Theory and practice: being in two minds?
Richard Roland Holst as a community artist and the relation between his theories and his practice of stained glass making.

Research master thesis 'Art History of the Low Countries in its European Context'

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Preface

I would like to thank the persons who supported and assisted me during the research that resulted in the present thesis. This includes the staff members of the different libraries and archives who were a great help in guiding me through the large amount of material and providing me with the items I was looking for, and Lieske Tibbe who gave me valuable information on publications I otherwise not would have consulted. I am grateful to my family and friends for their support, especially to those who, as non-art historians, dared to start a conversation about my research. These conversations encouraged me to think about my work from a different perspective and gave me new insights. Furthermore, I would like to thank Sandra Kisters for her accurate and helpful supervision and Annemieke Hoogenboom for being second reader.

Introduction

The present research master thesis centres on the writings and works of the Dutch artist Richard Nicolaüs Roland Holst (1868-1938). The choice of this topic follows from an earlier encounter with the name of Roland Holst in Dublin, where I have been working on the Irish stained glass workshop *An Túr Gloine* during an internship at the National Gallery of Ireland. While writing a biography of Evie Hone (1894-1955), one of the artists involved in the workshop, I came across a document that mentioned Roland Holst as one of her teachers. This attracted my attention because I was interested in artistic relations between the Netherlands and Ireland. The search for more information on the interaction between Hone and Roland Holst nevertheless reached a dead end quite soon. I found a number of small articles where Roland Holst was described as Hone's teacher, an admirer of her work or the person who encouraged her to start working in stained glass, but none of the writers gave detailed information on the relationship between the Dutch and the Irish artist. The only document that proves that there was an association between Hone and Dutch stained glass was an article on Dutch and French stained glass, written by Hone.[1] The link between Roland Holst and Ireland only was a literary one. His nephew, the poet Adriaan Roland Holst (1888-1976), was an admirer of the poetry of the Irish poet W.B. Yeats (1865-1939). He introduced his uncle to Yeats's work. Roland Holst and his wife Henriette Roland Holst-van der Schalk (1869-1952) shared Adriaan's admiration.[2]

The research concerning the relations between Roland Holst and Hone might have led to nowhere, the stained glass windows by Roland Holst however turned out to be an interesting topic for my thesis. And not only the windows themselves, the other works by Roland Holst and his theories concerning monumental art raised my interest as well. Comparing artistic theories, written by an artist, to his actual work mostly turns out to be a fascinating and rewarding subject. His association with community art seemed to be related to my previous research as well. At the end of the nineteenth century the ideas of the English Arts and Crafts Movement were widely followed across Europe. Since *An Túr Gloine* was described as an Arts and Crafts Movement workshop in literature, I studied the ideas of the movement. One of these ideas was the artistic involvement in the production of applied arts. Arts and crafts were considered to be equals. This was reflected in community art that strived for a total work of art where arts and crafts would collaborate in an architectural context. Both architecture, art and applied arts served the same purpose and therefore were equivalent to one another. My first assumption thus was that there was a relationship between the introduction of the

[1] This article was published in the summer edition of *Art Notes* in 1940, as appears from an article with the same name, which was published in *The Catholic Herald*, 31 May 1940. It is not indicated whether Hone had discussed old or contemporary Dutch windows.
<http://archive.catholicherald.co.uk/article/31st-may-1940/5/art-notes> 25 June 2013.

[2] R. Supheert, *Yeats in Nederland. The reception of the work of W.B. Yeats in the Netherlands before World War Two*, Amsterdam 1995, 174-179.

ideas of the English Arts and Crafts Movement in the Netherlands and the development of the community art. It turned out that there was a relation between the Arts and Crafts Movement and Roland Holst himself. Roland Holst was an admirer of the work of William Morris, a front man of the movement, and he had met him during his stay in England in 1894. This meeting however was very short. More impact had his introduction to the book illustrators Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon, who introduced him to print making and the practice of book typography.

Over the years, much had been written about Roland Holst, his art and writings and especially his relation with community art. In 1994 Lieske Tibbe obtained her doctoral degree with a thesis on Roland Holst and community art. Her dissertation, which was published in the same year, was thoroughgoing and covers many aspects of Roland Holst's life and thus was an important guide for my research.[3] Due to the large amount of publications concerning Roland Holst, I had to approach the topic from a different angle so that it would be relevant to reassess it. By reading up on the literature, I noticed that several questions were raised and left unanswered. One of them was Roland Holst's role as community art theoretic. Several publications positioned him as a key figure of monumental art, but it did not become clear what made him so important.[4] It was suggested that this was due to the number of publications written by him that were concerned with monumental art. Due to his role as headmaster of the Amsterdam Rijksacademie he could have an influence on the artistic world by educating his students in monumental art. Since Roland Holst was headmaster of the academy between 1926 and 1933 and the ideas of community art mainly flourished around 1900, I concluded that his position as a key figure must have been related to with his writings. Since most of the writers used a topical approach to discuss Roland Holst's writings, it however was not clear what Roland Holst's theories exactly consisted of and how they were developed.

Research questions and method

I thus narrowed the scope of my thesis down to one research question: **What was the role of the artist and theoretic Richard Nicolaüs Roland Holst (1868-1938) in the Dutch artistic climate around 1900, what was his relation with community art and how can this be illustrated with his stained glass projects?** To answer this question, I have formulated five sub-questions, each of them relating to different aspects of Roland Holst's personal artistic development and his reaction to social and artistic changes. The first question is concerned with the changes that took place in Amsterdam between 1880 and 1900: *What did the artistic climate in the Netherlands at the end of the nineteenth*

[3] E.T. Tibbe, *Arbeid en schoonheid vereend. Opvattingen over gemeenschapskunst*, Amsterdam 1994.

[4] See for instance:
C. Boot and M. van der Heijden, 'Gemeenschapskunst', in: C. Blotkamps, C. Boot, M.H. Cornips and others, *Kusntenaren der idee. Symbolistische tendenzen in Nederland, ca. 1880-1930*, Den Haag 1978, p. 39.
Tibbe 1994 (see note…), for instance p. 10.
J. Bank and M. van Buuren, *1900. The age of the bourgeois culture*, Assen 2004, p. 154.

century look like and what was Roland Holst's position therein? The second question focuses on different artistic styles and theories that were introduced in the Netherlands and they influenced Roland Holst's work: *What kind of theories did influence Roland Holst in his development from impressionist to symbolist artist, and in his publications from critic to theoretic?* The third question is related to Roland Holst's writings as well, but centres on the aspect of community art: *How did Roland Holst become acquainted with 'gemeenschapskunst'? Why is he regarded to be one of the most influential supporters and theorists of community art?* Another topic that is related to both Roland Holst's writings and community art is the influence of the Arts and Crafts Movement, which is linked to the fourth question: *How were the ideas of the English Arts and Crafts movement introduced and received in the Netherlands, how was this related to community art and what was Roland Holst's role herein?* The last question focuses on monumental artworks made by Roland Holst: *How do Roland Holst's stained glass windows relate to his art theories and how can they be positioned in his oeuvre? What was the role of the windows in his personal artistic development?*

In order to answer these questions, I did literature and archival research. As already indicated before, the literature on Roland Holst is extensive. Next to Tibbe's dissertation there are many primary sources, including Roland Holst's articles, his biography written by his wife Henriette Roland Holst[5], and the letters written by Roland Holst, which are collected in several archives. For my research, Roland Holst's articles were the most important source. Some of them were republished in anthologies that appeared in 1923, 1928 and posthumously in 1940.[6] For the discussion of *De Nieuwe Gids* and *De Kroniek* and the artists related to it I used the actual periodicals and the correspondence of Albert Verwey, which appeared in print in 1959.[7]

Interestingly, there is relatively few information on Roland Holst´s stained glass projects. I therefore have not been able to discuss these as elaborately as I had hoped. I chose to focus on two stained glass window cycles: the windows made for the Amsterdam Lyceum between 1920 and 1927 and the ones for the Domkerk in Utrecht executed between 1926 and 1936. Not only were those cycles the most well-documented, they also contain Roland Holst's first and last window, so his personal development as a stained glass artist could be discussed by means of these projects. Furthermore, the Amsterdam windows could serve as an example of the windows that Roland Holst made for Amsterdam School

[5] H. Roland Holst-van der Schalk, *Kinderjaren en jeugd van R.N. Roland Holst*, Zeist 1940.

[6] R.N. Roland Holst, *Over kunst en kunstenaars. Beschouwingen en herdenkingen*. Amsterdam 1923.
R.N. Roland Holst, *Over kunst en kunstenaars. Beschouwingen en herdenkingen. Nieuwe bundel*, Amsterdam 1928.
R.N. Roland Holst, *In en buiten het tij. Nagelaten beschouwingen en herdenkingen*, Amsterdam 1940.
This anthology was compiled by A.M. Hammacher.

[7] M. Nijland-Verwey (ed.), *Kunstenaarslevens. De briefwisseling van Albert Verwey met Alphons Diepenbrock, Herman Gorter, R. N. Roland Holst, Henriette van der Schalk en J. Th. Toorop*, Assen 1959.

buildings. The windows for the Domkerk were his only contributions to a building that was constructed in a different era.

I wished to find out how Roland Holst learned about the practice of stained glass making and his role in the production process in order to be able link him with the Arts and Crafts Movement. I presumed that he took an active role in the making of the windows like his predecessor Antoon Derkinderen did. To ascertain this, I studied his letters to Willem Bogtman (1882-1955), who was responsible for the execution of Roland Holst's design. Those letters are a part of the Bogtman archive in the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam. As far as I know, this topic has not been reassessed before. For the study of the introduction of monumental art and stained glass painting to the curriculum of the Amsterdam Rijksacademie during the directorate of Antoon Derkinderen and Roland Holst, I used Derkinderen's personal notes on his lectures. They are kept in the archives of the Rijksacademie in the Noord Hollands Archief in Haarlem. I also performed a small comparative style research and read into the methods of stained glass making and the history of stained glass making in Europe and the Netherlands, a research I already started during my internship in Dublin. The standard work of Dutch stained glass, edited by Carine Hoogveld, thereby was a good referential source.[8]

In this thesis, the emerging labour movement and the impact of socialism on artists and writers will be discussed too. Roland Holst made several murals with a socialistic subject matter, inspired by the writings of his wife, who had a leading function in the socialistic party the SDAP. In his writings, Roland Holst elaborated on the social function of community art buildings. The present research therefore has a relation with social history as well.

So to summarise the goals of my thesis: I wished to find out what Roland Holst's position in the debate on community art was and what made him such an influential theoretic. I also wished to establish a link between his theories and artworks, in order to see whether or not he put his own theoretics into practice. Furthermore, it was not mentioned how Roland Holst gained practical knowledge of the making of murals and stained glass, since his training as a painter did not provide him with these skills, so another goal was to see how to paint on windows and to make stained glass. To conclude with, my final consideration was to what extent Roland Holst can be regarded as an Arts and Crafts artist, based on his writings and his works.

Relevance of the topic

The period under discussion in this thesis is the threshold of two centuries. The topic therefore is related to both the nineteenth and the twentieth century. In the current research on this period two aspects are of importance. The first is collaboration; for instance between artists, art dealers, commissioners and critics. The debate furthermore has an international character since researchers focus on artistic interchange in Europe, and similarities and differences in the reception of new artistic

[8] C. Hoogveld (red.), *Glas in lood in Nederland. 1817-1868*, Zeist/Den Haag 1989.

styles in different countries. The present research overlaps with both the subjects. In this thesis I focus on the artistic climate in Amsterdam because the idea of community art was conceived there. Roland Holst was born there and he remained closely related to the city, although he had been living in several other places during his life. The artistic climate at the end of the nineteenth century was characterised by a collaboration between artists on different levels. In 1885 the periodical *De Nieuwe Gids* was established. The journal provided room for debate on topics relating literature, art and politics. Men of literature, artists, composers, writers and socialists contributed to *De Nieuwe Gids*. They were driven by the desire to bring about an artistic change in literature and art. They often knew one another in person and they continued their discussions in correspondences and during visits. They propagated individualism in art, but strived for collaboration between artists, writers and musicians. The wish for cooperation resulted in the development of the community art idea that wished to establish buildings with a public function where monumental art and crafts would work together to serve a socialistic purpose.

Dutch artist were internationally orientated and they kept themselves informed with the artistic changes that took place in France and Belgium by reading periodicals that were published in those countries and by visiting exhibitions. In the 1880s the artists focussed on the changes in Belgium, while in the 1890s a lively artistic interchange between France and the Netherlands came into being. Roland Holst himself had a vast social and artistic network, which was profitable for the establishment of his commissions for monumental artworks. During his life he visited France, England and Italy to study medieval stained glass, Egyptian art and applied arts, and medieval Tuscan art. He corresponded with the English book designer Charles Ricketts, whom he had met during his stay in England until the latter's death in 1931.

The relevance of the present research is contained in the approach to the topic. Most of the publications on Roland Holst's theories were discussed by relating them to different subjects. By discussing Roland Holst's publications on community art in chronological order, and by relating them with his art and the contemporary artistic and social developments, I gained new insights concerning the development of his theories. Based on the outcomes, I could nuance and revalidate Roland Holst's role as a key figure in the development of the community art idea.

Structure

The thesis is divided in four chapters, which generally follow the research questions that are introduced before. The first chapter thus centres on the developments that took place in the artistic climate in Amsterdam at the end of the nineteenth century. Amsterdam had been growing rapidly during the second half of the century. The social climate in the city was characterised by optimism. The bourgeoisie profited from the economic growth and became wealthy. At the beginning of the 1880s young members of the bourgeoisie started to criticise the manner of living of the middle-class

and became concerned with the bad conditions of the working class. They met in several establishments in Amsterdam where they discussed artistic and socialistic issues. From this gatherings came a group that wished to bring about a change in the literature of their age. They established the periodical *De Nieuwe Gids* that served as a medium to voice their ideas. They advocated individualism in literature and art. Some members of the Eighties Movement, as the group is often called, became more and more concerned with socialism. Their wish was no longer to produce independent art, but to serve society. This eventually lead to the development of community art, an artistic ideal that strived for a unity of the arts within an architectural context. These developments have a central position within chapter 1.

The way in which Roland Holst related to this changes will be discussed in chapter 2. This chapter also covers the period between 1880 and 1900, but the focus will be on Roland Holst's artistic development and how he responded to influences from France and England and the growing labour movement. Topics that are under discussion in this chapter are Roland Holst's artistic training at the Rijksacademie voor de Beeldende Kunsten (National Academy for the Visual Arts) in Amsterdam, his first introduction to community art and his role as an art critic. The development of Roland Holst's personal style was closely related to symbolism and socialism, two movements that became apparent between 1880 and 1900. The influence of these developments on Roland Holst's art will be illustrated with some of his artworks, but the main focus will be on his writings.

The next chapter complies with the third subquestion and examines Roland Holst's theories on community art. Between 1900 and 1910 he had been working on several community art projects as a mural painter. He had already been introduced to community art in 1892 and although he had expressed his interest in the concept, he became more concerned with symbolism. His experience with the practice of community art, which he gained by making his wall paintings, made him return to his earlier observations. From 1909 onwards his writings became more and more concerned with community art. In the third chapter the main focus will be on Roland Holst's writings. It will be examined how his theories of community art were developed and how they were related to the opinions of other monumental artists.

The discussion of the Arts and Crafts Movement is not restricted to one chapter in general, because the influence becomes apparent in different aspects that are discussed in this thesis. The topic of the Arts and Crafts Movement, which relates to the fourth subquestion, will therefore be a theme that returns in several chapters.

The fifth and last chapter centres on the stained glass revival in the Netherlands. The discussion of Roland Holst's stained glass windows is also included in this chapter, in accordance with the fifth subquestion. He received his first commission for a cycle of stained glass windows in 1920. Together with his friend the monumental artist Antoon Derkinderen (1859-1925) he strived for the introduction of monumental art to the curriculum of the Rijksacademie. He became professor of monumental

composition in 1918 and he succeeded Derkinderen as headmaster after the latter died in 1925. Under Roland Holst's supervision, a department for monumental art was opened that flourished due to his commitment.

The illustrations are included in an appendix, after the conclusion.

Chapter 1.
The artistic climate in Amsterdam, 1880-1900

The social climate during the second half of the nineteenth century in the Netherlands was characterised by changing economic and social circumstances. After years of stagnation, the economy had reached a low point in 1850. Where in surrounding countries the economy expanded because of the industrial revolution, the Netherlands remained an underdeveloped region. Due to the traditionalist character of the then society, renewals were only carried out on a small scale. Cities became dilapidated and the conditions of the working class were miserable.[9] From 1850 onwards the situation changed. The economic growth of hinterland Germany stimulated the expansion of the Rotterdam port. Germany also became a large customer of agricultural products. Another impetus was the investment in products of the Dutch East Indies.[10] As a result of the improving economical circumstances, the rail network expanded, as well as the construction of new water ways.[11] Especially Amsterdam prospered by the growing wealth. The city grew rapidly, which stimulated the building industry. The growth of the Rotterdam docks, the flourishing diamond trade and the construction of the Noordzee channel, boosted the development of the Amsterdam harbour. Although the city was confronted with an economic crisis at the end of the 1870s, the town council decided to keep stimulating the economy by developing prestigious building projects, like city expansion and dock works.[12] In Amsterdam an optimistic social climate prevailed as a result of the development of the city. It was in this climate that young critical artists came together and founded societies that became influential in the artistic climate at the end of the nineteenth century.[13]

The Eighties Movement

The Hague had been an important centre of art from the 1860s onwards, where the Haagse School (Hague School) with painters like Hendrik Willem Mesdag (1831-1915), Anton Mauve (1838-1888) and Jozef Israëls (1824-1911) moved away from the academic tradition of idealising nature by working in a more naturalistic style influenced by the Barbizon group and French impressionism.[14] The Hague remained an important artistic centre throughout the nineteenth century, but was joined by Amsterdam in the 1880s. Amsterdam distinguished itself from The Hague by its progressive character.

[9] G. Mak, 'Nederland rond 1885. Stilstaand water in beweging', *De mythe van de Nieuwe Gids*, supplement to *Trouw* 12 November 1985, pp. 9-10.
[10] Idem, p. 10.
[11] Idem, pp. 10-11.
[12] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 18-19.
[13] Idem, pp. 18-21.
[14] R. Bionda and C. Blotkamp, 'Inleiding', in: R. Bionda and C. Blotkamp, *De schilders van Tachtig. Nederlandse schilderkunst 1880-1895*, Zwolle 1994, pp. 12-13.

Groups of young idealists met in different establishment to discuss politics, social issues and arts. Their wish was to bring a reform in the liberal politics and the art world and to change social inequality.[15]

Several societies were formed by young men who frequently visited those gatherings. In 1881 the Letterkundige Vereeniging (literary society) Flanor was established after the idea of the journalist Frank van der Goes (1859-1939). He invited other men who were interested in literature to join him. The goal of Flanor was to accomplish a collaboration between those who were interested in literature, as was stated in the minutes of the first meeting.[16] During assemblies, members lectured on different aspects of literature and they read poetry and prose written by themselves.[17] Some of the members expressed the wish to publish a periodical in which their work could be printed. They felt that their writings were different from those of their contemporaries and that they needed their own journal where they could freely publish their renewing work. This topic was discussed during several meetings, but in the end it was decided that Flanor would not issue a periodical, among other things because the society did not have well-defined basic principles. The editors of other periodicals were interested in publishing writings of the members so there were opportunities for them to introduce their work to a larger public.[18] The wish for a new journal however remained apparent among some Flanor members, so they strived to establish it outside the society. This resulted in the foundation of *De Nieuwe Gids*, edited by van der Goes, Frederik van Eeden (1860-1932), Willem Kloos (1859-1938), Willem Paap (1856-1923) and Albert Verwey (1865-1937). The first issue of the journal was published in October 1885.[19]

The title of the new periodical was derived from an older one, *De Gids* (The Journal). This journal had also originated from a group of young writers who wanted to establish a literary change. The members of *De Nieuwe Gids* (The New Journal) regarded the endeavours of their predecessors to be no longer renewing and they argued that it was up to them to establish a new course, hence the name *De Nieuwe Gids*.[20] The literature of their age, which they reacted against, was characterised by the often moralistic writings that were concerned with the life of the middle class, made by and meant for members of the bourgeoisie.[21] Writers who published in *De Nieuwe Gids* no longer stood for collectivity, but they

[15] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 17-19.
[16] G.H. 's Gravesande, *De geschiedenis van de Nieuwe Gids*, Arnhem 1956, p. 6.
[17] Idem, pp. 6-7.
[18] Idem, pp. 8-9.
[19] Idem, pp. 15.
[20] Van der Goes, *De Nieuwe Gids Prospectus*, 1885. The text was appears in:
's Gravesande 1956 (see note 16), pp. 61-62.
The prospectus was distributed in August 1885.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 41.
[21] B. Luger, 'De mythe van Tachtig', *De mythe van De Nieuwe Gids*, supplement to *Trouw* 12 November 1985, p.7.

advocated individual expressions.[22] The periodical would contribute to a renewal of literature. It met with the desire for collaboration between men of literature, scientists and artists who were dedicated to bringing a change in the artistic and political climate. Entries in *De Nieuwe Gids* would therefore not only focus on literature, but also on science, art and philosophy. Next to these topics, room would be provided for the discussion of internal and foreign politics and social issues.[23] Summarising, it can be said that the new periodical served two purposes: to introduce the literary, artistic an political ideas of the young writers and to distribute their writings.[24]

The group of artists related to *De Nieuwe Gids* were called the Tachtigers (the Eighties Movement) after the decennium that marked the emergence and flourishing of the periodical.[25] Among the members of *De Nieuwe Gids* were writers, artists, musicians, connoisseurs and critics. The use of the term art was in this context not restricted to the visual arts, but referred to the arts in general.[26] Individualism was the main characteristic of literature and art produced by members of the Eighties Movement. According to Kloos, art was 'the most individual expression of the most individual emotion'.[27] Individualism was also a feature of impressionistic art of the artistic avant-garde that emerged more or less simultaneously with *De Nieuwe Gids*. As stated before, not only men of literature were connected to the periodical, artists and musicians contributed as well. They reacted against the bourgeois principles and their ideas of morality and aesthetics. In accordance with the *l'art pour l'art principle* they believed that art should serve no other purpose than itself.[28]

Although the works of artists from the Eighties Movement were characterised by individualism, collaboration between the arts was pursued as well. They often knew one another in person and carried on lively correspondences in which both collective ideals and personal matters were discussed. Albert Verwey for instance exchanged letters with the musician Alphons Diepenbrock (1862-1921), the poets Herman Gorter (1864-1927) and Henriette van der Schalk (1869-1952) and the artists Jan Toorop

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[22] Idem, p. 7.
G.J. van Bork, D. Delabastita, H. van Gorp and others, *Algemeen letterkundig lexicon*, 2012, online publication, <http://www.dbnl.org/titels/titel.php?id=dela012alge01> 15 June 2013, entries 'Tachtigers' and 'realisme-1'.

[23] Van der Goes 1885 (see note 20).
's Gravesande 1956 (see note 16), pp. 61-62.

[24] C. Blotkamp, 'Kunstenaars als critici. Kunstkritiek in Nederland, 1880-1895,' Bionda and Blotkamp 1994 (see note 14), p. 75.

[25] In the publication *1900. The age of the bourgeois culture*, the term Eighties Movement is used as an English equivalent of Tachtigers. It is also used in the Het Geheugen van Nederland (The Memory of the Netherlands). <http://www.geheugenvannederland.nl/?/en/collecties/willem_witsen> 15 June 2013.
The term Men of the Eighties appears in the Encyclopaedia Britannica.
<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/374613/Men-of-the-Eighties> 15 June 2013.
Bank and van Buuren 2004 (see note 4), pp. 139.

[26] Idem.

[27] W. Kloos, 'Herman Gorter. Verzen. Amsterdam 1890', in: W. Kloos, *Nieuwere literatuur-geschiedenis*, volume 2, Amsterdam 1904, p. 161.

[28] Van Bork 2012 (see note 22), entry 'L'art pour l'art'.

(1858-1928) and Roland Holst.[29] A collaboration between artists was for instance accomplished with the performance *De Joden* (The Jews), which was staged in the Pulchri Studio in The Hague in April 1892. *De Joden* consisted of a cycle of poems written by Verwey about five biblical scenes from the Old Testament. The verses were accompanied by tableaux-vivants that were designed and directed by the The Hague painter Marius Bauer who worked with oriental subject matter.[30] Verwey recited the verses himself.[31] He had asked Diepenbrock to compose music for the performance. Diepenbrock had already expressed his interest in this task, but since Verwey asked Diepenbrock to compose music only a few weeks before the show, it was staged without music.[32] Two performances were planned, and due to great public interest a third show was added. The show received both positive and negative responses. Especially the Pulchri members reacted in a negative way. Verwey himself described the performance as an invasion of *De Nieuwe Gids* in a *De Gids* stronghold. Members of the Pulchri Studio were a dignified and respectable company that could not appreciate the novelties of the young Amsterdam innovators.[33] From this performance appeared that the artistic climate in The Hague differed from that in Amsterdam, but that there were artistic connections between the two cities.[34]

The artists of the Eighties Movement

The artists that were involved in the Eighties Movement presented themselves in *De Nieuwe Gids* as well. They recognised the importance of the painters of the Hague School, but they differed from them in their choice of subject matter and style. The Amsterdam impressionists were strongly influenced by two painters from The Hague: George Hendrik Breitner (1857-1923) and Isaac Israëls (1865-1934), the latter being a son of Jozef Israëls. They both left the Hague for Amsterdam in the early 1880s.[35] As members of the artistic generation succeeding the Haagse School painters they followed the impressionistic style of their predecessors, but they focussed on painting city life rather than nature.[36] They were inspired by the work of French artists like Édouard Manet (1832-1883) and writers like Émile Zola (1840-1902). The works of Breitner and Israëls were widely admired and followed by Amsterdam artists. Breitner was a loge student at the Amsterdam Rijksacademie voor de Beeldende Kunsten (National Academy for the Visual Arts) in 1885.[37] His style influenced the other students,

[29] These correspondences were published in Nijland-Verwey 1959 (see note 7).
[30] Idem, pp. 18-21.
[31] Idem, p. 20.
[32] Letter A. Verwey to A. Diepenbrock, [15 March 1892], idem, p. 32.
[33] Letter A. Verwey to C. Verwey, [8 April 1892], idem, p. 34.
[34] Idem, pp. 18-21.
[35] R. Bionda and C. Blotkamp, 'Inleiding', in: R. Bionda and C. Blotkamp (red.), *De schilders van Tachtig*, Zwolle 1994, pp. 12-13.
[36] Idem, p. 14.
[37] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 21.

who considered the education at the Rijksacademie to be too traditional. Impressionism gave them the possibility to follow their own perceptions, which granted them the artistic freedom they wished for.[38]
The art of artists related to the Eighties Movement can be described with the term individualistic as well. The painter Willem Witsen (1860-1923) wrote in *De Nieuwe Gids* that an artist should not work for his own honour and profit nor serve society by living up to what was expected of him. He was superior to others because of his talents, which allowed him to paint just for the art itself, in accordance with the *l'art pour l'art* principle. He should not use his skills to please commissioners but to teach the onlookers how art could enrich their life.[39] Jan Veth (1864-1925) declared that an artist's perceived reality in a special way. When he painted his observations, he gave an account of his personality which made his works unique.[40] The results were impressionistic paintings with a strong individualistic character that were an account of the artist's perception of one moment in time. The paintings of Breitner and Israëls were characterised by loose brush strokes and unusual cuttings of the scene. While the artists from The Hague mainly depicted aspects of city life, the Amsterdam artists focussed on a wider range of subjects, from portrayals of the city itself to socially engaged paintings of members of the working class.[41]
A source of inspiration that was reassessed by Amsterdam painters was country life. Where painters of the Hague School had painted landscapes, Breitner and Israëls mainly focussed on city life. Due to the improvement of infrastructure between 1860 and 1880 the rural areas were no longer closed off from the city.[42] Many artists went to work on the countryside, including students of the Amsterdam Rijksacademie.[43] Not only nature but also the traditions of the country people were important sources of inspiration.[44] There was no uniform style among Amsterdam artists, but they were united by a common goal that was striving for artistic freedom and taking their own experiences as a starting point.[45]

[38] Roland Holst-van der Schalk 1940 (see note 5), p. 60.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 21.
Bionda and Blotkamp 1994 (see note 35), p. 14.
J. Reynaerts, 'Van atelier naar academie. Schilders in opleiding 1850-1900', in: Blotkamp and Bionda 1994 (see note 14), p. 89.
[39] W.J.v.W. (Willem Witsen), 'Een boek over kunst', *De Nieuwe Gids* 1 (1885-1886) no. 2, pp. 463-464.
[40] G.H.C. Stemming (Jan Veth), 'Tentoonstelling-Vereschagin in Arti', *De Amsterdammer* 3 March 1887.
[41] Bionda and Blotkamp 1994 (see note 35), pp. 17-18.
[42] Mak 1985 (see note 9), p. 13.
[43] See also chapter 2, p. 27.
[44] See for a study of the tradition of painting at the country side:
S. de Bodt, *Schildersdorpen in Nederland*, Laren 2004.
[45] Bionda and Blotkamp 1994 (see note 35), p. 17.

The goal of *De Nieuwe Gids* was not only to promote new literary ideas, but also to establish a new form of critique on the field of both literature and art.[46] Kloos, Verwey, van Eeden and Lodewijk van Deyssel (pseudonym for K.J.L. Alberdingk Thijm, 1864-1952) were responsible for literature critiques, while the painter Jan Veth focused on art. He was assisted by Witsen and Maurits van der Valk (1857-1935). Criticism was an important tool in the strive for the elevation of literature and arts. The critics of *De Nieuwe Gids* assumed that the contributors to established periodicals like *De Gids* were not capable of writing good critiques since they had no practical knowledge of the arts they were writing about.[47] According to them, it took a writer to write on literature and an artist to criticise art. Next to disapproving contemporary art criticism they tried to establish a new form of writing art critiques. Their criticism was not derived from theories or aesthetics. They argued that such systems did not underlie their works or the art that they criticised, because they could undermine artistic creativity. The basis of their critiques was to judge the feelings and impressions that the artist experienced and how they were reflected in his work of art. Only an artist was able to recognise these experiences and write about it.[48] Veth's critiques were remarkable because he mainly wrote for an inner circle of art connoisseurs. His publications in *De Nieuwe Gids* were accounts of personal experiences written in lyrical prose. In these articles the text itself was more important than the analysis of the work.[49] Witsen and Van der Valk on the other hand aimed at analysing works of art and making them comprehensible for the general public.[50]

De Nieuwe Gids had originated from a group of young men who wanted to establish a change in the cultural climate of their age. Although they started with a common goal, conflicts concerning the purpose of these changes and the role of the artists therein were already apparent at the beginning of the 1890s. Over the years, an increasing number of articles concerning socialism had been published. Van der Goes and Pieter Lodewijk Tak (1848-1907), who had succeeded Verwey as editor in 1890, became more and more concerned with socialism, while other members of the editorial board still supported individualism.[51] Artists who advocated socialism believed that individualism had passed its peak and that art now should serve society. Divergence of views between members of the editorial

[46] Van der Goes 1885 (see note 20).

[47] See for instance: J. Staphorst (Jan Veth), 'Tentoonstelling der Hollandsche Teekenmaatschappij. Iets over Alma Tadema,' *De Nieuwe Gids* 2 (1886-1887) vol. 1, pp. 91-92.
Blotkamp 1994 (aee note 24), pp. 75-76.

[48] Idem.

[49] See for instance:
J. Staphorst (J. Veth), 'Tentoonstelling van de "Société des Vingts" in het Panorama te Amsterdam', *De Nieuwe Gids* 4 (1888-1889) vol. 2, p. 309-312.

[50] See for instance:
Blotkamp 1994 (see note 24), pp. 78-80.

[51] 's Gravesande 1956 (see note 16), p. 349.

board eventually lead to a break in 1894. *De Nieuwe Gids* was continued by Kloos, but its heyday was over.[52]

'Gemeenschapskunst'

An important turning point for Dutch art that played an important role in the downfall of *De Nieuwe Gids* as well, was the cycle of wall paintings of Antoon Derkinderen that he had made for the town hall of Den Bosch between 1889 and 1891. The subject of the cycle was the foundation of Den Bosch.[53] The paintings differed completely from the widely admired impressionistic style that many artists followed during these days. Derkinderen did not paint realistic figures, but portrayed the protagonists two-dimensionally and placed them in an abstracted environment, which gave them an allegoric character (fig. 1).[54] It was not for the first time that Derkinderen painted in this style. In 1889 he had finished the mural *Processie van het heilige Sacrament van Mirakel* (Procession of the Miracle of the Host) for the Amsterdam Begijnhof church. The church rejected the painting because it was too abstract. Derkinderen's paintings was no mural in the strict sense of the word, since it was painted on canvasses that were applied to the wall after they were finished. Before their installation they were exhibited at the art gallery of the Panorama building in Amsterdam.[55] Jan Veth, who knew Derkinderen from their student years at the Amsterdam Rijksacademie, criticised it in *De Nieuwe Gids*. He considered it to be an isolated event that would not be imitated by impressionistic artists.[56]

It was only three years later that Derkinderen's paintings for the Den Bosch town hall received a completely different kind of critique by Veth. This was probably due to the fact that the *Processie* painting was meant for a church and therefore would not play a role in the public art scene.[57] The Den Bosch paintings on the other hand were made for a public building and centred on a historic event rather than a religious one. Religiosity was however apparent in the paintings, since according to legend several saints played a role in of the foundation of the city.[58]

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[52] Idem, p. 433.

[53] M. Trappeniers, 'De Eerste Bossche Wand. Een tekening door Antoon Derkinderen', *Bossche bladen* 12 (2004) no. 1, p. 3.

[54] C. Boot and M. van der Heijden, 'Gemeenschapskunst', in: C. Blotkamp, C. Boot, H. Cornips and others, *Kunstenaren der idee. Symbolistische tendenzen in Nederland ca. 1880-1930*, exh.cat. Den Haag (Haags Gemeentemuseum) 1978, pp. 36-37.
Bank and van Buuren 2004 (see note 4), p. 218.

[55] J. Staphorst (J. Veth), 'Derkinderen's Processie van het H. Sacrament van Mirakel', *De Nieuwe Gids* 4 (1888-1889) vol. 1, pp. 461.

[56] Idem, pp. 461-462.

[57] Idem, pp. 461-467.

[58] Derkinderen's wall paintings were frequently called 'De Bossche wand' in literature. When he was commissioned to paint a second cycle of murals in 1896, the names for the paintings were changed in 'De eerste Bossche wand' and 'De tweede Bossche wand'.

The Den Bosch murals were exhibited at Panorama in January 1892.[59] Veth wrote a brochure that accompanied the paintings and that was for sale during the exhibition at Panorama.[60] Where Veth had discussed the formal aspects of wall paintings in contrast with impressionistic artworks in the article Derkinderen's *Processie* painting, he now focussed on the social aspects of the Den Bosch cycle. He noted that Derkinderen's work differed fundamentally from contemporary art.[61] He discussed the aspects that defined its uniqueness. He started his brochure with describing the development of artistic ideas that preceded Derkinderen's painting. According to him, the murals were the result of a growing interest in religious medieval art that became apparent in the nineteenth century. This artistic spiritualism, as Veth called it, found its origins in the Romantic Movement. It was characterised by an interest in art predating Renaissance. Religious art did not originate from reality but it depicted a concept, a characteristic that appealed to secular artists as well. These ideas evolved in a whole new form of art at the end of the nineteenth century, which manifested itself in Derkinderen's murals.[62] While painting the murals, Derkinderen had not depended on his own feelings, but by studying the subject in detail he was able to transform his thoughts into general ideas. Derkinderen accomplished this by depicting only those elements that were essential to the story.[63] It was no longer an individual event, but an important turning point in the history of time. Derkinderen's art therefore was able to surpass its provincial character.[64]

Veth used the term 'gemeenschapskunst' (community art) to describe the intention of the paintings.[65] He argued that Derkinderen had worked on the cycle with community art in mind. A town hall was a public building where people gathered together for social events. The paintings incited the community spirit and the onlooker would feel that he was part of a social entity.[66] According to Veth, the uniqueness of community art was not as much implicit in its monumental size or its relation to architecture, although these factors were important as well, but in its social function. It restored the community spirit that was lost since medieval times, where gothic art had been the last manifestation of community art.[67]

Veth was the first to use the term community art for an artistic tendency towards synthesis between art forms, an idea that artists of the Eighties Movement had already pondered over in their wish for

[59] Collectie Stadsarchief Amsterdam: Tentoonstellingen, no. 30576-2-83, Stadsarchief Amsterdam.

[60] J. Veth, *Derkinderens wandschildering in het Bossche stadhuis*, Amsterdam 1892.
Willem du Tour (R.N. Roland Holst), 'Derkinderen's nieuwe muurschildering in de Kunstzaal van het Panorama', *De Amsterdammer. Weekblad voor Nederland* 15 (1892) no. 760 (18 January), p. 3.

[61] Veth 1892 (see note 60), p. 5.

[62] Idem, pp. 5-11.

[63] Idem, p. 36.

[64] Idem, pp. 17-18.

[65] Idem, p. 12.

[66] Idem, pp.13-16.

[67] Derkinderen himself was a catholic, not a socialist, so his paintings more likely originated from his religious convictions rather than his bond with society.

collaboration between artists. Community art was related to Richard Wagner's (1813-1883) theory of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*. As a composer, Wagner strived for a synthesis between the different elements in his opera's. Music, settings, costumes and lightening should be equally represented during the performance.[68] Although the longing for synthesis between the arts had been apparent among artists for some time, it had manifested itself for the first time in Derkinderen's mural and Veth's writings. Both the brochure and the paintings raised a lively discussion that was partly pursued in *De Nieuwe Gids*. Derkinderen's work received both critique and appraisal.[69]

After reading about Veth's publication many artists felt that he had given a name and direction to a change that was felt before. The brochure gave occasion to a further interpretation of what community art really was, since it was felt that Veth had left many aspects open to discussion.[70] Several writers thus discussed community art from different angles. A. de Graaf for instance focussed on the aspect of religion.[71] Although Derkinderen's murals did not have a religious subject, Veth had rightly explained that they had a religious character. According to De Graaf, a society could not exist without a common belief that functioned as a unifying factor. Derkinderen's painting would be the start of a whole new religious art, an art that would serve community.[72] The same line of reasoning was followed by Roland Holst, who endorsed the idea by quoting Joséphin Péladan (1858-1918), the leader of French symbolist artists: there is no great art outside religions ('Hors des religions il n'y a pas de grand art').[73] He also discussed the symbolic quality of the murals.[74] Both De Graaf and Roland Holst did not refer to Christianity by using the word religion. For De Graaf, the religious aspect of a community artist was his dedication to society. Roland Holst's notion of religion was anything related to a higher dimension.[75]

Community art: theory and practice

In the years following, several artists joined the discussion on community art that was pursued in several periodicals. Their goal was to come to a clear definition of what community art was and how it functioned in a society. Community art could be described as monumental art with a social function.

Veth had already elaborated on the qualities and restrictions of monumental art as a result of Derkinderen's *Processie* painting in 1889. According to him, a monumental artwork adjusted itself to

[68] Van Bork 2012 (see note 22), entry 'Gesamtkunstwerk'.
[69] Bank and van Buuren 2000 (see note 4), pp. 152-153.
[70] A. de Graaf, 'Gemeenschapskunst. De wandschildering van Derkinderen', *De Nieuwe Gids* 7 (1892), pp. 326.
[71] Idem, pp. 325-329.
[72] Idem.
[73] R.N. Roland Holst, 'De beteekenis van Derkinderens nieuwe muurschildering in onze schilderkunst', *De Nieuwe Gids* 7 (1892) vol. 1, p. 324.
[74] Idem, pp. 321-324.
[75] De Graaf 1892 (see note 70), p. 327.
Roland Holst *De Nieuwe Gids* 1892 (see note 60), p. 323-324.
See chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion of Roland Holst's article.

architecture, in contrast with an impressionistic painting that was an artistic entity. It respected the two dimensional character of the wall. The artist made it fit in the building by using soft colours that dissolved with the colours of the bricks and the stuccowork. Monumental painting thus was dependent on architecture because it needed the wall to manifest itself. It served architecture at the same time by fitting in with it.[76]

Medieval art was an important inspirational source for artists who advocated community art. They saw the medieval cathedral as a high point of medieval society and the architect H.P. Berlage (1856-1934) therefore used this prototype to formulate three principles of community art that it distinguished it from monumental art.[77] The first was the collaboration of different forms of art that worked together to realise a building. This was influenced by the idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Secondly, community art had a social function. The artworks should be available for any member of society because they were made for everyone. Community art therefore was by definition public art and as such applied to public buildings. Furthermore, the aspect of collaboration took also place on a physical level where artists worked together on the construction site. Arts and crafts were equals in this process that was supervised by the architect.[78]

Berlage's article was published in *De Kroniek*, a periodical that was established in 1895. This journal can be regarded as a replacement of *De Nieuwe Gids* to a certain extent.[79] The artists that had left *De Nieuwe Gids* because of their socialistic leanings, felt the need to issue a new journal in which their ideas could be published. *De Kroniek* from the beginning pursued a socialistic course. It focussed on the same subjects that had been discussed in *De Nieuwe Gids*, but literature no longer had a central position. The main goal of *De Kroniek* was to stimulate collaboration between artists. The wish for synthesis and social engagement was not only apparent among artists, writers wished to accomplish this goals in their literature as well. They no longer strived for the depiction of objective observations, but searched for the interpretation of the feelings caused by impressions. Synthesis or alignment could also be found in the wish to express ideas that were generally acknowledged by society.[80] These renewals had already been apparent in articles published in *De Nieuwe Gids* before 1894.[81] Alignment became the pursuit of the generation following the Eighties Movement. They sometimes are referred

[76] Veth 1889 (see note 55), pp. 461-463.

[77] H.P. Berlage, 'Over architectuur', *De Kroniek* 1 (1895) no. 8, pp. 58-59.

[78] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 81-85.
Bank and van Buuren 2004 (see note 4), p. 155.

[79] M. Vermast en P. Rooijackers, 'Ik-genieting en Wij-glazuur. De tweede Bossche Wand van Antoon Derkinderen. Meningen over gemeenschapskunst', *Vooys* 19 (2001-2002), p. 68.

[80] G.P.M. Knuvelder, *Handboek tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandse letterkunde*, Den Bosch 1976, volume 4, pp. 262-263.

[81] Idem, p. 264.
Boot and Van der Heijden (see note 54), p. 39.

to as the artists of the Nineties or Nineties Movement.[82] As indicated before, the artists of the Eighties and the Nineties did not form two separate groups. Some of the artists related to the Eighties Movement dedicated themselves to synthesis in art after they had produced individualistic art for several years. Among them were van der Goes, Gorter, van der Schalk, Diepenbrock and Veth.[83]

A remarkable characteristic of the publications on community art is the optimism of the writers. Almost all of them were convinced that community art was the art of the future and that it took only one manifestation of the idea to convince society of that they were right.[84] But despite this optimism, there were not many opportunities to bring the ideas into practice. There were two requirements for a community artwork that were difficult to meet. The first was the willingness of an architect to include monumental art, that is wall paintings, sculpture and stained glass, in his design and to work together with other artists to create a comprehensive design. Community artworks could be added to already existing buildings, as Derkinderen had done, but it was only a small group of artists who recognised the importance of community art. The owners of public buildings were not interested in adding monumental decorations to their property.[85] Berlage was prepared to collaborate with community artists, but it was dependent on the commissioners if monumental art could be applied to his designs. Due to its social implications, community art could only function in public buildings, so a community artist could not dedicate himself to decorating private houses.[86] When monumental commissions failed to occur, artists were engaged in small projects that required artistic collaboration, for instance in book decorating and costume and set designing.[87]

Catholic and socialistic aspects of community art

The idea of community art had a socialistic basis, but Catholics were interested in the idea as well. In catholic circles there already was a lively interest in neo-gothic art and the study of medieval art. The main supporters of neo-gothic art in the Netherlands were the writer and aesthetic Joseph Alberdingk Thijm (1820-1889) and the architect Pierre Cuypers (1827-1921). In their opinion, medieval art and especially gothic art from 13th and 14th century France was the most pure form of Christian art.[88] In the second half of the nineteenth century, a catholic emancipation took place in the Netherlands. In 1848,

[82] Knuvelder 1976 (see note 80), pp. 264-266.
Boot and van der Heijden 1978 (see note 54), p. 39.
[83] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 142-143.
[84] See for instance:
Veth 1892 (see note 60), pp. 17-20.
De Graaf 1892 (see note 70).
Berlage 1895 (see note 77).
[85] Bank and van Buuren 2004 (see note 4), p. 163.
[86] Idem.
[87] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), 190-191.
[88] C. Hoogveld 'De ontwikkeling van de glasschilderkunst in de negentiende eeuw', in: Hoogveld 1989 (see note 8), p. 29-30.

the Constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands was enacted, in which the separation between church and state was proclaimed. In 1853 the Episcopal hierarchy was restored, with the result that the catholic church could act independently. Where churches had been build under the supervision of the Rijkswaterstaat, catholic now were enabled to play an active role in the construction of new churches, with the result that the number of catholic churches grew rapidly in the second half of the nineteenth century.[89] Cuypers was an admired architect, especially among Catholics since he was a catholic himself. He designed a number of neo-gothic churches in the south of the country, and after his settlement in Amsterdam in 1863, his style spread further, and was officially acknowledged as a catholic style by the bishops in 1868.[90] The catholic interest in medieval art thus lead to the development of a new style: neo-gothic art. This style was developed in England and France, where it was applied to public buildings as well, but in the Netherlands it initially was applied to catholic buildings.[91]

Where the catholic interest in medieval art had resulted in neo-gothic art, community art was a concept. Community architects did not use a distinctive style, since they based themselves on other sources like the Italian tre- and quattrocento.[92] The artists and craftsmen were free to use their own interpretation, as long as their work was in accordance with the architectural context and was related to society.[93] In 1896 the socialists and Catholics polarised in *De Kroniek*, where the differences in the opinions of the two groups crystallised. The socialists stressed the social character of community art works, which in their opinion were meant to elevate the worker.[94] Catholics on the other hand supported the religious aspects of community art, which was a reflection of the unity of the faithful.[95] The socialists accused the Catholics that their interpretation of the idea did not relate to society. The catholic belief was confessed by a small group of community and religious art could therefore not represent a whole society. When added to a church, it would not be available for the average member of society, because churches were mainly visited by believers.[96] The socialistic interpretation on the other hand focussed on the worker. By installing community art works in public buildings, they would be accessible to any member of society and fulfil their social function. From the polemic it appeared

[89] Idem.

[90] Idem, pp. 29-34, 47.
G. van der Ham, 200 jaar Rijksmuseum. Geschiedenis van een nationaal symbool, Zwolle/Amsterdam 2000, pp. 135-136.

[91] Hoogveld 1989 (see note 88), pp. 29-33.

[92] See chapter 2 and 3 for a description of the different artistic influences that had an impact on community art.

[93] See Tibbe's dissertation on the different architectural and artistic styles that were apparent in Berlage's community art buildings.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 80-89, 182-197.

[94] Vermast and Rooijackers 2001-2002 (see note 79), p. 70.

[95] Boot and van der Heijden 1978 (see note 54), pp. 36, 38-39.

[96] Vermast en Rooijackers 2001-2002 (see note 79), p. 74.

that the catholic and socialistic opinion of community art were flatly opposed to one another and that they could not coexist.[97]

The Rijksmuseum

How new the whole concept of community art might have seemed, its ideals were already inherent in the Rijksmuseum that was completed in 1885. The Rijksmuseum, designed by Cuypers in collaboration with Alberdingk Thijm, can be considered to be a community artwork, since all three the elements of community art were represented. The Rijksmuseum was decorated with wall paintings, tile panels, stained glass and lines of poetry. The poet J.J.L. ten Cate (1819-1889) wrote a cantata for the opening, which was put unto music by the composer D. de Lange (1841-1918). It thus was a *Gesamtkunstwerk* in the true sense of the word.[98] It was conceived as an architectural shrine for the collection of 17th century Dutch paintings and historical artefacts. The decorative programme was designed as a tribute to the Dutch society that had produced such gems.[99] As a museum it served a public function. According to Cuypers, public buildings were symbols of community and they needed to be beacons within the city. The Rijksmuseum therefore was designed to have a dominant position in the skyline.[100] And furthermore, the decorations for the museum were produced in a workshop that was installed at the construction site during the building process, where the artists worked together under the guidance of Cuypers.[101]

Although the Rijksmuseum contained the elements of a community art building, it was not acknowledged as such among the community artists. The decorations in the Rijksmuseum had an allegoric character and where therefore too complicated for the general onlooker. The ability to recognise allegories and personifications required a general knowledge that not all members of society had. Community artists therefore preferred the use of everyday people who performed meaningful tasks, or types of persons who incorporated a general quality that inspired the onlooker.[102] The artists of the eighties and the nineties had witnessed the completion of the Rijksmuseum and they admired the building itself, but they did not use it as an inspirational source for their own community art works.[103]

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[97] Boot and van der Heijden 1978 (see note 54), pp. 38-39.
Bank and van Buuren 2004 (see note 4), pp. 142-143.
[98] Bank and van Buuren 2004 (see note 4), p. 164.
[99] For an elaborate description of the decorative programme of the Rijksmuseum see:
Van der Ham 2000 (see note 90), pp. 148-152.
[100] Idem, p. 145.
[101] Bank and van Buuren 2004 (see note 4), p. 164.
[102] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 84, 146-147, 364.
[103] Idem, pp. 15-16, 84.
R.N. Roland Holst, 'De bouwmeester Berlage in zijn verhouding tot de architecturale beeldhouw- en schilderkunst', in: R.N. Roland Holst 1923 (see note 6), pp. 63-64. Originally published in: K.P.C. de Bazel, J. Gratama, J. Kalf and others, *Dr. H.P. Berlage en zijn werk*, Rotterdam 1916, pp. 67-76.

The city of Amsterdam was the scene of economic, artistic and social changes at the end of the nineteenth century. In the 1880s, a group of young artists emerged who wanted to bring a change in the artistic climate by renouncing the literature and art criticism of the former generation. The Eighties Movement strived for individualism in their works. The movement was initiated by men of literature, who were joined by other artists, musicians and socialists. Where the Eighties Movement focused on literature, a new course was initiated by the visual arts in the 1890s. Members of the generation of the nineties, including artists from the Eighties Movement, wished to establish collaboration between art forms, which eventually lead to the development of community art. Following the monumental artist Derkinderen they saw that art of a monumental kind was the answer to their longing for collaboration between different forms of art. Like neo-gothic artists they based themselves on the medieval cathedral that they saw as a prototype of the ideal community. The debate on community art was pursued in several periodicals but before 1900, no community art work was made. The Rijksmuseum was an exception to this, but this building was not considered to be a real community art building according to the theorists. The idea of community art was supported by both Catholics and socialists, but a polemic in *De Kroniek* showed that both opinions were incompatible. Roland Holst added to the writings on community art by publishing an article on Derkinderen's Den Bosch mural in 1892, but he did not play an active role in the debate.

Chapter 2.
Richard Roland Holst as art critic: the early years

Richard Nicolaüs Roland Holst was born in December 1868 in a upper middle class family in Amsterdam. His father made good money in the insurance business and Roland Holst, as the youngest of eight children, therefore was able to pursue an artistic career.[104] He studied at the Amsterdam Rijksacademie where he became acquainted with impressionistic art and the ideas of the Eighties Movement. He became befriended with artists related to *De Nieuwe Gids* and *De Kroniek* and their ideas influenced his development as an artist. In 1890 he became active as a writer. He published several art critiques in the aforementioned periodicals and in the daily and weekly editions of *De Amsterdammer*. In this chapter Roland Holst's artistic development, his reaction to political and artistic changes and his art critiques will be discussed. His position within the debates at the end of the nineteenth century will be examined by means of his artworks and publications.

Roland Holst's artistic training

After passing the entrance examination, Roland Holst studied at the Rijksacademie van Beeldende Kunsten in Amsterdam from 1885 to 1890. The Rijksacademie was founded by the government and its statutes therefore were recorded in a law. The educational programme focussed on the education of free artists. Students were trained as painters, sculptors or engravers. The curriculum was mainly concerned with the teaching of theoretical knowledge. Students were supposed to gain practical knowledge in the practice of their own studio.[105] The study programme for painters for instance consisted of four years of education, where the first three years were concerned with copying plaster models and drawing from models, and theoretics like proportion, perspective, anatomy, art history and aesthetics. In the third year students started their training in painting by learning the techniques from working after already existing paintings. It was only in the fourth year that they were allowed to make their own paintings.[106] The theoretical programme did not find favour with the students and professors complained as well.[107] August Allebé (1838-1927), the then headmaster, had adapted the curriculum so that painting was included in an earlier stage, but students still complained that the education was too theoretical. Henriette Roland Holst wrote in the biography of her husband that students spent a lot

[104] Roland Holst-van der Schalk 1940 (see note 5), pp. 11-12.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 16-17.
[105] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 24.
J.A. Martis, *Voor de kunst en voor de nijverheid. Het ontstaan van het kunstnijverheidsonderwijs in Nederland*, Amsterdam 1990.
[106] Reynaerts 1994 (see note 38), p.95.
[107] Idem, p. 95-95.

of time drawing from plaster models and from the same sitter.[108] More impact on the young Roland Holst had the impressionistic art of Israëls and Breitner, especially the works of the latter who had a loge at the Academy in the period that Roland Holst studied there.[109] Impressionism as a style was however not taught at the academy since theoretical knowledge was preferred above the representation of impressions. This was especially apparent in the lectures in aesthetics and art history given by Alberdingk Thijm who, as an advocate of neo-gothic art, disapproved of impressionistic art because of its lack of self-reflection.[110] Allebé's classes were not much appreciated either. Allebé, who taught composition, wanted his students to draw from different forms repetitively to make them understand the very nature of the objects.[111] Although Allebé was strict in his teaching, he supported his students in the development of their career, even if they chose to work as impressionists. He stayed in touch with some of his students after they left the academy.[112] The convictions of the teachers however did not persuade students to abandon impressionism. In the 1880s many students worked in the well-liked style, including Roland Holst.[113] Like others, he followed the artistic trend of painting at the countryside. During his years as a student he regularly stayed in Breukelen, Hattem and Heerde where he painted nature, alone or accompanied by fellow students (fig. 2).[114]

Roland Holst finished his education at the Academy in 1890, leaving as a convinced impressionist. After spending the winter of 1890 at the countryside, he went to Amsterdam where he worked in several studios, successively at the Overtoom and at the Noordermarkt, a working class area. He stayed in touch with some of his fellow students from the academy, but he mainly joined in with artists related to the Eighties Movement.[115] Most of the Eighties artists already had left the Academy before Roland Holst enrolled, but he had met Jan Veth and Willem Witsen there, who were loge students in 1885. It is likely that they introduced him to the circle of the Eighties artists.[116] According to Henriette Roland Holst, Roland Holst had been reading copies of *De Nieuwe Gids* during his years at the academy, so he was acquainted with their ideas.[117] She also stated that Roland Holst's studio was

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[108] Roland Holst-van der Schalk 1940 (see note 5), pp. 52-53.

[109] Talented students could request for a loge where they could work on their own. This so-called loge students received personal supervision from one of the professors.
Reynaerts 1994 (see note 38), p. 95.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 21.

[110] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 26-27.

[111] Idem, pp. 26-28.

[112] Idem, pp. 27-28.
Reynaerts 1994 (see note 38), pp. 95-97.

[113] Roland Holst-van der Schalk 1940 (see note 5), pp. 60-66.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 42-43.

[114] Roland Holst-van der Schalk 1940 (see note 5), pp. 60-66.

[115] Idem, pp. 82.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 22.

[116] Roland Holst-van der Schalk 1940 (see note 5), p. 55.

[117] Idem, p. 69.

frequently visited by members of the Eighties Movement, including Witsen, André Jolles (1874-1946), Veth and Isaac Israëls.[118] Albert Verwey visited as well.[119] Roland Holst also corresponded with members of the Eighties Movement, including Veth, Toorop, Verwey, Derkinderen and Gorter. Some of them became close friends of Roland Holst.

Art criticism: Roland Holst on Derkinderen's murals in Den Bosch

In 1890 Roland Holst succeeded Veth as art critic writing for the newspaper and periodical *De Amsterdammer*, where he published under the pseudonym Willem du Tour. His first articles were concerned with works of art he saw at exhibitions. His goal was only to write about works that touched him and that he considered to be beautiful. As an impressionistic artist, the analysis of his emotions played an important role in his critiques.[120] According to him, writing negative critiques would only confuse the reader. He wished to have a positive effect on the appreciation of new art among the general public. By sharing the excitement that he felt while looking at a certain work of art, he hoped to teach his public what good art looked like.[121] He followed Veth's art criticism by valuing the works of art based on his emotions. But unlike Veth he wrote his critiques to teach the general public, and not to share his experiences with other artists.[122] Establishing a change in art criticism was no longer necessary. Veth had already concluded in 1890 that art criticism had improved due to his efforts. Critics could focus on what they considered to be beautiful and worthwhile. Roland Holst followed Veth's directions by writing on art that he approved off.[123]

In 1892, Roland Holst published two articles on Derkinderen's cycle of murals for the city hall of Den Bosch, which he had seen during the exhibition in Panorama.[124] The articles were respectively published in *De Amsterdammer* and in *De Nieuwe Gids*, the latter being Roland Holst's first contribution to this periodical.[125] The publication in *De Amsterdammer* consisted of a description of the painting followed by a discussion about the nature of the painting and its dissimilarity from

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[118] Idem, p. 84.

[119] Letter R.N. Roland Holst to Albert Verwey, 24 January 1892. Published in Nijland-Verwey 1959 (see note 7), pp. 27-28.

[120] Willem du Tour, 'Over de Haagsche en Leidsche schilderijententoonstelling', *De Amsterdammer. Dagblad voor Nederland*, 29/30 June 1890, p. 9.
Willem du Tour (R.N. Roland Holst), 'Over kunstkritiek en de Arti-tentoonstelling, *De Amsterdammer. Dagblad voor Nederland*, 12 November 1890, pp. 5-6.
T. van Leeuwen, 'Symbolisme en kunstkritiek. Richard Nicolaüs Roland Holst (1868-1938)', in: Blotkamp, Boot, Cornips and others 1978 (see note 54), pp. 52-53.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 44-45.

[121] Roland Holst *De Amsterdammer* 1890 (see note 120), pp. 5-6.

[122] See chapter 1 on Veth's art critiques, p. 16.

[123] V. (J. Veth), 'Aanteekeningen schilderkunst', *De Amsterdammer. Weekblad voor Nederland*, 27 April 1890.
Roland Holst *De Amsterdammer* 1890 (see note 120), pp. 5-6.

[124] See chapter 1, pp. 19-20.

[125] Roland Holst *De Amsterdammer* 1892 (see note 120), p. 3.
Roland Holst *De Nieuwe Gids* 1892 (see note 73), pp. 321-324.

impressionistic art. In the other article Roland Holst focussed on the significance of Derkinderen's painting for the art of his days. The term community art is mentioned in neither one of the texts. It is not known whether Roland Holst had read Veth's publication on the murals before he wrote the texts.[126]

In the articles Roland Holst contrasted Derkinderen's painting with the work of impressionist artists. According to him, impressionist works of art were an account of reality as experienced by the artists in one single moment. Impressionistic art was beautiful and of high standing because it was able to surpass reality by creating a compelling vision, but it was prone to lose its force over time. Impressionistic paintings caused emotions by the onlookers, but that sensation would only be recognisable for contemporaries. Future generations would probably not be able to recognise it and eventually would read other things into it.[127] Roland Holst saw that Derkinderen used a completely different approach to depict the foundation of Den Bosch in this wall painting. The painting was not an account of an emotion felt during a brief moment, but a depiction of what the artists saw in his mind after he had pondered over the subject.[128] By focussing on the deeds of the protagonists he had portrayed them as symbols of faith, force, dedication and gravity. By doing so he made a history painting that was not based on reality, but on the ideas that underlie the story. Roland Holst called this abstract art: a form of art that depicts a concept, thought or idea by using symbols.[129] Depicting abstract ideas resulted in a spiritual or symbolic art, a style that flourished mainly in societies that were strongly related to religion. This case in the Middle Ages where artists wished to relate their art to their belief in God. Roland Holst saw a relation between the medieval artist and a contemporary artist like Derkinderen. They both desired to represent a concept rather than reality. In Roland Holst's time this was related to the search for the representation of mysteries that live in the soul of the modern artist. Symbolist art related to religion had never ceased to exist, but its importance had long been neglected by artists. It was only recently that artists discovered that it was worth emulating. Derkinderen thus was the first Dutch artist to make abstract art after a long period where realistic art had dominated the art world. It was however not the devotion to God that he had depicted, but the

[126] Roland Holst mentioned the brochure that was written by Veth that was obtainable during the exhibition of the murals at the art gallery of the Panorama building in Amsterdam in January 1892.
Roland Holst's article in *De Nieuwe Gids* was published in the seventh volume, dated 1892, but the article itself is dated December 1891. *De Nieuwe Gids* volumes ran from September to July instead of from January to December. In literature, Roland Holst article is usually referred to as being written and published in 1892, but in fact it was written at the end of 1891, before his review of the murals in *De Amsterdammer*. Veth's brochure was published in 1892, and was obtainable during the exhibition in January. So it is possible that Roland Holst read it at least before he wrote the article in *De Amsterdammer*.

[127] Roland Holst *De Nieuwe Gids* 1892 (see note 73), pp. 322-323.

[128] Roland Holst *De Amsterdammer* 1892 (see note 60), p. 3.

[129] Roland Holst *De Nieuwe Gids* 1892 (see note 73), pp. 322-323.

admiration for great deeds performed by people that symbolised the mystery of religion. Roland Holst used the word religion not to refer to faith but to a devotion to everything that is not profane.[130]
With this article, Roland Holst had joined *De Nieuwe Gids* as an art critic. Between 1890 and 1892 he published regularly for *De Amsterdammer*. In this period he wrote around twenty entries for both the daily and the weekly. In 1893 he wrote only one entry for *De Amsterdammer* and two entries for *De Nieuwe Gids*.[131] He would not return to publishing until 1895, when he joined *De Kroniek* with an article on the elevation of the crafts.[132]

Symbolism

The beginning of the 1890s was an important period for Roland Holst. And not only for him, other artists were influenced by the artistic changes that took place in those years as well. Artists of the generation of the Eighties Movement were well aware of the artistic developments in France and Belgium. They kept themselves informed by reading the Belgian periodical *L'art modern* that was founded in 1881. The periodical was closely related to Les XX (Les Vingts, founded in 1883), a Brussels based artistic group that held annual exhibitions where inland and foreign artists could show their work. Both the periodical and the artistic group aimed at giving record of artistic movements outside the official art world of academies and salons instead of advocating one particular trend. The development from impressionist to neo-impressionist and symbolist art can be traced in the writings in the periodical and the art that was exhibited during Les XX exhibitions. Over the years, artists like P. Cézanne (1839-1906), J.A. McNeill Whistler (1834-1903), G. Seurat (1859-1891) and H. de Toulouse-Lautrec (1864-1901) exhibited at Les XX, as well as Dutch artists like Mesdag, Breitner, Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890) and Johan Thorn Prikker (1868-1932).[133] Roland Holst was acquainted with both *L'art moderne* and Les XX. In 1892 he wrote an article for the periodical and he visited Les XX exhibitions in Amsterdam in 1889 and in Brussels in 1893.[134]
In the second half of the 1880s the ideas of the symbolists were introduced in the Netherlands. Symbolism had come into being in France in the early 1880s with the group *Les Symboliques* that centred around the poet Jean Moréas (1856-1910), who reacted against the literature of his age, which he found too naturalistic. He wrote manifest of symbolism in which he described this new style as

[130] Idem, pp. 321-324.
[131] R.I.K. (R.N. Roland Holst), 'Vertrek van onzen beeldhouwer Henri Teixeira de Mattos', *De Amsterdammer. Dagblad voor Nederland* 5/6 (1893), p. 6.
[132] See pp. 39-40.
[133] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 34-35.
[134] R.N. Roland Holst, 'Conférence de M. Henry van de Velde (le paysan en peinture)', *L'art moderne* 11 (1892), p. 267.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 34-35.

poetry that expressed the Idea in a perceptible form.[135] Where Moréas applied the term only to poetry, other writers were soon to find out that it was applicable to the visual arts as well, especially to the work of Van Gogh and Gauguin. The work of these artists differed from impressionist artists because they did not give an account of their emotions, like the impressionists, but sought to express an idea by using symbols.[136]

The artistic exchange between France, Belgium and the Netherlands increased around 1890. Symbolist artists went to the Netherlands to promote symbolism and Dutch artists went to Paris to visit Gauguin. Jan Verkade (1868-1946), who had studied at the Amsterdam Academy with Roland Holst and Toorop, was one of them. In Paris, Verkade became befriended with the symbolist artist Paul Sérusier (1864-1927), who came to visit him in Amsterdam. Verkade introduced Roland Holst and Toorop to Sérusier.[137] From the moment he was introduced to symbolism, Roland Holst showed a serious interest in this style, as did Toorop. Roland Holst's article on Derkinderen's painting published in *De Nieuwe Gids* already gave evidence of the artist's awareness of symbolist art.[138] The symbolic poet Paul Verlaine (1844-1896) visited the Netherlands in 1892, where he gave a lecture on symbolism in The Hague. Roland Holst attended the lecture that was widely discussed among artists, especially in the circle of the Eighties Movement.[139] In 1893 Toorop, Verkade and Roland Holst joined the French *Salon de la Rose+Croix*, an order that wished to create ideal art by destroying realism and restoring mysticism and tradition as basic principles for beautiful art.[140] Roland Holst was already acquainted with the ideas of the *Salon* since he quoted Péladan, the leader of the order, in his article on Derkinderen's murals.[141] Learning about impressionistic art made Roland Holst question his impressionistic style.[142] He eventually turned to symbolism, which can be illustrated with works of art he made in 1892. From then on he avoided painting impressions and instead studied the structure of his subjects.[143] His stylistic change became apparent in his lithography *Anangkè* (1892, fig. 3) and his cover design for the catalogue of the Van Gogh exhibition (1892, fig. 4).[144] The exhibition was organised by Roland Holst himself. The catalogue cover is full of symbols: the withered sunflower and the setting sun symbolised Van Gogh's death, while the nimbus emphasised his uniqueness as an

[135] G. Imanse and J. Steen, 'Achtergronden van het symbolisme', in: Blotkamp, Boot, Cornips and others 1978 (see note 54), p. 26.
[136] Idem.
[137] C. Boot and M.H. Cornips, 'Inleiding', idem, p. 11.
[138] Roland Holst *De Nieuwe Gids* 1892 (see note 73).
[139] R.N. Roland Holst, 'Een herinnering uit 1892', in Roland Holst 1940 (see note 6), pp. 20-21. Originally published in *Groot Nederland* 35(1937), p. 321.
[140] Immanse and Steen 1978 (see note 135), pp. 26-27.
[141] Roland Holst *De Nieuwe Gids* 1892 (see note 73), p. 342.
[142] Letter R.N. Roland Holst to J.F.A. Ankersmit, [1892], see Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 34.
[143] Roland Holst-van der Schalk 1940 (see note 5), p. 83.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 46-47.
[144] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 46-47, 63.

artist. The symbols also refer to his sufferings.[145] Roland Holst's break with impressionism was quite thoroughgoing since he destroyed most of his works from this period when he found that they no longer complied with his new artistic ideas.[146] Besides from his Van Gogh catalogue, Roland Holst did not publish other articles on symbolist art, his interest in this style is only apparent in his artworks.

Influences from England

In the article on Derkinderen's murals that Roland Holst wrote in 1892, he already mentioned medieval art. The nineteenth century can be characterised by a growing interest in medieval art, starting with the Gothic Revival that originated in England around 1850. In the Netherlands, the neo-gothic art was propagated by the aesthetic Alberdingk Thijm and the architect Cuypers.[147] Alberdingk Thijm was a professor at the Amsterdam Rijksacademie where he taught aesthetics and art history from 1876 to 1889. The artists of the Eighties Movement had criticised the traditional education of the Rijksacademie, where there was no room for impressionistic art. Their disapproval included the teaching of Alberdingk Thijm.[148] But when in the 1890s the interest in medieval art grew due to the development of community art, his publications on this topic were reassessed.[149]

The interest for publications on medieval art was not restricted to those of Dutch writers. Between 1893 and 1903 works of the English art critic John Ruskin (1819-1900), his pupil William Morris (1834-1896) and Walter Crane (1845-1915) were translated in Dutch. Especially the works of Ruskin were widely read. Other than Alberdingk Thijm, Ruskin propagated medieval art from Tuscany from the fourteenth and fifteenth century.[150] Ruskin considered Giotto to be the best artist of his age. In a travel book on Tuscany, Ruskin examined the role of Florence in the tre- and quattrocento. According to him, the flourishing of Florence in these centuries was mainly due to the rise of the third class with its craftsmen and tradesmen. Supported by the peasantry the three classes worked together in harmony and created a social structure that was beneficial for the arts. The knights needed fortresses and armour, the clergy architecture and religious art and the activities of the working class asked for public buildings. The members of this society were bound together by religion: the awareness of the importance of observing the obligations one had towards society.[151] The description of Florentine society and the kind of art that was produced there fitted the ideas of community art and the decorative art tendency that was initiated by Derkinderen. As a result, many artists visited Italy in the 1880s and

[145] C. Boot and M.H. Cornips 1978 (see note 137), pp. 9-10. The symbols are interpreted differently in other publications.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 63-64.
[146] H. Roland Holst 1940 (see note 5), p. 121.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 46.
[147] See chapter 1, p. 24.
[148] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 27.
[149] Idem, pp. 29-31.
[150] Idem, pp. 109-119.
[151] For a discussion of Ruskin's views see Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 68-74.

1890s to study medieval Italian art. They corresponded about their experiences with friends and their travels were topics of conversation when they visited fellow artists after their return.[152]

Jolles and Johan Bierens de Haan (1866-1943) published on their trips to Italy and Florence in *De Amsterdammer* and *De Kroniek*. Jolles for instance described the difference between antique and medieval art in a series of articles published in *De Amsterdammer*. He argued that Greek art was the art of the body, where individuals contributed to a beautiful and good entity. Medieval art on the other hand was the art of the spiritual body, where artists worked together in a community to create art that served a higher spiritual purpose. Art produced for a community held a general quality that was still able to affect the onlooker.[153] Bierens de Haan held the same opinion and described fourteenth-century Florence as a religious society that was typified by its high social awareness. Artists made art to uplift their fellow citizens.[154] Both Jolles and Bierens de Haan considered the art of Giotto to be the result of the ideal relation between artist and society.[155]

Roland Holst became interested in what was called the art of primitive cultures especially through letters of his friend Verkade, who had visited Florence in 1892. Verkade's experiences inspired him to visit England during the winter of 1893 and 1894. In England there had been a tradition of collecting primitive artworks while there was not much of this kind of art available in the Netherlands.[156] His stay in England meant a change in his opinions on art. In a letter to Verwey he wrote that he visited an exhibition with Egyptian and Italian works of art. After this he saw a painting of Breitner. Although he had been an admirer of Breitner, he had to conclude that Breitner's choice of subject matter was not as noble as that of primitive artist. Egyptian and Italian works of art had more power of expression, even after so many centuries, compared to the impact that Breitner's paintings would have on future generations.[157]

In 1896 Roland Holst married the poet Henriette van der Schalk. He had met her through Verwey, who had become acquainted with van der Schalk when he moved to Noordwijk, where she lived.[158]

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[152] Idem, pp. 65-66.

[153] A. Jolles, 'Primitieven II', *De Amsterdammer. Weekblad voor Nederland* 17 (1894) no. 872.
A. Jolles, 'Primitieven III', *De Amsterdammer. Weekblad voor Nederland* 17 (1894) no. 874.
A. Jolles, 'Primitieven IV', *De Amsterdammer. Weekblad voor Nederland* 17 (1894) no. 876.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 68.

[154] J.D. Bierens de Haan, 'Fantasieën over Italiaansche kunst. Giotto als schilder. I. Florence's edelste arbeider', *De Kroniek* 5 (1899), p. 235.

[155] See note 153 and 154.

[156] Roland Holst-van der Schalk 1940 (see note 5), pp. 72-74.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 65-67.

[157] Letter R.N. Roland Holst to A. Verwey, February 1894, published in: Nijland-Verwey 1959 (see note 7), p. 161.

[158] Idem, pp. 5, 16-17.

They went to Italy for their honeymoon, where they spend three weeks in Florence and visited Pisa, Assisi and Milan. Roland Holst thus had the opportunity to continue his studies of primitive art.[159]

The Arts and Crafts Movement

Studying primitive art was not Roland Holst's only reason to go to England in 1893. He also wanted to learn more about applied arts as promoted by the Arts and Crafts Movement, that was initiated by Ruskin and Morris.[160] His interest in applied arts was related to his doubts concerning impressionistic art. In a letter to Derkinderen he wrote that he realised that impressionistic art eventually would reach a dead end, but that the new way of applied arts could open new perspectives. He invited Derkinderen to join him, so that they could learn the principles of the Arts and Crafts Movement together. He expected that practicing applied arts would give him the satisfaction that impressionistic art no longer could provide.[161]

The Arts and Crafts Movement followed the ideas of August Pugin (1812-1852), who had concluded in 1836 that the quality of life had deteriorated due to the growth of capitalism. Crafts were industrialised and mass production influenced the quality of the goods in a negative way. He plead for an improvement of the crafts and the applied arts. According to him, this could be reached when artists and craftsmen worked together, as had been the case in the medieval system of guilds.[162] His ideas were followed by English artists, which eventually lead to the reorganisation of arts and crafts education. In 1854 the Working Man's Guild was established, with Ruskin, Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882), Ford Madox Brown (1821-1893) and Edward Burne-Jones (1833-1898) as main practitioners. Many similar organisations were established after the example of this company. Most of those guilds used the title 'Arts and Crafts', and they were driven by the common goal to reunite the artist and the craftsmen and to revive the crafts.[163] In 1861 Morris founded his own firm where the decorations for his own house were made. Rossetti, Brown and Burne-Jones were involved in this enterprise as well. Morris became an important promoter of the movement by lecturing and writing on its principles and by being a successful artist himself. In his view, a practitioner of crafts should be able to conduct all the stages of the production process himself. He himself learnt the craft of carpet making, tapestry weaving.[164] The name of the movement officially became the Arts and Crafts

[159] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 67.
[160] Letter R.N. Roland Holst to W. Witsen, 10 October 1893, Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague (KB), KB 75 C 51. Digitised by the Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nedelandse Letteren (DBNL).
< http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/wits009brie01_01/wits009brie01_01_0601.php> 19 June 2013.
[161] Letter R.N. Roland Holst to A. Derkinderen, 27 September 1893, RKD Den Haag, archive Derkinderen.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 4), pp. 120-121.
[162] See on Pugin's ideas his manifest:
A.W.N. Pugin, *Contrasts*, London 1836.
Bank and van Buuren 2004 (see note 4), pp. 144-145.
[163] Idem.
[164] P. Larmour, *The Arts & Crafts Movement in Ireland*, Belfast 1992, pp. 1-2.

Movement in 1888, when the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, responsible for organising applied arts exhibitions, was installed.[165] The three main principles of the Arts and Crafts Movement were re-introducing the medieval guild system, the involvement of an artist in the designs for the craftworks and the reassessment of traditional working methods.[166] Due to the industrialisation of the crafts, the production process was divided into different parts that were conducted by several workers. In medieval times, the artist was responsible for conducting all the stages himself. The artist or the craftsman therefore had to be able to perform the whole production process himself in order to produce a good piece of applied art.[167]

The improvement of the crafts by artistic involvement resulted in goods of supreme quality, but they were expensive because they were constructed by hand. They were made to enrich the personal life of the craftsman, but he could not afford them.[168] Although the movement did not succeed in making arts and crafts available for the working man, the efforts of the artists to elevate the crafts was followed across Europe and led to a revival of applied arts, which for instance resulted in Art Nouveau.[169]

When in England, Roland Holst did not have many opportunities to familiarise himself with the Arts and Crafts principles. He met Morris in February 1894 and he was introduced to Walter Crane as well, but those encounters were short and did not allow him to become familiar with different principles.[170]

More effective was his contact with the book publishers Charles Shannon (1863-1937) and Charles Ricketts (1866-1931), who introduced him to the Arts and Crafts ideas, especially in book decorating and the graphic arts. Ricketts and Shannon were responsible for the typography of the books they published and they produced the illustrations themselves.[171]

After his return to the Netherlands, Roland Holst would be involved in several book designing projects. He for instance took care of the typography of a collection of poems written by his wife.[172] Between 1895 and he published a number of articles that were related to his experiences in England and the his interest in applied arts.[173] In 1898, Richard and Henriette Roland Holst published a book on

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[165] Idem, p. 2.

[166] Idem, pp. 1-2.

N. Gordon Bowe, D. Caron and M. Wynne, *Gazetteer of Irish stained glass. The works of Harry Clarke and the artists of An Tür Gloine (The Tower of Glass) 1903-1963*, Dublin 1988, p. 15-17.

Bank and van Buuren 2003 (see note 4), pp. 145-146.

[167] Gordon Bowe, Caron and Wynne 1988 (see note 166), p. 16.

Larmour 1992 (see note 164), p. 2.

[168] Bank and van Buuren 2004 (see note 4), p. 146.

[169] Hoogveld 1989 (see note 88), pp. 54-56.

[170] Roland Holst-van der Schalk 1940 (see note 5), pp. 111-116.

Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 120-121.

[171] Roland Holst-van der Schalk 1940 (see note 5), pp. 111-116.

Tibbe 1994 (see note 5), pp. 120-121.

[172] H. van der Schalk, *Sonnetten en verzen in terzinen geschreven*, Amsterdam 1896.

Roland Holst was engaged with van der Schalk when the book was published.

[173] See for instance:

Rossetti, whom Roland Holst greatly admired. Roland Holst was responsible for the discussion of his artworks, while his wife focussed on his poetry.[174] He underlined Rossetti's relation with the Arts and Crafts Movement and positioned him as a leading figure of the group, next to Ruskin and Morris.[175]

Socialism

Roland Holst's was not the only one who was interested in the theories of the English Arts and Crafts Movement. Since the Movement focussed on the improvement of the working conditions, Ruskin and Morris were socially engaged an so were their writings. While they nowadays are mainly known for their involvement in the development of the Arts and Crafts Movement, during the last two decades of the century their works were mainly read out of socialistic interest. Their influence can therefore also be linked to Dutch socialism that grew stronger at the end of the nineteenth century.[176]

Artists of the Eighties Movement had shown an interest in politics and socialism that they expressed in *De Nieuwe Gids*. The aim of the journal was first and foremost to be a general periodical where articles relating to literature, art, politics and science were published.[177] Especially van der Goes (under the pseudonym of Ph. Hack van Outheusden) and Tak gave their opinion on politics and wrote a number of socially engaged articles.[178] The political climate of these days was characterised by a transition between liberal policy and a more radical direction focussing on justice for all classes, which would result in universal suffrage and subsidisation of both public and denominational education.[179] The poignant situation of the working class, that was subject to poor working conditions, was noted by members of the upper middle class, where artists of the Eighties Movement belonged to.[180] Van der Goes, a literature an theatre connoisseur, expressed his sympathies with socialism in *De Nieuwe Gids* and was one of the first artists of this circle to join a social democratic union, namely the Sociaal

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R.N. Roland Holst, 'Vercieringskunst', *De Kroniek* 1 (1895), pp. 17-18.
R.N. Roland Holst, 'Een vereeniging tot veredeling van het ambacht', *De Kroniek* 3 (1897), pp.179-180.
R.H. (R.N. Roland Holst), 'Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon', *De Kroniek* 4 (1898), pp. 42-43.
R.N. Roland Holst, 'John Ruskin', *De Kroniek* 6 (1900), p. 26.

[174] H. and R. Roland Holst, *Dante Gabriël Rossetti als dichter en schilder*, Haarlem 1898. *Mannen en vrouwen van beteekenis in onze dagen* series XXIX no. 7l.

[175] R.N. Roland Holst, 'Dante Gabriël Rossetti', in: Roland Holst 1940 (see note 6), pp. 35-41.
Roland Holst's contribution to the publication was reprinted in the posthumously published anthology of Roland Holst's writings.

[176] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 109.

[177] The subtitle of *De Nieuwe Gids* was 'Tweemaandelijksch Tijdschrift voor Letteren, Kunst, Politiek en Wetenschap'.

[178] See for instance the series 'Jong Amsterdam' by Ph. Hack van Outheusden (Frank van der Goes) in volume 3 to 6 of *De Nieuwe Gids* and articles by Tak in the same volumes.

[179] J.M. Welcker, 'Politiek in De Nieuwe Gids. De 'radicalen' zijn somber over hervormingen', supplement to *Trouw* 12 November 1985, p. 20.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 18-19.

[180] Welcker 1985 (see note 179), pp. 20-21.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 19.

Democratische Bond (SDB, the Social Democratic Federation).[181] The SDB was a joint venture of trade unions that granted membership to both craftsmen and non-craftsmen. The union had a rather utopian view: its members expected a revolution that would result in a society without private property where goods were equally divided.[182] Inspired by this ideal, van der Goes translated utopian novels written by English socialists, including *Looking backward: 2000-1887* by the American writer Edward Bellamy (1850-1898) that was translated as *In het jaar 2000* and published in 1890.[183] Van der Goes translated these novels to make them accessible for the workers, but they were widely read in other circles as well. Bellamy's novel attracted a lot of negative responses, especially in *De Nieuwe Gids* where it resulted in a controversy between van der Goes and van Deyssel.[184] The translation of Bellamy's novel raised the interest for other socialist writings, especially for those written by persons related to the English Arts and Crafts Movement. Gorter and Henriette van der Schalk translated articles by Morris, published in as a compilation in 1893, followed by Veth's translation of Crane's *Claims of Decorative art* in 1894.[185] Richard and Henriette Roland Holst studied socialistic works by Ruskin, Morris and Crane, Leo Tolstoy's *What is art* (1897) and Marx's *Das Kapital* (three volumes published between 1867 and 1894), together with Gorter.[186] Roland Holst was already acquainted with Ruskin since he owned a copy of his *Mornings in Florence*, which he probably took along to the trip to Italy. The book consisted of seven morning walks through Florence including descriptions of works of art that Ruskin considered to be the summit of Florentine art. Roland Holst was familiar with Ruskin and his theories.[187] As a result of their studies, Richard and Henriette Roland Holst and Gorter joined the Sociaal-Democratische Arbeiders Partij (SDAP, the social democratic workers party) in 1897.[188]

The SDAP originated from the SDB, that gradually had changed its policy from socialistic to anarchistic. The SDAP attracted intellectuals and artists who wanted to establish a change in the working conditions. Due to the increasing industrialisation, not only the demand for workers but also for intellectuals that could play a leading role in industrialisation processes raised. Furthermore, the

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[181] Van der Goes joined the Sociaal Democratische Bond (the Social Democratic Union) in 1891.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 101-102.
[182] Idem.
[183] *Looking backward* was originally published in 1887.
[184] See for instance:
L. van Deyssel, 'Gedachte, kunst, socialisme, enz.', *De Nieuwe Gids* 6 (1891), pp. 249-262.
F. van der Goes, 'Studies in socialisme. I. Over socialistische aesthetiek,'*De Nieuwe Gids* 6 (1891), pp. 369-404.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 102-104.
[185] William Morris, *John Ball en andere vertalingen*, Amsterdam 1893.
Kunst en samenleving. Naar Walter Crane's Claims of decorative art*, in het Nederlandsch bewerkt door Jan Veth en vercierd met talrijke vignetten, in hout gesneden door G.W. Deysselhof*, Amsterdam 1894. *Claims of decorative art* was originally published in 1892.
[186] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 109-141.
[187] J. Ruskin, *Mornings in Florence. Being simple studies of Christian art for English travelers*, 1875-1877.
[188] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 150-151.

labour movement had changed its policy from activistic to strategic and was in need of tactical thinkers instead of activists. Where artists and intellectuals had been dependent on the support of the middle classes before, their level of independence had been growing due to changing relations between artist and patron. They felt free to become socially engaged and to criticise the working conditions of the third class.[189] Roland Holst was involved in the financial matters of the party. He for instance helped with fundraising in several occasions.[190] Henriette Roland Holst and Gorter had a more prominent place within the organisation. They were asked to join the editorial staff of the periodical *De Nieuwe Tijd*, a social democratic monthly founded by van der Goes. Together with van der Goes, Pieter Wiedijk (1867-1938), Floor Wibaut (1859-1936) and Anton Pannekoek (1873-1960) they were responsible for formulating a theoretic framework of the party, based on Marxism.[191]

Henriette Roland Holst's devoted some of her writings to the relation between art and socialism. According to her, socialistic art would be developed as a result of revolution that would bring a turn in the poor situation of the working class. As long as this change was not established, artists could strive for socially engaged art and poetry, but their endeavours would not be complete. Artistic changes thus would be preceded by socialistic reforms.[192] Although she did not give strict directions for artists, she did describe the fundamentals of socialistic art. It should be derived from life itself; it should not focus on its appearances, but on its basic principles. She rejected symbolic art because it sought for steadiness outside the reality.[193] Striving for religious art in imitating medieval art was not a good aspiration either. In medieval times faith in God was experienced by all members of the community because of the feudal system, where profit was related to land. A common belief in a God who provided the rain and sunshine that made the crop grow, could only originate in feudalistic societies. With the coming of capitalism wealth was not related to nature but to production.[194] The working class therefore no longer sought for inspiration in mysticism, but in society itself.[195] True beauty was to be found in social commitment like empathy and self-sacrifice. Socialistic art should therefore be concerned with depicting deeds that were a sign of community spirit.[196]

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[189] Idem.

[190] Idem, pp. 155-164.

[191] Idem, pp. 164-165.

[192] H. Roland Holst-van der Schalk, 'Middeneeuwsche en moderne mystiek', *De Nieuwe Tijd* 2 (1897-1898), pp. 226-227, 230.

H. Roland Holst-van der Schalk, 'Middeneeuwsche en moderne mystiek', *De Nieuwe Tijd* 3 (1898-1899), pp. 130, 272.

Henriette Roland Holst's publications on art and socialism were compiled an published in 1925:

H. Roland Holst-van der Schalk, *Over leven en schoonheid. Opstellen over aesthetische en ethische onderwerpen*, Arnhem 1925.

[193] H. Roland Holst, 'Middeneeusche en moderne mystiek. III. Maurice Maeterlinck,' *De Nieuwe Tijd* 2 (1898-1899), pp. 361, 632, 365-368.

[194] H. Roland Holst *De Nieuwe Tijd* 1897-1899 (see note 192).

[195] H. Roland Holst *De Nieuwe Tijd* 1898-1899 (see note 192).

[196] H. Roland Holst 1925 (see note 192), p. 40.

Roland Holst and his wife had corresponded about artistic ideas during their engagement. There is no need to assume that the interchange stopped during their marriage. Although Roland Holst did not mention the ideas of his wife among the theories that influenced him in developing his own artistic theories, her opinions are apparent in Roland Holst's writings, especially in the articles he published before 1900.[197] Between 1897 and 1900 Roland Holst articles became more and more concerned with art and socialism, as appears from a polemic following an article on the improvement of crafts published in *De Kroniek* in 1897.[198]

Roland Holst wrote this article to react against the activities of a society that strived for the refinement of the crafts.[199] The goal of this society was to train artisans in all the aspects of their craft. With the arrival of the steam engine many crafts were mechanised. Due to a rising demand and production for a large market the stages of the production process were no longer executed by one craftsman, but were done by several artists, each of them executing one of the stages. As a result, knowledge of special crafts and production processes was lost. Workers were often confronted with bad working conditions and poverty. Due to competition the production process was forced up which was not beneficial for the quality of the goods. The use of cheap materials, the subdivision of the working process and the poor working conditions resulted in the decrease of the quality of the goods. The goal of the society was to improve the quality of craftworks by educating workers in their craft, to examine them and give them a certificate on passing the exam. According to them, reinstating educated craftsmen would result in an improvement of the goods. Roland Holst disagreed with this method. According to him, a change would only be evoked improving the working conditions. As long as the poor conditions were not improved, a craftsman could never enjoy his work, no matter how skilled he was.[200] Karel de Bazel, a member of the committee, responded that a workman needed training, because there was a demand for goods that were not mass produced. And a workman would not have any benefit from a revolution if he was not able to practice his craft when he was asked to do so.[201] Roland Holst answered that a craftsman could rely on the tradition of his craft. This knowledge was not lost during the years of industrialisation, but it had become private knowledge. A revolution would bring this knowledge back within the reach of the worker.[202] Roland Holst reproached the committee that they

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For a discussion of Henriette Roland Holst's ideas of art and socialism see also:
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 142-150.

[197] Tibbe 1994 (see note…), pp. 143-144.

[198] R.N. Roland Holst, *De Kroniek* 1897-1 (see note 173), pp. 179-180.

[199] R.N. Roland Holst, *De Kroniek* 1897-3 (see note 173), pp. 210-211.

[200] Roland Holst *De Kroniek* 1897 (see note 173), pp. 179-180.

[201] K.P.C. de Bazel, 'Een vereeniging ter veredeling van het ambacht', *De Kroniek* 3 (1897) no. 129, pp. 186-187.

[202] R.N. Roland Holst *De Kroniek* 1897-2 (see note 173), p. 203.

wanted to revive crafts without benefitting the working class. Only a revolution would improve their working conditions.[203]

From the polemic appears that the whole discussion on the revival of the crafts was automatically was a social debate. Craftworks traditionally were made and used by members of the working class. Before the industrialisation, one craftsman was responsible for the whole production process. Having the knowledge how to handle the material he worked with and the ability to create something with his own hands made him enjoy his work. With the industrialisation of the production process he had lost his independence and the enthusiasm for his work. Artists could decide to take up the crafts instead, but that would result in luxury goods that workers could not afford. Socialism and the improvement of crafts was closely related, as already was apparent in the writings of Ruskin and Morris. It appears from the polemic between Roland Holst and de Bazel that at this point, Roland Holst was more interested in the improvement of working conditions than the improvement of crafts. In this he followed the opinion of Henriette Roland Holst, who also was of the opinion that a social revolution would precede artistic changes. The improvement of working conditions for the working class would eventually result in the development of socialistic art. It was only after 1900 that Roland Holst changed his ideas on the importance of a social revolution over artistic change. When he became active as monumental artist, he found that crafts and monumental art were closely related and that the improvement of the crafts was important as well.[204] The long expected and desired social revolution had failed to occur, but the need for social art and the improvement of crafts was still felt. He decided to await coming events no longer, but devoted himself to monumental art.[205]

Both the Dutch artistic climate and politics were subject to important changes at the end of the nineteenth century. In politics there came more interest for the condition of the working class. Workers suffered from bad working and living conditions that resulted in ill health and a low life expectancy. They organised themselves in trade unions and new political parties attracted members of the middle class who wanted to dedicate themselves to bringing a change in the situation of the workers. Artists were involved in this as well, because they believed that a change would lead to an improvement of the crafts. Publications by English writers like Ruskin and Morris became available in the Netherlands and encouraged artists to become active in socialistic parties. In the art world, influences from France and Belgium were welcomed. Roland Holst responded to this changes in his writings and his art. The year 1892 can be considered as a turning point for him. Not only did he become acquainted with the idea of community art, he also started to doubt impressionism which eventually led to his turn to symbolic art. The final years of the century can be considered as a formative period for Roland Holst.

[203] Roland Holst 1897 *De Kroniek* 1897-1 and 2 (see note 173), pp. 179-180, 203.
See also Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 124-127 on the polemic.
[204] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 127.
[205] Roland Holst's transition to monumental art will be further discussed in chapter 3.

It was only after 1900 that the ideas that he had been responding to, came together in a consistent art theory.

Chapter 3.

Richard Roland Holst as community art theoretic: the mature years

Before 1900, the supporters of community art had discussed its different aspects, but a real community art project, including a building and a coherent decorative programme, was not realised. This changed when the architect Berlage was commissioned to design two buildings, including the decorations. Roland Holst was involved in decorating these two buildings between 1900 and 1910. These projects made him return to his thoughts on community art that he expressed in an article he had written in 1892. From 1910 onwards he wrote a number of articles in which he expanded his theories. In this chapter his contribution to the two buildings by Berlage will be discussed, followed by an analysis of his theories.

Two community art buildings

Berlage

The architect Berlage started to contribute to the debate of community art in *De Kroniek* in 1895.[206] He had not been associated to the Eighties Movement and its individualism for several reasons. When the founders of *De Nieuwe Gids* met one another in the literary society Flanor in 1881, Berlage took up his residence in Amsterdam. By then, he had already been trained as a painter, but after a successful though short career he had left for Zurich where he studied architecture. He gained practical experience at architectural firms in Arnhem and Frankfurt and he had travelled to Italy to study art and architecture.[207] Back in Amsterdam, he was appointed as architectural draughtsman at the civil engineering firm of Th. Sanders, where he soon was promoted to associate. The office did not follow a certain architectural style and Berlage himself did not meddle in the discussions on building types that were pursued by followers of different styles.[208] As an inhabitant of Amsterdam he took an active part in social life and he was not oblivious to the prevailing progressive climate.[209]

In the 1880s Berlage made name as an architect by winning prizes for designs for buildings and executing successful new housing estate and renovation projects together with Sanders. His developed a more personal style that was based on Dutch and Italian Renaissance, although influences of other architectural styles are visible as well.[210] In 1889 he decided to start his own business. In the same year he was asked to design a church, which caused him to study church architecture by reading

[206] Berlage 1895 (see note 77), pp. 58-59.
[207] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 65.
H. van Bergeijk, *De steen van Berlage. Theorie en praktijk van de architectuur rond 1895*, Rotterdam 2003, p. 10.
[208] Idem, pp. 10-12.
[209] Idem, pp. 17-18.
[210] Idem, pp. 14-18.

publications of Alberdingk Thijm.[211] In 1892 he met Derkinderen, who was responsible for the wall paintings of the Algemeene Maatschappij van Levensverzekeringen en Lijfrente building (the General Company for Life insurance and Annuity), that was designed by Berlage. He thus became acquainted with medieval and community art.[212] He also supported the socialistic movement.[213] He endorsed the principles of community art and was willing to provide space for monumental artworks in his buildings. In 1895 he was asked to join *De Kroniek*, a journal where collaboration between the arts was advocated.[214]

Berlage concluded in 1895 that art had become an individualistic matter with the result that it had placed itself outside society.[215] Great art however can only exist in a society full of great artists and craftsmen, that is driven by a common social, religious or political ideal. With the recent developments of socialism, community art and the efforts to elevate craftsmanship in mind, he concluded that the coming century would see the birth of a new art. In the twentieth century, crafts would be reassessed, sculpture and painting would again collaborate with architecture and this new art would be connected with society. It would result in an architecture for the people, made by the people.[216] Around 1900 Berlage had the chance to set this new art into motion when he received commissions for two buildings in Amsterdam to which the principles of community art could be applied: a building for the trade union of diamond workers and a stock exchange building. In these buildings the ideas of community art, which had developed since 1892, came together.[217] Roland Holst was involved in decorating both these buildings. Being active in a community art project lead to an important change in his art and writings.

The ANDB building

The Algemeene Nederlands Diamantwerkers Bond (ANDB), the trade union of diamond workers, was founded in 1894 by Henri Polak (1868-1943). The growth of the diamond trade in Amsterdam played an important role in the foundation of the union. Since 1870 Amsterdam had been dominating the diamond trade, with the result that this industry was the most developed Amsterdam trade. Diamond workers made good money compared to other craftsmen, so they were able to pay the membership fee of the union.[218] During the first years of its existence the union was located at rented premises, until it was decided in 1897 that there were enough funds for the construction of an own building. Since the union focussed on the cultural education of its members, the new building would have a social

[211] Idem, pp. 22-23.
[212] Idem, pp. 24-27.
[213] Idem, pp. 17-18.
[214] Idem, p. 31.
[215] Berlage 1895 (see note 77), pp. 58-59.
[216] Bergeijk 2003 (see note 107), p. 31.
[217] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 80-84.
[218] Idem, pp. 19, 184-185.

function. It would be a symbol of the labour movement. Berlage was considered to be the right architect to design a building in conformity with these requirements.[219] Berlage designed the building that was opened in August 1900.[220] It was not until after the opening that the board of directors decided to have the building decorated. The underlying thought of this decision was that the building should have the function of an ideal house where the workers could surround themselves with beautiful artworks that they could not afford to have for themselves. In this environment they could hide themselves from the capitalistic society.[221] The board expected their building to be the only one in Amsterdam with its function as a home for workmen, so it would be exemplary for the labour movement.[222] The board probably did not notice that their opinion was paradoxical in comparison with the nature of the diamond trade. The diamond industry pre-eminently was a capitalistic trade and therefore depended on capitalism.[223]

Roland Holst was one of the first to be invited to execute paintings for the building.[224] It is not known why he was chosen to decorate building. His friend J.F. Ankersmit (1871-1942) probably introduced him to Polak.[225] It is also possible that Polak knew the artist in person since he was one of the founders of the SDAP.[226] Roland Holst completed the first cycle of paintings for the assembly room in 1907. The union building can be considered as a community art project since it had a public function. The later added decorations were made in accordance with the architectural structure.[227] It however was not a community art building in the proper sense of the word since the decorations were not the result of a collaboration between master builder and artists during the designing and construction process. Roland Holst even wished to complete his murals in strict isolation, no one was supposed to see them before they were finished.[228] He painted a cycle of depictions of forces that stimulated the growth of the union. These forces, including Resolve, Solidarity, Resistance, Enthusiasm, Hope, Sacrifice and Memory, were depicted by workers that performed an act related to a specific force. Solidarity for instance was portrayed as a worker that could not be bribed to interrupt a strike (fig. 5). This cycle thus had a strong socialistic meaning.[229]

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[219] Idem, pp. 185-186.
[220] Idem, p. 186.
[221] Idem, pp. 185-186.
[222] Idem.
[223] Idem, pp. 18-19, 183-186.
[224] H. Polak, 'De muurschilderingen van R.N. Roland Holst in ons Bondsgebouw', *Weekblad van den Algemeenen Nederlandschen Diamantwerkersbond* 13 (1907) no. 21/22.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 186-187.
[225] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 185.
[226] Idem, pp. 186-187.
[227] Idem, p. 188.
[228] R.N. Roland Holst, *Vijftien afbeeldingen in boekdruk naar de wandschilderingen van R.N. Roland Holst in het gebouw van den Algemeenen Nederlandschen Diamantwerkersbond te Amsterdam*, Rotterdam 1907, pp. 3-4.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp.186-188.
[229] Idem, pp. 188-189.

Roland Holst had designed his paintings in accordance with the basic principles of socialistic art as Henriette Roland Holst had formulated them. His paintings showed the social commitment of the workers, a topic that contained true beauty according to Henriette Roland Holst.[230] Roland Holst made them in accordance with the architectural context in which they were placed by using the colours of the panel work that surrounded the paintings. The paintings were set in semicircular frames which made them correspond with the frames.[231] The protagonists were showed in profile, turned to the left or the right. He used a geometric pattern to design the paintings. They therefore have a rather static character (fig. 5).

Roland Holst had not made a monumental artwork before, so he was not acquainted with the method of painting directly on the wall. Antoon Derkinderen's wall paintings were not applied to the wall, but were painted on canvas that was installed after it was finished. Roland Holst wished to learn how to paint on the wall directly. He consulted his friend Jan Verkade, who had been ordained to a monastery of the Benedictine order in Beuron. The Beuron monastery was an important centre for religious art.[232] Verkade practised there as a mural painter.[233] Verkade sent Roland Holst a detailed description of the procedure, including directions on how to prepare the wall, which tools, brushes, paint and colours to use and how to finish off the painting.[234] This is the only indication of how Roland Holst acquired his knowledge on the process of wall painting.[235]

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[230] See chapter 2, pp. 38-40.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 189.

[231] Idem, p. 188.

[232] For the Beuron Art School see:
N. Davenport, 'Pater Desiderius Lenz at Beuron. History, Egyptology, and Modernism in Nineteenth-Century German Monastic Art', *Religion and the Arts* 13 (2009), pp. 14–80.

[233] For Jan Verkade and the Beuron Art School see:
A. Kehrbaum, *Die Nabis und die Beuroner Kunst. Jan/Willibrord Verkades Aichhaldener Wandgemälde (1906) und die Rezeption der Beuroner Kunst durch Gaugin-Nachfolger*, Olms 2006.

[234] Derkinderen's teaching material concerning monumental art, techniques and stained glass [1913-1914], Noord-Hollands Archief Haarlem (NHA), archive Rijksacademie van Beeldende Kunsten, no. 900-269.
The document notes 'Beuron klooster Sintes Maarten April 1901, Verkade[n] aan RNRH, and is signed by Fr. Willibrord. Verkade took the name Willibrord at his profession to the monastery.
It is included in Derkinderen's notes for lectures that he gave on the technique of fresco painting. Derkinderen focused on Italian Renaissance fresco's and discussed writings by Cennini, Alberti and Vasari. Roland Holst probably lent him Verkade's notes to provide him with information on modern day wall painting. There is a small section on a new fresco technique in Derkinderen's notes, that complies with Verkade's notes.

[235] Tibbe does not mention how Roland Holst acquired the technique of painting on walls. She probably did not come across this document since it was included in Derkinderen's teaching programme. Her dissertation included Derkinderen's plans for a reform of the teaching at the Rijksacademie, but the structure of his lectures is not discussed.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 257-274.
See also chapter 4.

The Stock Exchange building

In the mean time Roland Holst had been working at the decorations in the Stock Exchange building.[236] Other than the ANDB building, the stock exchange building, known as the Beurs van Berlage or simply the Beurs, was conceived as a community art building from the beginning. When Berlage received the commission in 1897, he asked Albert Verwey to write verses for a decorative scheme, which would be given to artist who would execute the decorations. The verses were the result of a collaboration between Berlage, Derkinderen and Verwey. Their goal was to depict the history of Amsterdam as a trade centre, focussing on human values in this history.[237] Berlage brought artists together on the construction site where he invited them to work together.[238] Verwey wrote Jan Veth in 1900 that he thought that Roland Holst would be able to execute a part of the decorative programme.[239] Veth consulted this suggestion with Berlage, which resulted in Roland Holst's participation. He was responsible for two murals in the landing, depicting a merchant and a factory leader, based on two quatrains written by Verwey.[240] Other artists who were asked to execute parts of the decoration programme were the sculptor Lambertus Zijl (1866-1947) who made sculptures and reliefs for interior and exterior, Toorop who made tile pictures and friezes of ceramics, Derkinderen who made stained glass windows, and Joseph Mendes da Costa (1863-1939) who sculpted decorations for the assembly rooms. Furthermore there were craftsmen responsible for the decorations and furniture designed by Berlage.[241] Roland Holst's contribution to the monumental artworks in the Beurs differed from his role in the decorating process of the ANDB building. Where he had received minimal instructions for the ANDB cycle, his paintings for the Beurs were part of a larger decorative programme and he was asked to adhere to the verses that Verwey had written.[242]

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[236] It is not known which one of the commissions Roland Holst received first. Tibbe noted that Verwey suggested that he could be a suitable candidate for the murals in February 1900. Then she stated that the work for the ANDB would be finished at the end of 1902, but that Roland Holst had asked to postpone the completion date in February 1902, since he just had received the commission for the Beurs paintings. In a letter to F.M. Wibaut, dated February 1902, he had noted that he had been working on the ANDB paintings for approximately one and a half year. It thus can be deduced that he started with the ANDB paintings, to interrupt the project to work for the Beurs in 1902. He returned to the ANDB in 1904, depending on the annual report of 1904/1905, where it was stated that Roland Holst was working on the paintings and hoped to finish them soon.
Letter A. Verwey to J. Veth, 2 February 1900, in: Nijland-Verwey 1959 (see note 7), p. 177.
Letter R.N. Roland Holst to F.M. Wibaut, 11 February 1902, IISG, Wibaut archive I-7.
Letter R.N. Holst to ANDB board, 22 February 1902, IISG, ANDB archive 3039-19.
Verslag tot nopens den toestand en de verrichtingen van den Alg. Ned. Diamantwerkersbond over het tijdperk 1 September 1904-31 Aug. 1905, IISG, ANDB archive, nr. I-1205.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 84-85, 186-187.

[237] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 83-84.

[238] Idem, p. 84.

[239] Letter Verwey to Veth 1900 (see note 236).

[240] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 87-88.

[241] Idem.

[242] Idem, pp. 87-89.

The Beurs was conceived as a community artwork, since all the aspects of community art were represented in the building.[243] First of all, different forms of art worked together in an architectural context to create a 'Gesamtkunstwerk'. Painting, stained glass, sculpture, tile pictures and craftworks were represented and the decorative scheme was based on a poem. Secondly, the Beurs was a public building and was accessible to all members of society, and therefore fulfilled a social function. And furthermore, physical collaboration between the different artists took place the during the preparations for and the execution of the building. But in practice it remained difficult to create a perfect community artwork. Although artists and craftsmen worked together, the craftsmen only received little recognition.[244] The building might have been open to the public, it still served a capitalist purpose.

Problems also occurred on the level of artistic collaboration. Derkinderen complained about his involvement in the designing process. Although the agreements concerning his artworks were recorded in a contract, his designs deviated from the original plans. He made remarks on Verwey's decoration programme as well. Due to reorganisations in the design of the building, a cycle of murals designed by Derkinderen was not executed. The disagreements eventually lead to a conflict that resulted in a lawsuit between Derkinderen and Berlage in 1901. In order to create a real community art building, it was important that the artists were willing to submit themselves to the bigger plan. Altough Derkinderen had been involved in the design of the decorative programme, he still considered his independence to be more important than contributing to the common goal.[245]

While this discussion was pursued among artists, the press paid attention to the character of the decorations. They were eager to see how the decorative programme contributed to society. In a polemic concerning Toorop's tile figures the equality of artworks was questioned. Toorop's concept of Past, Present and Future, the subjects of his figures, was thought to be too confusing. It was therefore interfering with the harmony of the decorative programme and incomprehensible for the general public.[246]

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[243] For the definition of community art see chapter 1, p. 21.

[244] A commemorative inscription in the hall of the building stated the names of the artists Derkinderen, Mendes da Costa, Roland Holst, Toorop and Zijl.
Nijland-Verwey 1959 (see note 7), p. 200.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 84.

[245] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 85-86.
This was not the first time that Derkinderen complained about his contribution to a building. He was asked to be involved in the decoration of the Rijksmuseum, which he refused to do because he was not allowed to design the paintings himself.
Boot and van der Heijden 1978 (see note 54), p. 36.

[246] The polemic was mainly pursued in *De Amsterdammer* (weekly), *De Kroniek* and *Architectura*. Amongst the contributors were A. Plasschaert, W. Steenhof, Derkinderen and J.L.M. Lauweriks.

Roland Holst's writings on monumental art

The starting point

It seems that after finishing the mural cycles at the ANDB and the stock exchange building, both Roland Holst's ideas about and his practice of monumental art were fully conceived. In his two articles on Derkinderen's murals in 1892, he had noted the importance of the murals for contemporary artists, but he did not expand on this in other articles. As already explained in chapter 2, in the years following his acquaintance with community art, he focussed on symbolist art and socialism. His involvement in what would be the first monument of community art, the Beurs van Berlage, showed him how community art works were conceived and how his own work could function in such a context. Although the collaboration between artist was not ideal and caused so much trouble that matters had to be taken to court, Roland Holst became convinced that community art was an ideal worth pursuing.[247]

The article that Roland Holst published in celebration of Jozef Israëls 86th birthday in 1909[248] can considered to be the first article where the theories that he had embraced and elaborated on since 1892 came together. In this article Roland Holst sketched the decline of individualistic art at the end of the nineteenth century due to the influence of monumental art.[249] Individualistic art had dominated the art world since the Renaissance and resulted in the impressionistic art of the Eighties Movement, that the poet Willem Kloos had described as 'the most individual expression of the most individual emotion'.[250] At the end of the nineteenth century, artists had become individualistic and resisted to display general feelings and ideas. But, according to Roland Holst, in a society consisting of counteracting social classes the artist is asked to use his exceptional way of looking and imagining to serve community in displaying general feelings and ideas. Artists were called on to make monumental art, related to primitive art of societies predating the Renaissance. The Italian society of the fourteenth and fifteenth century could serve as an example, since the ideas of community art were fully conceived there.[251] From the Renaissance onwards the collaboration between arts loosened and the artist's individual feelings became more important than the unity of society. As a result, different art forms were individually developed and works of art became movable and exchangeable. Artists continued to

[247] See p. 47.

[248] R.N. Roland Holst, 'Jozef Israëls. Ter herdenking van zijn 86sten verjaardag op den 27en januari 1910', in: *Over kunst en kunstenaars I*, Amsterdam 1923. Originally published in *De Nieuwe Tijd* 15 (1910), pp. 38-45. Dated December 1909.

[249] Roland Holst seems to have avoided the use of the term 'gemeenschapskunst' in his articles. He used a wide range of other terms, including the monumental art that he used most commonly. Monumental art is a general term that often refers to size in the sense that a work of art is large-scaled and therefore has a great impact on the onlooker. Roland Holst often used the term to refer to art with a social bias, like 'gemeenschapskunst' did. The term 'gemeenschapskunst' is therefore used to indicate when Roland Holst wrote about monumental art in a social context. See chapter 1 for a definition of 'gemeenschapskunst'. Roland Holst's use of terminology will be discussed later on in this chapter.

[250] See note 27.

[251] See chapter 2, p. 32.

achieve great things, but because of the temporariness of their work they could not overcome national borders, so they did not reach worldwide fame.[252]

Roland Holst argued that the gifts and the restraint of an artist do not determine whether or not his art becomes world art, but the ideas that underlie his work and his relation with society. Only when his goal is to depict universal feelings, his art would exceed the borders of nation and even time. Individualistic art is beautiful and admirable, but it does not belong to what Roland Holst called 'great art' or 'world art'. Great world art rests on different principles, namely the feeling of human sympathy that is able to speak to the heart of the onlooker. Roland Holst used the term 'recognition of life'[253] to describe that what creates community art. It is the unity of feelings that live in and outside the artist. When these two were in harmony, which happened when the artist decided to serve 'living community of ideas'[254] in his art, the artist was able to make timeless art. The strive for showing universal ideas that live in a community is so strong that even artists with weaker talents would gain more recognition while working in an artistic community than great artists who are working on their own.[255]

In this article, Roland Holst introduced his ideas of community art, on which he would elaborate in other publications as well. This article already contained several elements that would recur in other writings. It stated with the break between artist and society during the Renaissance and the domination of individualistic art that was only succeeded by community art at the end of the nineteenth century. It was followed by the Roland Holst's plea for art that was in accordance with society and the indication that the socially engaged artist could search for examples in art of religious societies predating Renaissance. These elements were not new. As already described in chapter 2, other artists and theorists, including Roland Holst, had been writing on this topics separately.[256] Roland Holst put them together to create his theories on community art. One element however is new, that is the use of the term 'recognition of life'.

The art of the Image and the art of the Sign

After this publication, Roland Holst availed any opportunity to elaborate on community art, even in articles that he was asked to write on topics that were not directly related to the subject. He illustrated and expanded his ideas with examples and other theories. The line of reasoning that he had laid out in his fist article was carried out in other articles as well.

The separation of artists and society that resulted in individualistic art is a topic that often recurred. To make a distinction between those two, Roland Holst introduced the terms 'art of the Image' and 'art of

[252] Roland Holst 1910 (see note 248), pp. 29-30.
[253] Levens-erkenning.
[254] De levende ideeën gemeenschap.
[255] Levens-erkenning is a word Roland Holst used several times in this article. It recurred in other publications as well.
[256] See chapter 2, pp. 31-41.

the Sign'.[257] The Image referred to individualistic art, while Sign was used to describe monumental art. Individualistic art served the image, which was an account of the artists' personal feelings. It did not serve any higher purpose.[258]The use of the word sign was related to symbolist art where symbols were used to express an idea.[259] Roland Holst used this theory to introduce community art and to show why monumental art was a better alternative for art that was not related to society.[260] The art of Giotto and the Tuscany of the fourteenth and fifteenth century remained important, but the sources of inspiration were not reduced to this period. Roland Holst mentioned that all forms of art originating from a religious culture predating the Renaissance, showed the recognition of life that was vital for community art. He referred to art from Egypt, Greece and Mexico, and Buddhist art that had served a ritual purpose.[261] This was related to a growing artistic interest in primitive cultures.[262]After expanding the sources of inspiration from medieval art to art of cultures predating Renaissance, he used the term ritual art rather than religious art. Roland Holst used this term to underline the importance of collaboration between artists. Working together on a common goal resembled a ritual, which elevated the artists.[263] He however preferred medieval art over art of other cultures.[264]

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[257] See for instance:
R.N. Roland Holst, 'De hoogere betekenis der compositaire kunst', in: R.N. Roland Holst 1928 (see note 6), pp. 181-200. Originally published in *De Gids* 92 (1928) volume IV, 247-258.
[258] See chapter 1, p. 16.
[259] See chapter 2, p. 31.
[260] See for instance:
R.N. Roland Holst, 'Walter Crane (1845-1915)', in: Roland Holst 1923 (see note 6), pp. 93. Dated 1915. Supplement to *Orgaan van de V.A.N.K*, June 1915.
R.N. Roland Holst, 'Modern en decoratief', in: Roland Holst 1923 (see note 6), pp. 181-183. Originally published in *Architectura* 24 (1916), pp. 137-139.
Roland Holst *Dr. H.P. Berlage en zijn werk* 1916 (see note 103), pp. 61-63.
R.N. Roland Holst, 'Moderne eischen en artistieke bedenkingen', in: Roland Holst 1923 (see note 6), pp. 112-113. Originally published in *VANK-Orgaan* 4 (1917), pp. 30-38.
R.N. Roland Holst, 'Ethische factoren in de monumentale schilderkunst', in: Roland Holst 1923 (see note 6), pp. 145-146. Roland Holst's speech upon his installation as professor of composition at the Rijksacademie in Amsterdam, 14 October 1918.
R.N. Roland Holst, 'Aesthetisch intellectualisme', in: Roland Holst 1923 (see note.. 6), pp. 128-129, 142. Originally published in *De Gids* 85 (1921) volume 4, 114-124.
R.N. Roland Holst, 'De ontwikkeling en verwezenlijking der architecturale gedachte in Holland', in: Roland Holst 1928 (see note 6), pp. 123-124. Originally published in *Architectura* 29 (1924) 15-24.
R.N. Roland Holst, 'Over zuivere en onzuivere opvattingen bij de aanvaarding van monumentale opdrachten', in: R.N. Roland Holst 1928 (see note 6), pp. 20-21, 29. Originally published in *Architectura* 29 (1925), 141-145.
R.N. Roland Holst, 'Over vrije en gebonden vormen in de plastische kunst', in: Roland Holst 1928 (see note 6), pp. 47, 51-52. Originally published in *De Gids* 91 (1927), volume 1, pp. 227-249.
R.N. Roland Holst, 'Rede', in: R.N. Roland Holst, *In en buiten het tij. Nagelaten beschouwingen en herdenkingen*', Amsterdam 1940, pp. 185-187. Speech delivered in November 1838.
[261] Roland Holst *Orgaan van de V.A.N.K* 1915 (see note 260), pp. 92-96.
[262] C. Hoogveld, F. van Burkom and E. Bergveld, 'Een nieuwe kunst – sierende en monumentale glaskunst 1890-1930', in: Hoogveld 1989 (see note 8), pp. 73, 77.
[263] Idem.

Roland Holst's line of reasoning concerning individual art versus community art implied that Renaissance art was not as great as medieval art and that the works of for instance Michelangelo were subordinate to those of Giotto. The 1909 article showed that Roland Holst was aware of the consequences of this statement. He recognised the importance of the great Renaissance artists and rehabilitated some of them by stating that their art expressed individual feelings that were also felt in the society of their time, and that were also related to medieval and nineteenth century bourgeois culture. Artists like Michelangelo, Titian, Rembrandt, Vermeer, Millet and Israëls painted the reality of life with its pleasures and its tragedies. Their art was an account of human life and depicted general qualities that were recognised by the onlookers. It therefore related to society, but their artworks remained personal accounts.[265] Roland Holst implied that this kind of individualistic art, however related to society, was about to go down, when he stated that the tragedy of individualism was born with Michelangelo, disillusioned with Rembrandt and found a sorrowful end in the art of Israëls.[266] Roland Holst did not consider Renaissance art to be of lesser quality than art from earlier periods, he only judged its relation with society. To him, art that contributed to society was more useful than individualistic art. The quality of monumental art was defined by its power to speak to future generations.[267]

Geometrics

Another element in Roland Holst's writings is the difference between free and bound art and its implications. The individualistic artist was not bound to artistic rules so he was free to express his emotions in his art works. As a result, his art was subject to his moods. Roland Holst observed that a free artist could only produce a small amount of really good works when relying on his temper.[268] Monumental artists on the other hand saw themselves being subject to the monumental idea that served a higher purpose, which was the expression of the body of thoughts that lived in a society. This would his a constant source of inspiration.[269] A monumental artist saw the importance of this goal and bound himself to it. The true monumental artist devoted himself to his art in solitude and did not use it

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[264] In the articles summed up in note 260, Roland Holst mentioned medieval art. Only in a few articles he mentioned art from other cultures together with medieval art.

[265] Roland Holst 1910 (see note 248), pp. 31-35.

[266] 'Zijn (Israëls) kunst voltooit het groote drama van het individualistisch zijn, waar Michel Angelo de grandioose geboorte van schilderde met verbijsterende macht, waar Tiziaan de onmetelijke en immer roepende zoetheid van heeft verbeeld, waar Rembrandt de trotsche desillusie van maalde en waar Israëls ons eindelijk het kleine, zielig en kommervolle einde van brengt'.
Citation from Roland Holst 1910 (see note 248), p. 38.

[267] Roland Holst 1923 (see note 260), pp. 150-152.
Roland Holst *Architectura* 1925 (see note 260), pp. 17-21.

[268] R.N. Roland Holst, 'Over vrije en gebonden vormen in de plastische kunst. Voordracht gehouden bij de aanvaarding van het directoraat der Rijks Academie van Beeldende Kunsten', in: Roland Holst 1928 (see note 257), p. 63. Originally published in *De Gids* 91 (1927) vol. I, pp. 227-249.

[269] Roland Holst 1923 (see note 260), pp. 144-145.

for self-glorification.[270] The task of a monumental artist was to make a connection between the work of art that he was asked to make and the building where it was meant for. He strived for unity between art forms in all his works. This aspiration and the experience of the unity that he created would satisfy the artist and give spiritual fulfilment to his soul.[271]

The artist could make the connection between architecture and his work of art by applying the geometrics of the building to his work of art. Designing on the basis of geometrics was an important aspect of Roland Holst's art and his theories. According to him, every work of art should derive from a geometric scheme. Geometry was not used as a method to create a realistic composition as was the case with perspective drawing, but as a system of organising that formed the bias of the whole composition.[272] This idea derived from two publications by J.H. de Groot, namely *Driehoeken bij ontwerpen van ornament* (Triangles in designs for ornaments, 1896) and *Vormharmonie* (Harmony in forms, 1912).[273] De Groot's publications were related to a change in the teaching at the applied arts schools. From the 1890s onward, it became general practice for ornament designers to draw a screen based on triangles that formed the basis of their design. It differed from the practice where students drew from nature or plaster casts, followed by stylising of the studies that resulted in a design for an ornament.[274] Designing from a geometric pattern, also called designing from a system, was a more practical way of making a continuing pattern. De Groot, who taught at a applied arts school, elaborated on this system in his 1896 publication, followed by a sequel in 1912. Due to this method, the accent shifted from the imitation of nature to putting geometry first.[275]

Some symbolic and avant-garde artists were interested in the use of mathematics in their art. Basing themselves on Plato's theory of Ideas they believed that the visible reality was an imperfect reflection of a higher reality. The cosmos created by God or divine reason that brought order in the chaos by using mathematic principles. The artist had a creating role and by using geometry he could depict the beauty of cosmic harmony.[276] The use of mathematics also played an important role in theosophy. In depicting a higher reality an artist could surpass himself. He would no longer be bound to matter but he would reach a higher spiritual level.[277] Roland Holst did not support theosophy and his use of

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[270] R.N. Roland Holst, 'De muurschilderingen van Frank Brangwyn', in: Roland Holst 1923 (see note 6), pp. 39-47. Originally published in: *Wendingen* 1 (1918) no. 5, pp. 8-11.

[271] Roland Holst *Architectura* 1925 (see note 260), p. 15-16.

[272] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 125-126.

[273] J.H and J.M. de Groot, *Driehoeken bij ontwerpen van ornament*, Amsterdam 1896.
J.H. de Groot, *Vormharmonie*, Amsterdam 1912.

[274] A. Martis 1990 (see note 105), pp. 181-183.

[275] Idem.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 125-127.

[276] Immanse and Steen 1978 (see note 135), p. 23.
A. Gasten, 'Pseudo-mathematica en Beeldende kunst', in: Blotkamp, Boot, Cornips and others 1978 (see note 54), pp. 59-60.

[277] Immanse and Steen 1978 (see note 135), p. 29.

mathematics did not have a esoteric bias, but he ascribed a moral and religious connotation to it. According to him, geometry was contained in the Creation and any artwork created by a monumental artist should contain the same divine harmony of number and measure.[278] When designing a monumental art work, the artist was willing to submit himself to the geometry of the already existing architecture. The artist was willing to do this because he recognised a higher moral purpose in it. He sacrificed his freedom to serve a higher harmony that could only be reached by means of collaboration between art forms. The artist brought this offering with happiness because he saw that architecture expressed a collective ideal and he was pleased to serve this ideal with his art. When architect, artist and craftsman worked in the same spirit, the boundaries between art and craft would fade away and they would become equals.[279]

In serving the monumental idea the artist became a priest.[280] The idea of the artist as a priest was conceived at the end of the nineteenth century. According to members of the Eighties Movement, the artist was able to mediate between the physical and the metaphysical of the onlooker because his intuition and imagination enabled him to perceive divine beauty and to represent this in his art.[281] The artist thus served society by creating beautiful art.[282] The priestly role of an artist was also emphasised by Péladan, the leader of French symbolistic salon *Rose+Croix*.[283] Alphons Diepenbrock had ascribed the monumental artist as a seer because of his ability to represent the general feelings and emotions of past generations.[284] Unlike Derkinderen, who thought the artists' opinion to be elevated above the social purpose of the decoration, Roland Holst believed that the artist became a priest by serving society in his art and by submitting himself to architecture.[285] He could create divine beauty by using geometrics.[286]

[278] Roland Holst *Wendingen* 1918 (see note 270), p. 3.
[279] Roland Holst 1923 (see note 260), pp. 147-149.
[280] Roland Holst *Wendingen* 1918 (see note 270), p. 39.
[281] M. Kemperink, *Het verloren paradijs. De Nederlandse literatuur en cultuur van het fin de siècle*, Amsterdam 2001, pp. 330-332.
[282] Bionda and Blotkamp 1994 (see note 35), p. 12.
[283] See chapter 2, pp, 31.
Bionda and Blotkamp 1994 (see note 35), p. 13.
[284] Boot and van der Heijden 1978 (see note 54), p. 37.
Diepenbrock described this idea in his series of articles 'Melodie en Gedachte', published in *De Nieuwe Gids* 7 (1892), volume 1 and 2. The last article was called 'Schemeringen'.
[285] See p. 47.
[286] Roland Holst *Wendingen* 1918 (see note 270), pp. 43-45.

Roland Holst position in the debate on community art

Roland Holst used a wide variety of terms for community art in his articles. His generally used term was monumental art, but terms like ritual art, decorative art and social art also appear.[287] In a speech for the exhibition on art and advertisement, partly directed to artists that made designs for advertisements, he stated that the terms he used were of marginal importance, they were only indicating that he was talking about art that opposed individualistic art.[288] It is remarkable that Roland Holst never mentioned the term 'gemeenschapskunst' to illustrate his own theories. The only article where it appears was a retrospective of the development of Berlage's Beurs.[289] Roland Holst used the term, put between inverted comma's, to refer to the symbolic and decorative views that appeared in the Netherlands at the end of the nineteenth century and in reaction to the art of the Hague School.[290]

It appears that Roland Holst thought that the term community art did not suit his theories, although they complied with the definition of community art that were defined in the 1890s.[291] The elements of collaboration between artists and forms of art in an architectural context, the social engagement of community art and the importance of public character of community art buildings are all apparent in Roland Holst's writings. In Roland Holst's opinion, the theory of community art was a late nineteenth century reaction against the individualistic art of the impressionists, based on medieval art, that started with Derkinderen's mural for the town hall of Den Bosch.[292] To that extent it did not fit his theories that were more socially engaged and that not only looked back upon the Middle Ages, but found a source of inspiration in other religious societies as well. In literature, Roland Holst is often referred to as a key figure of community art because of the amount of articles he wrote concerning monumental art.[293] But strictly speaking, Roland Holst thus cannot considered to be a community artist since he did not adhere all the aspects that were included in this idea.

Looking back, Roland Holst saw that Berlage's Beurs had been the only opportunity for community art to manifest itself. The Beurs was a result of true and honest intentions, but the artists could not base themselves on a solid tradition and they were not experienced enough to fully conceive community art.[294] This deficiencies could be corrected in future projects and it was generally believed that many commissions would follow. But that was not the case. Despite the high hopes of the socialists who

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[287] In his articles, Roland Holst used the terms gemeenschapskunst (community art), decoratieve kunst (decorative art), versierende kunst (decorating art), rituele kunst (ritual art), monumentale kunst (monumental art), maatschappelijke kunst (social art), and gebruikskunst (utility art).

[288] Roland Holst 1923 (see note 260), p. 112.

[289] Roland Holst *Dr. H.P. Berlage en zijn werk* 1916 (see note 103), pp. 55-71.

[290] Idem, pp. 57-58.

[291] See chapter 1, p. 21.

[292] Roland Holst, *Dr. H.P. Berlage en zijn werk* 1916 (see note 103), pp. 57-58.

[293] See for instance:
Boot and van der Heijden 1978 (see note 54), p. 36.
This idea is also apparent in Tibbe's dissertation, as already appears from the subtitle 'Views of community art'.

[294] Roland Holst, *Dr. H.P. Berlage en zijn werk* 1916 (see note 103), p. 59.

strived for a revolution by means of a class struggle, the capitalistic society had not changed much at the beginning of the twentieth century. Artists were still dependent on capital to finance their commissions. It appeared that as long as the Dutch society remained capitalist, there would be no money available for buildings with a social purpose and moreover, capitalist society did not need such buildings.[295] Working for the moneyed interests would force the artist to produce impure art. Artist could better spent their time working on small projects and qualify themselves in crafts than lower themselves in working for capitalism.[296]

The term 'gemeenschapskunst' had referred to architectural projects that would be the result of collaboration between artists in every aspect of the project. Roland Holst preferred the general term monumental art, that in his writings was reduced to one particular aspect: the willingness of the artist to serve society in making social engaged art, and his ability to make his art subservient to architecture. The fact that the Beurs had been the only community art work in the true sense of the word, proved Roland Holst's proposition that community art as a coherent unity of architecture, art and applied arts had failed.[297] This did not mean that there were no opportunities for artists to make socially engaged monumental art. According to Roland Holst, the age of the Renaissance and its individualistic art was over, so the artist was obliged to make art that would serve society.[298] In exchange he expected society to provide him with opportunities to make his art. When society decided not to meet this demand, he could chose to accept this decision and to live up to what was expected of him, that is the production of capitalistic art. This would keep the art world lively and the artist would not have to worry about his wages, but his art would lack vitality. Another way of dealing with the lack of interest in monumental art was in fighting it by making monumental art that would convince the opponents of their wrong.[299] This however was only reserved for artists who were able to provide for themselves and that were not dependent on commissions to provide for their living. Roland Holst called on the artists of his age to choose their position in this social matter. He advised them to middle path: to except any commission and to transform it in a monumental work of art by using his skills and knowledge and in being devoted to his work.[300]

The reassessment of the debate in *Wendingen*

The public debate on community art had ended after the polemic in *De Kroniek*. Roland Holst reassessed the debate on his own with his 1909 article. By then, the idea only was adhered by artists who still worked in a monumental manner, like Antoon Derkinderen. Roland Holst approached

[295] Idem, pp. 59-61.
[296] Idem, p. 64.
[297] Roland Holst *Dr. H.P. Berlage en zijn werk* 1916 (see note 103), pp. 57-58, 62-63, 67-68.
[298] Roland Holst *VANK-orgaan* 1917 (see note 260), pp. 30-38.
[299] Idem, pp. 114-115.
[300] Idem, p. 126.

monumental art differently than Derkinderen did. In Derkinderen's opinion, monumental art was commemorative art. The term monumental was derived from the Latin verb morere, which meant to remember. According to him, monumental art had three qualities: it was long-lasting, universal and stately. Those qualities corresponded with three purposes: monumental art was made of durable materials, it was related to an important event and its meaning would be recognised by the onlooker, and it was placed in a public space. With this qualities, monumental art was not related to a certain art historical period. In his opinion, monumental art culminated in the Parthenon (447-437 BC), medieval cathedrals, the Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (432 - 440), the San Francesco in Assisi (1228-1253), the Amsterdam Town Hall (1648-1665) and the Pantheon in Paris (1758-1789).[301] Derkinderen and Roland Holst did agree on one point, namely the serving character of monumental art. A monumental artwork consisted of different forms of art that were served the same purpose. Every artist had its own function, but together they formed an artistic whole.[302]

In 1918, Roland Holst became a member of the editorial board of a new artistic periodical, *Wendingen*. The periodical was distributed by the architectural society Architectura et Amicitia. He had been involved in the society since 1908, when he was appointed as teacher at the evening classes for architects that were organised by Architectura et Amicitia.[303] From 1915 onwards he was member of the editorial board of *Architectura*, the periodical that preceded *Wendingen*.[304]

Wendingen was related to the Amsterdam School, an architectural style that flourished from approximately 1910 to 1935.[305] The style already existed before *Wendingen* was founded, but many architects who related to the movement published in the periodical. Architects of the Amsterdam School reacted against Berlage's rationalistic architectural approach by using a more expressive style that was inspired by exotic and primitive cultures.[306] The style was developed in Amsterdam, as the name already implies, but due to its increasing popularity it appeared in other parts of the country as well. Architects of the Amsterdam School conceived their projects as a concept that included the interior and applied arts. The style of the Amsterdam School therefore was not restricted to architecture, but included wrought ironwork, sculpture, stained glass, tapestries, textiles and furniture.[307]

Due to the interest in total designing the debate on community art was reassessed in *Wendingen*, this time from an architectural point of view. It is remarkable that the opinions of the architects who took

[301] Derkinderen's teaching material concerning monumental art, techniques and stained glass [1913-1914], NHA Haarlem, archive Rijksacademie, no. 900-269.
[302] See p. 21.
[303] See chapter 4.
[304] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 252.
[305] The term Amsterdamse School was used for the first time in 1916 by the architect Jan Gratama.
Hoogveld, van Burkom and Bergveld 1989 (see note 262), p. 77.
[306] Idem.
[307] Idem, pp. 77-81.

part in the discussion differed to a large extent. J.L.M. Lauweriks (1864-1932), who wrote the first article, contended that community art had come to an untimely end because it was not understood how community art, that is a general idea supported by community and expressed in art, could be established.[308] As an adherent of theosophy, Lauweriks argued that community art drew from a higher consciousness. It established itself in artists who strived to connect this awareness with influences from the age and environment in which he lived. It thus would be developed by individuals who strived for the same purpose.[309] Only when all the members of a society were dedicated to the same ideal, community art could manifest itself. It could take centuries before the common goal eventually was reached.[310]

The articles in *Wendingen* related to the early publications on community art from the 1890s by expecting that monumental art would flourish in the future and that contemporary artists could contribute to this development by supporting it in their own work.[311] According to Blaauw, community art was not concerned with beauty, but with the ability to contribute to future generations. It would flourish in the future, and the community artist should therefore consider whether his art contributed to the development of the idea rather than being beautiful.[312] Where most of the architects were sceptical in regard to the revival of community art during their days, the general editor H. Th. Wijdeveld was very optimistic. He declared that the long awaited social revolution was at hand and that the death hour of the Renaissance had come. Society longed for spiritual art made by monumental artist. Society was ready to see the ideals of community art established in beautifully decorated buildings.[313]

Roland Holst contributed to the debate in *Wendingen* by publishing his own ideas, for instance in an article that centred on the priestly role of the artist.[314] From this article it appeared that the polarising opinions, expressed in other articles on community art in *Wendingen*, did not influence his own opinion.[315] The renewed interest in community art made him even more convinced of the fact that this was the art of the future.[316]

Roland Holst's ideas of monumental art: a summary by the artist himself

In November 1938, a month before his death, Roland Holst held a speech for the Confederation of Dutch Architects, wherein he looked back on what he called the movement of '90 and their idea of community art. The speech appeared in a posthumously published anthology and can be seen as a

[308] J.L.M. Lauweriks, 'Gemeenschapskunst en individualisme', *Wendingen* 1 (1918) no. 3, pp. 5-6.
[309] Idem, pp. 6-7.
[310] Idem, pp. 7-8.
[311] See chapter 1, pp.
[312] C.J. Blaauw, 'De beweeglijkheid der bouwkunst. Gemeenschapskunst en individualisme', *Wendingen* 1 (1918) no. 6, p. 11.
[313] H. Th. Wijdeveld, 'Opdracht', *Wendingen* 1 (1918) no. 12, p. 5.
[314] Roland Holst *Wendingen* 1918 (see note…), pp. 39-47.
[315] Idem.
[316] This will be further explored in chapter 4, pp.

review of Roland Holst's thoughts on community art.[317] He started his talk with a description of the artists of '90 as an individual group that differed from their contemporaries because of their ideas. Although they admired the art of the impressionists, they turned against the individualistic aspects of this form of art. They preferred clear and strong forms in art and they strived for the unity of arts that would serve society. Although they were not given many opportunities to pursue their ideas, they hoped for a better time wherein the importance of their thoughts would be recognised. They can be called the artists of the Sign, a group that was aware of the importance of tradition, in contrast with the artists of the Image that followed their emotions. The art of the Sign had no aesthetic goal or ideal, its aim was to penetrate the consciousness of the onlooker. The art of the Sign stems from ancient times, where the Sign was used by priests to teach people to strive for greatness. They used art to accomplish this. Through the centuries the Sign had manifested itself in the art of religious societies. The artist in his responsible task of representing the Sign was a priest. His works of art were placed in public places, out of the reach of the onlooker so that he could admire them from a distance. The age of the Sign came to an end when Luther made the bible and other sacred books available for laymen. As a result, art became part of the personal space of the onlooker as well. The art of the Sign was replaced by the art of the Image. Works of art were no longer part of the environment they were placed in, but became movable, tradable and disposable. The unity that had characterised the art of the former centuries was gone and would not return before the end of the nineteenth century. The aim of the art of the Image was to create aesthetic pleasure, an individual sensation that lacked social and religious aspects. It was at the end of the nineteenth century, with the artists that belonged to the movement of '90, that the emptiness of the *l'art pour l'art* idea or the art of the Image was recognised. Attempts to revitalise the social function of art were made by artists who recognised the social importance of the community of arts. Although socialism prepared the way for these forms of art, it takes social and religious groupings to provide them with space where they could implement their art. The artists of '90, including architects, musicians, playwrights, writers, sculptors and painters, were willing to serve society with their art. The time wherein they lived was however not very generous in providing them with opportunities to serve. When the idea of community art would continue to make a strong call towards society, its importance would be recognised and the serving purpose of art could be fully used.[318]

From this appears that Roland Holst held on to his ideas until the end of his life. Once Roland Holst fully committed himself to community art, he became very strict in his opinions. He hold on to them until his death, even when the interest in community art faded away in the artistic world. Although Roland Holst had distanced himself from the idea of community art, in this article he admitted that his theories were related to the ideas of the artists of the '90s.

[317] Roland Holst 1938 (see note 260), pp. 181-194.
[318] This is a summary of the 1938 speech.

Between 1900 and 1910 Roland Holst was involved in decorating two community art buildings designed by Berlage. This incited him to develop his own theories of monumental art, on which he elaborated in several articles and lectures between 1909 and 1938. Important aspects of his theories were the difference between individualistic and monumental art, or the art of the Image and the art of the Sign. A monumental artist chose to serve community by expressing the community spirit in his art and by applying his art in an architectural context, so that it would be accessible to members of society. In serving society, the artist fulfilled a priestly role.

In literature, Roland Holst is positioned as a key figure of community art because of the number of articles that were concerned with the social aspects of monumental art. He can however not be seen as a community artist in the true sense of the word. The term 'gemeenschapskunst' appeared in only one of his article, where he used it to refer to the ideas of community art that were conceived in the 1890s. This idea contained of three elements: the creation of a coherent design including architecture, art and applied arts, the collaboration between different artists in an architectural context and the social function of the community art building. According to Roland Holst, community art had not been practicable, as appeared from the fact that Berlage's Beurs was the only community art building that had been constructed after the formulation of the idea in the 1890s. He thus distanced himself from the community art idea, although his theories still were related to it because of their strong socialistic character. His theories however consisted of ideas that appeared at the end of the nineteenth century, including symbolism and socialism, as well as his preference for medieval art as an inspirational source for monumental art and the idea that socially engaged art opposed itself against individualistic art.

Roland Holst's current position of a key figure of community art thus can be reassessed. He himself described community art as an idea that appeared at the end of the nineteenth century. After a polemic concerning community art in *De Kroniek* in 1896 it was no longer a topic of public debate. So when Roland Holst started to formulate his theories of monumental art in 1909, he did not reopen the debate on community art. By then, the monumental idea was followed by individuals like Derkinderen, but it was not widely supported. The debate was reopened in the periodical *Wendingen* in 1918, but the ideas of the contributors did not comply with Roland Holst's already existing theory.

This makes Roland Holst the key figure of socially engaged monumental art.

Chapter 4.
Richard Roland Holst's stained glass windows

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, Roland Holst received his first monumental commissions and he started to write on community art. His first monumental works of art had been wall paintings, but from 1920 onwards he received several commissions for stained glass windows. These windows are a relatively unknown part of his oeuvre. In this chapter the history of stained glass painting in Europe and in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century will be examined. Central to discussion also are the education of monumental art and stained glass at the Amsterdam Rijksacademie under the management of Derkinderen and Roland Holst. The chapter will be concluded with an examination of two of Roland Holst's stained glass projects.

Stained glass in Europe

The medium of stained glass making had its heyday during the Middle Ages in Europe, especially from the twelfth to the fourteenth century in France and England. Medieval craftsmen knew different methods to produce coloured glass. The glass was cut into pieces corresponding to the design for the window. Details like eyes, hands, folds or decorative patterns were painted onto the glass with grisaille paint that was fixed to the glass by staining in the oven. The glass pieces were joined together by lead strips (fig. 6).[319] The methods improved during the centuries and a new procedure of coloured glass making was discovered, which led to a characteristic change in the sixteenth century.[320] Instead of adding pieces of coloured glass together, artists learned how to paint directly onto the glass with enamel paint, which was stained in several stages. Enamel paint was not transparent and tarnished the glass, but it enabled the maker to paint larger pieces of the design directly onto the glass. As a result, glass could imitate painting. By adding perspective and shades the windows received a three-dimensional character. The glass panels were inserted in a lead or cast-iron grille.[321] Lead strips were an important feature of stained glass windows, because they were used to join pieces of differently coloured glass together. The enamelling method enabled the artist add different colours onto the same

[319] D. Shields, 'Design in Stained Glass', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 41 (1952) no. 162, pp. 209-211.
[320] Hoogveld 1989 (see note 88), pp. 14-15.
[321] Shields 1952 (see note 319), pp. 14-15. Shields used the term picture window to describe the character of enameled glass.

glass plate. As a result, the use of lead strips was reduced to the minimum (fig. 7).[322] Coloured glass windows thus can generally be divided in two categories: stained and enamelled glass.[323]

After the Reformation, the practice of stained glass making diminished in Europe. During the iconoclastic fury many churches were destroyed. There was only a very limited demand for stained glass windows for protestant churches, which did not stimulate the production of new glass. Stained glass was seen as a typical medieval form of art. With the coming of the Renaissance, the interest in medieval art waned. Many windows were removed from buildings or they were destroyed during wars. Enamelled glass windows were only occasionally made during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Glass manufactories were devastated by acts of war or closed because of the diminishing demand for coloured glass. As a result, the knowledge of the production of coloured glass and staining methods was lost.[324]

At the end of the eighteenth century a renewed interest in medieval art and stained glass emerged in several countries. In England, the writer Horace Walpole (1717-1797) had his country house Strawberry Hill rebuilt in a gothic style by John Nash (1752-1835) between 1749 and 1776. Walpole was one of the first to start collecting stained glass windows, which became a popular practice in the nineteenth century in England.[325] Along with it came the wish to be able to produce windows of a similar quality as medieval stained glass. It was realised that the knowledge of stained glass production was lost and needed to be rediscovered.[326] The enamelling procedure was still used, but artists related to the gothic revival disapproved of this method since it imitated painting too much. This method used glass only as a basis, not as a medium. It therefore denied the very nature of stained glass, which was a two-dimensional addition to a building. Unlike a painting, a stained glass window was not an entity, but depended on the architectural context it was placed in. While making a stained glass window, the artist had to considerate the dimensions of the window plane, the place of the window within the architectural context and the incidence of light.[327] Due to the influence of the Gothic Revival and the following study of medieval artefacts, the artistic view on stained glass

[322] Idem.
Hoogveld 1989 (see note 88), pp. 14-15.

[323] In literature the term stained glass is used for both the methods. In this chapter, ‘stained glass’ will be used as a general term, while ‘enamelled glass’ will be used to make a difference between the two types when necessary. (In Dutch this is the difference between ‘glas-in-lood’ and ‘gebrandschilderd glas’.)

[324] Shields 1952 (see note 319), pp. 213-215.
Hoogveld 1989 (see note 88), pp. 15-17.

[325] Hoogveld 1989 (see note 88), pp. 17-20.

[326] Shields 1952 (see note 319), pp. 213-215.
Hoogveld 1989 (see note 88), pp. 15-17.

[327] Shields 1952 (see note 319), pp. 215-216.
Hoogveld 1989 (see note 88), p. 18.

changed. A window was now considered to be a mosaic consisting of pieces of coloured glass, decorated with grisaille and hold together by lead strips.[328]

Artists also studied medieval windows to discover how they could make glass with the same lustre. They saw that irregularities in the glass diffused the incidence of light, where their machine-manufactured glass did not have this effect. Experiments resulted in the rediscovery of several glass making techniques and the manufacturing of glass with similar qualities as its medieval prototypes.[329]

In Germany the first method that was rediscovered was enamelling as well. In 1827 the first stained glass factory was opened in Munich, supported by Ludwig I, the king of Bavaria. Ludwig I, who ruled from 1825 to 1848, was an important patron of the arts. He admired the art of the so-called Nazarenes, a group of artists who wanted to make religious art inspired by the works of Raphael, Perugino and Dürer, to create a counterbalance for the impersonal style of Neo-classicistic art.[330] Nazarenes was a epithet of the Guild of St. Luke (Lukasbund) that was founded in Vienna in 1809 by Friedrich Overbeck (1789-1868). In the following decades, many factories would open in and around Munich and the city became an important stained glass centre .Windows from Munich were favoured because of their devotional character and pictorial style.[331] They were exported on a large scale through Europe, especially to England where they were greatly admired, even though England had its own stained glass market. As a result, Munich artists went to England to establish themselves there. While in Germany the stained glass production was centred in one city, in England important firms were located in London, Birmingham, Edinburg and Glasgow.[332] In France, the production of stained glass was revived as well. French firms contributed to the European stained glass market too.[333]

It can be concluded that the medium of stained glass was revived in England, France and Germany around 1800. In these countries, stained glass painting was rediscovered more or less simultaneously as a result of an increasing interest in medieval art, often initiated by one person with a particular interest in stained glass. Artists and craftsmen studied pieces of glass from different countries and centuries in order to rediscover methods of stained glass making. They experimented with different methods and published on their experiences. The demand for stained glass windows grew rapidly in the nineteenth century, mainly due to the growing number of newly built catholic churches after Roman Catholics received freedom of worship in England, the Netherlands and other countries.[334]

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[328] Hoogveld 1989 (see note 88), pp. 19-20.
[329] Idem, pp. 17-20.
[330] Idem.
[331] Shields 1952 (see note 319), pp. 216-217.
Gordon Bowe, Caron and Wynne 1988 (see note 166), pp. 12-16.
[332] Idem.
[333] Hoogveld 1989 (see note 88), pp. 21-22.
[334] Idem.

Firms in Germany, England and France exported a large number of glass to surrounding countries and even to other continents like North America and Canada.[335]

Windows from German an English firms were cheap because they were mass produced. Different craftsmen worked on different stages of the process. Cartons were used repetitively and the quality of the glass and the lead was mediocre. When the number of stained glass artist and studios grew, the knowledge of different procedures and the quality of the windows increased. Although studios like that Morris, where stained glass was produced on a small scale, were faced with strong competition, the Arts and Crafts ideas continued to inspire artists to work on windows of good artistic quality.[336]

Stained glass was an applied art and the Arts and Crafts Movement was concerned with its production as well. Morris for instance was involved in making stained glass. In his firm the principles of the Arts and Crafts Movement were observed and artistic involvement in the design for the windows therefore was an obligation. The Pre-Raphaelite artists Burne Jones, Rossetti and Brown designed glass for the firm, together with Morris himself.[337] Windows of Morris's firms distinguished themselves from those produced by the commercial enterprises by their quality and uniqueness, but due to the growing demand for stained glass windows their more expensive method had a minor influence on these firms.[338] At the end of the nineteenth century, when stained glass artist had mastered the techniques and the ideas of the Arts and Crafts Movement were followed across Europe, the two developments became more related, which resulted in the establishment in several stained glass firms where windows were produced in accordance with the Arts and Crafts principles. One of those firms was the Fulham *Glass House*, lead by Christopher Whall (1849-1924).[339]

Whall had worked as a designer in one of the large English stained glass firms, but he became unsatisfied with the fact that he was not able to produce windows himself. He believed that that the true beauty of a stained glass window was not so much defined by its formal characteristics, style or subject matter, but in the craftsmanship and devotion of the creator.[340] As a true Arts and Crafts artist he trained himself in all the aspects of stained glass production, which included the production of the designs and the cartoon and the colouring, cutting, painting, staining and leading of the glass.[341] He was involved in the establishment of *An Túr Gloine* (The Tower of Glass), an Irish stained glass workshop where artists were encouraged to explore their own talents and produce their own

[335] G. Tiemey, *Franz Mayer and company and Zettler studios*, 1999, pp. 1-2. <http://shf.sitestreet.com/files/files/1416-Franz%20Mayer%20&%20Co.pdf> 4 June 2013.
[336] Gordon Bowe, Caron and Wynne 1988 (see note 166), pp. 14-16.
[337] Idem.
[338] Idem.
[339] Idem, p. 17.
[340] Idem, p. 16.
[341] Idem, p. 16-17.

windows.[342] Both the *Glass House* and *An Túr Gloine* served a small but steadily growing market for quality glass. Due to their efforts, customers became aware of the mediocre quality of the mass produced windows. This did however not influence the monopoly position of the large firms. They continued dominating the European stained glass marked.[343]

Stained glass in the Netherlands

In the Netherlands, the revival of stained glass was closely related to the catholic emancipation. In the second half of the nineteenth century a growing number of newly built catholic churches were decorated with stained glass windows. As already discussed in chapter 1, the writer Joseph Alberdingk Thijm and the architect Pierre Cuypers played an important role in the introduction of the neo-gothic style in the Netherlands. Their collaboration not only resulted in the construction of the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum, but also in a wide range of catholic churches designed and executed by Cuypers.[344] Cuypers often designed interiors for his buildings. In 1853 he founded a studio in Roermond where his designs were executed. They included monumental painting and sculpture as well as traditionally crafted ironwork and other crafts that were represented in a medieval cathedral.[345] Cuyper's studio can be compared with the Arts and Crafts guilds that emerged in England in the 1850s. In the firm, craftsmen worked together under the artistic guidance of Cuypers.[346] He strived for a revival of handicrafts. His endeavours stimulated the interest in monumental art that became apparent in artistic circles in Amsterdam at the end of the nineteenth century. Cuypers himself however only acted as a designer, he did not practice one of the crafts.[347] Stained glass was not made in Cuypers' workshop, but he ordered windows from the in 1855 in Roermond established studio of Frans Nicolas (1826-1894).[348]

From the 1850s onward several stained glass workshops were established in the Netherlands, but the newly trained craftsmen were not able to cope with the number of windows that were required. Many windows therefore were imported from foreign firms.[349] In Dutch workshops the production was increased by the subdivision of the production process. As a result the windows were impersonal and lacked originality, although they were of good quality.[350] Due to Cuypers' involvement in the

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[342] N. Gordon Bowe, 'Two Early Twentieth-Century Irish Arts and Crafts Workshops in Context: An Tur Gloine and the Dun Emer Guild and Industries', *Journal of Design History* 2 (1989) no. 2/3, pp. 193-206.
[343] Gordon Bowe, Caron and Wynne 1988 (see note 166), p. 15.
[344] See chapter 1, p. 22-23.
[345] Hoogveld 1989 (see note 88), pp. 34-35.
[346] Idem.
C. Hoogveld, 'Werkplaats voor Kerkelijke Kunst, P.J. Cuypers & Co', in: Hoogveld 1989 (see note 8), pp. 226-227.
[347] Bank and van Buuren 2004 (see note 4), pp. 150-151.
[348] Hoogveld 1989 (see note 88), pp. 47-48.
[349] Idem, pp. 19, 21-22, 34-35.
[350] Idem, pp. 34-36.

workshop of Nicolas, Roermond became a centre of stained glass production in the Netherlands that mainly produced for catholic commissions. From the 1870s onwards Roermond was joined by Utrecht when the German glass painter Heinrich Geuer (1841-1904) established himself there to produce windows for the churches in the diocese of Utrecht.[351] In 1891 the engineer Jan Schouten opened a stained glass studio in Delft after he had studied stained glass in France. His workshop initially produced windows for public and governmental buildings. The public interest in these windows grew and the firm started to produce decorative windows for private demand as well. Schouten's firm was one of the first to produce windows for protestant churches.[352] It is remarkable that the studios located in Roermond and Utrecht used the recently rediscovered methods of colouring and painting glass, while in Delft only the enamelling method was used.[353] Next to the Delft firm there was the Dordrecht studio of Bouvy that produced decorative windows, but at the end of the nineteenth century the Dutch stained glass marked was dominated by religious glass.[354]

An artistic change: Derkinderen's stained glass windows

At the end of the nineteenth century, not only catholic artists were inspired by medieval art. As already discussed in chapter 1, a group of artists originating from the Eighties Movement was interested in the social aspects of medieval society, based on the thought that a medieval cathedral was a monument of the medieval society, because it had originated from collective efforts and dedication. From this came the idea of community art: the collaboration between different forms of monumental art and crafts in a building with a public function. Community art distinguished itself from catholic art by using secular subject matter.[355] Where stained glass windows held an important place within a medieval church interior, they were included in community art projects as well. Antoon Derkinderen, who can considered to be the founder of community art with his murals at the Den Bosch town hall, had been working with the medium since 1893, when he was commissioned to design two windows for the Utrecht University Hall (fig. 8).[356] It is not known why Derkinderen received the commission to design the windows for the university hall, but his reputation as monumental artist who was able to work on secular topics might have been of importance. The subject of the windows, the personifications of the university and the city and the symbols of the faculties, was a secular topic. A part of the Den Bosch cycle consisted of similar types of personifications that are represented in the university hall windows.

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[351] Idem, pp. 39-42.
C. Hoogveld, 'Atelier Geuer', in: Hoogveld 1989 (see note 8), pp. 244-245.
[352] Hoogveld 1989 (see note 88), pp. 42-45.
[353] Idem.
[354] Idem, pp. 32-34.
[355] See chapter 1, pp.
[356] P. van Dael, 'De Monumentalen' in: Hoogveld 1989 (see note 8), pp. 110.
M. Broekhuis, 'Antoon Derkinderen', in: Hoogveld 1989 (see note 8), pp. 230-231.

The Utrecht windows not only distinguished themselves from other windows by its subject matter, but also by Derkinderen's artistic involvement. In the Dutch stained glass studio's, windows usually were designed by craftsmen employed by the studio where they were ordered. Sometimes the architect was responsible for designing windows for his buildings, as was the case with Cuypers and later Berlage, but this was quite exceptional.[357] Derkinderen's involvement therefore was unique, as was his role in the making of the windows. Not only did he make the designs and the cartoons, he also played an active role in the actual production process. The windows were executed in the workshop of the brothers Sodencamp, located in Jutphaas, a village near Utrecht. Derkinderen spent several months there to choose the pieces of coloured glass, to paint them with grisaille and to witness the other stages of the process.[358]

In 1903 Derkinderen was commissioned to produce windows for the assembly hall of the Kamer van Koophandel (the Chamber of Commerce) in Berlage's Beurs. On this occasion he opened his own stained glass studio *De Zonnebloem* in Laren, where the windows were produced under his supervision.[359] One of his assistants was Frits Geuer (1879-1961), the son of the Utrecht stained glass artist Heinrich Geuer, who assisted Derkinderen in his further development as a stained glass artist.[360] Derkinderen followed the principles of the English Arts and Crafts Movement by executing the stages of the production process himself. Artists and producer again were the one like it had been during the Middle Ages.[361] Derkinderen's studio was organised in accordance with the medieval guild system, with the artist as the master who designed and executed the most important parts of the artworks, the mates who were responsible for other assignments and the students who assisted the master and the mates.[362]

After completing the windows for the Beurs, Derkinderen availed to receive commissions for stained glass windows for several churches, but his attempts were in vain.[363] In 1907 he was installed as headmaster at the Amsterdam Rijksacademie. He focussed on the reform of the teaching at the academy. He wished to introduce monumental art to the curriculum. During his years as a headmaster he did not make monumental art, beside from a stained glass ensemble that he designed for the

[357] Hoogveld, van Burkom and Bergveld 1989 (see note 262), pp. 56-60.
[358] Van Dael 1989 (see note 356), p. 110.
Broekhuis1989 (see note 356), pp. 230-231.
[359] Van Dael 1989 (see note 256), pp. 109-110.
[360] Idem, p. 110.
Broekhuis 1989 (see note 356), pp. 230-231.
[361] See chapter 2, p. 35.
Van Dael 1989 (see note 356), p. 110.
[362] Broekhuis 1989 (see note 356), pp. 230-231.
[363] Idem, p. 231.

Nederlandse Handelsmaatschappij, which was finished by Joep Nicolas (1897-1972) after Derkinderen's death in 1925.[364]

Monumental art at the Rijksacademie

Derkinderen was installed as headmaster of the Rijksacademie with drawing from antiques, anatomy and proportion as teaching commitment. He had ambitious plans for a reorganisation of the academy. He strived for a reorganisation of the curriculum so that it would be more concerned with monumental art and would include architecture as well.[365] He had been pleading for this change since 1902, when he published the article 'Kunst- en ambachtsonderwijs' in *De Gids*.[366] As a monumental artist, he subscribed to the idea that different forms of art should work together in an architectural context. He liked to see that this synthesis would come into being in the training at the Rijksacademie.[367] In Derkinderen's plan, which he introduced in the 1902 article, lithography and woodcutting would be taught at the printing department in order to serve the art of printing. Students of the sculpting department would be trained to work with stone and other materials instead of only being taught in modelling. Mural and stained glass painting would be added to the painting department. The departments would not function independently but students and professors would work together. Furthermore, the students would be serving community in decorating buildings commissioned by the government. To see his ideals fulfilled, a reorganisation of the different departments of the Rijksacademie was necessary. Architecture would be added to the curriculum as well.[368]

The Rijksacademie was not connected to vocational schools for drawing or craftsmanship, as was the case with other academies. It was decided by the government that the teaching at the Rijksacademie would focus on the fine arts.[369] This distinguished the Amsterdam academy from academies in other cities. At the The Hague academy the teaching programme focussed on drawing and applied arts.[370] The regulations for the Academie were recorded in a law, but Derkinderen thought that it would be possible to enlarge the programme based on those rules. The law for instance prescribed that students would be trained in the aesthetics of architecture, which could justify the establishment of a chair for architecture.[371]

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[364] Van Dael 1989 (see note 356), p. 110.

[365] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 257-258.

[366] A. J. Derkinderen, 'Kunst- en ambachtsonderwijs', *De Gids* 66 (1902) volume IV, 509-541.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 258-259.

[367] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 259.

[368] Derkinderen 1902 (see note 366).
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 258-259.

[369] Idem.

[370] Reynaerts 1994 (see note 38), pp. 92-94.

[371] The curriculum consisted of drawing after antique examples and sitters, sculpture, painting, engraving, aesthetics of these three arts and architecture, art history, anatomy and composition.

Architecture was in those years only taught at the Polytechnische School in Delft where architects received a theoretical training.[372] The education of architects had been subject to debate for several years, especially among artists who adhered to community art.[373] When an architect was asked to design a community art building and its decorative scheme, his theoretical background was not sufficient. In order to create a synthesis between different forms of art it was important that he had been trained in aesthetics as well.[374] The architectural society Architectura et Amicitia organised evening classes to fulfil the need for an artistic education for architects. The course was taught at the Rijksacademie.[375]

Roland Holst read the articles that Derkinderen published on his reformation plans. In 1912 he published the article 'Een Instituut der kunsten' (An institute for the arts) in which he responded to Derkinderen's endeavours of introducing monumental art to the set of courses at the Rijksacademie.[376] He did not agree with Derkinderen's plans but he did not judge him in public for the sake of their friendship. Towards other friends he felt however free to judge Derkinderen's opinions, as he did in a letter written to J.F. Ankersmit at the end of 1910. In the letter he argued that the teaching at the Rijksacademie had to be in accordance with what was required from the artists by government and society. Community art ideals were not supported by the individualistic society. Providing students with a curriculum that was based on ideals would not prepare them for reality.[377] Roland Holst shared Derkinderen's dream of teaching monumental art to new generations of artists, but he saw that this was not feasible as long as society did not change. He however expressed the hope that a transformation was at hand and that he and Derkinderen could aim for the realisation of this ideal together in the future.[378] Roland Holst had taken the same position in the debate on the improvement of the crafts education, that is discussed in chapter 2. In 1897 he argued that it was more important that the working condition changed and that an improvement of the crafts would follow automatically. His reaction to Derkinderen's ideals was a realistic one. He thought that it was of no use to educate young artists in monumental art as long as the importance of community art was not recognised by

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(Het teekenen van het menschbeeld (antiek en levend model), de beeldhouwkunst, de schilderkunst, de graveerkunst, de wetenschap van het schoon (aesthetica), vooral in betrekking tot de genoemde kunsten en de bouwkunst, de kunstgeschiedenis, de ontleedkunde vooral die van den mensch, en de doorzigtkunde.)
Martis 1990 (see note 105), pp. 152-153.

[372] Idem, pp. 213-214.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 23-24, 257-258.

[373] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 257.

[374] A. J. Derkinderen, 'Kunst- en ambachtsonderwijs', *De Gids* 66 (1902) volume IV, pp. 383-415.

[375] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), 257-258.

[376] R.N. Roland Holst, 'Een Instituut der kunsten', *Architectura* 20 (1912), pp. 114-115.

[377] Letter Roland Holst to Ankersmit, December 1910. Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam, archive Ankersmit, no. 11.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 260.

[378] Letter Roland Holst to Derkinderen, without date [1907], RKD The Hague, Derkinderen archive.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 260-261.

society. Again, a social change was necessary to establish an artistic change.[379] Roland Holst however supported the aesthetic training of architects, since he taught painting at the evening classes organised by Architectura et Amicitia from 1907 to 1917.[380] Derkinderen knew Roland Holst's opinion, but he continued to involve Roland Holst in his reorganisation plans.[381]

Due to opposition and repeated setbacks, Derkinderen was only able to establish a change in the educational programme in 1918. When the chair for aesthetics became vacant in 1917, he decided that it would be divided in several chairs for extraordinary professors who would be responsible for teaching different topics related to art and cultural history. After negotiations with the supervisory board, six new professors and lecturers were appointed: W. van der Pluym (1879-1960) as full professor, R. Ligtenberg, Veth and Roland Holst as extraordinary professors and T. Molkenboer (1796-1863) as lecturer of history of dress, and H. van de Poll as lecturer of the anatomy of animals. Ligtenberg would lecture on iconography and symbols, Veth on the composition and aesthetics of portraiture and Roland Holst would teach practical composition. The new professors and lecturers were installed in 1918.[382]

Roland Holst decided to devote his lectures to the composition of monumental works of art as he explained in his inaugural speech.[383] It appeared that Roland Holst had made up his mind concerning the role of monumental art, a change that was already apparent in his 1917 article 'Moderne eischen en artistieke bedenkingen', where he argued that it was the task of an artist to convince society of the added value of monumental art in working in a monumental manner on every commission.[384] His change of mind was probably due to the renewed interest in collaboration between artists among the architects of the Amsterdam School.[385] Amsterdam School buildings were constructed throughout the country and the applied arts flourished along with it. Roland Holst's main objection to Derkinderen's plans for reform was that there was no need for monumental artists.[386] The demand for monumental arts grew along with the reputation of the Amsterdam School, so it seemed that society finally had made up its mind concerning the importance of community art.[387]

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[379] See chapter 2, pp. 39-40.

[380] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 257.

[381] Roland Holst was for instance involved in the commission that judged the designs for a new academy building.
Idem, p. 267.

[382] Idem, pp. 276-277.

[383] Roland Holst 1923 (see note 260).

[384] Roland Holst *VANK-orgaan* 1917 (see note 260).
See chapter 3.

[385] See chapter 3, p. 56.

[386] Roland Holst 1912 (see note 374), pp. 114-115.

[387] Hoogveld, van Burkom and Bergveld 1989 (see note 262), pp. 77-81.

Derkinderen himself had developed a series of lectures that were concerned with monumental art, which he taught around 1915.[388] His lectures had a theoretical character. The techniques of for instance fresco painting was discussed, but he did not teach the practice of this medium.[389] In 1924, he was commissioned to design a stained glass window for the building of the Nederlandse Handelsmaatschappij (the Dutch Trading Company). It was seen as a sign of a renewed interest in artistic stained glass making. The discussion on the practical teaching of monumental arts at the Rijksacademie was reopened. A special assembly was held at 1924, where the possible introduction of stained glass making to the curriculum of the Rijksmuseum was discussed.[390] From the notes that Derkinderen made during this assembly it can be deduced that the opinions of those presented were divided. The objection that teaching monumental arts was not included in the rules and regulations of the academy was made again. On the other hand, it was mentioned that there was a growing interest in stained glass making among the students, due to Roland Holst's classes on monumental composition. It appears that Derkinderen was able to convince the opponents, since he gave his first lecture on stained glass on May 29 of the same year.[391] He lectured on the history and practice of stained glass making. In the notes on and the elaborate version of his first lecture he stated that not every student might have felt the need to become a stained glass artist, but that his lectures would benefit all of them. From this it can be deduced that the classes were meant to prepare the students for a career as stained glass artist and that Derkinderen taught the practice of the craft as well.[392]

Roland Holst succeeded Derkinderen as headmaster of the Rijksacademie in 1926. He continued Derkinderen's course of teaching monumental art. He was able to establish a change in the curriculum. At the beginning of the academic year of 1926-1927, the students were able to choose between painting or monumental art.[393] Roland Holst became the head of the monumental art department where he gave practical lessons in monumental and decorative art.[394] He managed to connect his students to monumental art projects in Amsterdam and Enschede, provided by the counsels of both cities. By doing this, he had fulfilled two of Derkinderen's plans.[395]

Roland Holst's stained glass

From 1920 onwards, Roland Holst became active as a stained glass artist. Two important developments preceded his turn to this applied art, namely his involvement in the periodical

[388] Derkinderen's teaching material concerning monumental art, techniques and stained glass [1913-1914], NHA Haarlem, archive Rijksacademie, no. 900-269.
[389] Idem.
[390] Derkinderen made notes on this of the discussion, which are included in his teaching material.
[391] Derkinderen's teaching material concerning monumental art, techniques and stained glass [1913-1914], NHA Haarlem, archive Rijksacademie, no. 900-269.
[392] Idem.
[393] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 280-281.
[394] Idem, p. 281.
[395] Idem, pp. 281-282.

Wendingen and his instalment as professor at the Rijksacademie. Roland Holst's participation in *Wendingen*, which can be considered to be the periodical of the Amsterdam School, most likely resulted in his first commission for a stained glass ensemble in 1920. Between 1920 and 1931 Roland Holst designed stained glass windows for buildings executed by architects related to the Amsterdam School. Derkinderen had been the leading monumental stained glass artist at the beginning of the twentieth century, but he had not been producing windows after he sold his atelier in 1906.[396] Roland Holst, who had been teaching monumental composition at the Rijksacademie and who was an important contributor to *Wendingen* probably was considered to be an appropriate substitute.

The windows that Roland Holst executed for buildings of the Amsterdam School were cycles for the Amsterdam Lyceum between 1920 and 1928, the general post office in Haarlem and the new wing of the Amsterdam town hall in 1930, and a window for the general post office in Utrecht in 1931.[397] In 1925 he had designed a window for the Dutch pavilion at the *Exposition Internationale des Arts décoratifs* in Paris. This window was later installed at a girls school in Amsterdam.[398] He made two windows for the Domkerk (the cathedral) in Utrecht, one in 1926 and the other between 1933 and 1936.[399] The Amsterdam Lyceum cycle and the windows for the Domkerk will be discussed here, since the first shows Roland Holst's development as a stained glass artist, while the latter are interesting because they were installed in an already existing building.

The first Amsterdam Lyceum cycle

Roland Holst's first designs were meant for the Amsterdam Lyceum, a grammar school. The building was designed and executed by the architect H. Baanders (1876-1953). Roland Holst designed two ensembles of windows for the school, which were executed in 1920, 1922 and 1927. The designs for the first cycle were made in close collaboration with the headmaster of the school, G.P. Gunning. They showed what Gunning wished to be the three basic principles of his school: the Light of wisdom that enlightened the world, the Love of the educators that would guide the students and the Life that education prepared for. The three windows were composed of six different panels, set in wooden frames, each depicting an element of the theme of the window. For *Light*, which was made in 1920, Roland Holst chose the light of day as main theme, depicted in the two middle panels, surrounded by four figures representing three generations (a young man upper right, a family lower right and an old man upper left) and daily work (lower left) (fig. 9). *Love* was represented by symbols of social solidarity (represented by an old man passing on knowledge to a young girl (upper left and right), willingness to make sacrifices (lower left and right), domestic happiness (middle under) (fig. 10). The third window showed *Life* by means of a fisherman and a shepherd (representing hope, upper left and

[396] Broekhuis 1989 (see note 356), p. 231.
[397] Van Dael 1989 (see note 356), pp. 318-319.
[398] Idem, p. 318.
[399] Idem, p. 319.

right), a flag-bearer and a seer (guardedness, lower left and right), and a bell-ringer (the call of duty, middle under) (fig. 11).[400] The last two windows were produced in 1922.

The windows showed similarities with Roland Holst's first paintings for the ANDB building. In both the murals and the windows he depicted general ideas that lived in a community, represented by members of society in their daily environment and activities. By doing this, Roland Holst lived up to what he considered to be one of the qualities of community art, that is recognition of life. Recognition of life was the whole of ideas and desires that lived in a society. An artist could serve society by depicting those qualities in his work. By doing this, he had to see to it that his art was generally humane, which he thus accomplished by using common people instead of personifications, with the result that the onlooker could relate to them.[401]

Roland Holst used the same range of colouring for the three windows, with blue and ochre as main colours. The first window was made two years before the other two and differed from them in use of colour and composition. The 1920 window had a darker tone because of the minimal use of white glass. The figures in the 1922 windows dominated the window plane, while they seemed to be pushed aside by the geometric pattern that outlined the first window. The choice of colours was based on the architecture of the auditorium and thus related to the architecture it was placed in. The windows were installed in the eastern wall of the hall.[402] It took several years before the auditorium was finished and the windows therefore were produced in three different stages. The second cycle could be installed in 1928. In the mean time Roland Holst worked on other projects, included the first window at the Domkerk in Utrecht.

The windows in the Domkerk

The windows that Roland Holst made for the Dom distinguished themselves from all the other projects he had been working on. His mural paintings and other stained glass windows were made during the construction process of the building they were meant for, or shortly after their completion. In most of the cases, the designs came into being in close collaboration with either the commissioner or the architect. They had a secular and sometimes socialistic subject. The Utrecht windows on the other hand were meant for an already existing building, namely a gothic church, constructed between 1285 and 1520. The windows were commissioned by the church wardens who required a window with a protestant subject that would distinguish itself from catholic windows.[403] The surface of the windows

[400] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 367-368.
[401] See chapter 3, p. 49
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 364.
[402] Idem, pp. 367-368.
[403] The Domkerk is a protestant church. The Catharijnekerk is the cathedral of the diocese of Utrecht.

also exceeded the dimensions of the other projects. Where he had been working with architects and commissioners before, Roland Holst now was advised by a theologian, professor A. Brouwer.[404]

In the Middle Ages there had been a window in the southern transept and while the church was restored in 1923, the idea of restoring the former glory of the church by reinstalling a stained glass window emerged. Roland Holst had established himself as a stained glass painter by then, as appeared from the statement made by the architect D. Slothouwer (1884-1946) that he was the only contemporary Dutch artist capable of executing a window of 120 square meters. Slothouwer, who was the leader of the restoration project, thus convinced the church wardens to commission Roland Holst.

The artist was delighted with the commission, he even considered it to be his life's work.[405] He greatly admired medieval stained glass, which he had studied in the Chartres cathedral that he had visited for the first time in 1924, when Roland Holst and Brouwer were negotiating with the church wardens on the design of the window.[406] He was impressed by the architectonic understanding of the architect and the artists, which was expressed in the mutual harmony of the architecture, the windows and the other elements of the building.[407] He wished to establish the same harmony between the building and his windows. Geometrics therefore played an important role in the design of the window.[408]

The commissioners decided that the window should have a subject drawn from the New Testament, preferably a symbolic representation and not a historic one. Any reference with catholic subject matter had to be avoided.[409] In consultation with Brouwer it was decided that the window would depict the four evangelists Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. Brouwer suggested that the evangelists should be characterised by their personalities and gestures and not by their common attributes. Roland Holst followed Brouwers directions. As a result, Marc was represented as a young man, John as an old one and Matthew and Luke as middle aged men. Matthew was dressed in purple which symbolised his reflection on the Old Testament that characterised his gospel. Marc wore the brown coat of the common people, which were the group that his writings aimed at. Luke was a doctor, he therefore was dressed in red that underlined his scholarly role. John was called the evangelist of love. He wore a sky-blue cloak (fig. 12).[410] The four men were grouped under the cross. Under them, a circle representing the four elements was placed, which symbolised the spiritual dimensions of the gospels. Just like the

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[404] For an elaborate discussion of the establishment of the commission and Roland Holst's relation with Brouwer see:
F.G.M. Broeyer, 'A.M. Brouwer, R.N. Roland Holst en de Utrechtse Domramen', *Kerk en Theologie* 38 (1989) no. 4, pp. 270-294.

[405] Roland Holst expressed his enthusiasm in several letters to friends and family.
Broeyer 1989 (see note 404), pp. 272, 275.

[406] Idem, p. 284.

[407] R.N. Roland Holst, 'De glasramen in de kathedraal van Chartres', in: Roland Holst 1928 (see note 6), pp. 9-29. Dated 1924. Originally published in: *Architectura* 29 (1925), pp. 341-345.

[408] Broeyer 1989 (see note 404), p. 284.

[409] Idem, p. 282.

[410] A.M. Brouwer, *De Vier Evangelisten*, Zutphen 1931, pp. 211-213.

four elements encompassed the world, the four evangelists described the dimensions and the significance of the gospel.[411] The cross, the evangelists and the elements were set against a white background, which Brouwer interpreted as the light of the Resurrection.[412] The white windows were surrounded by smaller, coloured rectangular panes with a geometric pattern. These patterns related to the geometrics of the building and formed a transition between the architecture and the depiction at the window (fig. 13).[413] Roland Holst used lead strips to construct the geometric pattern. As a result, lead strips were an important feature of his windows.

The second Amsterdam cycle

In 1927 Roland Holst could continue his work for the Amsterdam Lyceum. The subject for the four windows, which were installed in the northern and southern wall of the auditorium, was not specified by Gunning, so Roland Holst was free in his choice of subject matter. He chose to depict four different types of people, each of them incorporating an important quality that would be exemplary for the students of the school, namely the Sower (fig. 14), the Discoverer (fig. 15), the Hero (fig. 16) and the Prophet (fig. 17).[414] Geometric patterns also played a significant role in the second cycle for the Amsterdam Lyceum, but here the predominantly white and the coloured planes were used in reversed order, compared to the Utrecht window. The coloured panes now outlined the representation and the white panes seemed to separate the wall from the figure in the middle, although they were still connected because of the geometric pattern. This was probably due to the fact that the part of the auditorium where these windows were to be installed, was not fully finished when Roland Holst made them. The finishing of the room would be made in relation with the windows.[415]

The four windows had the same structure: the persons were situated in the middle of the composition, surrounded by a framework of geometric patterns in red and blue and predominantly white. Compared to the first Amsterdam cycle and the first Domkerk window, the figures have a more two-dimensional character because they are positioned against a coloured background. These windows showed the stylistic changes that became apparent in Roland Holst's work after 1923. Where the figures in his murals and in the first windows were stylised and flat, in his later works they became less rigid because they came loose from the geometric pattern that formed the basis of the design.[416]

[411] Broeyer 1989 (see note 404), p. 284.
[412] Brouwer 1931 (see note 410), pp. 211, 213.
[413] Van Dael 1989 (see note 356), pp. 218-219.
[414] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), p. 368.
[415] Idem.
[416] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 368-369.

The second Utrecht window

The iconography of the second window for the Utrecht Domkerk was related to that of the first. Where the subject matter of the southern window was the New Testament and depicted the four evangelists and their different approaches of the gospel, the northern window showed four persons of the Old Testament: king David, Aaron the priest, the prophet Elia and Moses in his role of lawgiver. They referred to the coming of Christ, who would perform the tasks of a king, priest, prophet and lawgiver during his life on earth.[417]

The persons are not placed next to one another, but in pairs, placed above one another. Since they were linked to the New Testament, they are placed under a cross as well. They were depicted with attributes that referred to their tasks. David was depicted while playing the harp with devotion, his eyes closed. Aaron was placed on an altar, while he was flanked by a menorah and a blooming staff that was a sign of his election as high priest. He held a golden bowl in his hand and a goat was positioned in front of him, two elements that referred to the ritual of Yom Kippur, where a scapegoat was sent into the desert to die for the sins of the people. Moses was represented while descending from the mount Sinai, at the moment that he witnessed the idolatry of the people. The look on his face was distressed as he dropped the stones of the law out of anger (fig. 18). Elia was depicted in a hair skirt while preaching. His attributes were a raven the fiery cart with horses in which he was brought to heaven (fig. 19).[418]

For this window, Roland Holst had designed a pattern that was derived from the geometry of the building. He observed that the wall of the northern transept was constructed of three overlapping hexagrams and circles. He stated that he had reduced the model and made it 'melodic', so that the window would be in harmony with the architecture of the church.[419] Where the pattern had played a dominant role in the first window as a frame around the evangelists, in the second window the it was removed to the background. There no longer was a strict separation between the geometric pattern and the representation. The stylistic change that was already apparent in the second cycle of the Amsterdam windows, had reached its high point in Roland Holst's last window. The protagonists were completely freed from the background. Their personal expression made them more lively.[420]

Roland Holst and Bogtman

The windows were executed by Bogtman, who had a stained glass studio in Haarlem. Bogtman had made stained glass windows for other Amsterdam School projects and he worked together with architects like K. de Bazel (1869-1923), M. de Klerk ((1884-1923) and J.M. van der Mey (1878-

[417] Idem, p. 370.

[418] R.N. Roland Holst, *Toelichting bij het Glasraam voor het Noorder Dwarsschip van de Dom te Utrecht*, Utrecht 1936, pp. 7-10.

[419] Idem, pp. 1-6.

[420] Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 368-370.

1949).[421] Roland Holst and Bogtman were probably introduced to one another by one of the architects.[422] Roland Holst corresponded with Bogtman about different aspects concerning the production of the windows. It appears that Roland Holst delivered his designs to Bogtman who made the window based on the information he received. He was responsible for the colouring and leading of the glass.[423] It appeared from the letters that Roland Holst painted the pieces of glass himself at least in 1922. He probably learned the process from Bogtman himself. The painted pieces of glass were sent by post in wooden boxes to Bogtman's studio where they were stained.[424] He worked on the windows in different studio's that he hired for the occasion. This was for instance the case with the window for the head post office in Utrecht.[425] Before that, Bogtman was responsible for the production process.[426] Like Derkinderen, Roland Holst learned how to produce stained glass windows himself, in which he lived up to the principles of the Arts and Crafts Movement. The artist and the glazier became close friends. Roland Holst trusted Bogtman to finish the windows at his own discretion. He considered the windows to be a product of combined effort, where the work of artist and the craftsman were equally divided. The windows of Roland Holst and Bogtman were the result of close collaboration.[427] In his relation with Bogtman, Roland Holst showed that he lived up to the principles of the Arts and Crafts Movement, which were the artistic involvement in the production of a craft, the equal division of labour between artist and craftsman, and the willingness of the artist to be trained in the production of a craftwork.[428]

During the nineteenth century, the craft of stained glass making was rediscovered in Europe. In the Netherlands, the craft was revived as well, as a result of the Catholic emancipation and the growing demand for church windows. During the second half of the nineteenth century, several stained glass workshops were opened across the country. The production of windows in this workshops was standardised and artistic involvement was minimal. This changed when Derkinderen was asked to design windows for the Utrecht university hall in 1893. Derkinderen played an active role in the production process and he opened his own stained glass workshop in Laren. Roland Holst followed his

[421] Hoogveld, van Burkom and Bergveld 1989 (see note 262), p. 77-78.
R. Berentsen, 'Atelier Bogtman', in: Hoogveld 1989 (see note 8), pp. 212-213.
[422] Roland Holst knew some of the architects due to his involvement in *Wendingen*.
Bogtman had been a member of the Nederlandsche Vereeniging van Ambachts- en Nijverheidskunst (VANK), as was Roland Holst. It is possible that Roland Holst and Bogtman knew one another via the VANK.
Berentsen 1989 (see note 421), pp. 212-213.
Tibbe 1994 (see note 3), pp. 128-129.
[423] Letter Roland Holst to Bogtman, 31 May 1922. Rijksprentenkabinet Amsterdam (RPK), archive Bogtman. Letter Roland Holst to Bogtman, 2 July 1922. RPK, archive Bogtman.
[424] Letter Roland Holst to Bogtman, 9 September 1922, RPK Amsterdam, archive Bogtman.
[425] Letter Roland Holst to Bogtman, 22 August 1931. RPK Amsterdam, archive Bogtman.
[426] Letter Roland Holst to Bogtman, 9 September 1922. RPK Amsterdam, archive Bogtman.
[427] Letter Roland Holst to Bogtman, 31 December 1922. RPK Amsterdam, archive Bogtman.
[428] See chapter 2, pp. 33-35.

example in the windows that he designed and executed between 1920 and 1936. The windows were produced in close collaboration with the glazier Bogtman, from whom Roland Holst supposedly learned the craft. He proved to be an artist who followed the ideals of the Arts and Crafts Movement in his involvement in the production of the windows, and in his relation with Bogtman whom he considered to be his equal.

Roland Holst's development as stained glass artist can be seen in the windows that he designed for the Amsterdam Lyceum and the Domkerk in Utrecht. Between 1920 and 1936 his style changed from rigid to more free and expressive. In producing the windows he lived up to his theories of monumental art. He strived to establish a connection between the windows and the building they were made for by using geometric patterns that were derived from the architecture of the building and the colours that surrounded the artworks. In using people as protagonists instead of allegorical figures, his work was 'generally humane' and showed 'recognition of life', two qualities that were inherent to Roland Holst's theories. The onlooker could relate to the types of people that were depicted on the windows and they could learn from the general qualities that they possessed and symbolised. Roland Holst thus lived up to his own theories of monumental art.

Conclusion

The present research discovered the art and writings of Richard Roland Holst, centring on the research question: **What was the role of the artist and theoretic Richard Nicolaüs Roland Holst (1868-1938) in the Dutch artistic climate around 1900, what was his relation with community art and how can this be illustrated with his stained glass projects?** Here follows a short summary of the conclusions of the four chapters that will serve as an answer to the question.

The artistic climate in Amsterdam at the end of the nineteenth century was subject to important changes, due to influences from Belgium, France and England, as well as internal factors like inland politics and changing artistic values. The Eighties Movement, consisting of writers, artists, musicians, philosophers and socialists, played an important role in the artistic world. They formed an artistic network that strived for individualistic art and they wished to establish artistic interchange at the same time. They published on their ideas in the periodical *De Nieuwe Gids* by which their ideas were spread. Their longing for individual art was replaced by the ideal of community art at the beginning of the 1890s, when the artist Antoon Derkinderen showed how art could have a social function with his paintings for the Den Bosch town hall. Many joined the debate on community art that followed after Jan Veth had launched the term in his brochure that accompanied the paintings. It was generally believed that community art was the art of the future, but it was only after 1900 that artistic collaboration resulted in public buildings were arts and crafts worked together to create a *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

Members of the Eighties Movement kept themselves informed of the artistic changes that took place in Belgium and France, as did Roland Holst. He was a convinced impressionist when he left the Rijksacademie in 1890, but he turned to symbolism shortly after this style was formally introduced in the Netherlands by French protagonists of the style. He also joined the debate on community art by publishing two reviews of Derkinderen's paintings, but this did not influence his personal style at first. Roland Holst responded to the different changes that took place in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and he followed the artistic debate closely. As an art critic he visited contemporary art exhibitions and published on them in *De Amsterdammer* and occasionally in *De Nieuwe Gids*. He responded to the growing interest in medieval and primitive art by going to England to study art from these periods that was represented in English collections. He also wished to familiarise himself with the works and principles of the Arts and Crafts Movement. Together with his wife he joined the SDAP, a social party, which inspired him to make socially engaged art. He learned about the practice of community art when he was involved in decorating two community art buildings designed by Berlage between 1900 and 1910. This inspired him to write on the social functions of art, which resulted in the development of his own theories of monumental art, on which he expounded in a large number of articles published between 1909 and 1938. In his writings he reassessed the topics that had

been discussed at the end of the nineteenth century, namely the interest in medieval art, symbolism and socialism. The interest in geometrics, that played a role in the teaching at applied art schools and was followed by theosophists, was included in his theories as well. New was the role of the artist in the creative process and the description of the qualities that a monumental artwork had. According to Roland Holst, monumental art could serve society by showing recognition of life and in being generally humane. By this he meant that a monumental artist could serve society by depicting general thoughts and ideas that lived in a community, so that the onlooker could relate to his artworks.

Roland Holst is often referred to as a key figure of community art because of the number of articles that he published on socially engaged monumental art. From a close reading of his articles it however appeared that he never used the term community art to relate to his own art and that he even distanced himself from this ideal, that he considered to be a real nineties thought. When he started writing on monumental art, community art was no longer a topic of public debate. He saw that Berlage's Beurs had been the only community art building from which he deduced that the capitalistic society was not interested in artworks that were based on a coherent design, including monumental art and crafts. The social aspect of community art however was apparent in his theories. He was convinced of the fact that it was the artist's duty to serve community by making monumental art.

Roland Holst was active as a monumental artist, so he could put his theories into practice. He made name in the artistic world due to his position in a network of artists and socialists. He owed his first monumental contributions to his friends who introduced him to the commissioners. He thus could develop himself as wall painter and stained glass artist, even though he had not been trained in the practice of both arts. Between 1920 and 1936 he produced a number of stained glass windows in which he related to his theories. He made his windows fit into the architectural context by using geometric patterns that were based on the dimensions of the building and by using the same colours of the building material and decorations that surrounded the windows. His works contained his own defined quality recognition of life because the protagonists embodied general ideas and qualities that were comprehensible for any member of society. He made his work relate with the onlooker by using everyday people to express these ideas instead of personifications.

Roland Holst had read publications by Ruskin and Morris who were leading figures of the English Arts and Crafts Movement. Works by Crane, Morris and Ruskin were translated in Dutch at the end of the nineteenth century, but they were read out of socialistic interests, and not because of their theories of art and crafts. The Arts and Crafts Movement was related to socialism because it focussed on improving the working conditions of the third class. Roland Holst referred to the Arts and Crafts Movement several times, but the artistic ideas were not incorporated in his theories. From his role in the production of his stained glass windows however it appeared that he lived up to the Arts and Crafts principles. He not only delivered the design for the windows, by which he accomplished artistic involvement in the production of a craftwork, he also played an active role in the production process.

He showed himself willing to learn the craft by drawing the cartoon and by choosing and painting the glass. Furthermore, from his relation with Bogtman, the glazier who executed his designs, it appeared that he considered the craftsman to be his equal, whom he could entrust with the execution of important parts of the windows.
It thus can be concluded that Roland Holst played an active role in the artistic climate around 1900 by relating to artistic changes in his articles and artworks and in his close collaboration with influential artist from this period. He responded to the idea of community art by incorporating the social aspect of the ideal in his writings, but by distancing himself from it at the same time. He put his theories into practice in his stained glass windows. He established a connection between the architecture and his artworks by using geometric patterns and he served society in choosing a subject matter that he thought was comprehensible for the onlooker.

In the introduction I pointed out that I wished to learn why Roland Holst was considered to be a main proponent of community art. Roland Holst's articles on monumental art usually are discussed from a thematic point of view. By studying them in chronological order and in relation with contemporary ideas and developments, his current position as key figure of community art was readjusted. By concluding that Roland Holst could not be seen as a community artist because he thought that this ideal had found its beginning an its end in Berlage's Beurs, I saw that he was not an advocate of community art, but of socially engaged monumental art. My approach to Roland Holst's theories is new and adds to the debate on his role in the artistic climate in the first half of the twentieth century.
This research also explores to the role of the Amsterdam Rijksacademie in the teaching of monumental art in the first half of the twentieth century by discussing Derkinderen's teaching material, which has not been done before either. By doing this I illustrated how the ideas of two artists could change the curriculum of the Rijksacademie and how they tried to introduce their ideals into the artistic world and into society. The study of the relationship between Bogtman and Roland Holst by means of letters written by Roland Holst was new as well and provided more information on the development of Roland Holst as a stained glass artist. I was able to find out how Roland Holst learned the techniques of wall painting and stained glass making. The correspondence with Bogtman also provided information on Roland Holst's relation with the craftsman, from which I could conclude that he could be considered as an Arts and Crafts artist. I thus have been able to pursue the goals that I set up in the introduction. However, from my research it appeared that I had to readjust the presumption that community art was a reaction to the introduction of the Arts and Crafts Movement in the Netherlands. Although crafts were included in the design for a community art building, they did not equal the arts, as is apparent in the commemorative stone at Berlage's Beurs, that only mentioned the names of the artists. Furthermore, when the writings of Ruskin, Morris and Crane were introduced in

the Netherlands, they were mainly read from a socialistic point of view. So community art was not related to the Arts and Crafts Movement.

The more detailed study of Roland Holst stained glass windows provides material for a future research. The windows have been discussed separately, but a comparison between all the projects could be an interesting topic to reassess. Another interesting topic for further study is the reception of Roland Holst's ideas of socially engaged monumental art by his friends, contemporary artists, his students and society. For this topic, the material related to a reviving interest in the monumental art department at the Rijksadacemie in the early 1970s can be of interest. This material is contained in the Rijksacademie archives in the Noordhollands Archief in Haarlem.

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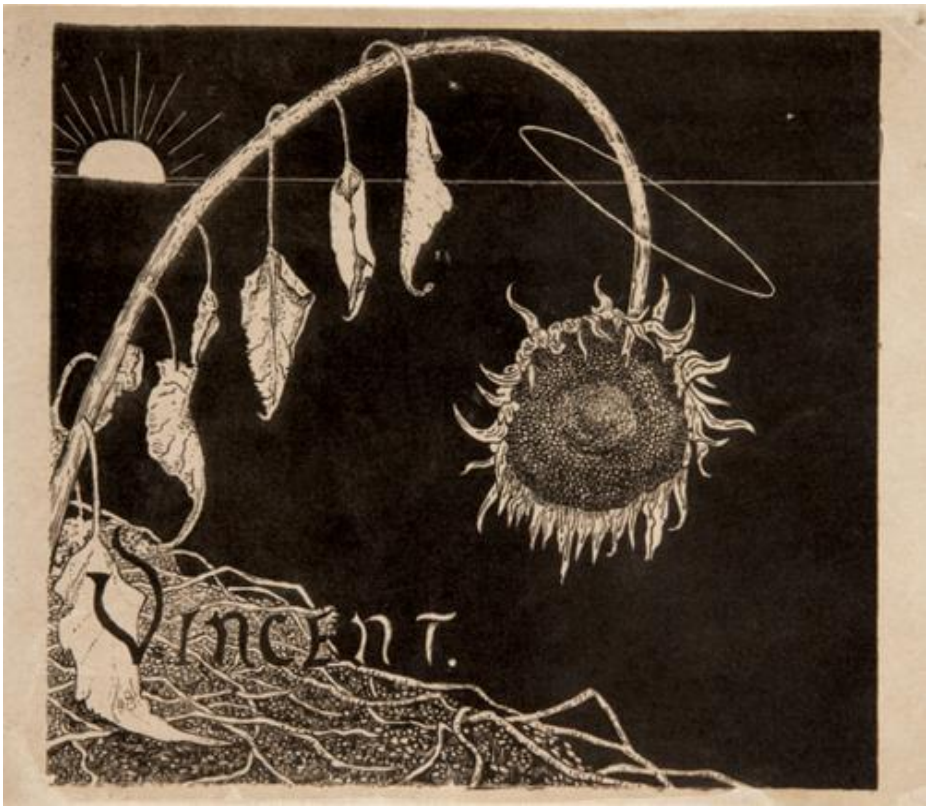

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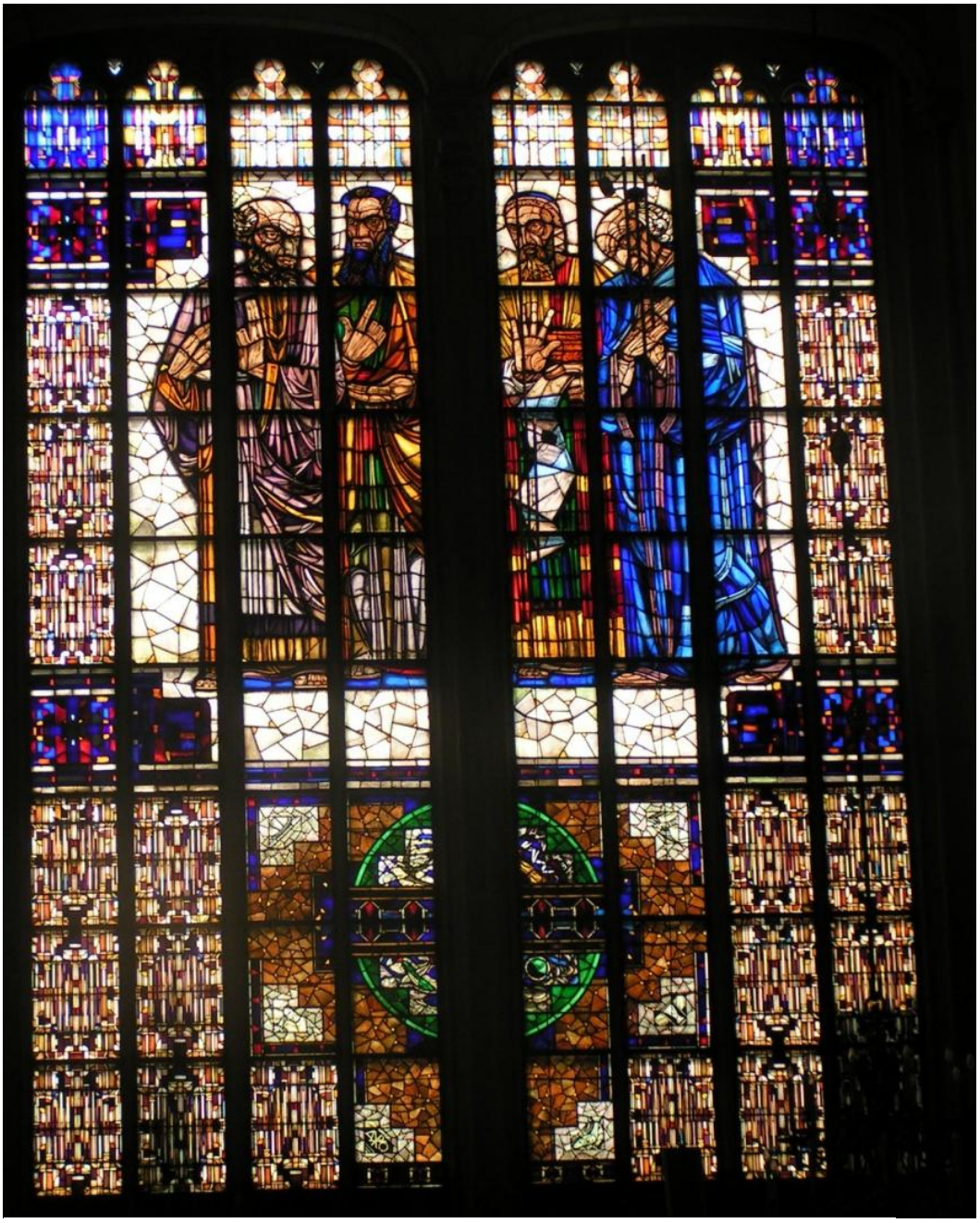

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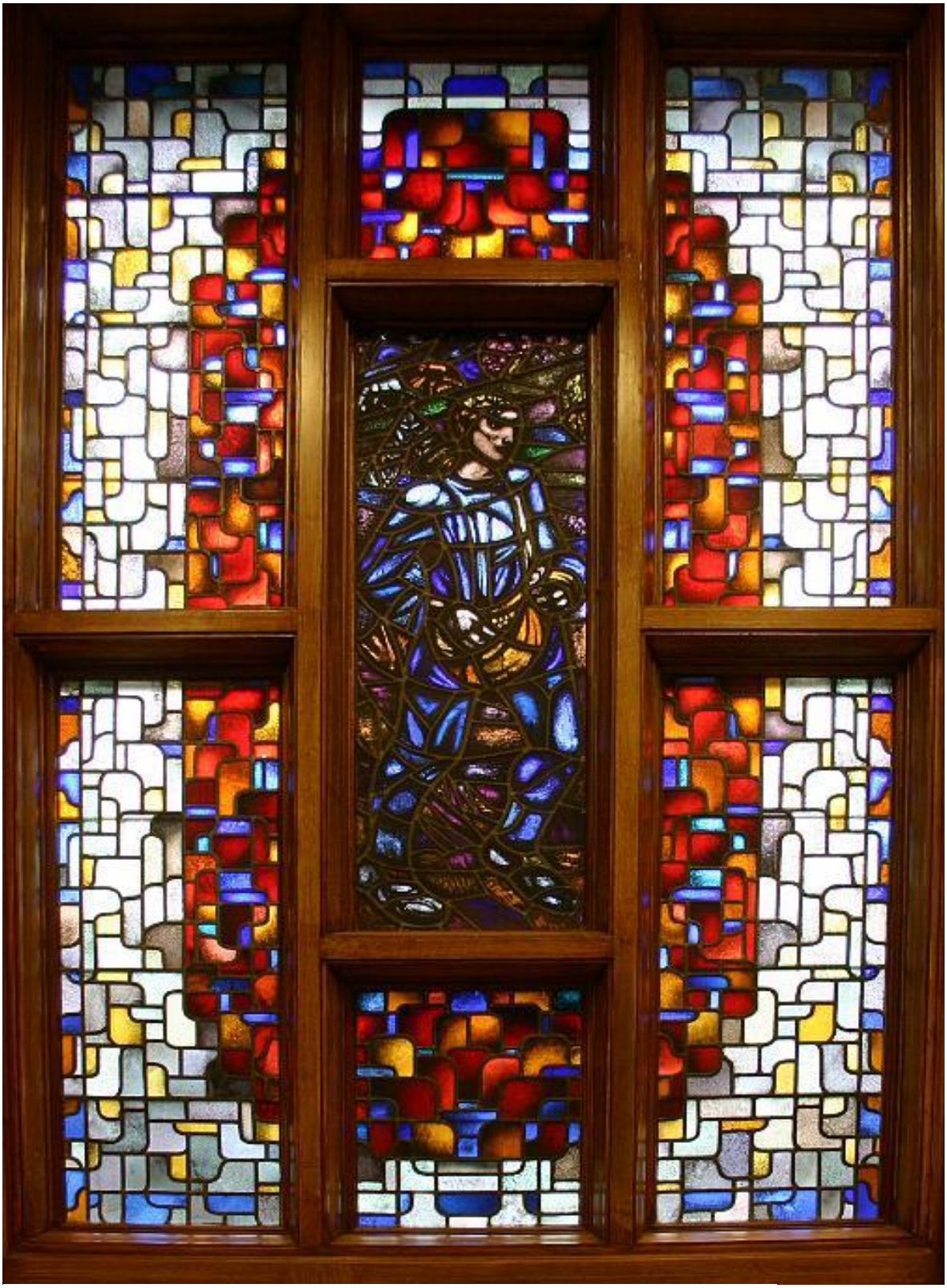

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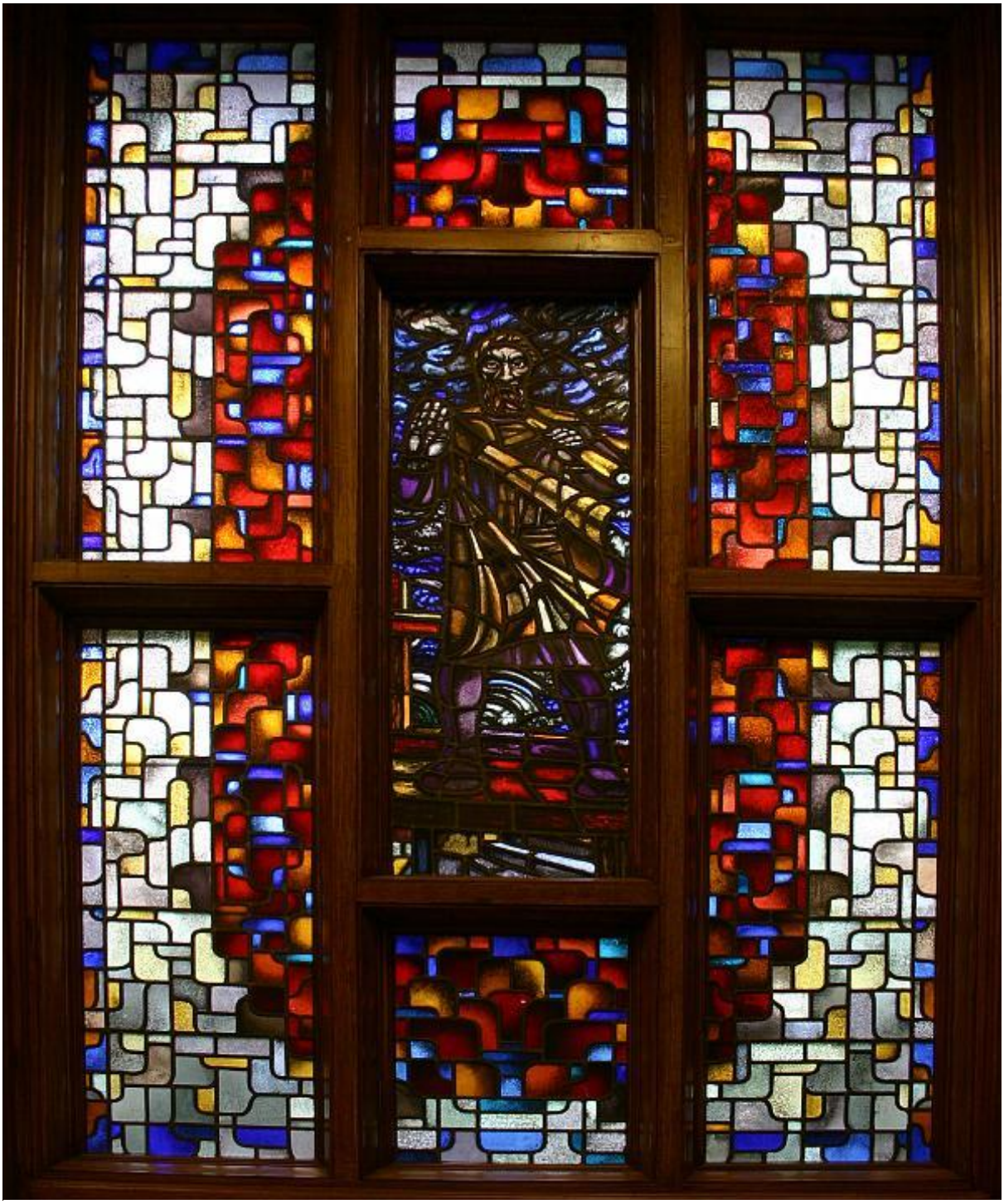

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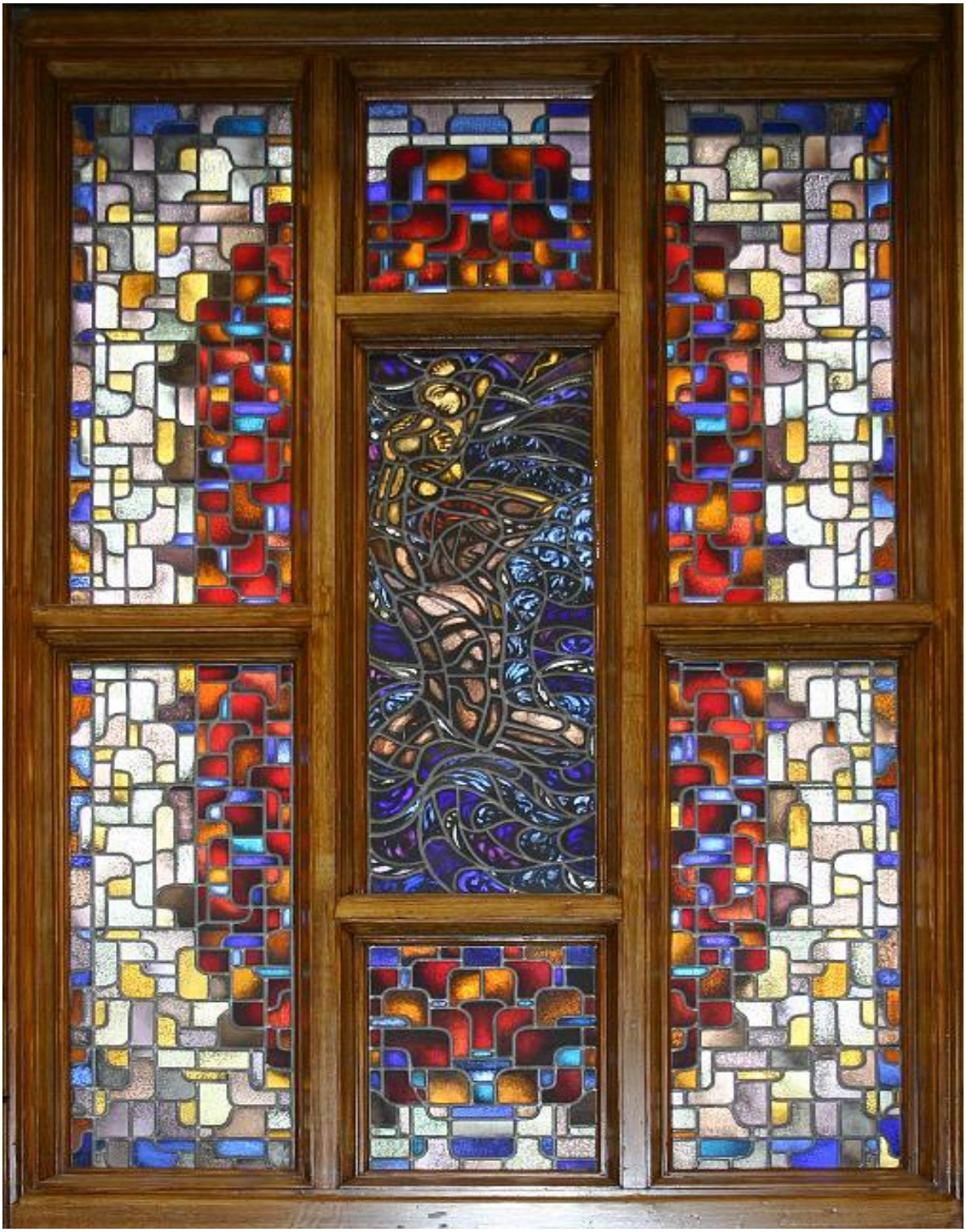

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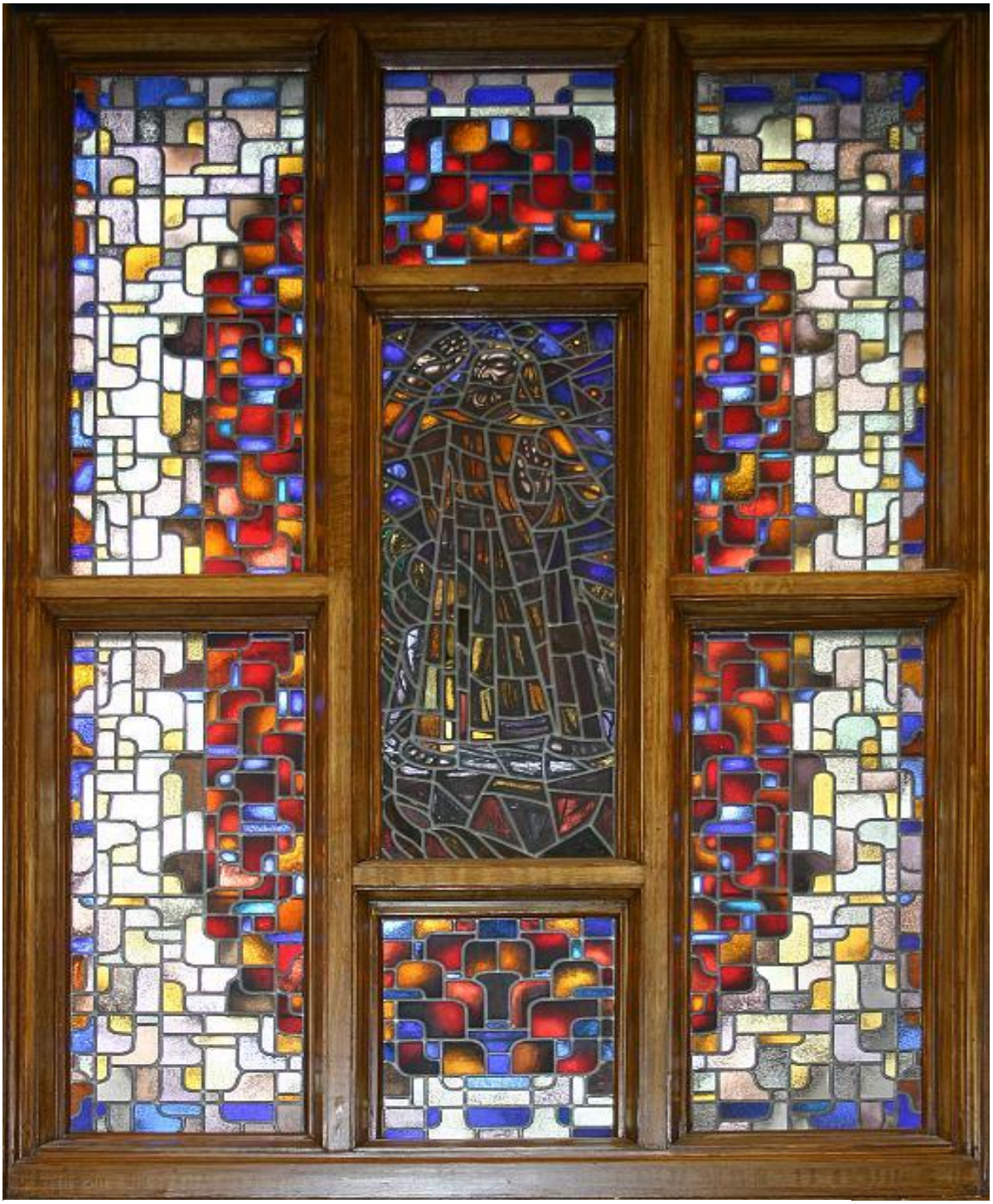

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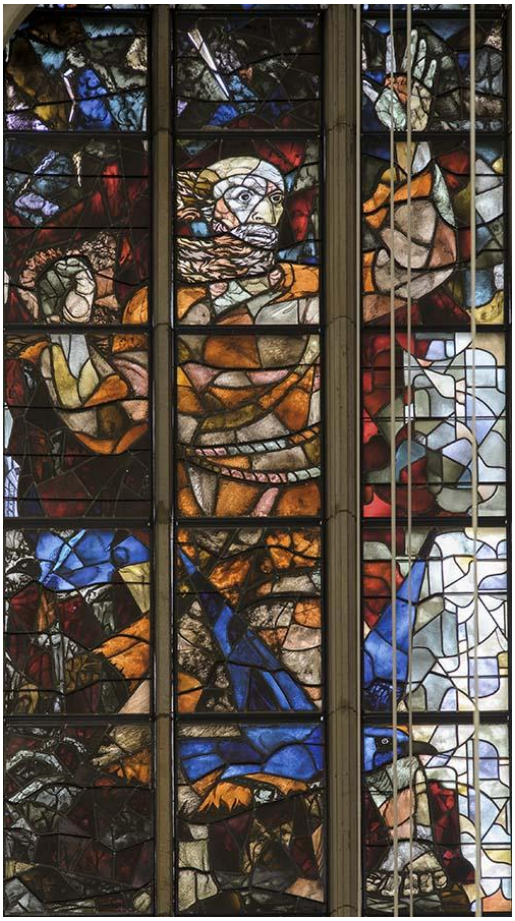

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