, Jac. Jongert, Chris Lebeau and Piet Zwart – but he was never given much credit for his efforts. Take for example Filarski, a pupil at the National Decorative Arts School from 1904



to 1907, who wrote in 1912, 'I learned virtually nothing from him [Sturm] because he did not show much interest in his students, and what I did learn was perhaps more of a hindrance than a help.'⁸ Piet Zwart, who attended the school at about the same time, made the following comment in 1970. 'Sturm was a passionate hunter and that took up a lot of time, a very great deal of time. There were occasions when we did not see a teacher for weeks...'⁹ Given the praise expressed by the principal, J.H.W. Berden, when Sturm left the school, this might be very unfair criticism, but whatever the truth may be, he made little impression on his pupils.¹⁰

One of the few people besides Berden who wrote with admiration about Sturm was Huib Luns, who devoted a few lines to him in his 1941 book *Holland schildert*, describing him as 'the first and most skilful teacher of decorative painting in Holland'. According to Luns, however,

Fig. 1
GEORG STURM,
Self-Portrait, c. 1910.
Painting on canvas,
65 x 53 cm.
Private collection.

Sturm had too many counts against him to be appreciated in the Netherlands – he was a foreigner, he had flamboyant manners and he was a good horse-man.¹¹ This is more or less all that was written about Sturm. No monographic article was ever published about him during his lifetime and there were barely any obituaries when he died.¹² By the time he passed away on 16 March 1923, two years after Cuypers, he had apparently already been almost forgotten. The first comprehensive publication about Sturm and his work did not appear until 2011 in the form of an article in *Tegel*.¹³ An undergraduate dissertation was written about him in 1992 by Simone Meijerink, but this did not lead to a publication.¹⁴ Unless stated otherwise, the following information about the artist has been taken from these two sources.

Georg Sturm was born on 12 August 1855 in Vienna, the son of Friedrich Sturm, who was also a wall decoration painter and who became an instructor at the Viennese Decorative Arts School in 1868. Georg went to that school, where he was taught first by his father and then by Ferdinand Laufberger (1829-1881), ‘one of the best loved and most productive monumental painters in Viennese historicism’.¹⁵ After completion of his studies he became Laufberger’s assistant and worked with him, for example on his painted ceiling in the decorative arts museum in Stubenring in Vienna, which opened in 1871. Sadly this work was destroyed during the Second World War.

In 1876 Cuypers won the competition for the design of a new Rijksmuseum. After he had received the definitive commission for the construction, he went on a tour of Europe to visit a number of recent museums and to see if he could find useful ideas for the interior.¹⁶ He visited Vienna in 1877 and so he must also have seen the decorative arts museum and its painted ceiling. It was probably the architect

J.R. de Kruyff (1844-1923) who drew Cuypers’s attention to Sturm, although it is possible that they met in Vienna. De Kruyff, who in 1881 was appointed as principal of the newly established National Decorative Arts School (housed in the Rijksmuseum and where Cuypers also became a teacher), had also spent part of his training in Vienna at the decorative arts school. In view of the difference in their ages, he and Sturm were not students at this school at the same time, but they could have had a number of acquaintances and teachers in Vienna in common.

In any event both Cuypers and De Kruyff were looking for an artist with experience in monumental and decorative painting and, in the absence of a suitable Dutch candidate, Sturm appeared to them to be the right person. Cuypers could also have gone on a quest to Belgium, as he had done for the sculpture. During his training at the academy in Antwerp he had become friends with Godfried Guffens (1823-1901), who was creating a stir in Belgium with monumental paintings in churches and government buildings – usually in collaboration with Jan Swerts (1820-1879), a contemporary at the academy of both of them – but as far as we could find out he was never approached by Cuypers.¹⁷ Perhaps Cuypers was concerned that Guffens would not have been sufficiently prepared to submit as meekly to his ideas as the much younger and less well-known Sturm, because in terms of style there is not that much to choose between their work.

Be that as it may, Sturm had already begun to make a name for himself in Vienna. In 1877, for instance, on the instructions of the Austrian Trade Ministry, he had written a booklet of patterns entitled *Figurale Vignetten* for the pottery industry. In 1882 he contributed allegorical designs to the widely discussed anthology *Allegorien und Embleme* (edited by Martin Gerlach). Other contributors included

artists who later became famous, for example Koloman Moser, Franz [von] Stuck and Gustav Klimt. The inputs from 'Sturm aus Amsterdam' received resounding praise from an Austrian critic because they were 'most elegant and eminently useable for arts and crafts purposes'.¹⁸

Sturm's first Dutch project was the design of tile panels for the façade of 77 Vondelstraat in Amsterdam, the home that Cuypers had built for himself in 1881-82. It consisted of three vertical depictions. There were men in sixteenth-century costume standing on the left and right, with a mason at work between them (fig. 2). Below the depictions, which were installed at the first-floor level, there are the following inscriptions from left to right: 'Jan bedenckt 'et', 'Piet volbrenght 'et' and 'Claesgen laeckht 'et'. Below there is a shallow arch above a large window containing the fourth panel with flower tendrils

and the text 'Och! Wat maeckt 'et'.¹⁹ In so doing Cuypers apparently wanted to indicate in an ironic way that he was not really bothered by the widespread criticism of his work. The date 1882 is at the top of the right-hand panel. Cuypers probably used this commission to test Sturm's competence before getting him involved in the Rijksmuseum and Sturm made the designs while still in Vienna. According to information in the Amsterdam City Archives he had a passport that was issued in Vienna on 26 August 1882, so he could not have arrived in Amsterdam before the end of that month.²⁰

On 1 September 1882 Sturm was given a position for one year as a teacher at the National Decorative Arts School. The following year he became a member of the permanent staff. He was expected to teach thirty-three hours a week and for this he received an annual salary of 3,000 guilders, which remained constant

Fig. 2
Tile panels on the
façade of 77 Vondel-
straat in Amsterdam.
Photo: Cultural
Heritage Agency.





until 1907 when it was increased to 4,000 guilders a year. Piet Zwart described him as ‘a very nice, curious little man, who always came to the college in a dress coat and with a dog at his heels...’²¹ The description that was recorded in 1889 in the

Amsterdam aliens register had the following details: ‘height 1.63 metres; high forehead; light brown hair; eyebrows the same; grey eyes; small nose; normal mouth; round chin; blonde beard; oval face; healthy complexion’.²² Apparently at that time

Fig. 3
Tile panels with
heralds on the
north façade of the
Rijksmuseum, each
approx. 270 x 120 cm.



Fig. 4

Tile panel above the entrance to the *Oefenschool*. 'Drawing is talking and writing at the same time' is a quotation from V. d[e] S[tuers]. Photo: Myra May.

he still had Austrian nationality and, as far as we have been able to find out, he always kept it. In 1890 he married Sophie Alexandrine Altschiller, whom he had probably met while he was still in Vienna. The wedding must have been in Austria because there is no information about it to be found in the Amsterdam City Archives.²³ They had a son, Hans, in 1891.

In 1907 he was decorated and became an Officer in the Order of Orange-Nassau on the occasion of his twenty-fifth service anniversary. This was one of the few occasions on which he was publicly praised. Nevertheless, 1907 was not a happy year for him because his son died in an accident, aged only sixteen. In 1915 his wife died and in 1917 he took early retirement because of poor health. Afterwards he relocated to Wageningen, where he lodged with the sculptor August Falise. Falise was a former pupil at the National Decorative Arts School and, like him, a great hunting enthusiast.²⁴ In 1920-21 Sturm lived for a few months in Doorwerth, but afterwards he returned to Wageningen, where he died on 16 March 1923 at the age of 67.

Sturm's work for the Rijksmuseum

Sturm probably became involved in designing the decorations of the Rijksmuseum shortly after his arrival in the Netherlands, but it was not until May 1883 that Cuypers presented him to the Minister as the maker of the cartoons (preliminary full-scale drawings) for the tile panels on the façades. This was eventually followed by the official commission in March 1884 to supply the first series of cartoons.²⁵ Altogether Sturm was to produce cartoons for fourteen large tile panels with historical and art historical depictions for the museum's exterior (on the west, east and south façades), twenty-six smaller ones with heralds carrying the arms of the Dutch towns and cities that were most important in the arts (on the north façade; fig. 3), three paintings in enamel on lava rock (in the middle of the south façade above the passageway), five allegorical female figures on the so-called 'connecting gallery' (next to the Asian Pavilion) and a tile panel to go above the entrance of the *Oefenschool* (Training School) depicting three female figures

personifying Beauty, Truth and Goodness (fig. 4).²⁶ The tile panels were manufactured by the Villeroy & Boch factory in Merzig on the River Saar in Germany. The pièce de résistance of the exterior adornment was the large painted decoration on lava rock (with Rembrandt and his school as the subject) in the middle of the south façade, which together with two smaller works flanking it were executed by F. Gillet in Paris (fig. 5).²⁷ However these paintings were only visible for a brief period. As early as 1904-06 this was precisely the spot where a new extension for the *Night Watch* was added to the south façade. The light in the gallery that Cuypers had designed for the painting in the first instance proved unsatisfactory, and it would supposedly be much better in the extension. The paintings, which were colourful and thus provided a striking contrast to the well-nigh monochrome tile panels, were not destroyed, but they were completely hidden behind the extension. In 1909 the two smaller paintings were replaced with so-called 'sectiel' tile panels of the same subjects

by De Porceleyne Fles, and instead of the central painting there was a sculpted relief with a simplified version of the scene, made by Abraham Hesselink (1862-1930).²⁸ In the event, the lighting in the new extension was a disappointment too, so in 1925 *The Night Watch* was returned to its original gallery, which has been its permanent home ever since.²⁹

Sturm's involvement in the interior was primarily in the decoration of the Gallery of Honour and the Entrance Hall (for an impression of the Entrance Hall see fig. on p. 81). He designed a series of scenes – thirty-six in all – for the Entrance Hall (figs. 6-8). There were symbolic representations of the virtues and different branches of the arts, scenes with historical figures that had these qualities, and depictions of artists and scholars. This part of the building also contains thirty medallions with portraits of artists, architects, poets, composers and bell founders. The large stained glass windows and the mosaic on the floor – which were not designed by Sturm – are also components of the Entrance

Fig. 5
Rembrandt and his
School on lava rock.
Approx. 750 x 575 cm.
The painting was
uncovered temporarily
during the restoration.





Om die
God
schep den
mensehe nur
sijnen beelde.
Nun ende wijf
schep hij se Ende
God seide tot hem



Blank space containing faint, illegible text or markings, possibly a list or inscription.





Wesl
wruclt haer
ende verwuig-
wulding ende
verwulst de werde
ende onderwerpl se



Blank space with faint horizontal lines, possibly a list or a set of text that is not clearly legible.



Wolvenbos vertelt het Christendom aan de heidenen

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Fig. 6

South wall of the Entrance Hall, with the entrance to the Gallery of Honour.
Photo: Jannes Linders.

Hall's decorative programme, which was conceived by Cuypers as one entity (see also the article by Carien de Boer-van Hoogevest in this Bulletin).

Sturm designed the paintings in the ten lunettes in the Gallery of Honour: eight along the top of the long walls and two above the doorways to the Entrance Hall and the Night Watch Gallery (figs. 9 and 10). In each lunette there were three separate depictions representing the different branches of art that were to be found in the museum (figs. 11 and 12). In the corners of every lunette there are the coats of arms of a province and of the provincial capital. De Stuers explained it as follows. 'In the middle [of every lunette] there is a female figure that symbolizes the type of art that the province excels in. On either side there are figures practising that art.'³⁰ For example *Ceramics* is combined with South Holland (because of the Delft pottery industry) and *Textile Art* with

Zeeland (because of its flax culture). Only the lunette above the passage to the Night Watch Gallery had no picture of an art. Instead it had a depiction of the Patroness of Amsterdam, flanked by Rembrandt and Jacob van Campen, the architect of the Town Hall. After all, the passage led to *The Night Watch*, which was and still is owned by the City of Amsterdam.³¹

It is remarkable that *Architecture* is represented twice, namely by *Architecture* and *Brick Architecture*, whereas Sturm's own field – monumental or decorative painting – is absent. The fact that the field for painting has the explicit title *Easel Painting* ('Kleinschilderkunst') appears to suggest that at one point there was also going to be one for *Monumental Painting*. It emerges from the execution of these paintings that the choice of design and the positioning were subject to a good deal of change over the years. Shortly before the opening of the Rijksmuseum in 1885 Sturm received instructions from Cuypers to paint depictions of *Architecture* and *Painting*, or to have them painted, in the open lunettes above the doorways to the Gallery of Honour because 'they are the most obvious and as they are [empty] they consequently make an undesirable impression'.³² The concept of a personification of *Painting* was swiftly abandoned and replaced with an image of the Patroness of Amsterdam. The definitive decoration of the Gallery of Honour was not started until 1899, and *Architecture* was relegated to *Brick Architecture*. The Patroness – like *Brick Architecture* – was painted on linoleum instead of canvas. During the recent renovation it emerged that this support had crumbled to such an extent that restoration was not possible for the time being. Also no trace could be found of the three scenes depicting *Brick Architecture*. There are therefore now empty lunettes above the passages.

What strikes one immediately is that in the choice of subjects, the emphasis is



Fig. 7

Entrance Hall:
allegories of Prudence,
Justice and Moderation.
Photo: Stichting
Restaurantie Atelier
Limburg (before
restoration).



Fig. 8

Entrance Hall:
Jan van Schaffelaar
throwing himself
from the tower.
Detail of fig. 6.

Fig. 9

Gallery of Honour.
Photo: Jannes Linders.

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Fig. 10

Gallery of Honour.
Photo: Pedro
Pegenaute.





JAN DE HELM

JACOBUS RIVISDAEL

1625 + 1682





1611 - 1631

FERDINAND BOI

B... HELST





Fig. 11
Gallery of Honour:
Ceramics.
Photo: Stichting
Restauratie Atelier
Limburg (before
restoration).



Fig. 12
Gallery of Honour:
Engraver.
Photo: Stichting
Restauratie Atelier
Limburg (before
restoration).

Fig. 13
GEORG STURM,
detail of the painting
on canvas for the
buffet, c. 1895.



very much on the Middle Ages. This even extends to the scenes portrayed in the stained glass windows. While there is comprehensive homage to Rembrandt – his *Night Watch* was given a whole gallery to itself – other artists of the Golden Age, whose work is actually at the heart of the museum’s collection, are almost absent from the decorations. On the other hand space is devoted to places of honour for obscure artists from earlier eras, some of whom are only known to insiders. Even William of Orange, the ‘Father of the Country’, whose battle for the freedom of the Netherlands had cost him his life, is not to be found in the Entrance Hall, whereas a rather marginal figure like Jan van Schaffelaar is presented there as the prototype of the self-sacrificing Dutch hero (see fig. 8). The widespread and frequent criticism that Cuypers and his collaborators – De Stuers



and J.A. Alberdingk Thijm – allowed their Catholic faith too great a say in the specification of the interior design and paid too little attention to achievements after the Reformation would appear to be justified.

Sturm's work furthermore included the design of the four stained glass windows above the main entrances with allegorical female figures personifying Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and Music. They were made in Jan Schouten's 't Prinsenhof studio in Delft.³³ Finally he also produced a painting on canvas for a café-restaurant in the basement (the 'buffer').³⁴ This work has also been kept and it shows a group of children tucking into a copious meal with gusto (fig. 13). For the time being no location has been reserved for this work, which is one of the few that was certainly painted by Sturm himself.

As we have seen, very little of the decoration was ready when the museum opened in 1885. At the time only the panels with heralds and the four large tile panels with the subject *The Glory of Amsterdam* (fig. 14) had been installed. The rest were added as the years passed. It was the same story with the paintings in the interior. Sturm does not appear to be solely to blame for this lengthy period. It was also the fault of Cuypers, who liked to conduct comprehensive historical preliminary studies, which did not always happen quickly as a result of his busy schedule.³⁵ The decorations were not finally completed until 1910. It is extremely difficult to find out exactly what Sturm's contribution was to the overall interior of the museum. This is because it took so long to put up all the decoration and because it was overpainted or removed very

Fig. 14
The first tile panel
The Glory of Amsterdam
on the west wall of
the Rijksmuseum.
Approx.
440 x 750 cm.
The only signed
and dated tile panel:
G. Sturm 1884.

soon afterwards. In addition not all the paintings that were discussed at one time or another were actually produced. It is furthermore not clear whether he was also involved in the design of the non-figurative decorations, such as the many fields and bands with plant and flower motifs.

Sadly only a very small fraction of the preliminary drawings that Sturm made can be found.³⁶ However, the cartoons for the tile panels with historical compositions have been largely preserved. They are huge pieces of paper because the panels cover an area of some thirty square metres. They were divided into strips, which were rolled up for transport and then stuck together again in the factory. The design was then transferred to the tiles, which by then had already been fired for the first time but had not yet been glazed. Small holes were made with a needle along the lines of the cartoons, after which the cartoons were positioned on the tiles. Soot was then rubbed through the pin pricks so that the contours of the pictures appeared as lines of black dots on the tiles. The illustration was then completed in glaze, after which the tiles were fired a second time. Cartoons of this size are usually lost as time passes, but Cuypers believed that it was important to keep them and he therefore had them sent back after use.³⁷

Sturm's work in the Rijksmuseum was part of a very extensive schedule of decorations, which was thought out by Cuypers in close collaboration with De Stuers and Alberdingk Thijm. The building was to be a sort of national monument in which the cultural, scholarly and scientific achievements of Dutch people in the past were remembered and honoured. The Rijksmuseum was a museum not just of art but of history as well. Jochen Becker and Bernadette van Hellenberg Hubar have analyzed this interior design in detail and in depth, and their descriptions are enough to

make the heads spin of readers who do not have a background in iconology.³⁸ Museologist Ellinoor Bergvelt recently commented on their work and contended that perhaps the search for meaning had gone too far. She takes the view that Cuypers and his associates wanted to use the façades to underline the importance of Amsterdam as the centre of art and culture, and that in the interior there is no evidence whatsoever of an overarching specification that was completely thought out beforehand, and that this schedule of works was developed as the construction progressed.³⁹ The course of events around the choice of design for the Gallery of Honour appears to support her point of view. On the other hand Jenny Reynaerts, the Rijksmuseum's curator of nineteenth-century painting, has commented in this regard that there is in fact a clear leitmotif to be found in the interior. In the Gallery of Honour there are the depictions of the different types of art that are represented in the museum's collections, while the Entrance Hall is devoted to the virtues that enable art, scholarship and science to flourish.⁴⁰

As far as we have been able to find out, Sturm was not involved in the overall programme of interior decoration. It can be deduced from a letter written by Cuypers that he made sketches of all the designs himself, often in consultation with De Stuers, and that they were then worked up by Sturm into fully fledged designs.⁴¹ He produced these in the form of drawings which were painted with water colours. The next step, in the case of the tile panels at least, was to make the full-scale cartoons. It is, sad to say, not possible to check how comprehensive and detailed these sketches by Cuypers were, because as far as we know they have not survived. Some of Sturm's students were also involved in making the cartoons, which gave them, as Cuypers wrote to





Fig. 15
Sturm in his studio
in the Rijksmuseum.
On the left: framed
sketches for *The
Glory of Amsterdam*.
Photo: private
collection.

the Minister, 'a splendid opportunity to acquire practical experience'.⁴²

It is not clear whether the same procedure was followed in the case of the paintings. They are painted on canvas with oil paint, which was mixed with casein paint to obtain a mat effect, and they were made in the Rijksmuseum itself, where the National Decorative Arts School was located and where Sturm had his studio (fig. 15). It was therefore probably not necessary to make full-size cartoons for all the paintings, and certainly not for the smaller ones in the Gallery of Honour. Sturm's coloured drawings probably served directly as examples for these works. In all likelihood the designs were then transferred to the canvas using a grid.⁴³

As far as we know, the paintings were mostly done by students and assistants, but Sturm worked on them himself now and again. It was, after all, an important project that attracted a great deal of attention. He would in any event have supervised the work personally.

The students at the school were by no means all beginners in the decorative field. Many of them had been given prior training and had gained some practical experience. The institution was intended primarily for students who wanted to become designers or had the ambition to have a managerial position in a decorative arts firm.⁴⁴ One of Sturm's students who worked with him was Jan Visser Jr (1856-1938), who later became principal of the

Rijksnormaalschool voor Teeken-
onderwijzers (National Training
College for Art Teachers), which was
also housed in the Rijksmuseum.
Before coming to Amsterdam Visser
had studied at the Academie Minerva
in Groningen, he had worked as a
lithographer and had already earned
his art certificate, which qualified
him to teach evening classes.⁴⁵

Other Work by Sturm

Meanwhile Sturm also worked on
projects elsewhere. In 1883 he contrib-
uted to the decoration of the Dutch
section of the International Colonial
and Export Trade Exhibition, which
was staged in Amsterdam (fig. 16). It
was a kind of world's fair, although on
a smaller scale than those in London
and Paris, that was set up on the
unused area to the south of where the
Rijksmuseum was under construction
(the current Museumplein). He
designed semi-circular paintings to

go above the two entrances. They had
floral motifs around two youthful
mermen and a mermaid with two tails
who were holding boards bearing
the words Art ('Kunst') and Industry
(‘Nijverheid’). He also designed a large
wall painting depicting the Maid of
Holland. It is not known who executed
it. The paintings have not survived
and the lunettes are only known from
illustrations in the architectural journal
Bouwkundig Tijdschrift.⁴⁶ The colossal
Maid of Holland survived in any event
until 1885, because she adorned the
courtyard where the opening cere-
mony of the Rijksmuseum was held
in that year (fig. 17). The cartoons of
the heralds that could be seen in the
form of tiles on the front of the Rijks-
museum were also there.⁴⁷

During that period Sturm started
work on the decoration of Amsterdam's
Central Station, which was also
designed by Cuypers. This building
was constructed at more or less the
same time as the Rijksmuseum, but
the decorations, which were painted
directly on the walls, were completed
much sooner. Cuypers had received
the commission in 1876, but construc-
tion did not actually start until 1882
and the station opened in 1889. The
decorative scheme, which was nowhere
near as extensive as that of the Rijks-
museum, was also devised by Cuypers
himself, once more with support from
De Stuers and Alberdingk Thijm.⁴⁸
Sturm was brought in to design the
painted decorations on the walls and
ceilings, and the execution was done
by others, including Visser once again
and a number of employees from
the firm of decorators G.H. Heinen.
Heinen complained that Sturm's
cartoons were not always the right
size; this suggests that Sturm was
sometimes pressed for time as a result
of his many projects.⁴⁹

The theme chosen for the most
important space, the central hall,
was Work, and this was illustrated
by scenes with craftsmen, including

Fig. 16
Certificate
commemorating
the International
Colonial and Export
Trade Exhibition,
Amsterdam 1883,
designed by
Georg Sturm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. RP-P-1913-708;
gift of A. Allebé,
Amsterdam.





Fig. 17
The Rijksmuseum
opening ceremony
on 13 July 1885.

Fig. 18
Part of the frieze with
the fable by
La Fontaine in
the royal waiting
room at the
Central Station
in Amsterdam.
Photo: Cultural
Heritage Agency.

a butcher, a silversmith and a Delftware painter. Unfortunately with the passage of time most of the decorations have disappeared from view. Only the finest room, the royal waiting room, has survived intact. The wall decorations in this room include an *Allegory of the Four Ages* and a frieze of the *Fable of the Fox and the Cockerel* (fig. 18).⁵⁰ It is hoped that during the current renovation of the station some of the ornaments elsewhere in the building will be restored and returned.

Examples of other larger projects are the wall paintings in the provincial offices of Drenthe in Assen and Overijssel in Zwolle. In both cases an existing building was modified and a new section was added to accommodate the Provincial Assembly in 1884-87 and 1895-99 respectively. The architect in both cases was Jacobus van Lokhorst (1844-1906), chief government architect at the



Ministry of the Interior and therefore an immediate colleague of Cuypers.⁵¹ Sturm probably had more artistic freedom here because it appears that Van Lokhorst did not give such detailed instructions as Cuypers about what had to be depicted and how. Once again, however, De Stuers was closely involved. As a department head in the Ministry of the Interior he certainly had a finger in the pie when it came to decorations because at that time provincial offices came directly under the responsibility of that ministry.

Sturm designed a series of five wall paintings for the Provincial Assembly chamber in Assen with scenes from the history of Drenthe. They were put on the rear wall (figs. 19 and 20).⁵² It is striking that the Battle of Ane in 1227 – the most famous event in Drenthe's history, particularly in Drenthe itself –

is not included. During this battle the Bishop of Utrecht was opposed and defeated by the people of Drenthe. Without doubt this 'omission' can be attributed to the involvement of De Stuers, who as a fervent Catholic would not have wanted to see paintings depicting a successful revolt against a bishop.

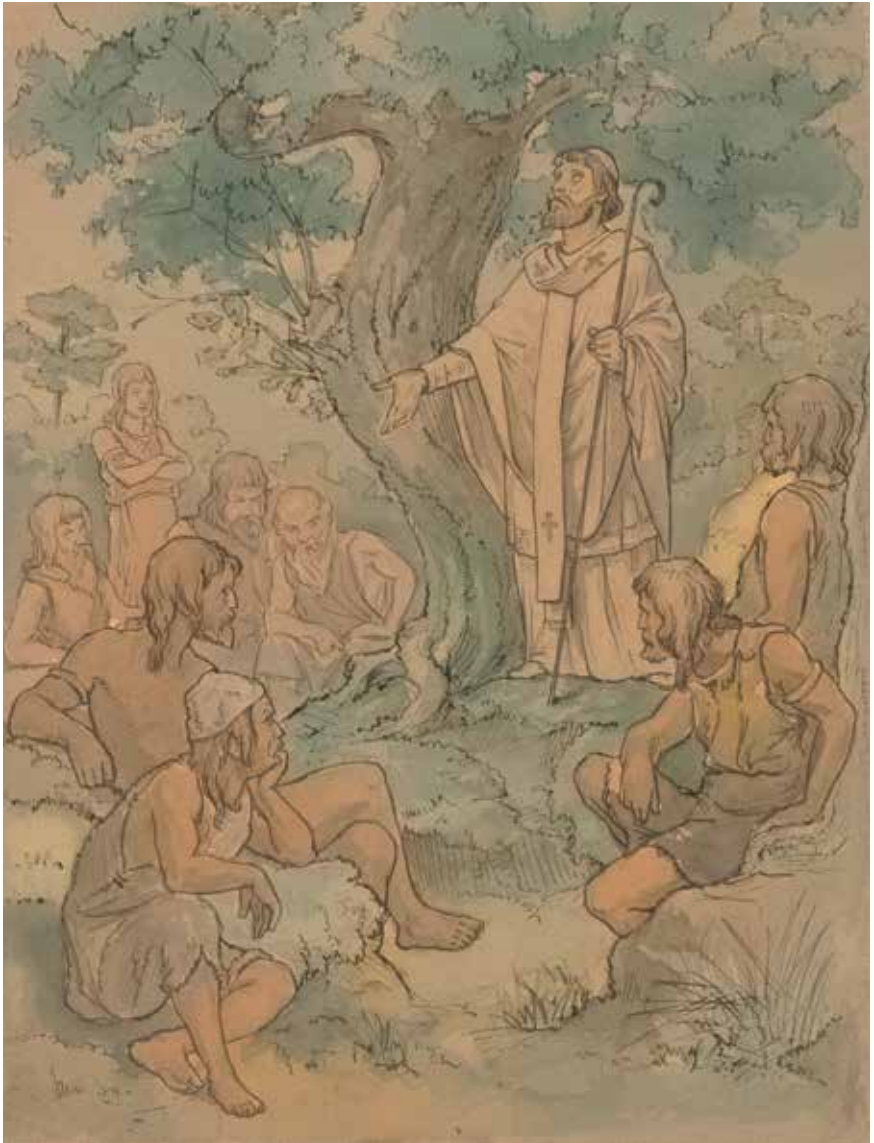
The Provincial Assembly chamber and the rest of the new part of the Drenthe provincial offices are ornately decorated with bands and fields with floral motifs, like the Rijksmuseum. Here too it is not clear whether Sturm played a role. He did, though, design the stained glass windows in the building's ballroom. The decorations in Assen were not put on canvas but, like those in the Central Station, painted directly on to the dry plaster with casein paint.⁵³ As a consequence, it can be clearly

Fig. 19
Wall paintings in the Assembly Chamber of the former provincial offices in Drenthe (now the Drents Museum) in Assen.
Photo: Netherlands Institute for Art History.



Fig. 20

GEORG STURM,
 Preliminary study
 for the wall painting
*Willehadus Preaches
 Christianity in
 Drenthe* in the
 Assembly
 Chamber of the
 former provincial
 offices in Assen,
 c. 1895.
 Pen and dark
 brown ink, brush
 and colours,
 283 x 198 mm.
 Amsterdam
 Rijksmuseum,
 inv. no. RP-T-1942-36.



seen that cartoons were also used here. This is because casein paint is somewhat transparent and the lines of sooty dots used to transfer the design on to the wall are still visible through the paint. The paintings were made by the German Florack brothers, who apparently specialized in this type of work. It can safely be assumed that Sturm travelled to Assen on occasion to assess the end result and touch it up if necessary.

The Provincial Assembly chamber in the provincial offices in Zwolle is slightly more lavishly decorated than the one in Assen. Here there are seven rather than five wall paintings of historical scenes – five on the rear wall and two next to the gallery above the entrance (fig. 21).⁵⁴ The illustrations were executed by Tiete van der Laars (1861-1939), a pupil of Sturm and in 1917 also his successor as teacher at the National Decorative Arts School.



Fig. 21
Wall paintings in the Assembly Chamber of the former provincial offices of Overijssel in Zwolle. Photo: Cultural Heritage Agency.

Apart from the number of wall paintings, the two chambers resemble each other quite closely. The rooms are no longer used for the Provincial Assembly. New provincial offices were built in Drenthe and Overijssel during the 1970s. The former provincial offices in Assen currently house the Drents Museum and the equivalent building in Zwolle is now home to the public library.

Van Lokhorst also designed the Provincial Assembly chamber in the provincial offices of Friesland in Leeuwarden (constructed between 1891 and 1896), which has retained its original function. In this chamber there are four historical wall paintings on the rear wall. They were not designed by Sturm, however, but by the Hague painter Hendricus Jansen (1867-1921). It is not known why Sturm did not get this commission too. Perhaps it was because he was too busy. According to his correspondence with Cuypers his different activities sometimes got in each other's way, with delays as the result. Cuypers complained about this regularly to De Stuers, who then sent a robustly

worded letter to Sturm (apparently Cuypers was not authorized or did not want to write it himself). It prompted the following response dated 4 June 1898. 'It is above all my work for the Golden Carriage that has kept me so busy so far. I severely underestimated the scope of this project and at the moment it is still not completely finished even though I have had five students helping me from time to time. In the meantime I have also had to start the panels for the palace decorations in The Hague ... This work is physically very taxing, and as a result I am normally exhausted when I arrive home in the evening, which in turn is not beneficial to my evening work, namely the work for Zwolle. And while I am working on that I also have to think about a design for a wooden mantelpiece in modern style.'⁵⁵ By Dutch standards Sturm earned a good salary as a teacher at the National Decorative Arts School and in addition he received substantial fees for his decoration designs in Cuypers's and Van Lokhorst's construction projects, but apparently he lived above his means. Despite his

considerable income he had to borrow large sums of money, including from Cuypers. He did succeed in paying off some of his debts, but in 1898 he put his cards on the table for Cuypers. He still had to repay a third of his debts. He wanted to take out a loan to pay off the remainder of what he owed and he asked Cuypers to be his guarantor. De Stuers advised Cuypers not to do so in the strongest possible terms.⁵⁶

In between the projects referred to above Sturm also worked on smaller jobs from time to time, such as designing painted ceilings for the Academiegebouw of Utrecht University (fig. 22) and for the wedding room in the seventeenth-century Town Hall in The Hague. The former painted

decoration, a hexagonal composition devoted to *Pallas Athena with Personifications of the Different Faculties*, is still there to see.⁵⁷ The latter, an oval *Allegory of Marriage* dated 1892, was removed during restoration of the building in the 1970s and then sold by the City Council.⁵⁸ The style of these ceiling paintings, in which the figures on clouds are distributed over the whole illustration, resembles Baroque – particularly in terms of composition – more than that of his wall paintings, in which he was clearly inspired by the painting of the early Renaissance. This shows that Sturm had little difficulty in adapting his design style to the wishes of his principals. This also made him a suitable associate for Cuypers, who despite the financial issues was, as far

Fig. 22
Ceiling painting in
the Academiegebouw
of the University of
Utrecht, signed and
dated: G. Sturm 1893.
Photo: Netherlands
Institute for Art
History.



Fig. 23
To a design by
GEORG STURM,
Portrait of Pierre
Cuypers with the
Rijksmuseum below.
Illustration from
*Maandblad gewijd
aan de belangen van
het teekenonderwijs
en de kunstnijverheid
in Nederland* 2
(1885-86), no. 3
(1 August 1885).

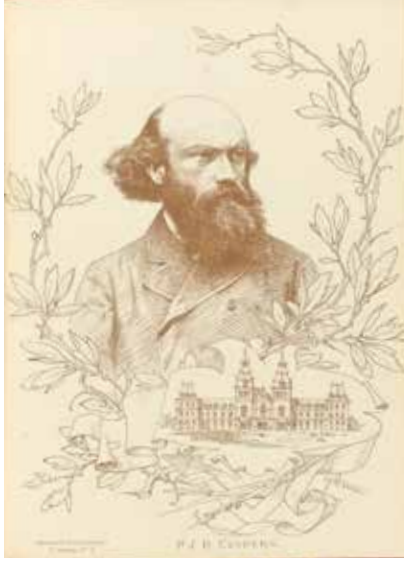


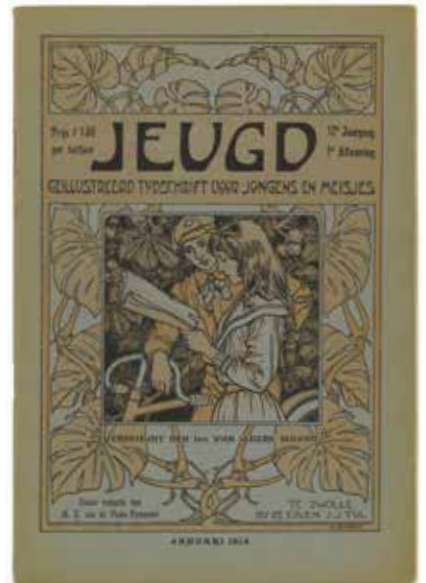
Fig. 24
AUGUST FALISE,
Portrait bust of
Georg Sturm, c. 1918.
Bronze, h. 61 cm.
Roermond,
Cuypershuis
Collection.

Fig. 25
Cover of the
magazine *Jeugd*,
used from the first
volume (1903),
designed by
Georg Sturm.
Assen, Drents
Museum.

as we know, always satisfied with the quality of Sturm's work.

Sturm did not work solely on monumental pieces. He also made a number of portraits, including one of Cuypers (fig. 23) and of his friend August Falise, who in turn produced a bust of Sturm (fig. 24). Occasionally he also drew illustrations and he designed a variety of certificates and diplomas as well as book and magazine covers (see fig. 25). In 1891 he designed the decoration of the chamois leather apron that Queen Wilhelmina wore when she laid the first stone for the Wilhelmina Gasthuis hospital in Amsterdam. The embroidery was done by students in the decorative needlework class of the decorative arts school.⁵⁹

It is also worth mentioning Sturm's contribution to the Golden Carriage, the Dutch queen's official ceremonial coach. This carriage was a gift from the people of Amsterdam to Queen Wilhelmina on the occasion of her inauguration in 1898. Sturm designed the embroidery on the upholstery of the interior, which was made by pupils and former pupils of the needlework class (fig. 26).⁶⁰ Yet his name is seldom mentioned in descriptions of the



carriage, unlike that of Nicolaas van der Waay, who was responsible for the painted panels on the outside.⁶¹ Sturm also made designs for the festive decoration of Noordeinde Palace in The Hague, which included the coats of arms and portraits of sovereigns of the House of Orange.⁶² He was likewise involved in the design of the inauguration medallion. The scene on the reverse was by him, and so too was the depiction on the plaque in honour of Queen Emma, who became Queen Regent in that same year. He designed further medallions for the company C.J. Begeer, one of which was exhibited at the world's fair in St. Louis (USA) in 1904.⁶³ Another of his designs was the medallion to commemorate the celebration in 1906 of the tercentenary of Rembrandt's birth (fig. 27).⁶⁴

He probably owed many of his commissions to his collaboration in the magazine *Dekorative Vorbilder*.⁶⁵ Between 1891 and 1909 he contributed many times to this loose leaf publication, which had some six thousand subscribers throughout Europe. The Dutch version of this periodical was called *Decoratie motieven* with the subtitle *Decorative Designs to help Architects, Sculptors, Decorators, Furniture Manufacturers, Lithographers, Silversmiths etc.* In addition to Sturm's own illustrations, some of his pupils also contributed, for example J.B. Heukelom, Harm Ellens and Albert Smit. A number of Sturm's designs were used by others, with or without his knowledge. In 1898, for instance, the magazine published Sturm's *Allegorische Darstellung der Jagd*, which was later to be found, in an enlarged form, on two buildings in Berlin.⁶⁶ The same volume also depicted a tapestry design of his, which was executed and could be seen at an exhibition in Berlin, together with a number of others, in that same year.⁶⁷ The 1908 volume contained an illustration by Sturm of Diana, the goddess of the hunt. Shortly thereafter this compos-



Fig. 26
Interior of the
Golden Carriage,
with the embroidery
designed by Sturm.
Photo: K. Schouten.



Fig. 27
To a design by
Georg Sturm,
Medal for the
Tercentenary
of Rembrandt's
Birth, 1906.
Bronze, diam. 5.9 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. NG-1992-10
(obverse).



ition appeared on two tile panels in the suburbs of Brussels. Designs for decorations in the Rijksmuseum are also to be found in the magazine. In 1897 two heralds on the front of the building were depicted as *Bannerträger*, in 1905 a few artists from the Gallery of Honour were reproduced on two lithographs *Kirchliche Kunst* (fig. 28), and 1906 saw the publication of *Charity* from the Entrance Hall as *Caritas* for the journal's international clientele.

Sturm and 'Community Art'

Only a little of Sturm's non-monumental work has ended up in public collections (fig. 29), so it is difficult to get a good overview of it. He without doubt produced more than is described here. Even in 'his own' Rijksmuseum there is only a handful of his works,

primarily drawings. They demonstrate clearly, however, that he had an extremely able and confident hand. Indeed perhaps he was too confident for the Netherlands, as suggested by Luns, and he projected an artistic attitude that Dutch artists and critics – and certainly the progressive youngsters among them who belonged to the circle known as the *Tachtigers* (members of an innovative literature movement) – appreciated less and less at the end of the nineteenth century. They preferred to see art that expressed highly individual emotions in a highly individual way.

With a few exceptions, however, the critics in this circle ignored Sturm's work rather than running it down.⁶⁸ This can perhaps be explained by the great esteem in which many of them held Cuypers. Thanks to his 'rational'

Fig. 28
GEORG STURM,
Kirchliche Kunst.
From: *Dekorative
Vorbilder* 16 (1905),
no. 6.

design methods he could be seen as a forerunner and trailblazer of modern architecture and decorative art.⁶⁹ Criticism of Sturm in fact represented criticism of Cuypers, because it was widely known that Sturm had little input of his own in the Rijksmuseum and had primarily elaborated Cuypers's ideas. Apparently people did not want to offend the old architect while he was still alive – and anyway Sturm's decorations did not last long.

When there was criticism of the paintings in the Entrance Hall, sometimes the name of Sturm was not

mentioned at all. In 1906, for example, the influential publicist H.P. Bremmer wrote the following. 'Because when we have someone who displays this same rare stature in his work like Derkinderen, is it right and proper that the big hall in the Rijksmuseum is adorned with wall paintings of that low quality that we now see? Derkinderen would have been the obvious choice.'⁷⁰ Bremmer was referring here to Antoon Derkinderen (1859-1925), who was the leading figure of a movement in Dutch symbolism, which is designated by the term *Gemeenschapskunst* (Community



Fig. 29
 GEORG STURM,
*Daw Scratching on
 a Branch*, c. 1915.
 Drawing, 46 x 40 cm.
 From the album
 presented to
 Dr Kerbert on
 his silver jubilee
 as director of
 the Koninklijk
 Zoölogisch
 Genootschap
 Natura Artis
 Magistra, 1915,
 sheet 55.
 Amsterdam,
 City Archives.

Art). The members of this movement believed that an artist should not produce separate works of art for sale, but should make wall paintings and other monumental decorations for public buildings that were accessible to everyone. Derkinderen's most important individual project in this area was the creation of paintings in the Town Hall of Den Bosch (completed in 1891 and 1896), in which he demonstrated the characteristics that such an ensemble should possess in his opinion. It should have an uplifting subject, a tight, static composition and restrained sober colours so that it was in harmony with the architecture.⁷¹

In view of the reputation that Derkinderen had acquired through these paintings, it is not surprising that Bremmer and others identified him as someone who could have done it much better. But that was not a realistic idea. Derkinderen's biographer A.M. Hammacher has described how there had indeed been talk that he would be eligible for the commission for the wall paintings in the Rijksmuseum, but he rejected the idea because he expected to get too little freedom.⁷² This seems to be an apocryphal story. When Sturm was brought in for the decorations in the Rijksmuseum Derkinderen did not yet have any experience in this field. His first monumental project, the painting of the *Procession of the Miracles of the Holy Sacrament* for the Begijnhofkerk in Amsterdam, was not completed until the end of 1888 and was not at all to the liking of the principal. The painting was actually refused and this caused a scandal which meant that Derkinderen was no longer eligible for church commissions for the time being. He went against the existing views of what a wall painting should look like to such a degree that Cuypers would never have brought him in as a designer. The greatest extent of involvement

that might ever have been discussed in passing was that he would work on the execution of oil paintings based on Sturm's cartoons or preliminary drawings.

As far as we know Derkinderen himself only commented in public once about Sturm's work. In 1913 he contributed to an *album amicorum* for De Stuers, which was compiled to mark his seventieth birthday. In this contribution, entitled 'De Stuers and Monumental Painting', he primarily praised the efforts and energy that De Stuers employed to get all sorts of projects implemented. Yet, without naming Sturm, he made it clear that he did not think that the results were always up to the mark. '...limiting myself purely to the many painted wall and glass decorations, which came about thanks to the initiative, care and cooperation of De Stuers, it has to be said that this opinion is not always favourable. While some people will be inclined to more or less praise the architectural context [and] the historical discoveries of composition, others will disapprove of the barren technique and the less selective choice of colours'.⁷³

He went no further than that, and this is also understandable because in fact Sturm's paintings were not so very different from the Community Art of which Derkinderen was a proponent. They too expressed in a symbolic way an idea of more general significance and were in relatively good harmony with the architecture as a result of their tranquillity and stylizing – something that Cuypers also considered very important – and they were also accessible to the public (and will be again soon). Perhaps Sturm's work (which in many cases he did not actually execute himself) was too colourful for supporters of Community Art, but Derkinderen's paintings in the Town Hall of Den Bosch, his most important project in this area, also had a fairly vivid palette, albeit with

more muted tones. In style and colour the paintings in the Rijksmuseum are very reminiscent of those by the French symbolist Pierre Puvis de Chavannes (1824-1898) in Paris and Amiens, and these were important examples for Derkinderen and other Community Art practitioners.⁷⁴ It is not known whether Sturm ever saw Puvis's work, but Cuypers would certainly have known it.

In later publications about Dutch community art there is only an occasional reference to the paintings in the Rijksmuseum and Sturm's name is essentially never mentioned. Only Richard Roland Holst, second only to Derkinderen as the 'leader' of Dutch community art, explicitly expressed his admiration for Cuypers and his Rijksmuseum in 1935. He did not say anything about the decorations, but reading between the lines it can be deduced that he did not have serious objections to them, although by that time quite a lot of them had been removed or concealed.⁷⁵

Sturm is also only discussed now and again in publications on the history of architecture. Most of the studies about Cuypers are primarily concerned with analysing the spatial aspects of his buildings and rarely are the decorations addressed in depth, no matter how important they may have been to the architect himself. Sturm gets an occasional mention at most as someone who executed his ideas and who had barely any input of his own. Architecture historian Auke van der Woud, for instance, wrote in rather denigrating terms that Cuypers's assistants 'with a few exceptions were not artists in the normal sense but were more or less anonymous employees, craftsmen with very limited artistic freedom'.⁷⁶

Of course that is not wrong as such, but it does not do justice to the nature and scope of their contributions and to that of Sturm in particular. While it is true that in the Rijksmuseum he had to

base his work on sketches by Cuypers, getting from those sketches to the many square metres of tile panels and wall paintings required much more than craftsmanship alone. It seems to us, therefore, that 'designer' is a much more satisfactory description of his role. In his other projects, moreover, he had more of a free hand. It is true that the subjects were also specified by others, but he was the one who could largely decide how they were to be depicted. In our opinion the paintings in the Provincial Assembly chambers in Assen and Zwolle – Sturm's most important projects in which Cuypers was not directly involved – were very successful ensembles. The Drents Museum has been housed in the former Assen provincial offices since the end of the 1970s, so the chamber has been accessible to everyone and his work is greatly appreciated by visitors. It therefore seems to us high time to review the work of Sturm (and his assistants) in the Rijksmuseum without prejudice and to assess it on its own merits.

APPENDIX

The subjects depicted in the tile panels on the exterior walls and in the paintings by Sturm in the Entrance Hall and the Gallery of Honour

The large tile panels

EAST WALL

'Art and literature promoted by the holy orders. The Cistercians in Aduard Abbey around 1200' / *'Kunst en letteren door de geestelijke orden bevorderd. De Cisterciënsers in de abdij Aduard, omstreeks 1200'*;

'Revival of civilization and art. Bishop Bernulphus buried in Utrecht in the church of St Peter he founded MLIII' / *'Herleving van beschaving en kunst. Bisschop Bernulphus begraven in de door hem gestichte Sint Pieterskerk te Utrecht MLIII'*;

'Frankish civilization. Foundation of the palace in Nijmegen by Charlemagne around 800' / *'Frankische beschaving. Stichting van het paleis te Nijmegen door Karel den Groote omstreeks 800'*;

'Late Roman civilization. Foundation of the basilica of St Servatius by Monulphus around 570' / *'Laat-Romeinse beschaving. Stichting van de basiliek van St. Servaas door Monulphus omstreeks 570'*.

SOUTH WALL

LEFT

'Claus Sluter; Jan Aertsz Terwen; Hendrik de Keijser' / *'Claus Sluter; Jan Aertsz Terwen; Hendrik de Keijser'*;

'Albrecht Dürer entertained by the Guild of Goldsmiths in 's Hertogenbosch in the year 1520' / *'Albrecht Dürer in het jaar 1520 te 's Hertogenbosch door het Gild der Goudsmeden onthaald'*;

'Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms surrounded by artists and guild members who offer the products of their art around the year 1640' / *'Frederik Hendrik en Amalia van Solms omringd door kunstenaars en gildebroeders die de voortbrengselen hunner kunst aanbieden omstreeks het jaar 1640'*.

CENTRE

Three panels in enamel on lava rock (concealed from view behind the Night Watch extension in 1904-06), dedicated to Rembrandt and his age:

'Frederik Hendrik Constn Huygens Nics Tulp Joh. Six', 'Rembrandt and his School', 'J.C. Silvius Jerm de Decker Joost v.d. Vondel J.Pz Somer' / *'Frederik Hendrik Constn Huygens Nics Tulp Joh. Six', 'Rembrandt en zijn School', 'J.C. Silvius Jerm de Decker Joost v.d. Vondel J.Pz Somer'*.

RIGHT

'All the monarchs, towns and prelates that had Gouda's church adorned with glass 1555-1603' / '*Het zijn al vorsten steden en prelaten Die Gouda's kerk met glazen sieren laten 1555-1603*';

'Jan van Eyck, as *peintre et varlet de chambre* to John of Bavaria (John the Pitiless) active at the court in The Hague between 1422 and 1424' / '*Jan van Eyck, als peintre et varlet de chambre van Jan van Beijeren (Jean sans Piete) werkzaam op het Hof te 's Gravenhage tusschen 1422-1424*';

'Foundation of the castle in The Hague by Count William II of Holland, around 1250' / '*Stichting van 't kasteel te 's Gravenhage door Graaf Willem II van Holland, omstreeks 1250*'.

WEST WALL

Four tile panels 'The Glory of Amsterdam': the patroness of Amsterdam seated in a triumphal carriage preceded by a procession of famous people in three panels.

NORTH WALL

Twenty-six tile panels with heralds with city arms

LEFT ENTRANCE TOWER

Groningen, Kampen, Utrecht, Deventer, Zwolle, Breda, 's Hertogenbosch, Bolsward, Leeuwarden.

CENTRE

Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Delft, Haarlem, Leiden, Gouda.

RIGHT ENTRANCE TOWER

Maastricht, Nijmegen, Roermond, Arnhem, Zutphen, Hoorn, Alkmaar, Middelburg, Zierikzee.

The Connecting Gallery

FIVE ALLEGORICAL FIGURES

printing / *boekdrukkunst*

bookbinding / *boekbinden*

illumination / *verluchting*

calligraphy / *schoonschrijven*

diecutting / *stempelsnijden*

The Paintings in the Entrance Hall

EAST WALL

TOP

Allegories of 'Sculpture, Architecture, Painting' / '*Beeldhouwkunst Bouwkunst Schilderkunst*' [1].

CENTRE ZONE

Three scenes of children practising these branches of art [grisailles, 2-4].

BOTTOM LEFT TO RIGHT

'Bishop Bernulphus patron of the Arts', Jacob van Campen with a model of Amsterdam town hall, 'Dutch Practitioners of the Applied Arts' / *'Bisschop Bernulphus bevorderaar der Kunsten'*, *Jacob van Campen met een model van het Stadhuis van Amsterdam*, *'Nederlandsche Beoefenaren der Kunstnijverheid'* [5-7].

SOUTH WALL, MOST EASTERLY BAY

TOP

Allegories of 'Prudence, Justice and Moderation' / *'Voorzichtigheid Rechtvaardigheid Gematigdheid'* [8].

CENTRE ZONE

Scenes of children representing these virtues [grisailles, 9-11].

BOTTOM

'William the Good passing sentence on the bailiff of Kennemerland' / *'Willem de Goede veroordeelt den baljuw van Kennemerland'* [12].

SOUTH WALL, SECOND BAY FROM THE EAST

TOP

Allegory of 'Self-Sacrifice' / *'Zelfopoffering'* [13].

CENTRE ZONE

Scene of children representing this virtue [grisailles, 14].

BOTTOM

'Jan van Schaffelaar throwing himself from the tower in Barneveld to save his men' / *'Jan van Schaffelaar werpt zich van den toren te Barneveld om de bezetting te redden'* [15].

SOUTH WALL, CENTRE BAY

TOP

Allegories of 'Hope, Faith and Love' / *'Hoop Geloof Liefde'* [16].

CENTRE ZONE

Lion, Scene of children representing Hope, Lioness [grisailles, 17-19].

BOTTOM

Passage to the Gallery of Honour.

SOUTH WALL, SECOND BAY FROM THE WEST

TOP

Allegory of 'Charity' / *'Naastenliefde'* [20].

CENTRE ZONE

Scene of children representing this virtue [grisaille, 21].

BOTTOM

'Willebrordus preaching Christianity to the Frisians' / *'Willebrordus predikt het Christendom aan de Friezen'* [22].

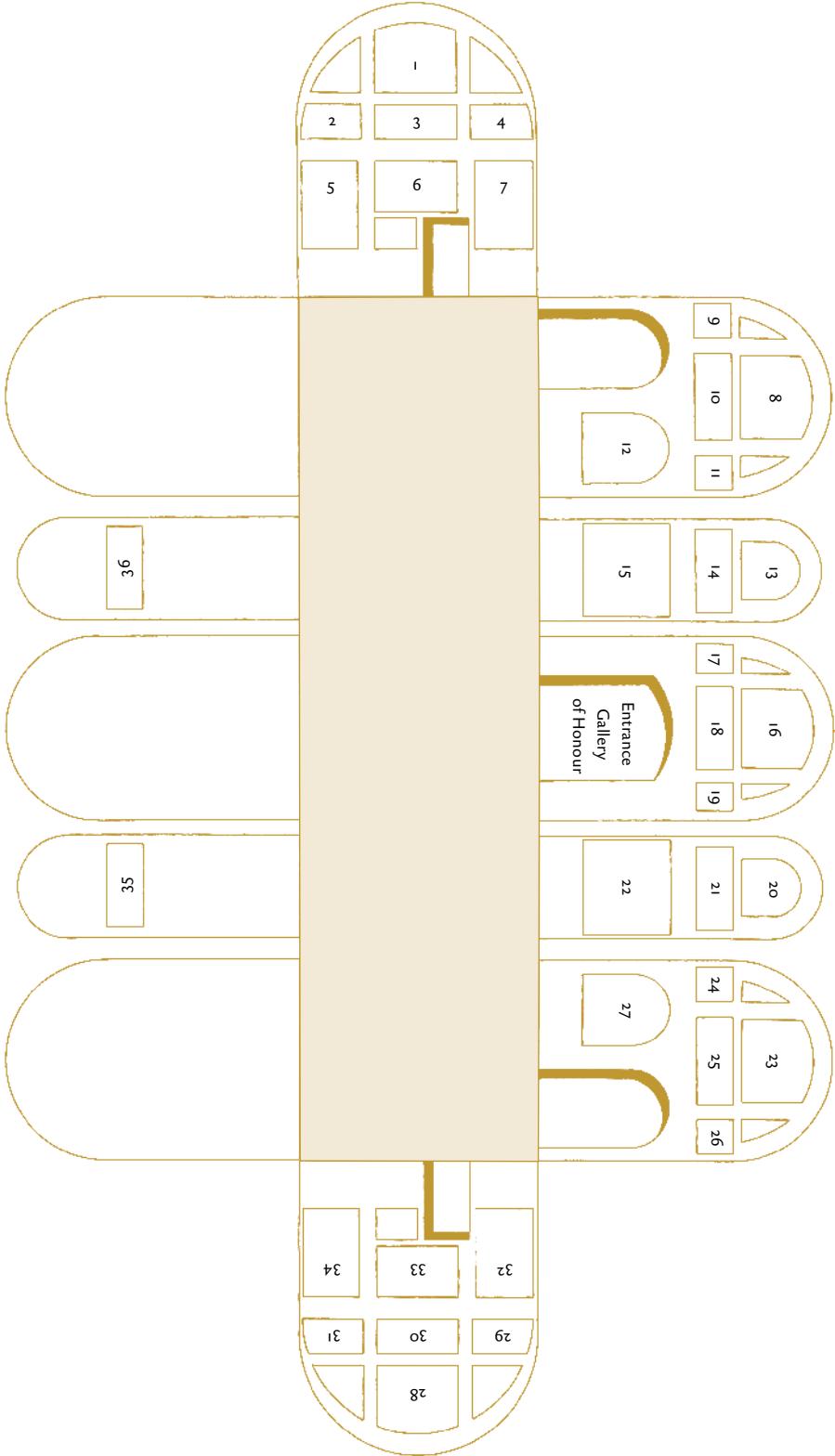
SOUTH WALL, MOST WESTERLY BAY

TOP

Allegory of 'Patriotism' / *'Vaderlandsliefde'* [23].

CENTRE ZONE

Scenes of children representing this virtue [grisailles, 24-26].



BOTTOM

'Claudius Civilis preaching rebellion against the Romans' / '*Claudius Civilis predikt den opstand tegen de Romeinen*' [27].

WEST WALL

TOP

Allegories of 'Mathematics, Astronomy and Mechanics' / '*Wiskunde Sterrenkunde Werktuigkunde*' [28].

CENTRE ZONE

Scenes of children representing these branches of science [grisailles, 29-31].

BOTTOM LEFT TO RIGHT

'Invention of the pendulum clock by Christiaan Huygens', 'Charlemagne and Einhard', 'Hugo de Groot writing his learned works' / '*Uitvinding van den slinger door Christiaan Huygens*', *Karel de Grote en Einhard*, '*Hugo de Groot zijne geleerde werken schrijvende*' [31-34].

TOP OF THE BAYS BETWEEN THE WINDOWS IN THE NORTH WALL

EAST BAY

Children with a bust of Vondel (Literature) [35].

WEST BAY

Children with a bust of Sweelinck (Music) [36].

The medallions contain portraits of the poets David, Homer, Shakespeare, Racine and Goethe, architects Eginhard, Pierre de Montereau and Keldermans, the painters Memling, Raphael and Frans Hals, the sculptors Michelangelo, Luca della Robbia and Quellinus, representatives of applied art Dürer (as a printmaker), the Crabeth Brothers and Jan de Maecht (tapestry weaver), the composers Gregor, Palestrina, Orlando di Lasso, Obrecht, Bach and Wagner, and the bell-founders Johannes van Maastricht, Willem and Jan van Vechel, Geert van Wou, Willem and Jan Moer, Hendrik van Trier and Hemony.

The Paintings in the Gallery of Honour

EAST SIDE

FIRST ARCH FROM THE ENTRANCE HALL

Engraving, with the arms of Friesland and Leeuwarden.

SECOND ARCH FROM THE ENTRANCE HALL

Easel Painting ('Kleinschilderkunst'), with the arms of Overijssel and Zwolle.

THIRD ARCH FROM THE ENTRANCE HALL

Architecture with the arms of the province and city of Utrecht.

FOURTH ARCH FROM THE ENTRANCE HALL

Ceramics, with the arms of South Holland and The Hague.

WEST SIDE

FIRST ARCH FROM THE ENTRANCE HALL

Metalwork with the arms of Limburg and Maastricht.

SECOND ARCH FROM THE ENTRANCE HALL

Sculpture with the arms of North Brabant and Den Bosch.

THIRD ARCH FROM THE ENTRANCE HALL

Furniture Making with the arms of Gelderland and Arnhem.

FOURTH ARCH FROM THE ENTRANCE HALL

Textile Art with the arms of Zeeland and Middelburg.

ABOVE THE PASSAGEWAY TO THE NIGHT WATCH GALLERY

The Patroness of Amsterdam (not replaced due to the poor condition) with the arms of North Holland and Amsterdam.

ABOVE THE PASSAGEWAY TO THE ENTRANCE HALL

Brick Architecture (painting on linoleum not found) with the arms of the province and city of Groningen and (in the centre) of Drenthe.

NOTES

- 1 G. Groot, 'En zo werd het Rijksmuseum weer katholiek', *NRC Handelsblad*, 20 July 2012.
- 2 See J.A.C. Tillema, *Victor de Stuers: Ideeën van een individualist*, Assen 1982, pp. 173-75. De Stuers had been a member of the Lower House since 1901. De Stuers himself had also had something to say about the brightness of the decorations; he was more cautious than Cuypers in this respect. For his role in the building of the Rijksmuseum see J. Perry, *Ons fatsoen als natie: Victor de Stuers 1843-1916*, Nijmegen 2004, pp. 114-19 and 207-15, esp. pp. 209-11 on his criticism of the colours.
- 3 G. van der Ham, *200 jaar Rijksmuseum: Geschiedenis van een nationaal symbool*, Amsterdam/Zwolle 2000, pp. 148-52.
- 4 Ellinoor Bergvelt was kind enough to point this out to us. On Schmidt Degener see G. Luijten, "De veelheid en de eelheid": Een Rijksmuseum Schmidt Degener', in *Het Rijksmuseum: Opstellen over de geschiedenis van een nationale instelling (Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, vol. 35), Weesp 1985, pp. 351-413.
- 5 Some of the paintings were shown in an exhibition about the restoration staged in the Bonnefantenmuseum in Maastricht in 2007-08, but it attracted little attention from the national press. On the restoration see A. van Grevenstein-Kruse, 'The Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam by Pierre Cuypers: A Reconstruction of the Painted Decorations', in *Specialization and Consolidation of the National Museum after 1830: The Neue Museum in Berlin in an International Context*, Berlin 2011 (*Berliner Schriften zur Museumsforschung*, vol. 29), pp. 301-09.
- 6 He first became an 'art-loving' member and in 1894 an 'ordinary' (which meant active, but non-voting) member. He never joined the select band of 'voting' members who ran things in the society. See the relevant annual reports of *Arti et Amicitiae*, which have been published. On *Arti et Amicitiae* and the status of the various levels of membership see J.J. Heij (ed.), *Een vereniging van ernstige kunstenaars: 150 jaar Maatschappij Arti et Amicitiae, 1839-1989*, Amsterdam 1989, esp. pp. 34-35.
- 7 Sturm exhibited at the *Exhibition of Works by Living Artists* in Amsterdam in 1889 (no. 414, *Portrait*) and in 1907 (no. 405, *Panther and Peacock*; no. 406, *Pheasant Hunt*, and no. 407, *Black Grouse*), at the *Municipal International Exhibition of Works of Art by Living Artists* in Amsterdam 1912 (no. 130, *Lovers' Tiff*) and at a number of *Arti et Amicitiae* members' exhibitions. Queen Wilhelmina went to see the spring 1899 members' exhibition with her mother Emma. Afterwards Sturm heard from *Arti* president, Bart van Hove, that 'my painting of a bantam exhibited in *Arti* attracted HM's attention. She said to her mother: "See how beautifully this is painted!" ('mijn in *Arti* tentoongesteld schilderstuk Un spadassin de aandacht [van] H[are]. Maj[esteit]. trok. Die zei tot haar moeder: "Ziet u eens, hoe mooi dit geschilderd is!"). At the *Exhibition of Studies and Sketches* in *Arti* in September 1904 Wilhelmina bought Sturm's study of a black grouse for 200 guilders, and at the members' exhibition in 1907 his painting of *Black Grouse*. See letter dated 15 April 1899 from Sturm to Victor de Stuers, in The Hague, National Archives, Working archive of V.E.L. de Stuers (1843-1916), access no. 2.21.355, inv. no. 321, and information from the Royal House Archives. Sturm was also a member of the artists' association Sint Lucas for a while; he submitted two

- works (no. 231, *Portrait*; and no. 232, *Pheasant*) to a members' exhibition in 1913.
- 8 See A. Venema, *De Bergense school*, Baarn 1976, p. 125.
- 9 See Y. Brentjens, *Piet Zwart, vormingenieur*, The Hague/Zwolle 2008, p. 13.
- 10 J.H.W. Berden in *Jaarverslag 1916-1917 van de Rijkschool voor Kunstnijverheid* (National Archives, Archives of the Ministry of the Interior, Department of Arts and Sciences 1875-1918, access no. 2.04.13, inv. no. 2655). Berden had succeeded De Kruyff as director in 1898.
- 11 Huib Luns, *Holland schildert*, Amsterdam s.a. [1941], p. 208.
- 12 To the best of our knowledge, the only obituary to contain more than a simple notice of his death appeared in in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* of 19 March 1923.
- 13 R. Delvigne, with F. Landzaat, 'Georg Sturm, ontwerper naast Pierre Cuypers', *Teigel* 39 (2011), pp. 25-36.
- 14 A.C. Simone Meijerink, *Georg Sturm en de Rijkschool voor Kunstnijverheid*, Leiden 1992 (unpublished thesis); copy available in the library of the Art History Department at the University of Leiden. We are grateful for the permission to use this thesis; with thanks to Simone Meijerink and to Marjan Groot, who drew our attention to it.
- 15 See W. Kitlitschka, 'Ferdinand Laufberger', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 13, Berlin 1982, pp. 707-08. Laufberger also taught Gustav Klimt.
- 16 On this trip see A.J.C. van Leeuwen, *Pierre Cuypers architect (1827-1921)*, Zwolle 2007, p. 294; and A. Oxenaar, *P.J.H. Cuypers en het gotisch rationalisme*, Rotterdam 2009 (diss. University of Amsterdam), p. 426.
- 17 Oxenaar, op. cit. (note 16), pp. 121 and 315. On Guffens see J. Arras et al., *Godfried Guffens (1823-1901) en het Limburgs historisme*, exh. cat. Hasselt (Stedelijk Museum Hasselt) 2001. Cartoons by Guffens and Swerts were exhibited in Amsterdam in 1861 and enthusiastically reviewed by J.A. Alberdingk Thijm.
- 18 'recht anmutig und auch speziell für kunstgewerbliche Zwecke mannichfach verwertbar.' P. Schönfeld in *Kunstchronik, Beiblatt zur Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 19 (1883-84), p. 41. The same artists, including Sturm, also contributed to the loose-leaf album *Allegorien: Neue Folge*, Vienna 1896.
- 19 Freely translated: 'Tom conceives it, Dick constructs it, Harry condemns it. So what!' On this house see Van Leeuwen, op. cit. (note 16), pp. 126-30; Oxenaar, op. cit. (note 16), p. 374.
- 20 Amsterdam City Archives, aliens register 1889; his address at that time was 3 Ruysdaelkade, but Vienna was given as his place of residence.
- 21 See note 9.
- 22 See note 20.
- 23 With thanks to Bert Gerlagh, who searched for information on Sturm for us in the City Archives. Sturm was never entered in the Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages, but from address books and other sources it appears that he lived at the following addresses in Amsterdam: 3 Ruysdaelkade (1882 until after 1889), 143 Parkweg /116 Willemsparkweg (the same address before and after the renumbering in 1896-97, from before 1896 until 1900), 25 Nicolaas Witsenkade (1900-15) and 42 Jan Luykenstraat (1915-17).
- 24 G.J.A. Hamilton, 'August Falise', in *Biografisch Woordenboek Gelderland*, vol. 9, Hilversum 2012.
- 25 Letter dated 31 May 1883 from Pierre Cuypers to the Minister of the Interior in Rotterdam, Nederlands Architectuurinstituut (Netherlands Architecture Institute, hereafter NAI), Cuypers office files CUBA, copy book 2 of sent letters, and the contract dated 24 March 1884 between Cuypers and Sturm, in NAI, Cuypers Archive RYKS, inv. no. d96. See Delvigne, op. cit. (note 13), pp. 27-28.
- 26 This Oefenschool (the present-day Art College) was built in the garden of the museum in 1890-91, to the southeast of the main building. It was a department of the Rijksnormaalschool voor Teekenonderwijzers (National Training College for Art Teachers) that was also housed in the museum, where the students could get practical experience of teaching art. In the museum collection there is also a trial panel of the design that is mounted above the entrance, which was made by the Rozenburg pottery in The Hague. Cuypers was not satisfied with it, however, and the commission went to De Porceleyne Fles in Delft; see Y. Brentjens, *Rozenburg: Plaatel uit Haagse kringen (1883-1917)*, The Hague /Zwolle 2007, p. 96.
- 27 The process for enamelled lava was a good deal more expensive than tiles. 'This will cost at least f 3,000 more,' wrote Cuypers to De Stuers on 18 May 1886 (The Hague, Working archive of V.E.L. de Stuers (1843-1916), access no. 2.21.355, inv. no. 69).
- 28 'Sectiel' tiles were an invention of De Porceleyne Fles; they were unglazed and the pigment was mixed into the clay, which made them much more weather-resistant.

- They were usually not rectangular; instead they followed the lines of the design, so that a tile panel looked more like a sort of coarse mosaic. See J. Hilkhuijsen, *Delftse Art Nouveau*, Assen/Zwolle 2001, pp. 49-54.
- 29 J. Boomgaard, 'Hang mij op in een sterk licht: Rembrandts licht en de plaatsing van de Nachtwacht in het Rijksmuseum', in *Het Rijksmuseum: Opstellen over de geschiedenis van een nationale instelling*, Weesp 1985 (*Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, vol. 35), pp. 327-49, esp. pp. 336-41.
- 30 P.J.H. Cuypers and V. de Stuers, *Het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam*, Amsterdam s.a. [1896], pp. 34-35.
- 31 For an overview of the paintings in the Entrance Hall see J. Becker, "Ons Rijksmuseum wordt een tempel": zur Ikonographie des Amsterdamer Rijksmuseums', in *Het Rijksmuseum: Opstellen over de geschiedenis van een nationale instelling*, Weesp 1985 (*Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, vol. 35), pp. 227-326, esp. pp. 322-23; and E. Bergvelt, 'The Decoration Programmes of Cuypers' Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam', in *Specialization and Consolidation of the National Museum after 1830: The Neue Museum in Berlin in an International Context*, Berlin 2011 (*Berliner Schriften zur Museumsforschung*, vol. 29), pp. 311-23, esp. pp. 322-23. Descriptions and illustration can also be found in J. Braat et al. (eds.), *Honderd jaar Rijksmuseum 1885-1985*, Weesp 1985, esp. pp. 24-29; K.M. Veenland-Heineman and A.A.E. Vels Heijn, *Het nieuwe Rijksmuseum: Ontwerpen en bouwen 1863-1885*, Amsterdam 1985; J. Kiers and F. Tissink, *Het Rijksmuseum: Van schets tot schatkamer*, Amsterdam 1992; and D.J. Biemond, 'Het Rijksmuseum', in *Nederlandse kunst in het Rijksmuseum 1800-1900*, Amsterdam/Zwolle 2009, pp. 58-64.
- 32 See Meijerink, op. cit. (note 14), p. 62.
- 33 See *Architectura* 14 (1906), no. 4, p. 31.
- 34 De Stuers, op. cit. (note 30), p. 9: 'een buffet ten behoeve der bezoekers, versierd met schilderwerk van den heer G. Sturm'.
- 35 Meijerink, op. cit. (note 14), p. 60.
- 36 Besides those in the Rijksmuseum's collection there are a number in the Cuypershuis Museum in Roermond, in the Cuypers Archive (section CUCO) in the NAI in Rotterdam, in the Amsterdam City Archives and in a private collection.
- 37 See art. 6. of the contract dated 14 October 1893 between Cuypers and Villeroy & Boch: 'At the time of each delivery, the party of the second part [Villeroy] undertake to return undamaged to the party of the first part [Cuypers] the cartoons supplied to them for the execution of the work; in the event of damage they must reimburse the value of the cartoons.' ('De contractanten ter andere [Villeroy] zullen verplicht zijn de hun ter uitvoering overhandigde cartons ongeschonden aan contractant ter eenre [Cuypers] telkens bij iedere aflevering terug te geven, zullende zij ingeval van beschadiging de waarde der cartons moeten vergoeden.') (Rotterdam, NAI, Cuypers Archive RYKS, inv. no. d102.) The cartoons are kept in the NAI, Cuypers Archive CUCO. The cartoons for the west façade are missing.
- 38 Becker, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 227-326, esp. pp. 273-79 and 286-87 on Sturm's work; and B. 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 voorgevel van het Rijksmuseum*, Nijmegen 1997 (diss. Nijmegen); Sturm is mentioned as the maker just twice in this book.
- 39 Bergvelt, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 311-23.
- 40 J. Reynaerts, 'The Wall Paintings in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam: National Art and History', *Museum History Journal* 5 (2012), pp. 245-60.
- 41 Delvigne, op. cit. (note 13), p. 25.
- 42 See Delvigne, op. cit. (note 13), p. 27.
- 43 In the Cuypers Archive (NAI, RYKS) there are a number of surviving preliminary drawings with a grid.
- 44 On the National School's place in decorative arts education see A. Martis, *Voor de Kunst en voor de Nijverheid: Het ontstaan van het kunstnijverheidsonderwijs in Nederland*, Utrecht 1990 (diss. University of Amsterdam), pp. 158-75.
- 45 On Visser see F. Vermeulen (introduction), *J. Visser jr. 1856-1936*, Haarlem 1936, unpag.
- 46 C.T.J.L. Rieber, 'Verslag van de Internationale Koloniale en Uitvoerhandel Tentoonstelling', *Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* 4 (1884), pp. 10-13 and 17-24, the paintings are illustrated in plates iv and v. In L. Gans, *Nieuwe Kunst*, Utrecht 1966, 'Kunst' is fig. 5, used as an example of a historicizing style. For more on this exhibition see I. Montijn, *Kermis van koophandel: De Amsterdamse wereldtentoonstelling van 1883*, Bussum 1983.
- 47 The official opening of the Rijksmuseum took place on 13 July 1885 with a ceremony in the east courtyard. Above the 'Maid of Holland' there was a space for the seascape *Our Pioneers* by Jacob Eduard van Heemskerck van Beest. It had hung in the *International Agriculture Exhibition*, which had been staged in 1884 on the same site

- behind the Rijksmuseum as the world's exhibition the year before.
- 48 On the Central Station see Van Leeuwen, op. cit. (note 16), pp. 156-62; and Oxenaar, op. cit. (note 16), pp. 461-89. For the decorations in particular see W.R.F. van Leeuwen and H. Romers, *Een spoor van verbeelding: 150 jaar monumentale kunst en decoratie aan Nederlandse stationsgebouwen*, Zutphen 1988, pp. 18-27.
- 49 See Delvigne, op. cit. (note 13), pp. 32-33; and also Van Leeuwen and Romers, op. cit. (note 48), pp. 26-27. On Heinen, who also worked as a photographer, see H. Roosenboom and E. Wouthuizen, *G.H. Heinen: Panorama's en stadsgezichten*, Amsterdam 2002.
- 50 There is a 360-degree photograph of the royal waiting room on the Netherlands Railways (ns) website: <http://koninklijkewachtkamers.ns.nl/site/>.
- 51 On Van Lokhorst see P. Rosenberg, *Geschiedenis van het Rijksbouwen: Jacobus van Lokhorst*, The Hague 1987, esp. pp. 41-45 on his state rooms.
- 52 From left to right the subjects are: *Building a Tomb by the Oldest Inhabitants of Drenthe*; *Willehadus Preaches Christianity in Drenthe*; *Charlemagne Conquers the Saxons and Captures Drenthe*; *Emperor Henry II Gives Drenthe to Adalbold, Bishop of Utrecht, with the permission of the People 1024* and *The Representatives of Drenthe Devise the Legislation of Drenthe 1608-1614*. For more on the paintings see A.J.M. den Teuling and K. van der Ploeg, *Van klooster tot museum: De geschiedenis van het gebouwen-complex van het Drents Museum*, Assen 1985; and J.J. Heij, 'De wandschilderingen van Georg Sturm in de Statenzaal van het Drents Museum', *Waardeel* 31 (2011), no. 4, pp. 12-14.
- 53 See the articles by conservator L. Muller in *Drents Museum Journaal* 15 (1999), no. 3, pp. 16-17; and 16 (2000), no. 2, pp. 25-26.
- 54 They show the following subjects on the rear wall from left to right: *Lebuinus Preaches Christianity in Overijssel*; 1368 – *Kampen's Fleet Sails to Support the Hanse Against the King of Denmark*; 1478 – *David of Burgundy Issues his Second Proclamation to Overijssel at Vollenhoven*; 1440 – *Thomas à Kempis Teaches his Imitation of Christ to the Monks of Windesheim* and 1524 – *Charles of Gelderland Captured by the People of Zwolle*. On the left of the entrance wall: 1592 – *Steenwijk Conquered by Prince Maurice*; and right: 1614 – *The Guild of Weavers of St Severus in Oldenzaal*. For more on the paintings see L. Lapoutre (red.), *Van provinciehuis tot bibliotheek*, Zwolle 1986.
- 55 Letter dated 4 June 1898 from Sturm to De Stuers, in The Hague, National Archives, Working archive of V.E.L. de Stuers (1843-1916), access no. 2.21.355, inv. no. 321 (letters from G. Sturm).
- 56 See National Archives The Hague, Working archive of V.E.L. de Stuers (1843-1916), access no. 2.21.355, inv. no. 891 (correspondence about a loan to Sturm).
- 57 See J.D.C. van Dokkum, 'Hoe de Utrechtsche Hoogeschool een universiteitsgebouw kreeg', *Jaarboekje van Oud-Utrecht* 1936, pp. 173-219.
- 58 This ceiling painting surfaced again at a sale in 1992, but the local authority refused to buy it back, arguing that it was not of a sufficiently high artistic standard; for this affair see G. Telgenhof, 'Doek uit Haagse trouwzaal op veiling', *NRC Handelsblad*, 15 April 1992; and J.B. Bedeaux, 'Georg Sturm en het topstukken-beleid van de gemeente Den Haag', *Jong Holland* 8 (1992), no. 2, pp. 4-5.
- 59 Illustrated in *Arti & industriae* 1 (1891), no. 1, plate 2; see M.E. Tiethoff-Splithoff, *Feestelijke geschenken voor de jonge koningin 1898-1913*, Amsterdam 1998, p. 89.
- 60 *Jaarverslag 1897/98 van de Rijkschool voor Kunstnijverheid* (see note 10).
- 61 On the Golden Carriage see T. van Leeuwen and A. Hofman, *De Gouden Koets: Van Amsterdams geschenk tot nationaal symbool*, Zwolle 2010.
- 62 See note 60.
- 63 Sturm was also represented by one of his tile panels in the Dutch entry for this world's fair (no. 475, *Spring*), made in De Distel tile factory, where his former student Bert Nienhuis was chief designer.
- 64 See W.K.F. Zwierzina, *Lijst van penningen vervaardigd in de ateliers der Koninklijke Begeer*, Amsterdam 1919, nos. 352 (plaque of Emma, 1898), 355 (inauguration medal, 1898), 390 (Peace Conference, 1899), 392 (Shooting Match in Loosduinen, 1899), 457 (Tribute to the Ministers Lely and Eland, 1901) and 665 (celebration of the tercentenary of Rembrandt's birth, 1906). The Rijksmuseum has an example of this latter medal in its collection (inv. no. NG-1992-10).
- 65 On this magazine see R. Delvigne, 'Dekorative Vorbilder. Een tijdschrift voor sierkunst rond 1900', *Boekenpost* 2013, no. 124.
- 66 These are the buildings at 84 Sebastianstrasse in Berlin-Kreuzberg and 35 Apostel-Paulus-Strasse in Berlin-Schöneberg.

- See W. Brunner, *Wandbilder der Belle Époque in europäischen Wohn- und Geschäftshäusern*, Berlin 2011, p. 136.
- 67 See P. Schulze, 'Die Webekunst in Krefeld', *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*, vol. 6 (1900), pp. 421-30; p. 427: the firm of Kneusels & Co 'suchte und fand Verbindungen mit namhafte Künstler, die sich der von ihm in Krefeld begründeten Industrie dienstbar machte. Professor Sturm in Amsterdam war wohl der erste. Die von ihm gezeichneten Teppiche, in fast überschwänglicher Blütenfülle und reicher Farbengebung, gaben Veranlassung zu einer Ausstellung derselben im Lichthofe des Königl. Kunstgewerbe Museum in Berlin'.
- 68 See Becker, op. cit. (note 31), p. 314, note 84.
- 69 On the veneration of Cuypers see A. van der Woud, *Waarheid en karakter: Het debat over de bouwkunst 1840-1900*, Rotterdam 1997, pp. 304-17; and A. van der Woud, *Sterrenstof: Honderd jaar mythologie in de Nederlandse architectuur*, Rotterdam 2008, pp. 12-18.
- 70 H.P. Bremmer, *Een inleiding tot het zien van beeldende kunst*, Amsterdam 1906, p. 213. Bremmer also taught art appreciation courses and advised many art collectors; he assisted Helene Kröller-Müller, among others, to create her collection.
- 71 On *Gemeenschapskunst* and the ideas behind it see L. Tibbe, 'Gemeenschapskunst: De samenleving in symbolen', in C. Blotkamp et al., *In het diepst van mijn gedachten...: Symbolisme in Nederland 1890-1930*, exh. cat. Assen/Zwolle (Drents Museum) 2004, pp. 55-73; and L. Tibbe, *R.N. Roland Holst 1868-1928: 'Arbeid en schoonheid vereend'. Opvattingen over gemeenschapskunst*, Amsterdam 1994 (diss. Free University), esp. pp. 76-80.
- 72 A.M. Hammacher, *De levenstijd van Antoon der Kinderen*, Amsterdam 1932, p. 70.
- 73 A.J. Derkinderen, 'De Stuers en de monumentale schilderkunst', in R.P.J. Tutein Nolthenius (ed.), *Het levenswerk van Victor de Stuers, herdacht door zijne vrienden*, Utrecht 1913, pp. 47-58 (quotation on p. 55). It is remarkable that Derkinderen allowed himself to be called a 'friend' of De Stuers, for he knew perfectly well, as he made clear in what he wrote, that his artistic views were diametrically opposed to De Stuers's. He must have realized that this was one reason why he had received so few official commissions after his wall paintings in Den Bosch.
- 74 Before he completed his *Procession*, Derkinderen went to see Puvis in Paris and he also visited the museum in Amiens which has wall paintings by Puvis. See Hammacher, op. cit. (note 72), pp. 47-57. On Puvis see also A. Brown Price, 'Murals in French Museums by Pierre Puvis de Chavannes', *Museum History Journal* 5 (2012), pp. 187-206.
- 75 R.N. Roland Holst, *In en buiten het tij: Nagelaten beschouwingen en herdenkingen*, Amsterdam 1940, pp. 133-37.
- 76 Van der Woud, op. cit. 1997 (note 69), p. 284.