

Jo Zwartendijk (1889—1938)

An Intellectual Biography of a Pioneering Art Historian

17 August 2024

University of Amsterdam

Sanne Lotte de Rooij (10788964)

SLdeRooij@gmail.com

Word Count: 20.641

Master of Arts Thesis

Heritage Studies: Curating Art and Cultures

Supervisor: Dr. Rachel Esner

Second Reader: Dr. Tessel Bauduin

"Alida Jozina (Jo) Zwartendijk (1889—1938). Date Unknown." 0996.37—58, Archive of Jo Zwartendijk, RKD, The Hague.



Table of Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| Introduction | 5 |
| 1. An Intellectual Biography of Jo Zwartendijk | 8 |
| 2. Emergence and Development of Art History as an Academic Discipline in the Netherlands | 10 |
| 3. On the Reform and Management of Our Museums | 16 |
| 4. Navigating Gender Barriers in a Male-Dominated Art World | 19 |
| 5. Scientific Relevance | 24 |
| 6. Thesis Outline | 25 |
| | |
| Chapter 1. Becoming an Art Historian at the École du Louvre in Paris | 26 |
| 1. (After) the HBS. Early Education and Intellectual Ambitions | 26 |
| 2. The École du Louvre in Paris | 31 |
| 3. <i>La première année</i> . (Private) lessons by Paul Leprieur and Paul Etard | 35 |
| 4. <i>La deuxième et troisième année. L'Histoire de la Peinture</i> by Gaston Brière | 39 |
| 5. “lets over kunst” | 41 |
| | |
| Chapter 2. Art Historical Practices in the Museum Boymans and Beyond | 45 |
| 1. The Rotterdamsche Kunstkring | 45 |
| 2. <i>A Volontaire</i> at the Museum Boymans | 47 |
| 3. Art Historical and Educational Contributions as a Museum Assistant | 50 |
| 4. Women Art Historians Working in the Dutch Museum Field | 54 |
| 5. Pursuing a Career in Writing. The Right to Choose | 59 |
| | |
| Chapter 3. Jo Zwartendijk. A Pioneering Art Critic | 62 |
| 1. The Emergence of Dutch Art Criticism | 62 |
| 2. Anonymous, J.Z., JZ, J. Zwartendijk, Jo Zwartendijk | 67 |
| 3. “The Arts in Distress!” | 71 |
| 4. The Legacy of Jo Zwartendijk (1889—1938) | 74 |
| | |
| In conclusion | 77 |
| Bibliography | 81 |
| Appendices | 94 |

Introduction

In 2022, the RKD – Nederlands Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis (Netherlands Institute of Art History) – in The Hague acquired the archive of the Rotterdam-born Jo Zwartendijk, a pioneering art historian in the early twentieth-century Dutch art world.¹ This archive, which has been made publicly accessible in January 2024, provides valuable insights into Zwartendijk's life and work, encompassing notebooks from her art historical education at the École du Louvre in Paris, honours, photographs, travel reports, manuscripts of published and unpublished texts, albums of her published articles and documentation of her professional relationships.² Her recent inclusion in the RKD archives is particularly significant, as it presents an exceptional and valuable resource within a repository, predominantly constituted by the archives of her male predecessors and contemporaries.³

The life of Alida Jozina (Jo) Zwartendijk (1889—1938) was deeply intertwined with a great passion for both the visual and literary arts. Her dedication to art and literature was evident throughout her multifaceted career as an art historian, museum assistant and art critic. Zwartendijk was a well-known art specialist in Rotterdam and her impact on the Dutch art scene was – according to both her contemporaries and today's art historians – profound.⁴ After her unexpected and premature death at the age of 48 on 27 April 1938 due to complications after surgery, art critic and museum director Willem Josyah de Gruyter (1899—1979) commemorated her with the following words in *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*:

We have lost a critic of considerable significance – one of the few in our country who combined an extensive knowledge of both old and new art with a vivid, even intense, passion for it. She had the

¹ “The RKD Welcomes the Jo Zwartendijk Archive,” RKD. Accessed 14 September 2023, <https://www.rkd.nl/en/the-rkd-welcomes-the-jo-zwartendijk-archive>.

² Idem.

³ Idem.

⁴ Three references in which Jo Zwartendijk is mentioned as an important early-twentieth century art historian, are: Loes van Beuningen. “Van minderheid naar meerderheid. Vrouwen in de Nederlandse beeldende kunstkritiek 1800—2020,” PhD diss. (Nijmegen: Radboud University, 2022), [249053.pdf \(ru.nl\)](#); Yvette Marcus-De Groot, *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer: de eerste generatie in Nederland vóór 1921* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2003); and Mieke Rijnders, *Realisme in Nederland. Critici kiezen positie 1925—1945*. Edited by Pieter de Ruyter and Jonneke Jobse (Rotterdam: nai010, 2016).

ability to articulate her personally coloured, yet rigorously studied, responses in a consistently engaging manner, whether in newspapers or journals. She possessed a versatile and dynamic intellect.⁵

Zwartendijk was born on 21 May 1889 as the first child of Johanna Cornelia (Josine) Montijn (1861—1921)⁶ and Jan Zwartendijk (1854—1914), a merchant in tobacco and tea.⁷ Together with her twin brothers Pieter Anthonie (Piet) (1896—1986)⁸ and Jan Zwartendijk (1896—1976),⁹ she grew up in a relatively affluent family.¹⁰ Despite the societal gender-based constraints prevailing around the beginning of the twentieth

⁵ “Wij hebben in haar een criticus van eenige beteekenis verloren, een van de ten onzent niet talrijke figuren, die kennis van oude en nieuwe kunst paarde aan een levendige, zelfs felle belangstelling ervoor en die haar persoonlijk gekleurde, evenwel door studiezin gerugsteunde reacties op altijd onderhoudende wijze in krant of tijdschrift in woord wist te brengen. Zij had een veelzijdige, beweeglijke geest.” See: Willem Josyah de Gruyter, “In memoriam. Jo Zwartendijk,” *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 48 (28 April 1938): 431, https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_els001193801_01/_els001193801_01_0060.php.

⁶ “Johanna Cornelia “Josine” Montijn (1861—1921),” Genealogie Online. Accessed 13 May 2024, <https://www.genealogieonline.nl/stamboom-driessen/I388.php>.

⁷ “Jan Zwartendijk (1854—1914),” Genealogie Online. Accessed 13 May 2024, <https://www.genealogieonline.nl/stamboom-driessen/I387.php>.

⁸ “Pieter Anthonie Zwartendijk (1896—1986),” Genealogie Online. Accessed 11 June 2024, <https://www.genealogieonline.nl/stamboom-driessen/I386.php>.

⁹ “Jan Zwartendijk (1896—1976),” Genealogie Online. Accessed 11 June 2024, <https://www.genealogieonline.nl/stamboom-driessen/I32088.php>.

¹⁰ In 1893, Montijn gave birth to another daughter, Wilhelmina Diderica Petronella Zwartendijk (1893—1894), who died after eight months. Three years later, Piet Zwartendijk and Jan Zwartendijk were born. The twin brothers initially started their careers – after their father, grandfather and great-grandfather – as merchants in tobacco and tea in Rotterdam. They joined the family business “Gebroeders Zwartendijk Tabaksfabriek en Theehandel,” which was already established in 1808, and had taken over as directors in 1919. However, only four years later, because of financial problems Piet and Jan Zwartendijk were forced to sell their business to a rivaling company. Jan Zwartendijk left the Netherlands and became director of the Lithuanian office of Philips, a Dutch multinational conglomerate corporation in electronics, in Kaunas in 1939. When World War II began, Zwartendijk was asked to be a consul at the Dutch Embassy in Lithuania. In this position, Zwartendijk saved the lives of thousands Jewish people who fled Poland. During his lifetime, he did not receive recognition for his role in World War II. Zwartendijk’s life was acknowledged only relatively recently by Jan Brokken in his book *De Rechtvaardigen* (2023) about the life of Zwartendijk. In September 2023, Zwartendijk was posthumously awarded the Medal of Honour for Humanitarian Assistance by the Dutch government. See: “Wilhelmina Diderica Petronella Zwartendijk (1893—1894),” Genealogie Online. Accessed 11 June 2024, <https://www.genealogieonline.nl/stamboom-driessen/I32087.php>; Jan Brokken, *De Rechtvaardigen. Hoe consul Jan Zwartendijk duizenden Joden redde* (Amsterdam: Atlas Contact, 2023); and “Hoogste eer voor Jan Zwartendijk, die duizenden Joden redde,” *NOS* (14 September 2023), <https://nos.nl/artikel/2490413-hoogste-eer-voor-jan-zwartendijk-die-duizenden-joden-redde>.

century, she pursued an education at the HBS, the Hogere Burger School (Higher Civic School), which was not self-evident for girls of her generation. After finishing high school, Zwartendijk moved to Paris in 1910 to attend a three-year course in art history at the prestigious École du Louvre, specialising in history of painting. This is notable as, for women of her generation, studying abroad was exceedingly uncommon.¹¹ Her notebooks from this period, now a part of her archive at the RKD, offer important revelations of her academic journey and the subjects she studied.

Upon returning to Rotterdam after successfully completing her exams in November 1913, Zwartendijk began her career at the Museum Boymans in Rotterdam,¹² becoming the first paid female research assistant in the institution's history. Her tenure there marked the beginning of a significant professional trajectory in the Dutch art world. She resigned in 1920 and pursued her career as an art critic for – among other newspapers and art magazines – the daily newspaper the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*.¹³ Here she remained a prominent figure and colleague until her passing in 1938.

Zwartendijk's endeavours extended well beyond her professional achievements as an art critic. She served as a board member of the Rotterdamsche Kunstkring (Rotterdam Art Association) from 1914 onwards. She also assembled a modest collection of artworks by contemporary artists herself. In the last years of her life, she donated some of these objects from her collection to the Museum Boymans and bequeathed financial grants to multiple cultural institutions in Rotterdam. Already in her time, Zwartendijk was very aware of and concerned with the position of women. She was a co-founder and an active member of the Dutch Soroptimist Club, an association

¹¹ Mieke Rijnders, *Realisme in Nederland. Critici kiezen positie 1925—1945*. Edited by Peter de Ruiter and Jonneke Jobse (Rotterdam: nai010, 2016): 284.

¹² For unknown reasons, the museum's name Museum "Boijmans," established with the collection of Frans Jacob Otto Boijmans (176—1847), changed to Museum "Boymans" in the first years of its existence. Soon after the opening on 3 July 1849, the museum's collection grew rapidly. Though the Museum Boymans has known many other donors and bequeathers since Boijmans gifted his collection, the museum acquired a new name again when the collection of businessman Daniël George van Beuningen (1877—1955) was acquired in 1958. The museum's name altered to Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, and was – again – changed to its current spelling in 1996: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen. Therefore, in this thesis, the museum will be referred to as "Museum Boymans" in the context of the period between the establishment in 1849 until 1958; whereas "Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen" will be used from 1958 onwards.

¹³ F. Schmidt-Degener, "Verslag van het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam over het jaar 1920, 30 Mei 1921" (Rotterdam: Wed. P. van Waesberge & Zoon, 1921): 7—8.

established to improve the rights, position and lives of girls and women on an international scale.¹⁴

1. An Intellectual Biography of Jo Zwartendijk

Jo Zwartendijk was among a limited group of women working in the Dutch art world in the early twentieth century. According to the RKD, Zwartendijk's reviews and critiques of the latest exhibitions and art historical publications played "a considerable role in shaping public perception of contemporary art and contributed to the popularisation of visual arts among a wider audience".¹⁵ She is therefore seen as one of the most important art historians in the twentieth-century field of Dutch art history, which is underlined, among others, by Yvette Marcus-de Groot in *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer. De eerste generatie vóór 1921 (Women Art Historians in The Netherlands. Pioneers before 1921)* (2003).¹⁶ However, the full extent and impact of Zwartendijk's work as an art historian, museum assistant and art critic has never been thoroughly researched. This thesis aims to address this gap by answering the following research question: How did Jo Zwartendijk navigate in and contribute to the early twentieth century Dutch art world as an art historian, museum assistant and art critic within a primarily male-dominated environment? This research explores and analyses Zwartendijk's legacy, from her training at the École du Louvre in Paris and her years as an assistant at Museum Boymans to her later successes as a respected art critic. The aim is not only to provide a comprehensive understanding of Zwartendijk's intellectual and professional achievements but also to illustrate how she secured and maintained a prominent position in the early twentieth-century Dutch male-dominated (art) world.

To thoroughly understand Zwartendijk's thoughts and achievements, this thesis employs an intellectual biographical approach to her life. (Auto)biographical research typically involves a personal and detailed study of one's personal (own) life, whereas an intellectual biographical approach focuses primarily on an individual's educational

¹⁴ Jo Lajoost, "Het Sorooptimisme. Ontstaan en uitingen in Nederland," *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* (30 March 1935).

¹⁵ "The RKD Welcomes the Jo Zwartendijk Archive," RKD. Accessed 14 September 2023, <https://www.rkd.nl/en/the-rkd-welcomes-the-jo-zwartendijk-archive>.

¹⁶ Marcus-De Groot, *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer*; and Rijnders, *Realisme in Nederland*.

background and professional achievements within their historical and social context.¹⁷ This methodology offers the opportunity to transform Zwartendijk's résumé and her recently acquired archive at the RKD into a historical narrative, carefully reconstructing a detailed account of her experiences as a professional in the Dutch art field. By adopting an intellectual biography as a methodological framework, this thesis provides a chronological exploration of Zwartendijk's professional work and achievements, scrutinising the relationship between her life and her career, and its significance in the developments of Dutch art history in the beginning of the twentieth century. To minimise potential biases and inaccuracies, this thesis deliberately refrains from attributing subjective personal traits, focusing solely on Zwartendijk's education, professional work and both her social and art historical achievements.

This research primarily draws upon both primary and secondary sources and literature, including the extant archival materials held at the RKD and the Literature Museum in The Hague, as well as the archives of the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, the City Archives of Rotterdam and the Archives Nationales in Paris. Additionally, this study utilises online databses, including the Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland (Digital Women's Lexicon of the Netherlands),¹⁸ Delpher,¹⁹ an online database providing access to newspapers and magazines published in the Netherlands between 1618 and 1995, and DNBL – the Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren (Digital Library for Dutch Literature).²⁰ The DBNL is a digital collection of published texts related to Dutch literature, linguistics and culture history from the earliest times to the present. A limitation of both Delpher and DBNL is that not

¹⁷ Volker Depkat, "The Challenges of Biography: European-American Reflections," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute Washington, D.C.* 44 (Fall 2014): 39, https://perspectivia.net/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/ploneimport3_derivate_00002625/depkat_challenges.pdf.

¹⁸ The Digital Women's Lexicon of the Netherlands contains information on the "most remarkable" women in the history of the Netherlands and its overseas territories from the earliest times to the present. It is important to note that this selection of "remarkable" women was made from 2003 until 2022 of which the criteria for inclusion remain unclear. This means a great number of women was not included in the Lexicon, including Zwartendijk. See: Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland, <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon>.

¹⁹ See: Delpher, <https://www.delpher.nl/>.

²⁰ See: DBNL, <https://www.dbnl.org/>.

all Dutch newspapers and magazines published during this period are already included in these databases.²¹

To delineate the scope of the research material, this thesis specifically concentrates on Zwartendijk's professional contributions as a museum assistant at Museum Boymans and as an art critic. "Art criticism" is defined in the context of reviewing visual arts. Other forms of art critique by Zwartendijk, such as prose, poetry and theatre-criticism – whether published anonymously, under her own name or under her alias Jo Lajoost²² — are not included. Although these forms of criticism could arguably be encompassed within the broader category of "art criticism", such exclusions are necessary to maintain a focused and manageable framework for this study.

2. Emergence and Development of Art History as an Academic Discipline in the Netherlands

This thorough study contextualises Jo Zwartendijk's professional achievements throughout her life as an art historian within the broader discourse on the history of Dutch art historical education. When Zwartendijk moved to Paris to pursue her education at the École du Louvre, art history had only recently been established as a university discipline in the Netherlands.²³ This occurred relatively late compared to other neighbouring countries such as Germany and France.²⁴ In 1863, a Secondary Education Act was passed by the Liberal Prime Minister of the Netherlands at the time,

²¹ Searches in these (and other) databases were conducted using terms such as "Zwartendijk", "J Zwartendijk", "J. Zwartendijk", "J.Z." and "JZ".

²² The many albums with published articles by Zwartendijk from her archive at the RKD reveal she also published reviews on prose, poetry and theatre under the alias "Jo Lajoost". See: "Albums met ingeplakte krantenknipsels," 0996.37—46, Archive of Jo Zwartendijk, RKD, The Hague.

²³ Annemieke Hoogenboom, "De introductie van kunstgeschiedenis aan de Nederlandse universiteiten: de voorgeschiedenis van de leerstoel van Willem Vogelsang." In: Ton Bevers, Antoon Van den Braembussche, and Berend Jan Langenberg (eds.), *De kunstwereld. Productie, distributie en receptie in de wereld van kunst en cultuur* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1993): 78.

²⁴ In Germany, Johann Domenico Fiorillo (1748—1821) was appointed in 1813 as the first art historian (merely focusing on drawings from the Middle Ages) at the University of Göttingen. Almost half a decade later, Anton Springer (1825—1891) was assigned as a professor in modern art history at the University of Bonn. See: Heinrich Dilly, *Kunstgeschichte als Institution. Studien zur Geschichte einer Disziplin* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1979): 174, 237—240; In France, an official chair of aesthetics and art history was firstly introduced at the Collège de France in Paris in 1878. Sophie Picot-Bocquillon, "Les premières années de l'École du Louvre, 1882—1914," *Histoire de l'Art* 56 (2005): 103, <https://doi.org/10.3406/hista.2005.3094>.

Johan Rudolph Thorbecke (1798—1872).²⁵ This act enabled the establishment of a new form of secondary education in the Netherlands, the HBS. With the introduction of the HBS, Thorbecke aimed to meet with the demand for more skilled (male) personnel in trade and industry.²⁶ An HBS diploma also allowed admission to Dutch universities, given that it was supplemented by examinations in Greek and Latin, which had to be taken at a gymnasium.²⁷ Initially, the HBS exclusively accepted boys. Girls were admitted from 1871 onwards provided they were given individual ministerial permission. It was not until 1906 that the Dutch law mandated equal admission to secondary education in the Netherlands to both boys and girls.²⁸

The prospect of pursuing an education in art history at a university level after high school was first addressed in the Higher Education Act of 1876.²⁹ Prior to this, only lectures on art, architecture and culture from the classical period³⁰ had been given on a small scale at universities. This legislation redefined the purposes of higher education, shifting its focus from preparing students for “a learned position in society” to facilitating access to scientific professions that would contribute to the Dutch public.³¹ According to this act – among other chairs of modern languages, geography, and psychology – a chair of aesthetics and art history would be established at one of the state universities. However, the official introduction of a chair specifically for art history would ultimately take more than thirty years.³²

The Higher Education Act aligned with the humanist ideal of civilisation upheld by Dutch universities well into the nineteenth century, strongly emphasising classics and theoretical scholarship.³³ In the few private lectures on visual arts that were

²⁵ Agnes van Steen, “Openbare hogere burgerscholen in Leiden: jongens en meisjes beginnen gescheiden,” *Leids Jaarboekje* 94 (2002): 83.

²⁶ Idem.

²⁷ Idem: 89—90.

²⁸ Hoogenboom, “Kunstgeschiedenis aan de universiteit:” 26.

²⁹ P.Th.F.M. Boekholt, and E.P. de Booy, “Het voortgezet onderwijs,” *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland, vanaf de middeleeuwen tot aan de huidige tijd* (1987): 190—191, https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/boek009gesc01_01/boek009gesc01_01_0012.php.

³⁰ The term “classical period,” or “classical antiquity,” refers to the Greco-Roman period in Western history from approximately 600 BCE to around 500 CE. See: F.G. Naerebout and H.W. Singor, *De oudheid. Grieken en Romeinen in de context van de wereldgeschiedenis* (Amsterdam: Ambo/Anthos B.V., 2011).

³¹ Hoogenboom, “Kunstgeschiedenis aan de universiteit:” 26.

³² Idem: 78.

³³ Dr. M. Groen, *University Education in the Netherlands 1815—1980: legislation and civil effect*. EUT Report, Eindhoven University of Technology, Department of Philosophy and Social Sciences (Vol. 88, 1988): 111—113, <https://research.tue.nl/files/4319940/289134.pdf>.

offered, professors predominantly focused on the art of antiquity. The history of post-classical art – the history of art from roughly 500 CE onwards – was only sporadically addressed.³⁴ Consequently, there was no opportunity for chairs of art history of the post-classical period, unlike in Germany where such positions had already been established since the beginning of the nineteenth century.³⁵

The first professor to teach art history at a Dutch university – though given as sub-courses in history and aesthetics – was Allard Pierson (1831—1896).³⁶ The same year the Higher Education Act was passed in the Netherlands, in 1876, Pierson introduced lectures on art history at the University of Amsterdam. Pierson limited his classes to classical antiquity, as only Greco-Roman arts and cultures was his subject of examination. In 1896, Pierson was succeeded by Jan Six (1857—1926) who became an extraordinary professor of aesthetics and art history.³⁷ Even though he covered a broader period of art history with his occasional teachings on the arts of the early Middle Ages in West-Europe (ca. 500—1500 CE), Six, just like his predecessor Pierson, primarily lectured on art from the classical antiquity. However, his classes on art of the post-classical period generated great interest. Six's lectures became increasingly popular among students of Dutch and classical literature as well as those from other faculties.³⁸ This growing interest in art history undoubtedly contributed to the subsequent appointment of the Dutch art history professor Willem Vogelsang (1875—1954) as a private lecturer a few years later.

In 1900, Vogelsang held a public lecture at the University of Amsterdam. At the end of the nineteenth century, Vogelsang, an aspiring art historian, had completed courses in art history at universities abroad in France, Switzerland, and Austria, naturally given the fact that art history was not yet a main subject taught at Dutch universities. He completed his dissertation *summa cum laude* in Munich on the subject of Dutch miniatures from the late Middle Ages,³⁹ and was to become a deputy director of the *Nederlandsch Museum voor Geschiedenis en Kunst* (Dutch Museum of History

³⁴ Hoogenboom, “Kunstgeschiedenis aan de universiteit.” 80.

³⁵ *Idem*: 26.

³⁶ *Idem*: 80.

³⁷ C.H.E. Haspels, “Six, Jhr. Jan (1857—1926),” *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. Accessed 14 January 2024, <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn1/six>.

³⁸ Marcus-de Groot, *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer*: 50.

³⁹ Prof. Dr. W. Vogelsang, “Holländische Miniaturen des späteren Mittelalters,” *Doct.Diss.* (München, 22 July 1898).

and Art).⁴⁰ In his keynote, Vogelsang advocated for the importance of art history as a new independent subject, and claimed the same status – e.g. a chair at a state university – for art history as archaeology and literary studies:

Art history is not and cannot fundamentally be an auxiliary science, as heraldry, numismatics, and sigillography are of history. It is concerned with an expression of the human spirit, an embodiment of human thought, will and enjoyment, just as much as the history of literature, which no one would want to dismiss as a subsidiary subject. Throughout the ages, [art history] searches for the relationship of art and its creators with each other and with their surroundings, it endeavours to determine which [art]works still have a lasting emotional value for us today. A too historical or one-sided treatment endangers equating the art of all times, [...].⁴¹

Vogelsang delivered this speech upon accepting the position of private lecturer at the University of Amsterdam, where he would be supervised by Jan Six.⁴² Whereas Six primarily taught on art from classical antiquity, Vogelsang focused on teaching in Western European art history from the post-classical period. He attempted to bring a methodological reflection to the profession, which in the Netherlands was mainly

⁴⁰ Chris Stolwijk, *'Die wetenschap noemen Gij en ik kunstgeschiedenis;...'* *Denken over kunstgeschiedenis in Nederland: J.G. van Gelder (1903—1980)* (Amsterdam: Van Kerkvoorde & Hollander B.V., 1991): 17—18.

⁴¹ “De kunsthistorie is en kan in den grond geen hulpwetenschap wezen, zooals de heraldiek en de munt- en zegelkunde dat van de geschiedenis zijn. Ze houdt zich bezig met een uiting van den menschelijken geest, een belichaming van menschelijk denken, willen en genieten zoo goed als de litteratuuargeschiedenis, die toch niemand onder de bijvakken zou willen verstooten. Door de tijden heen zoekt ze de verhouding van kunst en scheppers onderling en tot hun omgeving, tracht ze te bepalen, wat er voor ons heden nog van de werken een blijvende gevoelswaarde behouden heeft. Een al te zeer historisch eenzijdige behandeling brengt het gevaar ten slotte de kunst van alle tijden op ééne lijn te stellen, [...]” See: Dr. W. Vogelsang, *Kunstwetenschappelijke opmerkingen. Rede, uitgesproken bij de opening zijner lessen in kunstgeschiedenis, op 22 november 1900* (Amsterdam: Scheltema, and Holkema, 1900): 41.

⁴² Private lectures were assigned to teach university students in subjects that were not yet included in the formal curriculum but were recognised as important. Consequently, academic subjects were typically introduced by private lecturers before a university officially instituted the new course and appointed professors – as was the case with art history. See: Stolwijk, *'Die wetenschap noemen Gij en ik kunstgeschiedenis;...'*: 17.

dominated by art historians such as Abraham Bredius (1855—1946) and Cornelis Hofstede de Groot (1863—1930), who were pragmatically concerned with archives as art-historical sources. Their critical documentary approach involved thorough archival research, heavily influenced by the positivist principles of scholarship upheld by earlier Dutch historians like Robert Fruin (1823—1899).⁴³ Vogelsang endeavoured to establish art history as a distinct academic field with its own conceptual apparatus, drawing from the theoretical framework introduced by the Swiss art historian Heinrich Wölfflin (1864—1945).⁴⁴ Wölfflin is renowned for his influential contributions to the field of art history, particularly in the realm of formal analysis. His approach to art history emphasised the examination of artworks based on their formal elements rather than focusing solely on historical context or cultural significance. He viewed art objects as products of independent artistic and stylistic evolution and advocated for a methodical approach to understanding art through the analysis of formal qualities such as line, colour, composition and texture.⁴⁵ Vogelsang significantly contributed to Dutch art history with introducing this new theoretical framework, among other methodological concepts, derived from Wölfflin's *Kunstwissenschaft*.⁴⁶ This framework facilitated a new, theoretically driven objective in conjunction with the prevailing (art) historical-positivist approach.⁴⁷ According to Chris Stolwijk (1966), with Wölfflin's *Kunstwissenschaft*, Vogelsang contributed to Bredius' and Hofstede de Groot's archival documentary approach by focusing on an art object itself rather than its historical and/or cultural significance.⁴⁸ Vogelsang, therefore, played a pivotal role in solidifying art history as a broadly embraced academic discipline.

The universities of Utrecht and Leiden swiftly followed Amsterdam's lead by also appointing private lecturers in art history. In 1904, Johanna Goekoop-de Jongh (1877—1946) presented her inaugural discourse on art history as an educational

⁴³ Idem.

⁴⁴ Marcus-de Groot, *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer*: 15.

⁴⁵ Jason Gaiger, "Intuition and Representation: Wölfflin's Fundamental Concepts of Art History," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 73, No. 2 (Spring, 2015): 164—171, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43496557>.

⁴⁶ Marlite Halbertsma, "De geschiedenis van de kunstgeschiedenis in Duitssprekende landen en Nederland van 1764 tot 1933." In: Marlite Halbertsma, and Kitty Zijlmans (eds.), *Gezichtspunten. Een inleiding in de methoden van de kunstgeschiedenis* (Nijmegen: Sun, 1993): 70—74.

⁴⁷ Chris Stolwijk, "J.G. van Gelder." In: Peter Hecht, Annemieke Hoogenboom, and Chris Stolwijk (eds.), *Kunstgeschiedenis in Nederland. Negen opstellen* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1998): 129.

⁴⁸ Idem: 130.

discipline at the University of Utrecht.⁴⁹ In her speech, Goekoop-de Jongh articulated several key insights into the field of art history as both an academic discipline and an essential component of cultural education. She emphasised the necessity of art history as an educational discipline, arguing that learning about art history is not merely about acquiring knowledge. Importantly, she stressed the need for comprehensive educational approaches to foster a deeper understanding of art's role in "human civilisation".⁵⁰ To Goekoop-de Jongh, this educational mission was crucial for fostering a more informed and culturally aware society as she viewed art history as an interdisciplinary field that intersected with various domains of knowledge, including philosophy, literature, and general history.⁵¹

Shortly thereafter, German-Dutch art historian Wilhelm Martin (1876—1954) commenced teaching as a private professor in art history at the University of Leiden.⁵² However, it was not until 1907 that the first chairs of art history were officially established. Vogelsang and Martin were assigned as professors in their respective subjects at Utrecht University and the University of Leiden.⁵³ Vogelsang played a significant role in formalising art history as an academic discipline. In 38 years, he not only instructed multiple generations of art history students in form-analytical art history, but also established an esteemed art history institute in Utrecht that garnered acknowledgment beyond national borders.⁵⁴

Although Zwartendijk did not study art history in the Netherlands, this concise overview of Dutch art historical education is crucial for understanding her art historical education at the École du Louvre. It provides context for a comparative analysis of her art historical teachings in France with those in the Netherlands, as well as the environment in which she commenced her professional career upon her return to Rotterdam in 1913. This comparison highlights the differences and similarities between

⁴⁹ Dr. Johanna de Jongh, *Kunstgeschiedenis als vak van onderwijs. Rede, uitgesproken bij het openen harer lessen als privaats-docent in de Kunstgeschiedenis aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht op vrijdag 29 januari 1904* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1904).

⁵⁰ *Idem.*

⁵¹ *Idem.*

⁵² R.E.O. Ekkart, "Martin, Wilhelm (1876—1954)," *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. Accessed 14 January 2024, <https://resources.huuygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn2/martin>.

⁵³ Annemieke Hoogenboom, "De introductie van kunstgeschiedenis aan de Nederlandse universiteiten: de voorgeschiedenis van de leerstoel van Willem Vogelsang." In: Ton Bevers, Antoon Van den Braembussche, and Berend Jan Langenberg (eds.), *De kunstwereld. Productie, distributie en receptie in de wereld van kunst en cultuur* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1993): 78.

⁵⁴ Stolwijk, "J.G. van Gelder:" 127.

the art historical approaches adopted by both countries, thereby enriching the comprehension of Zwartendijk's academic and professional formation.

3. On the Reform and Management of Our Museums

Throughout the first decades of the twentieth century – concurrently with the formalisation of art history as an academic discipline – the role of art history as an integral part of cultural education and its integration into museum contexts also became a subject of significant discourse in the Netherlands. In 1911, the Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond (Dutch Archaeological Society) established a commission to assess the organisation of local museums. However, this task gradually expanded to include the relationship between local and national museums, the potential establishment of historical museums and the training of future museum personnel.⁵⁵ The Society's deliberations were published in a report called *Over hervorming en beheer onzer musea* in 1918.⁵⁶ This report ignited a widespread national debate on museum practices, which coincided with the first years of Zwartendijk's professional career as an art historian and research assistant at Museum Boymans. As this thesis will demonstrate, these changes in Dutch museum practices significantly shaped and influenced her work as a museum professional and art critic. Consequently, it is essential to develop a comprehensive understanding of the broader discourse regarding these developments in Dutch museum practices to fully appreciate the context of Zwartendijk's contributions to the evolving field.

In “De Democratisering van Schoonheid: Plannen voor museumvernieuwingen in Nederland 1918—1921” (“The Democratisation of Beauty: Plans for Museum Renewals in the Netherlands 1918—1921”), Debora Meijers identified two contrasting museum philosophies that were at play during this period: one that continued aspects of the nineteenth-century museum tradition by regarding museums as a “place for serious study” and emphasising the need for intellectual development; and another that sought to break away from that completely.⁵⁷ The latter, more progressive,

⁵⁵ Debora Meijers, “De democratisering van schoonheid: Plannen voor museumvernieuwingen in Nederland 1918—1921,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ)* 28, Kunst en Kunstbedrijf: Nederland 1914—1940 (1977): 55, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/i24707405>.

⁵⁶ Nederlandsche Oudheidkundige Bond, *Over hervorming en beheer onzer musea* (Leiden: Stijhoff, 1918), <https://hdl.handle.net/11245/3.32998>.

⁵⁷ Meijers, “De democratisering van schoonheid:” 59—61.

philosophy's main purpose was to provide "enjoyment" by a "pure, uninhibited viewing" of art that was not bound by the social position of the viewer.⁵⁸ According to Meijers, this prevailing dissatisfaction with the existing situation required governmental involvement in the debate in order to generate actual change. This culminated in a pivotal moment marked by the publication of a report by the Rijkscommissie van Advies inzake Reorganisatie van het Museumwezen (National Advisory Commission on Museum Reorganisation) in 1921.⁵⁹ At that time, attention was only given to the museum professionals and art scholars, neglecting broader public engagement. To accommodate the latter, the Dutch museum system had to be transformed into a cohesive entity.⁶⁰ This necessitated clearer delineations of each museum's role within the broader cultural landscape. According to the National Advisory Commission, museums primarily served the cultural and aesthetic elevation of the entire public.⁶¹ It therefore advocated to enrich public engagement and cultural appreciation by issuing collection catalogues, lectures and tours by art historians and museum guides, educational collaborations, temporary exhibitions and extended opening hours.⁶²

Among those involved with the Rijkscommissie van Advies inzake Reorganisatie van het Museumwezen and an almost collective desire for museum reformation, Hendrik Enno van Gelder (1876—1960) emerged as a key figure. Van Gelder, an active member of the Social Democratic Workers' Party (SDAP),⁶³ advocated for museums serving the community and maintained an influential role in reshaping museum practices in the early twentieth century. He was closely involved in the work of the committee investigating the state of Dutch museums and collaborated with prominent figures from the art and museum world, such as museumdirectors Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, Adriaan Pit (1860—1944) and art history professor Willem Vogelsang.⁶⁴ Through these roles and the contacts they entailed, he gradually

⁵⁸ Idem: 70—71.

⁵⁹ Idem: 55.

⁶⁰ Idem: 62.

⁶¹ Idem: 63.

⁶² Idem: 65.

⁶³ Marjan Boot, "Een museum voor een nieuw tijdperk: H.E. van Gelder en het Gemeentemuseum." In: *Jaarboek Haags Gemeentemuseum 1995—1996* (Den Haag, 1997): 12.

⁶⁴ Idem: 13.

established himself as an authority in the field of museum studies.⁶⁵ Already in 1913, in his essay on museum guides in the *Bulletin Oudheidkundige Bond* (*Bulletin Archaeological Society*), Van Gelder emphasised the importance of ensuring museum visits are not merely passive experiences but actively engaging and educational. In his article, he argued that “museum trustees” should focus not only on attracting visitors but also on their experience during and after their visit.⁶⁶ To achieve this, the museum layout should promote calm and balance, with exhibits clearly presented in a logical sequence that enhances understanding.⁶⁷ Descriptions and signage should be clear and informative, catering to both casual visitors and those seeking deeper knowledge.⁶⁸ Van Gelder stated that while these measures are widely recognised as desirable, they alone do not maximise the potential of museum visits. In heightening the educational impact of museum visits, he therefore advocated that museums should cater their audiences by supplementing conventional scholarly catalogues with concise and affordable versions to enrich the visitors’ understanding.⁶⁹ Additionally, he promoted the value of guided tours and preparatory lectures, reflecting his enduring belief in museums’ role in serving the community.⁷⁰

The first decades of the twentieth century thus marked a pivotal transition in the fields of art history as an academic discipline, art criticism and museum philosophy. The growing emphasis on aesthetic qualities in art criticism and appreciation mirrored broader changes within museum studies and art historical inquiry. Previously, the study of art had been primarily concerned with historical and archival aspects. However, artworks became intricately seen as expression of the artist's subjective emotions, inviting the observer to engage experientially. This paradigm elevated personal experience as crucial to the process of art appreciation, thereby integrating the viewer into the creative dialogue. According to Meijers, the nineteenth-century positivism, which prioritised sensory perception and avoided philosophical speculations, made

⁶⁵ In 1918, the Municipal Service for Arts and Sciences was established in The Hague, encompassing museum collections, monuments and – until 1923, the municipal archive. Van Gelder became the first director and remained so until his retirement in 1941. During his tenure, he initiated and oversaw the construction of the municipal museum building (now Kunstmuseum Den Haag) designed by architect Hendrik Petrus Berlage, which opened in 1935. See: Idem: 11—36.

⁶⁶ H.E. van Gelder, “Museumgidsen,” *Bulletin Oudheidkundige Bond* 6 (1913): 221.

⁶⁷ Idem.

⁶⁸ Idem.

⁶⁹ Idem: 225.

⁷⁰ Idem.

place for a renewed interest in metaphysical and intuitive matters. This shift from positivism to neo-idealism is also recognisable in the changes in how museums and its publics were viewed in the Netherlands.⁷¹ Additionally, another change can be identified under the influence of emerging socialism. Since the late nineteenth century, the idea that the “common people” had the right to cultural education, in addition to general education, gained ground. After the higher bourgeoisie secured the right to enjoy art and culture in the course of the eighteenth century, particularly since the French Revolution (1789—1799), the middle-class arose and advocated for cultural education and museum access.⁷² As this thesis will elucidate, these evolving trends in the advocacy for accessible cultural education and personal exploration of art are clearly evident in Zwartendijk’s work as a museum assistant and art critic.

4. Navigating Gender Barriers in a Male-Dominated Art World

Jo Zwartendijk lived and worked during the early decades of the twentieth century, a time when Dutch society was predominantly conservative and patriarchal, with women largely confined to domestic roles and expected to fulfil their responsibilities as wives and mothers.⁷³ Although access to higher education for Dutch women gradually improved, allowing more to pursue professional careers, the professional field remained primarily dominated by men. To fully understand how Zwartendijk navigated her way through and maintained a prominent position within this male-dominated art world, it is essential to first closely examine the broader historical context of women art historians in the early twentieth-century Dutch art scene.

The establishment of the first chairs of art history in 1907 – Vogelsang being appointed as full-time professor in Utrecht, and Martin as an extraordinary professor in Leiden⁷⁴ – aligned with the intentions set forth in the already-mentioned Higher Education Act of 1876, affirming that art history deserved recognition in higher education because “education in the sense of art belonged to the education of civilised mankind”.⁷⁵ Notably, this notion of “civilised” individuals extended particularly to women from the nineteenth century onwards. With her thorough research, Marcus-de

⁷¹ Meijers, “De democratisering van schoonheid:” 56.

⁷² Idem: 67.

⁷³ Marcus-de Groot, *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer*: 32.

⁷⁴ Ekkart, “Martin, Wilhelm (1876—1954).”

⁷⁵ Stolwijk, *‘Die wetenschap noemen Gij en ik kunstgeschiedenis;...’*: 19.

Groot (1955) was among the very first to examine first-generation Dutch female art historians before 1921, and how they contributed to a new art-historical discipline and museum practices.⁷⁶ Like Zwartendijk, these pioneering women, born in the second half of the nineteenth century, typically completed their secondary education at a girls' HBS. Although their diplomas did not grant them formal access to university studies, they nonetheless pursued art history through various courses at different institutions, thus laying the groundwork for their profession.⁷⁷

While researching the history of art history in the Netherlands, Marcus-de Groot noticed a substantial presence of female students. Particularly around 1900, a significant number of middle- and upper-class women attended courses in art history, which aligned with the societal perceptions at the time.⁷⁸ The prevailing ideal of women as stay-at-home wives coexisted with the belief that they should possess cultural knowledge to fulfil their roles as wives and educators.⁷⁹ A woman's "innate" sense of beauty and morality enabled her to thrive in her private role as a diligent homemaker and caring mother.⁸⁰ Additionally, she was regarded as a transmitter of bourgeois (cultural) norms and values to her future generations.⁸¹ Consequently, these women could attend art history lectures at university as auditors without encountering formal barriers, acquiring knowledge "beneficial for their future roles as wives and mothers".⁸²

From 1907 onwards, many female students attended Vogelsang's lectures at the University of Utrecht. In the early years, the number of female students in Vogelsang's classes even surpassed that of male students.⁸³ However, among this cohort of women students, likely no more than half attained their final degree, a notably less favourable outcome compared to their male counterparts. This significant presence of female students led to the perception that art history was primarily a "leisure pursuit" for (unmarried) women.⁸⁴ This sentiment was upheld not only by men, but also by women. Marie Anne van Herwerden (1874—1934) for instance, stated that there were two "distinct" groups of female students attending university courses: one

⁷⁶ Marcus-de Groot, *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer*: 18.

⁷⁷ Idem.

⁷⁸ Idem: 32.

⁷⁹ Idem.

⁸⁰ Idem.

⁸¹ Idem.

⁸² Idem: 17.

⁸³ Hoogenboom, "Kunstgeschiedenis aan de universiteit:" 30.

⁸⁴ Idem.

group pursued their studies seriously with clear professional aspirations, while a larger group of female students viewed their education as a means to enjoy themselves and enhance their marriage prospects through broader personal and cultural development.⁸⁵ Thus, according to Van Herwerden, apart from these “art enthusiasts”, there were only a few very serious-minded students who aspired to pursue a future career in art history. In her study, Marcus-de Groot asserted that these later professional women art historians distinguished themselves from the “art enthusiasts” at an early stage. Through their unwavering dedication to the profession, she says, they subordinated all other matters in their lives. Among those who attended Vogelsang’s (private) lectures were Elisabeth Neurdenburg (1882—1957), Carla de Jonge (1886—1972), and Ida Peelen (1882—1965).⁸⁶ These women were among the first generation of Dutch art historians, who, according to Marcus-de Groot, had at least one thing in common: they prioritised intellectual life over romantic pursuits, in so far as that they all renounced marriage.⁸⁷

It is, however, crucial to question the extent to which these “art enthusiastic” women students can be characterised merely as “less serious-minded students” who were enhancing their marriage prospects. Until the mid-twentieth century, legal provisions severely restricted women’s rights and autonomy. In the Netherlands, married women were legally subjected to incapacity, meaning they lacked independent legal standing and were required to seek permission from their husbands in the course of (financial) decision-making. Therefore, these “amateur” female students to whom both Van Herwerden and Marcus-de Groot refer, may have lacked a compelling

⁸⁵ Marie Anne van Herwerden (1874—1934) was a respected medic and researcher in the field of biology, heredity, and eugenics. She disapproved the large intake of women studying at universities for recreational purposes and advocated for restrictive measures emphasising exclusivity. According to Van Herwerden, universities should be accessible only to the select few of serious women, who valued science over marriage. See: Annet Mooij, “Herwerden, Marie Anne van,” *Digitale Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*. Accessed 24 March 2024, <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Herwerden>; Mineke Bosch, *Het geslacht van de wetenschap. Vrouwen en hoger onderwijs in Nederland 1878—1948* (Nijmegen: Uitgeverij Sua, 1994): 255—267.

⁸⁶ Elisabeth Neurdenburg (1882—1957) was one of the first female art historians to obtain a doctorate in the Netherlands. She studied Dutch Literature at Utrecht University and followed private lessons in art history from Willem Vogelsang. From 1917, she served as an extraordinary professor, teaching courses in art history at the University of Groningen; Carla (Caroline Henriette) de Jonge (1886—1972) also studied Dutch Literature at Leiden University. After graduating, she became an assistant to Vogelsang at Utrecht University. In 1921, she was appointed curator at the recently opened Centraal Museum in Utrecht. See: Marcus-de Groot, *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer*: 62, 64, 255—273.

⁸⁷ Idem: 62.

incentive to pursue a professional career. This was not necessarily because they were less serious-minded, but because of the restrictions they faced if they intended to marry. The following chapters will reveal that the job opportunities for professional women art historians in the early twentieth century were very limited and in many cases restricted to voluntary positions. This legal framework thus extended not only to matters such as property ownership and financial transactions but also to employment opportunities. It was only relatively recently, in 1957, that this act enforcing women's legal incapacity – including unsalaried professional occupations and forced resignations – was abolished.⁸⁸

Moreover, successful careers in the field of art history in the Netherlands were not limited solely to those who obtained a university degree. Some art historians were self-taught, like Abraham Bredius, Hendrik Enno van Gelder and Tine de Meester-Obreen (1861—953).⁸⁹ Others – e.g. Maria Viola (1871—1951), Marie de Roode-Heijermans (1859—1937), Grada Hermine Marius (1854—1919) and Etha Fles (1857—1948) – were initially trained as artists at various academies before pursuing a career as art historians, professors and art critics.⁹⁰ Adriaan Pit (1860—1944), Cornelis

⁸⁸ "Inleiding," Opleiding en werk: twee generaties vrouwen vergeleken, Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. Accessed 28 March 2024, <https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/longread/statistische-trends/2020/opleiding-en-werk-twee-generaties-vrouwen-vergeleken/1-inleiding>.

⁸⁹ Ekkart, "Martin, Wilhelm (1876—1954)," A.A.M. de Jong, "Gelder, Hendrik Enno van (1876—1960)," *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. Accessed 14 January 2024, <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn1/gelder>; Lieske Tibbe, *Verstrengeling van traditie en vernieuwing. Kunstkritiek in Nederland tijdens het fin de siècle 1885—1905* (Rotterdam: nai010, 2014): 273.

⁹⁰ Maria (Maria Cornelia Johanna) Viola (1871—1951) from Rotterdam, after studying at the Academy of Fine Arts and Technical Sciences in Rotterdam, did not pursue a career in art but turned to writing instead; Marie (Catharine Mariam) de Roode-Heijermans (1859—1937) had also taken painting lessons (by Dutch artist Suze Robertson (1855—1922)) and then attended the Haagsche Teekenakademie where she obtained her MO certificate in drawing in 1881. Initially, she began her career as a drawing teacher in Rotterdam and The Hague and moved to Brussels to work as an independent artist. Once she returned to the Netherlands, she gave numerous lectures on (revolutionary) art as the chairperson of the Committee for Visual Arts of the association Kunst aan het Volk and the Amsterdamsche Tableaux Group; Hermine (Grada Hermine) Marius (1854—1919) was originally destined for a career as a painter. As a child, she showed talent and received painting and drawing lessons. At the age of 26, however, she pursued her professional education at the Rijksakademie van Beeldende Kunsten in Amsterdam. From 1891, she started writing art reviews in *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, *De Nederlandsche Spectator*, *De Gids*, *Onze Kunst*, and *Woord en Beeld*. Her most important publication is *De Hollandsche schilderkunst in de negentiende eeuw* (1903), which was translated into German (1906) and English (1908). This book remained a standard work for decades, and is still used as a source in art history; Etha (Margaretha Tekla Johanna) Fles (1857—1948) was a visual artist and writer. She received education from 1880 to 1884 at the "ladies'

Hofstede de Groot, Frederik Schmidt Degener (1881—1941) and – naturally – Zwartendijk all studied art history abroad in Germany and France.⁹¹ Willem Vogelsang pursued his studies in Freiburg, Vienna, Paris and Munich;⁹² Jan Six, who obtained a doctoral degree under the supervision of Allard Pierson at the University of Amsterdam, had studied in Bonn; and Johanna Goekoop-de Jongh was a student at the École du Louvre in Paris, and graduated cum laude under the supervision of Heinrich Wölfflin at the Friedrich-Wilhelm Universität in Berlin.⁹³ Understandably, given that art history was not yet a primary subject taught at Dutch universities until the early years of the twentieth century, these aspiring art historians pursued their studies abroad.

However, despite the apparent specialisations of both men and women in art history, professional occupations remained largely restricted to men. The following chapters will demonstrate how Zwartendijk was among the limited group of women who pursued a career in the Dutch art world, despite the prevailing gendered social and legal constraints. By examining her intellectual biography, this thesis will gain insight into the challenges she faced and the strategies she employed to navigate this male-dominated field. This analysis will highlight her significant contributions while underscoring the broader implications of her work for the professionalisation of women in art history.

class" of the Rijksakademie van Beeldende Kunsten in Amsterdam. She did not complete the course, and, instead, started writing reviews and essays in *Algemeen Handelsblad* and *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* on exhibitions and international art movements. Additionally, she wrote and published several art historical articles and textbooks. See: Tibbe, *Verstrengeling van traditie en vernieuwing*: 274, 278, 282—283, 286.

⁹¹ J.F. Heijbroek, "Pit, Adriaan (1860—1944)," *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. Accessed 14 January 2024, <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn4/pit>; R.E.O. Ekkart, "Hofstede de Groot, Cornelis (1863—1930)," *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. Accessed 14 January 2024, <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn1/hofstede>; A.A.M. de Jong, "Schmidt Degener, Frederik (1881—1941)," *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. Accessed 14 January 2024, <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn1/schmidt>.

⁹² Hoogenboom, "De introductie van kunstgeschiedenis:" 87.

⁹³ Marcus-de Groot, *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer*. 326.

5. Scientific Relevance

In recent years, the importance of researching the role of women in the Dutch art world has been gradually recognised and undertaken.⁹⁴ As Kate Hill aptly put it in 2020: women art historians “have been hiding in plain sight”.⁹⁵ These women, often well-known in their contemporary times, faded from view after their death or in pages of scholarly evaluations influenced by a male-dominated narrative. This study seeks to redress the gender imbalance in the art world by reinserting Jo Zwartendijk into the history of Dutch art history. This intellectual biography of Zwartendijk aims to gain a better understanding of her role in researching, managing, presenting and promoting artists and objects as a research assistant and art critic. It contributes to the research platform *The Other Half*, a partnership between the RKD in the Hague, the University of Amsterdam, the Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam, the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam, the Reinwardt Academy in Amsterdam and the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. *The Other Half*'s mission is to further increase awareness, knowledge and visibility of women as actors in the Dutch art field between 1780 and 1980, particularly in the formation of the Dutch Collection, and to sustainably embed women as actors in the art field within the history of visual and applied arts. By integrating Zwartendijk's achievements into this broader history of Dutch art history, this thesis seeks to elevate her legacy and provide a nuanced understanding of her pioneering role in a traditionally male-dominated domain.

⁹⁴ Examples of such completed and ongoing research projects are: Dr. Tessel Bauduin (University of Amsterdam), “Gertrude Pape: Salonnière van dada en surrealisme in oorlogstijd”; Loes van Beuningen (PhD, Radboud University, Nijmegen), “Van minderheid naar meerderheid. Vrouwen in de Nederlandse beeldende kunstcritiek 1800—2020” (2022); Martine Bontjes (MA Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam), “Betsy Westendorp-Osieck. Kunstenares, Verzamelaar en Legacy Builder” (2021); Bram Donders (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam), “Nagelaten. Vrouwelijke verzamelaars in de kunst, 1780—1980” (2022—2024); Mariëlle Ekkelenkamp (PhD, University of Amsterdam), “Female Patronage in Dutch Art Foundations, 1870—1940” (2022—2026); Dr. Rachel Esner (University of Amsterdam), “Peelen – Beyond the Biography”; Roosmarijn Hompe (KABK, The Hague), “Een wereld te winnen. Greet ten Holte als wegbereider van het internationaal cultuurbeleid 1945—1973” (2022); Bert-Jaap Koops (Independent Art Historian), “Jo van Bilderbeek-Lamaïsson. Issues of Sources and Interpretations Dorine Maat (Amsterdam Museum), “Sophia Adriana Lopez Suasso-de Bruijn”; and Anne-Linde Ruiters (MA Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam), “Margaretha Cornelia Boellaard (1795—1872): Kunstenaar, Verzamelaar, Begunstiger” (2023).

⁹⁵ Kate Hill, “Afterword.” In: *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 31 (2020): 1, <https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.3043>.

6. Thesis Outline

The findings of this thesis are presented across three chapters, each focusing on different aspects of Jo Zwartendijk's career and her contributions to the Dutch art world. The first chapter that follows offers an in-depth examination of Zwartendijk's educational background, from her studies at the HBS continuing at the *École du Louvre* (1903—1913). It details the courses she undertook, the theories and literature discussed and the academic influences that may have shaped her early career. The analysis will also address her decision to pursue education in France rather than in the Netherlands, providing a comprehensive account of her formative years and the foundational knowledge she acquired.

The second chapter covers the period from Zwartendijk's graduation from the *École du Louvre* to her resignation from Museum Boymans (1913—1920). It focuses on her roles within the museum sector while evaluating the accessibility of museum professions for women and the specific challenges they faced. This section examines the responsibilities she was assigned by the museum director, the application of her art historical knowledge in her professional activities, and her interactions with other art historians and museum professionals. This chapter also investigates the broader context of women in museum professions during this period and Zwartendijk's specific contributions and achievements as a museum assistant.

The third and final chapter analyses Zwartendijk's contributions as an art critic, including her work for newspapers and art magazines such as the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* and *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*. It explores the wide ranges of her published articles' contents and exhibition reviews, assessing their impact on public discourse surrounding contemporary art and her role in shaping the art historical narrative of her time. This chapter also addresses the emergence of Dutch art criticism and the role of women within this field, comparing Zwartendijk's work with that of her contemporaries and reflecting on her influence on the Dutch art scene.

Chapter 1. Becoming an Art Historian at the École du Louvre in Paris

1.1. (After) the HBS. Early Education and Intellectual Ambitions

From 1903 until 1908, Jo Zwartendijk attended the HBS for girls in Rotterdam. As was previously mentioned, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Dutch government sought a way to increase higher education opportunities for girls. From 1871 onwards, girls were permitted to pursue their secondary education at the HBS, provided they obtained individual ministerial permission.⁹⁶ This historical shift in education policy, however, sparked debate on whether girls should receive a similar educational program to that of boys. The Dutch government decided that male and female students were not deemed fit for the same subjects and therefore distinct curricula for each gender were formed.⁹⁷ The HBS for boys offered courses in political science, economics and statistics, accounting and commercial law.⁹⁸ These subjects would provide them with educational skills “necessary to properly fulfil their breadwinner role”.⁹⁹ In contrast, the girls’ HBS focused on subjects such as (art) history and arts and crafts, preparing students for their anticipated roles as “educated wives and mothers”.¹⁰⁰ Some subjects from the boys’ curriculum – e.g. courses in multiple languages, literature and exact sciences – were also taught at the HBS for girls.¹⁰¹ However, girls were not expected to pursue a career like their male peers; these subjects were mainly taught to provide them with broad general knowledge, ensuring they were suitable partners for their future spouses.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ In all probability, due to her father's esteemed position as a tobacco and tea merchant in Rotterdam, Jo Zwartendijk received ministerial approval to attend the HBS for girls. The reasons behind her parents' decision to send her to high school remain unclear, except for her evident eagerness to learn, her ambition and her linguistic talents, as documented in her diaries. At the age of seventeen, Zwartendijk's brother Jan also went to high school, as he voluntarily attended boarding school in England. See: “Diary of Jo Zwartendijk,” Archive of Zwartendijk, Jo [Z 04404], Literatuurmuseum, The Hague; and Brokken, *De Rechtvaardigen*: 68.

⁹⁷ This separation of boys and girls in the Dutch secondary education system was not abrogated until 1963. See: Steen, “Openbare hogere burgerscholen in Leiden:” 85.

⁹⁸ Idem: 94.

⁹⁹ Idem: 100.

¹⁰⁰ Idem.

¹⁰¹ Idem: 95.

¹⁰² Idem: 100.

At the HBS for girls in Rotterdam, Zwartendijk followed courses in Dutch, French, English and German language and literature, history, geography, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, art history, constitutional history and needlework.¹⁰³ According to the final grades on her diploma, Zwartendijk had already developed a particular interest in literature and (art) history at a relatively young age. After five years of the HBS, she graduated in July 1908 at the age of 19 with excellent grades in Dutch language and literature and the history of visual arts.¹⁰⁴

The distinct curricula at the HBS underscore the limited career prospects for women and exemplify the prevailing societal expectations of the time. Education for boys was oriented towards professional and public life, reinforcing their roles as providers. Conversely, education for girls conformed to preparing them for domestic responsibilities, reinforcing their roles within the household. This segregation in education bolstered gender inequality by restricting women's access to the same professional opportunities available to men and confining their aspirations within traditional domestic boundaries. Passages from Zwartendijk's diary show how she was already cognisant of the prevailing gendered social constraints to which women were expected to conform. In her diary, she reflected on her potential future marriage with the following thoughts:

We would be so content with just the two of us, that we would not think about a third. He will not mind this lack of maternal feeling, simply: that I have enough with him alone. [...] [I]t would never occur to him to demand that I find my satisfaction solely in household chores and in being absorbed in him. What I now seek alone is the nature of life and of humanity: observing all that is interesting with a sense of discouragement. We would seek further together, and how could I find everything in that household? I do not say that I would not be a good housewife: that I would not oversee and organise everything: I would

¹⁰³ "HBS Diploma of Jo Zwartendijk," 15 July 1908. Archive of Zwartendijk, Literatuurmuseum.

¹⁰⁴ Unfortunately, the exact details of her courses remain unknown. Despite the fact that the archives of the HBS for girls have been preserved in the Rotterdam City Archives, the specific records pertaining to the content of the educational programs from 1903 to 1908 are missing. See: "Archieven van de HBS voor Meisjes te Rotterdam," 60.32—58, City Archives Rotterdam.

certainly involve myself and spend days on it – but that work would not be my calling. He would understand that thinking also requires a lot of time.¹⁰⁵

This diary fragment from November 1908 illustrates Zwartendijk's longing for intellectual enrichment and the significance she placed on balancing domestic responsibilities with personal growth. Not only did she privilege intellectual exploration over conventional domestic expectations but Zwartendijk also challenged prevailing traditional gender roles by expressing her "lack of maternal feeling". It is therefore not surprising that she sought further education after completing secondary school. She wrote in her diary in November 1908 that she had taken private lessons in these subjects with Maria Viola in Amsterdam soon after completing her secondary education.¹⁰⁶

Viola was a well-known art critic in the early twentieth century, who, even though she was trained at the Academy of Fine Arts in Rotterdam, did not pursue a career as a visual artist. She turned to writing about art instead and co-founded the magazine *Van Onzen Tijd* in 1901. Viola wrote many art-related articles and remained a member of the editorial board until the last issue was published in 1920. From 1901, Viola was also involved in both the founding of the Rotterdamsche Vereeniging Voor de Kunst (Rotterdam Association for the Arts) and Kunst aan het Volk (Art to the People) for the educational benefit of the working classes, and the Catholic art society *Van Onzen Tijd*. She wrote a commentary on a black-and-white reproduction of a work of art for

¹⁰⁵ [...] We zouden [...] zoo genoeg aan ons tweeën hebben, dat we over de derde niet zouden peinzen: [...]. Hij zal dit niet erg vinden, een gebrek van moederlijk gevoel, eenvoudig: dat ik genoeg heb dan hem alleen. [...] het zou niet in hem op komen te eischen, dat ik in het huishouden doen alleen en het opgaan in hem m'n bevrediging vond. Wat ik nu alleen zoek de aard van het leven, en van den mensch: het bezien van al het interessante met den terugslag van moedeloosheid. We zouden het verder samen zoeken en hoe zou ik dus in dat huishouden alles kunnen vinden? Ik zeg niet, dat ik geen goede huisvrouw zou zijn: dat ik niet alles na zou gaan en ordenen: ik zou er me stellig mee bemoeien en er dagen in zoek brengen – maar dat werk zou niet m'n bestemming zijn. Hij zou begrijpen, dat denken ook veel tijd eischt." See: "Diary of Jo Zwartendijk," Archive of Zwartendijk, Literatuurmuseum.

¹⁰⁶ "November, 1908. Ik ben van Juni af van school. Dus nu ook mensch in 's werelds oog, waar ik het toch al zoo heel lang voor mezelf was. [...] wie op school gaat is 'n kind – eraf een vrouw! Hoe die overgang gebeurt, wat je de helft van 't leven eerst niet mocht weten en moet weten vlak daarna – ik verwijt het de wereld! Ik verwijt het de school. [...] Toch is m'n leven nu lang niet saai of treurig als toen op school. Wel zijn veel dagen gelijk: ik krijg om de veertien dagen les van Maria Viola in Amsterdam en werk daarvoor thuis: letterkunde en kunstgeschiedenis; maar dat hindert me niets. [...]." See: Idem.

almost every issue of *De Violier*. In ten years, Viola reviewed paintings by over two hundred artists from the Netherlands who were active in the “Golden Ages of Dutch Art”: the Flemish Primitives from the Middle Ages, the Dutch seventeenth century and the late nineteenth century Hague School.¹⁰⁷

Throughout her career, Viola – a practicing Catholic – aimed to oppose Catholic “kitsch” art and “re-educate” her fellow believers in an artistic sense by making them receptive to “good art”.¹⁰⁸ Viola’s views on visual education and the working classes’ right to cultural enjoyment resonated with the growing museum reform movement and the developments concerning academic art history and art appreciation prevailing in the early twentieth century. Her missionary ideas of “re-educating” her fellow believers, stemmed from a disappointment with the “cultural civilisation” of Dutch Catholics as she had found it after her conversion.¹⁰⁹ She was deeply invested in the idea of using art to elevate the cultural and aesthetic sensibilities of the working classes, particularly within the Catholic community. Viola’s efforts to re-educate her fellow Catholics aligns closely with the emerging ideas about the role of art history and museums in the early twentieth century, which emphasised the importance of cultural education and the democratisation of art.

Although the specific details of Viola’s private lessons in literature and art history remain unknown, she may have significantly influenced Zwartendijk with her “missionary ideas”. In all probability, Viola provided her with guidance on selecting academic training as Zwartendijk decided to continue her education in the fields of literature and art history. However, with an HBS diploma only allowing admission to Dutch universities through additional examinations in Greek and Latin, Zwartendijk was unable to pursue formal academic education in art history within the Netherlands. Nonetheless, as previously noted, successful careers in art history were not solely restricted to those holding degrees from Dutch universities. Many prominent art critics, such as Viola, De Roode-Heijermans, Marius and Fles, were initially trained as artists at various academies in the Netherlands before transitioning to careers in art criticism. Thus, Zwartendijk could have applied to the Academy of Fine Arts in her hometown of Rotterdam, where Viola had studied, or to any other Dutch academy.

¹⁰⁷ Tibbe, *Verstrengeling van traditie en vernieuwing*: 286—287.

¹⁰⁸ Marijke de Groot and Lieske Tibbe, “Maria (Maria Cornelia Johanna) Viola.” In: *Verstrengeling van traditie en vernieuwing*: 286—287.

¹⁰⁹ Bertus Bakker, “Maria Viola. Kunstcritica met een missie,” *Trajecta* 16 (2007): 241.

In her inaugural speech as a private lecturer in art history at the Utrecht University in 1904, Johanna Goekoop-de Jongh referred to her time as a student in Paris. In 1898, Goekoop-de Jongh began a three-year course in art history at the École du Louvre, being the very first Dutch woman to study at the Paris institution. She completed it with courses in archaeology and ancient ceramics with Edmond Pottier – and in history of painting – with Georges Lafenestre.¹¹⁰ She recalled Pottier’s lessons at the École du Louvre as “an example of effective teaching”.¹¹¹

This well-attended and widely published inaugural speech may have caught the attention of both Viola and/or Zwartendijk.¹¹² With her HBS diploma, Zwartendijk was eligible to attend a three-year course in history of painting at the École du Louvre, making her the second female student in Dutch history to pursue her studies abroad.¹¹³ Additionally, the École du Louvre was established “to educate curators [and] missionaries” and dedicated to training museum professionals in making art and culture accessible to a broader audience.¹¹⁴ In her speech, Goekoop-de Jongh highlighted the importance of academic training and the evolving methodologies in the art historical field. This may have inspired Zwartendijk to seek advanced and specialised training in art history, motivating her to further her education at a renowned institution. Consequently, in the Summer of 1910, Zwartendijk moved to Paris to study art history at the École du Louvre.

¹¹⁰ Henri Verne, Edmond Pottier, Alfred Merlin et al., *L'École du Louvre 1882—1932* (Paris: Bibliothèque de l'École du Louvre, 1932): 189, 191.

¹¹¹ De Jongh, *Kunstgeschiedenis als vak van onderwijs*: 19.

¹¹² Marcus-de Groot, *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer*: 50.

¹¹³ In *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer*, Marcus-de Groot states that – as far as is known – Goekoop-de Jongh and Zwartendijk were the first women to pursue an education outside of the Netherlands. Since Marcus-de Groot does not cite any sources concerning Dutch women studying abroad, it cannot be said with certainty that they were the only women who relocated to different countries for their education. However, in *L'École du Louvre 1882—1932* it is confirmed that Goekoop-de Jongh and Zwartendijk were indeed the first two Dutch women to graduate from the Paris institution. The rarity of women pursuing their studies abroad in general in the early twentieth century is also reflected in various news articles, as Zwartendijk’s graduation from the École du Louvre was reported in several newspapers, including the *NRC* and *Dagblad van Zuid-Holland en 's-Gravenhage*. See: “Liste des anciens élèves de l'École du Louvre.” In: Verne, Pottier, Merlin et al., *L'École du Louvre*: 188—196; Marcus-de Groot, *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer*: 66; and “Kunst en Wetenschap. Examen kunsthistorie,” *Dagblad van Zuid-Holland en 's-Gravenhage* (4 December 1913), <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB19:000161134:mpeg21:p00002>.

¹¹⁴ “Sa mission est alors de « tirer des collections, pour l'instruction du public, l'enseignement qu'elles renferment, et de former les conservateurs, les missionnaires et les fouilleurs ».” See: “Notre histoire,” École du Louvre. Accessed 10 April 2024, <https://www.ecoledulouvre.fr/fr/lecole/notre-histoire>.

1.2. The *École du Louvre* in Paris

In France, the introduction of art historical courses as a university subject occurred relatively early compared to the founding of chairs in art history in the Netherlands. At the end of 1881, the Prime Minister of France, Léon Gambetta (1838—1882), headed a new government that included Antonin Proust (1832—1905) as Minister for the Arts. Although Proust's tenure was brief, he managed to make a significant impact in the department of art history education. On 24 January 1882, just days before the fall of the short-lived government, he signed a decree establishing a “museum administration school [...] at the Musée du Louvre, designed to recruit administrators, curators, assistant curators, attachés, museum inspectors, lecturers, librarians and archivists”.¹¹⁵ French (art) historian and archaeologist Louis-François Nicod de Ronchaud (1816—1887), then director of the national museums of France,¹¹⁶ was responsible for overseeing this school. He detailed the admission and graduation requirements initiated by Proust in a subsequent decree. In this edict, De Ronchaud reflected his contemporary concerns about the organisation of French museums and the (lack of) training of their staff. He suggested easing the administrative demands and emphasising the practical and archaeological aspects of the teachings offered. De Ronchaud believed it was essential to train “*voyageurs* for archaeological missions” and to bolster new acquisitions in response to the threatening rivalry from similar museums in London and Berlin.¹¹⁷ Additionally, he was concerned that this deficiency in the education of museum curators was harmful to France's reputation and intellectual activity.¹¹⁸ A few months later, on 25 July 1882, a second decree amended the first text and the establishment of the *École du Louvre* was finalised.¹¹⁹ De Ronchaud was appointed director of the *École du Louvre*.

Subsequently, in December 1882, the *École du Louvre* opened its doors to students with the mission to “[draw] from the collections [and] the knowledge they contain for the benefit of the instruction of the public, [and] in order to train those who

¹¹⁵ “Journal Officiel” (24 January 1882). 20144781/1, Archives des Musées Nationaux, *École du Louvre* (série F), Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, Paris.

¹¹⁶ Louis-François Nicod de Ronchaud was appointed director and administrator of the national museums in France from 1881 and remained in this function until his death in 1887.

¹¹⁷ “Journal Officiel” (25 July 1882). 20144781/1, Archives Nationales.

¹¹⁸ “Journal Officiel” (24 January 1882). Archives Nationales.

¹¹⁹ “Journal Officiel” (25 July 1882). Archives Nationales.

take care of them, to educate curators, missionaries and excavators”.¹²⁰ De Ronchaud thus conceived the idea of a school intimately connected to the life of the museum, drawing its primary resources and instruments of study not only from its libraries but also from museum’s collection itself. The education was designed to address all significant questions in the history of art, as well as methods of technical analysis, research into museography, and the conservation and enhancement the artistic treasures entrusted to the care of the curators.¹²¹

De Ronchaud secured the support of his first teaching staff at the École du Louvre. Eugène Ledrain (1844—1910) and Eugène Révillout (1843—1913) emerged as the school’s primary teachers at the new institution. Several months before the school was founded, Ledrain and Révillout had already been giving lessons in oriental epigraphy and Egyptian demotics to a small group of students in the Musée du Louvre. Ledrain, a former student at the École Pratique des Hautes Études and intern at the Bibliothèque Nationale, was a writer for the *Courrier de l’art*.¹²² In one of his publications *Chronique des musées* (November 1882), he advocated for the soon to be established school and stressed the need to train “soldiers of science” to counter the “decline of French collections”.¹²³ During the first academic year (1882/1883), Ledrain taught “oriental archaeology”, and, from 1883 onwards, courses in Phoenician, Aramaic and Assyrian epigraphy. Révillout, curator in the museum’s department of Egyptian antiquities, taught at both the Catholic University of Paris and the École du Louvre. Here, he offered courses in Egyptian demotic and law, and Coptic languages.¹²⁴ These teachers, who were trained by museum professionals themselves, maintained a tradition of personalised and specialised teaching, insisting on direct engagement with museum objects and original documents.¹²⁵

¹²⁰ “Sa mission est alors de « tirer des collections, pour l’instruction du public, l’enseignement qu’elles renferment, et de former les conservateurs, les missionnaires et les fouilleurs ».” See: “Notre histoire,” École du Louvre. Accessed 10 April 2024, <https://www.ecoledulouvre.fr/fr/lecole/notre-histoire>.

¹²¹ “Journal Officiel” (24 January 1882). Archives Nationales.

¹²² Sophie Picot-Bocquillon, “Les premières années de l’École du Louvre, 1882—1914,” *Histoire de l’Art* 56 (2005): 102.

¹²³ Eugène Ledrain, “Chronique des musées,” *Courrier de l’art. Chronique hebdomadaire des Ateliers, des Musées, des Expositions, des Ventes publiques, etc.* 45 (Paris, 9 November 1882): 531.

¹²⁴ “Journal Officiel” (24 January 1882). Archives Nationales.

¹²⁵ “Journal Officiel” (24 January 1882). Archives Nationales.

Over the years, the school's programme expanded significantly. The school's public comprised both auditors – “enthusiasts” and “curious individuals”¹²⁶ – and formal students. The latter were required to attend three years of lectures. At the conclusion of each academic year, students were required to pass a series of examinations in each course in order to proceed to the subsequent year.¹²⁷ The school saw a growing enrolment of international students, many of whom later secured positions in museums in the Netherlands, England and the United States.¹²⁸ To accommodate the needs of these students, several teachers introduced specialised lectures, practical exercises, and tours of the museum's galleries. In the beginning of the twentieth century, a few decades after the *École du Louvre* was established, each department of the *Musée du Louvre* offered its own course.¹²⁹

As previously mentioned, art historical teaching in the Netherlands underwent a significant transformation under the influence of Willem Vogelsang. This transition, which shifted from a predominantly archaeological and antiquarian focus – often tied to archival research and documentary methods – towards a more theoretical and aesthetic approach, does not appear to have taken place at the *École du Louvre*. The institution's educators continued to prioritise direct engagement with museum objects and original documents. Their approach remained largely traditional, concentrating on historical narratives rather than introducing aesthetic analysis that characterised developments in the Netherlands.

Similar to early art history and museum practices in the Netherlands, the initial programmes at the *École du Louvre* focused on national antiquity, and Egyptian, demotic, and Chaldean languages and palaeography.¹³⁰ In 1885, two years after the establishment of the school, a course on history of painting was introduced as a new subject of study. This course was initially entrusted to Georges Lafenestre (1837—1919), who was a curator of the *Musée du Louvre*'s department of paintings and a renowned art critic and art historian. Throughout his career, Lafenestre demonstrated a broad transhistorical interest in the history of art. He published numerous studies on Italian, French, Flemish and Dutch painters from antiquity until the end of the sixteenth

¹²⁶ *Idem.*

¹²⁷ Picot-Bocquillon, “Les premières années de l'École du Louvre:” 104.

¹²⁸ “*Journal Officiel*” (24 January 1882). Archives Nationales.

¹²⁹ *Idem.*

¹³⁰ *Idem.*

century.¹³¹ Furthermore, he was actively involved in *L'exposition des primitifs français*, an exhibition on French medieval and early Renaissance art held at the Palais du Louvre and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in 1904. Lafenestre also engaged with more recent art history by editing a series of volumes in which he provided analyses and reviews of the Salon's contemporary exhibitions,¹³² exploring the works of art on display and the artistic trends at the time.¹³³

Lafenestre taught in history of painting at the École du Louvre for eighteen years. During these years, Georges Lafenestre covered a wide array of academic subjects. In the initial years following the introduction of the new course, he taught his students about painting in antiquity and the Middle Ages, and later about the early Renaissance schools of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Italy, France, Flanders, the Netherlands and Germany.¹³⁴ From 1893 onwards, however, Lafenestre focused solely on the history of Italian painting. Despite his demonstrable personal interest in then-contemporary art history, he refrained from teaching art history from beyond the sixteenth century.¹³⁵ It was only from 1910 – five years after Lafenestre resigned – that the first lessons on seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century paintings were offered.¹³⁶

¹³¹ Verne, Pottier, Merlin et al., *L'École du Louvre*: 77.

¹³² The Paris Salon was the official art exhibition of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture – and later the École des Beaux Arts – in Paris, inaugurated in 1667. Initially, the Salon was sponsored by the French monarchy and featured work solely made by members and recent graduates of the Académie. From 1795 onwards, submissions were opened to all (inter)national artists. The Paris Salon became the most prestigious art event in the Western world, held annually or biennially, where artists showcased their work. The Salon played a crucial role in the careers of these artists, influencing public taste and art trends. However, its strict academic standards also sparked opposition from avant-garde artists, leading to the rise of alternative exhibitions such as the Salon des Refusés (Salon of the Refused) and the Impressionist exhibitions whilst the Salon gradually lost its influence and prestige. See: “About the Paris Salons,” Paris Salons (1673—present), Art Institute Chicago. Accessed 14 July 2024, <https://www.artic.edu/library/discover-our-collections/research-guides/paris-salons-1673present>.

¹³³ See, for instance, Georges Lafenestre's following publications: *Maîtres anciens: études d'histoire et d'art* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1882); *La peinture italienne* (Paris: A. Quantin, 1885); *L'art vivant: la peinture et la sculpture aux salons de 1868 à 1877* (Paris: G. Fischbacher, 1881); *Le Livre d'or du Salon de peinture et de sculpture: catalogue descriptive des oeuvres récompensées et des principaux oeuvres hors concours* (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1882); *Dix années du Salon de peinture et de sculpture, 1879—1888* (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1889); *La peinture en Europe* (Paris: Librairies-Imprimeries Réunies, 1893—1905); and *L'exposition des primitifs français* (Paris: Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1904).

¹³⁴ Verne, Pottier, Merlin et al., *L'École du Louvre*: 77.

¹³⁵ Idem: 173—174.

¹³⁶ Idem: 177—178.

1.3. *La première année. (Private) Lessons by Paul Leprieur and Paul Etard*

Between 1910 and 1913, the years Zwartendijk attended the *École du Louvre*, ten courses in art history were offered at the school.¹³⁷ The institution admitted students who wished to complete the full program – which required following at least six subjects for three years – as well as those who opted to enrol in selected courses only.¹³⁸ However, up until that time, all graduates from the *École du Louvre* had only pursued selected courses, with none completing the “full” programme.¹³⁹ Consequently, it was not unusual for Zwartendijk to dedicate the next three years to studying a single subject. Her archival documents do not clarify why she specifically chose history of painting rather than, for example, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French art history or history of nineteenth century art. It is also unclear whether students were informed about the content of their upcoming courses before the start of each academic year.

Zwartendijk may have opted for history of painting with the intention of acquiring a broader education that would enable her to study the development of painting across multiple centuries. Additionally, she may have been influenced by the fact that Goekoop-de Jongh had studied at the *École du Louvre*, prompting her to select one of the subjects that Goekoop-de Jongh had also pursued. Moreover, in her art reviews,

¹³⁷ Archéologie nationale et préhistorique by Henri Hubert (1872—1927), “conservateur au Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye” and the Musée du Louvre; Archéologie Egyptienne by Georges Aaron Bénédite, “conservateur conservateur du département des Antiquités égyptiennes”; Archéologie orientale et céramique antique by Edmond Pottier “conservateur adjoint des Antiquités orientales et de la céramique antique”; Antiquités sémitiques by René Dussaud, “conservateur du département des Antiquités orientales”; Histoire de la sculpture by André Michel, “conservateur de la sculpture du Moyen Âge, de la Renaissance et des Temps modernes”; Archéologie grecque et romaine by Étienne Michon (1865—1939); Histoire des arts appliqués à l’industrie by Gaston Migeon, “conservateur du département des Objets d’art”; Histoire de la peinture by Paul Leprieur (1860—1914) until 1911; Histoire de la peinture by Gaston Brière, “conservateur du Musée de Versailles et des Trainons” who taught this course from 1911 onwards; Histoire de l’art français aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles by Pierre de Nolhac (1859—1936); and Histoire des arts au XIXe siècle by Léonce Bénédite, “conservateur du musée du Luxembourg”. See: “Professeurs de l’École du Louvre (1882—1940),” 20144781/5; and “École du Louvre, vingt-neuvième année (1910—1911),” Registres. 20150334/77—20150334/97, Archives des Musées Nationaux, École du Louvre (série F), Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, Paris.

¹³⁸ Ying Zhou, “L’enseignement de l’histoire de l’art à l’école secondaire sous la IIIe République française,” (Paris: Université Panthéon-Sobronne, 2021): 53, <https://theses.hal.science/tel-03443692>.

¹³⁹ Picot-Bocquillon, “Les premières années de l’École du Louvre:” 107.

her mentor Viola was primarily specialised in history of painting and may have encouraged Zwartendijk to choose this subject as a focus for study.

In her first year, Zwartendijk studied history of painting alongside 48 other enrolled students¹⁴⁰ under the instruction of Paul Leprieur (1860—1918), a French art historian, museum curator and art critic. Leprieur graduated from the *École du Louvre*, where he specialised in history of sculpture – taught by André Michel – in 1888 and in history of painting the following year under Georges Lafenestre.¹⁴¹ In 1897, he was appointed curator of sculpture at the Musée du Louvre and became a curator of paintings, drawings and chalcography in 1905.¹⁴² Like Lafenestre, Leprieur demonstrated a transhistorical interest in the history of art, spanning from the early Middle Ages until contemporary times.¹⁴³ However, as is evident from his numerous publications, he was particularly involved with nineteenth-century artists.¹⁴⁴ Leprieur's first major monography, for instance, was dedicated to the French painter Gustave Moreau (1826—1898), a study which he completed while the artist was still alive.

Regrettably, little is known about the contents of Leprieur's lessons in history of painting. In Zwartendijk's archives housed at the RKD and Literatuurmuseum in The Hague, only the *cahiers* from her time at the *École du Louvre* between 1911 and 1913 have been preserved. In *L'École du Louvre 1882—1932* (1932), Henri Verne, Edmond Pottier, Alfred Merlin and others discuss the subjects covered by each teacher in their courses.¹⁴⁵ However, some subjects are omitted, including those by Leprieur in

¹⁴⁰ “Élèves d'École du Louvre, vingt-neuvième année (1910—1911),” Archives Nationales.

¹⁴¹ Verne, Pottier, Merlin et al., *L'École du Louvre*: 164, 191, 193.

¹⁴² Among his notable achievements, Leprieur also played a crucial role in the authentication and recovery of Leonardo da Vinci's *Mona Lisa* (1503—1506) – one of the most famous paintings in the world – after it was stolen from the Musée du Louvre in 1911. His detailed knowledge of the painting enabled its successful identification when it was recovered in 1913. See: Christine Vivet-Pecllet, “Leprieur, Paul,” Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art. Accessed 10 July 2024, <https://www.inha.fr/fr/ressources/publications/publications-numeriques/dictionnaire-critique-des-historiens-de-l-art/leprieur-paul.html>.

¹⁴³ See, for instance, Paul Leprieur's following publications on medieval and Renaissance art: “Jean Fouquet,” *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* (1897): 25—41; *Musée du Louvre. Catalogue sommaire des sculptures du Moyen Âge, de la Renaissance et des temps modernes* (Paris: Librairies-Imprimeries Réunies, 1897); *La Sculpture en Champagne* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1901); and “L'Art de l'époque mérovingienne et carolingienne en Occident.” In: André Michel (ed.), *Histoire de l'Art. Depuis les premières temps chrétiens jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1905): 303—378.

¹⁴⁴ See, for instance, Paul Leprieur's following publications on nineteenth-century art: *L'Exposition des gravures du siècle dans la galerie Geroges Petit* (Paris: Aux Bureaux de l'Artiste, 1887); *La Peinture au Salon de 1888* (Paris: Aux Bureaux de l'Artiste, 1888); Paul Leprieur, *Gustave Moreau et son oeuvre* (Paris: Aux Bureaux de l'Artiste, 1889).

¹⁴⁵ Verne, Pottier, Merlin et al., *L'École du Louvre*: 174.

Zwartendijk's first academic year of 1910/1911. The previous year, Henry de Chennevières (1858—1946) instructed his students on the history of eighteenth-century French painting.¹⁴⁶ It cannot be stated with certainty, however, that Leprieur continued his predecessor's subjects, especially given that Leprieur interests and specialisations up until that point spanned a wide range of areas within art history, from medieval Flemish, French and German art to the works of eighteenth and nineteenth-century artists. Nonetheless, Leprieur's interest in the transhistorical evolution of the history of art may have influenced Zwartendijk, as will become evident in the coming chapters on her accomplishments as an art historian in the Netherlands.

In 1911, following her first year and before attending her lectures in December of her second year at the *École du Louvre*, Zwartendijk had taken private lessons with Paul Etard (1884—1962). Not much is known about Etard, apart from the fact that he graduated from the University of Berlin and later became a librarian at the *École Normale Supérieure* in 1926.¹⁴⁷ However, he is mentioned in an interview with art historian Oleg Grabar (1929—2011) in 2000, who described Etard as “an extraordinary believer in getting young people excited about learning”.¹⁴⁸ This is also evident from Zwartendijk's notes from his private lessons, as he provided her with numerous recommendations in art historical literature. Throughout his private lessons, of which Zwartendijk's notes span over two *cahiers*, Etard suggested a variety of French, English and German titles of bibliographies, encyclopaedias, exhibition- and museum catalogues, written lectures, lexicons and – as Etard stresses the “special importance” of artist's letters and texts¹⁴⁹ – personal archives.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ Idem: 167—180.

¹⁴⁷ Hélène Harvitt, “The Spirit of the Encyclopédie Française Permanente,” *The French Review* Vol. 8, No. 6 (May 1935): 484, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/380055>.

¹⁴⁸ Oleg Grabar, “The Practice of Islamic Art History: Oleg Grabar.” By Richard Cándida Smith, *Art History Oral Documentation Project* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Trust, 2000): 28, <https://archive.org/details/practiceofislami00grab/mode/1up>.

¹⁴⁹ “Het is altijd van buitengewoon belang, wanneer een schilder zichzelf in artikels, brieven of dergelijke aan anderen gegeven heeft, want zoo krijgt men den zuiversten kijk.” See: “Privaatles van Mr. Paul Etard, 1911,” 0996.1—0996.2, Cahier I and Cahier II, Archive of Jo Zwartendijk, RKD, The Hague.

¹⁵⁰ Etard's recommendations include e.g. Hippolyte Taine, *Philosophie de l'art* (1865); Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik* (1835); the series *Les maîtres de l'art* on “key figures” in art history; *Les grands artistes* published by Henri Laurens; André Michel, Louis Courajod and Henry Lemonnier, *Leçons Professées à L'École du Louvre (1887—1896)* (1901); André Michel, *Histoire de l'art depuis les premiers temps chrétiens jusqu'à nos jours* (1905); the first volumes of the

According to Zwartendijk's notes, Etard indicated different levels of art appreciation.¹⁵¹ At first, one may simply enjoy the beauty of an artwork, which is valuable in itself as many people do not experience this. However, for those who wish to delve deeper and engage with art history, it is essential to understand the context of the artwork, including its time period, cultural and historical background, and its influence. This deeper appreciation and understanding of an art object, according to Etard, must be guided by truth and knowledge which prevents the viewer from making unrealistic or incorrect evaluations. In her *cahier* of her very first lesson with Etard, Zwartendijk wrote the following:

Someone who enjoys the beauty of a painting is to be envied, because there are so many in the world who never get there; but apart from our intuition, our feeling, there is a lot more to do for those who want to deal with the history of art. For them, enjoyment is not enough, although it must remain the first, the most important thing: one must know how to place the art object, the painting or whatever it is, in its time and environment, and explain its meaning and influence. The more one knows about something, the more our appreciation changes. A layman is often inconsiderate at first. A second time, he will overestimate the art value of a painting and assume a beauty that in reality does not exist, because he does not know the circumstances and is also ignorant of its history. Our understanding must be guided by the truth that exists about the art object.¹⁵²

Allgemeines Lexicon der Bildenden Künste (1907—1950) by Hans Vollmer, Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker; the book series *Great Masters in Painting and Sculpture* (1899—1914) edited by G.C. Williamson, *Little Books on Art* (1848—1941) and many more. See: "Privaatles van Mr. Paul Etard, 1911," RKD.

¹⁵¹ "Idem.

¹⁵² "Iemand die geniet van de schoonheid van een schilderij, is al te benijden, omdat er zoo velen in de wereld zijn, die hiertoe nooit komen; maar behalve onze intuïtie, ons gevoel is er voor degenen, die zich met de geschiedenis der kunst willen bezighouden, nog een massa meer te doen. Voor hen is genieten niet voldoende, al moet zij het eerste, het belangrijkste blijven: men moet het kunstvoorwerp, het schilderij of wat het ook is, weten te plaatsen in z'n tijd en omgeving, en de beteekenis en invloed eraan kunnen uitleggen. Hoe meer men van iets weet, hoe meer onze waardering zich wijzigt. Een leek is vaak onbillijk aan den eenen kant. Een tweede keer zal hij de kunstwaarde van een schilderij

This approach to “understanding art” as advocated by Etard is multi-faceted, involving both aesthetic enjoyment and a thorough understanding of the artwork’s context. This passage from Zwartendijk’s diary describes a layered approach to appreciating art, where the initial and primary response is an aesthetic one – enjoying the beauty of the artwork. This immediate, intuitive engagement with the visual or emotional appeal of an artwork is considered valuable and fundamental, as, to Etard, it represents the first level of connection with art. This aligns with the progressive views advocated by Hendrik Enno van Gelder in the Netherlands. However, Etard also stressed the importance of deepening this appreciation by moving beyond mere aesthetic enjoyment to a more informed and contextually grounded understanding. This involves engaging with the “documentary” aspects of an artwork as practiced by Dutch art historians such as Abraham Bredius and Cornelis Hofstede de Groot. Thus, Etard suggested to Zwartendijk to not solely practice in the realm of the documentary nor entirely in the aesthetic approach; rather, he advocated for an integrated approach that values both perspectives.

1.4. *La deuxième et troisième année. L’Histoire de la Peinture* by Gaston Brière

From 16 December 1911 until 15 June 1912, Zwartendijk pursued her education at the École du Louvre with her second course in history of painting.¹⁵³ This course, which focused on decorative paintings in France during the Renaissance period, was attended by 67 students and taught by Gaston Brière (1871—1962).¹⁵⁴ Brière was a graduate in history from the École des Hautes Études and a curator at the France’s National Museums, specialising in seventeenth- and eighteenth century French painting.¹⁵⁵

veel te hoog schatten en een schoonheid veronderstellen die er in werkelijkheid niet bestaat, omdat hij de omstandigheden niet kent en ook onkundig is van de geschiedenis ervan. Ons begrijpen moet geleid worden door de waarheid, die er omtrent het kunstvoorwerp bestaat.” See: Idem.

¹⁵³ “Aantekeningen Colleges l’Histoire de la Peinture,” 0996.3—4, Cahier I and II, Archive of Jo Zwartendijk, RKD, The Hague.

¹⁵⁴ “Élèves d’École du Louvre, trentième année,” Archives Nationales.

¹⁵⁵ Henri Verne, Edmond Pottier, Alfred Merlin et al., *L’École du Louvre 1882—1932* (Paris: Bibliothèque de l’École du Louvre, 1932): 174.

In his teachings, Brière was deeply concerned with art historical reconstruction alongside aesthetic value in museum presentations.¹⁵⁶ This is evident from Zwartendijk's notes, as Brière stated that the main goal of his course was to summarise already existing knowledge on the subject of the historical evolution of decorative painting in France since the Renaissance, rather than discovering new perspectives.¹⁵⁷ During the academic year of 1911/1912, he provided his students with a comprehensive overview of the French Renaissance's decorative arts, emphasising the importance of historical context and the integration of decorative elements with architecture.¹⁵⁸ He highlighted the significance of original documents, engravings, drawings and designs as valuable sources for studying decorative arts. Brière also referenced works and scholars who contributed to the field with their documentary approach, stressing the importance of historical contexts. Among these were art historian André Michel (1853—1925) and architect Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814—1897).¹⁵⁹

In Zwartendijk's final year, Brière's course ran until 14 March 1913.¹⁶⁰ Together with 44 other students, Zwartendijk studied history of French painting of the seventeenth century during the reign of Louis XIV (r. 1638—1715).¹⁶¹ Brière summarised several "pioneering artists" who marked the Baroque period of the Grand Siècle in France, such as Simon Vouet (1590—1649), Charles Le Brun (1619—1690), Pierre Mignard (1612—1695) and Nicolas Poussin (1594—1665) before the emergence of artists like Antoine Watteau (1684—1721), who introduced new aesthetic concepts with Rococo.¹⁶² Additionally, he discussed royal collections and

¹⁵⁶ Charles H. Pouthas, "Gaston Brière (1871—1962)," *Revue d'Histoire Moderne & Contemporaine* 9, No. 4: 317. https://www.persee.fr/doc/rhmc_0048-8003_1962_num_9_4_2829.

¹⁵⁷ "Aantekeningen Colleges l'Histoire de la Peinture," 0996.3—4, Cahier I and II, Archive of Jo Zwartendijk, RKD, The Hague.

¹⁵⁸ "Aantekeningen Colleges l'Histoire de la Peinture," 0996.3—4, Cahier I and II, Archive of Jo Zwartendijk, RKD, The Hague.

¹⁵⁹ "Hij stelt zich voor, deze cursus te spreken over de decoratieve kunst in Frankrijk tijdens de Renaissance [...] en zonder nieuwe terreinen en nieuwe gezichtspunten te ontdekken, wil hij samenvatten al, wat er over dit onderwerp is en een weg banen in de stapels boeken, die den student aanwijzingen geven." Aantekeningen Colleges l'Histoire de la Peinture," 0996.3—4, Cahier I and II, Archive of Jo Zwartendijk, RKD, The Hague.

¹⁶⁰ "Aantekeningen Colleges l'Histoire de la Peinture," 0996.5—6, Cahier I and II, Archive of Jo Zwartendijk, RKD, The Hague.

¹⁶¹ Verne, Pottier, Merlin et al., *L'École du Louvre*: 174.

¹⁶² "Aantekeningen Colleges l'Histoire de la Peinture," 0996.5—6, Cahier I and II, Archive of Jo Zwartendijk, RKD, The Hague.

cabinets, and the history of museums and their collections.¹⁶³ As in his previous course, Brière highlighted the importance of consulting primary sources and significant literature for studying seventeenth-century French art.¹⁶⁴

Brière's teachings were thus heavily focused on a documentary approach, stressing the preservation of historical documents and artworks, which he found essential for historical documentation and research. However, he also emphasised the importance of an aesthetic approach. Brière extended his teachings beyond the classrooms by conducting "educational tours" and leading "archaeological walks" in the galleries of Musée du Louvre, Château de Fontainebleau and Château de Versailles.¹⁶⁵ He was the first professor at the École du Louvre to introduce such methods, providing his students with guided tours to focus on the objects themselves and their presentation in museum galleries.¹⁶⁶ Through this integrated approach, Brière afforded his students both documentary and aesthetic aspects of the arts, thereby offering a holistic perspective on the subjects of his teachings.

1.5. "lets over kunst"

During the academic years of 1910/1911, 1911/1912 and 1912/1913, a total of 287, 310 and 229 formal students, respectively, were enrolled in at least one of the ten subjects offered at the École du Louvre.¹⁶⁷ However, during this period, only fourteen students – eleven men and three women – completed their studies by writing and defending a thesis.¹⁶⁸ Evidently, it was not a requirement for students at the school to

¹⁶³ Idem.

¹⁶⁴ Idem.

¹⁶⁵ "École du Louvre. Course de l'histoire de la Peinture. Rapport sur l'année scolaire 1912—1913 par M. Gaston Brière, professeur-suppléant," 20144781/2, Archives des Musées Nationaux, École du Louvre (série F), Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, Paris.

¹⁶⁶ Idem.

¹⁶⁷ Verne, Pottier, Merlin et al., *L'École du Louvre*: 181—182.

¹⁶⁸ The following theses were defended at the École du Louvre from 1910 to 1913: *Classification des dessins allemands au Musée du Louvre* (M. Louis Demonts, 1910); *Les peintres animaliers de la Grèce* (M. Morin-Jean, 1910); *Le ciseleur Pierre Gouthière* (M. Jacques Robiquet, 1910); *François Mansart, architecte parisien, 1596—1666* (M. Paul Lacoste, 1911); *Le paysage dans la peinture vénitienne* (Mlle Lapauze, 1911); *Portraits d'infantes de la maison de Habsbourg au seizième siècle* (Mlle Roblot Delondre, 1912); *Iconographie du portrait central de la cathédrale de Bourges* (M. l'Abbé Planson, 1913); *L'imagerie satirique en France pendant la première moitié du seizième siècle* (M. Blum, 1913); *Trois satellites de Watteau: F. Octavien, B. de Bar et Chautereau* (M. Robert Rey, 1913); *Crescent, ébéniste français du dix-huitième siècle* (Mlle Ballot, 1913); *Claude Charles, peintre de Nancy, 1661—1747* (M. Gaston Christman, 1913); *La déesse nue babylonienne* (M. le docteur Contenau, 1913);

submit a written dissertation in order to obtain their certificate. Goekoop-de Jongh, for instance, completed the two courses she took without writing a thesis. Similarly, like most of her fellow students, Zwartendijk received her diploma after completing only her final examinations. Therefore, it remains unclear which particular subjects had sparked Zwartendijk's interest. However, her personal notes titled "Iets over kunst" ("Something About Art") from November 1913, following her graduation from the École du Louvre, provide valuable insights into her personal reflections on (teaching) art history:

Let me make clear to all of you what the purpose of this course is. It is by no means to teach you with a scholarly demeanor, as someone who knows a great deal about things. Firstly, I do not feel myself suited for that, and secondly, I do not consider myself nearly knowledgeable enough nor am I a walking art lexicon. Perhaps all of you know more than I do — that is perfectly fine with me. Because: my intention is quite different. I do not want there to be a distance between you and me like that between teacher and student. You might then come to see something hostile in me, a feeling that I would never hold against you — because I myself knew it earlier, in my school days! — I wish that I could establish an invisible yet present connection of mutual understanding between us. My sole aim is to help you understand art history. We must discuss things, you must ask me lots of questions, especially if you don't understand me or are not following.¹⁶⁹

Recherches sur la vie et les oeuvres de Carpeux (M. A. Mabile de Poncheville, 1913). See: Idem: 185.

¹⁶⁹ "Laat ik u voor allen duidelijk maken wat de bedoeling van deze cursus is. Het is allerminst om u met een geleerd gezicht als iemand, die machtig veel van de dingen weet, te onderwijzen. Ten eerste voel ik mij daartoe niet geschikt, ten tweede acht ik mijzelve lang niet ver genoeg en ben ik ook geen wandelende kunst-lexicon. U zult allen misschien meer weten dan ik – dat is mij volmaakt hetzelfde. Want: mijn bedoeling is een heel andere. Ik wil niet dat er tusschen u en mij de afstand is als tusschen leerares en leerling. U zoudt er dan toe kunnen komen in mij iets vijandigs te zien, een gevoel, dat ik u nooit kwalijk zou nemen – omdat ik haar zelve vroeger gekend heb, in mijn schooltijd! – Ik wilde dat ik tusschen u en mij een onzichtbare en toch aanwezige verbinding kon maken van elkaar begrijpen. Ik hoop dat ik u kunstgeschiedenis zal doen begrijpen, dat is mijn eenig doel. Wij moeten met elkander praten over de dingen, u moet mij heel veel vragen, vooral als u mij niet begrijpt, of als u mij niet kunt

[...] Art history is a concrete discipline: it stands between art, which is the instinct of the artist, and science, which is evidence based on historical grounds, the facts. One can achieve a goal in various ways: one person reasons, another senses intuitively. Personally, I will endeavour to remain as faithfully as possible between these two extremes – avoiding falling into either. Art history based solely on facts is a dead and tedious subject. Art history based on intuition alone risks becoming vague: we must unite the two. [...] I want to keep my discipline alive, dynamic, not dead and certain. I will provide you with broad strokes: the finer nuances I leave to you, to your own taste and understanding.¹⁷⁰

Although it is likely no one formally reviewed this “course”, Zwartendijk articulated her thoughts as though addressing a student in her capacity as a teacher. In “lets over kunst,” she delineated her approach to teaching art history, prioritising understanding over scholarly superiority, emphasising the importance of fostering a connection of mutual comprehension between herself and “her students”. Zwartendijk advocated for an appreciation of art that transcends superficial details, promoting a deeper, more holistic understanding of the artist’s intentions and historical significance. Reflecting the methodologies of both Etard and Brière, Zwartendijk underscored the importance of both historical frameworks and direct engagement with art objects and their contexts. This passage clearly demonstrates that Zwartendijk believed understanding art history could be achieved through reasoning or intuition and she endeavoured to balance these methods without favouring one over the other. She emphasised the importance of integrating intuition with factual evidence to ensure art history remains dynamic and engaging.

volgen.” See: “lets over kunst, Parijs (November 1913),” 0996.7—8, Cahier I and II, Archive of Jo Zwartendijk, RKD, The Hague.

¹⁷⁰ “Kunstgeschiedenis is een concreet vak: het is iets, dat staat tusschen kunst: het instinct van den artist, en wetenschap: het bewijs op historischen grondslag, de feiten. Men kan een doel op verschillende manieren bereiken: de een raisonneert, de ander voelt aan. Ik voor mij persoonlijk zal zoo getrouw mogelijk probeeren, tusschen deze 2 uiterste te blijven – en noch in het eên, noch in het andere te vervallen. Kunstgeschiedenis op feiten alleen is een dood en saai vak. Kunstgeschiedenis op intuïtie loopt gevaar een vaage zaak te worden: wij moeten het eên met het ander vereenigen. [...] ik wil mijn vak iets houden, dat leeft, dat verandert, geen dood en zeker ding. Groote lijnen zal ik u geven: de kleinere nuances laat ik aan u zelf over, aan uw eigen smaak en begrip.” See: Idem.

Zwartendijk likely chose to continue her studies in Paris as she was eligible to enrol in a three-year course in the history of painting at the École du Louvre with her HBS diploma. The École du Louvre was founded with the mission to "educate curators [and] missionaries" and to train museum professionals in making art and culture accessible to a broader audience, thereby offering promising career prospects for its graduates. However, in "lets over kunst" Zwartendijk appeared to be dissatisfied with how she was taught at the École du Louvre as she expressed her desire to create a more empathetic and interactive learning environment. As will be demonstrated in the following chapters, Zwartendijk's ideals in art historical education were closely aligned with those of her private tutor Maria Viola and the museum reformer Van Gelder, who advocated for art to be accessible and to provide a more engaging, inclusive educational experience.

Chapter 2. Art Historical Practices in the Museum Boymans and Beyond

2.1. The Rotterdamsche Kunstkring

After graduating from the École du Louvre in late Autumn of 1913, Jo Zwartendijk remained in Paris until the end of the year. Upon her return to Rotterdam, Zwartendijk joined the board of the Rotterdamsche Kunstkring in 1914, immersing herself in the local art scene while continuing her engagement with the arts.¹⁷¹ The Rotterdamsche Kunstkring was founded in 1893 as a cooperative for artists and art enthusiasts,¹⁷² following the example of The Hague, where the Haagsche Kunstkring (The Hague Art Association) had been established five years earlier.¹⁷³ According to its founders, there was a contemporary need to integrate leading talents within the artistic community and to maintain closer engagement with a discerning public:

It was feared that the artistically cultivated segment of the Rotterdam public was not consistently provided with opportunities to acquaint themselves with the finest and most recent productions in the fields of visual arts, music, theatre and literature. Simultaneously, artists, lacking an audience capable of appreciating the pinnacle of modern art, did not feel compelled to unite in collaborative efforts to create or produce art.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ "Letteren en Kunst. Rotterdamsche Kunstkring," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (28 February 1914), <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010033324:mpeg21:p005>.

¹⁷² The Rotterdamsche Kunstkring was founded by Jean Browne (1860—1895), Henry Haverkorn van Rijsewijk (1868—1945), Pieter Cornelis de Moor (1866—1953), Frans Netscher (1864—1924), Willem Royaards (1867—1929), Jan Cornelis de Vos (1855—1931) and Derk Wiggers (1866—1933). See: J.C. Visser, *Gedenkboek 1893—1913 den leden Rotterdamschen Kunstkring aangeboden* (Rotterdam: W.L. & J. Brusse, 1913): 11, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMUBL07:000000345>.

¹⁷³ *Idem*: 8—10.

¹⁷⁴ "Men vreesde, dat het artistiek ontwikkeld gedeelte van het publiek te Rotterdam niet altijd in de gelegenheid werd gesteld, om kennis te nemen van het beste en nieuwste wat in den laatsten tijd op het gebied van beeldende kunsten, muziek, tooneel en letterkunde geproduceerd is geworden, terwijl de artiesten bij gebrek aan een publiek, dat in staat zou zijn de beste uitingen van de moderne kunst te appreciëren, zich niet gedrongen gevoelden in samenwerking tot het uitbeelden of produceeren van die kunst zich te vereenigen." See: *Idem*: 9.

With the establishment of the Rotterdamsche Kunstkring, the art circle sought to address this need by engaging artists both within and beyond the city. Its members included visual artists, architects, art historians, writers, elocutionists, photographers, musicians and designers. The association's activities included art exhibitions, artistic soirées, concerts, theatre performances, debating evenings, and similar events. By organising these events and both solo- and group-exhibitions, the Rotterdamsche Kunstkring aimed to contribute to the cultural enrichment of Rotterdam by making art accessible to a broader audience and encouraging public appreciation of the arts. Additionally, it provided a platform for artists, art enthusiasts and art collectors to engage in discussions about art and facilitated the exchange of ideas among its members.¹⁷⁵

Zwartendijk's decision to join the Rotterdamsche Kunstkring was likely motivated by her aspiration to actively participate in the local art community of Rotterdam and engage with like-minded individuals in discussions and activities related to the arts. This environment undoubtedly provided intellectual stimulation for Zwartendijk and offered her opportunities to network with other professionals in the field. Furthermore, as a board member of the Rotterdamsche Kunstkring, she contributed to the cultural and aesthetic enrichment of the public, making art more accessible to people, regardless of their social status. From 1914 until her death in 1938, Zwartendijk actively participated in organising and promoting numerous art exhibitions held at the Rotterdamsche Kunstkring, thereby enhancing the city's cultural enrichment.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ Idem: 8—10.

¹⁷⁶ Top Naeff, "Jo Zwartendijk (Rotterdam 21 Mei 1889-Rotterdam 27 April 1938)," *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (Leiden, 1939): 122—125, https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_jaa003193901_01/_jaa003193901_01_0013.php#023T.

2.2. A *Volontaire* at the Museum Boymans

Shortly after Zwartendijk had joined the Rotterdamsche Kunstkring, she began writing for *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek*, a weekly magazine for “the educated woman”.¹⁷⁷ Zwartendijk’s inaugural review was published in January 1914.¹⁷⁸ In her contributions to *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek*, Zwartendijk focused on the social and political movements of the early twentieth century regarding gender equality and women’s rights in the Netherlands. In “Volkspetitionnement voor Grondwettelijke gelijkstelling van man en vrouw” (“Popular Petition for Constitutional Equality of Men and Women”) for instance, Zwartendijk urged her (female) readers to sign a petition for constitutional equality between men and women.¹⁷⁹

With her first works being published, Zwartendijk was determined to work “diligently and seriously”.¹⁸⁰ However, she was “deeply affected” by the outbreak of World War I and unexpected death of her father in 1914, thrusting her into the responsibility of managing family affairs and temporarily suspending her activities.¹⁸¹ In Spring of 1914, her former private tutor Maria Viola strongly urged her to commence working.¹⁸² Shortly thereafter, Zwartendijk “coincidentally encountered” a seventeenth century painting by the French Le Nain brothers at the Museum Boymans in Rotterdam.¹⁸³ She wrote an essay on this artwork, which depicts two girls, reflecting on the broader significance of the Le Nain brothers in seventeenth-century French art. Zwartendijk contrasted their modest approach with the grandeur and glamour associated with other contemporary artists like Nicolas Poussin (1594—1665), Claude Lorrain (ca. 1600—1682) and Philippe de Champaigne (1602—1674). Encouraged by

¹⁷⁷ Suus Boef-van der Meulen, ““Opdat zij niet inslape aan haar spinnewiel”. Susanna Lugten-Reys en *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek*,” *Historica* (February, 2000): 19, <https://web.archive.org/web/20180423232300/http://achterderug.nl/zsb-biografie/ozniahs.pdf>.

¹⁷⁸ Jo Zwartendijk, “De Lichamelijke schoonheid der vrouw. Een lezing van Mevrouw Doctor Bess. M. Mensendieck,” *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek. Weekblad voor de ontwikkelde vrouw* 1, No. 10 (1914), <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB37:252446010:00006>.

¹⁷⁹ See: Jo Zwartendijk, “Volkspetitionnement voor Grondwettelijke gelijkstelling van man en vrouw,” *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek. Weekblad voor de ontwikkelde vrouw* 1, No. 12 (1914), <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB37:252446012:00004>; and “Vrouwenkiesrecht,” *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek. Weekblad voor de ontwikkelde vrouw* 1, No. 18 (1914), <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB37:252446018:00001>.

¹⁸⁰ “Brief van Jo Zwartendijk aan Herman Johan Robbers, 1915,” Archive of Robbers, H.J. [R 00543], Literatuurmuseum, The Hague.

¹⁸¹ Idem.

¹⁸² Idem.

¹⁸³ Idem.

Viola, Zwartendijk sent her essay to Herman Johan Robbers (1868—1937), the editor-in-chief of *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, a Dutch monthly magazine covering “belles-lettres” – a range of literary works valued for their aesthetic qualities and originality of style and tone – and critical essays on literature and visual arts.¹⁸⁴ Robbers published “Een ‘Le Nain’ in het Museum Boymans” (“A ‘Le Nain’ in Museum Boymans”) in 1915, marking Zwartendijk’s art historical debut in a Dutch magazine.¹⁸⁵ The article was well-received by her contemporaries in various publications.¹⁸⁶

Zwartendijk’s debut in *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* with her piece on the painting from the Museum Boymans collection likely facilitated an introduction to the museum’s director, Frederik Schmidt Degener (1881—1941). The Museum Boymans, one of the oldest museums in the Netherlands, was established within the Schielandshuis in Rotterdam in 1849 following the bequest of the extensive private collection of paintings and drawings of Frans Jacob Otto Boijmans (1767—1847). During the first sixty years of its existence, the Museum Boymans – named after the prominent Rotterdam art collector – focused almost exclusively on acquiring paintings, drawings and prints.¹⁸⁷ Although successive directors had a modest interest in “antiquities” – e.g. “arts and crafts”-objects – they deemed the Schielandshuis an unsuitable place for these artworks to be stored.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ “Elsevier’s Geïllustreerd Maandschrift (1891—1940),” EW. Accessed 18 July 2024, https://maandschrift.ewmagazine.nl/?_gl=1*vf1xle*_ga*MTI2NjA3OTUwNi4xNzlwNjE5*_ga_JT8EKZ3JTD*MTcyMzcyMDYxOS4xLjAuMTcyMzcyMDYxOS4wLjAuMA..*_fplc*Z1ZITFlaamiaJTJGTUEzZ0NwcEVFMlpYVVllb2dBQmhGQ3FtM1JrakVGaU9BaWVXaXJMakVOQIRXRIU5eG9yZFBPbUITSVJpZTJITWZYcGw1T0VqJTJCUDZRRVpXNE5VUXFza2l2NHJjVnQ2eThVJTJCcmsIMkJPcndKTkxDYzhubzMzR3clM0QIM0Q.&_ga=2.46771172.2107764297.1723720619-1266079506.1723720619.

¹⁸⁵ Jo Zwartendijk, “Een ‘Le Nain’ in het museum Boymans,” *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 26 (June, 2015): 2—27,

https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_els001191601_01/_els001191601_01_0003.php?q=zwartendijk#hl1.

¹⁸⁶ See (for instance): “Tijdschriften. Elsevier,” *Algemeen Handelsblad* (5 January 1916), <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010652514:mpeg21:p006>; “Tijdschriften,” *De Telegraaf* (11 January 1916), <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:110548574:mpeg21:p007>; “Tijdschriften,” *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant* (12 January 1916), <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMHCO01:000080026:mpeg21:p009>; and “Tijdschriften. Elsevier’s Maandschrift,” *Het Vaderland* (19 January 1916), <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB23:001503048:mpeg21:p00006>.

¹⁸⁷ Alexandra Gaba-van Dongen, “Begin van de collectie kunstnijverheid (1910—1925).” In: Mienke Simon Thomas (ed.), *Voortschrijdend inzicht. Een biografie van de collectie vormgeving* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 2022): 33.

¹⁸⁸ Idem.

A significant shift occurred in 1910, undoubtedly linked to the appointment of Schmidt Degener as the new museum director in 1908. He was the first director of Museum Boymans to possess formal art historical education and had an extensive international network, particularly in Paris and Berlin, where he had pursued his studies.¹⁸⁹ Schmidt Degener's art historical grounding was deeply committed to enhancing the aesthetic experience of museum visitors. Alongside Hendrik Enno van Gelder, Schmidt Degener emerged as a pivotal figure in the movement for museum reformation in the early twentieth century, particularly through his involvement with the Rijkscommissie van Advies inzake Reorganisatie van het Museumwezen.

Like Van Gelder, Schmidt Degener emphasised that museum visits should be actively engaging and educational rather than merely passive experiences.¹⁹⁰ He advocated for a museum collection to comprise only the most aesthetically outstanding art objects. Upon his appointment as director at the Museum Boymans, he undertook significant reorganisation of the museum and its installations to provide a broader, more cohesive overview for visitors.¹⁹¹ His elevated, idealistic view of art was evident in his insistence that nothing should obstruct the contemplation of individual artworks. The museum layout he championed promoted calm and balance, ensuring that every effort was made to let the objects "speak for themselves".¹⁹² This approach reflected his belief that museums should not merely attract visitors but also enhance their experience during and after their visit, fostering a deeper appreciation and understanding of art. Upon his arrival in 1908, Schmidt Degener promptly initiated a comprehensive renovation of the art museum, aligning with his ideals. The ground floor of the Schielandshuis was transformed into a Municipal Museum of Antiquities, while the top two floors were designated for the "art museum", which retained the name Museum Boymans. At that time, the museum's collection already spanned several centuries of art objects, including paintings, drawings and prints to ceramics, porcelain and glass made by both "Old Masters" and "modern" artists.¹⁹³ The renewed Museum

¹⁸⁹ Idem.

¹⁹⁰ Monique Daniels, "Schmidt-Degener, F.," *Dictionary of Art Historians*. Accessed 18 July 2024, <https://arthistorians.info/schmidtdegenerf>.

¹⁹¹ Idem.

¹⁹² Meijers, "De democratisering van schoonheid:" 87.

¹⁹³ "Collection," Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen. Accessed 13 June 2024, https://www.boijmans.nl/collectie/kunstwerken?range%5Baquisitiondate_year%5D=%3A1915.

Boymans received significant acclaim, seemingly gaining notable prestige for the first time.

Shortly after her debut in *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* in 1915, Zwartendijk had offered her voluntary assistance at the Museum Boymans.¹⁹⁴ As a director, Schmidt Degener frequently spent extended periods abroad. To ensure the continuity of museum operations during his absences, Gerhardus Knuttel (1889—1968) was appointed as a temporary scientific assistant in 1914.¹⁹⁵ Knuttel, who was initially trained as an artist in painting at the Royal Academy of The Hague from 1909 to 1913, became the first (salaried)¹⁹⁶ assistant to support Schmidt Degener with administration, cataloguing and inventories. He was specifically tasked with completing an inventory of the Museum Boyman's collection.¹⁹⁷ Due to delays in printing the collection catalogue, Zwartendijk was employed as a *volontaire* for twelve months to assist Knuttel in revising the descriptions of drawings and paintings.¹⁹⁸ However, the exact contents of her voluntary work remain unknown.

2.3. Art Historical and Educational Contributions as a Museum Assistant

A year after Knuttel was appointed as an assistant at Museum Boymans, he decided to pursue his studies in art history as he realised that his knowledge for this profession

¹⁹⁴ Frederik Schmidt Degener, "Verslag van het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam over het jaar 1915, 30 Maart 1916" (Rotterdam: Wed. P. van Waesberge & Zoon, 1916): 12.

¹⁹⁵ Wessel Krul, *Hannema: Museumdirecteur. Over kunst en illusie* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2018): 77; Dr. Joh. R. ter Molen, *150 jaar Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen. Een reeks beeldbepalende verzamelaars* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen/NAi Uitgevers, 1999): 59.

¹⁹⁶ "Ontvangsten en uitgaven, Januari 1915." 181 – Archieven van Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen (Boymans) te Rotterdam. Beschrijving van de series en archiefbestanddelen. Het archief van de Directie. Periode 1908-2005. Stukken betreffende bijzondere onderwerpen. Financiën. 960-963. Kasstaten. 961. 1912—1915. Stadsarchief, Rotterdam.

¹⁹⁷ Krul, *Hannema: Museumdirecteur*. 59.

¹⁹⁸ According to some art historians, including Yvette Marcus-de Groot and Wilma Hol, Zwartendijk started her career as a curatorial assistant at the Museum Boymans in 1916. However, this is incorrect, as Zwartendijk worked as a *volontaire* already in 1915. See: Wilma Hol, "Zwartendijk, Jo. Rotterdam 21 mei 1889 – Rotterdam 27 april 1938." In: Marlite Halbertsma, and Patricia van Ulzen (eds.), *Interbellum Rotterdam. Kunst en cultuur 1918—1940* (Rotterdam: NAi Uitgevers/Stichting Kunstpublicaties, 2001): 237; Marcus-de Groot, *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer*: 85; and Schmidt Degener, "Verslag over het jaar 1915": 12; F. Schmidt Degener, "Verslag van het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam over het jaar 1916, 30 April 1917" (Rotterdam: Wed. P. van Waesberge & Zoon, 1917): 17.

was insufficient.¹⁹⁹ With Knuttel leaving, Zwartendijk was appointed as a scientific assistant on a permanent basis at the Museum Boymans as of 1 March 1916.²⁰⁰ In the years prior to Zwartendijk's appointment, with the increased prestige of the museum, prominent Rotterdam collectors sought to be more explicitly affiliated with the museum and its collection.²⁰¹ Among them was Elie van Rijckevorsel (1845—1928), a natural scientist and art collector from a wealthy Rotterdam shipping family, who donated a valuable part of his collection of antique glass and porcelain in 1910, expressly designated for the Museum Boymans rather than the Museum of Antiquities.²⁰² Van Rijckevorsel's early interest extended to antiquities and unique decorative objects from around the world.²⁰³ According to the museum's annual report, the glass collection included: "46 pieces of Venetian, 45 diamond-engraved glasses, 100 wheel-engraved glasses, 25 pieces of coloured glass, and 10 glasses of various kinds". The "Oriental porcelain" objects were not further specified.²⁰⁴ Nonetheless, the 1910 annual report featured three photographs highlighting the most significant glass pieces: two photos display around fifteen glasses each, along with a separate photo of the centrepiece, an oval bowl made of rock crystal.²⁰⁵

Due to Schmidt Degener's limited expertise in glass, Zwartendijk was assigned the responsibility of compiling a catalogue of the newly acquired glass.²⁰⁶ As indicated in the annual report of 1918, Zwartendijk undertook the task of creating a card catalogue of the glassware, "numbering each piece, describing and classifying it as accurately as possible".²⁰⁷ In 1919, Zwartendijk published a comprehensive article on

¹⁹⁹ After one year working as a scientific assistant, Knuttel pursued his education in art history at the University of Berlin and the Ruprechts-Krals-Universiteit in Heidelberg. After he returned to the Netherlands in 1919, he became a scientific assistant to Hendrik Enno van Gelder, museum director of the Haags Gemeentemuseum. Here he rose from assistant to curator of modern art and – in 1941 – he succeeded Van Gelder as a museum director until his retirement in 1948. See: H.L. Jaffe, "Gerhardus Knuttel Wzn ('s-Gravenhage 26 maart 1889-'s-Gravenhage 6 mei 1968)," *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (1973): 153—159, https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/jaa003197301_01/jaa003197301_01_0016.php.

²⁰⁰ Schmidt Degener, "Verslag over het jaar 1916:" 17.

²⁰¹ Gaba-van Dongen, "Begin van de collectie kunstnijverheid:" 33.

²⁰² Idem: 33.

²⁰³ Idem: 35.

²⁰⁴ Idem

²⁰⁵ F. Schmidt Degener, "Verslag van het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam over het jaar 1910, 28 April 1911" (Rotterdam: Wed. P. van Waesberge & Zoon, 1910): 13.

²⁰⁶ Gaba-van Dongen, "Begin van de collectie kunstnijverheid:" 38.

²⁰⁷ F. Schmidt Degener, "Verslag van het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam over het jaar 1918, 30 April 1919" (Rotterdam: Wed. P. van Waesberge & Zoon, 1919): 22.

Rotterdam glassblowers, titled "Constisch glaswerk te Rotterdam," which focused on the historical investigation of the origins of Van Rijckevorsel's collection of antique glassware.²⁰⁸ With her research, she aimed to determine whether some of these glass pieces originated from local glassblowing workshops that existed in Rotterdam over the centuries. Despite the fact that the Rotterdam's glassblowing industry never flourished,²⁰⁹ Zwartendijk examined various historical records and anecdotes to trace the potential local origins of the glassware. In her article, she provided a detailed account of the establishment and operations of several glassblowing enterprises in Rotterdam, dating back to the early seventeenth century. A documentary approach is evident in the detailed recounting of historical events, contracts, and the socio-economic context of the glassblowing enterprises. Her primary focus remained on providing a historical and factual account of the industry and its products. In her research, she was primarily concerned with archives as art historical sources which aligned with the critical documentary approach

Similar to her voluntary work, little is known about the specific tasks Zwartendijk performed as a research assistant at the Museum Boymans. According to the museum's annual reports, by 1920, Zwartendijk had "diligently" completed the extensive task of describing and cataloguing the collection of glass on index cards.²¹⁰ Additionally, in her role as a research assistant, she also responded to numerous scholarly inquiries.²¹¹ One of her other responsibilities as a museum assistant was conducting guided tours through the museum's galleries, an initiative she started herself.²¹² This educational task was still in its infancy within museum practices at the time. Her guided tours can therefore be seen as "pioneering work" in Dutch museum practices. As far as is known, only Ida Peelen and Van Gelder had conducted similar tours already at the Gemeentemuseum The Hague in 1912.²¹³ Although the residents of Rotterdam were still getting accustomed to these tours and often did not attend,

²⁰⁸ Jo Zwartendijk, "Constisch glaswerk te Rotterdam," *Rotterdams Jaarboekje* 7 (1919): 45—56.

²⁰⁹ Idem: 46.

²¹⁰ F. Schmidt Degener, "Verslag van het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam over het jaar 1920, 30 May 1921" (Rotterdam: Wed. P. van Waesberge & Zoon, 1921): 6.

²¹¹ F. Schmidt Degener, "Verslag over het jaar 1918:" 22.

²¹² Idem.

²¹³ Linda Modderkolk, "Peelen, Ida Caroline Eugenie (1882—1965)," *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*. Accessed 20 January 2024, <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Peelen>.

especially during the Summer months,²¹⁴ Zwartendijk continued to facilitate these one-hour guided tours every Saturday afternoon until her resignation in 1920.²¹⁵ The exact contents of her tours, however, remain unknown.

Zwartendijk likely initiated educational guided tours at the Museum Boymans due to her strong belief in making art history accessible and engaging for a broader audience. Her personal notes from “Iets over Kunst” dating from November 1913 reveal her educational philosophy, which prioritised understanding over scholarly superiority and emphasised fostering a connection of mutual comprehension between herself and her audience. She believed that art history should be dynamic and engaging, extending to the public domain.

By giving these guided tours, Zwartendijk’s approach aligned with the broader movement towards museum reformation in the early twentieth century, as highlighted by the publication of the report by the Rijkscommissie van Advies inzake Reorganisatie van het Museumwezen in 1921. This report emphasised the need for museums to serve the cultural and aesthetic elevation of the entire public, advocating for enriched public engagement through – among other things – lectures and tours by art historians and museum guides. In his published article on museum guides in the *Bulletin Oudheidkundige Bond* (1913), Van Gelder also stressed the importance of making museum visits actively engaging and educational. He argued that museums should not only attract visitors but also enhance their experience during and after their visit. Van Gelder promoted the value of guided tours and preparatory lectures, reflecting his belief in museums’ role in serving the community.

Zwartendijk’s initiation of educational guided tours at the Museum Boymans can thus be seen as part of this broader historical context of museum reformation. Her ideals on art historical education, which resonated with those advocated by her private tutor Maria Viola and museum reformer Van Gelder, aimed to create a more empathetic and interactive learning environment. By conducting guided tours, Zwartendijk contributed to the transformation of museums into institutions that provide a more engaging, inclusive educational experience, in line with the recommendations of the National Advisory Commission on Museum Reorganisation.

²¹⁴ See: Krul, *Hannema: Museumdirecteur*. 77; and Hol, “Zwartendijk, Jo:” 237.

²¹⁵ Anonymous, “Rondgangen door Boymans” (25 October 1919), <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010036994:mpeg21:p009>.

2.4. Women Art Historians Working in the Dutch Museum Field

Zwartendijk was among a limited group of women who were able to pursue a career as an art historian in the Dutch art field in the first decades of the twentieth century. At that time, Dutch society was still predominantly conservative and patriarchal, with women largely confined to domestic roles. Despite a notable presence of Dutch women in art history studies in the early decades of the twentieth century, professional opportunities remained largely restricted to men. Women – married women in particular – faced legal incapacities that limited their autonomy and professional opportunities, often relegating them to voluntary positions.²¹⁶

In 1987, sociologist Arlene Kaplan Daniels (1930—2012) published an article titled “Invisible Work”, in which she examined the prevailing notion that the essential characteristic of work in modern society is its association with paid activities.²¹⁷ She argued this idea is associated with activities in the public spheres, which are dominated by men and separated from the private worlds of family and personal relationships, where women are more prevalent.²¹⁸ Even undertakings within the public domain, such as volunteering and community service, are not considered work if they are unpaid.²¹⁹ Daniels asserted that women’s work is devalued because it is often limited – especially in comparison to men’s salaries – or unpaid, whether in professional settings or within the home. She found that this narrow definition of work leads to the invisibility of various forms of labour, especially in the social construction of daily life and the maintenance and development of institutions.²²⁰

This phenomenon as described by Daniels is also very evident in the early twentieth-century context of women art historians working in Dutch museums. Prior to Zwartendijk’s appointment as an assistant at the Museum Boymans in 1915, at least nine women already played significant roles as curators in Dutch museums.²²¹

²¹⁶ “Inleiding,” Opleiding en werk: twee generaties vrouwen vergeleken, Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. Accessed 28 March 2024, <https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/longread/statistische-trends/2020/opleiding-en-werk-twee-generaties-vrouwen-vergeleken/1-inleiding>.

²¹⁷ Arlene Kaplan Daniels, “Invisible Work,” *Social Problems* Vol. 34, No. 5 (December, 1987): 403, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/800538>.

²¹⁸ Idem.

²¹⁹ Idem.

²²⁰ Idem: 403, 405.

²²¹ See **Appendix**.

Undoubtedly, more women were employed in the museum sector, but most worked – or started out – as volunteers. Much of this voluntary work was insufficiently documented, leaving the contributions of many women unrecorded, remaining therefore, in Daniels' words, "invisible".

As can be seen in the Appendices,²²² from 1889 onwards, women began to emerge as curators in Dutch museums, managing specific sub-collections.²²³ The first known female curator in the Netherlands was Marie de Man (1855—1944). In 1889, De Man was hired at the Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen (Zeeuwsch Society of Sciences) in Middelburg where she managed the numismatic cabinet.²²⁴ She organised several exhibitions, made acquisitions to enrich the museum's collection, compiled a catalogue of the Society's coin and medal collection and conducted archival research for numerous articles on the history of the museum's cabinet.²²⁵ A few decades after De Man's appointment as a curator, in 1906, Ida Peelen (1882—1965) became the first female *volontaire* as she joined the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. Peelen, who had followed Willem Vogelsang's lectures at the University of Utrecht,²²⁶ initially worked at the Nederlands Museum voor Geschiedenis en Kunst (Dutch Museum for History and Art) and, from 1908 to 1912, at the Rijksprentenkabinet (Print Room).²²⁷ During her tenure, she focused primarily on the museum's collection

²²² See: Appendix I. The data of these art historians mentioned in the Appendix has been compiled based on the following references: Archief Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, Inventarisnummer 1484. [After the inventory compiled by Maaïke Rikhof (1997), Date Unknown.] W.C. Braat, "Johanna Petronella Josepha Brants," *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde, 1961—1962* (Leiden, 1962): 57—59, https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/jaa003196201_01/jaa003196201_01_0007.php; Marcus-de Groot, *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer*: 98, 104, 108, 139—140, 143, 145, 156—157, 163, 226, 243—244, 247, 252, 255, 276, 303; Modderkolk, "Peelen, Ida Caroline Eugenie." Ileen Montijn, "Jonge, Caroline Henriette de (1886—1972)," *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*. Accessed 4 October 2023, <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Jonge>; and *Vrouwenjaarboekje voor Nederland* Jrg. 2—11 (Gouda: Elektrische Boek- en Handelsdrukkerij Joh. Mulder, 1906—1915).

²²³ Marcus-De Groot, *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer*: 98.

²²⁴ Idem: 100.

²²⁵ M.G.A. de Man, *Catalogus der numismatische verzameling van het Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen* (Middelburg: Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen, 1907); and Idem, "Uit het verleden van het munt- en penningkabinet van het Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen," *Gedenkboek uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van het anderhalve eeuwfeest van het Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen te Middelburg* (Middelburg: Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen, 1919). In: Marcus-De Groot, *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer*: 101—103.

²²⁶ Idem: 256.

²²⁷ Modderkolk, "Peelen, Ida Caroline Eugenie."

of decorative arts, particularly ceramics.²²⁸ Among many other professional achievements, Peelen contributed to the museum's furniture catalogue, conducted a study on Dutch porcelain and published her first article in 1908 on mangle boards.²²⁹ In 1912, Peelen applied for the position of director at the Haags Gemeentemuseum. Although the selection committee appointed Hendrik Enno van Gelder, Peelen was offered the role of deputy director. She subsequently moved to The Hague, where she supported Van Gelder with the museum's daily operations, conducted guided tours throughout the museum galleries and gave lectures. Peelen also engaged in scholarly work here, participating in the national exhibition and catalogue on ecclesiastical art in Den Bosch, compiling the catalogue for an exhibition on eighteenth-century Dutch porcelain and writing the first scientific catalogue of the museum's Dutch pottery collection.²³⁰

Together with De Man and Peelen, Clara Engelen (1879—1956), Elisabeth Korevaar-Hesseling (1887—1970), Johanna Brants (1875—1961), Aletta van der Looy van der Leeuw (1880—1976), Wilhelmina Sibylla van Alphen (1882—1964), Ima Blok (1883—1951) and Elisabeth Neurdenburg (1882—1957) worked in Dutch museums before 1915. As (assistant-)curators and researchers, they laid the foundations for collection catalogues with expertise and published frequently in both domestic and international academic journals.²³¹ They exhibited artworks from the museum's collections and ensured their qualitative and – in some cases – quantitative growth.²³² As previously stated, according to Marcus-de Groot, married women art historians were restricted to unpaid roles.²³³ However, and perhaps because of this, Zwartendijk, her predecessors and fellow museum colleagues all shared the commonality of remaining unmarried throughout their careers while most of them were working as volunteers. Except for De Man, whose specific salary remains unknown, Engelen, director-curator of the numismatic cabinet of the Stedelijk Museum van Zutphen en de

²²⁸ Marcus-De Groot, *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer*: 415—416.

²²⁹ Modderkolk, "Peelen, Ida Caroline Eugenie."

²³⁰ Ida Peelen, *Catalogus van de Verzameling Nederlandsch aardewerk* (The Hague: Gemeentemuseum Den Haag, 1917); and *Tentoonstelling van achttiende-eeuwsch Hollandsch Porcelain* (The Hague: Gemeentemuseum Den Haag, 1916). See: Modderkolk, "Peelen, Ida Caroline Eugenie." and Marcus-De Groot, *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer*: 258—259.

²³¹ Idem: 98.

²³² Idem.

²³³ Idem.

Graafschap who was paid fifty guilders per year, and Neurdenburg, a research assistant at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam paid a hundred guilders per month, all women were initially – or entirely – restricted to unpaid voluntary positions. Blok was paid after seven years of working at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, Brants worked sixteen years as a *volontaire* before she was salaried by the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden and Van Alphen worked twenty-five years before she was paid fifty guilders a year at the Stedelijk Museum van Zutphen en de Graafschap. Zwartendijk was appointed as a research assistant in 1915 after she had worked as a *volontaire* at the Museum Boymans for one year. However, according to the cash statements that have been preserved in the museum's archives, she was only paid from January of 1917 onwards.²³⁴ From then until March 1918, she was paid approximately sixty guilders a month;²³⁵ and would ultimately receive approximately 110 guilders a month before her resignation in 1920.²³⁶ This indicates not only married women were restricted to unpaid roles; even many unmarried women would not receive a salary until (many) years later in their career or never received payment at all.

Zwartendijk's decision to offer voluntary assistance at the Museum Boymans can be interpreted as a strategic effort to acquire professional experience and increase her visibility as an art historian within the Dutch male-dominated art field, capitalising on the limited opportunities available to the women of the time. Her voluntary work, although inadequately documented, is thus emblematic of a broader pattern of women's contributions to the Dutch museum sector, which were significantly influenced by societal constraints and gendered perceptions of professional roles.

According to Marcus-de Groot the nature of the collections women curators and researchers worked with varied "widely", encompassing decorative arts, coins and medals, ceramics and porcelain, as well as archaeological objects and plaster casts.²³⁷

²³⁴ "Ontvangsten en uitgaven, Januari 1917," Stadsarchief Rotterdam.

²³⁵ International Institute of Social History, "Value of the Guilder versus Euro." Accessed 16 July 2024, <https://iisg.amsterdam/nl/onderzoek/projecten/hpw/calculate.php>. Through this website, the purchasing power of the guilder in the early decades of the twentieth century can be compared with the purchasing power of the euro in the year 2024; f60 is converted to approximately €608. This is to give an idea of what sixty guilders received by Jo Zwartendijk would comprise in today's time.

²³⁶ "Ontvangsten en uitgaven, Januari 1917," Stadsarchief Rotterdam.

²³⁷ Marcus-De Groot, *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer*. 98.

However, it is important to note that the artworks related to these sub-collections of applied arts were perceived to align more closely with the “nurturing role” ascribed to women.²³⁸ In 1971, American art historian Lucy R. Lippard (1937) also noted that “It is far easier to be successful as a woman critic, curator or historian than as a woman artist, since these are secondary, or housekeeping activities, considered far more natural for women than the primary activity of making art.”²³⁹ These “female” sub-collections and activities were perceived as “minor” and therefore less significant within the broader museum context. This marginalisation allowed women greater access to these roles but simultaneously resulted in their contributions being undervalued. Even though Zwartendijk specifically specialised in history of paintings at the École du Louvre, she was assigned the responsibility of compiling a catalogue of the newly acquired glass. Given that all women curators worked in the applied arts departments in Dutch museums, it is therefore not remarkable Zwartendijk researched the museum’s glass and ceramics collection, despite lacking expertise herself.

In 1920, Zwartendijk resigned from her position as a museum assistant at the Museum Boymans. A year later, in 1921, Schmidt Degener was asked to become the general director of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. Subsequently, Dirk Hannema (1895—1984), who had succeeded Zwartendijk as a museum assistant, was appointed as the director of the Museum Boymans.²⁴⁰ Zwartendijk did not apply for the vacant position following Schmidt Degener’s move to the Rijksmuseum. It is possible she simply lacked interest; her archival documents contain no evidence of any ambition to work at a museum again, let alone become a museum director. However, it is also conceivable that, as a woman, she did not feel encouraged to apply. Twenty-one candidates applied for the vacancy; none of whom were women.²⁴¹

²³⁸ Idem.

²³⁹ Lucy R. Lippard, “Introduction.” In: *Twenty Six Contemporary Women Artists* (Connecticut: The Aldrich Museum of Contemporary Art, 1971), https://thealdrich.org/client-uploads/images-general/26-Women-Artists-Catalogue_small.pdf.

²⁴⁰ A.A.M. de Jong, “Hannema, Dirk (1895—1984),” *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. Accessed 14 January 2024, <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn4/hannema>.

²⁴¹ Among those who did apply, were Hans Schneider (1888—1953), a scientific assistant at the Mauritshuis, The Hague, art critic Albert Plasschaert (1874—1941), Gerhardus Knuttel, former research assistant at Museum Boymans, Pieter Cornelis de Moor (1866—1953), artist and co-founder of the Rotterdamsche Kunstkring (Rotterdam Art Association), and, naturally, Dirk Hannema. See: “Sollicitanten naar de betrekking van Directeur van het Museum Boymans,” (1921). 181 – 477,

At that time, there were only two female museum directors in the Netherlands, who were the first of their kind: Clara Engelen (1879—1956), who served as director-curator of the Stedelijk Museum Zutphen en de Graafschap from 1910 to 1936;²⁴² and Ida Peelen (1882—1965), who became assistant director of the Gemeentemuseum The Hague in 1912, remaining in this post for six years.²⁴³ In 1918, Peelen succeeded Adolf le Comte (1850—1921) as director of the Museum Lambert van Meerten in Delft, a position she held until the end of 1947. From 1929 to 1935, Peelen also served as director of the Museum Hendrik Willem Mesdag in The Hague, simultaneously holding two directorial roles for six years.²⁴⁴ As far as is known, it was not until after Zwartendijk's passing in 1935, a third woman became the museum director of an art museum in the Netherlands; Petra Beydals (1892—1976) was appointed museum director of the Gemeentemuseum Delft in 1935 which she would remain until 1947.²⁴⁵

2.5. Pursuing a Career in Writing. The Right to Choose

While working as a museum assistant, Zwartendijk continued to pursue her writing. After contributing to *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek* and making her debut in *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* with her piece on the Le Nain painting for Museum Boijmans, Zwartendijk published several articles in *Onze Kunst*. Established in 1902 as a successor to the Antwerp-based magazine *De Vlaamsche School*, *Onze Kunst* aimed to “explore visual arts, applied arts and architecture in all their forms, considering their history, development and interrelationships”.²⁴⁶ It featured reviews of both

Archieven van Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen (Boijmans) te Rotterdam, Archief van de Directie, Lijst van sollicitanten voor de directeursfunctie, Rotterdam City Archives.

²⁴² Even though Engelen was never officially appointed as the museum director, historical records refer to her solely as a “Zutphen museum director.” See, for instance: Yvette Marcus-de Groot, *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer: De eerste generatie in Nederland vóór 1921* (Hilversum, Uitgeverij Verloren, 2003): 108, 247, 252.

²⁴³ Modderkolk, “Peelen, Ida Caroline Eugenie.”

²⁴⁴ Idem; Marcus-de Groot, *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer*: 266.

²⁴⁵ W.E. Krul, “Müller, Julie Emma Laura Helene (1869—1939).” In: *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. Accessed 4 October 2023, <http://resources.huylgens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn6/mueller>; Marcus-de Groot, *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer*: 111.

²⁴⁶ “Onze Kunst. Voortzetting van de Vlaamsche School. Tot inleiding,” *Onze Kunst* 1 (1902): 1, https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_onz021190201_01/_onz021190201_01_0001.php#1.

historical and contemporary art, covering exhibitions and auctions in the Netherlands and Belgium alongside book reviews, artist interviews and numerous illustrations.²⁴⁷

Between 1916 and 1919, Zwartendijk wrote fourteen articles for *Onze Kunst*. As an assistant at Museum Boymans, she authored multiple pieces on the museum's recent acquisitions. In a 1917 article, for instance, Zwartendijk detailed the museum's acquisitions over the preceding six months, celebrating their diversity and historical significance.²⁴⁸ That year, Museum Boymans acquired works spanning several centuries including paintings, a watercolour sketch, sculptures and ceramics by artists from the sixteenth (Jacopo Sansovino (1486—1570)), seventeenth (Jan Fijt (1611—1661); Adriaen van Ostade (1610—1685)), eighteenth (Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin (1699—1779)), nineteenth (Johan Barthold Jongkind (1819—1891); Camille Pissarro (1830—1903)) and twentieth century (Chris Lanooy (1881—1948)). Zwartendijk described each piece in detail, emphasising their historical and aesthetic qualities by analysing the “carefully considered composition”, the “pronounced colours” and stylistic decisions made by the artists.²⁴⁹ Her approach combined historical context and critical evaluation, assessing the artistic significance of the objects, their importance to the museum's collection and the broader art historical narrative.

In 1918, Zwartendijk's second article in *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* was published. With this piece, she offered a comprehensive documentary and aesthetic examination of the life and oeuvre of French painter Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725—1908). Zwartendijk situated his contributions within the broader landscape of eighteenth-century French art, examining both the artist's biography and his relationships with his contemporaries. Additionally, she provided an aesthetic critique of Greuze's artistic style, such as noting the artist's use “soft and warm tones”.²⁵⁰

Upon her resignation from the Museum Boymans, Zwartendijk had already contributed to various magazines for nearly seven years. In the articles she wrote for *Onze Kunst*, she focused on Dutch museums, galleries, and their collections, focusing

²⁴⁷ Idem.

²⁴⁸ It remains unknown whether Zwartendijk was in any way involved in the museum's recent acquisitions. See: Jo Zwartendijk, “Musea & Verzamelingen. Rotterdam. Museum Boymans,” *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 16 (1917): 133—138, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=KBDBVL02:004853002:00143>.

²⁴⁹ Idem: 134, 15.

²⁵⁰ Jo Zwartendijk, “Jean Baptiste Greuze 1725-1805,” *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 28 (November, 1918): 287—296, https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_els001191801_01/_els001191801_01_0089.php.

on exhibitions, acquisitions, and art auctions. Zwartendijk's detailed art critiques and comprehensive research allowed her to expand her knowledge to broader art historical contexts, offering insights into various art forms and movements across different periods.²⁵¹ As Zwartendijk had seen at the École du Louvre, (former) professors in history of painting Georges Lafenestre, Paul Leprieur and Gaston Brière demonstrated a transhistorical interest in the history of art, spanning from the early Middle Ages until contemporary times. With her art-critical pieces, she enjoyed more freedom to choose her subjects of study than she ever could have as a museum assistant at Museum Boymans.

²⁵¹ See, for instance: Jo Zwartendijk, "Kunstveilingen. Frederik Muller & Co., Amsterdam," *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 16 (1917): 138—140, https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_onz021191701_01/_onz021191701_01_0031.php; Idem, "Musea & Verzamelingen. Den Haag. Mauritshuis." *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 17 (1918): 26, https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_onz021191801_01/_onz021191801_01_0003.php; Idem, "Kunstveilingen. Nalatenschap Theo van Hoytema. Nalatenschap Ch. Van Wijk. Verzameling de San, uit Brussel." *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 17 (1918): 49—51. https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_onz021191801_01/_onz021191801_01_0007.php; Idem, "Kunstveilingen. Veilingen bij de firma's Mak, Kleykamp, Frederik Muller & Co," *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 17 (1918): 63—65, https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_onz021191801_01/_onz021191801_01_0028.php; Idem, "Indrukken van de tentoonstelling 'Kunstnijverheid en Volkskunst' te Rotterdam, April-Mei 1918," *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 17 (May, 1918): 77—83, https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_onz021191801_01/_onz021191801_01_0030.php; Idem, "Kunstveilingen. Amsterdam," *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 18 (1919): 155—157. https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_onz021191901_01/_onz021191901_01_0017.php.

Chapter 3. Jo Zwartendijk. A Pioneering Art Critic

3.1. The Emergence of Dutch Art Criticism

In the 1880s, Dutch art criticism began to flourish amidst a significant expansion of the press. This development was facilitated by the abolition of the newspaper stamp duty. This fiscal measure had made the publication of newspapers and periodicals expensive, restricting journalism in the Netherlands to individuals with relatively high incomes.²⁵² Following the repeal of the newspaper stamp duty in 1869, the newspaper prices decreased and general prosperity increased.²⁵³ Consequently, a broader segment of the population beyond the elite could now afford newspapers and magazines. This period also witnessed a rise in educational standards and literacy rates, contributing to an explosive increase in the number of Dutch newspapers and magazines in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.²⁵⁴ As a result, the segment of the population interested in information about art and culture also grew, creating opportunities for new cultural magazines.²⁵⁵

In her research on art criticism in the Netherlands during the “fin de siècle” (1885—1905), art historian Lieske Tibbe noticed that Dutch art criticism of the late nineteenth century was multifaceted and catered to a wide range of audiences, reflecting the growing interest in and accessibility of art and culture during this period.²⁵⁶ Explicit viewpoints based on aesthetic theories primarily appeared in cultural magazines aimed at readers with a “certain level of cultural literacy”.²⁵⁷ Art critiques in daily newspapers mainly consisted of both national and international exhibition reviews, such as the *Tentoonstelling van Levende Meesters (Exhibition of Living Masters)*, a series of exhibitions of contemporary art held in various cities in the Netherlands, and the *Salon*-exhibitions in Paris.²⁵⁸ According to Tibbe, a more

²⁵² Bart Funnekotter, “Het dagbladzegel: een ‘accijns op gezond verstand’ die de pers smoorde,” *NRC* (24 May 2024), <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2024/05/24/het-dagbladzegel-een-accijns-op-gezond-verstand-die-de-pers-smoorde-a4199893>.

²⁵³ Tibbe, *Verstrengeling van traditie en vernieuwing*: 14.

²⁵⁴ Idem.

²⁵⁵ Idem.

²⁵⁶ Idem.

²⁵⁷ Idem.

²⁵⁸ Idem.

“sophisticated” audience was catered to, by periodicals from 1891 onwards, such as *Elsevier’s Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*. Initially, this magazine did not include exhibition reviews but featured long series of monographic articles on historical and contemporary Dutch artists, providing detailed information and numerous illustrations.²⁵⁹ The diverse types of art reported in both newspapers and magazines included not only exhibition reviews but also biographies and interviews with artists, publications of artists’ letters, fictional sketches about artists’ lives, travel reports, descriptive accounts of museums, polemical texts and manifestos.²⁶⁰ Most publications had also introduced sections with short news items about the art world, such as auction results, awards, museum acquisitions, visitor numbers, the completion of artworks, new publications, content from foreign magazines and obituaries. This type of reporting, Tibbe stated, also contributed significantly to the public’s perception of art and artists.²⁶¹

In their work on Dutch art criticism in the first three decades of the early twentieth century, Jan de Vries and Marijke de Groot demonstrated that this period was characterised by a strong impetus for innovation in the visual arts, with artistic movements rapidly succeeding one another.²⁶² De Vries and De Groot also noted changes in the media landscape during this period. Around 1900, newspapers such as *Algemeen Handelsblad*, *De Telegraaf*, *Het Vaderland* and the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* introduced distinct art sections.²⁶³ Foreign correspondents also emerged, tasked with keeping readers informed about significant exhibitions in cities like Berlin and Paris.²⁶⁴ According to De Vries and De Groot, art journalists played an crucial role as commentators on and sometimes promoters of artistic innovation.²⁶⁵ Public interest in contemporary art increased, driven by a growing middle class that adopted the tastes of the affluent bourgeoisie. The press, De Vries and De Groot, stated responded to this trend.²⁶⁶

²⁵⁹ Idem: 16.

²⁶⁰ Idem: 17.

²⁶¹ Idem

²⁶² Jan de Vries, and Marijke de Groot, *Van sintels vuurwerk maken. Kunstkritiek en moderne kunst 1905—1925* (Rotterdam: nai010, 2015): 10.

²⁶³ Idem: 10, 15.

²⁶⁴ Idem: 15.

²⁶⁵ Idem: 15.

²⁶⁶ Van Beuningen, “Van minderheid naar meerderheid:” 98.

In her book *Geschapen om te scheppen? Opvattingen over vrouwen en schrijverschap in Nederland, 1815—1860* (1997), Toos Streng (1956) investigated the perception of female authors by critics in the first half of the nineteenth century. Here, Streng, identified an increasing resistance to women writers during the period of 1815 to 1860.²⁶⁷ According to Streng, critics predominantly expressed negative opinions about women who wrote. They argued that authorship would detract women from their “obligations as mothers, housewives and spouses”. Additionally, they contended that women’s intellectual capacities were too limited for writing. Therefore, if women insisted on writing, these critics argued they should adopt a distinctly feminine style and confine themselves to topics aligned with their daily, domestic lives, thus adhering to their “national destiny”.²⁶⁸

This gradually changed from the turn of the twentieth century. In the early twentieth century, Dutch women art critics such as Etha Fles (1857—1948), Grada Hermine Marius (1854—1919), Marie de Roode-Heijermans (1859—1937), Augustine de Meester-Obreen (1866—1953), Elisabeth Korevaar-Hesseling (1887—1970), Nelly Posthumus Meyjes (1888—1968) and Jo Zwartendijk’s former tutor Maria Viola, published art critiques in varying numbers for various daily and weekly newspapers. Their contributions appeared in the distinct art sections of newspapers and periodicals such as *Het Vaderland*, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, *De Nieuwe Gids*, *De Kroniek*, and *Elsevier’s Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*.²⁶⁹

Together with their contemporaries, these women provided a wide range of audiences with historical and modern movements in literature and the visual arts through their published articles. De Meester-Obreen contributed as an art critic to the art sections of the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* and the *Dordrechtse Courant*. She wrote numerous brief reports on exhibitions at Rotterdam art galleries, covering both well-known and lesser-known artists.²⁷⁰ In *Elsevier’s Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, De Meester-Obreen published about fifteen articles between 1915 and 1923, including multiple pieces on solo-exhibitions by the Dutch painter and co-founder of De Stijl, Piet

²⁶⁷ Toos Streng, *Geschapen om te scheppen? Opvattingen over vrouwen en schrijverschap in Nederland, 1815—1860* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1997): 5—17.

²⁶⁸ Idem: 1.

²⁶⁹ Tibbe, *Verstrengeling van traditie en vernieuwing*: 274, 278, 282—283, 286.

²⁷⁰ Marijke de Groot, “Tine (Augustine Hermine) de Meester-Obreen.” In: Dee Vries and De Groot, *Van sintels vuurwerk maken*: 274.

Mondriaan (1872—1944).²⁷¹ Fles wrote reviews and essays in *Algemeen Handelsblad* and *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* on exhibitions and international art movements.²⁷² Additionally, she wrote and published several art historical articles and textbooks. Posthumus Meyjes published regularly in *Droom en Daad*, in which she covered articles on Frans Hals (ca. 1582—1666), Willem Maris (1844—1910) and Albrecht Dürer (1471—1528).²⁷³ From 1891, Grada Hermine Marius started writing art reviews in *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, *De Nederlandsche Spectator*, *De Gids*, *Onze Kunst*, and *Woord en Beeld* from 1891 onwards. Her most important publication is *De Hollandsche Schilderkunst in de Negentiende Eeuw (Dutch Paintings in the Nineteenth Century)* (1903), which was translated into German (1906) and English (1908). This book remained a standard work for decades and is still used as a source in art history.²⁷⁴

As discussed in the previous chapter, for women who managed to secure employment and start a career in the museum sector, it appeared crucial that they remained unmarried throughout their working years and received relatively low remuneration.²⁷⁵ In her dissertation “From Minority to Majority. Women in Dutch Art Criticism, 1800—2020” (2022) Loes van Beuningen (1989) examined the role of women in Dutch visual art criticism from the emergence of the genre around 1800 until 2020.²⁷⁶ Similar to Zwartendijk, some of the aforementioned women art critics active in the early twentieth centuries in the Netherlands – e.g. Marius,²⁷⁷ Fles²⁷⁸ Posthumus

²⁷¹ Idem.

²⁷² Linda Modderkolk, “Fles, Margaretha Tekla Johanna (1857—1948),” *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*. Accessed 20 January 2024, <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Fles>.

²⁷³ Nelly Posthumus Meyjes, “Frans Hals,” *Droom en Daad* 3 (1925): 347—349, https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_dro002192501_01/_dro002192501_01_0104.php; Idem, “Slootkant van Willem Maris,” *Droom en Daad* 3 (1925): 191—192, https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_dro002192501_01/_dro002192501_01_0057.php; and Idem, “Dürer,” *Droom en Daad* 4 (1926): 165—168, https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_dro002192601_01/_dro002192601_01_0057.php.

²⁷⁴ Marijke de Groot, Lieske Tibbe and Jan de Vries. “Hermine (Grada Hermine) Marius.” In: Tibbe, *Verstrengeling van traditie en vernieuwing*: 278—279.

²⁷⁵ Marcus-de Groot, *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer*: 79.

²⁷⁶ Van Beuningen. “Van minderheid naar meerderheid:” 19.

²⁷⁷ Monique Daniels, “Marius, G.H. Hermine,” *Dictionary of Art Historians*. Accessed 18 July 2024, <https://arthistorians.info/mariusg>.

²⁷⁸ Linda Modderkolk, “Fles, Margaretha Tekla Johanna.”

Meyjes,²⁷⁹ and Rogge²⁸⁰ – remained unmarried, thereby largely escaping their “natural” roles as housewives and mothers. However, Korevaar-Hesseling, De Meester-Obreen, De Roode-Heijermans did marry.²⁸¹ In the case of art criticism, Van Beuningen found that the field was particularly advantageous for married women,²⁸² as opposed to the museum sector. Nevertheless, Van Beuningen concluded that from the early twentieth century until the Second World War, there was no notable rise of women in the male-dominated field of art criticism. Her analysis even suggested that fewer women wrote about visual art during this period than in the nineteenth century,²⁸³ with Zwartendijk being one of them.

3.2 Anonymous, J.Z., JZ, J. Zwartendijk, Jo Zwartendijk

Following her resignation from her position as an assistant at the Museum Boymans, Zwartendijk dedicated her career to the field of art criticism and literature. In 1920, she was employed as a full-time art critic by the liberal newspaper the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, focusing on the Rotterdam region. She worked alongside Willem Steenhoff (1863—1932) and Bram Hammacher (1897—2002), who reported on the The Hague region, and A. Stheeman, who wrote about Amsterdam. Zwartendijk remained as a permanent art correspondent for the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* until her death in 1938.²⁸⁴

Established in August 1843 by Hendrik Nijgh (1815—1895), the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* initially began as a weekly publication, later transitioning to thrice-weekly and eventually becoming a daily newspaper.²⁸⁵ Despite incurring losses in its first decade, which required Nijgh and other shareholders to cover the deficits, the newspaper gained a strong reputation.²⁸⁶ By 1885, the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche*

²⁷⁹ Van Beuningen. “Van minderheid naar meerderheid:” 208.

²⁸⁰ “Rogge, Elisabeth Margaretha (1858—1945),” *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*. Accessed 20 January 2024, <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Rogge>.

²⁸¹ “Heijermans, Marie (1859—1947),” *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*. Accessed 13 July 2024, <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Heijermans>.

²⁸² Van Beuningen. “Van minderheid naar meerderheid:” 78.

²⁸³ *Idem*: 103.

²⁸⁴ Rijnders, *Realisme in Nederland*: 28.

²⁸⁵ W.H.R. van Manen, “Toen de Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant werd opgericht,” *Rotterdamsch Jaarboekje* (Rotterdam: Stadsarchief Rotterdam, 1944): 22, <https://rjb.x-cago.com/GARJB/1944/12/19441231/GARJB-19441231-0086/story.pdf>.

²⁸⁶ Regina van der Hoeven, “Het succes van een kwaliteitskrant: de ontstaansgeschiedenis van NRC Handelsblad,” PhD Diss. (Leiden: Leiden University, 2012): 31, <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/20494>.

Courant was described by a librarian in a seminal work on the press as “one of the best, if not the foremost, of Dutch newspapers”.²⁸⁷ He stated that the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* owed its reputation to its numerous correspondents in nearly all the world’s capitals and the diversity of its reporting, which covered not only trade, industry, politics and state economics but also arts and literature. Forty years later, journalist Lambertus Joannes Plempe van Duiveland (1868—1940), a prominent figure in the Dutch newspaper world and chairman of the Dutch Journalists’ Circle, wholly endorsed the librarian’s view. In his comprehensive work *Journalistiek in Nederland* (*Journalism in the Netherlands*) (1924), he rated the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* above other Dutch newspapers in terms of the reliability and comprehensiveness of its reporting.²⁸⁸

In the twentieth century, the editorial tone at the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* was significantly influenced by the prolonged tenure of Govert George van der Hoeven (1872—1955), who served as an editor-in-chief from 1910 to 1936.²⁸⁹ Van der Hoeven deliberately maintained a low profile in public life outside the newspaper and refused to sit on committees or boards. He encouraged his editors to adopt a similarly detached stance to ensure independent and objective reporting. Maarten Rooij (1906—1986), who succeeded Van der Hoeven in 1936, upheld the same distance from political involvement.²⁹⁰ Research into readers from revealed that the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* attracted a politically diverse readership.²⁹¹ Unlike some of its contemporaries, the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* did not maintain formal affiliations with political parties. According to Regina van der Hoeven (1964), this absence of formal ties was a logical consequence of the role historically played by the liberal press, which emerged from the struggle for press freedom, the right to government transparency and the freedom of information. The independence of the press was integral to the essence of liberal ideology.²⁹²

²⁸⁷ Idem: 32.

²⁸⁸ L.J. Plempe van Duiveland, *Journalistiek in Nederland* (Den Haag: Leopold, 1924): 19. See: Idem: 32.

²⁸⁹ Frank van Vree, “Hoeven, Johannes Theodorus van der (1872—1955),” *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. Accessed 20 June 2024, <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn4/hoeven>.

²⁹⁰ Van der Hoeven, “Het succes van een kwaliteitskrant:” 44.

²⁹¹ Van der Hoeven, “Het succes van een kwaliteitskrant:” 45.

²⁹² Van der Hoeven, “Het succes van een kwaliteitskrant:” 43.

Throughout her career as an art critic, Zwartendijk primarily wrote for the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*. In the Appendices, a comprehensive bibliography of Zwartendijk's publications is included.²⁹³ This list of her published articles is compiled based on search results from Delpher and DBNL and further enhanced with titles referenced by contemporary writers and art critics. A substantial share of Zwartendijk's work was published anonymously as it was – unlike in other newspapers and magazines – customary for art reviews in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* to be unattributed.²⁹⁴ Consequently, many of Zwartendijk contributions are omitted from art historical reference works that mention her.

The recently acquired archive of Zwartendijk at the RKD comprises ten albums containing newspaper clippings of articles published – both anonymously and under her own name – between September 1922 and April 1938, up to twelve days before her passing. Although attempts have been made to ascertain whether these anonymously published articles were indeed authored by Zwartendijk, verifying this through online databases proves to be nearly impossible.²⁹⁵ Nonetheless, it can be asserted with considerable certainty that these articles were written by Zwartendijk given the following reasons. Firstly, she sorted and pasted the articles in chronological order; all articles found via Delpher and DBNL reappeared in these albums. Furthermore, she preserved articles written by her colleagues, particularly those that discussed or responded to her own published pieces. She explicitly noted when articles were written by her contemporaries, such as Albert Plasschaert (1874—1941) and Josyah Willem de Gruyter (1899—1979). This practice of documentation is consistent with Zwartendijk's habit of archiving her written works, as evidenced by her preservation of lecture notes from the École du Louvre, inventories of artworks from the Musée du Louvre's collection and her personal diaries.

Between November 1922 and April 1938,²⁹⁶ Zwartendijk published at least over a thousand art related articles for various newspapers and magazines, with nine hundred of these pieces published in the Arts and Letters section of the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*. The Arts and Letters section was edited by writer-critic Johan

²⁹³ See: Appendix II.

²⁹⁴ Van Beuningen, "Van minderheid naar meerderheid:" 92.

²⁹⁵ For example, the online archive of the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, does not provide access to articles published before 1931.

²⁹⁶ Despite Zwartendijk's employment as a permanent art critic for the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* from 1920 onwards, her articles published in 1920, 1921 and much of 1922 remain untraceable.

de Meester until 1927, whom she – according to art historian Mieke Rijnders – perceived as her mentor throughout her first years as an art correspondent at the newspaper.²⁹⁷ Eliza Johannes (Johan) de Meester (1860—1931), who contributed to *Algemeen Handelsblad*, the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, *De Amsterdammer* and other periodicals such as *De Gids*, *Europa* and *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, believed that a work of art should be evaluated based on its intrinsic values. This could be achieved by relying on one's own impressions and maintaining an independent stance towards prevailing artistic opinions.²⁹⁸ He championed modern (recent) movements in literature and the visual arts. In *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, he contributed to a long-running series of studies on contemporary artists. In his art reviews, he emphasised the emotions conveyed by an artwork, the impressions expressed by the artist and the pursuit of innovation. He believed that criticism should primarily serve to inform the artist of the reception of their work and only secondary as a means of public enlightenment.²⁹⁹

As an independent art critic at the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, Zwartendijk was able to choose her own subjects. She produced over two hundred reviews on new art historical publications by Dutch, English, German and French predecessors and contemporaries. On average, she reviewed publications every two to three weeks, focusing on recently published monographs on artists such as Jan van Eyck (ca. 1390—1441), Hugo van der Goes (ca. 1440—ca. 1482), Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475—1564), Vincent van Gogh (1853—1890), Henri de Toulouse Lautrec (1864—1901) and Kees van Dongen (1877—1968). She also reviewed books recently published by her Dutch colleagues, including a publication by Hélène Kröller-Müller (1869—1939) on modern paintings,³⁰⁰ and Korevaar-Hesseling's two-volume publication *Kunstgeschiedenis (Art History)*.³⁰¹ Over the years, the subjects of her reviews on art historical publications encompassed a broad range of art history, including paintings, sculptures, graphics, prints, ceramics, glasswork and art from

²⁹⁷ Rijnders, *Realisme in Nederland*: 284—285.

²⁹⁸ Tibbe, *Verstrengeling van traditie en vernieuwing*: 34.

²⁹⁹ Idem: 279—280.

³⁰⁰ Jo Zwartendijk, "Boekaankondiging. H. Kröller-Müller, *Moderne Schilderkunst*." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (23 January 1926).

³⁰¹ Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. E.H. Korevaar-Hesseling, *Kunstgeschiedenis (I)*," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (12 May 1923); Idem, "Boekaankondiging. E.H. Korevaar-Hesseling, *Kunstgeschiedenis (II)*," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (19 May 1923).

Chinese, Dutch, Flemish, Indonesian, Italian, South-African and Spanish artists, spanning many centuries.

The articles Zwartendijk has published throughout her career in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* as well as her occasional contributions to *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten*, *De Vrije Bladen* and *De Groene Amsterdammer* bear witness to a broad transhistorical interest in art and culture. She wrote about subjects in which she was taught during her three-year course on history of painting at the École du Louvre in Paris, such as her reviews on exhibitions viewing French paintings from the seventeenth century.³⁰² However, her bibliography shows she particularly preferred writing about the more recent and contemporary visual arts. In many of these pieces, she approached her subjects – like she had learned from Brières teachings – primarily with a documentary approach, stressing the importance of historical contexts. This is also particularly evident in her various biographical articles on both deceased and living artists, for which she must have consulted archival documents and primary and secondary sources. In her article on an exhibition of the French painter Eugène Delacroix (1798—1863) held at the Musée du Louvre in Paris, for instance, Zwartendijk reflected on the changing reception of Delacroix's works, noting a shift in the public's appreciation from his larger compositions to his smaller, more intimate pieces.³⁰³ And, in her piece on artworks by Toma Rosandić (1883—1962), a Serbian and Yugoslav sculptor, Zwartendijk offered biographical information about the artist and discussing Rosandić's preferred materials and techniques, providing insight into his artistic process.³⁰⁴

³⁰² See, for instance: Anonymous (Jo Zwartendijk), "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Meesterwerken der Fransche en Hollandsche Schilderkunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (21 November 1931); "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Nederlandsche en Fransche meesters I." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (30 September 1933); "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Nederlandsche en Fransche meesters II." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (14 October 1933); "Nederland-Frankrijk, afdeeling Rotterdam. Lezing van Robert Rey naar aanleiding van de tentoonstelling van Fransche kunst in het Museum Boymans." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (10 January 1934); "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Fransche en Hollandsche schilderkunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (7 July 1934); "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Stillevenen van Fransche schilders." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (11 November 1934).

³⁰³ Jo Zwartendijk, "Eugène Delacroix in het Louvre-museum." *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 40 (1930): 136.

³⁰⁴ Jo Zwartendijk, "Beeldhouwwerk van Toma Rosandić in den Rotterdamschen Kunstkring," *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 40 (1930): 221.

Zwartendijk reported on numerous exhibitions, auction results and recent museum purchases at venues such as the Rotterdamsche Kunstkring, Kunstzalen Unger en van Mens, Studio 32, and Museum Boymans in Rotterdam, the Dordrechts Museum and Pictura in Dordrecht and Huis Lambert van Meerten and De Delftsche Poort in Delft. In these reports, especially her exhibition reviews, she primarily employed a documentary approach rather than a formal analysis of the artworks. This is evident through the many detailed recountings of the exhibitions she visited, focusing on the historical context of the artworks and their significance to the museum's collections or art history in general. Her contributions included not only exhibition reviews but also brief news items concerning the (inter)national art world such as awards and obituaries. Additionally, she published over forty articles as a foreign art correspondent, covering exhibitions at Musée du Louvre, Musée de Cluny, Musée de l'Orangerie and various other galleries in Paris as well as museums in Prague and London. In 1924, she published a three-part travel series detailing her journey in Italy from Naples to Sicily. Parallel to her publications in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, she also published another thirteen articles in *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* on artists such as Gustave van de Woestijne (1881—1947) and Louis Raemakers (1869—1956).³⁰⁵ With such a variety of articles, as Tibbe stated, Zwartendijk contributed largely to the public's perception of the visual arts.³⁰⁶

3.3 “The Arts in Distress!”

On 22 February 1935, Zwartendijk was invited to deliver a lecture at the Haagsche Kunsthistorische Kring by art historian Frithjof van Thienen (1901—1969), a professor at the Academie van Beeldende Kunsten (Royal Art Academy of Art) and researcher at the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague. The lecture, titled “Nut en Norm van Kunstcritiek” (“Utility and Norm of Art Criticism”), was suggested by Van Thienen. Zwartendijk. However, Zwartendijk began her lecture by expressing her preferred “De Kunst in Nood!” (“The Arts in Distress!”) as a more fitting description. In her lecture, Zwartendijk explored the role and challenges of art criticism in contemporary society.

³⁰⁵ Jo Zwartendijk, “Louis Raemakers,” *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 36 (1926): 48—49; Gustave van de Woestijne in den Rotterdamschen Kunstkring.” *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 37 (1927): 383—386; Eugène Delacroix in het Louvre-museum.” *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 40 (1930): 136—139.

³⁰⁶ Tibbe, *Verstrengeling van traditie en vernieuwing*: 18.

She highlighted the risk of superficial knowledge among the public, which necessitated careful nurturing to develop a deeper understanding of the visual arts. Zwartendijk noted that while the current shift from elitist perspectives to more accessible public education has opened new possibilities, it simultaneously brought its challenges:

[Art] criticism should never be a friendly chat with a concealed opinion that benefits the exhibitor or dealer, as this would mean we are fulfilling our duty in a rather feeble manner. This is often referred to as 'saving someone,' but those who bear responsibility should consider that this approach can cause greater harm than is often acknowledged. If the public eventually shows no interest, even in the best works available to them—and this is the direction we are currently heading—the outlook for art will become even more dismal. The minor interests that were prioritised will, in the long run, significantly damage much greater interests.³⁰⁷

Art criticism, according to Zwartendijk, should not be a superficial or biased conversation that benefited the exhibitor or art dealer, as this would mean failing to perform the critic's duty – that is, serving art with dedication and openness. Prioritising such commercial minor interests will, according to Zwartendijk, ultimately cause significant damage to more important ones – that is, serving art with dedication and openness.

In her lecture, Zwartendijk also warned that commercial interests increasingly threatened the independence of critics, who must navigate these pressures while maintaining their integrity and objectivity: “[...] commercial interests are being promoted, which may not be immediately apparent to an outsider but nonetheless

³⁰⁷ “[Kunst]critiek mag o.i. nooit zyn een vriendelyk praatje met een verdoezelde opinie waarmede exposant of handelaar gebaat kunnen zyn, maar waarmede wy onze taak dan toch eigenlyk op slappe wyze volbrengen. Men noemt dit in de wandeling iemand redden, maar zy, die verantwoordelykheid dragen, mogen bedenken, dat zodoende groter onheil gesticht kan worden dan men wel eens geneigd is toe te geven. Als het publiek eindelyk helemaal geen belangstelling meer toont, zelfs niet in de beste dingen, die het te zien kan krygen – en daar dryven wy op het oogenblik heen – gaat het er met de kunst nog veel naargeestiger uitzien en de kleine belangen, waaraan geofferd werd, zullen op den duur veel groter belangen geweldig schaden.” See: “Nut en vorm van Kunstkritiek of de Kunst in Nood!” (22 February 1935), 0996—34, Archive of Jo Zwartendijk, RKD, The Hague.

begin to erode the independence of the critic.”³⁰⁸ According to Zwartendijk, the commercial interests that appeared since the beginning of the twentieth century are being subtly and seemingly innocuously advanced. While these interests might not be immediately noticeable to an outsider, she stated, they started to undermine the independence of a critic. She contended that critics should not merely offer friendly commentary but provide honest, sometimes harsh, evaluations to uphold artistic standards. The critic’s role is to “educate and refine public” taste, she stated, even if it means being unpopular or misunderstood. Ultimately, she concluded that art criticism should play a vital role in the cultural landscape as it is essential for guiding public understanding and appreciation of art and supports the development of both the contemporary and future arts. Based on Zwartendijk’s lecture “Nut en Norm van Kunstcritiek”/“De Kunst in Nood!”, her views sharply contrasted the idea that art criticism should “primarily serve to inform the artist of the reception of their work and only secondarily as a means of public enlightenment”, a notion proposed by De Meester – whom she, according to Rijnders, regarded as her mentor. Instead, Zwartendijk emphasised the importance of public enlightenment in art criticism, rather than primarily informing the artist of the reception of their work. Her perspective on the essential role of art criticism in society appears to align more closely with the editorial tone of the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, which, under the leadership of Govert George van der Hoeven and Maarten Rooij, emphasised independence and objectivity. Both the editor-in-chiefs and Zwartendijk underscored the necessity of maintaining independence and objectivity in their roles as (art) journalists.

As is clear from her lecture, Zwartendijk was concerned with the independence of critics, who – she said – must navigate external pressures while upholding their integrity and objectivity. However, her role as an art critic for the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* does raise questions about her own potential conflicts of interest and the challenge of maintaining impartiality. In the art section of the newspaper, she frequently – anonymously – promoted art exhibitions held at the Rotterdamsche Kunstkring, where she served as a board herself. This matter relates to her advocacy for making art accessible in a nuanced way. On one hand, her

³⁰⁸ “Fyntjes en quasi zonder erg worden commercieele belangen uitgespeeld, die door een buitenstaander wellicht niet zoo snel worden opgemerkt, maar die toch beginnen te knagen aan de onafhankelykheid van den criticus.” See: Idem.

promotion of exhibitions at the Rotterdamsche Kunstkring aligns with her commitment to broadening public access to art, as these exhibitions provided opportunities for the public to engage with art. On the other hand, her dual roles could be seen as compromising the very independence she championed, suggesting the complex interplay between her professional responsibilities and her philanthropic ideals. This duality underscores the inherent challenges faced by art critics – including Zwartendijk herself – in balancing their professional duties with their personal commitments to the art community.

3.4 The Legacy of Jo Zwartendijk (1889—1938)

On 27 April 1938, Zwartendijk passed away quite unexpectedly at the age of 48, following surgery at the Diaconessenhuis in Rotterdam.³⁰⁹ Her contemporaries widely commemorated her in various newspapers and magazines, describing her death as “a painful loss for art criticism in the Netherlands”.³¹⁰ In *De Maasbode*, Jan N. wrote that Zwartendijk’s work was “a direct reflection of her strong and independent spirit” and that “her pure and vividly written critiques” will be missed.

In her 1935 lecture “Nut en Norm van Kunstcritiek”/“De Kunst in Nood!”, Zwartendijk had argued that critics should not merely offer friendly commentary but provide honest, sometimes harsh, evaluations to uphold artistic standards. According to Zwartendijk, the critic’s role was to educate and refine public taste, she stated, even if it meant being unpopular or misunderstood. This perspective on art criticism was acknowledged by her contemporaries, as evidenced by a contemporary writer in *Het Vaderland*, who, after her death, wrote the following:

She was knowledgeable, well-read, and possessed a keen insight; her pen was often sharp as well. However, those, especially among the artists, who might have found her writing style too severe, could not accuse her of bias. As kind,

³⁰⁹ Jan N, “Letteren en Kunst. Jo Zwartendijk †. Een gevoelig verlies voor de kunstcritiek in Nederland,” *De Maasbode* (28 April 1938),

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB04:000198298:mpeg21:p005>.

³¹⁰ Idem.

benevolent, and compassionate as her nature could be in daily life, she was unable to sacrifice "rigour" in her criticism.³¹¹

Jo Zwartendijk's endeavours extended well beyond her professional achievements as an art critic. As previously mentioned, she was an active board member of the Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. For twenty-four years, Zwartendijk actively participated in organising and promoting numerous art exhibitions held at the association's venue in Rotterdam, shaping the society's flourishing and varied programme.³¹² In 1939, Zwartendijk was posthumously appointed an honorary member of the Rotterdamsche Kunstkring.³¹³ Zwartendijk was also a co-founder and board member of the Dutch Soroptimist Club, an association representing various professions and businesses established in 1921 to improve the rights, position and lives of girls and women on an international scale.³¹⁴ The aim of the Dutch Soroptimist Club – which is still active to this day – is to bring together women from various professions who would otherwise "seldom or never meet". It is, as Zwartendijk herself stated, "a defence of the female profession and asserted the woman's rightful place in it."³¹⁵ In the last hundred years, the club has been addressing the right for equal rights and enabled opportunities in education and professions for women and girls.³¹⁶

Throughout her life, Zwartendijk also assembled a modest collection of artworks by contemporary artists herself. In the last years of her life, she donated some of these objects from her collection to the Museum Boymans and bequeathed financial grants to multiple cultural institutions in Rotterdam.³¹⁷ In 1936, she donated *La commode*

³¹¹ "Zij was kundig, belezen en had een scherp oog; scherp was vaak ook haar pen, doch wie, vooral onder de kunstenaars, haar manier van schrijven soms te streng mochten oordeelen, van vooringenomenheid viel zij niet te verdenken. Zoo vriendelijk, welwillend, medelijdend in het dagelijksch leven haar aard toch kon zijn, aan "soepelheid" in de critiek vermocht zij niet te offeren."

See: "Jo Zwartendijk †," *Het Vaderland* (28 April 1938), <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010017792:mpeg21:p010>.

³¹² Rijnders, *Realisme in Nederland*: 284–285.

³¹³ Marcus-de Groot, *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer*: 86.

³¹⁴ Lajoost, "Het Soroptimisme."

³¹⁵ Idem.

³¹⁶ "About Us," Soroptimist International of Europe. Accessed 3 August 2042, <https://www.soroptimisteurope.org/about-us/who-we-are/>.

³¹⁷ See: Appendix III.

(Interior with yellow door) (1912) by Kees van Dongen to the Museum Boymans.³¹⁸ To this day, almost a hundred years later, *La commode* is still regarded as one of the masterpieces in the museum's collection of paintings by Dutch makers from the early twentieth century.³¹⁹ After her death, the Museum Boymans also received a donation of approximately hundred books, primarily monographs on French and Dutch artists.³²⁰ Additionally, she bequeathed the museum five hundred guilders which enabled the museum to acquire a bronze sculpture made in 1888 by the Belgian sculptor Constantin Meunier (1831—1905).³²¹ And, in 1939, her many colleagues, friends and family gifted *Caryatid Carrying Her Stone* (ca. 1881—1883), a bronze by Auguste Rodin (1840—1917) in honour of Zwartendijk's memory.³²²

³¹⁸ "La commode (Interieur met gele deur)," Collection, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen. Accessed 13 June 2024, https://www.boijmans.nl/collectie/kunstwerken?range%5Baquisitiondate_year%5D=%3A1915.

³¹⁹ *Idem*.

³²⁰ Frederik Schmidt Degener, "Verslag van het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam over het jaar 1938" (Rotterdam: Wed. P. van Waesberge & Zoon, 1939): 7.

³²¹ Frederik Schmidt Degener, "Verslag van het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam over het jaar 1939" (Rotterdam: Wed. P. van Waesberge & Zoon, 1940): 3.

³²² Schmidt Degener, "Verslag over het jaar 1938:" 3.

In conclusion

The life of Jo Zwartendijk – a renowned art specialist in Rotterdam – was deeply intertwined with a great passion for both the visual and literary arts. However, the full extent and impact of Zwartendijk's work as an art historian, museum assistant and art critic had never been thoroughly researched. This thesis sought to fill this scholarly void by addressing the following research question: How did Jo Zwartendijk navigate in and contribute to the early twentieth century Dutch art world as an art historian, museum assistant and art critic within a primarily male-dominated environment? This research explored and analysed Zwartendijk's legacy from her educational background at the *École du Louvre* in Paris and her tenure as a museum assistant at Museum Boymans in Rotterdam to her subsequent achievements as a distinguished art critic. The objective was to provide a comprehensive understanding of Zwartendijk's intellectual and professional accomplishments, while demonstrating how she established and maintained a significant presence in the early twentieth-century Dutch male-dominated (art) world.

To thoroughly understand Zwartendijk's ideals and achievements, this thesis adopted an intellectual biographical approach to her professional career. This methodology enabled the reconstruction of a detailed account of her experiences as an art historian working in the Dutch art field. By employing an intellectual biography as a methodological framework, this thesis provided a chronological examination of Zwartendijk's art historical work and accomplishments, scrutinising the relationship between her personal life and her career, and its significance in the context the developments in the early twentieth-century of Dutch art history.

This thesis focused solely on Zwartendijk's education, professional work and both her social and art historical achievements. However, Zwartendijk's endeavours extended well beyond her professional achievements as an art critic. She served as a board member of the *Rotterdamsche Kunstkring* and contributed to the cultural and aesthetic enrichment of the public. Zwartendijk also assembled a modest collection of artworks by contemporary artists herself. Throughout her life and after her passing, she donated and bequeathed these (financial) possessions, underscoring her philanthropic ideals for the Dutch art field. In order to be more concluding about Zwartendijk's professional achievements, her activities as a board member of the *Rotterdamsche Kunstkring*, her motivations and strategies for collecting works by

contemporary artists and her role and significance as a donor and legator to the Museum Boymans and other cultural institutions in Rotterdam, are yet to be further examined and studied in greater detail.

The first chapter of this thesis provided an in-depth analysis of Zwartendijk's educational background, tracing her academic journey from the girls' HBS to her further education at the *École du Louvre*. From a relatively young age, Zwartendijk had already developed a particular interest in literature and art history. Upon completing her secondary education, she pursued advanced studies at the *École du Louvre*. This Paris institution offered promising career prospects and, with her HBS diploma, Zwartendijk was eligible to enrol in a three-year course in history of painting. This was particularly noteworthy as it made her the second female student in Dutch history to study art history abroad. Zwartendijk's choice to specialise in history of painting was likely motivated by her desire to explore the development of painting across multiple centuries, rather than confining herself to a single subject. The curriculum at the *École du Louvre*, especially under the guidance of professors such as Gaston Brière, who led educational tours and archaeological excursions, offered both documentary and holistic approaches to art. These perspectives significantly enriched Zwartendijk's understanding and appreciation of the arts.

The second chapter of this thesis addressed the period from Zwartendijk's graduation from the *École du Louvre* in 1913 to her resignation from Museum Boymans in 1920. In her notes "lets over Kunst" from November 1913, Zwartendijk advocated for a more engaging and inclusive experience of art. As an assistant at Museum Boymans, Zwartendijk initiated guided tours drawing from her own experiences at the *École du Louvre*. This educational approach aligned with the broader movement towards museum reformation in the early twentieth century, reflecting her belief in museums' role in serving the community. To Zwartendijk, art was a public matter that should be accessible and relevant to the general public, not merely the privileged few. By conducting guided tours, Zwartendijk contributed to the transformation of Dutch museums into institutions that offered an educational experience. Her views aligned with the contemporary shift in thinking about the purpose of museums. To many museum reformers, including Zwartendijk, museums were expected to serve the public interest

Zwartendijk was among a limited group of women who were able to pursue a career as an art historian, museum assistant and/or art critic in the Dutch art field in the first decades of the twentieth century. Already in her time, Zwartendijk was very aware of and concerned with the position of women as she was a co-founder and an active member of the Dutch Soroptimist Club. Zwartendijk's involvement in this organisation, her diary notes and early publications for *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek*, and her commitment to pursuing a career in a male-dominated (art) world, underscore her commitment to advocating for gender equality and improving the societal position of women.

The third and final chapter of this thesis examined Zwartendijk's contributions as an art critic. After five years of working as an assistant, she resigned from the Museum Boymans and pursued a career in art criticism. Her work demonstrates a transhistorical interest in the history of art, spanning from the early Middle Ages to contemporary times. This is evident from the articles Zwartendijk published throughout her career in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, as well as her occasional contributions to *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten*, *De Vrije Bladen* and *De Groene Amsterdammer*. From 1920 onwards, Zwartendijk wrote over a thousand art-related pieces. Through her reviews and critiques of the latest exhibitions and art historical publications, Zwartendijk played a considerable role in shaping public perception of contemporary art and contributed to the popularisation of visual arts among a wider audience.

As an independent art critic, Zwartendijk enjoyed greater freedom in selecting her subjects of study than she ever could have had as an assistant at Museum Boymans. Throughout her career, she consistently emphasised the importance of art history as a concrete discipline which she regarded as evidence, based on historical grounds. Zwartendijk asserted that the role of an art critic is to "educate and refine" public taste. Consequently, in her publications, she primarily employed a documentary approach. Her revised bibliography, supplemented by the extant publications from Zwartendijk's personal albums, not only sheds new light on her oeuvre as an art critic but also offers a unique insight into the high frequency with which she visited exhibitions, read art historical books and wrote and published articles. Given that many of her writings in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* had to be published

anonymously, the albums containing newspaper clippings of her published articles reveal her pride in her work, driven by diligence and determination.

Bibliography

Archives

Archives Nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, Paris. Archives des Musées Nationaux, École du Louvre (série F).

20144781/1. “Journal Officiel” (24 January 1882); “Journal Officiel” (25 July 1882).

20144781/2. Course de l’histoire de la Peinture. Rapport sur l’année scolaire 1912—1913 par M. Gaston Brière, professeur-suppléant.”

20144781/5. “Professeurs de l’École du Louvre (1882—1940).”

20150334/77—20150334/97. “École du Louvre, vingt-neuvième année (1910—1911).”

Literatuurmuseum, The Hague. R 00543, Archief van Robbers, H.J.

“Brief van Jo Zwartendijk aan Herman Johan Robbers, 1915.”

Literatuurmuseum, The Hague. Z 04404, Archief van Zwartendijk, Jo.

“Dagboek van Jo Zwartendijk.”

“HBS Diploma van Jo Zwartendijk, 15 juli 1908.”

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 1484.

[After the inventory compiled by Maaïke Rikhof, Date Unknown.]

RKD, The Hague. 0996, Archive of Zwartendijk, Jo.

1—2. “Privaatles van Mr. Paul Etard, 1911.” Cahier I en II.

3—4. “Aantekeningen Colleges l’Histoire de la Peinture.” Cahier I en II.

5—6. “Aantekeningen Colleges l’Histoire de la Peinture.” Cahier I en II

7—8. “Iets over kunst, Parijs (November 1913),” 0996.7—8, Cahier I and II.

34. “Nut en vorm van Kunstcritiek of de Kunst in Nood!”

37—46. “Album met ingeplakte krantenknipsels van publicaties.”

64. “Niet ingeplakte krantenknipsels.”

58. "Fotoalbum."

72. "Testament."

Stadsarchief, Rotterdam.

60 – Archieven van de (Eerste, 1^e) HBS voor Meisjes te Rotterdam.

181 – Archieven van Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen (Boymans) te Rotterdam.

477 – 1921. "Sollicitanten naar de betrekking van Directeur van het Museum Boymans," Lijst van sollicitanten voor de directeursfunctie.

961 – 1912—1915. "Ontvangsten en uitgaven, Januari 1915." Periode 1908—2005. Kasstaten.

962 – 1916—1920. "Ontvangsten en uitgaven, Januari 1917." Periode 1908—2005. Kasstaten.

962 – 1916—1920. "Ontvangsten en uitgaven, Januari-December 1917." Periode 1908—2005. Stukken betreffende bijzondere onderwerpen. Financiën. 960—963. Kasstaten.

962 – 1916—1920. "Ontvangsten en uitgaven, Januari 1920." Periode 1908—2005. Stukken betreffende bijzondere onderwerpen. Financiën. 960—963. Kasstaten.

962 – 1916—1920. "Ontvangsten en uitgaven, August 1920." Periode 1908—2005. Stukken betreffende bijzondere onderwerpen. Financiën.

Other primary sources

Anonymous. "Jo Zwartendijk †." *Het Vaderland* (28 April 1938).

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010017792:mpeg21:p010>.

Anonymous. "Kunst en Wetenschap. Examen kunsthistorie." *Dagblad van Zuid-Holland en 's-Gravenhage* (4 December 1913).

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB19:000161134:mpeg21:p00002>.

Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Rotterdamsche Kunstkring." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (28 February 1914).

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010033324:mpeg21:p005>.

Anonymous. "Onze Kunst. Voortzetting van de Vlaamsche School. Tot inleiding." *Onze Kunst* 1 (1902).

https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_onz021190201_01/_onz021190201_01_0001.php#1.

Anonymous. "Rondgangen door Boymans" (25 October 1919).

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010036994:mpeg21:p009>.

Anonymous. "Tijdschriften." *De Telegraaf* (11 January 1916).

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:110548574:mpeg21:p007>.

Anonymous. "Tijdschriften. Elsevier." *Algemeen Handelsblad* (5 January 1916).

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010652514:mpeg21:p006>.

Anonymous. "Tijdschriften. Elsevier's Maandschrift." *Het Vaderland* (19 January 1916).

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB23:001503048:mpeg21:p00006>.

Anonymous. "Tijdschriften." *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant* (12 January 1916).

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMHCO01:000080026:mpeg21:p009>.

Gelder, H.E. van. "Museumgidsen." *Bulletin Oudheidkundige Bond* 6 (1913): 221—225.

Gruyter, Willem Josyah de. "In memoriam. Jo Zwartendijk." *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 48. 28 April 193: 431.

https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_els001193801_01/_els001193801_01_0060.php.

Harvitt, Hélène. "The Spirit of the Encyclopédie Française Permanente," *The French Review* Vol. 8, No. 6 (May 1935): 481—485.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/380055>.

Jongh, Dr. Johanna de. *Kunstgeschiedenis als vak van onderwijs. Rede, uitgesproken bij het openen harer lessen als privaatsdocent in de Kunstgeschiedenis aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht op vrijdag 29 januari 1904*. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1904.

Lajoost, Jo. "Het Soroptimisme. Ontstaan en uitingen in Nederland." *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*. 30 March 1935.

Ledrain, Eugène. "Chronique des musées," *Courrier de l'art. Chronique hebdomadaire des Ateliers, des Musées, des Expositions, des Ventes publiques, etc.* 45 (Paris, 9 November 1882).

Michel, André (ed.). *Histoire de l'Art. Depuis les premières temps chrétiens jusqu'à nos jours*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1905.

N., Jan. "Letteren en Kunst. Jo Zwartendijk †. Een gevoelig verlies voor de kunstcritiek in Nederland," *De Maasbode* (28 April 1938).

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB04:000198298:mpeg21:p005>.

Naeff, Top. "Jo Zwartendijk (Rotterdam 21 Mei 1889-Rotterdam 27 April 1938)." *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (Leiden, 1939): 122—125.

https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_jaa003193901_01/_jaa003193901_01_0013.php#023T.

Peelen, Ida. *Catalogus van de Verzameling Nederlandsch aardewerk*. The Hague: Gemeentemuseum Den Haag, 1917.

Peelen, Ida. *Tentoonstelling van achttiende-eeuwsch Hollandsch Porcelein*. The Hague: Gemeentemuseum Den Haag, 1916.

Schmidt Degener, F. "Verslag van het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam over het jaar 1910, 28 April 1911." Rotterdam: Wed. P. van Waesberge & Zoon, 1910.

Schmidt Degener, "Frederik. "Verslag van het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam over het jaar 1915, 30 Maart 1916." Rotterdam: Wed. P. van Waesberge & Zoon, 1916.

Schmidt Degener, F. "Verslag van het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam over het jaar 1916, 30 April 1917." Rotterdam: Wed. P. van Waesberge & Zoon, 1917.

Schmidt Degener, F. "Verslag van het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam over het jaar 1918, 30 April 1919." Rotterdam: Wed. P. van Waesberge & Zoon, 1919.

Schmidt-Degener, F. "Verslag van het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam over het jaar 1920, 30 Mei 1921." Rotterdam: Wed. P. van Waesberge & Zoon, 1921.

Schmidt-Degener, F. "Verslag van het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam over het jaar 1938." Rotterdam: Wed. P. van Waesberge & Zoon, 1939.

Schmidt-Degener, F. "Verslag van het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam over het jaar 1939." Rotterdam: Wed. P. van Waesberge & Zoon, 1940.

Vogelsang, Prof. Dr. W. "Holländische Miniaturen des späteren Mittelalters." Doct.Diss. München, 22 July 1898.

Vogelsang, Dr. W. *Kunstwetenschappelijke opmerkingen. Rede, uitgesproken bij de opening zijner lessen in kunstgeschiedenis, op 22 november 1900*. Amsterdam: Scheltema, and Holkema, 1900.

Verne, Henri, Edmond Pottier, Alfred Merlin et al. *L'École du Louvre 1882—1932*. Paris: Bibliothèque de l'École du Louvre, 1932.

Visser, J.C. *Gedenkboek 1893—1913 den leden Rotterdamschen Kunstkring aangeboden*. Rotterdam: W.L. & J. Brusse, 1913.

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMUBL07:000000345>.

Vrouwenjaarboekje voor Nederland Jrg. 2. Gouda: Electrische Boek- en Handelsdrukkerij Joh. Mulder, 1906.

Vrouwenjaarboekje voor Nederland Jrg. 3. Gouda: Electrische Boek- en Handelsdrukkerij Joh. Mulder, 1907.

Vrouwenjaarboekje voor Nederland Jrg. 4. Gouda: Electrische Boek- en Handelsdrukkerij Joh. Mulder, 1908.

Vrouwenjaarboekje voor Nederland Jrg. 5. Gouda: Electrische Boek- en Handelsdrukkerij Joh. Mulder, 1909.

Vrouwenjaarboekje voor Nederland Jrg. 6. Gouda: Electrische Boek- en Handelsdrukkerij Joh. Mulder, 1910.

Vrouwenjaarboekje voor Nederland Jrg. 7. Gouda: Electrische Boek- en Handelsdrukkerij Joh. Mulder, 1911.

Vrouwenjaarboekje voor Nederland Jrg. 8. Gouda: Electrische Boek- en Handelsdrukkerij Joh. Mulder, 1912.

Vrouwenjaarboekje voor Nederland Jrg. 9. Gouda: Electrische Boek- en Handelsdrukkerij Joh. Mulder, 1913.

Vrouwenjaarboekje voor Nederland Jrg. 10. Gouda: Electrische Boek- en Handelsdrukkerij Joh. Mulder, 1914.

Vrouwenjaarboekje voor Nederland Jrg. 11. Gouda: Electrische Boek- en Handelsdrukkerij Joh. Mulder, 1915.

Zwartendijk, Jo. "Constisch glaswerk te Rotterdam." *Rotterdams Jaarboekje* 7 (1919): 45—56.

Zwartendijk, Jo. "De Lichamelijke schoonheid der vrouw. Een lezing van Mevrouw Doctor Bess. M. Mensendieck." *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek. Weekblad voor de ontwikkelde vrouw* 1, No. 10 (1914).

<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB37:252446010:00006>.

Zwartendijk, Jo. "Beeldhouwwerk van Toma Rosandić in den Rotterdamschen Kunstkring." *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 40 (1930): 221—23.

Zwartendijk, Jo. "Een 'Le Nain' in het museum Boymans." *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 26 (June, 2015): 2—27.
https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_els001191601_01/_els001191601_01_0003.php?q=zwartendijk#hl1.

Zwartendijk, Jo. "Eugène Delacroix in het Louvre Museum," *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 40 (1930): 136—138.

Zwartendijk, Jo. "Jean Baptiste Greuze 1725—1805," *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 28 (November, 1918): 287—296.
https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_els001191801_01/_els001191801_01_0089.php.

Zwartendijk, Jo. "Musea & Verzamelingen. Rotterdam. Museum Boymans." *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 16 (1917): 133—138. <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=KBDBVL02:004853002:00143>.

Zwartendijk, Jo. "Volkspetitionnement voor Grondwettelijke gelijkstelling van man en vrouw." *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek. Weekblad voor de ontwikkelde vrouw* 1, No. 12 (1914). <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB37:252446012:00004>;

Zwartendijk, Jo. "Vrouwenkiesrecht." *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek. Weekblad voor de ontwikkelde vrouw* 1, No. 18 (1914).
<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB37:252446018:00001>.

Secondary Literature

Art Institute Chicago. "About the Paris Salons," Paris Salons (1673—present). Accessed 14 July 2024. <https://www.artic.edu/library/discover-our-collections/research-guides/paris-salons-1673present>.

Bakker, Bertus. "Maria Viola. Kunstcritica met een missie," *Trajecta* 16 (2007): 237—263.

Beuningen, Loes. "Van minderheid naar meerderheid. Vrouwen in de Nederlandse beeldende kunstcritiek 1800—2020." PhD diss. Nijmegen: Radboud University, 2022. 249053.pdf (ru.nl).

Boef-van der Meulen, Suus. "'Opdat zij niet inslape aan haar spinnewiel'. Susanna Lugten-Reys en *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek*." *Historica* (February, 2000): 19—21.

<https://web.archive.org/web/20180423232300/http://achterderug.nl/zsb-biografie/ozniahs.pdf>.

Boekholt, P.Th.F.M., and E.P. de Booy. "Het voortgezet onderwijs." *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland, vanaf de middeleeuwen tot aan de huidige tijd* (1987): 179—211.

https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/boek009gesc01_01/boek009gesc01_01_0012.php.

Boot, Marjan. "Een museum voor een nieuw tijdperk: H.E. van Gelder en het Gemeentemuseum." In: *Jaarboek Haags Gemeentemuseum 1995—1996* (Den Haag, 1997): 11—36.

Bosch, Mineke. *Het geslacht van de wetenschap. Vrouwen en hoger onderwijs in Nederland 1878—1948*. Nijmegen: Uitgeverij Sua, 1994.

Braat, W.C. "Johanna Petronella Josepha Brants." *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde, 1961—1962* (Leiden, 1962): 57—59.

https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_jaa003196201_01/_jaa003196201_01_0007.php.

Brokken, Jan. *De Rechtvaardigen. Hoe consul Jan Zwartendijk duizenden Joden redde*. Amsterdam: Atlas Contact, 2023.

Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. "Inleiding." Opleiding en werk: twee generaties vrouwen vergeleken. Accessed 28 March 2024. <https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/longread/statistische-trends/2020/opleiding-en-werk-twee-generaties-vrouwen-vergeleken/1-inleiding>.

Daniels, Arlene Kaplan. "Invisible Work." *Social Problems* Vol. 34, No. 5 (December, 1987): 403—415. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/800538>.

Daniels, Monique. "Marius, G.H. Hermine." *Dictionary of Art Historians*. Accessed 18 July 2024. <https://arthistorians.info/mariusg>

Daniels, Monique. "Schmidt-Degener, F." *Dictionary of Art Historians*. Accessed 18 July 2024. <https://arthistorians.info/schmidtdegenerf>.

Davies, Penelope J.E., Walter B. Denny, Frima Fox Hofrichter, Joseph Jacobs, Ann M. Roberts, and David L. Simon. *Janson's History of Art. The Western Tradition* [Reissued Eighth Edition]. London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd, 2011.

Depkat, Volker. "The Challenges of Biography: European-American Reflections." *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute Washington, D.C.* 44 (Fall 2014): 39—48.

https://perspectivia.net/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/ploneimport3_derivate_00002625/depkat_challenges.pdf.

Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland, ed. "Heijermans, Marie (1859—1947)." *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*. Accessed 13 July 2024.

<http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Heijermans>.

Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland, ed. "Rogge, Elisabeth Margaretha (1858—1945)." *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*. Accessed 20 January 2024.

<https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Rogge>.

Dilly, Heinrich. *Kunstgeschichte als Institution. Studien zur Geschichte einer Disziplin*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1979.

École du Louvre. "Notre histoire." Accessed 10 April 2024.
<https://www.ecoledulouvre.fr/fr/lecole/notre-histoire>.

Ekkart, R.E.O. "Hofstede de Groot, Cornelis (1863—1930)." *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. Accessed 14 January 2024.

<https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn1/hofstede>.

Ekkart, R.E.O. "Martin, Wilhelm (1876—1954)." *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. Accessed 14 January 2024. <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn2/martin>.

EW. "Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift (1891—1940)." Accessed 18 July 2024.
https://maandschrift.ewmagazine.nl/?_gl=1*vf1xle*_ga*MTI2NjA3OTUwNi4xNzIzNzIwNjE5*_ga_JT8EKZ3JTD*MTcyMzcyMDYxOS4xLjAuMTcyMzcyMDYxOS4wLjAuMA..*_fplc*Z1ZITFlaamlaJTJGTUEzZ0NwcEVFMlpYVVIIb2dBQmhGQ3FtM1JrakVGaU9BaWVXaXJMakVOQIRXRIU5eG9yZFBPbUITSVJpZTJITWZYcGw1T0VqJTJCUDZRRVpXNE5VUXFza2I2NHJjVnQ2eThVJTJCcmslMkJPcndKTkxDYzhubzMzR3clM0QlM0Q.&_ga=2.46771172.2107764297.1723720619-1266079506.1723720619.

Funnekotter, Bart. "Het dagbladzegel: een 'accijns op gezond verstand' die de pers smoorde," *NRC* (24 May 2024). <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2024/05/24/het-dagbladzegel-een-accijns-op-gezond-verstand-die-de-pers-smoorde-a4199893>.

Gaba-van Dongen, Alexandra. "Begin van de collectie kunstnijverheid (1910—1925)." In: Mienke Simon Thomas (ed.), *Voortschrijdend inzicht. Een biografie van de collectie vormgeving*. Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 2022.

Gaiger, Jason. "Intuition and Representation: Wölfflin's Fundamental Concepts of Art History." *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 73, No. 2 (Spring, 2015): 164—171. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43496557>.

Grabar, Oleg. "The Practice of Islamic Art History: Oleg Grabar." By Richard Cándida Smith. *Art History Oral Documentation Project*. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Trust, 2000. <https://archive.org/details/practiceofislami00grab/mode/1up>.

Genealogie Online. "Jan Zwartendijk (1854—1914)." Accessed 13 May 2024. <https://www.genealogieonline.nl/stamboom-driessen/l387.php>.

Genealogie Online. "Jan Zwartendijk (1896—1976)." Accessed 11 June 2024. <https://www.genealogieonline.nl/stamboom-driessen/l32088.php>.

Genealogie Online. "Johanna Cornelia "Josine" Montijn (1861—1921)." Accessed 13 May 2024. <https://www.genealogieonline.nl/stamboom-driessen/l388.php>.

Genealogie Online. "Pieter Anthonie Zwartendijk (1896—1986)." Genealogie Online. Accessed 11 June 2024. <https://www.genealogieonline.nl/stamboom-driessen/l386.php>.

Genealogie Online. "Wilhelmina Diderica Petronella Zwartendijk (1893—1894)." Accessed 11 June 2024. <https://www.genealogieonline.nl/stamboom-driessen/l32087.phpl>.

Groen, Dr. M. "University Education in the Netherlands 1815—1980: legislation and civil effect." *EUT Report*, Eindhoven University of Technology, Department of Philosophy and Social Sciences (Vol. 88, 1988). <https://research.tue.nl/files/4319940/289134.pdf>.

Halbertsma, Marlite. "De geschiedenis van de kunstgeschiedenis in Duitssprekende landen en Nederland van 1764 tot 1933." In: Marlite Halbertsma, and Kitty Zijlmans (eds.), *Gezichtspunten. Een inleiding in de methoden van de kunstgeschiedenis*. Nijmegen: Sun, 1993.

Haspels, C.H.E. "Six, Jhr. Jan (1857—1926)." *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. Accessed 14 January 2024. <https://resources.huylgens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn1/six>.

Heijbroek, J.F. "Pit, Adriaan (1860—1944)." *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. Accessed 14 January 2024. <https://resources.huylgens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn4/pit>.

Hill, Kate. "Afterword." In: *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 31 (2020): 1—5. <https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.3043>.

Hoeven, Regina van der. "Het succes van een kwaliteitskrant: de ontstaansgeschiedenis van NRC Handelsblad." PhD Diss. (Leiden: Leiden University, 2012). <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/20494>.

Hoogenboom, Annemieke. "De introductie van kunstgeschiedenis aan de Nederlandse universiteiten: de voorgeschiedenis van de leerstoel van Willem Vogelsang." In: Ton Bevers, Antoon Van den Braembussche, and Berend Jan Langenberg (eds.). *De kunstwereld. Productie, distributie en receptie in de wereld van kunst en cultuur*. Hilversum: Verloren, 1993.

Hoogenboom, Annemieke. "Kunstgeschiedenis aan de universiteit: Willem Vogelsang (1875—1954) en Wilhelm Martin (1876—1954)." In: Peter Hecht, Annemieke Hoogenboom, and Chris Stolwijk (ed.). *Kunstgeschiedenis in Nederland. Negen opstellen*. Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1998.

Hol, Wilma. "Zwartendijk, Jo. Rotterdam 21 mei 1889 – Rotterdam 27 april 1938." In: Marlite Halbertsma, and Patricia van Ulzen (eds.), *Interbellum Rotterdam. Kunst en cultuur 1918—1940*. Rotterdam: NAI Uitgevers/Stichting Kunstpublicaties, 2001.

"Hoogste eer voor Jan Zwartendijk, die duizenden Joden redde." NOS. 14 September 2023. <https://nos.nl/artikel/2490413-hoogste-eer-voor-jan-zwartendijk-die-duizenden-joden-redde>.

International Institute of Social History. "Value of the Guilder versus Euro." Accessed 16 July 2024.

<https://iisg.amsterdam/nl/onderzoek/projecten/hpw/calculate.php>.

Jaffe, H.L. "Gerhardus Knuttel Wzn ('s-Gravenhage 26 maart 1889-'s-Gravenhage 6 mei 1968)." *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (1973): 153—159.

https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_jaa003197301_01/_jaa003197301_01_0016.php.

Jong, A.A.M. de. "Gelder, Hendrik Enno van (1876—1960)." *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. Accessed 14 January 2024.

<https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn1/gelder>.

Jong, A.A.M. de. "Schmidt Degener, Frederik (1881—1941)." *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. Accessed 14 January 2024.

<https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn1/schmidt>.

Jong, A.A.M. de. "Hannema, Dirk (1895—1984)." *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. Accessed 14 January 2024.

<https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn4/hannema>.

Krul, W.E. "Müller, Julie Emma Laura Helene (1869—1939)." In: *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. Accessed 4 October 2023,

<http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn6/mueller>.

Krul, Wessel. *Hannema: Museumdirecteur. Over kunst en illusie*. Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2018.

Lippard, Lucy R. "Introduction." In: *Twenty Six Contemporary Women Artists*. Connecticut: The Aldrich Museum of Contemporary Art, 1971.

https://thealdrich.org/client-uploads/images-general/26-Women-Artists-Catalogue_small.pdf.

Manen, W.H.R. van. "Toen de Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant werd opgericht." *Rotterdamsch Jaarboekje* (Rotterdam: Stadsarchief Rotterdam, 1944): 22—42. <https://rjb.x-cago.com/GARJB/1944/12/19441231/GARJB-19441231-0086/story.pdf>.

Marcus-De Groot, Yvette. *Kunsthistorische vrouwen van weleer: de eerste generatie in Nederland vóór 1921*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2003.

Meijers, Debora. "De democratisering van schoonheid: Plannen voor museumvernieuwingen in Nederland 1918—1921." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ)* 28, Kunst en Kunstbedrijf: Nederland 1914—1940 (1977): 55—104. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/i24707405>.

Modderkolk, Linda. "Fles, Margaretha Tekla Johanna (1857—1948)." *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*. Accessed 20 January 2024.

<http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Fles>.

Modderkolk, Linda. "Peelen, Ida Caroline Eugenie (1882—1965)." *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*. Accessed 20 January 2024.

<https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Peelen>.

Molen, Dr. Joh. R. ter. *150 jaar Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen. Een reeks beeldbepalende verzamelaars*. Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen/NAI Uitgevers, 1999.

Montijn, Ileen. "Jonge, Caroline Henriette de (1886—1972)." *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*. Accessed 4 October 2023, <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Jonge>.

Mooij, Annet. "Herwerden, Marie Anne van (1874—1934)." *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*. Accessed 24 March 2024, <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Herwerden>.

Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen. "Collection." Accessed 13 June 2024, https://www.boijmans.nl/collectie/kunstwerken?range%5Baquisitiondate_year%5D=%3A1915.

Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen. "La commode (Interieur met gele deur)." Collection. Accessed 13 June 2024, https://www.boijmans.nl/collectie/kunstwerken?range%5Baquisitiondate_year%5D=%3A1915.

Naerebout, F.G., and H.W. Singor. *De oudheid. Grieken en Romeinen in de context van de wereldgeschiedenis*. Amsterdam: Ambo/Anthos B.V., 2011.

Nederlandsche Oudheidkundige Bond. *Over hervorming en beheer onzer musea*. Leiden: Stijhoff, 1918. <https://hdl.handle.net/11245/3.32998>.

Nederlands Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis. "The RKD Welcomes the Jo Zwartendijk Archive." Accessed 14 September 2023. <https://www.rkd.nl/en/the-rkd-welcomes-the-jo-zwartendijk-archive>.

Picot-Bocquillon, Sophie. "Les premières années de l'École du Louvre, 1882—1914." *Histoire de l'Art* 56 (2005): 101—109. <https://doi.org/10.3406/hista.2005.3094>.

Rijnders, Mieke, Peter de Ruiter and Jonneke Jobse (eds.). *Realisme in Nederland. Critici kiezen positie 1925—1945*. Rotterdam: nai010, 2016.

Shaw, J. Byam. "The Biron Collection of Venetian Eighteenth-Century Drawings at the Metropolitan Museum." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* Vol. 3 (1970): 235—258. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1512606>.

Soroptimist International of Europe. "About Us." Accessed 3 August 2024, <https://www.soroptimisteurope.org/about-us/who-we-are/>.

Steen, Agnes van. "Openbare hogere burgerscholen in Leiden: jongens en meisjes beginnen gescheiden," *Leids Jaarboekje* 94 (2002): 83—18.

Stolwijk, Chris. 'Die wetenschap noemen Gij en ik kunstgeschiedenis;...' *Denken over kunstgeschiedenis in Nederland: J.G. van Gelder (1903—1980)*. Amsterdam: Van Kerkvoorde & Hollander B.V., 1991.

Stolwijk, Chris. "J.G. van Gelder." In: Peter Hecht, Annemieke Hoogenboom, and Chris Stolwijk (eds.), *Kunstgeschiedenis in Nederland. Negen opstellen*. Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1998.

Thomas, Mienke Simon, ed. *Voortschrijdend inzicht. Een biografie van de collectie vormgeving*. Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 2022.

Tibbe, Lieske. *Verstrengeling van traditie en vernieuwing. Kunstkritiek in Nederland tijdens het fin de siècle 1885—1905*. Rotterdam: nai010, 2014.

Vivet-Pecllet, Christine. "Leprieur, Paul." Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art. Accessed 10 July 2024. <https://www.inha.fr/fr/ressources/publications/publications-numeriques/dictionnaire-critique-des-historiens-de-l-art/leprieur-paul.html>.

Vree, Frank van. "Hoeven, Johannes Theodorus van der (1872—1955)." *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. Accessed 20 June 2024. <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn4/hoeven>.

Vries, Jan de, and Marijke de Groot. *Van sintels vuurwerk maken. Kunstkritiek en moderne kunst 1905—1925*. Rotterdam: nai010, 2015.

Zhou, Ying. "L'enseignement de l'histoire de l'art à l'école secondaire sous la IIIe République française." Paris: Université Panthéon-Sobronne, 2021. <https://theses.hal.science/tel-03443692>.

Appendices

Appendix I. Women Art Historians Working in the Dutch Museum Field

| NAME | MARITAL STATUS | MUSEUM | FUNCTION | SALARY | PERIOD |
|--|-------------------|---|---|--|-----------|
| Marie Goverdina Antonia de Man (1855—1944) | Unmarried | Koninklijk Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen, Middelburg | Curator of Numismatic Cabinet | Unknown | 1889—1933 |
| Ida Carolina Eugenie Peelen (1882—1965) | Unmarried | Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam | Assistant at Nederlands Museum voor Geschiedenis en Kunst | <i>Volontaire</i> | 1906—1908 |
| | | Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam | Assistant at Rijksprentenkabinet | <i>Volontaire</i> | 1908—1912 |
| Laurentia Clara Elisabeth Engelen (1879—1956) | Married (in 1939) | Stedelijk Museum van Zutphen en de Graafschap | Director-Curator in Numismatic Cabinet | Salaried (fifty guilders a year) | 1910—1937 |
| Elisabeth Henrica Korevaar-Hesseling (1887—1970) | Married (in 1913) | Nederlands Museum voor Geschiedenis en Kunst, Amsterdam | Assistant at Rijksprentenkabinet | <i>Volontaire</i> | 1909—1912 |
| Johanna Petronella Josepha Brants (1875—1961) | Unmarried | Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden | Assistant in Classical Archaeology | <i>Volontaire</i> | 1911—1915 |
| | | Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden | Curator in Classical Archaeology | <i>Volontaire</i> Salaried (from 1927 onwards) | 1915—1933 |

| | | | | | |
|--|-----------|---|-------------------------------------|---|---------------|
| Aletta Elisabeth Cornelia van der Looy van der Leeuw (1880—1976) | Unmarried | Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam | Assistant in Decorative Arts | <i>Volontaire</i> | 1911—1925 |
| Wilhelmina Jeanne Sibylla van Alphen (1882—1964) | Unmarried | Stedelijk Museum van Zutphen en de Graafschap | Assistant in Numismatic Cabinet | <i>Volontaire</i> | 1912—1937 |
| Ima (J.M.) Blok (1883—1951) | Unmarried | Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam | Assistant in Decorative Arts | <i>Volontaire</i> Salaried (from 1919 onwards) | 1912—ca. 1951 |
| Elisabeth Neurdenberg (1882—1957) | Unmarried | Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam | Assistant in Decorative Arts | Salaried (1200 guilders a year) | 1912—1918 |
| Alida Jozina (Jo) Zwartendijk (1889—1938) | Unmarried | Museum Boymans, Rotterdam | Assistant in Paintings and Drawings | <i>Volontaire</i> | 1915—1916 |
| | | Museum Boymans, Rotterdam | Assistant in Decorative Arts | <i>Volontaire</i> Salaried (from 1917 onwards) | 1916—1920 |

Appendix II. Bibliography of Jo Zwartendijk (1889—1938)

1914

Zwartendijk, J. "De Lichamelijke schoonheid der vrouw. Een lezing van Mevrouw Doctor Bess. M. Mensendieck." *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek. Weekblad voor de ontwikkelde vrouw* 1, No. 10 (1914).

Zwartendijk, J. "Kleding Mensendieck?." *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek. Weekblad voor de ontwikkelde vrouw* 1, No. 11 (1914).

Zwartendijk, J. "Volkspetitionnement voor Grondwettelijke gelijkstelling van man en vrouw." *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek. Weekblad voor de ontwikkelde vrouw* 1, No. 12 (1914).

Zwartendijk, J. "Vrouwenkiesrecht." *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek. Weekblad voor de ontwikkelde vrouw* 1, No. 18 (1914).

Zwartendijk, J. "Het 30-jarig Jubileum van Anna Sblairolles." *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek. Weekblad voor de ontwikkelde vrouw* 1, No. 19 (1914).

Zwartendijk, J. "Tweede Belgische Salon." *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek. Weekblad voor de ontwikkelde vrouw* 1, No. 20 (1914).

Zwartendijk, J. "Feuilleton. In de wachtkamer van een Tandarts." *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek. Weekblad voor de ontwikkelde vrouw* 1, No. 20 (1914).

Zwartendijk, J. "Een nieuw tijdschrift." *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek. Weekblad voor de ontwikkelde vrouw* 1, No. 23 (1914).

Zwartendijk, J. "Rotterdamsch Tooneelgezelschap. Zijn Heilige van Mevrouw J. van Ammers-Küller." *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek. Weekblad voor de ontwikkelde vrouw* 1, No. 26 (1914).

Zwartendijk, J. "Bij Top Naeff." *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek. Weekblad voor de ontwikkelde vrouw* 1, No. 31 (March 1914).

Zwartendijk, J. "Over 't waardeeren van een stijl." *De Haagsche Vrouwenkroniek. Weekblad voor de ontwikkelde vrouw* 1, No. 38 (1914).

1915

Zwartendijk, J. "Een 'Le Nain' in het museum Boymans." *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 26 (June, 2015): 21—27.

1916

Zwartendijk, J. "De Frans Hals van Akersloot." *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 15 (1916): 135—136.

Zwartendijk, J. "Kunstveilingen." *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 15 (1916): 58—59.

1917

Zwartendijk, J. "Musea & Verzamelingen. Rotterdam. Museum Boymans." *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 16 (1917): 133—138.

Zwartendijk, J. "Kunstveilingen. Frederik Muller & Co., Amsterdam." *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 16 (1917): 138—140.

Zwartendijk, J. "Musea & Verzamelingen. Rotterdam. Museum Boymans." *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 16 (1917): 64—65.

1918

Zwartendijk, J. "Musea & Verzamelingen. Den Haag. Mauritshuis." *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 17 (1918): 26.

Zwartendijk, J. "Kunstveilingen. Nalatenschap Theo van Hoytema. Nalatenschap Ch. Van Wijk. Verzameling de San, uit Brussel." *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 17 (1918): 49—51.

Zwartendijk, J. "Kunstveilingen. Amsterdam. Veiling Muller & Co." *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 17 (1918): 80—81.

Zwartendijk, J. "Kunstveilingen. Veilingen bij de firma's Mak, Kleykamp, Frederik Muller & Co." *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 17 (1918): 63—65.

Zwartendijk, J. "Indrukken van de tentoonstelling 'Kunstnijverheid en Volkskunst' te Rotterdam, April-Mei 1918." *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 17 (May, 1918): 77—83.

Zwartendijk, J. "Sterfgevallen. C.L. Dake; Albert Hahn †." *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 17 (1918): 139—140.

Zwartendijk, J. "Jean Baptiste Greuze 1725—1805." *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 28 (November, 1918): 287—296.

1919

Zwartendijk, J. "Kunstveilingen. Najaarsveilingen." *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 18 (1919): 53—56.

Zwartendijk, J. "Kunstveilingen." *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 18 (1919): 83—84.

Zwartendijk, J. "Kunstveilingen. Amsterdam." *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 18 (1919): 155—157.

Zwartendijk, J. "Constisch glaswerk te Rotterdam." *Rotterdams Jaarboekje* 7 (1919): 45—56.

1920

1921

1922

Zwartendijk, J. "Rotterdam. Museum Boymans" *Onze Kunst. Geïllustreerd maandschrift voor beeldende en decoratieve kunsten* 20—21 (1922): 46—48.

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaan kondiging. Kurt Pfister, Van Eyck." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (25 November 1922).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. De verzameling Bredius." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 December 1922).

1923

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Dr. Friedrich Markus Huebner, Moderne Kunst in Holl. Sammlungen," *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (6 January 1923).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Titia Easton – C. Easton, Italiaansche reisindrukken." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 January 1923).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Lothar Brieger, Das Genrebild (I)." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 February 1923).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Lothar Brieger, Das Genrebild (II)." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (3 March 1923).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Junge Kunst. H. von Wedderkop, Paul Cézanne, H. Kolle, Henri Rousseau." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 March 1923).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. J. Godefroy, Handboek voor Kunstgeschiedenis; Jac. Rijkse en J. van Breen, Geschiedenis der Beeldende Kunst," *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (7 April 1923).

Zwartendijk, J. "Een tentoonstelling te Parijs. Paul Gauguin." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 May 1923).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Dr. Frans Dülberg, Vom Goiste der deutschen Malerei," *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (5 May 1923).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. E.H. Korevaar-Hesseling, Kunstgeschiedenis (I)," *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 May 1923).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. E.H. Korevaar-Hesseling, Kunstgeschiedenis (II)," *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (19 May 1923).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Edmond Haraucourt, L'histoire de la France Expliqués du Musée de Cluny. (Larousse, Paris.)" *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (2 June 1923).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. H.B. Cotterill, Italië in de Middeleeuwen (Vert.)" *Nieuwe*

Rotterdamse Courant (23 June 1923).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Maurice Raynal, Picasso." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 September 1923).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. J. Godefroy, A.P. Oosterhof, Kunnen en Weten-serie." (8 September 1923).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. August L. Mayer, Mittelalterliche Plastik in Italien." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (29 September 1923).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Peter Mennicken, Die Seele des Aachener Münsters," *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (6 October 1923).

Zwartendijk, J. "Versieringen in het Rotterdamse stadhuis." *De Groene Amsterdammer* (13 October 1923).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Dr. G. Brom, Barok en Romantiek," *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 December 1923).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. E. Kalshoven-Biermans, Schimmen uit Weimar," *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (8 December 1923).

1924

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. J. Gauthier, Histoire de l'Ornement," *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (5 January 1924).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Hugo van der Goes," *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 January 1924).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Fritz Mielert, Niedersachsen," *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (9 February 1924).

Zwartendijk, J. "Reisfragmenten I." *De Amsterdammer* (16 February 1924).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. L. Vaillat et P. Rátouis de Limay. J.B. Perronneau. Sa vie et son oeuvre." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 February 1924).

Zwartendijk, J. "Reisfragmenten II." *De Amsterdammer* (8 March 1924).

Zwartendijk, J. "Reisfragmenten III." *De Amsterdammer* (15 March 1924).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Oskar Beyer, Norddeutsche Gotische Malerei." *Nieuwe*

Rotterdamse Courant (24 May 1924).

Zwartendijk, J. "Letteren en Kunst. Een Museum te Haastrecht." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 June 1924).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Albert Rutherson, Contemporary British Artists." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 September 1924).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Ernst Kühnel, Maurische Kunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (18 October 1924).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Ernest van der Hallen, Stille uren bij primitieve meesters." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (8 November 1924).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. St. Kramrisch, Indische Kunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 November 1924).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. G.J. Hoogewerff, Gerrit van Honthorst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 December 1924).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Ludwig Coellen, Ueber die Methode der Kunstgeschichte. Eine geschichtsphilosophische Untersuchung." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 December 1924).

1925

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Huib Luns, Rembrandtiana." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (14 March 1925).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Dr. G. van Hoorn, Kretische kunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 March 1925).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Ernst Kühnel, Islamische Kleinkunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (28 March 1925).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Walter Cohen, Hundert Jahre Rheinischer Malerei; Max Creutz, Deutsche Volkskunst. Die Rheinlande." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 April 1925).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Fritz Kunz und Heinrich Federer. Der Heilige Franz von Assisi." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (11 April 1925).

Zwartendijk, J. "F. Dülberg, Deutsche Malerei." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 May 1925).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Francis Carco, Le Nu dans la Peinture Moderne (I)." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 May 1925).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Francis Carco, Le Nu dans la Peinture Moderne (II)." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 July 1925).

Zwartendijk, J. "Nieuws over Musea te Praag" *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* 2, No. 7 (July, 1925): 203—206.

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. A.E. Brinckmann, Spätwerke Grosser Meister; Romain Rolland, Het Leven van Michel Angelo (vert.)." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (29 August 1925).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. De Renaissance." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 September 1925).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Léon Werth, Danse; Panais Istrati, Présentation des Haidoucs." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 September 1925).

Zwartendijk, J. "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Lezing Cornelis Veth." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 October 1925).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Muchall-Viebrook, Barock." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (31 October 1925).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Adolph Donath, Technik des Kunstsammeln." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (14 November 1925).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Ed. des Courières, Van Dongen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (28 November 1925).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Dr. C. E. Hooykaas, Christus bij Rembrandt." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 December 1925).

1926

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. H. Kröller-Müller, Moderne Schilderkunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 January 1926).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Karlinger, Bayern; Gröber Schwaben." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 February 1902).

Zwartendijk, J. "H. Beenken, Bildwerke des Bamberger Domes

aus dem XIII Jahrhundert; Dr. H. Kunze, Die Gotische Sculptur in Mittel-Deutschland." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 February 1926).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. René Bizet, L'Art Français depuis vingt ans. La Mode." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 March 1926).

Zwartendijk, J. "Louis Raemakers." *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 36 (1926): 48—49.

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. P.I. Duchartre, Mittelalterliche Plastik in Frankreich." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (17 April 1926).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Pflsler, Rembrandt; Weinberger, Ruisdael." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 June 1926).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Ritz, Volkskunst, Franken." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (19 June 1926).

Zwartendijk, J. "Dr. E. Benkard, Bernini." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (3 July 1926).

Zwartendijk, J. "Een verscholen hoek van het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam." *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* 3, No. 8 (7 August 1926): 241—246.

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Dr. Ernst Benkard, Meister der Plastik." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 September 1926).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. P. Istrati, Domnita de Snagov." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 October 1926).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. E. Brinckmann, Barock Bozzetti." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 November 1926).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. I. de Bruijn, Rembrandt's Etsen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 December 1926).

Zwartendijk, J. "Jan Wittenberg." *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* 3, No. 12 (7 December 1926): 359—363.

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Dr. R. Miedema, Albrecht Dürer en de Reformatie." (24 December 1926).

1927

Zwartendijk, J. "Gustave van de Woestijne in den Rotterdamse Kunstkring." *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 37 (1927): 383—386.

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Nicolo Pisano, Georg Swarzenski. Meister der Plastik." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (8 January 1927).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. A. Rumann, Rembrandt. A. v. Schenider, Van Dijk." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (15 January 1927).

Zwartendijk, J. "Chineesche Kunst. F.E. Visser, The Exhibition of Chinese Art. Amsterdam, 1925." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 February 1927).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Kandinsky – Punkt und Linie zu Fläche." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (19 February 1927).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Städel-Jahrbuch 1927." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 February 1927).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Henri Clouzot, La Manufacture de Jouy et la Toile Imprimée au XVIIIe Siècle." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (5 March 1927).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Elisa Maillard, Décor, Intérieur et Meubles." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 March 1927).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Pinder, Problem der Generation." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (2 April 1927).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Elisa Maillard, L'Eglise de Saint-Savin sur Gartempe." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 April 1927).

Zwartendijk, J. "Verscheidenheden. De Kerk van Saint Savin." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 April 1927).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. L. Deltiel, Maitres de l'Art Moderne." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (2 July 1927).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Pierre Olmer. La Renaissance du Mobilier Français." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 July 1927).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Etienne Deville, La Ceramique du Pays d'Auge." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 August 1927).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Ed. Sarradin. Carpeaux, Maîtres de l'Art Moderne." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (10 September 1927).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Le Fauconnier. Introduction de Jules Romains. "L'Art et La Vie."" *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (17 September 1927).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Uitgaven van de Vereeniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst. No. 3. Chineesche Kunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (8 October 1927).

Zwartendijk, J. "Dr. P. F. Schmidt, Kunst der Gegenwart." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (15 October 1927).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Georges Lecomte, Maitres de l'Art Moderne, Rafaelli." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (29 October 1927).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Joh. J. G. Temme, De ontwikkeling der beeldende kunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (7 December 1927).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Henri Focillon, La Peinture au XIXe Siècle. Le Retour a l'Antique – Le Romantisme." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (24 December 1927).

1928

Zwartendijk, J. "W. Hussem in den Rotterdamschen Kunstkring." *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 38 (1928): 295-296.

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Een zeldzame uitgave. J.B. de la Faille, L'oeuvre de Vincent van Gogh. Catalogue raisonné, Tome I et II." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (2 February 1928).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Edouard Michel, La Peinture au Musée du Louvre, Ecole Flamande." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (25 February 1928).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Clotilde Brière-Misme, La Peinture Hillandaise." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (28 February 1928).

Zwartendijk, J. "Oude kunst in het Museum Boymans." *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* 5, No. 3 (1928).

Zwartendijk, J. "Dr. A. J. Domela Nieuwenhuis." *De Groene Amsterdammer* (7 April 1928).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Maitres de l'Art Moderne. Arsène Alexandre, Daumier." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (25 May 1928).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Maitres de l'Art Moderne. Arsène Alexandre, Louise C. Breslaü; Philippe Soupault, William Blake." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (25 May 1928).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Proix, Un Mysticisme Esthétique. Quaterzième cahier de la dix-huitième série pour le Centenaire de la Naissance de Dante-Gabriel Rosset." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (25 May 1928).

Zwartendijk, J. "Aanwinsten van het Museum Boymans." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (4 June 1928).

Zwartendijk, J. "Het veranderde Museum Cluny te Parijs." *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* 5, No. 6 (1928).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Pierre Frederix, Goya." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (6 July 1928).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. P. Schommer, L'Art Décoratif au Temps du Romantisme." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (7 July 1928).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Een zeldzame uitgave. J.B. de la Faille, L'Oeuvre de Vincent van Gogh. Catalogue raisonné. Tome III et IV." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (11 July 1928).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. J. F. van Deene, Ingres en Delacroix; W.J. Steenhoff, Corot en Courbet; Prof. R. N. Roland Holst, Chassériau en Puvis de Chavannes." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (27 July 1928).

Zwartendijk, J. "Fransche kunstnijverheid op de Rotterdamsche Nenyto." *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* 5, No. 8 (1928).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. W. Jos de Gruyter, Cézanne en Renoir; Kasper Niehaus, Daumier en Millet; Kasper niehaus, Gauguin en Rousseau." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (8 August 1928).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Adrien Blanchet, La Mosaïque." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (10 August 1928).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. P. de Lapparent, Toulouse-Lautrec." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (28 August 1928).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Paul Gsell, Millet." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (3 October 1928).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Julius Meier-Graefe, Vincent van Gogh. Der Zeichner." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (16 November 1928).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Raymond Régamey, Prud'hon; P. du Colombier, Decamps; Charles Oulmont, Les Femmes Peintres du Dix-Huitième Siècle." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (7 December 1928).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Huib Luns, Tien Wandelingen in Florence." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (24 December 1928).

Zwartendijk, J. "Vincent van Gogh. J.B. de la Faille, L'Oeuvre de Vincent van Gogh. Supplément aux Tomes et II." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (25 December 1928).

1929

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Gotthard Jedlicka, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (8 February 1929).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Karl Blossfeldt, Urformen der Kunst. Einleitung von Karl Nierendorf." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (8 March 1929).

Zwartendijk, J. "Een kapittel uit de geschiedenis van het glas." *Jaarboek Vereeniging van de Nederlandsche Wijnhandelaars* (1929): 106—146.

Zwartendijk, J. "Tijdschriften. "Wendingen", No. 9 en 10 van de 9^{de} serie." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (16 March 1929).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Louis Pierard, Vincent, een kunstenaarsleven." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (30 March 1929).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. K.H. de Haas, Een meetkundige reconstructie van het oorspronkelijke formaat van Rembrandts Nachtwacht." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (12 April 1929).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Louis Cario, Eugène Boudin; Charles Fegdal, Odilon Redon." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (8 May 1929).

Zwartendijk, J. "Werk van Johan de Vries in Huize van Hasselt, Rotterdam." *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 39 (1929): 434—435.

Zwartendijk, J. "Wijzigingen in Onzen Smaak. Naar aanleiding van de tentoonstelling van Hollandsche Kunst, te Londen gehouden." *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 39 (1929): 385—393.

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Henri Focillon, La peinture aux XI^e et XX^e siècles. Du réalisme a nos jours." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (5 June 1929).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Huib Luns, Tien wandelingen in Gent, Brugge en Antwerpen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 July 1929).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. A.M. de Jong, De Beeldhouwer Adrianus Remiens." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 July 1929).

Zwartendijk, J. "Tijdschriften. Wendingen (No. 1 van de tiende serie, 1929). Gewijd aan Beeldhouwwerk van Ossip Zadkine." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 August 1929).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Han Krug, Stille plekjes. Twaalf houtsneden." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (29 August 1929).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Anton Springer, Kunstgeschichte. Band VI. Die Ausser-Europäische Kunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (17 October 1929).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Armand Fourredu, Les Clouet." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 October 1929).

Zwartendijk, J. "Théâtre Pigalle te Parijs." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 October 1929).

Zwartendijk, J. "Dr. Gregor Krause." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (9 November 1929).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Vincent Cleerdin, Vincent van Gogh en Brabant." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (15 November 1929).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Archives de l'art français. Ch. Maumonte et L. D'Harcourt, Iconographie des Rois de France." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 November 1929).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Huib Luns, Tien wandelingen in Venetië, Ravenna en Padua."

Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant (19 December 1929).

Zwartendijk, J. "Paul Colin, Eugène Laermans." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 December 1929).

1930

Zwartendijk, J. "Les Faux Van Gogh." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (15 February 1930).

Zwartendijk, J. "Eugène Delacroix in het Louvre-museum." *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 40 (1930): 136—139.

Zwartendijk, J. "Museum Boymans." *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 40 (1930): 218—219.

Zwartendijk, J. "Beeldhouwwerk van Toma Rosandić in den Rotterdamse Kunstkring." *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 40 (1930): 219—221.

1931

Zwartendijk, J. "Beelden van John Raedeker. Nieuwe gebouw "Unilever"." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 March 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "Plastische kunsten. Rotterdamse Kunstkring. H. Chabot." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 March 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "Huize van Hasselt. Aardewerk van Chris Lanooy. Aquarellen van A. Stalh." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 March 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. Boekaankondiging. Dr. H. Th. Bossert, Geschichte der Kunstgewerbes. Band 4." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 March 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "'Pictura" te Dordrecht. A. Derksen van Angeren en D.J. Koets." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 March 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "'Pictura" te Dordrecht. A. Derksen van Angeren en D.J. Koets." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 March 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "Plastische kunsten. Huize van Hasselt. W. Schuhmacher." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (2 April 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "Plastische Kunsten. Rotterdamse Kring. Reclame-drukwerk en foto's." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (10 April 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "Plastische Kunsten. Rotterdamse Kring.

Radda." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 April 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "Uitgaven Rieder (Parijs). Een nieuw boek over Jongkind." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (15 April 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "Oude Raadhuis. Willem van Schaik." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (28 April 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Werk van Ieden." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (2 May 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "Plastische kunsten. Zaal Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Peter en Nikola Dobrovic." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (3 May 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "Plastische kunsten. Zaal Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Peter en Nikola Dobrovic." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (5 May 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. A. de Ridder, James Ensor. Maîtres de l'Art Moderne." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (6 May 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "De Parijsche Orangerie." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 May 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "Veilingen. Van Marie en de Sille." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 May 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "Huize van Hasselt. August Gaul." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 May 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "'De Distel'. Paul Dresler." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 May 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "Plastische kunsten. Teekeningen van Fragonard." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (17 May 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "Kunst en Letteren. Fragonard's Charme." *De Telegraaf* (22 May 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "Genootschap Nederland-Frankrijk. Vijftiende jaarlijksche vergadering." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (17 May 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "Rotterdamse Academie. Dr. R.S. Bakels." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 May 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "Hotel Central (Kunsthandel van Eyk). Jan Sirks." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 May 1931).

Zwartendijk, J. "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. H.F. Bieling." *Nieuwe*

- Rotterdamsche Courant* (24 May 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Huize van Hasselt. Affiches van Cassandre." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* 24 May 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Eckhart's Meubelfabriek. Marius Richters." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (30 May 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Algemeene Kunsthandel. Anthon P. Schotel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (30 May 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Huis Lambert van Meerten. Kunstkring "Delft"." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (3 June 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Pictura te Dordrecht. M. Adamse." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (6 June 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Letteren en Kunst. Zaal Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Zweedsche Huisvlijt." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (13 June 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Plastische kunsten. Huize van Hasselt. Greta Bruigom." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (13 June 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Ons Huis. Kunst in Huis." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (14 June 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Zweedsche Huisvlijt. Zaal Rotterdamsche Kunstkring." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (14 June 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Plastische kunsten. Boekaankondiging. Cardona. Vie de Jean Boldini." (30 June 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. G. de Vianna Kelsch. Canon Tiburtius." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (3 July 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Plastische kunsten. Huize van Hasselt. Ernestine Lechner-Oosterman; Cosson." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (4 July 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Plastische kunsten. Algemeene Kunsthandel. F. Nachtweg en C. Pouderoen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (11 July 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Mededeelingen betreffende een Concertgebouw." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (11 July 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Feuilleton. Een cultureel gebouw te Rotterdam?" *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (12 July 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Lucien Jottrand. Rodolphe Wytsman, 1860—1927." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (18 July 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Huize van Hasselt. J. Lodeizen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (19 July 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Algemeene Kunsthandel. J.H. van Mastenbroek." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (4 August 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Plastische kunsten. Serie: Architecture et Arts décoratifs." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (11 August 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Plastische kunsten. Boekaankondiging. Jozef Muls, Bruegel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (28 August 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Het Grotius-raam. Het raam van Joep Nicolas in de Nieuwe Kerk te Delft." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (29 August 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Albert Helman, Overwintering." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (29 August 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Plastische kunsten. Algemeene Kunsthandel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (4 September 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Kunsthandel Vaarties. XVII-de eeuwse schilderijen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (10 September 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. M.J. Richters." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (15 September 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Huize van Hasselt. Paul Schultze." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (18 September 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Kurt Erich Simon, Jacob van Ruisdael. Eine Darstellung seinen Entwicklung." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (23 September 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. L.W. Rochowanski. Ein Führer Durch das Oesterreichische Kunstgewerbe." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (24 September 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Plastische kunsten. Rotterdamsche Kring. W. Bosma." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (26 September 1931).
- Anonymous. "Ons Huis. "Kunst in Huis."" *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (27 September 1931).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. M. Adamse." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (3 October 1931).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger & Van Mens. Moderne grafische kunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (10 October 1931).
- Anonymous. "Huize van Hasselt. C. Timmer." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (4 October 1931).
- Anonymous. "Huize van Hasselt. Charley Toorop." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (10 October 1931).
- Anonymous. "Algemeene Kunsthandel. Joh. D. Hendriks." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (17 October 1931).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Pottenbakkerswerk van Lea H. Halpern." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (18 October 1931).
- Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Toon Kelder." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (18 October 1931).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kring." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (18 October 1931).
- Anonymous. "Pulchri Studio te 's-Gravenhage. Belgische beeldende kunst van de laatste honderd jaren." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (20 October 1931).
- Anonymous. "Kon. Kunstzaal Kleykamp. Emil Rizek." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (22 October 1931).
- Anonymous. "De Distel. A. Derkzen van Angeren." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (23 October 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Rotterdamsche Kring. Pyke Koch, Kor Postma en A.C. Willink." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (24 October 1931).
- Anonymous. "Nieuwe Toonkamers voor Kunstnijverheid. De Trekvogels." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (29 October 1931).
- Anonymous. "Isaac Israëls en O. Wenkebach." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (1 November 1931).
- Anonymous. "Algemeene Kunsthandel. A.J. van 't Hoff." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (6 November 1931).

- Anonymous. "Veiling van Marle en de Sillie. Atelier A.H.R. van Maasdijk." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (8 November 1931).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. De Distel. A.D. Copier en C. Moser." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (8 November 1931).
- Anonymous. "Huize van Hasselt. R. Kimpe." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (11 November 1931).
- Anonymous. "Huize Schwagermann te Schiedam. Emil Rizek." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 November 1931).
- Anonymous. "'De Beiaard' te Schiedam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 November 1931).
- Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Lod. Sengers." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (15 November 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Paul Citroen, Palet." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (17 November 1931).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Meesterwerken der Fransche en Hollandsche Schilderkunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 November 1931).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Ernst en Karin Leyden." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (28 November 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Corn. Van der Sluys, Onze woning en haar inrichting." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (28 November 1931).
- Anonymous. "Le Corbusier." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (28 November 1931).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kring. Alliance Polonaise." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (29 November 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. De Nederlandsche landschapskunst tot het einde der zeventiende eeuw." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (2 December 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Hendrik W. van Loon. Rembrandt van Rijn." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (2 December 1931).
- Anonymous. "Huize van Hasselt." Teekeningen Rodolphe Bresdin." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (5 December 1931).
- Anonymous. "Huize Schwagermann te Schiedam. Móric Gábor." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (11 December 1931).
- Anonymous. "Algemeene Kunsthandel. G.F. van Schagen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 December 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Duitse Letteren. Lothar Briegel, Die Groszen Kunstsammler." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 December 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Leo de Laforge, Vincent. De roman van een genie; Alfred Bader, Kunstler-Tragik. Karl Stauffer, Vincent van Gogh." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 December 1931).
- Anonymous. "Moderne bouwkunst te Parijs. De Corbusier uitgefloten. Een architectonisch Trocadéro. Reactionnaire jeugd bij de aankomende architecten." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (18 December 1931).
- Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Werken van leden." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 December 1931).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Joep Nicolas." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 December 1931).
- Anonymous. "Academie van Beeldende Kunsten en Technische Wetenschappen. Architectuur van Frank Lloyd Wright; Moderne foto's; Schilderwerk en beeldhouwwerk van Rotterdammers." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (25 December 1931).
- Anonymous. "Huize van Hasselt. Schilderijen, teekeningen en grafische kunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (25 December 1931).
- Anonymous. "Clubhuis, Volksuniversiteit. Kersttentoonstelling I." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (25 December 1931).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Volks-Universiteit. Kersttentoonstelling in het Clubhuis, II." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 December 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Nieuws uit Rotterdam." *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 41 (1931): 162—166.
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Huib Luns. Tweede tien wandelingen in Rome." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 December 1931).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Het Rotterdam van nu en de plastische kunsten." In: H.A. Meerum Terwogt, and H. Vlug (eds.), *Het boek van Rotterdam. 'Wat niet in Baedeker staat.'* Amsterdam: A.J.G. Strengholt, 1931: 78—95.

1932

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Theo van Gogh. Lettres à son frère Vincent." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (9 January 1932).

Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Volksuniversiteit. Tentoonstelling Zuid-Afrika, in het Clubhuis." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (10 January 1932).

Anonymous. "Le Corbusier. Eerste lezing te Rotterdam. La révolution architecturale fermentée par les techniques modernes." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 January 1932).

Zwartendijk, J. "Letteren en Kunst. Le Corbusier. Lezing Nutszaal." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 January 1932).

Zwartendijk, J. "Letteren en Kunst. Le Corbusier. Tweede lezing Nutszaal te Rotterdam. La révolution architecturale fermentée par les techniques modernes." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (14 January 1932).

Anonymous. "Huize van Hasselt. Schilderijen, teekeningen en grafische kunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (14 January 1932).

Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. A. Rassenfosse en O. Jordan." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 January 1932).

Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Grafische werken." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 January 1932).

Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Advies-Reclamebureau 'Adrebu'. Agnes Canta." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 January 1932).

Anonymous. "Kunsthandel A. de Haan. Jack Hamel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 January 1932).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. August L. Mayer, El Greco; Jean Cassou, El Greco." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (29 January 1932).

Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Gino

- Severini." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 January 1932).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. De Bijenkorf te Rotterdam. Internationale schilderijententoonstelling van modern meesters." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (31 January 1932).
- Anonymous. "Huize Van Hasselt. M.J. Richters en S.L. Schwarz." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (6 February 1932).
- Anonymous. "De Bijenkorf te Rotterdam. Internationale schilderijententoonstelling van moderne meesters I." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (6 February 1932).
- Anonymous. "De Bijenkorf te Rotterdam. Internationale schilderijententoonstelling van moderne meesters II." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 February 1932).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Kring. Paul Citroen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 February 1932).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger & Van Mens. I. Ryback." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 February 1932).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamers De Distel. Jan Wittenberg." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 February 1932).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel De Haan. Frans Bakker." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 February 1932).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Bibliothèque Nationale te Parijs. Expositie Pisanello." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (5 March 1932).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. "Kunst in Huis" (in Ons Huis). J. Proost en A. Schotel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 March 1932).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Letteren en Kunst. Johan Thorn Prikker †." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (7 March 1932).
- Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Nieuwste werken van Jan Sluyters." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (10 March 1932).
- Anonymous. "Boekaankondiging. Omnibus, Almanach für das Jahr 1932." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 March 1932).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. J. Lodeizen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 March 1932).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Dirk Nijland, De Zuiderzeewerken. Een schetsboek." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 March 1932).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Algemeene Kunsthandel. Larensche kunstschilders." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (19 March 1932).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Cornelis Veth, Schoon schip! Expertise naar echtheid en onechtheid inzake Vincent van Gogh." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (19 March 1932).
- Anonymous. "Lommerrijk, Hillegersberg. Kees de Voogt." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (2 April 1932).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. L. Bolle." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (2 April 1932).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthistorische uitgaven van de firma Rieder te Parijs." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (2 April 1932).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzaal Pictura. C.G. Verburgt-Kramres." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (9 April 1932).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Esher Surrey. Charles Eyck, Karin Eyck, Vincent Korda." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (9 April 1932).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamers "De Distel". G. van Duffelen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (9 April 1932).
- Anonymous. "Rijksseruminrichting. Glasraam, ontwerp Jac. Jongert." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 April 1932).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger & Van Mens. J.H. Speenhoff." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 April 1932).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Marc Chagall." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 April 1932).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Veilingen. A. Mak te Dordrecht." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 April 1932).
- Anonymous. "Zuiderkerk te Rotterdam. Nieuwe gebrandschilderde ramen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 May 1932).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamers "De Distel". Aart Bijl." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (8 May 1932).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Walter Vaes; Rik Wouters." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 May 1932).
- Anonymous. "De Bijenkorf te Rotterdam. Felix Timmermans." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 May 1932).
- Anonymous. "Crisis-tentoonstelling van de Rotterdamse Kunstenaarsociëteit. Gebouw Westersingel, hoek Nieuwe Binnenweg." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (14 May 1932).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Meesterwerken der Fransche schilderkunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (14 May 1932).
- Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Crisistentoonstelling." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 May 1932).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamer Donker. Cor Vons." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 May 1932).
- Anonymous. "'Kunst in Huis". Ons Huis." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 May 1932).
- Anonymous. "Veilingen. Van Marie en De Sille." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (10 June 1932).
- Anonymous. "Glasraam in de Noorderkerk." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (10 June 1932).
- Anonymous. "Algemeene Kunsthandel. Walther Illner en C. Vreedenburg." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (11 June 1932).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Huib Luns, Spaansche schilders." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 June 1932).
- Anonymous. "Ivan Mestrovic." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (3 June 1932).
- Anonymous. "François Boucher. Tentoonstelling in het Hôtel Jean Charpentier." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 June 1932).
- Anonymous. "Pablo Picasso. Kunsthandel Georges Petit." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (29 June 1932).
- Anonymous. "Pulchri Studio te 's-Gravenhage. Oorlogstaferelen van L. Sologob." *Nieuwe*

Rotterdamsche Courant (29 June 1932).
 Anonymous. "Bronzen en ivoren voorwerpen uit Benin. Ethnografisch Museum (Trocadéro) te Parijs." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (30 June 1932).
 Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. W. Scherjon: Catalogue des Tableaux par Vincent van Gogh décrits dans ses lettres. Périodes St. Rémy et Auvers sur Oise." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (24 November 1932).

1933

Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Opening Tentoonstelling Kinderportretten." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (19 February 1933).
 Anonymous. "Ons Huis. Kunst in Huis." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (25 February 1933).
 Anonymous. "Toonkamer A. Donker. Teekeningen van Jos. H. Gosschalk." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (25 February 1933).
 Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Jubileum-tentoonstelling. Portretten van Rotterdamsche kinderen I." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (26 February 1933).
 "Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Jubileum-tentoonstelling. Portretten van Rotterdamsche kinderen II." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (2 March 1933).
 Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. De Brug." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (4 March 1933).
 Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Eurythmische kunst. Ons Huis." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (8 March 1933).
 Anonymous. "Vereeniging "Voor de Kunst" te Middelburg. Eere-tentoonstelling van werk van wijlen W.J. Schütz." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (9 March 1933).
 Anonymous. "Studio '32 te Rotterdam. Johan Dijkstra." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (11 March 1933).
 Anonymous. "Toonzalen W. van Yperen te Hillegersberg. M.J. Richteres, H.F. Bieling en Jaap Gidding." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (11 March 1933).
 Anonymous. "Nieuwe reproductie naar een portret van den Prins van

Oranje." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (18 March 1933).
 Anonymous. "Toonkamer A. Donker. Joh. Ph. I. Ridder en W. Hardenberg." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (18 March 1933).
 Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. H. Reuchlin-Lucardie." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (18 March 1933).
 Anonymous. "Huize Schwagermann, Schiedam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (19 March 1933).
 Anonymous. "Tentoonstelling reclame-platen voor natuursteen. Ons Huis." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (19 March 1933).
 Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Esher Surrey te 's-Gravenhage. C. Permeke; J. Hemkes." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (24 March 1933).
 Anonymous. "Boekhandel Boucher te 's-Gravenhage. John Buckland Wright." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (24 March 1933).
 Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Johan de Vries." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (25 March 1933).
 Anonymous. "Haagsche Kunstkring. P.C. de Moor." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (25 March 1933).
 Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Ant. P. Schotel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (26 March 1933).
 Anonymous. "Kunstzaal Kleykamp te 's-Gravenhage. Teekeningen van Toon Kelder." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (29 March 1933).
 Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Kunstzaal C. van der Sluys te 's-Gravenhage. Jaap Gidding." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (30 March 1933).
 Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Kunsthandel Scherff te 's-Gravenhage. Carola Machotka." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (31 March 1933).
 Anonymous. "'De Lakenhal" te Leiden. Nederlandsche Vereeniging Schoonheid in Opvoeding en Onderwijs." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (1 April 1933).
 Anonymous. "Kunstzaal d'Audretsch te 's-Gravenhage." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (1 April 1933).

Anonymous. "Studio '32. H.F. Bieling." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (1 April 1933).
 Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche schilders. In het oude raadhuis." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (5 April 1933).
 Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Stefan Mrozewski." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (5 April 1933).
 Anonymous. "Kunsthandel M. Liernur te 's-Gravenhage. Hongaarsche etsers." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (6 April 1933).
 Anonymous. Toonzaal W. van Yperen te Hillegersberg. Aart Bijl. – Nieuw glaswerk Leerdam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (7 April 1933).
 Anonymous. "Kunstzaal 't Center te 's-Gravenhage. P.W. Bulthuis." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (7 April 1933).
 Anonymous. "Toonkamer A. Donker te Rotterdam. Peter Roovers." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (9 April 1933).
 Anonymous. "Societeit "Eendragt maakt Magt" te Kralingen. Tentoonstelling schilderijen van J.H. Weyns." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (9 April 1933).
 Anonymous. "Huis Lambert van Meerten te Delft. Glasgravures en prenten van Asja Twergenjef. – Sneeuw kristallen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (12 April 1933).
 Anonymous. "Esher Surrey te 's-Gravenhage. Hollandsche portretkunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (13 April 1933).
 Anonymous. "Gemeentemuseum, Korte Vijverberg, te 's-Gravenhage. Gravures en etsen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (13 April 1933).
 Anonymous. "Huize van Hasselt. Jan Welland Jr." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (15 April 1933).
 Anonymous. "Pulchri Studio te 's-Gravenhage. Nederlandsche Kring van Beeldhouwers." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (15 April 1933).
 Anonymous. "Kunstzaal Kleykamp te 's-Gravenhage. Chineesche kunst; Dr. W. L. Bouwmeester." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (15 April 1933).

- Anonymous. "Eere-tentoonstelling Derk Wiggers. Pulchri Studio te 's-Gravenhage." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 April 1933).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Jo Spier, Teekeningen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (19 April 1933).
- Anonymous. "Esher Surrey te 's-Gravenhage. R. Kimpe." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 April 1933).
- Anonymous. "Internationale Kunsthandel te 's-Gravenhage. 17-de eeuwse schilderijen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 April 1933).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Hedendaagse Engelsche schilders." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 April 1933).
- Anonymous. "Pulchri Studio te 's-Gravenhage. Werk van leden. – Premieprent-verlotingsfonds." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 April 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Sala te 's-Gravenhage. J.H. van Mastenbroek." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 April 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzaal C. van der Sluys te 's-Gravenhage. H.J. Drayer." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 April 1933).
- Anonymous. "Lommerrijk te Hillegeresberg. Kees de Voogt en Jan van den Berghe." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 April 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzaal Kleykamp te 's-Gravenhage. Japansche Schablonen, Egyptische kleine plastiek, Koptische weefsels." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 April 1933).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamer A. Donker. Joh. B.P. Kerkhoff." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (28 April 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Nederlandsche meesters." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (29 April 1933).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. Lodewijk Sengers en S. van den Hoonard." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (29 April 1933).
- Anonymous. "Boekhandel Dijkhoff te 's-Gravenhage. Jo Spier." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (3 May 1933).
- Anonymous. "Esher Surrey te 's-Gravenhage. Belgische kunstenaars." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 May 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Fransche meesters." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (6 May 1933).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Rotterdamse Kunstkring. N.S.B." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (7 May 1933).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Gerard van Vliet, La France." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (10 May 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel De Ploeg te Leiden. Joe Raphael." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (11 May 1933).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Mr. J.K. van der Haagen. De schilders Van der Haagen en hun werk." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 May 1933).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Paul Fierens, L'Art Hollandais Contemporain." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (14 May 1933).
- Anonymous. "De Belaard te Schiedam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (19 May 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzaal d'Audretsch te 's-Gravenhage. Stefan Mrozewski." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 May 1933).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamer Ad. Donker. Ir. A. Viergever." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 May 1933).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Nieuwe Schilders- en Beeldhouwerskring I." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 May 1933).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Nieuwe Schilders- en Beeldhouwerskring II." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 May 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzaal Kleykamp te 's-Gravenhage. H.J. Reuchlin-Lucardie; Jeanne Wasch; Vito Perona; Lex. Meeussen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 May 1933).
- Anonymous. "Pulchri Studio te 's-Gravenhage. Werken van leden." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 May 1933).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamers De Distel. Schakelmeubelen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (28 May 1933).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Marguerite Devigne, La Sculpture Mosane du 12^e au 16^e siècle." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 May 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzaal Erica te Scheveningen. Antoon Molkenboer." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (31 May 1933).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Gebrandschilderde ramen in het koor van de Nieuwe Kerk te Delft." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (31 May 1933).
- Anonymous. "De Beiaard te Schiedam. Nieuwe Thonetmeubelen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (31 May 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Sala te 's-Gravenhage. Floris Arntzenius." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (3 June 1933).
- Anonymous. "Haagsche Kunstkring te 's-Gravenhage. Werk der leden." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (3 June 1933).
- Anonymous. "Esher Surrey te 's-Gravenhage. H.B. Wolbert." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 June 1933).
- Anonymous. "Algemeene Kunsthandel. K.A. van Eck." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (7 June 1933).
- Anonymous. "Lommerrijk te Hillegersberg. C.J. Alban en J.B.A. Lohmann." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (11 June 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzaal 't Center te 's-Gravenhage. Otto B. de Kat." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (17 June 1933).
- Anonymous. "Bas van Pelt te 's-Gravenhage. Joe Raphael." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (18 June 1933).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. C.C. van Niekerk, M. Schipper en Jan van Heel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 June 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunst in Huis" in Ons Huis. Rotterdamse beeldhouwers." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 June 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzaal C. van der Sluys te 's-Gravenhage. Meubels naar nieuwe ontwerpen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 June 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzaal d'Audretsch te 's-Gravenhage.

- Litho's van Odilon Redon." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 June 1933).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en kunst. De caricatuur-teekenaar Stefan Ströbl." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (14 July 1933).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamer Ad. Donker. Stefan Ströbl." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 July 1933).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. A. Glansdorp." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (15 July 1933).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Auguste Renoir. Orangerie-museum te Parijs." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 July 1933).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Het Schotsche Huis te Veere." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 July 1933).
- Anonymous. "R.S. Bakels. Bij zijn zestigsten verjaardag." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (3 August 1933).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Grafische Vereeniging. Ex Librissen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (11 August 1933).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Jozef Muls. Cornelis de Vos, Schilder van Hulst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (17 August 1933).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamer Ad. Donker. Willem van Leusden." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 August 1933).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. De metaaldrijver J. Kriege." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 August 1933).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Alfred P.A. Leroy. La Tour, Maitres de l'Art ancien." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 August 1933).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Studio '32. Agnes Canta." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (9 September 1933).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamer Ad. Donker. Kádár Béla." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (10 September 1933).
- Anonymous. "Gebrandschilderde ramen in de Schotse Kerk." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (10 September 1933).
- Anonymous. "Veilingen. Atelier Roeland Lary." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 September 1933).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Stanley Casson. Artists at Work." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (17 September 1933).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamer Ad. Donker. Opening V.A.N.K." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 September 1933).
- Anonymous. "De Kunst in Nood." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 September 1933).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. L'art des origines a nos jours." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 September 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunst in Huis. Cornelis van der Sluys." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (25 September 1933).
- Anonymous. "Studio 32. Mr. J.J. Moolhuizen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (29 September 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Nederlandsche en Fransche meesters I." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 September 1933).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamer Ad. Donker. V.A.N.K." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 October 1933).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Grafische Vereeniging. Werk van leden." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (7 October 1933).
- Anonymous. "Toonzaal W. van Yperen te Hillegersberg. Ietske Richters." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (7 October 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Nederlandsche en Fransche meesters II." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (14 October 1933).
- Anonymous. "Studio 32. Jan Visser." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (15 October 1933).
- Anonymous. "Vermeylen in de Nederlandsche P.E.N.-club." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 October 1933).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamer Ad. Donker. Schilderclub "Studio". " *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (18 October 1933).
- Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Tentoonstelling S.O.S." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 October 1933).
- Anonymous. "Algemeene Kunsthandel. G. Altmann." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (28 October 1933).
- Anonymous. "De nieuwe kunsthandel van Gebr. Koch. Officieel geopend met een tentoonstelling van J.H. van Mastenbroek." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (29 October 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunst in Huis. Kinderspeelgoed van mevrouw Co Egelie." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 November 1933).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. Aug. Stahl." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 November 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Gebr. Koch. J.H. van Mastenbroek." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 November 1933).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Kunstzalen D. Vaarties. Zeventiende-eeuwse schilderijen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (9 November 1933).
- Anonymous. "Veilingen. Van Marie en de Sille." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (11 November 1933).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamer Ad. Donker. Reinier Pijnenburg." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (11 November 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Jo Koster." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (15 November 1933).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Grafische Vereeniging. A. Versluys." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (17 November 1933).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Vincent van Gogh. Een Japansche uitgave." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (18 November 1933).
- Anonymous. "Veiling Mak te Dordrecht. Antiquiteiten en schilderijen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (17 November 1933).
- Anonymous. "Opening van de nieuwe tentoonstellingszaal, Studio 32. C.J. Maks." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (19 November 1933).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Letteren en Kunst. Jeanne Bosch van 's-Gravemoer †." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 November 1933).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Jeanne Bosch van 's-Gravemoer †." *Het Vaderland* (22 November 1933).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamer Ad. Donker. Ludwig Hesshaimer." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (25 November 1933).

- Anonymous. "Van Marie en de Sille. Opening tentoonstelling Raoul Dufy." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 November 1933).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. C.J. Maks." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 November 1933).
- Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Zes jongere schilders." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (28 November 1933).
- Anonymous. "Lommerrijk te Hillegersberg. Fred. Brouwer." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (29 November 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Gebr. Koch. Lucie van Dam van Isselt." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 November 1933).
- Anonymous. "Van Marie en de Sille. Raoul Dufy." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (2 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Huis Lambert van Meerten te Delft. Corn. van der Sluys en Jaap Gidding." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (2 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunst te Berlijn." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (3 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Delftsch aardewerk." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunstaal D. Vaarties te Rotterdam. 17^e eeuwse en romantieke schilderijen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (9 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. Opening tentoonstelling Gaston Geleyn." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (10 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthallen Unger en Van Mens. Gemengde tentoonstelling." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Gebr. Koch. Opening tentoonstelling L.C.W. Cossaar." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (17 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Studio '32. Gaston Geleyn." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (17 December 1933).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Letteren en Kunst. Jacob Bendien †." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (18 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamer Ad. Donker. A.P. Schotel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Museum Boymans. Kerst-tentoonstelling. De opening." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Afrika gezien door een schilders oog. Lezing van J.H. Pierneef voor de Volks-Universiteit en de Zuid-Afrikaansche Vereeniging." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Gebr. Koch. L.C.W. Cossaar." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Bloemenmagazijn Immink-de Lange. Kristal Unie en orchideeën." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Academie. S.O.S.-tentoonstelling. Foto's naar werk van Rotterdamse architecten B.N.A." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Heropening Rotterdamse Kunstkring." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Volks-Universiteit. J.H. Pierneef." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Katholieke Kring, Rotterdam. Tentoonstelling van jongere katholieke kunstenaars." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Jan Sluyters; Balineesche Kunstnijverheid." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Academie van Beeldende Kunsten en Technische Wetenschappen. S.O.S.-tentoonstelling. Kunstverbond." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse tentoonstellingen. Ons Huis (Kunst in Huis); Academie, afdeling Baan; Algemeene Kunsthandel: Cornelis Groeneveld." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (28 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Causerie van mevrouw G. v. Beresteyn-Tromp over de Balineesche kunstnijverheid." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (29 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Balineesche kunstnijverheid." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 December 1933).
- Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Werken van leden." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (31 December 1933).

1934

- Anonymous. "Studio '32. Quiry van Tiel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (6 January 1934).
- Anonymous. "Nederland-Frankrijk, afdeling Rotterdam. Lezing van Robert Rey naar aanleiding van de tentoonstelling van Fransche kunst in het Museum Boymans." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (10 January 1934).
- Anonymous. "Huize Schwagermann te Schiedam, C. Wijnveldt." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 January 1934).
- Anonymous. "Van Marie en De Sille (Kring Internationale Kunst). Maurice Utrillo." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (17 January 1934).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamer Ad. Donker. Opening tentoonstelling werk van Greta Bruigom." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (19 January 1934).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamer Ad. Donker. Greta Bruigom." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 January 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthallen Unger en Van Mens. Cees Bolding." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 January 1934).
- Anonymous. "Huize van Hasselt. Tentoonstelling ten bate van Joodsche vluchtelingen uit Duitschland." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 January 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Gebr. Koch. George Hogerwaard." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 January 1934).
- Anonymous. "Dordrechts Museum. Nicolaes Maes." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 January 1934).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. J.C. Csaky." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 January 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunstkring Delft. Werk van leden." *Nieuwe*

- Rotterdamsche Courant* (30 January 1934).
- Anonymous. "Een reis in Tibet. Lezing van mevrouw David-Neel over Tibetaanschen godsdienst, filosofie en zeden." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (30 January 1934).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond. Lezing van prof. dr. August Vermeylen over "De laatste schilderijen van Rembrandt."" *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (31 January 1934).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Italiaansche schilders, te Parijs werkzaam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (3 February 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzaal D. Vaarties. L. Hoogewerff-Goddard." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (3 February 1934).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Groote Schouwburg te Rotterdam. Tentoonstelling werk van Fris Klein." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (4 February 1934).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamer Ad. Donker. Jacq. Stal." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (4 February 1934).
- Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Friesche Schildersvereniging "Horizon". " *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (10 February 1934).
- Anonymous. "R. '33. Eerste kunst. Zondag, in het Notarishuis." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (5 February 1934).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. Else Berg." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (17 February 1934).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Prijsvraag reclameplaat voor de Nationale Levensverzekering Bank te Rotterdam. Gebouw Rotterdamsche Kunstkring." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (18 February 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kralingsche Volkshuis." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (22 February 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunstnijverheidshuis De Beiaard te Schiedam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (22 February 1934).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Constant Permeke." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (24 February 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Leo Gestel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (24 February 1934).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Leopold Wellisz. Felix-Stanislas Jasinsky. Graveur." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (17 February 1934).
- Anonymous. "Overijselsche boeren en boerinnen uit logeeren in Rotterdam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (25 February 1934).
- Anonymous. "Huis Lambert van Meerten te Delft. Kunstnijverheid." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (28 February 1934).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamer Ad. Donker. Frans Bakker." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (25 February 1934).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Jozef Cantré." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (3 March 1934).
- Anonymous. "Nieuwe richtingen in de schilderkunst. Lezing Paul Citroen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (7 March 1934).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. Paul Citroen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (10 March 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Gebr. Koch. W.C.C. Bleckmann." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (10 March 1934).
- Anonymous. "R. 33 bij Van Marle en de Sille. Lente in de Kunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (11 March 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kring van beeldende kunstenaars R'33. Tweede kunst – Zondag in het Notarishuis." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (12 March 1934).
- Anonymous. "Het binnenhuis in de Hollandsche schilderkunst in de 17^{de} eeuw. Lezing mr. Jozef Muls." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (15 March 1934).
- Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Aardewerk van Lea H. Halpern." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (15 March 1934).
- Anonymous. "Hindoese dansen en muziek. Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Nutszaal." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (20 March 1934).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. "Les peintres de l'école de Paris". Lezing André Lhote." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (20 March 1934).
- Anonymous. "Vincent van Gogh. Lezing met lichtbeelden van dr. G. Knuttel, Wzn." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (23 March 1934).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. H. Chabot." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (24 March 1934).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Nieuwe glas-in-lood ramen in de Zuiderkerk." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (29 March 1934).
- Anonymous. "Een portret van de Koninging-Moeder. Kunstzaal D. Vaarties." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (30 March 1934).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. C. Roelofs." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (31 March 1934).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamers De Distel. Jan Wittenberg." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (31 March 1934).
- Anonymous. "Oud-Duitsche teekeningen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (1 April 1934).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamer Ad. Donker. Portretten van Rotterdamsche schilders en beeldhouwers." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (7 April 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Th. P. Haanebrink." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (7 April 1934).
- Anonymous. "De ruimte-idee in de Nederlandsche beeldhouwkunst. Lezing van A.M. Hammacher." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (11 April 1934).
- Anonymous. "Lommerrijk te Hillegersberg. Lucien de Decker en Kees de Voogt." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (12 April 1934).
- Anonymous. "Zaal Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. De jongere Brueghels." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (14 April 1934).
- Anonymous. "Het nieuwe interieur van de Indrapoera." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (14 April 1934).
- Anonymous. "Veilingen. Van Marie en de Sille te Rotterdam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (14 April 1934).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. A. Funke Küpper." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (21 April 1934).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Tentoonstelling "De jongere Brueghels". Iets over de techniek."

- Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 April 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Gebr. Koch. W. van Dort sr." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 April 1934).
- Anonymous. "De Distel. Käthe Kollwitz." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 April 1934).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Stichting De verzameling van Wijngaarden-Boot." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (28 April 1934).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamer Ad. Donker. Han Krug." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (29 April 1934).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Peter Burra. Van Gogh." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 May 1934).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Radda." "Boekaankondiging. Peter Burra. Van Gogh." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (3 May 1934).
- Anonymous. "Stichting van Wijngaarden-Boot. Keurcollectie De Porceleyne Fles. Jaap Gidding." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 May 1934).
- Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Mevrouw H. Dingemans-Numans – Wijlen W.J. Dingemans." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (6 May 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Gebr. Koch." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (9 May 1934).
- Anonymous. "A. Mak te Dordrecht." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (11 May 1934).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Moïssi Kogan. Wolf Demeter." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 May 1934).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamer Ad. Donker. H.C. Mac Lean." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 May 1934).
- Anonymous. "De Distel. Jan Kriege." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (18 May 1934).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Joseph Teixeira de Mattos." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (19 May 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Klaasen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 May 1934).
- Zwartendijk, J.
- "Boekaankondigingen. O. Fabres, Aux Indes Néerlandaises. Caricatures." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (29 May 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Gebr. Koch. Betsy Dom." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (29 May 1934).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamer Ad. Donker. Het naakt." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (31 May 1934).
- Anonymous. "Toonkamer Ad. Donker." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 June 1934).
- Anonymous. "Lommerrijk te Hillegersberg. Rotterdamse Kunstenaars Sociëit." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 June 1934).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Pierre Courthion, Henri-Matisse. Maîtres de l'art moderne." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (14 June 1934).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. Jan Wiegers en Ulco Kooistra." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 June 1934).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Tentoonstellingen te Parijs. Daumier." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (19 June 1934).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Tentoonstellingen te Parijs." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 June 1934).
- Anonymous. "De Bijenkorf te Rotterdam. Glaswerk van Vera Bel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 May 1934).
- Anonymous. "Ons Huis. Kunst in Huis." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 June 1934).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. G.H. Breitner." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 June May 1934).
- Anonymous. "Stichting van Wijngaarden-Boot. Fransche affiches." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (28 June 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Fransche en Hollandsche schilderkunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (7 July 1934).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Tijdschriften." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 July 1934).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. André Lhote. La peinture. La coeur et l'esprit." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (31 July 1934).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Wilhelm Müsseler, Deutsche Kunst im Wandel der Zeiten." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 August 1934).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. Prof. Josef Albers, L.P. Jacobsen en Chris Moret." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (18 August 1934).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. A.J.J. Delen, Histoire de la Gravure dans les Anciens Pays-Bas et dans les Provinces Belges." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 August 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Gebr. Koch. Leon de Smet." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (25 August 1934).
- Anonymous. "Ons Huis. Rotterdamse beeldhouwers." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (8 September 1934).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Gebrandschilderde ramen in de St. Janskerk te Gouda. De gerestaureerde 16^e-eeuwse ramen in de nieuwe kapel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 September 1934).
- Anonymous. "De Distel. Aardewerk van Het Kruijke. Handweefsels van Edm. de Cneudt." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 September 1934).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Otto van Tussenbroek, Moderne woninginrichting en meubilering." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 September 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzaal D. Vaarties. Oude schilderijen van de Hollandsche school." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 September 1934).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. Hildo Krop." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 September 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Gebr. Koch. Prof. Emil Epple en Fred. P. W. de Witt Huberts." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 September 1934).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstelling R 33. "De Boomen". " *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (3 September 1934).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Kunst-Zondag R '33. Javaansch Trio." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 October 1934).
- "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Oud-Japansche houtsneden en teekeningen I." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 September 1934).

- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Oud-Japansche houtsneden en teekeningen II." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (4 October 1934).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Balletten Trudi Schoop. Grote Schouwburg." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (3 October 1934).
- Anonymous. "Lommerrijk te Hillegersberg. H.F. Bieling." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (5 October 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Nagelaten werken van H.A. van Oosterzee." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (6 October 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Ad. Donker. Karel van Veen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (13 October 1934).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Marguerite Devigne, La Sculpture Belge, 1830—1930." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (18 October 1934).
- Anonymous. "De Distel. Boekbindwerk, cartonnage en damestasschen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (20 October 1934).
- Anonymous. "Genootschap Nederland-Frankrijk, Lezing André Siegfried." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (24 October 1934).
- Anonymous. "Veilingen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (27 October 1934).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Jo Spier, Per potlood door Nederland." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (25 October 1934).
- Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Keuze-tentoonstelling." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (27 October 1934).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. A. Colnot." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (27 October 1934).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. A. Ph. Derkzen van Angeren; Johan M. de Vries." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (28 October 1934).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Ludwig Goldschneider, Zeitlose Kunst. Gegenwartsnahe Werke aus fernen Epochen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (2 November 1934).
- Anonymous. "Veilingen. A. Mak te Dordrecht: Antiquiteiten en moderne kunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (2 November 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Ad. Donker. R. Schönberg." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (3 November 1934).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstelling R 33. "Het Onkruid"." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (4 November 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Stilleven van Fransche schilders." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (11 November 1934).
- Anonymous. "Ons Huis. Kunst in Huis." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (14 November 1934).
- Anonymous. "Jules Romains. Lezing voor de Alliance française, afd. Rotterdam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (15 November 1934).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. Stephan Mrozewski en G.G. Martens." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (23 November 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Ad. Donker. G.D. Labots." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (22 November 1934).
- Zwartendijk, J. "A.J. Funke Küpper †." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (24 November 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Stilleven van Fransche schilders." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (28 November 1934).
- Anonymous. "Catherine Fonteney. Nutszaak." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (29 November 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Gebr. Koch. Ch. Hollman." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (29 November 1934).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Weefwerken van Het Paapje I." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (30 November 1934).
- Anonymous. "Glas-in-lood ramen in de Zuiderkerk." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (1 December 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunst-Zondag R. 33." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (2 December 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunst-Zondag R'33." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (3 December 1934).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Albert Besnard †." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (5 December 1934).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. J.H. Weyns." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (5 December 1934).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Kunsthandel Ad. Donker. Etsen van Willem Witsen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (8 December 1934).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Hubert van Lith; Tinus van Doorn." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (11 December 1934).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Henri Focillon, Vie de Formes." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (14 December 1934).
- Anonymous. "Stedelijk Museum. Prof. L. Moholy Nagy." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (6 December 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Ad. Donker. C. Wijnveldt." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (19 December 1934).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. Prof. L. Moholy Nagy." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (20 December 1934).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Volks-Universiteit. Opening van de Kersttentoonstelling: Doelmatig wonen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (21 December 1934).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Volksuniversiteit. Doelmatig wonen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (23 December 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Gebr. Koch. Kees Lingmont." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (23 December 1934).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche tentoonstellingen. R. '33; Academie, afdeling Baan." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (23 December 1934).
- Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Werken van leden." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (25 December 1934).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Oude en moderne maskers I." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (25 December 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel De Protector. Werken van Chr. Soer." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (27 December 1934).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Gebrandschilderd raam. In het dministratiegebouw van het Gasbedrijf (Oostzeedijk)." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (28 December 1934).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Ad. Donker. Een groep Rotterdamsche

schilders." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (28 December 1934).
Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Oude en moderne maskers II." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 December 1934).
Zwartendijk, J. "Nederlandsche teekeningen (15^{de}, 16^{de} & 17^{de} eeuw) uit de collectie F. Koenigs in het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam." *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 44 (1934): 355—58.

1935

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Dr. R. Miedema, Mijn vader en zijn werk." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 January 1935).
Zwartendijk, J. "Nell Lensvelt-Bronger †." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (7 January 1935).
Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Teraardebesteding Nell Lensvelt-Bronger." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (10 January 1935).
Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Ad. Donker. J. Franken Pzn." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 January 1935).
Anonymous. "Huize Pomona. R. '33L wit-zwart." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (18 January 1935).
Anonymous. "Grote Fransche teekenaars uit de 18^e eeuw. Lezing van den heer D. Hannema." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (19 January 1935).
Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Isaäc Israëls. Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 January 1935).
Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Gebr. Koch. Openingstentoonstelling Willem E. Roelofs Jr." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 January 1935).
Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Nieuwe werken van M. Adamse." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 January 1935).
Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Ad. Donker. Affiches en reclameplaten van Kees van der Laan." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 January 1935).
Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Kunst in huis. Studies en schetsen van Rotterdamse kunstenaars in Ons Huis." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (2 February 1935).
Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Huib Luns, Tien wandelingen in

Parijs." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (5 February 1935).
Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Herman Heuff." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 February 1935).
Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Litho's door Honoré Daumier." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (14 February 1935).
Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Edmund Schilling, Deutsche Romantiker-Zeichnungen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (15 February 1935).
Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Officieele opening van de tentoonstelling van het werk van J.H. Weyns." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (15 February 1935).
Anonymous. "Studio '32. Opening herdenkingstentoonstelling Funke Küpper." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (17 February 1935).
Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Dr. A.C. Bouman, Kuns in Suid Afrika." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (17 February 1935).
Anonymous. "Letteren Kunst. Kunst-Zondag R 33. Werk van leden." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 February 1935).
Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Comte François de Salverte, Les ebénistes du XVII^e siècle. Leurs oeuvres et leurs marques." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 Maart 1935).
Anonymous. "William Degouve de Nuncques †." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 March 1935).
Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. W. Jilts Pol." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (9 March 1935).
Anonymous. "Indra Ramosay. Hindoe-dansen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (14 March 1935).
Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. V. Huszar en A.P. Termote." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (14 March 1935).
Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Engelsche Letteren. Irving Stone, Lust for Life. The Novel of Vincent van Gogh." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (14 March 1935).
Anonymous. "Toonkamers De Distel. Ronco-aardewerk." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (15 March 1935).

Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Comte François de Salverte. Les ebénistes du XVIII^e siècle. Album des planches." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (17 March 1935).
Anonymous. "Studio '32. Groningsche Kunstkring De Ploeg." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (18 March 1935).
Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Otto van Tussenbroek, Drie heldenfiguren uit het rijk der beeldende kunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (19 March 1935).
Anonymous. "Genootschap Nederland-Italië. Rococo in Venetië." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 March 1935).
Anonymous. "Van Marle en De Sille. Kunst-Circulatie." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 March 1935).
Anonymous. "Modern binnenhuis. Pol en Betsy Dom." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 March 1935).
Anonymous. "Studio '32. Adriaan Lubbers." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 March 1935).
Zwartendijk, J. "Het zien van Mensch en Masker." *Der Vrije Bladen* 12, No. 4 (April, 1935).
Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. J. Denuce, Brieven en documenten betreffend Jan Breugel I en II. Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche kunst. Deel III." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 April 1935).
Anonymous. "Toonkamers De Distel. Madonnabeeldjes." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (17 May 1935).
Anonymous. "Studio '32. Leo Gestel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (18 May 1935).
Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Kunstenaars Sociëteit. Werken van leden." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 May 1935).
Zwartendijk, J. "Dr. A.J. Domela Nieuwenhuis †." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 May 1935).
Anonymous. "Kring Internationale Kunst (Notarishuis). George Tielens." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (29 May 1935).
Anonymous. "A. Mak te Dordrecht." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 June 1935).
Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Rubens. La Galerie de Medicis."

- Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (7 June 1935).
- Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Politieke prenten van Piet van der Hem." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 June 1935).
- Anonymous. "De Auerhaan bij het Spinnenweb. Leerwerk." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (8 June 1935).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. V. Huszar." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 June 1935).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Het nieuwe Museum Boymans." *Het Vaderland* (15 June 1935).
- Anonymous. "Schilders uit Zeeuwsch-Vlaanderen. Tentoonstelling te Sluis." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 June 1935).
- Anonymous. "De Distel. Ex libris en gelegenheidsgrafiek." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (25 June 1935).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Letteren en Kunst. Het geschenk aan Museum Boymans." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 June 1935).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Tien hedendaagsche kunstenaars I." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 June 1935).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Tien hedendaagsche kunstenaars II." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (29 June 1935).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Het monument de Jongh en zijn mozaïek." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (2 July 1935).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Museum Boymans. Delftsche meesters." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (3 July 1935).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Het nieuwe Museum Boymans. Inrichting en presentatie van de collectie." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (5 July 1935).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Het nieuwe Museum Boymans. Het bruikleen van den heer en mevrouw F. Koenigs." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (7 July 1935).
- Anonymous. "R '33. Werk van leden, in het Notarishuis." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (9 July 1935).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Unger en Van Mens. Nederlandsche en Fransche meesters." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (11 July 1935).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. Hilversumsche Beeldende Kunstenaarsvereniging H '34." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 July 1935).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Alb Hain Jr., Caricatuur." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 July 1935).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Misbruikte schoonheid. Het einde der Italiaansche tentoonstelling te Parijs." *De Groene Amsterdammer* (27 July 1935).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Hans Himmelheber, Negerkunstler." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (2 August 1935).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. W. Chabot, Jan Boys en E. van Briel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (9 August 1935).
- Anonymous. "Uitgaven in voorbereiding." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 August 1935).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Charles Terrasse, Van Gogh." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (15 August 1935).
- Anonymous. "Bouwkunst en Vriendschap. Tentoonstelling van de studieprijsvragen in de Academie." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (18 August 1935).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Paul Signac. †" *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (18 August 1935).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Grieksch-Boeddhistische kunst. In het Museum Guimet te Parijs." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 August 1935).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Willem Penaat. 1875—1935." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 August 1935).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Boekaankondiging. Georges Rivière, Mr. Degas. Bourgeois de Paris." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 September 1935).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Notarishuis. A.H. Koster Jr." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (5 September 1935).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. H. Chabot." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (6 September 1935).
- Anonymous. "Christelijke Ambachtsschool te Rotterdam. Muurversiering." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (10 September 1935).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. W.O.J. Nieuwenkamp, Mijn huis op het water, mijn huis op het land." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (17 September 1935).
- Anonymous. "Gebrandschilderd raam van E. Warfemius. In de Ambachtsschool in de Tamboerstraat." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 September 1935).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Jos de Gruyter, Wezen en ontwikkeling der Europeesche schilderkunst na 1850." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 September 1935).
- Anonymous. "Lommerrijk te Hillegersberg. H.F. Bieling." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 September 1935).
- Anonymous. "De Ravensweerd te Gorssel. Verzameling en inboedel A.J. de Jong Schouwenburg." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 September 1935).
- Anonymous. "R. '33. Werken van klein formaat." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 September 1935).
- Anonymous. "Kunst in Huis. Tentoonstelling – Lezing van Ch. A. Cocheret." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 September 1935).
- Anonymous. "Kunst-Zondag R. '33. Lezing van Jac. Jongert." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 September 1935).
- Anonymous. "Firma Immink-de Lange. Nieuw glas van Leerdam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 September 1935).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzaal D. Vaarties. Oude schilderijen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (3 October 1935).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Algemeene Kunsthandel. Evert Moll." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 October 1935).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Ernest Wijnants en Edgard Tjigtat." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 October 1935).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Plastieken van Gra Rueb." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 October 1935).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Letteren en Kunst. Het Spinnenweb. Demonstratie leerbewerking." *Nieuwe*

- Rotterdamsche Courant* (16 October 1935).
Zwartendijk, J. "Letteren en Kunst. Ledenvergadering van het Nederl. P.E.N. centrum Verslag van de Nederlandsche delegatie op het Congres te Barcelona." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (17 October 1935).
Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Dr. C.J. Wijnaendts Francken, Rembrandt en zijn kunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (18 October 1935).
Anonymous. "Wim L. van Dijk." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (25 October 1935).
Anonymous. "Ex libris." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (25 October 1935).
Anonymous. "Moderne Fransche affiches. Lezing van den heer J.S. Sjollem in den Rotterdamschen Kunstkring." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (25 October 1935).
Anonymous. "Restaurant Gerzon's Modemagazijnen. H.F. Bieling." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (26 October 1935).
Anonymous. "Veilingen. A. Mak te Dordrecht." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (26 October 1935).
Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Nederland – Frankrijk. Lezing van Paul Fierens over: La résurrection de Georges de la Tour." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (29 October 1935).
Anonymous. "Het museum-Cluny. De nieuwe officieele gids." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (30 October 1935).
Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Politieke prenten van P. van der Hem." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (7 November 1935).
Anonymous. "Algemeene Kunsthandel. Arthur Briët." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (9 November 1935).
Zwartendijk, J. "Engelsche Letteren. H.S. Ashton, Rembrandt. Een historische roman." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (12 November 1935).
Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Kunsthandel Gebr. Koch. Aart Bijl." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (17 November 1935).
Anonymous. "Huize Schwagermann te Schiedam. Oude schilderijen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (17 November 1935).
Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kring. G.W. van Zwieten." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (23 November 1935).
Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Oude Hollandsche en Vlaamsche schilderijen I." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (23 November 1935).
Anonymous. "Studio '32. Affiches Nederlandsche Bioscoopbond." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (24 November 1935).
Anonymous. "Boekhandel D. Bolle. Anton Pieck." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (28 November 1935).
Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Oude Hollandsche en Vlaamsche schilderijen II." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (30 November 1935).
Anonymous. "'De Delver' te Delft. C.J. Mension en H.J. Étienne." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (23 November 1935).
Anonymous. "Albert Funke Kupper. In Memoriam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (30 November 1935).
Anonymous. "Studio '32. Eva Pennink Boelen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (7 December 1935).
Anonymous. "Notarishuis. A. Dettmeyer." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (14 December 1935).
Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Jos de Gruyter, Zes moderne schilders." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (14 December 1935).
Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Werk van leden." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (20 December 1935).
Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Opening tentoonstelling van Japansche kunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (22 December 1935).
Zwartendijk, J. "Rembrandt. Schilderijen. Inleiding en bewerking van dr. A. Bredius." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (22 December 1935).
Anonymous. "Studio '32. Matth. Wiegman." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (24 December 1935).
Anonymous. "Volks-Universiteit te Rotterdam. Top Naeff opent de tentoonstelling van het werk van Harry van Tussenbroek." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (24 December 1935).
Anonymous. "R' 33. Jonge schilders." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (25 December 1935).
Anonymous. "Kunst in huis. Glaswerk Leerdam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (25 December 1935).
Anonymous. "Tolenaar's Woninginrichtingen. Meubelen, weefstoffen, werk van H.F. Bieling." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (25 December 1935).
Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Het monument de Jongh." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (28 December 1935).
Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Oude Kerk te Delfshaven. Glasraam van Jan Visser." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (29 December 1935).
Zwartendijk, J. "Oude Engelsche schilderijen enz. in Nederlandse verzamelingen, tentoongesteld in het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam." *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 45 (1935): 60—62.
Zwartendijk, J. "Twee nieuwe musea: Den Haag en Rotterdam." *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* 12, No. 9 (1935).
- 1936**
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Algemeene Kunsthandel. G. Altmann." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (2 January 1936).
Zwartendijk, J. "Letteren en Kunst. Museum Boymans. Lezing van Copley over oud en nieuw glaswerk." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (4 January 1936).
Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Japansche kunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (4 January 1936).
Anonymous. "Modern Binnenhuis P. van Reeuwijk. H.C. Mac Lean." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (10 January 1936).
Anonymous. "Veilinggebouw De Eendracht. Leden van den Haagschen Kunstkring." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (18 January 1936).
"Letteren en Kunst. Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Hollandsche en Fransche kunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (19 January 1936).
Anonymous. "Een expositie-woonschip. In de Leuvehaven."

- Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 January 1936).
Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Kunstenaars Societeit. De tentoonstelling in Pictura te Dordrecht." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 January 1936).
Zwartendijk, J. "Plannen voor de naaste toekomst. Interieur en aankleding van de R.D.M. 200." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 January 1936).
Anonymous, "Veilinggebouw De Eendracht. Vereeniging tot bevordering der grafische kunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 January 1936).
Anonymous, "Studio '32. Pieter den Besten." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (25 January 1926).
Anonymous, "Plastische kunsten. Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Conrad Kickert." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 February 1936).
Anonymous, "Herdenkingstentoonstelling Greta Bruigom. Pianohandel Muus." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (2 February 1936).
Anonymous, "Gebr. Gerzon's Modemagazijnen. G. Pletser." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (6 February 1936).
Anonymous, "Letteren en Kunst. Vondel en Rembrandt." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 February 1936).
Zwartendijk, J., "Letteren en Kunst. Rembrandt en Vondel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (5 February 1936).
Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. P.T.A. Swillens, Pieter Janszoon Saenredam. Schilder van Haarlem, 1579—1665." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (11 February 1936).
Anonymous, "Zwitserland gezien door de Hollandsche schilders en teekenaars van de zeventiende eeuw. Voordracht van dr. S. Stelling—Michaud in het museum Boymans." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 February 1936).
Anonymous, "Kunst en Natuur. Lezing van C. Veth in Museum Boymans." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (17 February 1936).
Anonymous, "Van negeerkruk tot stalen stoel. Lezing van prof. Dr. G. Schmidt in den Rotterdamse Kring." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (18 February 1936).
Anonymous, "Gebr. Gerzon's Modemagazijnen. G.A. Stahl." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 February 1936).
Anonymous, "Studio '32. D.H.W. Filarski." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 February 1936).
Anonymous, "De Delver. Frans Backmund in Huize O.D. 62 te Delft." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 February 1936).
Anonymous, "Letteren en Kunst. "Bekende kunstenaars, die Rotterdam verlaten hebben." Causerie van M.J. Brusse en P. Koomen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 February 1936).
Anonymous, "De nieuwe bouwkunst: haar ontstaan en haar stroomingen. Lezing door J.J.P. Oud in den Rotterdamse Kunstkring." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (18 February 1936).
Anonymous, "De nieuwe bouwkunst: haar ontstaan en haar stroomingen. Lezing door J.J. Oud in den Rotterdamse Kunstkring." *Het Vaderland* (28 February 1936).
Anonymous, "Oude Rotterdamse kunstenaars. Lezing van dr. J.M.C. van Overbeek." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 March 1936).
Anonymous, "Karikaturen van Corn. Veth. Studio 32." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 March 1936).
Anonymous, "Actueele stroomingen in de hedendaagsche Fransche kunst. Lezing door Léon Deshairs." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (3 March 1936).
Anonymous, "Studio '32. Caricaturen van Cornelis Veth." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 March 1936).
Anonymous, "De Distel. Dirk Nijland." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (7 March 1936).
Zwartendijk, J. "Letteren en Kunst. Een Franschman over ons land." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (7 March 1936).
Anonymous, "De Beiaard te Schiedam. Pottenbakkerij Het Kruikje." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 March 1936).
Anonymous, "Kunstmuseum te Middelburg. Raymond Kimpe." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (18 March 1936).
Anonymous, "Plastische kunsten. Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Zes Nederlandsche schiedrs." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 March 1936).
Anonymous, "Gebr. Gerzon's Modemagazijnen. Anton Versluys." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 March 1936).
Anonymous, "Pictura te Dordrecht. Werk van leden." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 March 1936).
Anonymous, "Studio '32. Finsche kunstnijverheid." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (25 March 1936).
Anonymous, "De Delver. J.B. Kamp." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 March 1936).
Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. A.J.J. Delen, Histoire de la gravure dans les anciens Pays-Bas et dans les provinces Belges. Deuxième partie. Le XVIe siècle." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (31 March 1936).
Anonymous, "Algemeene Kunsthandel. Louis Heymans." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (3 April 1936).
Anonymous, "Studio '32. Wladimir Bielkin." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (11 April 1936).
Anonymous, "De Distel. Werk van pottenbakkers; Handweefsels van Kees Moser." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (11 April 1936).
Anonymous, "Kunsthandel Gebr. Koch. P. van der Wilt." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 April 1936).
Anonymous, "Lomerrij te Hillegersberg. Kees de Voogt." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (15 April 1936).
Anonymous, "Gebr. Gerzon's Modemagazijnen. J. Jongert." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 April 1936).
Anonymous, "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Werk van Belgische graphici." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (18 April 1936).
Zwartendijk, J. "Kunstschat in gevaar." *De Groene Amsterdammer* (18 April 1936).
Zwartendijk, J. "Letteren en Kunst. Stedelijk museum Van Abbe te Eindhoven. De officieele opening." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (18 April 1936).
Zwartendijk, J. "Plastische kunsten. Boekaankondiging. Theodor Ehrenstein, Das Alte Testament in der Graphik." *Nieuwe*

- Rotterdamsche Courant* (21 April 1936).
- Anonymous. "Huis Lambert van Meerten te Delft. Th. P. Haanebrink, J. de Vries; Aardewerk van G. de Blanken." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (23 April 1936).
- Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. M. Adamse." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (25 April 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Plastische kunsten. Museum Van Abbe te Eindhoven. De tentoonstelling." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (2 May 1936).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. L.P.J. Braat en Maaike Braat." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (2 May 1936).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. R. Martinez en anderen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (7 May 1936).
- Anonymous. "De Delver. Leon Senf." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (8 May 1936).
- Anonymous. "A. Mak te Dordrecht." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (9 May 1936).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Aquarellen van M. Bauer; Geschilderde portretten van R.S. Bakels." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (16 May 1936).
- Anonymous. "De Distel. Reinder Visscher." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (23 May 1936).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. De Brauwere en Zomerdijk." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (24 May 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Jos de Gruyter, Marius Richters; Herman Hana, De schoonheid in de schilderkunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (27 May 1936).
- Anonymous. "Algemeene Kunsthandel. Theo Goedvriend." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (29 May 1936).
- Anonymous. "Gebr. Gerzon's Modemagazijnen. Ietske Richters." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (29 May 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. M. Kasanin, Joegoslavische hedendaagsche beeldende kunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (3 June 1936).
- Anonymous. "Veilingen. Notarishuis." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (6 June 1936).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Studio '32. Teekeningen door kinderen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (11 June 1936).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Quirijn van Tiel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (13 June 1936).
- Anonymous. "Het monument G.J. de Jongh en het monumentale hek van L. Bolle." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (14 June 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Letteren en kunst. De glasramen in de Nieuwe Kerk te Delft. De zeven gebrandschilderde ramen in het koor." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (19 June 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Plastische kunsten. Boekaankondiging. Theo van Reijn, Beeldhouwen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (20 June 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Letteren en Kunst. De Nieuwe Kerk te Delft. Grafmonumenten en grafzerken in het koor." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (26 June 1936).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. Les artistes musicalistes." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (3 July 1936).
- Anonymous. "R. '33. Kunst en zakelijkheid." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (4 July 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "La Argentina †. Een nationale, een volkskunstenaars." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (20 July 1936).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel De Schakel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (2 August 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Jos. de Gruyter, Kretensische en Griekse kunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (12 August 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. La sculpture et les arts mineurs Byzantins." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (14 August 1936).
- Anonymous. "De Delftsche Poort. Openingstentoonstelling." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (5 September 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Schilderkunst der 17^e eeuw. In Noord- en Zuid-Nederland." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (5 September 1936).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. W.O.J. Nieuwenkamp." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (26 September 1936).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Studio '32. Opening tentoonstelling Dolf Henkes." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (26 September 1936).
- Anonymous. "Lommerrijk te Hillegersberg. H.F. Bieling." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (26 September 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Vincent van Gogh. De tuin van Daubigny." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (26 September 1936).
- Anonymous. "Ons Huis. Kunst in Huis." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (27 September 1936).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (2 October 1936).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Studio '32. Dolf Henkes." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (3 October 1936).
- Anonymous. "Toonzaal Semiramis." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (9 October 1936).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (10 October 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Kunst in Keulen." *De Groene Amsterdammer* (10 October 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Letteren en Kunst. Dr. H. Colijn in de caricatuur." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (14 October 1936).
- Anonymous. "Jan Visser. Huize O.D. 62 te Delft." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (14 October 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Letteren en Kunst. Rembrandt. Een boek over den meester door een schilder." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (October 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "De Goudsche glazen. De voltooide kerkraden in de Sint Janskerk." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (19 October 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Vincent van Gogh. De briefwisseling met Anton Ridder van Rappard." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (24 October 1936).
- Anonymous. "'Arbeid adelt.' Tentoonstelling van werkstukken." *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (24 October 1936).

- Anonymous. "De Distel. Raymond Kimpe." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 October 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Letteren en Kunst. Vreemde manieren." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 October 1936).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (31 October 1936).
- Anonymous. "Jeroen Bosch. Een schilderij van den meester ontdekt." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (5 November 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Letteren en Kunst. Jeroen Bosch. Het schilderij in het museum te München." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (6 November 1936).
- Anonymous. "Fransche grafische kunst. Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (7 November 1936).
- Anonymous. "Veilingen. A. Mak te Dordrecht." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (8 November 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Ro van Oven, Hendrickje Stoffels. Roman uit het leven van Rembrandt." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (14 November 1936).
- Anonymous. "Oude Mexikaansche en Mayasche kunst. Lezing van Jos. W. de Gruyter voor den Rotterdamse Kunstkring." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (14 November 1936).
- Anonymous. "De Delftsche Poort. Rotterdamse kunstenaars." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 November 1936).
- Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Ant. P. Schotel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 November 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Pieter Brueghel de Oude." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 November 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Feuilleton. De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 November 1936).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 November 1936).
- Anonymous. "Huize Schwagermann. J.H. Weyns." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 November 1936).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel De Schakel. Willy Broers." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (28 November 1936).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. St. Couwenberg, Kr. Tonny en Wezelaar." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (3 December 1936).
- Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Werk van leden van den Bredaschen Kunstkring en Pictura." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (15 December 1936).
- Anonymous. "De Delftsche Poort. L. Hoogewerff—Goddard, M. Adamse en G. Altmann." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (6 December 1936).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Opening van de tentoonstelling van oude kunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (18 December 1936).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam. Daumier in de kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens; W.B. Tholen in den Algemeenen Kunsthandel; Christiaan Soer in den kunsthandel Gebr. Koch." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (18 December 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. W. Martin, De Hollandische Schilderkunst in de zeventiende eeuw. Rembrandt en zijn tijd." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (15 December 1936).
- Anonymous. "Het costuum onzer voorouders. Opening van de tentoonstelling in de Volksuniversiteit te Rotterdam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (19 December 1936).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Oude schilderijen en kunstvoorwerpen I." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 December 1936).
- Anonymous. "Kersttentoonstellingen te Rotterdam. Louis Meys in Tolenaar's Woninginrichtingen; Wim Chabot in De Schakel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (25 December 1936).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Delft. Huis Lambert van Meerten; Kunst aan het volk." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 December 1936).
- Anonymous. "Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Zilveren jubileum." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (31 December 1936).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. Charles Eyck." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (31 December 1936).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Oude kunst in het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam." *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 46 (1936): 206—208.

1937

- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Oude schilderijen en kunstvoorwerpen II." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (5 January 1937).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Versieringen aan en in het nieuwe Gymnasium." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 January 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. André Joubin, Correspondance generale de Eugène Delacroix, 1838—1849." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 January 1937).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam. Werk van drie schilderessen, die te rekenen zijn tot de belangrijkste figuren in haar genre." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 January 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Das Alte Testament in der Graphik; Roger Avermate, De la peinture. Synthèse des Arts." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (5 February 1937).
- Anonymous. "Plastische Kunsten. Wandschildering voor het Gymnasium Erasmianum." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (6 February 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Jan Sluyters. Een album met inleiding van dr. G. Knuttel Wzn." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (6 February 1937).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Opening van de tentoonstelling van werken van Roswitha Bitterlich." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (7 February 1937).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam. Aquarellen van M.A.J. Bauer in den kunsthandel Ad. Donker; Dick Eiffers in De Schakel; F. Kamstra bij de firma Koch." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 February 1937).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Museum Boymans. Lezing dr. E. Buschbeck." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 February 1937).

- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam. C. Kloos en C. Wijnveldt in den kunsthandel Ad. Donker; Jan C.A.W. Mulder en Gerard Sluyter in de Studio '32." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 February 1937).
- Anonymous. "Lezing van dr. D. Bartling voor den Rotterdamschen Kring. Vorm en uitdrukking als grondbegrippen der moderne kunstwetenschappen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 February 1937).
- Anonymous. "Plastische kunsten. Werk van Roswitha Bitterlich. In den Rotterdamschen Kunstkring." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 February 1937).
- Anonymous. "De Beiaard te Schiedam. Meubelen en tapijten." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 February 1937).
- Anonymous. "Beeldende Kunsten. Kunsthandel Vaartjes. August van Voorden. Oude schilderijen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 February 1937).
- Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Vijf Nederlandsche schilders." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 February 1937).
- Anonymous. "De a.s. internationale tentoonstelling te Parijs. Kunst en techniek in het moderne leven. Lezing door Henri Asselin." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (3 March 1937).
- Anonymous. "Beeldende Kunsten. Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. N. Eekman; André van der Vossen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (5 March 1937).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. F. Everbag, Wout Schram en H.A. van de Val." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (6 March 1937).
- Anonymous. "R 33. Kunstzondag." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (7 March 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Rubens. Een brochure van Cyriel Verschave." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (11 March 1937).
- Anonymous. "Beeldende Kunsten. Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam. Jaap Beckmann in De Schakel; Kunstnijverheid in De Distel; Kunsthandel Ad. Donker." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 March 1937).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam. W. Hussen in den kunsthandel Ad. Donker; Zeven schilders in den kunsthandel Koch." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 March 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Beeldende Kunsten. Werken van Antoine Vollon (1833—1900). Tentoonstelling bij Unger en Van Mens te Rotterdam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 March 1937).
- Anonymous. "Academie te Rotterdam. Tentoonstellingen in de cantine. — Werken van Jan Toorop." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 March 1937).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Het vervalschen van schilderijen. Lezing van dr. Ir. A.M. de Wild." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 March 1937).
- Anonymous. "De Delftsche Poort. Rotterdamsche Kunstenaars Sociëteit." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 March 1937).
- Anonymous. "Studio '32. J.J. Gerstel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 March 1937).
- Anonymous. "Een portret door Toon Kelder." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (31 March 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Prof. Dr. F.W. Hudig †." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 April 1937).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam. H.F. Boot bij Ad. Donker; Cuno van den Steene in De Schakel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 April 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. André de Ritter, Het expressionisme in de moderne Vlaamsche schilderkunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 April 1937).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Ad. Donker. Huldiging van den schilder H.F. Boot." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 April 1937).
- Anonymous. "Ons Huis. Kunst in Huis." *Het Rotterdamsch Parool* (11 April 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Beeldende Kunsten. Boekaankondiging. Jozef Muls, Jacob Smits en De Kempen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (14 April 1937).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. De Delftsche Poort. Vier oud-leerlingen van de Rotterdamsche Academie." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 April 1937).
- Anonymous. "Maatschappij voor Woninginrichting Piet van Reeuwijk. H. Mac Lean; F. Brouwer." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (17 April 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Jérôme Bosch. Le retable de Saint-Antoine du Musée National de Lisbonne. Introduction de Jacques Dupont, chef des travaux du laboratoire du Louvre." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 April 1937).
- Anonymous. "Beeldende Kunsten. Rotterdamsche Kunstkring. Teekeningen van Jo Spier." Anonymous. "Ex libris en gelegenheidsgrafiek. Magazijn De Bijenkorf te Rotterdam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 April 1937).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 April 1937).
- Anonymous. "Ontwerpen van Willem van Konijnenburg. Technische Hoogeschool te Delft, afdeeling bouwkunde." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 May 1937).
- Anonymous. "Ex libris en gelegenheidsgrafiek. Magazijn De Bijenkorf te Rotterdam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 May 1937).
- Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Werk van leden." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (5 May 1937).
- Anonymous. "Veilingen. A. Mak te Dordrecht." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (8 May 1937).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (9 May 1937).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam. J.C. van de Wetering de Rooy; Jan Boon." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 May 1937).
- Anonymous. "Beeldende Kunsten. Jan van der Heyden. 1637—1712. De tentoonstelling in den Rotterdamschen Kunstkring." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (15 May 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Eugène Delacroix. Het derde deel zijner correspondentie." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 May 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Lionello Venturi, Cézanne, son art-son oeuvre." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 May 1937).

- Zwartendijk, J. "Beeldende Kunsten. Het nieuwe mausoleum voor Comenius." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 May 1937).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 May 1937).
- Anonymous. "Bij den zeventigsten verjaardag van dr. Max Friedländer." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 June 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. The Book of Alexander Shilling." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 June 1937).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Lezing Igor Markevitch. Rotterdamse Kunstkring." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (8 June 1937).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (5 June 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Bouwkunst. De inrichting van de Weltevreden van den Rotterdamschen Lloyd." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 June 1937).
- Anonymous. "Tijdschriften." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 June 1937).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Ad. Donker. M. Adamse." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 June 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Het nieuwe museum voor moderne kunst te Parijs. Tentoonstelling Van Gogh." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 June 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "El Greco. Tentoonstelling te Parijs." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (25 June 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Onafhankelijke kunst in het "Petit Palais" te Parijs I." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 July 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Onafhankelijke kunst in het "Petit Palais" te Parijs II." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (2 July 1937).
- Anonymous. "Beeldende Kunsten. De Delftsche Poort. Kees de Voogt." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (3 July 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Beeldende Kunsten. Het Nederlandsche Paviljoen op de tentoonstelling van kunst en techniek te Parijs." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (6 July 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Tijdschriften." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (11 July 1937).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (15 July 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. M.M. van Dantzig, Schilderkunst, maakwerk, vervalsching." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (15 August 1937).
- Anonymous. "Beeldende Kunsten. Oud-Hollandsche schilderijen. Bij de firma D. Katz te Dieren." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (19 July 1937).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Notarishuis. Charles Dankmeyer." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 July 1937).
- Anonymous. "Tijdschriften." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 July 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Is de critiek op ons paviljoen te Parijs rechtvaardig?" *Algemeen Handelsblad* (1 August 1937).
- Anonymous. "Tijdschriften." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (5 August 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Beeldende Kunsten. Boekaankondiging. Otto van Tussenbroek, De arbeid als onderwerp in de beeldende kunst; L.D. Petit, Siameesche bouwkunst; L.J.M. Feber, De Boro-Boedoer." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (7 August 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. M.M. van Dantzig, Schilderkunst, maakwerk, vervalsching." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (11 August 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Letteren en Kunst. Een ontdekking te München. Een Madonna van Leonardo da Vinci?" *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 August 1937).
- Anonymous. "Tijdschriften." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 August 1937).
- Anonymous. "Veilingen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (14 August 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Julius Baum, La sculpture figurale en Europe. A l'époque mérovingienne." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 August 1937).
- Anonymous. "Beeldende Kunsten. Tentoonstelling-impressie. Een Parijsch kunstcriticus op de tentoonstelling van werken van Frans Hals te Haarlem." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (28 August 1937).
- Anonymous. "Museum Boymans. Nieuwe catalogus." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (28 August 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. W. Scherjon and Jos. de Gruyter, Vincent van Gogh's Great Period." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (31 August 1937).
- Anonymous. "Beeldende Kunsten. Mr. W.C. Mees." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (3 September 1937).
- Anonymous. "De Nieuwe Kerk te Delft. Eenige bijzonderheden betreffende de restauratie." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (7 September 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. M.M. van Dantzig, Frans Hals. Echt of onecht." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (21 September 1937).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam. Kunsthandel Ad. Donker; De Schakel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 September 1937).
- Anonymous. "Beeldende Kunsten. Jacoba A. de Graaff. Bij den 80sten verjaardag van onze oudstadgenoot." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (25 September 1937).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. De Delftsche Poort. Jacoba A. de Graaff." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 September 1937).
- Anonymous. "Beeldende Kunsten. Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam. Rotterdamse Kunstkring; De Distel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 October 1937).
- Anonymous. "Museum Lambert van Meerten. T.G.M. van Hettinga Tromp; H.H. Kamerlingh Onnes." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (8 October 1937).
- Anonymous. "De Schakel. Ed. van Zanden." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 October 1937).
- Anonymous. "Beeldende Kunsten. Kunsthandel Ad. Donker. Cees Bolding." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 October 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Prof. Huib Luns, Rembrandt en de Nachtwacht; Hoe kinderen onze groote menschenwereld zien. Meer dan honderd origineele teekeningen, verzameld door H.F.

- Bieling en P.J. Diemel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 October 1937).
- Anonymous. "Beeldende Kunsten. Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam. Unger en Van Mens; Studio '32." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 October 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Vincent van Gogh. Brieven aan ridder van Rappard; Vincent van Gogh. Briefe an den Maler Anthon van Rappard." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 October 1937).
- Anonymous. "De Delftsche Poort." *Het Rotterdamse Parool* (28 October 1937).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam en Hillegersberg. Louis Le Clerq; H.F. Bieling in Lommerrijk." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 October 1937).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam. A. Mak te Dordrecht." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (5 November 1937).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Het oude Raadhuis te Rotterdam. Grafiek, beeldhouwwerken en boeken." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (6 November 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Vincent van Gogh. Een "autobiographie": "Dear Theo"." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (6 November 1937).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam. D. Vaarties; Studio '32; Delftsche Poort." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 November 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Paul Claudel, Vom Wesen der Holländischen Malerei; Der Junge Delcaroix. Briefe, Tagebucher, Werke." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (18 November 1937).
- Anonymous. "Museum Boymans. Lezing dr. Jozef Muis." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 November 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Letteren en Kunst. Beeldende Kunsten. Hieronymus Bosch." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (19 November 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Beeldende Kunsten. Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Ernst en Karin Leyden." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 November 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Het nieuwe Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde te Leiden." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (30 November 1937).
- Anonymous. "Genootschap Nederland—Frankrijk. Lezing André Josset." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 December 1937).
- Anonymous. "Veilingen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (19 December 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Ontdek uw stad. De inrichting van de tentoonstelling." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 December 1937).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Volksuniversiteit. Opening van de tentoonstelling "Bali". *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 December 1937).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam. De Delftsche Poort. Lommerrijk." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 December 1937).
- Anonymous. "Huize O.D. 62 te Delft. Dirk Boode en Johan Bijsterveld." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (24 December 1937).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Delft. Kunst aan het Volk; Museum Tétar van Elven." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (29 December 1937).
- Zwartendijk, J. "De film 'Rembrandt'." *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 47 (1937): 69—73.
- 1938**
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (15 January 1938).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Kunst in het Stadion Feijenoord. Een gebrandschilderd raam van Warffemius en wandschilderingen van W. van Heusden en Dolf Henkes." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (15 January 1938).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. P. D'Uckerman, L'art dans la vie moderne." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (18 January 1938).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Beeldende Kunsten. Museum Lambert van Meerten te Delft. Elmar Norellus." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (20 January 1938).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Pieter Jansz. Saenredam. Lezing van prof. dr. J.Q. van Regteren Altena." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 January 1938).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. W.A. van Konijnenburg." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (22 January 1938).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Beeldende Kunsten. Boekaankondiging. A.W. Byvanck, La miniature dans les Pays-Bas septentrionaux." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (28 January 1938).
- Anonymous. "Kunsthandel Wagner. Herman Bogman." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (29 January 1938).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. Beeldende Kunsten. Het borstbeeld van wijlen Bernard Diamant door H. Rehm." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (1 February 1938).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Dr. Ir. J.H. Plantenga, De academie van 's-Gravenhage en haar plaats in de kunst van ons land." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (4 February 1938).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Louis Beyaert-Carliet, Le problème Van der Weyden-Flémalle-Campin." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (9 February 1938).
- Anonymous. "Delftsche Poort. Uitslag prijsvraag voor een herinneringsprent." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (10 February 1938).
- Anonymous. "Delftsche Poort. Uitslag prijsvraag voor een herinneringsprent." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (10 February 1938).
- Anonymous. "Beeldende Kunsten. Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam. Dr. Louis Raemaekers in de Studio '32; Aart van Dobbenburgh in De Distel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 February 1938).
- Anonymous. "Letteren en Kunst. De betekeenis van het verleden en van de exotiek in de kunst van de 19^e eeuw. Lezing door René Huyghs." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (15 February 1938).
- Anonymous. "Verval en behoud van schilderijen. Lezing door dr. Ir. A.M. de Wild." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (19 February 1938).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Moderne Fransche kunst." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (19 February 1938).
- Anonymous. "Beeldende Kunsten. Kunstzalen Unger en Van Mens. Jan Roelants." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 February 1938).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Beeldende Kunsten. Museum Boymans. Het

- Kanstalet (I)." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (23 February 1938).
- Anonymous. "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Jaarlijksche ledenvergadering." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (25 February 1938).
- Anonymous. "Beeldende Kunsten. Tentoonstelling in De Schakel. Werken van J.M. Prange." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 February 1938).
- Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. A. de Bruyn Ouboter." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 February 1938).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Het plaatwerk over Saenredam." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (7 March 1938).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Beeldende Kunsten. Museum Boymans. Het Kanstalet (I)." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (8 March 1938).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Beeldende Kunsten. Museum Boymans. Het Kanstalet (II)." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (8 March 1938).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Letteren en Kunst. Gemeentebibliotheek te Rotterdam. Lezing over modern handbindwerk." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 March 1938).
- Anonymous. "Museum Boymans. Rotterdamse Kunstenaars Societeit." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (13 March 1938).
- Anonymous. "Oude Kant. Lezing in het museum Boymans door mevrouw L.W. van der Meulen-Nulle." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 March 1938).
- Anonymous. "Beeldende Kunsten. M.J. Richters. Bij zijn zestigsten verjaardag." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (19 March 1938).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Adolph Donath, Wie Kunstfälscher Arbeiten." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (25 March 1938).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam. Unger en Van Mens; De Distel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (26 March 1938).
- Anonymous. "Notarishuis te Rotterdam. Veiling." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (27 March 1938).
- Anonymous. "Pictura te Dordrecht. Werk van leden." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (2 April 1938).
- Anonymous. "De Geschiedenis van het Huis van Oranje-Nassau. Lezing van dr. P.H. Ritter Jr." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (6 April 1938).
- Anonymous. "De strijd tusschen Classicisme en Romantiek." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (7 April 1938).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Kunsthandel Gebr. Koch. Wim de Haas." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (8 April 1938).
- Anonymous. "Tentoonstelling van mode-teekeningen." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (11 April 1938).
- Zwartendijk, J. "W. Scherjon †." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (11 April 1938).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Boekaankondiging. Galerie d'estampes, Van Gogh." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (12 April 1938).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Tentoonstellingen te Rotterdam. J.H. Weijns; De Schakel." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 April 1938).
- Zwartendijk, J. "Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Jeanne Biersma Oosting; Arthur Staal." *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (16 April 1938)

Appendix III. Donated, Bequathed and Gifted in Memory



Kees van Dongen, *La commode (Interior with yellow door)* (ca. 1910). Oil on canvas, 100 cm x 65 cm. Inv.No. 1188 (MK). Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam. Donated by Jo Zwartendijk, 1936.



Constantin Meunier, *The Puddler* (1887). Bronze, 36 cm x 24.5 cm x 21 cm. Inv.No. BEK 1288 (MK). Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam. Purchased with funds from the estate of Jo Zwartendijk, 1939.



Auguste Rodin, *Caryatid Carrying Her Stone* (ca. 1881—1883). Bronze, 45 cm x 28 cm x 33 cm. Inv.No. BEK 1331 (MK). Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam. Gift in memory of Jo Zwartendijk, 1938.