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Past – Present
**Two Approaches Towards ‘Montaged’ Meaning and Memory in a
Box with Loose Photographs**

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Introduction

When Arie Maria Esmet Sapari died in the Netherlands in 2018, she left behind photographs, which were found in envelopes, framed and loose in her apartment. They were collected and sorted out by her close friend Rob Hammink and in February 2019 passed on in a perfume box to the author of this Master's thesis along with documents on the education and professional careers of both, Arie Maria and her husband Esmet Sapari. Both were born to the turn to the 1930's in the former Dutch East Indies and they experienced the Indonesian National Revolution. An analysis of the contents of this box as well as the documents has shown that the motives of the photographs present parallels to their careers but also refer to their former home country. Specifically, there are photographs in this box making the country side, bridges, rail ways, palaces in the area of Surakarta, a Guerrilla war as well as the Indonesian National Revolution to a topic, next to the former owner's photos of family members and friends. The analysis of the material conditions of the photographs showed that some of them were printed in the first half of the 20th century whilst the latest one entered their belongings in the beginning of the 21st century. Also, photographs on postcards showing their families are found. This simultaneity of various geographical and temporal origins of the photographs in one site comes along with the circumstance that it remains unclear how some of the photographs entered the possession of Arie Maria and Esmet Sapari, to whom the individual photographs belonged initially, what kind of meanings as well as roles they attributed to them and according to what selection criteria Rob Hammink finalised the present selection. Knowing, that this selection belonged to one married couple to which there is no access to receive more information, on how they related to these photographs, locates the box's content towards the area of the family photo album. Through an analysis of reproduced photographs in existing research as well as research in the digitalised collection of the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, it was recognized that a sub-group of this box's content is in their motives identical with photographs in the just mentioned institution and in the Javanese monarchic Mangkoe Negoro Palace in Surakarta, Indonesia, where they were included for other official reasons than at the Tropenmuseum.

For family photography albums as well as for archives, photography was used to capture a moment to remember on what is only fleeting for the human eye and the mind.¹ Because photography was seen to deliver an objective view on an appearance in front of the photo camera, through the photographic index, the photograph's depiction and the photo as object are seen to be a trace and testimony of what has happened in front of the camera, hence as a reflection of "truthfulness".² It is its use and the function for a human being, which attributes meaning to it. Hence, for the private use, a photograph can serve as an object and a site of personal meaning.³ It is John Berger who further elaborates that a "photograph [was] a memento from a life being lived", and he also states that the photograph "offers information (...) served from all lived experience". Therefore, "the public photograph contributes to a memory, it is to the memory of an unknowable and total stranger."⁴ To Berger, the specific distinction between the private and public use of photography is that the private one serves as an object to remind on the person depicted on the

¹ John Berger, 'Uses of Photography. For Susan Sontag', in *About Looking* (London: Writers and Readers Publ. Cooperative, 1980), 48–63, p. 50.

² Berger, 'Uses of Photography. For Susan Sontag', p. 48.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

photograph, whereas the public one was “torn from its context, and becomes a dead object which, (...) lends itself to any arbitrary use.”⁵ Yet, private and public photographs construct a personal memory,⁶ a memory, which is in the human mind temporally seen multidirectional. Yet, all these directions can lead to the remembrance of one event eventually.⁷ It is not the purpose to marginalise John Berger’s words but to mediate the function of a photograph as a site of meaning and memory, since Arie Maria, Esmet Sapari and Rob Hammink are connected via personal relationships, the selection of the photographs in the perfume box as well as a common cultural, historical memory in the Netherlands as well as in Indonesia. This common background is marked by the colonisation of present Indonesia by the Netherlands, its ending with the National Indonesian Revolution in 1949 as well as the decolonisation phase of present Indonesia and the migration of the reparatries to the Netherlands starting from then onwards. This decolonisation phase lead to a growth and change of the Dutch national archives and museums such as it is found at the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam.⁸ The perfume box is therefore seen as a site offering reflection on the photographic use by means of its personal and public functions, as a site constructed and represented by personal and public moving mechanics reflecting these layers of meaning and cultural memory. It is a site constructed through migration and encounters of human beings. Also, it is a site of photographs whose encounters allow a limitless emergence and shifts of meaning and memory relatable to Arie Maria, Esmet Sapari and Rob Hammink, while none of them are available for further explanation on the personal meanings of these photographs. Because this perfume box represents the area of family photo album and archive with photographs that are to be found at the Tropenmuseum and is relatable to the decolonisation phase, it represents this step in-between; between surrender to a national archive or museum, yet in the form of an archive. Here, research on this is seen as significant and attributing to the current state of research, because this box represents photographs to be found in institutions with a history in decolonisation as well as possibly not, such as in the case of the Palace in Surakarta.

How should meaning and memory be constructed out of this perfume box with loose photographs for which no explanations are available. What kind of photographs are in favour through this location between these theories used and which ones are being left out when it comes to the emergence of meaning and memory? To receive an insight on these mechanics as well as answers to the research question presented as well as the construction of meaning and memory within the photographic primary sources of this perfume box, this Master thesis is divided into three chapters, all of which follow an individual research question.

Chapter one follows the question if the meaning of these photographs changed with the selection and handing over of the perfume box to the author of this Master thesis. And if so, is this shift in meaning followed by a shift of the importance of the people involved for the construction of meaning and memory out of this perfume box? For the analysis, this chapter departs from a presentation on the biographies of Arie Maria, Esmet Sapari and Rob Hammink as well as the photographic primary sources to further discuss the research question related to the theories on the role of an author for the understanding of a work built up by Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault. Theories on the family photo album by Elizabeth Edwards, Janice Hart and Mette Sandbye are

⁵ Berger, ‘Uses of Photography. For Susan Sontag’, p. 56.

⁶ Ibid., p. 57.

⁷ Ibid., p. 60.

⁸ Susan Legêne and Martijn Eickhoff, ‘Postwar Europe and the Colonial Past in Photographs’, in *Transnational Memory*, ed. Chiara De Cesari and Ann Rigney (Berlin, München, Boston: DE GRUYTER, 2014), 287–312, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110359107.287>, pp. 292–293.

followed and discussed relating the theory on the archive presented through research of Katherine Palmer Albers.

Because conversations with the former owners of this photographs were not possible, no conclusions can be drawn from the photographs as individual objects with regard to a personal power of memory and meaning. It was therefore decided to examine the photographic content on the basis of research on artist's Gerhard Richter's *Atlas*. Chapter two brings the case study in relation with the theoretical approach constructed by Benjamin Buchloh, who analysed *Atlas* concerning the occurrence of cultural memory. Because the theory on photomontage as well as Aby Warburg's *Mnemosyne Atlas* are fundamental for Buchloh's approach, they will be introduced as well. The research question to be followed here wants to learn more on to what extent the research methodologies of Buchloh help constructing a cultural memory within the perfume box's photographic content. In order to provide a critical analysis, Benjamin Buchloh's theory will be brought into dialogue with Georges Didi-Huberman's research on Richter's *Atlas* as well.

Chapter three follows the research question on to what extent the juxtapositions of biographies of images can serve a montage of meaning and memory, which is directed towards the present time. To do so, this chapter introduces first the concept of the social biography of an image constructed by Elizabeth Edwards. As the photographs from the perfume box travelled with the former owners to the Netherlands as well as entered the present box on its way of becoming via several paths, the analysis in this chapter is related to Wolfgang Tillmans' idea of the 'wandering image', which focuses on the change of value when the same image appears in different publication formats and, therefore, experiences an extension of its own biography. Because the perfume box's content offers many relations to national and monarchic archives, the discussion of this research question is going to be followed by the theory of W.J.T. Mitchell's 'migrating image' with the aim to connect the dots of family and archival photographs.

As the introduction of this Master thesis' structure made apparent, only two possible temporal directions of emerging memory are being followed. Also, it is more about relating the case study represented by this perfume box within these theories, especially discussed in chapter two and three, to understand more on how meaning and memory can occur; not at least, because the photographic primary sources are loose to be found, an endless connection and linking between these photographs is possible. Also, it became clear that this Master thesis follows an interdisciplinary approach towards the analysis of emerging meaning and memory. Interdisciplinary because artworks and ideas of an artist, i.e. Gerhard Richter's *Atlas* and Wolfgang Tillmans' idea of the 'wandering image', are going to be used and related to a photographic collection that is first of all not an artwork and secondly started existing out of different socio-historical circumstances than Gerhard Richter's *Atlas* as well as Wolfgang Tillmans' idea of the 'wandering image'. However, both of these artists work with photography and both of these artworks respectively ideas base on the concept of photographic reproductions, which appear in private and public spheres. Also, both of them work out of or related to a concept of the archive, which is followed by biographical as well as working aspects of these people, hence, combining familial and archival use of photography. Because an interdisciplinary approach towards the analysis of the occurrence of meaning and memory concerning the perfume box is followed, research undergone by Elizabeth Edwards, Mette Sandbye as well as W.J.T. Mitchell are here seen to be of great value. They focus on the material aspects of photographs to relate the photograph's use to anthropological, ethnographical, social and cultural aspects in the use of photos. Since in chapter two and three the emergence of meaning and memory is going to be related to the theory

on photomontage for which material aspects are only to a certain degree of importance, these scholar's contributions helped understanding and researching related to the daily, social uses of photography. By using their works, a balanced analysis of the primary sources next to the art context represented here by Gerhard Richter and Wolfgang Tillmans was aimed.

Regarding the state of research on the work of the just mentioned artists there is sufficient literature available in both cases. This is also the case with the topic of photomontage. Not least because with the dawn of the digital age, it has been newly researched for its status for current montage uses, as the latest research contributions by André Mario Zervigón show. The art and photo historian Mette Sandbye observed that family photographs have only been objects of investigation since the early 21st century and sees above all the then new possibilities of digital archiving as a starting point for the scholarly examination of family photos and family photo albums.⁹ In addition, family photo albums represent objects that are disappearing in their material forms due to digitalisation.¹⁰ Anthropologists in particular are devoting themselves to these objects. In their opinion, the lack of methodological approaches is due to the fact that scholars of art and photo history and cultural studies did not dare to use family photo albums.¹¹ Regarding the topic on the importance and role of a single-authorship, there are also enough academic contributions, which offer a reflection on the primary sources such as in the case of Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault's analyses. If it comes to the use of photography in the Dutch East Indies, research in English and German mainly provide analysis of photography's function for the colonisers. If it comes to the state of research on archives and institutions which experience a decolonisation phase or focus on transnational histories, so research is rather young, thus, it started in the beginning of the 21st century. Also, this research depends very much on the location of the archive, since every nation with a history in colonisation follows very individual aspects regarding objects as well as issues related to the Second World War, as Susan Legêne and Martijn Eickhoff state.¹²

⁹ Mette Sandbye, 'Looking at the Family Photo Album: A Resumed Theoretical Discussion of Why and How', *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 6, no. 1 (January 2014): 1–17, <https://doi.org/10.3402/jac.v6.25419>, pp. 1–2.

¹⁰ Sandbye, 'Looking at the Family Photo Album', p. 15.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2.

¹² Susan Legêne and Martijn Eickhoff, 'Postwar Europe and the Colonial Past in Photographs', in *Transnational Memory*, ed. Chiara De Cesari and Ann Rigney (Berlin, München, Boston: DE GRUYTER, 2014), 287–312, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110359107.287>, pp. 287–288.

Chapter 1: A Perfume Box moving between a family photo album and an archive. On the shifts in meaning of its photographs and authors

When Arie Maria passed away at the end of 2018, her close friend Rob Hammink went through the photographs, which she and her husband Esmet Sapari accumulated over the years. Knowingly that the author of this Master thesis was interested in researching these photographs, Hammink made a selection of this collection and handed it over together with documents on the former owners to the present author at the beginning of 2019. Yet, it is not clear which criteria he implemented for this selection. Since either Arie Maria or Esmet Sapari worked with photography professionally, initially, this box was seen to be a form of a family photo album, because so many photographs in it show them and their families in portraits on vacation or at home. Furthermore, these photographs belonged to one married couple. Yet, during the research period it was understood that the status of both, the box and its photographic content has changed with the handing over in early 2019. Therefore, this chapter wants to follow the research question if the meaning of these photographs changed with the selection and handing over of the perfume box to the author of this Master thesis. And if so, is this shift in meaning followed by a shift of the importance of the people involved for the construction of meaning and memory out of this perfume box? Hereby, a change in meaning of the photographs is already implied. Also, an analysis of the roles of Arie Maria, Esmet Sapari and Rob Hammink for the present form of the perfume box is suggested as well. Nonetheless, the analyses of these shifts are important for the discussions in the following chapters.

The discussion departs from the biographies of Arie Maria, Esmet Sapari and Rob Hammink and is followed by the presentation of the perfume box and its photographic content. A discussion on the author's role by using the theories of Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault will demonstrate the importance of a single-authorship for the emergence of a work as well as its understanding. Also, this explanation will help understanding, why an analysis of the perfume's box content regarding its former owner's biographies is only to a certain degree possible. On a further step, the concepts of the family photo album by Elizabeth Edwards, Janice Hart and Mette Sandbye in relation to the concept of the archive drawn on Katherine Palmer Albers work will be presented. This discussion will present the definitions of the family photo album and the archive, the meaning and functions of photographs within them, the role of an author for their understanding demonstrated to finally explain why and how the meaning of these photographs and the status of this perfume box has changed.

For the presentation of the biographies, all documents of Arie Maria and Esmet Sapari were first translated from Indonesian into English. For the biographical overview of Rob Hammink, his website was used. For the analysis of all photographic primary sources, their front- and backsides were recorded to gain an overview of the box's content. Through a review of the descriptions, names, notes, and texts on these photographs, it could more or less be reconstructed who is depicted in the photographs. Also, this textual information helped understanding the production circumstances of the photographs. Additionally, both information, the visual sides as well as the textual information gave indication for further research in online databanks as well as in academic literature. The results of this research will be presented in this chapter.

Arie Maria and Esmet Sapari were both born in the former Dutch East Indies to the turn to the 1930s. They completed their secondary school, high school,¹³ as well as their academic studies in present Indonesia too. Arie Maria absolved a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Jakarta¹⁴ and was finally appointed 'Official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Djakarta' by the State Administrative Agency of the Republic of Indonesia. There, she deepened her education in political science concerning the Republic of Indonesia.¹⁵ Her engagement in politics is also reflected through her participation at demonstrations by the communist-oriented Jakarta student movement Gerakan Mahasiswa Djakarta, G.M.D., in 1951.¹⁶ Esmet Sapari Soerohadikoesoemo's Curriculum Vitae reveals some missed education years due to his participation in armed struggle, at the Long March and the Guerrilla Wars from 1948 until 1950. After, he started and finished his Bachelor studies in Economy from 1955 until 1961.¹⁷ Both emigrated to Switzerland in October 1960, where Arie Maria started working at the Indonesian Embassy in Bern,¹⁸ and Esmet Sapari started with his dissertation in Economy at Basel University.¹⁹ While Arie Maria was promoted at the Embassy until 1964, becoming Head of the Consular Section from a Civil Servant of the lowest rank,²⁰ Esmet Sapari had to stop with his PhD-project around 1964 due to financial issues.²¹ They both moved to the Netherlands, where they worked for the Indonesian Embassy in The Hague. Arie Maria started

¹³ Sekolah Menengah Umum Bagian Pertama and Republik Indonesia, 'Surat Idjazah: Sekolah menengah Umum, Bagian Pertama Negeri Diberikan Kepada Maria = Diploma: First Public Secondary School Given To Maria', trans. Melisa Sari Arslan, 5 July 1947, Melisa Sari Arslan.; Republik Indonesia, 'Surat Idjazah. Sekolah Menengah Umum Bagian Atas Negeri. Arie Marya Atmodiwirjo = Diploma. Final Public High School. Arie Marya', trans. Melisa Sari Arslan, 7 July 1951, Melisa Sari Arslan.; Republik Indonesia, 'Idjazah. Sekolah Menengah Umum Tingkat Atas Bagian Ilmu Pasti (S.M.A. Bag. B.). Esmet Sapari Soerohadikoesoemo = Senior High School Diploma of the Definite Science Chart', trans. Melisa Sari Arslan, 10 August 1953, Melisa Sari Arslan.

¹⁴ Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia and Akademi Dinas Luar Negeri, 'Certificate of Republic of Indonesia. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Academy for the Foreign Service. Arie Maria Atmodiwirjo', trans. Melisa Sari Arslan, 28 November 1955, Melisa Sari Arslan.

¹⁵ The courses covered were the following: 1. Indonesian Government System; 2. State Personnel; 3. a) State Budget Belandja; 3.b) State Policy; 4. Office Management; 5. Country Archives; 6. Human Relations. Lembaga Administrasi Negara Republik Indonesia, Prajudi Prof. Dr. Mr. Atmosudirdjo, and P. M. Drs. Tangkilisan, 'Surat Keterangan No. 14/116/0/58. Arie Maria Atmodiwirjo', 15 September 1958, Melisa Sari Arslan.

¹⁶ Gerakan Mahasiswa Djakarta et al., 'GMD. Gerakan Mahasiswa Djakarta. menerangkan Denken Ini Bahwa SDR. Ari Maria = Djakarta Student Movement. Certification for fulfilled Requirements during the Demonstration Period', trans. Melisa Sari Arslan, 18 October 1951, Melisa Sari Arslan.

¹⁷ Esmet Drs. Sapari, 'Riwayat hidup / pendidikan / pengalaman/ = Curriculum vitae / Education / Experience. Drs. Esmet Sapari, Ex Sersan CPS', trans. Melisa Sari Arslan, 29 December 1981, Melisa Sari Arslan.

¹⁸ Masismid and Departemen Luar Negeri, 'Menteri Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. No. SP/884/P.L./I/60. Arie Maria Atmodiwirjo. Pendjabat Perwakilan Luar Negeri Kelas 6 Pada = Department of Foreign Affairs Indonesia No. SP/884/P.L./I/60. Arie Maria Atmodiwirjo. Representative of the 6th Class Foreign Affairs Office', trans. Melisa Sari Arslan, 6 October 1960, Melisa Sari Arslan.

¹⁹ Sapari, 'Riwayat hidup / pendidikan / pengalaman/ = Curriculum vitae / Education / Experience. Drs. Esmet Sapari, Ex Sersan CPS'.

²⁰ On the promotion in 1961: Departemen Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia and Kepala Biro Kepegawaian, 'Menteri Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. No. S.P./1923/P.L./I/61.', 6 November 1961, Melisa Sari Arslan.; On the promotion in 1962: Departemen Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, 'Menteri Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia. No. S.P./452/P.L./III/62.', 7 July 1962, Melisa Sari Arslan.; On her position as Head of the Consular Section at the Indonesian Embassy in Switzerland: Rechtsanwalt Simonin Generalkonsul, 'Corps Consulaire de Berne. Der Sekretär. Letter to Arie Maria Esmet, Chef der Konsularabteilung der Indonesischen Botschaft in der Schweiz, Bern.', Abschiedsbrief, 23 January 1964, Leiden, Netherlands, Melisa Sari Arslan.

²¹ Sapari, 'Riwayat hidup / pendidikan / pengalaman/ = Curriculum vitae / Education / Experience. Drs. Esmet Sapari, Ex Sersan CPS'.

there as a staff member of the Consular Section,²² where she worked at least until 1989.²³ Esmet Sapari's position at the Embassy remains unclear. However, his Curriculum Vitae list the completion of his dissertation at the "Internationale Faculteit in Haarlem" in Economy.²⁴ Robertus Gerardus Laurentius Hammink, short, Rob Hammink, was born in 1961 in the Netherlands, where he served in the early 1980s for the Royal Dutch Army as a pilot. From 1985 onwards he pursued Bachelor studies in Communication and Journalism to start his professional career at the Dutch Embassy in the UK in 1986, from which he changed to an almost 20 year long working period as a journalist for the Dutch newspaper *The Telegraaf*.²⁵ It is not clear where and when Rob Hammink met Arie Maria and Esmet Sapari. Yet, during a short talk when the primary sources were handed over, it became clear that he was mainly a friend to Arie Maria, who he knew for at least 10 years.

The photographs in the box were appropriated and entered the box from different places; traces of glue on the photographs backsides and the sender addresses from Switzerland and Italy in the birth announcements provide these information (Fig. 1–13). The box contains more or less 100 photographs and its content can be divided into two parts: One part is here defined to represent the family aspect of the box, since the texts to the birth announcements great Arie Maria as "aunt". Also, these photographs show Arie Maria, Esmet Sapari and their families and friends.²⁶

The second part of this perfume box is in the further discussion within this Master thesis called to be the "sub-group". As, this group of approximately 30 photographs are all black and white, their frames are more or less 9 x 13cm long, hence, they look uniform. They show images of landscapes, women at work with batik, bridges, fruits and plants, rivers, dancers, buildings and villas, sugar refinery, railway stations and tracks, a volcano, city views, but also group portraits and lynching scenes (Fig. 14–26, and Fig. 28). A comparison of the captures on the photographs' backsides, researching the keywords online as well as in literature led to two findings. There is a group of photographs at the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, which is in their motifs identical. Yet, in their sizes bigger, than the photos in the box. Here, it is about the photographs showing the Mangkoe Negoro family after or at weddings as well as events held at their palace in Surakarta (Comparative Plate 1, Fig. 33–42). This family was one of the Javanese monarchical families, whose origins can be traced back to the 16th century.²⁷ The Javanese monarchy all in all experienced a diminution in power due to the local colonial powers, so that some of them supported the wishes for independence coming from nationalist and communist parties to a certain degree.²⁸ Yet, in research, the Mangkoe Negoro family is presented as one, who aimed a close relationship to the

²² Kedutaan Besar Indonesia, Embassy of Indonesia The Hague, and T.S. Kapitupulu SH, 'Surat Keterangan. No. 102/ATT/67', 1 September 1967, Melisa Sari Arslan.

²³ Menteri Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia and Kusumaatmadja Prof. Dr. Mochtar, 'Surat Penghargaan. Penghargaan dan Acapan Terima Rasih. Arie Maria Esmet Sapari = Head of Administration, Representative of the Republic of Indonesia, The Hague, NL', trans. Melisa Sari Arslan, 27 July 1989, Melisa Sari Arslan.

²⁴ Sapari, 'Riwayat hidup / pendidikan / pengalaman/ = Curriculum vitae / Education / Experience. Drs. Esmet Sapari, Ex Sersan CPS'.

²⁵ Rob Hammink, 'CV 2020', Personal Website, *Hamminkway – Rob Hammink. Author/Scriptwriter/Reporter/City Poet* (blog), 12 August 2020, <https://www.robhammink.com/en/cv/>.

²⁶ Fig. 10, 29, 103, 105, 121, 149, 151, 152, 158, 160; Fig. 139, 141, 164, 166, 168, 170, 172, 174, 176.; Fig. 117, 119, 127, 154, 156.

²⁷ Jeffrey Finestone and Shaharil Talib, *The Royal Families of South-East Asia*, 2nd ed (Petaling Jaya, Selangor Darul Ehsan: Shahindera : Sole distributor, Shahwira Holdings, 2002), p. 243.

²⁸ Roger Kershaw, *Monarchy in South-East Asia: The Faces of Tradition in Transition*, Politics in Asia Series (London ; New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 73.

Dutch monarchy.²⁹ A correspondence with Ingeborg Eggink, registrar for the photo collection at the Stichting Nationaal Museum van Werdeculturen, informs that the photographs at the museum were taken at around 1920 and 1930. However, it remains unknown, who the photographs took or who the former owner of these photos was.³⁰ As Susan Legêne and Marijn Eickhoff with regard to the photo collections of the former Dutch East Indies in the Netherlands state, with the return of the reparatries during the decolonisation phase of Indonesia between 1945 and 1958, photographs were donated to museums such as the Tropenmuseum. By doing so, Legêne and Eickhoff conclude, these “people inserted their overseas histories of the Netherlands Indies into Dutch histories of the colonial past.” Therefore, these photographs with former personal meaning and memory become part of the discussions on decolonisation in archives and museums.³¹

Furthermore, this sub-group not only refers to a part of the collection at the Tropenmuseum. As a comparison with John Pemberton’s research shows, some of the sub-group’s photographs are also to be found in Surakarta, Indonesia, at the Palace from the Mangkoe Negoro family (Comparative Plate 2, Fig. 43–44). Pemberton informs that from 1900 onwards, photographs of “self-consciously” celebrated moments of the monarchs and photos of “the machinery so emblematic of modern times”, such as railways and construction of bridges were collected in order to demonstrate modernity from the point of view of the same family to further justify their position and wish for collaboration with the Dutch East Indies Company as well as loyalty to the Dutch crown.³² The sub-group represents these kinds of photographs as the overview in the beginning of this section described. During the research for this thesis, the answer, if and how the archive in Surakarta looks into matters of decolonisation could not be answered. Therefore, these two points, featured by the Tropenmuseum, and the existence of the photographic collection as well as the occupation with regard to decolonisation, and the Surakarta archive that aimed to demonstrate the monarch’s modernity, remain here. One last point shall further distinguish the sub-group from the other group in the box’s content: These prints were taken at the same time, which is supported by their uniform appearance. Furthermore, a close look reveals back frames and traces of quick productions of prints from damaged negatives. Because the photographs at the Tropenmuseum and in the Palace in Surakarta are dated with different times of recognitions, this sub-group also represents an accumulation of times located in these prints and found in this perfume box.

To further discuss the status of this perfume box, the following argumentation will delve into the role of an author. As mentioned, there are Arie Maria, Esmet Sapari and Rob Hammink involved. During the research process, it was realised that their significance for the analysis and the status of this perfume box is differently set.

²⁹ Susie Protschky, ‘Photography and the Making of a Popular, Colonial Monarchy in the Netherlands East Indies during Queen Wilhelmina’s Reign (1898-1948)’, *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 130, no. 4 (11 December 2015): 3–29, <https://doi.org/10.18352/bmgn-lchr.10140>, p. 120.

³⁰ Ingeborg Eggink and Melisa Sari Arslan, ‘Photographs at the Tropenmuseum Amsterdam, NL’, 4 June 2020, ingeborg.eggink@wereldculturen.nl. As well as: Ingeborg Eggink and Melisa Sari Arslan, ‘Photographs at the Tropenmuseum Amsterdam, NL’, 5 June 2020, ingeborg.eggink@wereldculturen.nl.

³¹ Under reparatries they mean: Europeans, people of Asian-Dutch descent who were leaving their country of birth, demobilized soldiers of the several Dutch Army located in present Indonesia, jobless Dutch civilian servants, staff of nationalized Dutch or multinational enterprises and plantations, and other groups who were forced to leave Indonesia or chose to do so. See: Legêne and Eickhoff, ‘Postwar Europe and the Colonial Past in Photographs’, p. 294.

³² John Pemberton, ‘The Ghost in the Machine’, in *Photographies East: The Camera and Its Histories in East and Southeast Asia*, ed. Rosalind C. Morris, *Objects/Histories: Critical Perspectives on Art, Material Culture, and Representation* (Durham [NC]: Duke University Press, 2009), 29–56, p. 33.

Both, Michel Foucault and Roland Barthes have dealt with the figure of the author. Both works were written in the 1960s, primarily for analysis within literary studies with the aim to deconstruct the figure of the author which is related with the idea of the single figure that created a piece of work. Both of them criticise the marginalisation of the author, who seemed to be the origin and only reference point to analyse a literary or art work.³³ Their texts found their way into art historical reception because they also addressed the work of artists.³⁴ Yet, it was Foucault who also deconstructed the definitions of 'writing' or 'work' in order to present his thesis that Barthes' idea of the 'Death of the Author' was hindered by these two terms.³⁵ By doing so, Foucault's contribution made Barthes' text fruitful for the art historical context.³⁶

Barthes understands the author as a figure constructed through language filled with codes, which mediated these codes in a language system to the person reading. Barthes explains that these codes could be understood in different ways, while language did not convey an author, but only represented a subject.³⁷ Furthermore, the life and work of an author were not present in writing, because the writing already reflected the past of the author's work; thus, the search for the author lay in a field that reproduced only language. This language was a collection "resulting from the thousand sources of culture",³⁸ from which the writer drew. Hence, what was written was always a citation of what had already existed.³⁹ Because no clear analysis of a literature was possible, the search for "meaning" should be omitted.⁴⁰ Therefore Barthes concludes that the "birth of the reader must be ransomed by the death of the author."⁴¹ Michel Foucault relates writing to death too,⁴² and emphasizes the existing of a work in the reception and construction of meaning related to this work in its reader.⁴³ However, he goes further in his analysis by also deconstructing the concept of writing and work.⁴⁴ In doing so, he points out that both terms are strongly related to their authors and that deconstructing the terms would only pose more questions. Thus the concept of the work is "just as problematic as the individuality of the author".⁴⁵ Foucault therefore attempts to understand which and what kind of space would become free with the disappearance of the

³³ Fotis Jannidis et al., 'Einleitung: Autor und Interpretation', in *Texte zur Theorie der Autorschaft*, Nachdr., Reclams Universal-Bibliothek 18058 (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2009), 7–29, p. 22.

³⁴ Roland Barthes lists Charles Baudelaire, Bertolt Brecht, Vincent Van Gogh, Pjotr Illjitsch Tschaikowsky. See: Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author [1967/68]', *Ubuweb: Papers*, 4 July 2020, <http://ubu.com/aspen/aspen5and6/threeEssays.html#barthes>, p. 2 and p. 4. And Michel Foucault mentions daguerreotype. See: Michel Foucault, 'Was ist ein Autor? [1969]', in *Texte zur Theorie der Autorschaft*, Nachdr., Reclams Universal-Bibliothek 18058 (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2009), 198–229, p. 201.

³⁵ Jannidis et al., 'Einleitung: Autor und Interpretation', p. 23.

³⁶ Giaco Schiesser, 'Autorschaft Nach Dem Tod Des Autors. Barthes Und Foucault Revisited', in *Autorschaft in Den Künsten: Konzepte, Praktiken, Medien*, ed. Corina Caduff and Tan Wälchli, Zürcher Jahrbuch Der Künste (Zürich: Zürcher Hochschule der Künste, 2008), 20–33, <https://blog.zhdk.ch/giacoschiesser/files/2010/12/Autorschaft.pdf>, pp. 20–21. As well as: Fotis Jannidis and Michel Foucault, 'Einleitung: Michel Foucault, Was ist ein Autor?', in *Texte zur Theorie der Autorschaft*, Nachdr., Reclams Universal-Bibliothek 18058 (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2009), 194–197, pp. 194–195. And: Corina Caduff and Tan Wälchli, eds., *Autorschaft in Den Künsten: Konzepte, Praktiken, Medien*, Zürcher Jahrbuch Der Künste (Zürich: Zürcher Hochschule der Künste, 2008), p. 35.

³⁷ Barthes, 'The Death of the Author [1967/68]', p. 3.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4–5.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴² Foucault, 'Was ist ein Autor?', p. 204.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 205–207.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 206.

author.⁴⁶ To this end, he presents, on the one hand, that the name of the author does not have to correspond to the proper name, but can represent several proper names.⁴⁷ On the other hand, he states that an author's name can determine "a classificatory function" within a discourse as well as "a certain mode of being of the discourse".⁴⁸ He concludes his analysis with an extension of the definition of the "founders of discursivity (sic!)", among which he counts authors who are "not only the authors of their books", but who have also created "the possibility and the educational laws" for further scientific approaches. Among these he counts the works of Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud, whose works have created "an unlimited possibility for discourse".⁴⁹

Related to the box and the circumstance that both, Barthes and Foucault, who wrote on the topic of single-authorship related to the creation of a work, it must be stated here, that the creators of the photographs in the box are barely known by name. So for example, it can be assumed that the parents who created the birth announcements took the photographs of their babies. Yet, if it comes to the photographs located at the Tropenmuseum or the Mangkoe Negoro Palace, there are no names available to the photographs' creators. If it comes to the box's present form, then Rob Hammink's function shall be highlighted in the following, since he made the selection for the present form of the box. In relation to the theory on the family photo album drawn on research by Mette Sandbye, Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, and concerning the theory on the archive presented by Katherine Palmer Albers, it will be shown that an author leads the reading and understanding of both, an album as well as an archive. Also, it will become clear, why and to what extend the status of the perfume box's content has changed.

While Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart focus on albums in general and are mostly interested in the use of these objects, Sandbye is in particular interested in family photographs and albums dating from the 1960s onwards,⁵⁰ thus taking on a period of increasing globalism and ever faster circulating objects.⁵¹ All of them do agree about the social and political qualities of albums: Edwards and Hart describe them as sites in which the public meets the private.⁵² Also, cultural and social conditions functioned as guidelines for what was shown or remained hidden.⁵³ Sandbye does agree with this understanding, when she presents family photo albums as "objects that simultaneously convey the personal, affective, social and cultural", which meant that they produced "localities that created but also negated individual stories".⁵⁴ In relation to the effects of globalisation, this shall be understood on the personal level. Sandbye hereby means the productions of local sites in which individuals deal with changes caused by globalisation and start to construct identities and sites that suit to their needs. So it is that while Edwards and Hart do not specify on how they seek to analyse albums in terms of possible cultural differences, Sandbye's analysis refuses to address the question of whether the visual or material presentation reflected anything specific to the respective culture. Sandbye sees this question as emphasising the assumptions that "fundamental differences" between the albums would be present and

⁴⁶ Foucault, 'Was ist ein Autor?', pp. 207–208.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 209.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 210.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 219.

⁵⁰ Sandbye, 'Looking at the Family Photo Album', p. 1.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 12.

⁵² Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, 'Introduction', in *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, Material Cultures (London ; New York: Routledge, 2004), 1–15, pp. 8–9.

⁵³ Edwards and Hart, 'Introduction', p. 11.

⁵⁴ Sandbye, 'Looking at the Family Photo Album', p. 3.

identifiable. Therefore, she examines the albums “as local ‘archive’ negotiating between globally circulating forms”, such as to be found on “the social platforms on the Internet”.⁵⁵ To Sandbye, the photographic, visual and material traces and effects of globalization are apparent in these locations. It is also her, who makes clear that the family photo album differs from an album through the existence of family and friend photography in a book, whose pages were arranged or the photos were taken by one of the same family members as depicted on the photos.⁵⁶ Sandbye, Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart agree that this very arrangement of the photographs on the pages allowed an understanding on why and under which socio-cultural aspects the photographs were taken and brought into narration on the pages, therefore, offering an analysis of the intentions of the albums’ author as well as the public within the private sphere.⁵⁷ Regarding the box, there are family and friend photography, yet, they are loosely to be found. A reading to understanding the logics according to the photographs arrangement on the pages is therefore not possible. Concerning the latter point, the public is brought into the private through the sub-group of photographs, whose references are located at the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, and the Mangkoe Negoro Palace in Surakarta, Indonesia. Or, from the point of view of the discussion on decolonisation of photographic collections in national archives and museums presented here through the research of Legêne and Eickhoff, the private into the public. Therefore, it seems that this form of the box, which accommodates all these loose photographs can be linked to what Sandbye presented as “localities that created but also negated individual stories”, as the photographs of Arie Maria and Esmet Sapari are brought together through a selection by Rob Hammink. Sandbye, Edwards and Hart agree that the encounter of the album was determined by the arrangement of the photographs on the pages and the size of the album.⁵⁸ Edwards and Hart exemplify this circumstance, by pointing out that larger albums needed a table and allowed several viewers while smaller albums required closer examination.⁵⁹ Since neither Arie Maria or Esmet Sapari are available to ask for the meaning of the photographs in this box to them, nor the photographs are arranged on pages, an analysis of these photographs embedded in the box’s history as drawn earlier in this chapter, is not possible. Yet, Edwards and Hart also see the photographs to be brought in a “performance” on the pages, attributing to the single photograph some kind of an agency.⁶⁰ These points lead to the further discussion on the consequences of the absence of the single author in relation to this box: While the family and friend photographs could be related to either Arie Maria or Esmet Sapari through the identification of the people depicted on the photographs, the sub-group represents a flexible attribution. Since both of them were politically active and also worked in Switzerland and the Netherlands working for diplomacy, this sub-group could be attributed to both of them; hence this box does offer a creation and negotiation of individual stories.

It is the idea of agency located in photographs as mentioned before, which seems of importance if it comes to define Hammink’s role for the current status of the box. As Katherine Palmer Albers for her research on Gerhard Richter’s artwork *Atlas* explains, archives represented places that were created to record. Linked to the invention of photography in the 19th century, which saw photography as a way to capture moments mechanically and therefore objectively,

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 11.

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 11–13.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 13. And: Edwards and Hart, ‘Introduction’, p. 11.

⁵⁸ Sandbye, ‘Looking at the Family Photo Album’, p. 5.

⁵⁹ Edwards and Hart, ‘Introduction’, p. 11.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

photographs were seen to be the perfect recording devices.⁶¹ Like with albums, archives hold information and knowledge in a structured way, which is determined by the albums respectively the archives owner respectively authors. Differences, so agree Albers, Sandbye, Edwards and Hart, remain in the use and meaning of photography in these cases. For family photo albums, photography is used to capture portraits of family members, acquaintances, and friends,⁶² which are brought together in an album to create individual, personal, and family memories.⁶³ Accordingly, it can be stated here, that the photographs in the box initially had personal meaning to the former owners Arie Maria and Esmet Sapari. Yet, it was Rob Hammink's selection, which turned the location of the box as a site of a family photo album to an archive, since by doing so, the photographs were turned to "historical documents and other important records and artifacts (...) gathered, (...) and, most importantly, preserved for posterity."⁶⁴ The agency of one photograph, by means of Edwards and Hart, as well as Hammink's selection turned these photographs to objects based on which not only the analysis of this, but also the argumentation in the following chapters are going to be done. It is the construction of these photographs, seen as Barthes' codes, which constructed meaning to Rob Hammink in Foucault's sense. Also, it is the absence of the knowledge and meaning of those criteria, which served Rob Hammink to select and prevents the complete understanding of the box's constructed meaning. Coming back to the form of the box that was initially seen to be a form of a family photo album, it is also Albers distinction which makes clear, why the initial collection of photographs under the possession of Arie Maria and Esmet Sapari shall rather seen as a family photo album than a family photo archive: If an archive is here to preserve documents of importance for posterity, because research should be done on them, for example, then the counterargument can be pulled that it remains unclear if Arie Maria and Esmet Sapari appropriated or collected these photographs for research and posterity. Yet, it is Rob Hammink who made the selection of this initial collection of photographs because he knew that the author of this Master thesis was interested in photography and could imagine doing research on these photographs in some kind. Hence, Rob Hammink became an archivist like author by means of Barthes and Foucault of an archival collection of photographs, because of the request of this Master thesis's author.

This chapter followed the research question on if the meaning of these photographs changed with the selection and handing over of the perfume box to the author of this Master thesis. Also, this chapter asked about the consequences on the roles of the people involved. It departed from the presentation of the biographies of Arie Maria, Esmet Sapari and Rob Hammink as well as the photographic content in the box. A material analysis in relation to the text to be found on the photographs' backsides has lead to the realization that some of the photographs were initially glued in albums, framed, or entered their collection via mail. The material and textual analysis of the photographic primary sources lead to the realisation that parts of the photographs are in their motifs identical to photographs at the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, as well as at the Javanese monarchic archive at the Mangkoe Negoro Palace in Surakarta, present Indonesia.

⁶¹ Katherine Palmer Albers, 'Archive /Atlas /Album: The Photographic Constructions of Christian Boltanski, Gerhard Richter, and Dinh Q. Lê' (Art history, United States - Massachusetts, Boston University, 2008), <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2443/docview/304691899?accountid=12045>, p. x.

⁶² Albers, 'Archive /Atlas /Album: The Photographic Constructions of Christian Boltanski, Gerhard Richter, and Dinh Q. Lê', p. 2.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 4.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 3.

Also, they are identical in their material appearance, i.e. size, printing technique and paper carrier. Through a comparison between the information to be found on the online collection of the Tropenmuseum, an email correspondence with Ingeborg Eggink as well as research by John Pemberton, understanding of temporal and archival differences could be gained. First of all, the photographs in the perfume box are new prints. In their material appearance they do not show that their photographic negatives were taken in the 1920s until 1930s. Secondly, these photographic reproductions entered the photographic collection at the Tropenmuseum in result of Indonesia's decolonisation phase, while other reproductions in this perfume box were constitutive for the Javanese monarchic archive and its maintenance as modern and worth for cooperation with the Dutch East Indies Company as well as loyalty towards the Dutch crown. Regarding the box's content it is also captured here that even though the selection of the initial collection was reduced, the existence of the sub-group within the box leads to an accumulation of references regarding time of recognition of the photographs as well as archival meanings to be located in the Netherlands as well as in Indonesia. All in all, it remains unclear how these photographs entered the initial collection of Arie Maria and Esmet Sapari. The selection Rob Hammink made out of this collection was in the beginning of the research process seen to be a form of a family photo album – album, because a selection of photographs are represented and these photographs depict one family, friends of this family or photographs taken by one of the family members. Also, compared to the function of an archive, the family photo album in its loosest form, does not serve to structure documents of historical importance for posterity, as Albers makes clear. By the analysis of an author's function that was discussed in relation to Roland Barthes' 'The Death of an Author' as well as Michel Foucault's 'What is an Author?' the roles of the different people under discussion here could be presented: As authors who collected and appropriated photographs according to their personal criteria and attribution of private meaning to the photographs are Arie Maria and Esmet Sapari seen. As authors, who actively turned this private, familial collection into an archive, are here Rob Hammink and the author of this Master thesis to be seen. Yet, as authors as creators of works are not mentioned the photographers who took the photos, because no information are available on them. The discussion of the missing single-author has also shown that an analysis of the photographs as part of a family photo album is not possible because a narration of the photos on pages is missing. This narration, however, is indicative for the albums meaning. Since Rob Hammink knew about the research interest in these photographs from the side of the author of the present research; thus turning the initial familial collection into a collection for research on the photographs as well as the status of this box in the aftermath. Therefore, Rob Hammink's role is to be defined as one, which acted as an archivist, providing the photographic basis for the research which is initiated with the author of this Master thesis. Thus, both, Rob Hammink and the present author are to be seen as actively involved creators of the perfume box's current status as an archive. Thus, the photographs themselves experienced a shift in meaning and function from one of individual and personal, as in the family photograph, to an object for prosperity and research, hence an archival object.

In chapter two, the emergence of cultural memory is discussed for which the role of Rob Hammink as archivist is going to be of significance as well.

Chapter 2: A Look into the Past through ‘Montaged’ Memory

Arie Maria, Esmet Sapari and Rob Hammink are linked through a friendship as well as through a common cultural and historical background. The previous chapter declared the perfume box’s status as one of an archive. Departing from this idea, this chapter aims to learn more about the emergence of cultural memory possible through the box’s photographic content. To do so, this chapter uses Benjamin Buchloh’s analysis of German artist Gerhard Richter’s work *Atlas*. For his research, Buchloh delves into the concepts of photomontage as well as Aby Warburg’s *Mnemosyne Atlas*. Also, he attributes special memory mechanisms to specific photographic genres. Yet, Buchloh’s analysis depends on a fixed structure of photographs, which is not given in the perfume box’s photographic content. Therefore, Buchloh’s analysis will be brought into dialogue with George Didi-Huberman’s research on Richter’s *Atlas*. The research question to be followed here wants to learn more on to what extent the research methodologies of Buchloh help constructing cultural memory within the perfume box’s photographic content. Since Buchloh relates his methodological approach to the technique of photomontage and both of them, Buchloh and Didi-Huberman, use Aby Warburg’s concept of the *Mnemosyne Atlas* to analyse the memory functions within Richter’s *Atlas*, this chapter will delve into these concepts too. Departing from a presentation of the theory of photomontage since the avant-garde, its change in use and function during the 20th century, Gerhard Richter’s artwork will be presented. This presentation will demonstrate the parallels between *Atlas* and the history of the perfume box, to further discuss the functional parallels between a photograph and a plate in case of Richter’s *Atlas*. A presentation of Warburg’s *Mnemosyne Atlas* follows to explain why researching without an existence of time law works and in order to present the parallels between *Mnemosyne Atlas* and the avant-garde use of photomontage. This section will be followed by a discussion on the emergence of cultural memory according to Buchloh. Eventually, this chapter ends with a discussion of the research question presented.

For the analysis within this chapter, latest research on photomontage, published in 2020 was used in order to receive an extended view on this theory next to Buchloh’s presentation of photomontage. Also, this theory will present a shift in photomontage’s use during the 20th century, hence providing a basis to relate the case study to both uses as well as a theoretical basis for chapter three of this Master thesis. Also for the analysis of Gerhard Richter’s *Atlas* research next to those of Buchloh and Didi-Huberman were used to receive a bigger understanding of it. The same goes for the presentation of Aby Warburg’s *Mnemosyne Atlas*, for which Felix Thürlemann’s work serves as an additional academic point of view next to those of Buchloh and Didi-Huberman. Regarding the use of the photographic primary sources, literature on the use of photography during the Aceh war in Indonesia was consulted.

In scholarship, "photomontage" is associated with a technique originating in the early 20th century and associated with the artistic work of avant-garde groups. Dadaists, Constructivists and Surrealists are counted among these, whose "aesthetic achievements", perceived as "programmatic and subversive", quickly found their way into and were used for propaganda and advertising purposes, the illustrated press and modern art.⁶⁵ It is their artistic production, which aimed to respond to the political circumstances, the threat of emerging nationalism and fascism during the Weimar era in Germany, the Soviet Union and France.⁶⁶

Photomontage is about juxtaposing, recombining and cutting together different, already used, found, produced images and photographs, which can be of different origin, address different motifs, themes and eventually leads to a new, unchangeable unit of image.⁶⁷ By using mainly photographic reproductions and images found in the media such as newspapers and magazines, the avant-gardists sought to criticize precisely these types of publications as instruments dictated by the capitalistic oriented governments. According to Susan Laxton, for as parts of mass communication, these media were seen as a means of spreading "hegemonic culture" as well as a "site for the public sphere" in which political action and criticism of "existing production and distribution apparatuses" became possible.⁶⁸ Photomontage was intended to create an "aesthetics of disagreement", which could range from "subtle cognitive discomfort to downright violent conflict".⁶⁹ These juxtapositions of images were intended to intervene in the processes of perception marked by conventions, through causing a shock in the image viewer. This shock should stimulate a critical approach to the images found, which were clearly marked by "socio-political relevance",⁷⁰ thus, also tried to stimulate a critique of social circumstances.⁷¹ This process was considered "programmatic and subversive" or "revolutionary" in their desire, because the artists wanted to intervene directly in the thought processes of the image viewers, in order to lead the image viewers away not only from "conventions of aesthetic experience", but also "to a lived reception of representation with pronounced relevance for the socio-political landscape".⁷² These purposes and artistic implementations had not been applied in this way in the history of art and photography until then.⁷³ The photographic indexicality played and still plays a fundamental role in the operation through montage: the carrier of the photograph takes a back seat to the meaning of the photomontage, in order to question "the transcriptional veracity" of photography, which "happens (...) in photomontage's occupation and redirection of mass-media images from their original (...) uses." Hence, "the effect is that of playing against means-ends thinking." A "passive" engagement with the image created by photomontage was no longer possible; "it demands interpretation in place and facts, and active engagement".⁷⁴ Thus, in the first half of the 20th century, "photomontage

⁶⁵ Bernd Stiegler and Felix Thürlemann, *Konstruierte Wirklichkeiten. Die Fotografische Montage 1839-1900* (Berlin: Schwabe Verlag, 2019), p. 7. And: Elena Zanichelli, *Privat - bitte eintreten! Rhetoriken des Privaten in der Kunst der 1990er Jahre*, Image 66 (Bielefeld: transcript, 2015), p. 225. As well as: Susan Laxton, 'Photomontage in the Present Perfect Continuous', *History of Photography* 43, no. 2 (3 April 2019): 191–205, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03087298.2019.1678292>, pp. 191–193.

⁶⁶ Andrés Mario Zervigón, 'The Photomontage Activity of Postmodernism', *History of Photography* 43, no. 2 (3 April 2019): 130–43, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03087298.2019.1676982>, p. 136.

⁶⁷ Sabine T. Kriebel and Andrés Mario Zervigón, 'Is Photomontage Over? A Special Issue of *History of Photography*', *History of Photography* 43, no. 2 (3 April 2019): 119–21, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03087298.2019.1696043>, p. 120.

⁶⁸ Laxton, 'Photomontage in the Present Perfect Continuous', pp. 194–195.

⁶⁹ Kriebel and Zervigón, 'Is Photomontage Over?', p. 120.

⁷⁰ Laxton, 'Photomontage in the Present Perfect Continuous', p. 191.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 194–195.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 192–193.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

was understood as a strategy based in conflict, claimed that the role of art was an agent of social change."⁷⁵ Criticism towards the media and socio-political circumstances initiated and drove the production of the photomontage.⁷⁶ In the case of the box, there are loose photographs to be found that range in their productions from the end of the first half of the 20th century until the beginning of the 21st century. Since at least part of this photographic collection travelled from 1960 onwards first to Switzerland and then to the Netherlands, it is here seen to be socio-historically incorrect to seek meaning through the montage technique applied by the avant-gardists.

Because the media and their use, politics and economy have changed since the second half of the 20th century, various researchers have devoted themselves to the art production using photomontage that has since come into being.⁷⁷ Andrés Mario Zervigón has devoted himself to the technique and use of photomontage in art production since the 1980s, focusing on the importance of photographic indexicality in painting.⁷⁸ For his analysis, he refers to Rosalind Krauss's two-part work 'Notes on the Index: Seventies Art in America', in which she dealt with the multitude of artistic possibilities of expression in the USA from the 1970s onwards,⁷⁹ whereby she considered this art production on the basis of the photographic indexicality,⁸⁰ to which she attributes an "operating" power of photography in "human consciousness". She explains that this very power is to be found in the "index and its meaning".⁸¹ This operating force of photographic indexicality, which can refer to objects, other image works, themes, language, but also to the artist's own artistic production and way of dealing with themes, is something she sees as having been found again in art production since the 1970s.⁸² This way, artists included various levels of meaning in an artistic work, but also as a means for artists to address criticism on the medium and their own work.⁸³ Zervigón, therefore, explains the technique and theory of photomontage as a means of self-critically questioning of photographic art production and as a means of stimulating the public to critique it too. Here, photographic indexicality became the binding agent that could demonstrate the relationships between the images, their production history and the production of this very production. As far as change in social, political and economic terms is concerned, he informs about the "moment of political reaction characterised by rising neoliberal economic forces (...) in the USA, (...) in the UK, and (...) in Germany."⁸⁴ He thus draws a historical parallel in which photomontage is used to protect "from uncomplicated illusionism (...) by emphasizing and criticizing operations of meaning".⁸⁵ As mentioned earlier in this paragraph, the technique of photomontage according to the avant-gardists does not seem to be applicable to the box's content. But compared to the use of photomontage from 1970s onwards, for which the index becomes an agent to offer a reflexive comparison between the art work and the way it was produced, thus offering a comparison to the artworks' viewer, the occurrence of meaning and memory in the perfume box should rather be

⁷⁵ Laxton, 'Photomontage in the Present Perfect Continuous', p. 193.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 194.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 195.

⁷⁸ Zervigón, 'The Photomontage Activity of Postmodernism', p. 131.

⁷⁹ Rosalind E. Krauss, 'Notes on the Index: Seventies Art in America', *October* 3, no. Spring (1977): 68–81, <http://www.jstor.com/stable/778437>, p. 68.

⁸⁰ Rosalind E. Krauss, 'Notes on the Index: Seventies Art in America. Part 2', *October* 4, no. Autumn (1977): 58–67, <http://www.jstor.com/stable/778480>, p. 59.

⁸¹ Krauss, 'Notes on the Index: Seventies Art in America', p. 75.

⁸² Ibid., p. 78.

⁸³ Krauss, 'Notes on the Index: Seventies Art in America. Part 2', p. 63.

⁸⁴ Zervigón, 'The Photomontage Activity of Postmodernism', p. 131.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 133.

seen in relation to the avant-gardists' use of photomontage. Then, their use operated through the photographic index, referring to socio-political circumstances and media.

The following section presents Gerhard Richter's *Atlas* and the research process of Benjamin Buchloh in particular. He sought to explore the memorizing mechanisms of Richter's work of art in connection with historical socio-political circumstances and in relation to cultural memory. It will become apparent that there are conceptual parallels between the history and content of the perfume box discussed in this Master's thesis and that of Gerhard Richter's *Atlas*. It will also become clear that especially the family photographs and photographs of horror, trauma as well as the biographies of the people discussed in connection with the inclusion of these photographs are important for these mechanisms.

Gerhard Richter started collecting materials for his art piece *Atlas* in the early 1960s, and arranged them from 1969 onwards on panels.⁸⁶ To these materials belong photographed images of concentration camp inmates, reproduced pornographic photographs from magazines, portraits of artists and politicians, family photographs and portraits of friends, photographic experiments and landscape photographs. Some of these were independently produced; others were collected for preparatory studies for conversions into paintings.⁸⁷ Hence, by bringing together objects and images of political history, autobiographical materials and studies for artistic projects,⁸⁸ *Atlas* moves between the idea of an archive of works and a family photo album since all these objects do have a personal, biographical meaning to him. Here, the parallels between the perfume box and *Atlas* become clear: the two groups of private, personal familial photographs and the sub-group connect biographical with historical and political objects, because the sub-group represents materials that can be related to Arie Maria's and Esmet Sapari's careers and biographies in diplomacy, politics and their engagements in the Indonesian National Revolution. Yet, for it comes to a comparison between the appearance of *Atlas* and the perfume box, differences are to be highlighted here. As of the mass of photographs and other materials in *Atlas*, Richter decided to list them in a structured, symmetrical manner on panels.⁸⁹ Since the artwork's first exhibition in 1972,⁹⁰ Richter has arranged further panels, so that between 1972 and 2013 the number of them rose from 315 to 802 (Fig. 27). Also, Richter decided to adapt their arrangement to subsequent exhibitions as well as added and excluded photographs, drawings, and text excerpts from or to the panels, often adapting the picture groupings.⁹¹ As in the previous chapter, it is Katherine Palmer Albers' dissertation, which makes the differences between the functions and organisational forms of albums, archives and atlases clear. Since the invention of photography in the first half of the 19th century and its recognition as mechanical and therefore objective recording device, archives,

⁸⁶ Armin Zweite and Gerhard Richter, *Gerhard Richter. Life and Work: In Painting, Thinking Is Painting*, 2020, p. 143.

⁸⁷ Armin Zweite, 'Gerhard Richter's *Atlas* – Album of Photographs, Collages and Sketches 1989', in *Gerhard Richter. Atlas: The Reader*, ed. Iwona Blazwick and Janna Graham (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 2004), 37–70, pp.46–59.

⁸⁸ Miguel Mesquita Duarte, '(Dis)Figuration of Memory In, Around, and Beyond Gerhard Richter's *Atlas*: Between Photography, Abstraction, and the Mnemonic Construction', *RIHA Journal* 0200, 10 October 2018, 1–30, <https://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2018/0200-mesquita-duarte>, p. 2.

⁸⁹ According to Zweite, these are groups of four, six, twelve, sixteen, or more. In: Zweite and Richter, *Gerhard Richter*, p. 143.

⁹⁰ *Gerhard Richter. Atlas von de Foto's En Schetsen/Gerhard Richter: Atlas of the Photographs and Sketches*, Paper and glue, 340 Panels, 1.–30. December 1972, Hedendaagse Kunst - Utrecht, <https://www.gerhard-richter.com/en/exhibitions/gerhard-richter-atlas-von-de-fotos-en-schetsen-137>.

⁹¹ Zweite and Richter, *Gerhard Richter*, p. 143.

albums and atlases were created to organize this mass of records.⁹² As with albums and archives, atlases also hold information and knowledge in a structured way.⁹³ Like albums, atlases are structured to convey knowledge and information. Because they were understood to represent objectivity and neutrality, atlases shaped the worldview by mainly carrying images. When viewing them, images can be used individually without necessarily having to analyse them in the context of the entire book; this is in contrast to the album, where a narration leads through the book-like object.⁹⁴ Coming back to the status of the perfume box as a form of former family photo album but now archive as well as the loose photographs to be found there, it can be stated that the photographs are looked at individually, such as in the case of an atlas according to Palmers. Given the fact that an atlas can shape worldviews and can also be understood with agency such as Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart regarding a single photograph within a family photo album, it becomes clear that the single photograph within the box not only lead to its choice for the final selection, but it can also lead the discussion on the box as well as the photographs. In the following, Benjamin Buchloh's and George Didi-Huberman's approaches toward Gerhard Richter's *Atlas* will be presented, for which the essential function of a single photograph for the emergence of meaning and memory become apparent.

Benjamin Buchloh is considered the first and undisputed researcher to have examined the *Atlas* for its memory mechanisms,⁹⁵ for which he understands the artwork in the context of "memory crisis".⁹⁶ Similarly to Buchloh, Georges Didi-Huberman is interested in *Atlas* as a collection of images that can provide on-going, non-ending knowledge of various ways of memory forms that occur in images of oppression and suffering to date.⁹⁷

Unlike in the dissertation of Albers, who uses the definitions of archives, atlases and albums to show her point of view on the intersections that Richter's *Atlas* covers, Buchloh and Didi-Huberman do not see a necessity to point on the commonalities and differences between these definitions.⁹⁸ Buchloh emphasizes on the demonstrative appearance of the plates, which presented the pictures as well as technical, scientific illustrations from the magazines in an archival, orderly, yet unclearly systematic manner.⁹⁹ Didi-Huberman also refers to the functions of the plates only, when he relates them to the French correspondent "table" and "tableau". Since the images were fixed on plates, to Didi-Huberman *Atlas* shall be seen as a work of "tableaux", because on "tables" the combination of images were endlessly possible.¹⁰⁰ It is here where the idea of an atlas, which to Albers can be used and looked at independently from its complete book, relates to the understanding of the plate, to Buchloh, and the tableaux, to Didi-Huberman. All of them can be removed from its whole complex in order to study, work with and through the rearrangement of

⁹² Albers, 'Archive /Atlas /Album: The Photographic Constructions of Christian Boltanski, Gerhard Richter, and Dinh Q. Lê', p. x.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 2.

⁹⁴ Albers, 'Archive /Atlas /Album: The Photographic Constructions of Christian Boltanski, Gerhard Richter, and Dinh Q. Lê', pp. 4–5.

⁹⁵ Albers, 'Reading the World Trade Center in Gerhard Richter's *Atlas*', pp. 157–158.

⁹⁶ Buchloh, 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas"', p. 136.

⁹⁷ Georges Didi-Huberman and Shane B. Lillis, *Atlas, or the Anxious Gay Science* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018), pp. 3–13.

⁹⁸ Albers research is for the further discussion not of any importance anymore since it does not include any research on the emergence of memory or meaning as Buchloh and Didi-Huberman do.

⁹⁹ Buchloh, 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas"', pp. 118.

¹⁰⁰ Didi-Huberman and Lillis, *Atlas, or the Anxious Gay Science*, pp. 46–47.

these unities, new approaches to finding meaning and memory is possible. This is also in the case of the perfume box and its content. There, all the photographs can be individually looked at and recombined anew.

To follow their research interest located in the memory functions of Richter's *Atlas*, Buchloh and Didi-Huberman relate their studies to Aby Warburg's *Mnemosyne Atlas*, which shall now be introduced. For this, also Felix Thürlemann's research on Aby Warburg's work will be consulted since it offers an approach towards *Mnemosyne Atlas*, which is unrelated to an analysis of Gerhard Richter's artwork and, therefore, opens up the insight and understanding of Warburg's undertaking.

For the *Mnemosyne Atlas*, which was produced from 1924 onwards and remains unfinished due to Warburg's death in 1929,¹⁰¹ Warburg fixed photographic reproductions on 79 plates, which have survived.¹⁰² These are reproductions of historical artefacts,¹⁰³ as well as contemporary photographic reproductions from mass media such as the newspaper.¹⁰⁴ In the perfume box are no reproductions from the mentioned mass media to be found. Yet, as the material form of the sub-group's photographs indicate, they are printed in a technique, which was used for press photography and, therefore, for a production in masses.¹⁰⁵ Thürlemann explains that for this atlas the photographic reproductions were arranged according to a "horizontal/vertical grid", which led to a reading in the directions from south to north Europe, as well as from the ancient past to the contemporary present time (Fig. 29–30). To Warburg, this approach was "more open with respect to possible connections between the elements".¹⁰⁶ This had and still has the consequence that a definitive way of reading all the connections made possible by the juxtaposition of these photographic reproductions could not be achieved.¹⁰⁷ However, the insights Warburg received, were gained through the juxtaposition of these photographic reproductions. How Warburg specifically related to these photographic reproductions for his research is not of further importance to this Master thesis that is why it will not be delved into this topic. Yet, what is of significance is Thürlemann, Buchloh and Didi-Huberman pointing out, that it was precisely the montage technique, which made the various lines of vision possible to Warburg within an arrangement of photographic reproductions. This arrangement is seen as temporally complex. The latter's existence is explained through the photographic reproductions.¹⁰⁸ On the one hand, these photographs refer to the objects or images depicted, which originate from different times, places

¹⁰¹ Didi-Huberman and Lillis, *Atlas, or the Anxious Gay Science*, p. 12.

¹⁰² Felix Thürlemann and Elizabeth Tucker, *More than One Picture: An Art History of the Hyperimage* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2019), pp. 88–89.

¹⁰³ Didi-Huberman and Lillis, *Atlas, or the Anxious Gay Science*, p. 30.

¹⁰⁴ Thürlemann and Tucker, *More than One Picture*, p. 118.

¹⁰⁵ In two different parts, Bernd Weise present the different photography camera as well as used printing techniques used during the First and Second World War in Europe and in parts of the colonies. Both of these articles are relevant to the argument, since they offer the photographic techniques used both periods: In 1920, 1930, as well as after the Second World War. See: Bernd Weise, '„Kamera- Und Fototechnik Im Journalistischen Gebrauch, Teil II. 1914-1932"', *Fotokritik* (blog), 2005, <https://www.fotokritik.de/index.php?art=142&page=1>. And: Bernd Weise, 'Pressefotografie: Kamera- Und Fototechnik Im Journalistischen Gebrauch. Teil IV: Zweiter Weltkrieg', *Fotokritik* (blog), 2006, <https://www.fotokritik.de/index.php?art=144&page=1>.

¹⁰⁶ Thürlemann and Tucker, *More than One Picture*, p. 115.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 118. And: Didi-Huberman and Lillis, *Atlas, or the Anxious Gay Science*, p. 167. As well as: Buchloh, 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas"', p. 124.

¹⁰⁸ Buchloh, 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas"', p. 128. And: Didi-Huberman and Lillis, *Atlas, or the Anxious Gay Science*, p. 13. As well as: Thürlemann and Tucker, *More than One Picture*, p. 112.

and cultures. This simultaneity of different times in one space can, however, be seen as a dissolution of the laws of time because of their existence here through photographs.¹⁰⁹ According to these scholars, this opened up the necessary mental space for Warburg's scientific work.¹¹⁰ Also in the photomontages of the avant-gardists simultaneity of different times is present. Yet, the difference is that the avant-garde photomontages were seen as complete unities of art, from which no photographic part could be added or excluded of. In the case of Warburg, the photographic reproductions were taken off the plates to rearrange them anew with other photographs. So, Warburg had a platform for researching. Both, the avant-gardist's and Warburg's use of photomontage have in common that the montage of images should activate mental processes and lead to realizations. Regarding the perfume box's content, the temporal complexity also exists in the photographs represented by the sub-group in the box. Their uniform appearance covers their references to the originally in the 1920s and 1930s taken negatives. Hence, the temporal complexity is given, however, only limitedly supplemented by the geographical diversity because the photographs of the sub-group were taken in parts of present Indonesia.

To Buchloh, Didi-Huberman and Thürlemann, Aby Warburg's work is understood in the context of the historical circumstances after the First World War, hence during the Weimar Era in present-day Germany. With the *Mnemosyne Atlas*, Warburg aimed to critique contemporary Western European humanist thought by pointing out its "origins and (...) its latent continuities into the present". He saw these as having been traced back in time to classical antiquity and geographically extended across the humanist culture in Europe.¹¹¹ In addition, Warburg aimed to expand the methods of art history of the time,¹¹² which he understood as oppositional thinking in either/or for the acquisition of knowledge of various styles, by means of an approach that still needed explanation.¹¹³ For this reason, Buchloh and Didi-Huberman consider the *Mnemosyne Atlas* to be "anti-positivist",¹¹⁴ which, according to Didi-Huberman, contrasted "the methodological compartmentalization of positivism, as well as the political enclosing of cultural nationalisms aggravated in the Great War".¹¹⁵ It becomes clear here that Aby Warburg and the avant-gardists worked during the same time period in Europe and reacted to the same socio-political circumstances at that time. Yet, calling all avant-gardists as "anti-positivist" in their approaches is seen to be delicate here, because the avant-gardists followed different ideologies.¹¹⁶

Buchloh and Didi-Huberman connect Warburg's work in the context of these historical circumstances with his attempt to record memory in order to gain and analyse it anew. Hence, to collect memory for posterity turns both, the photographic reproduction as well as the plates into archival objects in the understanding of Albers, since both objects are produced for prosperity and research. This temporal complexity embodied these different archival objects and referred to the objects recorded. To Warburg, this was seen as memory; to Didi-Huberman a "memory of images",

¹⁰⁹ Buchloh, 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas"', p. 124. And: Didi-Huberman and Lillis, *Atlas, or the Anxious Gay Science*, p. 167. As well as: Thürlemann and Tucker, *More than One Picture*, p. 89.

¹¹⁰ Buchloh, 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas"', p. 128. And: Didi-Huberman and Lillis, *Atlas, or the Anxious Gay Science*, p. 13. As well as: Thürlemann and Tucker, *More than One Picture*, p. 112.

¹¹¹ Buchloh, 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas"', p. 122. And: Didi-Huberman and Lillis, *Atlas, or the Anxious Gay Science*, pp. 9–10. As well as: Thürlemann and Tucker, *More than One Picture*, pp. 88–89.

¹¹² Thürlemann and Tucker, *More than One Picture*, p. 88.

¹¹³ Didi-Huberman and Lillis, *Atlas, or the Anxious Gay Science*, pp. 164–166.

¹¹⁴ Buchloh, 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas"', p. 122.

¹¹⁵ Didi-Huberman and Lillis, *Atlas, or the Anxious Gay Science*, p. 166.

¹¹⁶ Laxton, 'Photomontage in the Present Perfect Continuous', p. 193.

which was created through the "art of memory"¹¹⁷ and represented through a "synthesis - between reason and unreason".¹¹⁸ According to Didi-Huberman, the *Mnemosyne Atlas* was neither a "memory support" nor "a summary by images", but as a "matrix of a desire to reconfigure memory by refusing to fix memories (...) in an order or (...) definitive narrative".¹¹⁹ Buchloh's analysis of Warburg's work is here not seen as absolutely different to Didi-Huberman's understanding. Buchloh understands the *Mnemosyne Atlas* as an attempt to construct "collective historical memory".¹²⁰ Yet, he questions if a Warburg could retrace collective history through this mass of "photographic reproduction". Buchloh further points out how constructed and constructive the nature of *Mnemosyne Atlas* is,¹²¹ to relate it to the construction of Gerhard Richter's *Atlas*. With regard to the analysis of the latter's artwork, Buchloh states that these works by Warburg and Richter were created during different historical circumstances:

„(...) the former at the onset of a traumatic destruction of historical memory, the moment of the most devastating cataclysm of human history brought about by German Fascism, the latter looking back at its aftermath from a position of repression and disavowal, attempting to reconstruct remembrance from within the social and geopolitical space of the very society that inflicted trauma.“¹²²

By comparing the historical socio-political conditions before and after the Second World War in Germany, Buchloh further explains this circumstance, in which this very question on how in times of collective repression caused by traumatic events remembrance in media and art should be done. The desire to answer this question, so Buchloh, had been "activated (...) in those moments of extreme duress in which the traditional material bonds among subjects, between subjects and objects, (...) appear to be on the verge of (...) if not outright disappearance".¹²³ Related to the box's present status as well as its history, there are traces of the Indonesian National Revolution and, therefore, traces of historical, political changes can be found. Thus, it is Esmet Sapari and his family in military uniform to be seen on one of the photographs (Fig. 28). Also, with the migration from Indonesia to Switzerland, the perfume box's former full content started becoming. However, it was also Rob Hammink's position, which led to the current content of the box: After Arie Maria passed away, the photographs remembering her remained. It is the further exploration of Buchloh on the importance of the family photograph, which helps to learn more on the construction of meaning and memory in relation to this box. He assigns a significant role to this very family photography. In this a "point from which the reflection on the relationship between photography and historical memory" is possible, because a "causality and materiality" exists through photography, which allows the "reflection upon the family image", a reflection between the "past up to the present", thus "assuring and assaulting" the own "formation of identity" through photography.¹²⁴ To support his thesis, he refers to the family photographs at the beginning in the

¹¹⁷ Didi-Huberman and Lillis, *Atlas, or the Anxious Gay Science*, p. 167.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹²⁰ Buchloh, 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas"', p. 122.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

¹²² Buchloh, 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas"', p. 128.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

arrangement of the *Atlas* panels, which are followed by the panels of commercial photographs of West Germany. Memory is constructed because the family photograph, which represents "private identity", is juxtaposed with "media-culture's construction of public identity" and thus assembled.¹²⁵ Buchloh understands this personal level not only through its presence in the *Atlas*, but also through Richter's biographical moment, since Richter began collecting for *Atlas* after he moved from East to West Germany in 1961.¹²⁶ A shock, by means of avant-garde photomontage, arises because photographs of the Holocaust are arranged after the boards of commercial photographs (Fig. 31). Here, these photographs of the concentration camp "function[s] as a sudden revelation, namely, that there is still one link that binds an image to its referent within the apparently empty barrage of photographic imagery and the universal production of sign exchange-value: the trauma from which the compulsion to repress had originated."¹²⁷ These very photographs would emphasize the memory function of photographs and at the same time "the reality of death in the mnemonic image".¹²⁸ Regarding the perfume box, there are two photographs depicting one lynching scene (Fig. 25–26). The capture on their backsides says "Henrechtungs scene van 8 Reballen in Batavia", in English, "execution scene of 8 rebels in Batavia". Also, numbers referring to the photograph's negatives are to be found. It remains unclear here, if these photographs were taken during the Atjehese War, which lasted more or less forty years, starting already in the end of the 19th century and which was accompanied by photographers. Also, it remains unclear when this war changed into a conflict lead by Guerrilla and rebels. As James T. Siegel informs, this war was of immense brutality. Also, these photographs were sent back to the Netherlands, where they were distributed to arise "interest and thus support for the war", thus, they were produced in masses.¹²⁹

This chapter followed the research question on to what extent the methodologies of Benjamin Buchloh help constructing a cultural memory within the perfume box's photographic content. As it was shown earlier in this chapter, the emergence of meaning through the avant-gardist idea of photomontage serves to be more fruitful than the way photomontage was used from the second half of the 20th century onwards. Then, the photographs within the avant-gardists photomontage operate via their indexes to refer to a topic, whereas the use of photomontage after the second half of the 20th century are used by artists for the creation of self-critical artworks only. Also, it is the connection between the mass of photographic reproductions and their non-linear temporality seen ordering on the plates, which connects the photomontage idea of the avant-gardists with Warburg's undertaking of the *Mnemosyne Atlas* and allows to Buchloh the emergence of meaning and memory. If it comes to the emergence of meaning in the case of the box, it rather seems Didi-Huberman's understanding of the *Mnemosyne Atlas* as a form that does not offer a fixed narration of meanings, because the photographic reproductions were unfixed on the plates, such as the photographs in the box are loose to be found. As a consequence it is also Didi-Huberman's idea of Richter's *Atlas* as an artwork limitlessly offering emergences of memories, which helps for the analysis of the occurrence of meaning and memory in this box. As presented in the previous

¹²⁵ Buchloh, 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas"', pp. 139–140.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 138–139.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 143–144.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

¹²⁹ James T. Siegel, 'The Curse of the Photograph: Atjeh 1901', in *Photographies East: The Camera and Its Histories in East and Southeast Asia*, ed. Rosalind C. Morris, *Objects/Histories: Critical Perspectives on Art, Material Culture, and Representation* (Durham [NC]: Duke University Press, 2009), 57–78, pp. 60–61.

chapter, Rob Hammink was a good friend of Arie Maria, who passed away in the end of 2018. In February 2019, he had done the selection of photographs whilst one half of it are family photographs; the second half, the sub-group, does refer to the times of the former Dutch East Indies as well as to Guerrilla Wars. Shock by means of the avant-gardists' use of photomontage, and meaning and memory by means of Buchloh's value adjustment to the family photograph occur through the juxtaposition of these very family photographs as temporal reference points regarding the photographs of the Guerrilla War to be found in the box. This shock can be located within the cultural history of both, present Indonesia, and the Netherlands. Therefore, the occurrence of memory on a cultural level is here seen to operate via the juxtaposition of photographs, thus, only 'montaged'. Linked to Aby Warburg's *Mnemosyne Atlas* as well as Buchloh's understanding of Richter's *Atlas*, the occurrence of meaning in this box adds to these works, because the photographs are loosely to be found and, therefore, they remain flexible within the box's content and the emergence of meaning and memory. Yet, this emergence of meaning and memory does not necessarily have to be related to a traumatic past, because there are many different photographs in this box to be found. Hence, the occurrence of meaning and memory remains open, endless and not limited with a retrospective to a past marked by a traumatic view.

Because this box was related to Buchloh's understanding of Richter's *Atlas* as an artwork of reflection on a traumatic national past, not only the reconstruction of memory was turned this way but also the approach towards analysing a common cultural memory was lead 'from above'. Since this box's history is related to the decolonisation phase, the next chapter will explore political perspectives. Yet, by following the idea of circulating, wandering, and migrating images, and thus analysing the emergence of meaning and memory towards the present time through three different theoretical approaches, chapter three aims to provide a discussion 'from below'.

Chapter 3: 'Montaged' Meaning and Memory Emerging through the Social Biography of an Image

Chapter one and two of this Master thesis have shown that the box offers a site of negotiation regarding the individual biographies and the attribution of photographs towards the former owners as well as a site of negotiation concerning a common cultural, historical and memory. While chapter two analysed the emergence of meaning and memory regarding this very common cultural, historical memory by relating it to the research lead by Benjamin Buchloh and Georges Didi-Huberman, an approach was undergone which worked 'from above' by means of these relations as well as the analysis within the photographic primary sources mainly. Cultural, historical memory occurred through the juxtaposition, hence 'montage' of the photographs. This chapter delves into the ideas of the social biography of images, which circulate, wander, and migrate. To do so, the concepts of Elizabeth Edwards, Janice Hart and W.J.T. Mitchell are going to be introduced. Whilst Edwards and Hart work with anthropological and ethnographical photographs and focus on their materiality's to learn more about what an image alone can tell, W.J.T. Mitchell provides an analysis of the 'migrating' image, which are to be seen in relation to migrating human beings. Also German artist Wolfgang Tillmans' concept of the 'wandering image' in relation to his portraits, will exemplary set out. As he works with the same images that appear in different formats as well as spaces, such as magazines but also galleries and museums, memory and meaning can be evoked through his serial montaged installation of these images on one exhibition wall. By relating the perfume box and its content to these concepts, the analysis here aims to understand on what kind of meaning and memory towards the present time may emerge. Hence, the research question to be followed is: To what extent serves the juxtapositions of biographies of images a montage of meaning and memory, which is directed towards the present time? For doing so, this chapter first introduces the idea of the social biography of an image constructed by Elizabeth Edwards. Then the concept of the 'wandering' and the 'migrating' image of Wolfgang Tillmans respectively W.J.T. Mitchell are going to be introduced and discussed. In order to visualise the connecting dots to gain meaning and memory towards the present time, an analysis of Tillmans' exhibition wall undergone by Felix Thürlemann will be presented. His research will demonstrate the meta-level on which the argumentation within this chapter bases.

By doing so, this chapter considers to offer an analysis 'from below' because first of all, three different concepts are used here, all of which focus on the single image, whereas in chapter two, the single image did not so much matter as the structure of these images on the plates dictated by Gerhard Richter. Secondly, it is exactly this loose ordering of images within the perfume box, which is associated with their 'wandering' and 'migrating' from Indonesia, to Switzerland and to the Netherlands, thus the decolonisation phase will be more discussed within this chapter. Thirdly, this decolonisation phase as well as the cultural, historical memory shared between Arie Maria, Esmet Sapari and Rob Hammink is here seen represented through this perfume box as a site of negotiation, which offers traces from the public in the private sphere but is technically seen also relatable as vice versa, because national archives and museums are built upon photographs such as the sub-group represents. Thus, the individual, more personal layers of these people involved as well as the photographs are to be discussed.

Elizabeth Edwards understands under the "social biography of photographs" the history of an object that produces, exchanges, uses and is attributed meanings to the photo. Photographs should be understood as part of this "continuous process", because "an object cannot be fully understood at any single point in its existence but rather should be understood as belonging in a continuing process. Edwards further explains that the photographic objects are therefore entangled as "active" objects "in (...) processes" of social relationships.¹³⁰ The "social biography" of these photographs, which she understands as a whole, as material objects, can be understood according to two different aspects:

"First (...) the social biography of image content, such as different prints, publication formats, lantern slides and so forth, all of which involve changes of material form. Second is the social biography of a specific photographic object which may or may not be physically modified as it moves through space and time."¹³¹

The research collaboration between Edwards and Hart also deal with the "social biography" of photographs, for which they use the same definition as mentioned above. However, these scholars further conclude that the exchange of images "recapitulates or re-enacts various forms of social relations". Also, they see in the analysis of the pictorial motifs the possibilities of finding answers to the question of "which photographs (...) become objects of exchange and within which contexts".¹³² In 'Mixed Box. The cultural biography of a box of 'ethnographic' photographs', Edwards and Hart offer an example of their idea on the social biography of photographs. Their box, including the photographs, are all to be found in one box at the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford University. Edwards and Hart draw the social biographies of these photographs closely connected to the history of this institution, since especially in "colonial archives", the photograph as "active socially salient entity"¹³³ made up "the archive". Yet, these "material objects (...) have been largely invisible, naturalised within institutional structure". Hence, their "social biographies as objects" remained hidden.¹³⁴ Their research informs on the collection of different photographs in one box, numbered as archival objects and their time of digitalisation including their publishing online.¹³⁵ Also, they observe several changes, since „to some extent Box (...) charts the shifts in the use of visual material within anthropology itself, from being a shared visual resource (...) to a more fieldwork-specific concentration (...)."¹³⁶ These shifts were visible in the dealing of these objects on behalf of the institution. The latter added information to the depicted people to respond to criticism as well as to act self-critical as an institution on the circumstance that those anthropological and ethnographical photographs represent an objectifying of the depicted people. This objectifying as a consequence of colonisation had to be criticised from the point of view of an institution to not further support racial discrepancies, to make transparent where the photographs

¹³⁰ Elizabeth Edwards, 'Material Beings: Objecthood and Ethnographic Photographs', *Visual Studies* 17, no. 1 (January 2002): 67–75, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14725860220137336>, p. 68.

¹³¹ Edwards, 'Material Beings', p. 68.

¹³² Edwards and Hart, 'Introduction', p. 12.

¹³³ Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, 'Mixed Box: The Cultural Biography of a Box of "ethnographic" Photographs', in *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, Material Cultures (London ; New York: Routledge, 2004), 47–61, p. 48.

¹³⁴ Edwards and Hart, 'Mixed Box: The Cultural Biography of a Box of "ethnographic" Photographs', p. 48.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 51–52.

came from, and to make visible the meta-level of an institution. This meta-level reflects on the educational level of an archive or a museum. By opening up what is being mediated and what not, a one-sided approach towards a topic from the point of view of the institution as well as provided for the exhibition viewers shall be avoided.¹³⁷ That is why, the Pitt Rivers Museum added information to the depicted people to respond to the idea of anthropological and ethnographical photographs as entities „objectified anthropological commodity arranged for the appropriating gaze“.¹³⁸ Yet, Edwards and Hart also state that adding archiving numbers and including these photographs from different origins in one box made these objects “comparable” and thus “capable of being refigured in endless combination (...) moving in the same direction to make certain forms of meaning.”¹³⁹ From the 1960s onwards, these objects experienced a further biographical change. Then with the rising awareness of the „primacy of photographic curatorship“, these objects entered archival rooms, which meant that they started being understood as „objects worthy of preservation.“¹⁴⁰ Next to these shifts belongs also the increasing awareness on photographs, which were not produced for the art context only, but became more important for other disciplines such as anthropology.¹⁴¹ This way, Edwards and Hart showed that their objects of investigation received additional layers of meaning through the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford University. These layers are put upon the ones, which already existed when the photographs entered the museum. These photographs are to be understood as “active” objects, because all the information for research undergone by Edwards and Hart are gained out of the photographs’ material analysis.¹⁴²

As was shown in the first chapter of this Master thesis, the box’s content is divided into two main groups, the family photographs and the sub-groups of documentary, journalistic photographs that recorded expeditions as well as one of the Javanese monarchic family. As the material analysis of these photographs demonstrated, especially the family photographs were pulled out of frames and photo albums as well as found entrance in this collection through mail, such as in the cases of the birthday and wedding cards as well as the birth announcements of Arie Maria’s nieces and great-nieces. As it became clear in the first chapter of this Master thesis, it is most likely the relationship between Rob Hammink and Arie Maria which lead to the sum of family photographs showing her, her husband, her family members and friends. To Arie Maria and her husband Esmet Sapari, these family photographs mainly served on a personal, emotional level, all of which might have offered to Rob Hammink as well. Yet, because he knew about the research project presented in this Master thesis, he made a selection, himself becoming kind of an archivist, turning all photographic primary sources as well as the documents to archival objects as well. Almost the same can be concluded about the sub-group. They refer to photographic negatives that were produced in the 1920s until the end of the 1930s. Hence, to the photographers in the 1920s and 1930s as well as to the depicted people, these photographs served to a meaning that cannot be retraced here with certainty. But, thanks to Edwards’ remark on photographs as objects of on-going production and exchanges, it is here seen to be likely that the same photographs as were found in Surakarta are also in the Netherlands and vice versa. Yet, not all of them are accessible online because not every photograph is being digitalised and receives an archiving

¹³⁷ Mieke Bal, ‘Telling, Showing, Showing Off’, *Critical Inquiry* Vol 18, no. No. 3 (Spring) (1992): 556–594, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1343816>, p. 557.

¹³⁸ Edwards and Hart, ‘Mixed Box: The Cultural Biography of a Box of “ethnographic” Photographs’, p. 52.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 49.

number, as Ingeborg Eggink informed.¹⁴³ As the Mangkoe Negoro Palace in Surakarta was built in consequence of the collaboration between the Pakubuwono III., a Javanese Prince, who cooperated with the rulers of Surakarta and the Dutch East Indies Company in the late 18th century.¹⁴⁴ During additional research, it was realised that the photographs of the sub-group were all taken in areas, which belonged to the Mangkoe Negoro Palace. It is John Pemberton's article, which is on the archival collection at the Palace. According to him, this very collection is built upon such photographs, which offer a documentary view on the entrepreneur expansion in this area and resulted out of the collaboration between the Mangkoe Negoro and the Dutch East Indies Company. This collaboration led to the enterprises on amongst others sugar refineries, hence also to the production of these photographs are to be found in Surakarta.¹⁴⁵ This very production of photographs is connected via the collaboration between the Dutch East Indies Company and the Javanese monarchs, the Mangkoe Negoro family. Hence, this sub-group of uniform looking photographs is historically connected, concerning their motives split to be found online as well as in research literature, yet, all found on one site, the perfume box. As Edwards and Hart mentioned, by institutionalising photographs, they become comparable. Ingeborg Eggink informed that these photograph entered the Fotobureau in 1973, which was yet not part of the Tropenmuseum. With this entrance, these photographs experienced a change of archiving number. Thus, these photographs had already received numbers before 1973.¹⁴⁶ These prints which were found, were digitalized, made public or accessible for research, became comparable within the institution also within each the same types of photographs.¹⁴⁷ Thus, because of their importance for major entrepreneurial, political processes, these prints were allowed to travel through several public spheres and to appear simultaneously, as material objects within the archive as well as online. However, this is only related to the photographic collection at the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam. Regarding the collection at the Mangkoe Negoro Palace in Surakarta, in the course of the research, there was neither an address to an archive nor an online accessible collection provided by an Indonesian institution found. Therefore, the question remains open, whether and to what extent these photographs underwent a change of biography and meaning in Surakarta. These layers of institutional meaning emerged resulting the decolonisation phase of nations as well as the increasing awareness of and on the status of colonial archives and museum for a nation and its identity. These layers come next to the meanings of the photographic reproductions to be found in the perfume box. Then, as part of a former form of family photo album, these photographs most likely represented personal, emotional meaning to Arie Maria and Esmet Sapari. Since the negatives of these prints were taken before their birth in the early 1930's, a summary of entrepreneur, institutional, archiving meaning come together with the personal, emotional layers. To further follow, these layers are extended by the fact that these photographs became objects of investigation for this Master thesis and therefore are to be seen as archival objects once more; as archival objects which refer to present former colonial archives as well as monarchic collections. Thus, the concept of the social biography of an image opens up the network on at least parts of the sub-groups associated photographs, providing a bigger understanding on their roles for institutions and the national histories as well as an extension of meaning and memory layers

¹⁴³ Eggink and Arslan, 'Photographs at the Tropenmuseum Amsterdam, NL', 5 June 2020.

¹⁴⁴ Hubert de Vries, 'Back to Surakarta', *Mangkunegaran* (blog), 16 May 2011, <http://www.hubert-herald.nl/IndoMangkunegaran.htm>.

¹⁴⁵ Pemberton, 'The Ghost in the Machine', pp. 30–33.

¹⁴⁶ Eggink and Arslan, 'Photographs at the Tropenmuseum Amsterdam, NL', 4 June 2020.

¹⁴⁷ Eggink and Arslan, 'Photographs at the Tropenmuseum Amsterdam, NL', 5 June 2020.

towards the present time. Regarding the family photographs within the perfume box, the material conditions of these very photographs tell about their social histories by means of their former location in albums or frames for example. These biographical points are extended by the fact that these photographs travelled most likely with Arie Maria and Esmet Sapari from Indonesia to Switzerland and then to the Netherlands. Their agency by means of appropriation brought the photos into their collection.

For the following section, the idea of the social biography of a photograph constructed by Elizabeth Edwards reminds for the understanding of Wolfgang Tillmans' idea of the 'wandering image'.

The work of the German artist Wolfgang Tillmans is today considered to be a multifaceted one, which includes the production of photographs, artist books, layouts for magazines and journals, video works, music and performance.¹⁴⁸ The genres of photographs range from portraits, landscape photographs, fashion photographs, abstract works to still lifes. His protagonists, often people from his close circle of friends, are photographed in seemingly unspectacular open spaces and scenes of nightlife.¹⁴⁹ Tillmans also works with appropriated photographs from magazines, which he incorporates in his artist books and exhibitions alongside his own works, adapted in their image details, formats, and paper carriers. It is his works that do not always offer working titles and details of the photos' of authors, so as not to make the artistic value of the exhibited photographs the subject of discussion.¹⁵⁰ In all these cases, photographic reproductions of the same images have so far been presented in different sizes, image details and printing techniques in exhibition contexts and publications.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, all the photograph's negatives he is attached to are found in his personal archive out of which he works and chooses from for present day exhibitions.¹⁵² From a conversation with the curator Hans Ulrich Obrist held in the early 21st century, Wolfgang Tillmans' idea of the 'wandering image' becomes clear. He explains:

„I had a display case containing four different magazines from four countries. In each magazine, the same photograph, taken by me, appeared – and with all the mistakes and peculiarities one often encounters, like having a color out of register. I thought it was great that one and the same image could cost a few marks in a magazine or book, but a few hundred pounds as a photo I had blown up and printed on my own.“¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ Frances Morris, 'Director's Foreword', in *Wolfgang Tillmans: 2017*, ed. Chris Dercon and Helen Sainsbury (Exhibition Wolfgang Tillmans: 2017, London: Tate Publishing, 2017), 9–13, p. 9.

¹⁴⁹ Elena Zanichelli, *Privat - bitte eintreten! Rhetoriken des Privaten in der Kunst der 1990er Jahre*, Image 66 (Bielefeld: transcript, 2015), p. 202.

¹⁵⁰ David Evans, 'Wolfgang Tillmans and the Wandering Image', *Image and Narrative: Online Magazine of the Visual Narrative*, 2010, <http://www.imageandnarrative.be/index.php/imagenarrative/article/view/111>, pp. 101–102.

¹⁵¹ Mark Godfrey, 'Mark Godfrey: Worldview', in *Wolfgang Tillmans: 2017*, ed. Wolfgang Tillmans, Chris Dercon, and Helen Sainsbury (Exhibition Wolfgang Tillmans: 2017, London: Tate Publishing, 2017), 14–91, pp. 30–34.

¹⁵² Wolfgang Tillmans and Mary Horlock, 'About This Book: Wolfgang Tillmans in Conversation with Mary Horlock', in *If One Thing Matters, Everything Matters*, ed. Tate Britain (Gallery) and Wolfgang Tillmans (London: Tate Publishing, 2003), 303–307, p. 307.

¹⁵³ Wolfgang Tillmans and Hans Ulrich Obrist, *Wolfgang Tillmans - Hans Ulrich Obrist*, The conversation series 6 (Köln: König, 2007), p. 76.

Tillmans expresses his fascination for the relationship between materiality and change of price or attribution of value related to the depiction on the photograph, which he discovered during the preparation stage of his first gallery exhibition in Cologne, Germany, in 1993. David Evans relates the idea of the ‘wandering image’ to the fact that during this exhibition mainly photographs of friends and other portraits of people were exhibited.¹⁵⁴ Elena Zanichelli also observes that Tillmans mostly presented the “private life of others”,¹⁵⁵ in an exhibition method that is seen to be of a “non-hierarchical”, “free”, “unconventional” exhibition practice. Organized by Tillmans, it offered visitors a personal, private approach towards the individual photographs and the exhibition walls, while revealing Tillmans’ non-hierarchical personal views.¹⁵⁶ Zanichelli and Mark Godfrey take a detailed look at Tillmans’ exhibition practice. Tillmans used the exhibition walls to juxtapose, cut together, and overlap photographs in C-prints next to photocopies of pictures and excerpts from magazines, reports, and articles. The clippings were especially those that presented photographic works by the artist in the *i-D Magazine*.¹⁵⁷ The exhibition walls were taken by the photographs up to parts of the room that are otherwise not occupied in the traditional art context: all the way to the corners, around the door frames, at the entrances, the exhibition objects were placed by Tillmans (Fig. 32). Because he used these walls actively, they were included by the installation of his photographs so that a photo-installation was developed, allowing the photographs physically entering a space.¹⁵⁸ Since the montage includes a combination of art prints as well as reproductions from magazines while in both of these photographs the same motives are to be found, Zanichelli argues for an evocation of familiarity towards the depicted people. She sees the exhibition viewers confronted with the portraits’ protagonists in different material prints, formats, and image frames. Also, because these very people are seen in different scenarios, from different angles as well as aging in front of Tillmans’ camera.¹⁵⁹ For this, the material forms as well as time play an important role, as Midori Matsui’s understanding of Tillmans’ art practice as a “memory machine” shows. To Matsui, the arrangement of the same motive, yet, in different material forms was relatable to the idea of a ‘series’. Hence, the single image referred “to the original moment of which it was token, while the accumulation of many images indicates diverse points of contact”, so that the exhibition viewer felt “the actuality of a reconstructed past.”¹⁶⁰ To Matsui, Tillmans hereby questions the “notion of photograph[s] as object”. Regarding the portraits’ protagonists, Tillmans accounted room for individuality, yet, reminded on when the relationship between the material forms to his depicted protagonists’ can be understood as a “determination to salvage the specificities of individual lives from time’s ebb by incorporating into his photography the elements of their

¹⁵⁴ Evans, ‘Wolfgang Tillmans and the Wandering Image’, p. 100.

¹⁵⁵ Zanichelli, *Privat - bitte eintreten! Rhetoriken des Privaten in der Kunst der 1990er Jahre*, p. 195.

¹⁵⁶ Godfrey, ‘Mark Godfrey: Worldview’, p. 30.; Zanichelli, *Privat - bitte eintreten! Rhetoriken des Privaten in der Kunst der 1990er Jahre*, p. 241.; Ulf Erdmann Ziegler and Catherine Schelbert, ‘Wolfgang Tillmans’ Museale Präsentation Seiner Photographien = Wolfgang Tillmans’s Museum Presentation of His Photographs’, text/html,application/pdf, 1998, 133–137, <https://doi.org/10.5169/SEALS-681084>, p. 135.; Francisco-J. Hernández Adrián, ‘Wolfgang Tillmans’ Still Islands: Photographic Aesthetics off the Margin’, *Third Text* 28, no. 4–5 (3 September 2014): 377–92, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09528822.2014.939505>, p. 383.

¹⁵⁷ Godfrey, ‘Mark Godfrey: Worldview’, p. 306. The footnotes to the text of Mark Godfrey are in the end of the publication and therefore not included in the page numbers. The text within the catalogue goes from pp. 14–91.

¹⁵⁸ Godfrey, ‘Mark Godfrey: Worldview’, pp. 30–34. Elena Zanichelli talks about the different paper carriers of the photographs as well as their installation on the walls. See: Zanichelli, *Privat - bitte eintreten! Rhetoriken des Privaten in der Kunst der 1990er Jahre*, pp. 223–225.

¹⁵⁹ Zanichelli, *Privat - bitte eintreten! Rhetoriken des Privaten in der Kunst der 1990er Jahre*, p. 237.

¹⁶⁰ Midori Matsui and Uta Goridis, ‘Wolfgang Tillmans’ Erinnerungsmaschine = Wolfgang Tillmans’s Memory Machine’, text/html,application/pdf, 1998, 94–103, <https://doi.org/10.5169/SEALS-680862>, p. 101.

mutability."¹⁶¹ Matsui seems to understand Tillman's art practice with photography as treating them human-like, which is not far away of what Evans thinks of. The latter's approach supports this idea, when he links it to the 'wandering image' of Tillmans' portraits' protagonists who were members of alternative groups and "who treat living as a form of continuous, adventurous editing".¹⁶² Evans further connects this to Tillmans' art practice to conclude that this possible endless editing of these protagonists was "not unlike his work with pictures". Hence, if it comes to understand more about the single image made by Tillmans, then it is the accumulation of every single print, which are equally important, the related values when they are "wandering", define the biography by means of Edwards of a single image. These accumulations also construct the memory of a single image, offering a certain view on its past when exhibited simultaneously, yet, also into its present time. The latter, because they all appear montaged on the exhibition wall, for which Tillmans combines these images anew, but also produces new prints for the specific exhibition.¹⁶³ Relating the montage technique used by Tillmans to the concept of photomontage used in the 20th century and presented in chapter two of this Master thesis, Tillmans is here seen to be relatable to what Rosalind Krauss and André Mario Zervigón have discussed. Then, Tillmans does not work with shock and his exhibition walls do not represent complete entities of montaged images, as in the case of the avant-gardists. Hence, since he seems to work critical towards the idea of objectifying people in photographs made for the art context. His portrait's protagonists are mostly part of underground groups, which is a social effect of globalism and neo-liberalism,¹⁶⁴ Tillmans' art production relates to what Zervigón observed as the use of photomontage in which the photographic indexicality refers and demonstrates the relationships between images, the production history as well as the reflection on production. Concerning the case study, there are loose photographs, as in Tillmans' case. The case study does not represent an artwork. That is why it is once again seen to be more correct to relate the montage of several images to their indexicalities only, hence, rather towards the photomontage used by the avant-gardists. Contrary to the avant-gardists' theory, the material forms of these very photographs of the perfume box are put into consideration as well, because the photographs are loose, hence operate individually, while the avant-gardist photomontage is seen to be a closed unity of several photos. Regarding the emergence of meaning and memory towards the present time and in relation to Tillmans' 'wandering image', it is as Matsui mentioned, the series of photographs which activate a memory machine: As demonstrated in chapter one, it was Rob Hammink as close friend of Arie Maria and as a kind of archivist who made the selection of photographs. Hereby, he pulled together photos, which were produced in the 1950's until the early 21st century, hence providing an overview of Arie Maria's portraits, which show a personal development. The same goes for the photographs on which Esmet Sapari is seen (Fig. 50–57). This personal level on the emergence of meaning and memory towards the present time is being extended and related with the idea of the 'migrating image' of W.J.T. Mitchells. He differs between the "image" and the "picture", in terms of focusing on the "object hood" between these two terminologies. According to Mitchell, the "picture" represents the object, "which can also be hung on the wall." But the "image" is to be seen as what appears and "survives (...) in memory, in narrative, in copies and traces in other media." Both of them together appear in one place, whereas the "image" alone can go out between media to be

¹⁶¹ Matsui and Goridis, 'Wolfgang Tillmans' Erinnerungsmaschine = Wolfgang Tillmans's Memory Machine', p. 103.

¹⁶² Evans, 'Wolfgang Tillmans and the Wandering Image', p. 101.

¹⁶³ Thürlemann and Tucker, *More than One Picture*, p. 175.

¹⁶⁴ Hal Foster, 'The Artist as Ethnographer?', in *The Traffic in Culture: Refiguring Art and Anthropology*, ed. George E. Marcus and Fred R. Myers (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 302–309, pp. 305–306.

“transferred from one medium to another”. Thus, Mitchell also describes the “image” as “highly abstract and rather minimal entity that can be evoked with a single word.”¹⁶⁵ Further, he states that the “image” can characterize the genre of the “picture”. As an “immaterial entity”, the “image is thus the perception of a relationship of likeness or resemblance or analogous form (...) a sign whose intrinsic (...) qualities resemble those of some other object.”¹⁶⁶ His distinction between “image” and “picture” is the „difference between a disembodied, phantasmatic idea of images as immaterial apparitions, and the inevitable arrival and appearance of an image in a concrete, physical picture, no matter how fleeting.”¹⁶⁷ Tillmans’ images of people operate via the photomontage used by Mitchell’s idea of the ‘image’. Yet, while Tillmans’ images ‘wander’, Mitchell’s ‘migrate’. Mitchell places his concept in the context of imperialism, in which images were important for both the colonizers and the colonized. The images simultaneously represented “objects of the other” and “ambivalence and anxiety”, which is why the same images “can (...) be associated with fascination as with aversion.”¹⁶⁸ He differs between “circulating” and “migrating”. For while the first moved freely without further consequences, migrating ones, as with migrating people, would encounter “contradictions, difficulties, friction and resistance”.¹⁶⁹ Thus, Mitchell draws a historical line connecting imperialism to migration flows until the 21st century. By opening up the question “to what extend, then [were] images (...) homeless, stateless, displaced persons, exiles or hopeful aspirants” he leads to the question, where these images were accepted to “find a home”.¹⁷⁰ With reference to the distinction between “image” and “picture”, he elaborates on the complexity, since both of them can be temporal and geographical simultaneously available, allowing an attribution of multiple meanings to one image.¹⁷¹ Here it becomes clear that even though Edwards and Hart focus on the picture by means of Mitchell, all of them agree on the attribution of different meanings to one image. Also in relation to how images are handled with, Mitchell supports the idea of them being inanimate; since the diversity of meaning and complexity is produced by the way people handle them.¹⁷² In connection with images in the 21st century, he emphasizes above all the dichotomy between “image” and “picture”, when he states that “images” circulate almost without resistance, while bodies and objects experience “the stubborn immobility and recalcitrance”.¹⁷³ Coming back to the social biographies of the sub-group in the perfume box as presented earlier in this chapter, they do represent what Mitchell relates to the ‘migrating image’, because they represent the work and collaboration between the Javanese monarchs and the Dutch East Indies Company, both of which found photographic entrance into the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam and into the Mangkoe Negoro Palace in Surakarta. On these differences in dealing with one and the same photographic object as Mitchell presented, also delve Legêne and Eickhoff. According to them, these collections are built upon photographs whose biographies include personal meaning, but also these meanings represent “difference in perception”, which raises the awareness on the “discussion on decolonization as value-loaded.” These photographs not only “help” explaining

¹⁶⁵ W. J. T. Mitchell, *Image Science: Iconology, Visual Culture, and Media Aesthetics* (Chicago ; London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 16.

¹⁶⁶ Mitchell, *Image Science*, p. 17.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

these differences.¹⁷⁴ These photographs not only came from “soldiers from Java”, who “represent ethnic types, but historical persons, who together with others, just lost a battle important to the Netherlands.”¹⁷⁵ These people attributed to “the social biographies of these photographs”. Also these photos “tell transnational histories that not only connect the end of war to decolonization, but in connection to the ethnographic photograph collection of the colonial past”.¹⁷⁶ Hence, personal and public meaning intertwine and built up national archives. Represented here in photographs, it is here seen to be the repetitive analysis of both, the portraits and the sub-group of photos, whose emergence of meaning on a meta-level occurs.

In order to explain this, Felix Thürlemann’s analysis on Tillman’s discursive as well as exhibiting methods are going to be presented. Thürlemann records Wolfgang Tillmans’ working method as one that makes constructive use of “verbal discourse”, because conversations with Tillmans are strategically placed in exhibition catalogues and monographs. The art historian sees this discursive approach in Tillmans’ working method as extended and therefore in the context of the idea of “hyper-image”, in that Tillmans combines and assembles own texts as well as appropriated texts and images for his books.¹⁷⁷ As for the “hyper-image”, Thürlemann understands the combination of different pictures of diverse mediums, their interactions, interplay and combination, which allowed the emergence of meaning, yet also the remembrance on the single picture’s history.¹⁷⁸ Similar as Matsui, Thürlemann sees the single image as orientation point to understand the mechanisms within Tillmans’ exhibition methods basing on “simultaneously of the aggregate of the individual photographs and the aggregate of their presentations in changing contexts created by himself”.¹⁷⁹ Because the single photographs’ interpretation depends on Tillmans’ verbal explanation as well as its interaction and combination with the surrounding photographs, the individual image was seen to be part of a “multipartite presentation”, in which they “gain (...) an additional significance, becoming part of an overarching metadiscourse (sic!)”. Thürlemann further explains that, because the image alone corresponds to the role and the object “in need of interpretation”, the image “in alternation” as part of an “instrument of interpretation” allowed further understanding of the different levels these images are being structured on the exhibition walls.¹⁸⁰ Understanding, meaning, and memory towards the present time occurs through repetitive analysis of the image components.

Coming back to the research question to be followed here, on how and to what extend does a biography of an image allow the emergence of meaning and memory towards the present time allow, then it can be recaptured that using Edward’s concept of the “social biography” of an image in relation to researching the information on the backsides of the sub-group’s photographs, it became probable that these photographs are all to be found at the Mangkoe Negoro Palace in Surakarta and produced subsequently to the collaboration between the Javanese monarch family and the Dutch East Indies. The digital collection of the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam does not represent all these photographs as to be found in the perfume box, which might resulted due to the circumstance that not all photographs received an archiving number and are worth being

¹⁷⁴ Legêne and Eickhoff, ‘Postwar Europe and the Colonial Past in Photographs’, p. 290.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 307.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 307–308.

¹⁷⁷ Thürlemann and Tucker, *More than One Picture*, p. 173.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 1–2,

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 173.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 179.

digitalised. However, this comparison between the collection in Amsterdam as well as the research by Pemberton relating the social biography of Edwards provided indications for the social biographies of the sub-group's photographs. As documentary photographs representing enterprise and modernity, they received personal meaning through their reproduced entrances into the collection of Arie Maria and Esmet Sapari. Another shift is to be seen in the circumstance that with the selection by Rob Hammink for research, these photographs became once again archival objects while referring to present status archival collections which experience decolonisation. It is Tillmans' idea of the 'wandering image' which offers what Matsui called a 'memory machine': With the re-emergence of the same face of a person on several photographs that are connected through temporal and material changes, a temporal linearity towards the latest time is made possible. Yet, whilst Tillman's does not want to fix his protagonists to a material form, the portraits in the box are on specific material formats to be found, such as on the passport photo. This construction is made from several point of views: First, from the appropriation and production of several portraits directed by Arie Maria and Esmet Sapari. Second, by Rob Hammink, who could identify these people and who, through looking at these photographs, provided the single photographs to construct this temporal linearity. Connecting the research results gained out of the 'social biography' of an image as well as the 'wandering/migrating image', the circumstance that the photo collection at the Tropenmuseum experienced a decolonisation phase speaks for what Mitchell argues for, when he says that "migrating images" represented objects of "aversion and anxiety". Yet, this can only be stated in relation to the collection in the Netherlands, because no further information was found on the collection's status in Surakarta. Both, the sub-group as well as the family photographs travelled from present Indonesia to Switzerland and then to the Netherlands. Also, photographs entered the former collection on the way to or when the collection was in the Netherlands. Thus, the idea of a social biography of an image, which relates to the image's photographic negative as a point of origin to understand the process of this very biography, an image that represents a human being but also an object, in relation to the idea of it wandering, circulating, migrating, it is this repetitive view between the images themselves, between the family photographs and the sub-group, which opens up a fragmented view on a photographic network relating to archives and private boxes as well as presents the perfume box once again as a product out of collaboration and archival work.

Conclusion

This Master thesis investigated on two possible directions of occurring meaning and memory within a perfume box of about 100 loose photographs. These photographs belonged to a couple, Arie Maria and Esmet Sapari, who were born in the former Dutch East India, experienced the Indonesian National Revolution and after the opening of Indonesia first emigrated to Switzerland and then to the Netherlands, where both passed away. The photographs in this perfume box were appropriated, collected and taken by them. Also, on their journey to the Netherlands, photographs entered their belongings via mail. When Arie Maria passed away in the end of 2018, her close friend Rob Hammink made a selection of this collection and handed it over to the author of this Master thesis in February 2019. Because the photographs were found loosely in the box, it is neither clear who owned them initially, nor what kind of meaning these photographs were attributed with. Yet, photographs receive a meaning through their functions and hence can serve to be reminded on someone or something. The material analysis of the photographs has revealed several important points for the analysis within the Master thesis. First of all, the oldest photograph was taken in the first half of the 20th century and the most recent was taken on a birth announcement in the early 21st century. Secondly, one group of photographs, mentioned as the sub-group within the thesis, is outstanding compared to the rest of the photographs. This group of photographs are all more or less in the same size, all in the same print technique and they were all taken in the first half of the 20th century in the area of Central Java, around the Mangkoe Negoro Palace in Surakarta, present Indonesia. Also, because they look so uniform, it is not obvious that the photographs' negatives were taken in different times, such as around 1915 or 1930 for example. This leads to the third important finding resulting of the material analysis of these photographs. The comparison and analysis between the descriptive information to be found on these sub-group's photographs with the image field helped researching online as well as in academic literature. These two directions lead to, first, a collection of photographs located at the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, and, second, a collection of photographs at the Javanese monarchic archive of the Mangkoe Negoro Palace in Surakarta, present Indonesia. Thus, part of the sub-group's motives are identical with photographs on wedding ceremonies held in Surakarta in 1920 as well as in The Hague in 1936, both of which the Mangkoe Negoro family was present. One photograph in the perfume box was recognized in a research paper written by John Pemberton. He visited the Javanese monarchic archive and received the opportunity to publish photographs from there. Also, he informs about the conditions and functions under and for which these photographs served. Research by Susan Legêne and Martijn Eickhoff shows that the national photographic collections in the Netherlands have changed and grown since the decolonisation phase of Indonesia. The return of the repatriates lead to the entrance of many personal photographs to archives and museums such as the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam since 1945. Thus, former personally used photographs and their histories related to their former owners became part of national institutions, which play a significant role in writing national histories as well. Hence, this perfume box and its photographic content were initially understood to be a form of a family photo album, since the photographs belonged to one couple. Also, it is seen as a site, in which public interests entered; a site of several selection processes; a site of human being's encounters effects; a site moving between a family photo album and an archive, or even as a site which represents this original form of a family photo album which eventually would have found entrance into a collection such as at the Tropenmuseum and such as described by Legêne and Eickhoff. In all of

these cases, photographs function for private and public purposes, while meaning is accordingly attributed to them. Simultaneously, these photographs offer a way to remember individually, yet, photographs also contribute to public remembrance on a historical process for example. In both cases, memory operates in the human mind multidirectional. Because this perfume box was understood as a site of personal and archival meaning as well as cultural memory, yet, without any specific indications on how these photographs have served Arie Maria, Esmet Sapari and Rob Hammink on a personal level and how meaning and memory can be extracted out of a box of loose photographs, this Master thesis has made exactly this circumstance to its main point of reflection and departure for analysis. Yet, because there are many possible ways on the construction of meaning and memory, it was aimed to locate the case study within the theories used. In order to focus on the photographs only, the main research question followed was: What kind of photographs are in favour through this location between these theories used and which ones are being left out when it comes to the emergence of meaning and memory? To do so, it was seen to be important to provide a way, which does not attribute or project any occurrence of meaning or memory to either of these people, Arie Maria, Esmet Sapari and Rob Hammink. Thus, it was seen to be necessary to find a way, which operates on a more abstract level. The main research question was deconstructed in three sub-questions, all of which were discussed individually.

Chapter one analysed, if a shift in meaning of these photographs is traceable with the handing over of the perfume box to the author of this Master thesis, and if so, is this shift followed by consequences on the importance of the roles of the people involved. By analysing the functions of photographs within the family photo album as well as the archive it was recognized that photographs within family photo albums are first of all brought into a narration on the pages of the book which provides an extra layer of meaning next to the ones that the private use of photography is mostly seen in relation to personal emotions and remembrance. This has shown that the analysis of this perfume box concerning the theory on the family photo album only does not provide a fruitful analysis because the photographs are loose in the perfume box and no narration can be found out of this circumstance. Besides, by referring to the reconstructed biographies of Arie Maria and Esmet Sapari, it could be presented that some of the photographs are flexible in their attribution to their former owners. Through the consultation on the function of an archive in relation to the family photo album, chapter one could also demonstrate that photographs within archives follow some kind of a narration implemented by the archives owner or author too. Also, photographs in archives function for prosperity and research, while they are objects to remember, since they can refer to historical events for example. Through the discussion of the role of an author for the creation of a work, hereby drawing on the papers by Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault, it could be shown that Rob Hammink has received the role of an archivist, since he made the final selection according to his criteria, which are unknown to the present author. Furthermore, the author of this Master thesis is declared to be an active agent for the construction of this perfume box as well, because Rob Hammink knew about her interest in researching this box. Also, it became clear which names are not involved in the discussion of this perfume box: the names of all the photographers remain unclear, even though their functions as starting point to follow an understanding of meaning of one photograph is significant. Hence, the photographs, all of which most likely served on a personal, emotional level to Arie Maria and Esmet Sapari turned into objects of research for prosperity. Chapter one has insofar provided the basis for the analysis in chapter two and three, as the photographic primary sources were discussed and parts of their features were used in each, chapter two and three.

Chapter two focused on the emergence of cultural memory out of the photographic primary sources to be found in this box. For doing so, it draw on the realizations that some of the photographs depict the Javanese monarchic family, the Mangkoe Negoro, who were faithful towards the Dutch crown in the beginning of the 20th century and photographs on the Guerrilla War held from the turn to the 20th century for around 40 years and the Indonesian National Revolution. It also draw on temporal circumstances represented by the sub-group: Since they look all the same yet represent different times and are new prints, they break with a temporal linearity otherwise recognizable through the material conditions of the other photographic primary sources. Thus, the sub-group breaks some kind of temporal law. Both, what these sub-group's images depict as well as their temporal accumulation were important for the analysis relating to Benjamin Buchloh's research on the emergence of cultural memory within Gerhard Richter's *Atlas*. Since Buchloh connects both, the use of photomontage as well as Aby Warburg's *Mnemosyne Atlas*, these aspects were brought into discussion in chapter two. The discussion on the use of photomontage was insofar relevant as a reflection on the dawn to the age of digitalisation has shown a shift in meaning and function of photomontage from the second half of the 20th century onwards. While Gerhard Richter's artwork was more relatable to photomontage's use from this very second half, because his work is about juxtaposition of plates and photographs as well as critical towards the presentation on how to remember after the Second World War in Germany. However, the analysis of the perfume box's primary sources regarding the use of photomontage is discussed to be seen more correct because, first of all, the perfume box does not represent an artwork, secondly, its becoming is set in different socio-political circumstances than both, the avant-garde in the first half of the 20th century as well as the use of photomontage from the 1950s onwards, which is related by scholars to the emergence of neo-liberalism in the USA, Germany and France. Moreover, the avant-gardists' photomontage operates by the photograph's indexes while criticising and using mass media. Even though there are no reproductions from mass media such as newspapers to be found in the box, the sub-group represents objects produced in masses and for a mass-communication nonetheless. Also, in this very sub-group are the political photographs. Hence, these points of photographic reproductions which accumulate time while not making this apparent, while making political relationships between the Javanese monarchy Mangkoe Negoro and the Dutch crown to a topic as well as being results of a mass productions, made the sub-group fruitful for the relation to Aby Warburg's *Mnemosyne Atlas*. There, a mass of photographic reproductions accumulating and referring to objects from different times helped the dissolution of a temporal law in favour for the occurrence of meaning and memory through montage to Aby Warburg. An analysis on the emergence of cultural memory could insofar be provided, as Buchloh's leading points for its emergence are linked to the roles of the family photograph and the photos on the Holocaust to be found in *Atlas* in an atemporal structure; atemporal, because the family photographs in *Atlas* refer to Richter's move to West-Germany in the 1960s and are ordered in the beginning of *Atlas*, whereas the Holocaust photographs were already taken during the Second World war and come later in the artworks structure of the plates. Chapter two presented an occurrence of cultural memory insofar, as the role of Rob Hammink as archivist is consulted, who collected both, the family photographs as well as the sub-group's photos to be found in the perfume box. Their juxtaposition by means of Buchloh offer an emergence of cultural memory. Yet, while Buchloh's methodology departs from a fixed structure of plates, the photographs are loose to be found in the box. The dialogue between Georges Didi-Huberman's and Buchloh's analysis of Aby Warburg's *Mnemosyne Atlas* as well as Gerhard Richter's *Atlas* served to provide this juxtaposition, because Didi-Huberman departs from the idea of endlessly possible juxtapositions of images in favour of an emergence of memory and

meaning. This very emergence was not attributed to Arie Maria, Esmet Sapari or Rob Hammink, but located within their common cultural, historical and social background. By doing so, the analysis in chapter two offers another layer to Benjamin Buchloh's analysis of Gerhard Richter's *Atlas*, because cultural memory occurs through loosely found photographs in the box. Because the emergence of memory and meaning was discussed towards the past and very closely to selected theories as well as related to political consequences on a photographic collection of two private people, this analytical approach was seen to be implemented 'from above'.

Chapter three, therefore, aimed to offer an analysis 'from below' by analysing the emergence of meaning and memory towards the present time through the topic of the social biography of an image by means of Elizabeth Edwards relating Wolfgang Tillmans' idea of the 'wandering image' as well as Mitchell's concept of the 'migrating image'. Hence, by following the research question on to what extent the juxtapositions of biographies of images serve a montage of meaning and memory, which is directed towards the present time, it puts the single image more into centre stage as in chapter two, while operating via the technique and idea of the montage as in chapter two presented. As Edwards presents, photographs are objects which receive an extension of meaning through their exchange and use value. These meanings make up the social biography of one image. Also the combinations of photographs in the perfume box are a result of these exchanges related to their functions and meanings to Arie Marie, Esmet Sapari and Rob Hammink. By analysing the photographs represented at the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam as well as at the Mangkoe Negoro Palace in Surakarta in relation to Edward's concept, it could be concluded that these photographs are most probably all found entrance into the archives of the Mangkoe Negoro Palace because they are a result of the collaboration between the Javanese monarchs and the Dutch East Indies. Whereas the photographs at the Tropenmuseum offer an analysis towards their social biographies concerning their roles within the institution, there are no further information found regarding the photographs at the Palace in Surakarta. Since all of them depart from the same photographic negatives and are to be found in the perfume box, it was concluded that fragments of the social biography of these photographs include questions regarding the collaboration between the Javanese monarchy as well as the Dutch crown, the personal meaning for Arie Marie and Esmet Sapari, the archival aspects resulting the selection through Rob Hammink, and, finally, the institutionalisation of these photographs related to the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam. Through the analysis of Wolfgang Tillmans' concept of the 'wandering image', it was demonstrated that the serial ordering of portraits of the same people in different printing techniques ordered in a kind of sequence. Because these people are recognizable, related to Tillmans' friends circle, they become familiar to the exhibition viewer. Also, this ordering in series of the same people or photographs, montaged next to each other, offers a kind of a 'memory machine' by means of Matsui, thus, a construction from the past towards the present time. Also through the selection of the photographs made by Rob Hammink is this kind of a reconstruction possible with the portraits found in the box. Via the concept of the 'migrating image' by Mitchell, it was aimed to connect these montages of portraits with the findings on the social biographies of the sub-groups photographs. Yet, this undertaking did not work out, because his idea could be related to the sub-group, but not to the biographies and portraits of Arie Maria and Esmet Sapari, since an analysis of the social biographies of these portraits were missed out. For a further analysis, these portraits could be analysed regarding their material forms and functions to further elaborate and use Mitchell's idea of the 'migrating image' and to connect it with the sub-group.

Coming back to the main research question followed in this Master thesis, then it can be stated, that the portraits of Arie Maria and Esmet Sapari as well as the photographs of the sub-group served indications for the emergence of meaning and memory. But because the analysis of the sub-group's photographs resulted to be more fruitful during the research period, they could be used more diverse within this Master thesis as well. Left out were photographs which depict Arie Maria's and Esmet Sapari's grand-nieces and nieces, photographs in frames, as well as photographs of people which could not be recognized. Also, the approaches towards the case study determined the use of the photographs found in the perfume box. For a future analysis of the same perfume box, it is considered to be more high-yielding to analyse the photographs only in relation to their social uses by means of Elizabeth Edwards, to also receive more insight on a box with photographs that was in the property of a family who experienced the decolonisation phase to find possible distinctions on the use of photography, to trace the circulation of photographs and learn more on to what extent 'migrating images' experience difficulties when entering new places by means of W.T.J. Mitchell, since this idea is still seen as highly interesting to relate it to photographs who experience decolonisation phases as well.

Appendix

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Figures

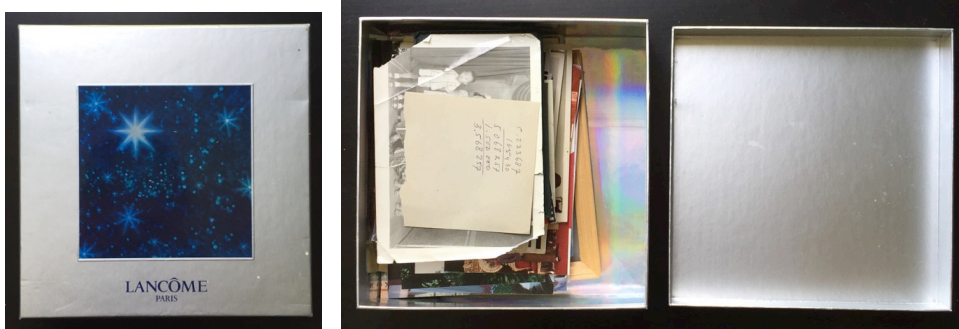


Fig. 1 and 2: Lancôme Paris Perfume Box Closed, 19.3 x 19.3 x 5.7 cm.



Fig. 3: Recto: Family Studio Portrait, Arie Marie and Darminah Luwarso (Sister of Marie Arie) right corner, their parents in front of them, b&w photograph, 15.3 x 11.1 cm. Without further information.



Fig. 4: Verso: Family Studio Portrait, Arie Marie and Darminah Luwarso (Sister of Marie Arie) right corner, their parents in front of them, b&w photograph, 15.3 x 11.1 cm. Without further information.



Fig. 5: Recto: Portrait of sleeping Person, b&w photograph, 5.5 x 5.5 cm, without further information.



Fig. 6: Verso: Portrait of sleeping Person, b&w photograph, 5.5 x 5.5 cm, glue residues in every corner, without further information.



Fig. 7: Recto: Portrait of Yves (grand-niece of Arie Marie) on a green card, colour photograph, carton. 10.7 x 15.2 cm, without further information.

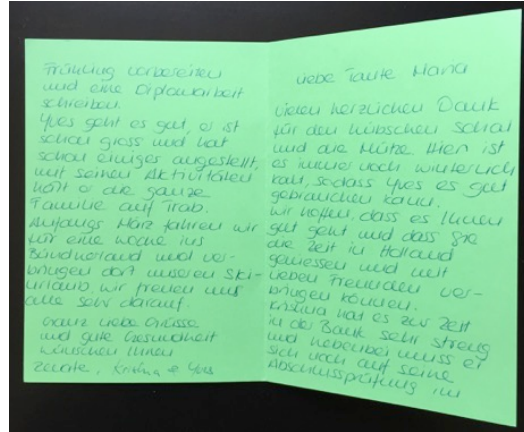


Fig. 8: Inside the card: Text in German written by Renate on behalf of Krishna (niece of Arie Marie), greetings from Switzerland.



Fig. 9: Recto: Portrait of Yves, colour photograph, card, 15.1 x 10.7 cm, photograph taken in Switzerland, photograph taken in the late 1990s, without further information.

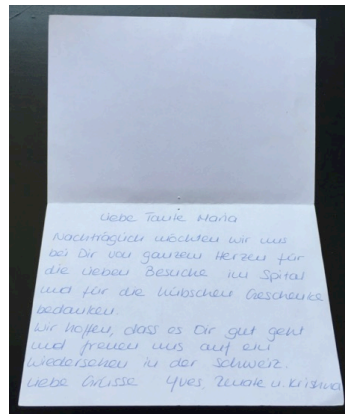


Fig. 10: Inside the card: Text in German written by Renate on behalf of Krishna (niece of Arie Marie), greetings from Switzerland.



Fig. 11: Recto: Marriage Portrait of Shastri and Godi, colour photograph, paper, 12.5 x 8.8 cm, card, photograph taken in 1993, photograph taken in Switzerland, without further information.

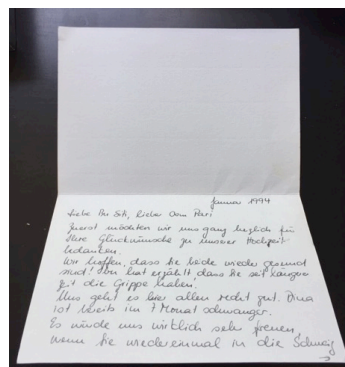


Fig. 12: Inside the card: Text in German written by Shastri (niece of Arie Marie), regards and greetings regarding the marriage.



Fig. 13: Photograph in wooden frame. Photograph of the students of Arie Marie, photograph taken in the Netherlands, without further information.



Fig. 14: Recto: Two photographs glued on each other. Both: b&w photographs, papers, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information.



Fig. 15: Verso: Recto: Two photographs glued on each other. Both: b&w photographs, papers, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information.

Descriptive information on the photographs' backsides:

First photograph: "Neg. 23/6, Kelnarga Bupati de Udiera Barat" (English: Regent of West de Udiera);

Second Photograph:

"Neg. 23/54, Suasana Kampung di Sumatera" (English: The atmosphere of Kampung in Sumatera).



Fig. 16: Recto: First of three photographs glued on each other. All of them: b&w photographs, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information.

Descriptive information on the photograph's backside: "Neg. 23/74, Pembuatan Batik di Yogya" (English: Batik Making in Yogya).



Fig. 17: Recto: Second of three photographs glued on each other. All of them: b&w photographs, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information.

Descriptive information on the photograph's backside: "Neg. 23/38. Uneleatan Kereta Api di Priangan" (English: ... Railways in Priangan).



Fig. 18: Recto: Studio Fruit Still Life, b&w photograph, paper, 2.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information.

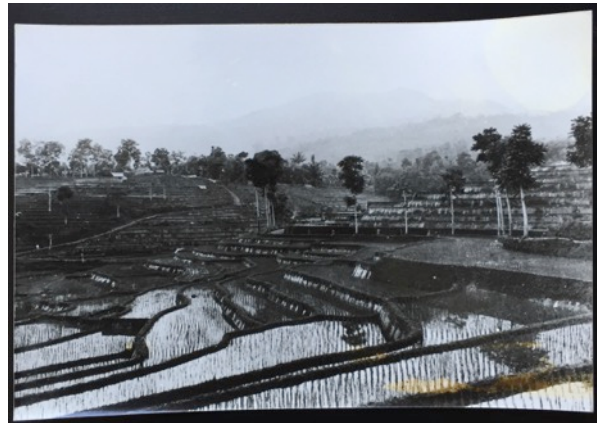


Fig. 19: Recto: Landscape, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information.



Fig. 20: Recto: View on Houses, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information.

Verso: View on Houses, b&w photograph,



Fig. 21: Recto: View on Temple, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information.

Verso: on Temple b&w photograph, paper, 12.9

paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information.
 Descriptive information on the photograph's backside: "Neg. 23/64. Keraton Cirelon" (English: Cirelon Palace).



Fig. 22: Recto: View on an entrance? b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information. Verso: View on an entrance? b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information. Descriptive information on the photograph's backside: "Neg. 23/62. Tangerang" (English: Tangerang) >> City in Java (North East)

x 8.8 cm, without further information.
 Descriptive information on the photograph's backside: "Neg. 23/60. Writing unreadable"



Fig. 23: Recto: Landscape, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information.
 Verso: Landscape, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information. Descriptive information on the photograph's backside: "Neg. 32/42. Java Timur Vulkano" (English: Jawa Timur Vulkano) >> Today: Ijen Vulcano in Java.



Fig. 24: Recto: View on an entrance, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information.
 Verso: View on an entrance??, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information. Descriptive information on the photograph's backside: "Neg. 23/58. Pinangpoort Batavia" (English: Amsterdamse Poort (Pinangpoort) te Batavia).



Fig. 25: Image recto, 8.9 x 12.9 cm, b&w photograph. The descriptive information on the back of the photograph says: "Neg. 24/36. Henrehtungs scene van 8 Reballen in Batavia".



Fig. 26.: Image recto, 8.7 x 13 cm, b&w photograph. The descriptive information on the back of the photograph says: "Neg 24/42. Henrehtung scene van 8. Reballen in Batavia".



Fig. 27: Gerhard Richter, *Atlas*, Exhibition View at Lenbachhaus, Munich, Germany, 2013. Source: Lenbachhaus Munich Webstie, <https://www.lenbachhaus.de/blog/gerhard-richters-atlas>
© Gerhard Richter



Fig. 28: Image recto, 18.8 x 12.6 cm, b&w photograph. The descriptive information on the back of the photograph says: "SAPARI, rechts met geweer. 1950 Siliwangi divisie Bandung (Java); Afkomstig uit Pemalang. 1946 tot 1949 wonend in Magelang (M. Java) Jalan kartini Nr. 5. Heeft een zuster genoemd Siet, (Siti) en broeders Yayo en Tonnie".



Fig. 29: Aby Warburg, *Mnemosyne Atlas*, Panel 55, 1928–29, in: Buchloh, 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas"', p. 123.



Fig. 30: Aby Warburg, *Mnemosyne Atlas*, Panel 79, in: Buchloh, 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas"', p. 126.



Fig. 31: Gerhard Richter, *Atlas*, Sheet 18, Photographs from Books, Concentration Camp, 66.7 x 51.7 cm, 1967, Courtesy Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau München, Munich, Germany, Source: Gerhard Richter Website, <https://www.gerhard-richter.com/de/art/atlas/photographs-from-books-11598/?p=1&sp=32> © Gerhard Richter. And in: Buchloh, 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas"', p. 145.



Fig. 32: Wolfgang Tillmans, Installation View Galerie Buchholz + Buchholz, Cologne, Germany, January 1993, In: Zanichelli, *Privat - bitte eintreten! Rhetoriken des Privaten in der Kunst der 1990er Jahre*, p. 226. © Wolfgang Tillmans

Comparative Plate 1: Perfume Box and Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig. 33: Photograph from the perfume box
 Recto: Indoor Group Portrait, b&w photograph, paper, 12.8 x 8.8 cm, without further information.
 Verso: Indoor Group Portrait, b&w photograph, paper, 12.8 x 8.8 cm, without further information.
 Descriptive information on the photograph's backside: "Neg. 23/78, Perkanrinan Mangka Negara" (English: Foreign Marriage).



Fig. 34: Group portrait at the wedding of Hoesein Djajadiningrat and Partini in the palace of Prang Wedono (Mangkoe Negoro VII), the father of the bride, at Solo, 5 4 2 1 3 6 1. Partini en 2. Hoesein Djajadiningrat 3. Mangkoenegoro en 4. Ratoe Timoer 5. Achmad Djajadiningrat en Raden Ajoe. Prangwadan, Solo, Januari 1921, January 1921, bartered paper, cardboard, gelatin silver development print, Photograph, 13,8 x 17,8cm, January 1921, Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Wereldmuseum Rotterdam, <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/26899>.



Fig. 35: Photograph from the perfume box
 Indoor Group Portrait, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information.
 Verso: Indoor Group Portrait, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information.
 Descriptive information on the photograph's backside: "Neg. 23/76, Perkawinan di" (English: Marriage in Solo).



Fig. 36: *Group portrait at the wedding of Hoesein Djajadiningrat and Partini in the palace of Prang Wedono (Mangkoe Negoro VII), the father of the bride, at Solo, January 1921, bartered paper, cardboard, gelatin silver development print, Photograph, January 1921, Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Wereldmuseum Rotterdam, <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/26897>.*



Fig. 37: Photograph from the perfume box
 Recto: Indoor Group Portrait of Indonesian Traditional Dance, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information.
 Verso: Indoor Group Portrait of Indonesian Traditional Dance, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information.
 Descriptive information on the photograph's backside:
 "Neg. 23/34. Tarian di Pendopo Sunan Salo" (English: Dance at the Pendopo Sunan Solo).



Fig.38 : Bedoyo dance performance at the wedding of Hoesein Djajadiningrat and Partini in the palace of Prang Wedono (Mangkoe Negoro VII), the father of the bride, at Solo, January 1921, bartered paper, cardboard, gelatin silver development print, Photograph, 13,5 x 21,9cm, January 1921, Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Wereldmuseum Rotterdam, <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/26903>.



Fig. 39: Photograph from the perfume box
 Recto: Outdoor Group Portrait, b&w photograph, paper, 12.8 x 8.8 cm, without further information.
 Verso: Outdoor Group Portrait, b&w photograph, paper, 12.8 x 8.8 cm, without further information. Descriptive information on the photograph's backside: "Neg. 23/82, Keluarga Mangku Negara" (English: Mangku Negara Family).



Fig. 40: Group portrait of Hamengku Negoro VII, Hoesein Djajadiningrat, their wives Ratu Timur and Partini, children and staff who take care of the children, ca 1922, bartered paper, gelatin silver development print, Photograph, 22 x 28,1cm, ca 1922, Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Wereldmuseum Rotterdam, <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/26863>.



Fig.41: Photograph from the perfume box
 Recto: Full Body Portrait of a Dancer, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information. Verso: Full Body Portrait of a Dancer, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information. Descriptive information on the photograph's backside: "Neg. 23/86. Tarian di Pendopo Solo" (English: Dance at the Pendopo Solo).



Fig. 42: Erich Dr. Salomon, *Dance performance by Gusti Raden Ajeng Siti Noeroel Koesoemowardini, a daughter of Mangkoe Negoro VII, January 1937*, bartered paper, cardboard, gelatin silver development print, Photograph, 16,7 x 11,8cm, January 1937, Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Wereldmuseum Rotterdam, <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/26909>.

Comparative Plate 2: Perfume Box and Mangkoe Negoro Palace, Surakarta



Fig. 43: Photograph in perfume box

Recto: View on Railway and Bridge, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information.

Verso: View on Railway and Bridge, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information. Descriptive information on the photograph's backside: "Neg. 24/16. Bengawan Solo" (English: Bognawan Solo >> River")



Fig. 44: Dead-Center: A Bridge Near Surakarta, Central Java, c. 1915, without further information. In: Pemberton, 'The Ghost in the Machine', p. 47.

Similar Photographs from the Perfume Box



Fig. 45: Recto: Railway, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information. Verso: b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information. Descriptive information on the photograph's backside: "Neg. 23/36. Leer Soekaboemi"



Fig. 46: Recto: View on Railway in Landscape, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information.

Verso: View on Railway in Landscape, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information. Descriptive information on the photograph's backside: "Neg. 23/40. *Ree te Soekaboemi*"



Fig. 47: Recto: View on bridge and river, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information.

Verso: View on bridge and river, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information. Descriptive information on the photograph's backside: "Neg. 23/2. *Jembatan di jatinegara (meester cornelis)*" (English: Bridge in Jantinegara (Meester Cornelis)).



Fig. 48: Recto: Bridge, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information.

Verso: Bridge, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information. Descriptive information on the photograph's backside: "Neg. 23/8. *Eisenbahn bei Soekabomi*" (English: Railway in Soekabomi).



Fig. 49: Recto: Bridge, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information.
Verso: Bridge, b&w photograph, paper, 12.9 x 8.8 cm, without further information. Descriptive information on the photograph's backside: "Neg. 23/4. Bru. Matraman" (English: Bru. Matraman).
>>> Bridge in Matraman.

Portraits of Arie Maria



Fig. 50: Recto: Studio Portrait of Arie Marie, b&w photograph, carton, 7.8 x 5.6 cm, without further information.



Fig. 51: Recto: Studio Portrait of Arie Marie, b&w photograph, paper, 8.8 x 12 cm, without further information.



Fig. 52: Opened envelop with three different kinds of passport photographs of Arie Marie.



Fig. 53: No function to this card could be identified.

Portraits of Esmet Sapari



Fig. 54: Recto: Studio Portrait of Sapari, b&w photograph, 4 x 5 cm, without further information.



Fig. 55: Recto: Portrait of Sapari in the street, colour photograph, paper, 11.4 x 8.8 cm, possibly taken in the 1970s, without further information.



Fig. 56: Recto: Portrait of Sapari with politician/militaries, colour photograph, paper, 11.4 x 8.8 cm, possibly taken in the 1970s, without further information.



Fig. 57: Recto: Portrait of Sapari at the phone, colour photograph, paper, 13 x 8.8 cm, without further information.