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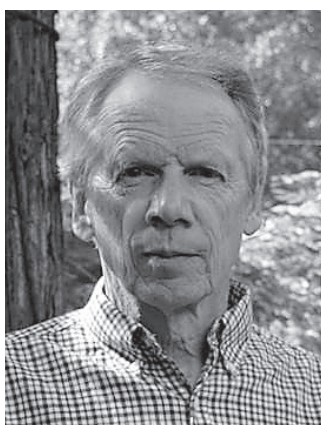
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Rumors of Glory: Abraham Kuyper's Neo-Calvinist Theory of Art



by Roger Henderson

A faith that leaves the wide field of the arts uncultivated, depriving the upcoming generation of contemporary cultural expressions of the glory of God, condemns itself to artistic marginalization and irrelevance. Art is a subject Abraham Kuyper discusses in many contexts and connections. He believed that it has played an important though often overlooked role in history, and he wants Christians to be sure not to neglect it.

One of the most significant and influential sets of lectures Kuyper gave during his long public career contained a chapter on art.¹ He approached it at various levels of *actualization*, *sophistication* and

ideological *implication*. The God whom Kuyper worshiped established art as an *aspect* of life, with a *raison d'être* and integrity of its own. When God created birdsong, the colors of the sky, the fragrance of the flowers, He was preparing for the possibility of human art. It was to constitute a *sphere* of existence, a part of life with its own divine ordinances and sovereignty. It was not trivial, not frivolous, not just a pastime for the rich and idle. Rather “the artistic instinct is an universal human phenomenon,” according to Kuyper.²

Kuyper's early conversion to Christ and second conversion to Calvinism gave him a philosophical-theological, unity-loving principle of coherent diversity that guided him throughout his long life. As a young student of theology and literature at Leiden University, he was attracted to ways of thinking far removed from anything Calvinistic.³ However, after his emotional turn-around in faith, he eventually came to see the need of a system in which all the different strands of thought were internally coherent and symbiotically connected. This meant that the various things he believed and ideas he held to be true should fit together and attract rather than repel one another. They should mutually support one another within a theology or world view. This concept is part of what eventually turned Kuyper back to Calvinism. In attempting to understand the unity of truth and of the teachings of Scripture, Kuyper became persuaded that Calvinism offered a highly coherent approach. This coherence is what attracted him and eventually gave rise to what is now called neo-Calvinism, or Kuyperianism. He

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viewed the coherent diversity of culture as a normative aesthetic idea and ideal.

In this article Kuyper's theology and philosophy of art will be explored and explained, including: I. Art as a Life-Sphere, II. Unity and Neo-Calvinism, III. The Disclosure Process of Art, IV. Art and Religion, V. Ordinary Beauty and the Beautiful, VI. The Greek Aesthetic Achievement, and VII. Conclusion.

At a very basic level, Kuyper accepted the threefold biblical teaching that (1) the world was originally arranged and created good, "very good"; (2) that it was brought into a dysfunctional state, "subjected to futility" by wrong human (and angelic) choices; and (3) that now the creation both enjoys and groaningly awaits Christ's transforming resurrection power. This teaching was taken in an *unrestricted, unlimited sense*, applying to everything created, including art—but of course not to God the Creator: "As the sad consequence of sin, the real beautiful has fled from us...[.] the world once was beautiful, but by the curse has become undone.... Art has the mystical task of reminding us in its production, of the beautiful that was lost and of anticipating its perfect coming in luster."⁴ Art could and should reflect the challenges of a reality like this, wonderfully created yet out of tune (with itself and its maker), and now in a process of renewal in Christ—with the promise of full redemption in the future.

While some of Kuyper's views on the specific nature of art have received criticism, for example his idea of beauty and the accomplishments of ancient Greek art, his understanding of an aesthetic sphere as part of the divine order of creation makes his approach valuable regardless of deficiencies.⁵ (His controversial ideas on these and other matters are sometimes more interesting and thought-provoking than the less controversial ones of other authors.)

I. Art as a Life-Sphere

The underlying assumption of Kuyper's Calvinist perspective is the claim that Christ is sovereign, the Lord of all. Sovereignty, authority, and power are interpreted as Christ's rule, involving the work of the Holy Spirit given at Pentecost and the *creational ordinances* established for each

different sphere of life: "If God is and remains Sovereign, then art can work no enchantment except in keeping with the ordinances which God has ordained...."⁶ According to Kuyper, each sphere is irreducible to any other, and each has a law, or set of ordinances, which functions as its unique norm, character, and growth principle.

This establishment of an aesthetic *order* of existence implies that art is an indispensable part of culture and human life—how many movies, filmed literary works in theatrical production are watched by us each week? Artistic action, performances, and artifacts constitute a distinct facet of human life with many different manifestations. The aesthetic order shows itself narrowly as "fine art" and broadly in the ways people fill, decorate, and arrange their environment. It also offers the possibility of arranging and cultivating our cultural life-world in beautiful and pleasant ways. The aesthetic sphere is a treasure chest waiting to be opened up, unfolded, and *actualized* in arrangements, whereby the unity and beauty of creaturely existence might reflect the glory of God. It is a possibility given by God for studied creative labor, the results of which show different levels of *sophistication*; some can be monumental, calling for public display, while others are simple quaint features of domestic life. In other words, "art" was not just a few *material objects* for Kuyper but involved *numerous activities* based on God-given norms, the recognition and embodiment of which carried *implications* about truth and goodness.

Although Kuyper offered a wide variety of different theological and philosophical reasons for the importance of aesthetic life, his insistence upon ordinances and a process of their cultural unfolding is the foundation of all his other claims. Art work represents the embodiment of the principles or ordinances for this sphere in a more or less masterful, truthful, and obedient fashion. Artistic work should be free to function and develop in its own direction and not be dominated by another sphere and set of ordinances.

II. Unity and Neo-Calvinism

For an understanding of Kuyper's aesthetics, his early lecture "Uniformity: the Curse of Modern Life" (1869) is essential.⁷ It was not until nearly two

decades later, in 1888, that he wrote his first article specifically on art.⁸ However, the early lecture has a direct bearing on art and a broad indirect bearing on his general way of thinking. In it he fiercely opposes uniformity, mindless standardization, and centralization—as did his mentor G. Groen van Prinsterer. Kuyper contrasts uniformity with real unity—still emphasizing the importance of diversity within the bounds of unity: “In the unity of the kingdom of God diversity is not lost but all the more sharply defined.”⁹

Each unique achievement of unity is a gift of God’s grace, either the special or the general kind: “Unity is only found at that point where it springs from the fountain of the Infinite.”¹⁰ This understanding of unity (and diversity) provides the framework of his thoughts on art and the beautiful. Unity is a necessary requirement and characteristic of good artistic work: “The flourishing of the arts is the true measure of the vitality of an era. Art is born out of a zest for the beauty of true unity, out of an impulse toward a fuller life.”¹¹ The unity, however, must be real and not artificial; forcing things to be the same is a mere counterfeit unity: “I do not shrink from calling false uniformity the curse of modern life: it disregards the ordinances of God revealed not only in Scripture but throughout his entire creation.”¹²

Kuyper believed that the world was many-faceted, many-layered, and that all its parts and their relationships are held together by Christ, making up a coherent whole.¹³ They constitute a unity which God brings about, treasures, and sustains moment by moment. And it is Calvinism, he says, that offers “an all-embracing system of principles” with “a unity of life-conception.”¹⁴ This unity is part of why “Calvinism” (later called neo-Calvinism) was important and culturally relevant in his eyes. He believed that its integral view of faith and life was vital to a culturally formative Christianity. According to Kuyper,

Calvinism made its appearance, not merely to create a different Church-form, but to create an entirely different form for human life, to furnish human society with a different method of exis-

tence, and to populate the world of the human heart with different ideals and conceptions.¹⁵

Without unity, nothing can thrive nor even survive. Given the importance Kuyper attributes to unity, we shouldn’t be surprised; he believes that it is a key property of the beautiful and, consequently, that excellent artistic works display it to a high degree. But again, unity is not the same as uniformity:

Look about you in the theater of nature and tell me: where does creation, which bears the signa-

ture of God, exhibit that uniform sameness of death to which people are nowadays trying to condemn all human life? Raise your eyes, look at the starry heavens, and you will see not just a single beam of light but an undulating,

scintillating sea of light coming from myriads of bright-shining stars.... Uniformity in God’s creation! No, rather infinite diversity, an inexhaustible profusion of variations that strikes and fascinates you in every domain of nature, in the ever-varying shape of a snowflake as well as in the endlessly differentiated form of flower and leaf...., multiplicity of its colors and dimensions, in the capriciousness of its ever-changing forms.... But that artful embroidery of infinitely varying colors and shades does not lack unity of conception...[;] the drive for unity in God’s revelation is ... powerful.¹⁶

In other words, true unity arises internally by a symbiotic cohesion of parts—not by forcing art or anything else into preconceived molds of sameness. The key term for Kuyper next to *unity* is *coherence*.

III. The Disclosure Process of Art

Concerning coherence, Kuyper was a man with a plan, usually more than one, as he worked hard to find the connections between things and ideas, to show how ideas and actions are and should be connected. As a result, he approached the subject of art from many different angles. (The programmatic character of his thought can already be seen in his early insistence that the letter-exchanges between himself and his fiancée take place at regular fixed times of the day and week.)¹⁷ After he taught aesthetics for a few years at the *Vrije Universiteit* at Amsterdam (the institution he helped start), a

German Academic Report appeared in 1888, voicing surprise that a “Calvinist” University was offering an aesthetics course. In response, he wrote his first whole article on art explaining how various civilizations have seen it, and how it *should* be seen according to Calvinism. Part of his view involves the “disclosure process” of the arts in culture. The aesthetic sphere, he argued, does not appear full grown; but like a seed, it awaits cultivation, cultural unfolding, and development. It is part of the possibility and responsibility God has given human beings to be good stewards of creation.¹⁸

Kuyper believed that God’s universal kindness was visible in artistic expressions. This view was based on a distinction he drew between the saving grace of God in Christ and the preserving grace of God common to all. The possibility of developing artistic work and artistic traditions was an expression of “common grace.” God gives it as He gives rain to the just and unjust (Matt.5:45). “Common grace” is that

by which God, maintaining the life of the world, relaxes the curse which rests upon it, arrests its process of corruption, and thus allows the untrammelled development of our life in which to glorify Himself as Creator.¹⁹

This common grace gift of art involves the opening up and unfolding of hidden treasure of the creation. (However, because this grace allows people to express views and feelings about life and truth in their artistic work that can be far from Biblical, not all Christians are happy to affirm art as a gift of God.) Even though the arts afford enjoyment and comfort, they are not neutral, not inert, not unrelated to what people think, believe, and are. Artistic work and performance are both *representative* and *formative* of cultures—and civilizations. Many native peoples have represented God or the gods at a very basic *sensual* level, using images and carvings—which as sculptures can be beautiful but as idols problematic.

Although capable of being misused or abused, human artistic creativity is recognized by Kuyper as a part of the original good creation and subject to redemption in Christ. It is an important part of this coherent multifaceted cosmos. Even if aesthetic activity is corrupted and misused in terms of the

way certain art forms are developed in a society, he argues that it is better than the all-too-common preoccupations with alcohol or sex. Normatively speaking, art should allow culturally formative work to comfort, ennoble, and enhance human life while reflecting God’s glory. In other words, artistic work has both a structural and a factual side, and what is good structurally can be factually misguided or even used for evil.

Kuyper also believes that works of art speak, as one of his later students (Rookmaaker) expressed it. They are suggestion-rich as another (Seerveld) puts it. The aesthetic life-sphere can be unfolded in ways that direct our attention toward or away from the Kingdom of God. Aesthetic work captures and conveys the feel, flavor, and scent of a life-direction. Such life-directions, he says, can be observed particularly in great works of art and architecture.²⁰ Certain works or edifices have regularly come to symbolize a culture and its religion. It is almost universally the case that each major religion has its own temple or representative building. In such edifices there is usually a signature pattern and style that gets widely distributed in the artistic works of that culture. The idea of a life-direction is an illustration of Kuyper’s belief about unity, namely that there is an inherent tie between a particular religion or world view and the artistic style that grows out of it. People’s ideas and their art tend to display a unified pattern within a culture.

IV. Art and Religion

One of the main traditional sponsors of art, historically speaking, has been religion, and religious worship in particular. For a long time, “Art derived her richest motives from Religion. The religious passion was the gold-mine, which financially rendered her boldest conceptions possible.”²¹ As a result, “Art-style and the style of worship coincided.”²² It seems surprising then that Calvinism minimized the use of tangible religious artifacts in worship. Historic Calvinism, Kuyper says, represents a stage of development in which images and artifacts are no longer considered necessary. Its unity is no longer expressed in one outward (religious) style or representation, nor is it oriented to one temple or place of worship. At this stage of development it can be practiced anywhere “in spirit and in

truth”—without the help of artistic artifacts (John 4:23). Since Calvinist religious worship is no longer bound to artifacts and can take place anywhere, it can be given a wide range of expressions. *Art* and *artistic style* no longer have to *coincide* with a religion. With the advent of Calvinism in Europe, art gained its freedom far beyond distinctly Calvinist countries to develop in a plurality of directions, forms, and styles on its own.

Calvinist Christianity has never been represented by one building or style.²³ While some people may view this absence as a deficiency, a proof that Calvinism is incomplete as a theology or life-system, Kuyper surprisingly affirms it as a unique strength. Calvinism’s focus on the sovereignty of God is part of the reason Kuyper gives for this lack of a distinct architectural style. The reality of a Sovereign Creator cannot be expressed in or limited to one artistic style because it points beyond anything created or creaturely and is simply too rich to be captured in this way. The usual connection between religion and art became obsolete with the rise of Calvinism. This absence of an artistic style for Calvinism had a profound influence on European culture outside of Calvinist circles:²⁴ “In its very want of a special architectural style, Calvinism finds an even higher recommendation.”²⁵

V. Ordinary Beauty and the Beautiful

Kuyper recognized that in spite of the possible richness and diversity of artistic expression, his nineteenth century had traded the traditional (European culture’s) concern for the unity and beauty of ordinary things for the benefits of mass production, utility, and uniformity. He sensed a shift away from *process* to *results*, from *craftsmanship* to *efficiency*. Even though he knew that artistic work needs explicit endorsement and practical encouragement in such a cultural situation, he wanted to avoid the excesses of art fanaticism and art crazes at the margins of culture. When he admiringly reflected upon the thousands of individually designed and built houses in cities like Delft, Gouda, and

Amsterdam, his concern for *everyday* art and the beauty of the environment became clear. He describes the individual design as resulting from the longing of ordinary people to make things that are tasteful and carry a personal touch.²⁶ Things brought forth in this way are often stylish, bearing the unique signature of their makers. While not highly refined, they inspire and are inspired by what *we* call the fine arts. They share beauty with them, albeit of different forms and types:

What is it in the architectural styles of our old Dutch cities that so charms the visiting stranger? What else but the infinite variety in width or narrowness, the looseness of twists and curves, the pointed and obtuse angles of even our most elegant canals that tell you they were not *made* but *grew*. . . . You can immediately tell that no shoddy, money-hungry developer threw up that line of houses but that every dwelling is the fulfillment of a personal dream, the precious product of quiet thrift, based on a personal plan and built slowly from the ground up. Those tufted, tiered, triangular, and shuttered gables were not symmetrically measured with a level but reflected, every one of them, the thinking of a human being, the whimsicality of a somewhat overconfident human heart.²⁷

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The possibility of such human *artistic* activity and the enjoyment of art was part of the good creation and was a result of people being made in the image of God—with five senses—and divine grace. A part of being made like this is the experience of being attracted by beauty. We are attracted to certain arrangements of things through our senses. In such experiences we perceive order, beauty, and the warmth of our surroundings. Behind sexual attraction, the beauty of nature, and other types of beauty, something deeper and more profound lurks, something for which we were made and have an innate yearning. A student noted that in one of Kuyper’s lectures he said, “Our being cannot be satisfied unless the thirst for beauty that we experience is quenched.”²⁸ The human experience of being attracted, charmed, or fascinated by some-

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thing or someone beautiful is an innate longing—a foretaste of the world to come. Kuyper believes that our interest in and attraction to the beautiful is a main factor in life and art. And although the beautiful was often associated with highly refined art, he was still willing to call the patterns and lines of a Dutch dike system a work of art.²⁹

Like the other major life-areas, art too has its good and its bad examples and more or less masterful embodiments of its inherent norms. Kuyper touches on both:

in many instances [the] love of art leads men to seek enjoyment in nobler directions and lessens the appetite for lower sensuality....In my estimation, even the most injudicious aesthetical fanaticism stands far higher than the common race for wealth, or an unholo prostration before the shrines of Bacchus and Venus.³⁰

He advises that we keep our “eyes fixed upon the Beautiful in its eternal significance, and upon art as one of the richest gifts of God to mankind.”³¹ As he also states, “The beauty in seemingly insignificant things is opened for us by the artist’s eye.”³²

As far as the art of painting goes, Kuyper mentions Rembrandt and the Dutch school’s preoccupation with *reality*—its willingness to portray ordinary things and common people honestly and in *ennobling* ways: “There must be an art, which, despising no single department of life adopts, into her splendid world, the whole of human life....”³³ The idea of art portraying things “in *ennobling* ways” did not mean presenting a sentimental, sugar-coated vision of reality, like a Thomas Kinkadee painting. It meant that the artisan and musician seek to comfort us, uncover and disclose lost goodness, and give us hints of restoration and rumors of glory in things.

Although the senses play a big role in our perception of beauty, what Kuyper calls the beautiful has a meaning that goes beyond the senses. He understands the appeal that beauty makes upon us as a longing planted in us by and for God. God himself is glorious and beautiful; and since human beings are made in the image of God and made for fellowship with God, they are attracted to earthly beauty as a foretaste of the glory of the world to come. His idea of beauty like his idea of unity was

not superficial, as in the case of uniformity or mere sweetness. Beauty, like true unity (and not mere sameness), involves the symbiotic mystery of turning parts and pieces into a recognizable thing or gestalt. Humans were made for art, and art was made for humans because the deeper purpose of art is for humans to enjoy and reflect on the glory of God.

To a certain extent, Kuyper did assume the Pythagorean or classical ideal of beauty, and thought that art should embody the beautiful. However, he departed from that belief in significant respects: first, he knew that the Pythagorean *mathematical* ideal of beauty did not capture the reality of a creation that was good in principle but broken in condition—a world on a bumpy path to redemption and glorification. True beauty comes from digging below the surface, as Rembrandt often did, and from opening up reality as it truly is and showing what it points to. Second, and consequently, Kuyper did not limit “art” to museum art, or art for art’s sake; for he also saw it as potentially enhancing ordinary life. Art was not properly autonomous, or an end in itself. The goal of art was not limited to sheer contemplative delight. Although some works of art could function in this way, another common function of the arts was to simply add enjoyment and amusement to life. If Kuyper ever thought of art as having come into its own, it was in the Reformation period and particularly in the Golden Age of the Netherlands, when fine paintings were abundant enough to be sold at open air markets next to the fish, baked goods, and vegetables.³⁴

It follows from what Kuyper says that whenever possible, churches and other places of Christian worship should be beautiful or at least handsome, well-designed, and well-furnished buildings—as were the first ones built in the Netherlands after the Reformation.

VI. The Greek Aesthetic Achievement

The benchmark for lifelike works of art widely displayed throughout the polis or community was established in ancient Greece, in Kuyper’s opinion, and not the Enlightenment or Romantic periods. He says that “unbelieving nations... in their secular history are called by God to a special vocation.”³⁵ And the Greek vocation was to achieve a break-

through and discovery yet unknown to the world in art. As Kuyper explains, art “is a plant that grows and blossoms upon her own root.... Inasmuch as the Greek artists were the first to clearly see the law of the existence and growth of this art-plant, it is for this reason that all of the higher arts again and again borrow the pure impulse of that classical development.”³⁶ Moreover, “although a further art-development may seek newer forms and richer material, the nature of the original find remains the same” (my translation 1898:158-159).³⁷ And yet Kuyper adds to this high assessment of the Greek achievement the statement “Not for the sake of stopping short with Greece, or adopting her Paganistic form without criticism,...[Art], like Science, cannot afford to tarry at her origin, but must ever develop herself more richly, at the same time purging herself of whatsoever had been falsely intermingled with the earlier plant.”³⁸ While there may be *tension* between his assessment of the Greek achievement and Greek Paganism, Kuyper seems aware of the need to be discerning in borrowing from its discovery.

While the Greeks disclosed some of the treasures and laws of art to the world, it was the love of liberty, characteristic of Calvinist and Reformation lands, that opened artistic work to ordinary life, and not merely to mythological figures and themes depicted in human form: “When it comes to art, neither Greek mythology nor Saints nor heroes are needed, but in any object of ordinary life a meaning can be perceived by artistic discernment which transforms something that was nothing, into an object of wonderment.”³⁹ As we have seen, the beautiful is not narrowly restricted to what might be called high art but can be present almost anywhere: “Any color, tone, or line can, just as well as a characteristic, mood, thought or deed, be beautiful in itself.”⁴⁰

From Kuyper’s neo-Calvinist perspective, it follows that human artistic work should neither slavishly mimic (broken) reality nor fly into high flung fantasies. It is best when it focuses on reality but

The reality of a Sovereign Creator cannot be expressed in or limited to one artistic style because it points beyond anything created or creaturely and is simply too rich to be captured in this way.

does not stop at appearance(s), just as the natural scientist or plant or animal breeder seeks to bring out lines, characteristics, and vibrant qualities leading to improved novel strains. Artistic work should offer a foretaste of the way brokenness can give way to glory, glimpses of hard-won salvation, and resurrection:

The central impulse, and the central animation, in the mystical root of our being . . . seeks to reveal itself to the outer world.... Thus also no unity in the revelation of art is conceivable, except by the art-inspiration of an Eternal Beautiful, which flows from the fountain of the Infinite.... And since this is the very privilege of Religion, over intellect, morality and art, that she alone effects the communion with the Infinite in our self-consciousness, the call for a secular, all-embracing art-style, independent of any religious principle, is simply absurd [in] so exceedingly important a domain as that of the mighty arts.⁴¹

VII. Conclusion

Sometimes Kuyper has a way of surprising his readers by saying the obvious. He took seriously the prophet’s rebuke that idols cannot hear and graven images cannot see. And he then asks whether we really believe God can see and hear—our music and works of art. He believes that God can, and he quotes Psalm 94:9, which reads, “He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? He that formed the eye, shall he not see?” And of course, Christians talk about singing songs of praise *to* the Lord. The sounds we make and the things we create are *accessible* to God—it would be nonsense to talk as we do if we did not believe this. We sing, play, and work on the assumption that God is aware of our actions. Kuyper argues that all of this—singing, playing and working—implies that music, drawing, architecture, and poetry etc., have significance to Him and should be done well—by our acquiring skills and an implicit knowledge of artistic norms.

It may seem odd in our present age to speak of norms, ordinances, or laws governing artist work

and its development. However, Kuyper assumes that in the process of acquiring or learning a craft or a skill sometimes referred to as being “inducted into a social practice,” or simply learning to do something special, a person is implicitly becoming familiar with the norms, laws, and ordinances of how certain things work and do not work. Artistic labor involves using this (sometimes hardly conscious) familiarity with norms to create and arrange things into desired patterns, which stimulate, enliven, and speak to their makers and recipients. Kuyper believes God is a key recipient.⁴²

Artistic works, like other human activities, bear the marks of those who make them. Even things used for destructive purposes are not without meaning. Works of art carry meaning and reflect attitudes and parts of perspectives of those who make them. Each work contributes to an ongoing conversation and debate about human life, God, and the world. In conclusion, Kuyper asks, “would it not be both a *degradation* and an *underestimation* of art, if you were to imagine the different branches into which the art-trunk divides itself, to be independent of the deepest root which all human life has in God?”⁴³

Endnotes

1. Abraham Kuyper, *Het Calvinisme: Zes Stone-Lezingen (Calvinism: Six Stone-lectures)*, (Amsterdam/Pretoria: Höyeker & Wormser, 1898); Kuyper’s English and Dutch works are available online at <http://kuyper.ptsem.edu/>
2. Kuyper, *Calvinism: Six Stone-lectures* (1898), 93.
3. Roger D. Henderson, “How Abraham Kuyper Became a Kuyperian,” *Christian Scholars Review*, 22.1 (September 1992): 22-35. Also in Abraham Kuyper, *The Problem of Poverty*, ed. and trans. James Skillen (Dordt Press, 2011), as well as *On Kuyper*, eds. Steve Bishop and John Kok (Dordt Press, 2013).
4. Kuyper, *Calvinism: Six Stone-lectures* (1898), 208.
5. For critical comments on Kuyper’s idea of aesthetics and beauty, see Calvin Seerveld, for example in his “Dooyeweerd’s Legacy for Aesthetics,” in *The Legacy of Herman Dooyeweerd*, ed. C.T. McIntire (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985).
6. Kuyper, *Calvinism: Six Stone-lectures* (1898), 209.
7. Abraham Kuyper, *Eenvormigheid, de Vloek van het Moderne Leven* (Amsterdam: H. De Hoogh, 1869). English translation: *Uniformity: The Curse of Modern Life*, ed. J.D. Bratt (1998), *Abraham Kuyper: A Centennial Reader* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998); Carlisle: Paternoster Press.
8. Abraham Kuyper, *Calvinisme en de Kunst (Calvinism and Art)* (Amsterdam: J. A. Wormser, 1888).
9. Kuyper, *Uniformity: The Curse of Modern Life* (1869), 35.
10. Kuyper, *Calvinism: Six Stone-lectures* (1898), 202.
11. Kuyper, *Uniformity: The Curse of Modern Life* (1869), 36.
12. *Ibid.*, 37.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Kuyper, *Calvinism: Six Stone-lectures* (1898), 11.
15. *Ibid.*, 13.
16. Kuyper, *Uniformity: The Curse of Modern Life* (1869), 34-35.
17. Henderson, “How Abraham Kuyper Became a Kuyperian” (note 3 [ii] above).
18. Kuyper, *Calvinism: Six Stone-lectures* (1898), 191.
19. *Ibid.*, 30-31.
20. *Ibid.*, 194.
21. *Ibid.*, 195.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*, 194.
24. *Ibid.*, 195.
25. “Calvinism, to the extent that it also put its stamp on our national life outside Calvinist circles in the narrower sense, rendered this undying service, that it restored art to itself, opened up for art a hitherto unknown world of common everyday life, opened the artist’s eye to the beauty in the seemingly negligible, and fostered a love of freedom that stimulated the passion for art.”
26. Kuyper, *Uniformity: The Curse of Modern Life* (1868), 26.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Quoted in “Art and the Public Today,” *The Complete Works of Hans R. Rookmaaker* Vol. 5 (Carlisle, UK: Piquant, 2003), 187.
29. Kuyper, *Calvinism and Art* (1888), 27.
30. Kuyper, *Calvinism: Six Stone-lectures* (1898), 221.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Kuyper, *Calvinism and Art* (1888), 27.
33. Kuyper, *Calvinism: Six Stone-lectures* (1898), 221.
34. The vast number of high-quality paintings dating

from this period can still be seen in the large and small museums throughout Europe, not to mention the countless auction houses and private collections.

35. Kuyper, *Calvinism: Six Stone-lectures* (1898), 218.
36. *Ibid.*, 220.
37. *Ibid.*, 158-159; 218-219 (my translation).
38. *Ibid.*, 220.
39. Kuyper, *Calvinism and Art* (1888), 23.
40. *Ibid.*
41. Kuyper, *Calvinism: Six Stone-lectures* (1898), 202-202; 203.
42. *Ibid.*, 209.
43. *Ibid.*, 203.