Past Pandemic vs. Covid-19 Representations Pandemic Exhibitions of 2020 in the Netherlands



Merve Findik

Student number: 1713248

Email Address: m.findik@umail.leidenuniv.nl

Specialization: Museums and Collections

Supervisor: S.M. Lauritano

Second Reader: Dr. L.K. Cosmo

Academic Year: 2020-2021

Universiteit Leiden

Declaration of originality

By submitting this test, I certify that:

- ✓ I have drafted this work without any assistance from others (not applicable to group work);
- ✓ I have not discussed, shared, or copied submitted work from/with other students
- ✓ I have not used sources that are not explicitly allowed by the course instructors, and I have clearly referenced all sources (either from a printed source, internet, or any other source) used in work in accordance with the course requirements and the indications of the course instructors;
- ✓ this work has not been previously used for other courses in the programme or course of another programme or university unless explicitly allowed by the course instructors.

I understand that any false claim in respect to this work will result in disciplinary action in accordance with university regulations and the programme regulations and that any false claim will be reported to the Board of Examiners. Disciplinary measures can result in exclusion from the course and/or the programme.

I understand that my work may be checked for plagiarism by the use of plagiarism detection software as well as through other measures taken by the university to prevent and check on fraud and plagiarism.

I understand and endorse the significance of the prevention of fraud, and I acknowledge that in case of (gross) fraud the Board of Examiners could declare the examination invalid, which may have consequences for all students.

List of Contents

Introduction4	
I-	Covid-19 and outlining research4-5
II-	Division chapters, case studies, and sub-questions
III-	Historical background depiction social life and diseases10-13
IV-	Historical background epidemic photography14-15
Chapter 1-	Pre-covid Exhibits of 2020 in the Netherlands
I-	Museum Het Valkhof – <i>The Black Plague</i> 15-20
II-	Rijksmuseum Boerhaave – <i>Contagious!</i> 21-24
Chapter 2-	Entirely Artistic Covid-19 Exhibits in 202025
I-	Museum Arnhem- Nightfall25-28
II-	Stedelijk Museum Breda- East-West, Home Best?29-33
Chantan 2	Hederid Carrid 10 Endrikita in 2020
•	Hybrid Covid-19 Exhibits in 202034
I-	Haags Historisch Museum- Corona Collection34-41
II-	Amsterdam Museum- Corona in the City34-41
Chapter 4-	Compilation Through Platform: Covid-19 Exhibit 202042
I-	Museum Hilversum- <i>PANdemIC</i>
1-	Wiuseum Finversum- FAnaemic42-47
Conclusion	
Illustrations53-85	
Credits Illustrations86-91	
Bibliography92-102	

Introduction

I- Covid-19 and outlining research

In December 2019, the first case of the Covid-19 virus was discovered in the Huanan seafood market in central Wuhan, China. Often referred to as 'corona,' the virus is officially called SARS CoV-2. The disease can cause respiratory problems and fever, and in severe cases, can even lead to death. In January 2020, the first corona infections were reported in Europe in Italy, Germany, and France.¹ The first documented corona infection in the Netherlands was on February 27.² In March 2020, the Dutch government announced the first general measures to combat the coronavirus, such as washing hands, sneezing in the elbow, and no longer shaking hands. Mid-March, the Netherlands went into partial lockdown, and all public places such as shops, restaurants, schools, libraries, museums, and theatres were obliged to close.³ To prevent the increasingly rapid spread of the virus, people were advised to work from home and go outside if necessary.

During the first lockdown, Dutch prime minister Mark Rutte gave a historic speech to the Dutch people. The last time such a speech was given was in the 1970s when former Prime Minister Joop den Uyl addressed the oil crisis. Rutte asked the Dutch people to be patient and help each other during this challenging time. He stated: "We have to do this with seventeen million people. Together we will get through this difficult period." With this, he promoted a sense of togetherness, which people and cultural institutions quickly understood. The lockdown and its consequences forced people, including artists, to become resilient and creative. They started to share poems, art, stories, and photographs through all kinds of (online) channels. These sympathetic gestures and the extraordinary conditions of the lockdown also inspired cultural institutions to express these gestures of compassion. The creativity and resilience of people and artists became a source of inspiration for exhibits about the effects of Covid-19.

¹ Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, "Coronavirus Tijdlijn," *Rijksoverheid.nl*, 14 July 2021, Accesed 26 July 2021, https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/coronavirus-tijdlijn.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ "Rutte Tijdens Historische Toespraak: 'We Moeten Dit Met Z'n Allen Doen'," *RTL Nieuws*, 16 March 2020, Accesed 19 April 2021, https://www.rtlnieuws.nl/nieuws/nederland/artikel/5058561/rutte-toespraak-nederland-coronavirus.

⁵ Rijksoverheid, "TV Toespraak Minister President Mark Rutte in Het Kader Van Corona Van 16 Maart," *YouTube*, 30 March 2020, Accesed 19 April 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G9z0xEuxt41.

This research will focus on five Covid-19 pandemic exhibitions that emerged in the Netherlands in 2020. Museum Arnhem, Stedelijk Museum Breda, The Haags Historisch Museum, Amsterdam Museum, and Museum Hilversum collected, captured, and exhibited how Covid-19 affected people's lives, representing the social consequences of the virus. In that same year, two other exhibitions emerged about pandemics before Covid-19. Arguing that the motives of Covid-19 exhibits were "performative gestures of compassion," this research will also examine the motives of the pre-covid exhibits of Rijksmuseum Boerhaave and Museum Het Valkhof. By comparing the various exhibitions, this research will examine the common threads, the exhibiting styles, and different approaches of museums exhibiting pandemics. This research seeks to answer the main question: What different approaches do museums in the Netherlands prefer to depict past pandemics and the current Covid-19 pandemic and do these exhibitions and visuals create compassion? This research is limited to visuals due to the lack of time for analyzing other objects and artworks. Visuals in this research mean mainly two-dimensional objects such as paintings, photographs, collages, drawings, and videos.

This research aims to give insight into how the visualization and representation of pandemics occur in the pre-covid exhibits and covid-19 exhibits in the concerning museums. Analyzing the approaches and motives of the concerned museums will give an understanding of the role museums want to fulfill exhibiting pandemics.

II- Division chapters, case studies, and sub-questions

The last part of this introduction starts with a historical overview of the depiction of diseases and pandemics in artworks and photographs. This is essential to understand how pandemic representations evolved until Covid-19 representations.

The first chapter will look into the pre-covid exhibitions of *the Black Plague* of Museum Het Valkhof and *Contagious!* of Rijksmuseum Boerhaave. These two exhibitions were already in the making before the outbreak of Covid-19 in the Netherlands. By comparing them with the Covid-19 exhibits, these two offer insight into the history and visualization of pandemics in the past. The *Black Plague* exhibit shows how one of the most devastating infectious diseases, the plague, has left its mark on art and society by exhibiting works created by more than two hundred artists. ⁶ The exhibit *Contagious!* is more broad representing infectious diseases such as the Plague, Covid-19, Ebola, Aids, and Measles. ⁷ The exhibit explains the outbreak of these diseases, what the preventions and solutions were. By comparing past and present representations, the museum exclaims that pandemics are not only past events. Few of the presented artworks of both museums will be discussed to see how past pandemics were depicted.

The second chapter will explain the exhibitions *Nightfall* of Museum Arnhem and *East-West*, *Home Best*? of Stedelijk Museum Breda. Both museums used local artistic work depicting the effects of Covid-19 in their city. *Nightfall* is the only exhibition where an artist was commissioned to depict and capture the effects of the virus in the City of Arnhem during the first lockdown in March 2020. This artist was the Japanese photographer Miyuki Okuyama who mostly takes spooky, black and white photographs of places and objects almost vanishing before disappearing. In this exhibition, a different kind of disappearance was depicted, namely the disappearance of people in usually busy places. *East-West, Home Best?* shows works of several artists who were not commissioned but had already made coronarelated art during the pandemic. According to the artists discussed in this chapter, creative expressions can be seen as a way to deal with new circumstances. This can be seen as a way to take care of yourself.

-

⁶ "De Pest," *Museum Het Valkhof Nijmegen*, Accessed 28 July 2021, https://www.museumhetvalkhof.nl/zien-en-doen/tentoonstellingen/de-pest/.

⁷ "Besmet!," *Rijksmuseumboerhaave*, Accessed 28 July 2021, https://rijksmuseumboerhaave.nl/te-zien-te-doen/besmet/.

The third chapter will be devoted to the exhibits of The Haagsch Historisch Museum called *Corona-Collection* and *Corona in the City* of Amsterdam Museum. These two museums used the rapid response method and appealed to their citizens to contribute to their exhibitions. Both museums realized their exhibitions through direct audience submissions and in collaboration with other cultural institutions and artists. Both museums addressed the problems and creative initiatives during the corona crisis and highlighted other global and local problems. Topics such as the Black Lives Matter Movement, loneliness, isolation, and gentrification are depicted in various ways and mediums. While all the Covid-19 exhibits focused on only the first lockdown, Amsterdam Museum chose to collect materials of Covid-19 until 2025. Therefore this exhibit is not only about the solitary times in which people tried to help each other by supporting each other through all kinds of creative means. It is also about the unrest that prevailed as the crisis lasted longer.

The last chapter is analyzing *PANdemIC* of Museum Hilversum. Museum Hilversum compiled their pandemic exhibition through photographs submitted to the online platform called Care4Corona. Amateur photographs and professional photographs submitted through the platform were used in this exhibition. Using materials from a platform that care already has in its name, the museum shows a way of caring for the audience. Because Museum Hilversum did not commission an artist or appealed to the public for submissions, their approach can be seen as another compassionate way of curating.

All chapters will describe the motives of the museums for organizing (covid-19) pandemic exhibits and if these exhibits and visuals are "performative gestures of compassion." The conclusion will explain the main findings by answering the research question.

This research uses information and images as provided and gathered from the researched (online) exhibitions, museum podcasts, museum websites, museum social media channels, museum reviews, and museum publications. In some cases, a psychical visit to the museum was not possible because of the lockdown. Then, curators explained why these exhibits were organized, styled, and represented, for example, Patricia Deiser of the Haagsch Historisch Museum and Veronique Jansen of Museum Hilversum by e-mail.

There is not much published about 'epidemic photography or visuals' or 'pandemic exhibitions' except the works of medical anthropologist Christos Lyntheris. A major new and vital work of Lyntheris is his book "Anthropology of Epidemics," published in 2020, in which epidemics are approached as social phenomena. This book emphasized the ruptures the

human/non-human relations causes and the impact epidemics have on social life.⁸ Lyntheris states:

"As a mode of the constitution of social life that has been cast anew by recent conceptions of virality, information, and communication, epidemics necessitate not simply the study of the disease itself and the way it affects social relations, but also the study of its modes of anticipation, visualization, fictionalization, and materialization."

Therefore, analyzing pandemics is not only analyzing the diseases, but it also means analyzing the social consequences in their entirety. Another significant contribution of Lyntheris is his project called the "Visual Representations of the Third Plague Pandemic." Lyntheris researches plague photography on a regional and global scale and investigate visual representations of outbreaks in China between 1855 and 1959, focusing on the Hong Kong bubonic plague outbreak of 1894 and the Manchurian pneumonic plague outbreak in 1910-11. In comparing the two, his research focuses on the entanglement of visualization strategies and biopolitical and geopolitical aspects of the epidemics. His work will be used in this research while explaining and understanding the history of visualization strategies of epidemics.

Another contributor is Duncan Forbes, director of photography of the Victoria and Albert Museum. In his article "Pandemic Objects: Photographs," Forbes emphasizes that the representation of pandemics in photographs is not new but that the circulation has intensified. He compares the intense circulation of (digital) photographs to the circulation of a virus. Forbes states:

"With the tap of a keyboard, photographs of disease and its prevention are transmitted around the world, and (social) media accounts provide a constant stream of the visualization of disaster. The virus of images generates awareness of the planetary impact of the virus. As we suffer under a pandemic, what are we to make of its global expression in photographs?" ¹²

8

⁸ Ann, Keck, and Lynteris, *The Anthropology of Epidemics*.

⁹ Ann, Keck, and Lynteris, *The Anthropology of Epidemics*, 1-2.

¹⁰ "Visual Representations of the 3rd Plague Pandemic," Accessed 27 July 2021, https://visualplague.wordpress.com/.

¹¹ Duncan Forbes, "Pandemic Objects: Photographs," *V&A Blog*, 12 November 2020, Accesed 7 May 2021, https://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/projects/pandemic-objects-photograph
¹² Ibid.

However, during this crisis, social media did not only streamed the visualization of disaster. Supporting each other through creative initiatives also happened through social media. For instance, content creator Anneloes Officier requested people working from home to imitate a famous painting with three objects from home through social media. Her creative initiative went viral and allowed people in the same situation to achieve something while going through the pandemic, creating a sense of togetherness. Therefore, the question Forbes asks what to make of the expression of the pandemic in photographs on social media will be explored in this research if they are "performative gestures of compassion."

The last major contributor to this topic is the journal *Museums & Society*, which provided a special issue called 'Isolation is a Collective Experience': Museums' First Responses to COVID-19". While Covid-19 was unfolding globally, museums worldwide suffered the consequences. In this special issue, the rapid response collecting during Covid-19 is discussed. In general, the journal explains how museums dealt, regardless of their closure during lockdowns, to be accessible for their audience. ¹⁴ According to these articles in the special issue, museums see themselves as guardians of our history and responsible institutions in informing and making people feel supported and understood, especially in times of crisis. Therefore, collecting and expressing the Covid-19 experience of people can be seen as a museum taking care of their audiences by making them feel understood and seen.

None of these existing essays examines the situation in the Netherlands, and therefore, my work will contribute to an ongoing scholarly conversation.

-

¹³ Tim van Boxtel, "Anneloes Ging Viral Met Haar Account Tussen Kunst & Quarantaine," *Algemeen Dagblad*, 17 January 17, Accsed 10 May 2021, https://www.ad.nl/binnenland/anneloes-ging-viral-met-haar-account-tussen-kunst-en-quarantaine-maar-verdient-er-geen-cent-mee~ale036d55/.

Museum & Society "Special Issue," 295-348, https://doi.org/10.29311/mas.

III- <u>Historical background depiction social life and diseases</u>

In the past, diseases and pandemics were depicted in literature and paintings. Depicting diseases and pandemics also meant expressing pain, insecurity, fear, and despair for artists. What art does is not expressing emotions necessarily, but art gives shape to those emotions. ¹⁵ Therefore just as the curator of old history of Museum Het Valkhof Yvette Driever states, art can help process something like a pandemic or disease. ¹⁶ Art is often not associated with diseases or pandemics; however, many artworks depict and refer to them. Therefore, in the past and with the current pandemic, we see many artworks and visuals emerge. The Black Plague, which ruled in the 14th century, is the first pandemic visible in artworks. There are many examples, but a famous painting related to the Black Plague is *Triumph of Death* (figure 1). The painting depicts not only the devastating platform the black plague was responsible for, such as the forest fires and a sea of shipwrecks in the background, it also shows the emotions and the fear people must have felt. Looking closely at the people in the painting, they have many skeleton soldiers on their backs. People knew that these skeleton creatures, resembling the diseases, would come for destruction and death.

People often thought that diseases were a penance from God in the Middle Ages and sought religious support. ¹⁷ In *Triumph of Death*, people think they can take refuge in faith but fall into a trap. The red cross on the right of the painting lets them believe in divine powers, but they run into a large coffin. ¹⁸ Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1525-1569) also shows his active stance against Christianity's concept of life and death with this painting. It reflects the painter's mindset and thinking about religious ideas and, in this case, disagreements. The painting shows that the plague made no distinction between poor, religious, or wealthy people and had no mercy. ¹⁹ The painting visualizes a theater of death and instills compassion by showing the emotions of fear and despair that make people seek refuge. With the feeling of restlessness and not knowing what is coming, the painting vividly depicts the experience of epidemics in general.

¹⁵ Adams, Kunst Moet Ook In Tijden Van Cholera, 32-35.

¹⁶ Museum Het Valkhof, "De Pest - De Podcast," *Spotify*, February 2021, Accesed 29 July 2021, https://open.spotify.com/show/7uBVHZFJj7jtprRmC6fkyN.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Kaschek, Müller, and Buskirk, "The Imaginarium of Death," 134-158.

¹⁹ "The Triumph of Death," *Collection - Museo Nacional del Prado*, Accessed 27 July 2021, https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/the-triumph-of-death/d3d82b0b-9bf2-4082-ab04-66ed53196ccc.

Not only devastating epidemic scenes but paintings referring to actual diseases such as rheumatoid arthritis were also depicted in the past (figure 2). The painting depicts the embracing of the three graces, which in mythological sources, they were companions of Venus, adding to the love and fertility that she personifies as a component of charm, pleasure, and joy.²⁰ At an international exhibition in Antwerp during the summer of 1977, paintings of Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) were examined for signs of rheumatoid arthritis in the subjects. The selected paintings were submitted for an independent review by medical specialists, and many of them showed deformities suggestive of rheumatoid arthritis, such as the first grace in figure two.²¹ It also was believed that these deformities were a signature of Rubens himself dealing with arthritis. These paintings can be seen as early medical depictions without explicitly pinpointing the disease. However, they inform about the course of the disease and how artists dealt with and depicted them.

In the late 19th century, the camera became a tool for providing authentic visual evidence of life. The photograph was seen as evidence or a way to communicate, influencing how photography is viewed nowadays.²² Over the past two centuries, photographic images fulfilled many roles. For example, in 19th and 20th century Europe, landscape views were considered souvenirs for travelers. The idea that photographs are a souvenir if we return from our vacations still exists today. The new Kodak Brownie photo camera, introduced at the beginning of the 20th century, made the idea of taking casual photographs of everyday life as a 'snapshot' possible. Making photographs and documenting our lives showed others our ideas, situations, and feelings, just as earlier artists did with paintings. Photographs depicted our social lives and vacations but were also used for propaganda purposes and sometimes to convey other political messages.

The new form of factual documentary photography that emerged in the Soviet Union in the 1920s, called Factography, was a way to convey political messages. It was a new way of communist storytelling to construct and represent the everyday life of the masses.²³ Constructivists in the Soviet Union, who regarded the visual arts as a means to serve revolutionary ideals, hailed collage and montage as a means to embody social and political

²⁰ "The Three Graces ," *Collection - Museo Nacional del Prado*, Accessed 27 July 2021, https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/the-three-graces/145eadd9-0b54-4b2d-affe-09af370b6932.

²¹ Appelboom, "Rubens Rheumatoid Arthritis," 483-486, https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.1981.03310300037016

²² Born , "Public Museums, Museum Photography," 223-254.

²³ Buchloh, "From Faktura to Factography," 82-119, https://doi.org/10.2307/778300.

messages (figure 3).²⁴ In this collage, the workers' faces appear as a collective mass instead of individuals, and the hands symbolize the workers' voices. The idea was that collectivity would bring power to the Soviet Union.²⁵ However, this idea of collectiveness and constructing our own lives with photomontage is not gone (figure 4). This collage of journalist Marnel Breure does not show a political message as Gustav Klutsis (1895-1938) did in his work, but this collage represents the everyday life of many people felt during Covid-19. Because of many government regulations, many people could not be intimate with people they loved. The advice of keeping distance and not going on visits made some people go into desperation, which the curled-up persons express. Loneliness is depicted as children holding their stuffed animals. This collage represents Covid-19 and the consequences of being away from the intimate and social life.

Nowadays, by swiping and scrolling through many photographic streams, we encounter images in series and grids. These are different 'factual' photographic collages composed and narrated by people or museums globally on social media (figure 5). The development of digital technologies and thereby having a phone with a camera appears to have fundamentally altered photographic practice. With Factography, the Constructivist constructed and montaged images, now amateur photographers are creators of constructing their narratives. Amateur photographs and videos became very important in events such as the protests of the Arab Spring in 2011 and, therefore, changed the way of civilian journalism and documentation. The audience chooses what to photograph and post on social media. The 'masses' know how best to express political agency and convey political messages.

Therefore, photography in the context of the internet has been celebrated as "The Age of the Amateur." Although telling stories about our lives with photographic images is not something new, the circulation of photographic images was never this intense. Theorist Marita Cartwright and Lisa Sturken compare the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, in which television played a key role, and the Parisian terrorist attacks in November 2015, in which social media played a crucial role, showing the changing media forms, audiences, and messages in the global mediascape. The internet and technology development changed how we share and consume news about significant events such as pandemics, protests, and wars.

²⁴ Rosenblum, A World History of Photography, 392-400.

²⁵ "Gustav Klutsis. Let's Fulfill the Plan of Great Works," *The Museum of Modern Art*, Acessed 27 July 2021, https://www.moma.org/collection/works/6487.

²⁶ McBride, "The Snapchat Monteur?," 206-220, https://doi.org/10.1080/03087298.2019.1682834.

²⁷ Pollen, *Mass Photography Collective Histories*, 19-24.

²⁸ Sturken and Cartwright, *Practices of Looking*, 247-253.

By exhibiting submitted materials from the audience, the museums, as discussed in part two of this introduction, are constructing the pandemic's narrative by showing the work of the urban masses and amateur photographers. Museums have multiple roles in society. In 2019 the International Council of Museums proposed a new definition: "Museums are democratizing, inclusive and polyphonic spaces for critical dialogue about the pasts and the future and safeguard diverse memories for future generations." Amateur works are also collected and exhibited in museums, just as everyday items to fulfill the role of memory institutions. By putting these amateur stories on display, museums make the stories newsworthy with social relevance and uniqueness. Therefore these amateur works can be seen as primary sources, in which every story is unique, and each object, photograph, or story triggers another emotion or feeling.

-

²⁹ Geraldine Kendall Adams, "Icom Unveils New Museum Definition," Museums Association, 14 August 2020, Accessed 19 April 2021, https://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-journal/news/2019/07/31072019-icom-reveals-updated-museum-definition/.

³⁰ Ibid.

IV- Historical background epidemic photography

In the late 19th century, the camera became not only a tool for providing authentic visual evidence of social life, but it made the third global wave of bubonic plague, which struck the globe between 1894 and 1959, the first-ever photographed epidemic. Not only did the epidemic create a visual archive, but it also created a paradigm for how people visualize and understand other epidemics and pandemics.³¹ An epidemic is a disease that affects many people within a community population or region. A pandemic is an epidemic that spreads across multiple countries or continents. 32 These photographs are called 'epidemic photography,' which informs how people see, depict, and imagine epidemics and pandemics and their political, social, and economic impact.³³ More than simply being a part of medical photography, epidemic photography captures the past, present, and future of epidemic events and processes, drawing out an epidemic potentiality across social existence.³⁴ The depiction of former pandemics and diseases in paintings was made with religious, scientific, and mythological elements, while these documentary photographs were seen as depictions of reality and even scientific. Art historian William M. Ivins Jr states: "The 19th century began by believing that what was reasonable was true, and it wound up by believing that what it saw on a photograph was true."35

At the turn of the 20th century, a typical medical photograph represented medical professionals working (figure 6) and sometimes visualized a particular disease.³⁶ In this photograph, medical workers disinfect the man in the middle. The man is a plague patient, and by disinfecting him, medical workers try to prevent the spread of the virus. Another vital element of the photograph is the medical clothing and masks. Although this photograph is from more than a hundred years ago, the clothing and masks are still the same, except for the color and material (figure 7). These elements are pertinent information to understand how people used to cope with disease and contamination. These medical photographs were put in

³¹ Christos Lynteris, "Photography and Pandemics," *Apollo Magazine*, 22 April 2020, Accesed 7 May 2021, https://www.apollo-magazine.com/photography-pandemics/.

³² Trisha Torrey, "When Does an Epidemic Become a Pandemic?," *Verywell Health*, 5 May 2020, Accesed 9 June 2021, https://www.verywellhealth.com/difference-between-epidemic-and-pandemic-2615168.

³³ "Exhibition "Social Care' in the Museum of the Colonial Institute, Amsterdam," *Repository.cam*, Accesed 7 May 2021, https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/285226.

³⁴ Ann, Keck, and Lynteris, *The Anthropology of Epidemics*, 1-25.

³⁵ Rosenblum, A World History of Photography, 9-38.

³⁶ Lukas Engelmann, "What Are Medical Photographs of Plague?," *Visual Representations of the 3rd Plague Pandemic*, 17 March 2017, Accesed 7 May 2021, https://visualplague.wordpress.com/2017/03/14/what-are-medical-photographs-of-plague/.

albums with a description or note representing a disease entity for doctors, missionaries, and colonial officials to diagnose diseases. Not only were these photographs used by medical workers around the globe, but they were made available to the general public as well. Newspapers then published these photographs, making the public aware of epidemics and their impact on people's lives (figure 8).³⁷ This example shows that a small epidemic had broken out in England and that people were wearing masks as a result.

Christos Lynteris emphasizes that it is essential to note that these bubonic plague photographs were also taken in an imperial context, reflecting colonial ideologies. There was, for example, a false assumption that African people were immune to the Spanish flu. This idea was founded on racist medical assumptions about people of color. In addition, while the 1918 pandemic circulated, the Great Migration happened in America, where many African-Americans migrated from the South to the North of the United States. This mass migration and the pandemic resulted in many deaths of African-Americans with no family members claiming the bodies. Therefore many African-Americans were accounted as "anatomical specimens" and used for medical research by white students (figure 9). Although the current pandemic photographs do not depict racist medical assumptions, they create awareness of racism and show that racism is not past. This topic will be discussed in chapter three.

Therefore epidemic visualizations do not only depict the disease itself. They show a lot of the world and its mentality at a certain period.

Part three and four of this introduction explained how the depiction of social life, diseases, and epidemics started and evolved within different mediums. The following chapters will provide more examples.

³⁷ Duncan Forbes, "Pandemic Objects: Photographs," *V&A Blog*, 12 November 2020, Accesed 7 May 2021, https://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/projects/pandemic-objects-photograph.

³⁸ "Spit Spreads Death: The Influenza Pandemic of 1918-19 in Philadelphia," *Exhibits Mütter Museum of The College of Physicians of Philadelphia*, Accessed 11 April 2021, http://muttermuseum.org/exhibitions/going-viral-behind-the-scenes-at-a-medical-museum/.

Chapter 1- Pre-covid-19 exhibitions of 2020 in the Netherlands

Two exhibitions were already in the making about viruses, diseases, and past pandemics before the Covid-19 pandemic. This chapter aims to explain the motives behind the creation of these exhibitions, and visuals of past pandemics are performative gestures of compassion.

However, first of all, what is compassion? Compassion is the ability to emphasize, which comes from the deep awareness of our sameness. It is relating to the other with an active attitude. Compassion is the capacity to act on a deep sense of equality between oneself and others, over and above awareness of differences.³⁹ Compassion calls for personal definitions. People understand compassion as he or she wishes making it a controversial concept. Therefore how one does emphasize with other people is done in different ways. Art is involved in creating compassion and helps us make something out of reality. We, humans, look at life through stories. We see the world through the image we make of the world. In art, personal expressions and perceptions are important. With art, you have to captivate the other person and let them see what and how you see the world. 40 According to philosopher Susan Neiman, art gives away someone else's world and thereby creates compassion. Neiman thinks compassion is created or increased by creating art that triggers emotion instead of appealing to people's conceptual skills.⁴¹ Therefore performative gestures of compassion can mean art that triggers emotion or exhibitions that emphasize understanding each other. Art in society should give the feeling of community and compassion and thereby generate questions about the world we live in. Therefore the creation of many pandemic exhibitions and art is not surprising in times of a crisis because art helps to cope.

I- Museum Het Valkhof – *The Black Plague*

After the Plague of Justinian, which originated in the Eastern Roman Empire around 541 and left no trace in the art of the time, The Black Plague was the second major pandemic of the Middle Ages.⁴² Since the fourteenth century, Europe was in the grip of the plague. The story

³⁹ Boomgaard, Hurkmans, and Westerveld, Compassion: A Paradox in Art and Society, 1-133.

⁴⁰ Adams, Kunst Moet Ook In TIJDEN Van Cholera, 47-67.

⁴¹ Boomgaard, Hurkmans, and Westerveld, *Compassion: A Paradox in Art and Society*, 87-107.

⁴² Tim Graas, "Ex Tempore: De Verbeelding Van Epidemieën En Geneesheiligen," *Katholiek Documentatie Centrum*, Radboud Universiteit, 9 December2020 Accesed 29 July 2021, https://www.ru.nl/kdc/@1289336/extempore-verbeelding-epidemieen-geneesheiligen/

of the plague in Europe begins with the Mongolian army who had gone to Kaffa, a city in the Crimea in the Black Sea, where traders from Genoa were. The Mongolian army, who wanted to recapture the city from the Genoans, brought the plague from Asia, where the disease was already reigning. ⁴³ A biological war started where Mongolian soldiers shot the bodies of their infected and dead fellow soldiers over the wall. The traders did not understand what was happening and fled back to Genoa, taking the bacteria causing the plague. From there, the plague spread further from Italy to the rest of Europe. ⁴⁴

The idea and inspiration to realize an exhibition about the plague derive from two works of the permanent collection of Museum Het Valkhof. The first artwork is a portrait of the seventeenth-century plague doctor named IJsbrand van Diemerbroeck who worked in Nijmegen (figure 10). He wrote a treatise, which is also on display in the exhibit, on the plague and marked the beginning of a more scientific approach by describing the patients' symptoms and progressions precisely. The other object is a statue, bought in 2019, of one of the most important plague saints named Saint Sebastian (figure 11). Sebastianus was a Roman soldier whom Emperor Diocletian's archers tortured. Revered to as a martyr from the fourth century onward, he became the patron saint of soldiers and archers and is easily recognizable as a half-naked young male tied to a tree with arrows lodged in his body. Realizing the connection between the two artworks, the museum thought of making an exhibition about the plague to inform people about art, influential persons, and the pandemic.

Museum Het Valkhof, a history and archeology museum, shows how art and history color our worldview. Their aim with *Black Plague* is to give people insight into how a disease has been depicted in art over the years, how the artworks show the effects of the disease had on people and what parallels can be drawn with the present. The exhibition's content has barely been adjusted in response to the corona pandemic. Ideas and questions about what a pandemic is and how one must feel during a pandemic were written down by curator Yvette Driever. From reading sources about despair and fear, she was suddenly experiencing a pandemic herself.⁴⁶ Therefore only the text has been adjusted. Driever stated: 'We no longer

⁴³ Museum Het Valkhof, "De Pest - De Podcast," *Spotify*, February 2021, Accesed 29 July 2021, https://open.spotify.com/show/7uBVHZFJj7jtprRmC6fkyN.

⁴⁴ Mark Wheelis, "Biological Warfare at the 1346 Siege of Caffa," 971-975,

⁴⁵ Tim Graas, "Ex Tempore: De Verbeelding Van Epidemieën En Geneesheiligen," *Katholiek Documentatie Centrum*, Radboud Universiteit, 9 December2020 Accesed 29 July 2021, https://www.ru.nl/kdc/@1289336/extempore-verbeelding-epidemieen-geneesheiligen/

⁴⁶ Museum Het Valkhof, "De Pest - De Podcast," *Spotify*, February 2021, Accesed 29 July 2021, https://open.spotify.com/show/7uBVHZFJj7jtprRmC6fkyN.

had to explain what a pandemic is or what quarantine meant.'⁴⁷ Their two-part podcast discusses the disease itself, which contributes to understanding how the disease was experienced and why it was portrayed that way. The podcast provided insight into why certain elements, for example, a bubo, were depicted.

One of the artworks in the exhibition depicted the story and feelings about the plague very well (figure 12). In this painting, the three successive stages of the disease leading to inevitable death are depicted. The first stage is the mother, who has a black lump on her chest. Are This is also called a bubo or bump, which is the first phase of the plague. A rat flea bite transmitted the plague by jumping on human beings. The bacteria of the bite spread and multiplied in the host. This bacteria travels through the lymph node to the lymphatics, which becomes thick and swollen, which creates a bulge. When the disease goes further into the bloodstream, it can cause blood poisoning. The crying child, who can no longer drink from her mother, illustrates another horrific consequence of the plague. The dark cloud above the mother remarks the announcement of the plague, and at the same time, it symbolizes divine providence. Professor of Old Dutch Literature Johan Oosterman, advisor of the exhibition's content, explains that although people thought this disease came from God as punishment for human sins, they also realized that something else was going on.

People figured that interaction with each other and even hygiene did also play a role in preventing spread. People knew not to leave litter behind because it attracted rats, and people who lived in a house affected by the plague were no longer allowed to sell their wares on the markets. People who had the plague were marked on their front door with a symbol, or for example, the Netherlands had to carry a white staff to recognize them (figure 13). All over Europe, these elements were implemented to avoid people dealing with the plague, like in figure thirteen. People around the man carrying the staff run away or look terrified. Another measure that was taken was to close the borders. By stopping the trade between countries, the spread through the borders could be stopped, which indicates that worldly solutions were being sought. At some point, the miasma theory in which certain poisonous odors combined

⁴⁷ Anna van van Leeuwen, "De Pest Toon Onze Menselijke Kwetsbaarheid," *de Volkskrant*,17 June 2021, https://www.volkskrant.nl/cultuur-media/de-pest-toont-onze-menselijke-kwetsbaarheid-dat-levert-eenschitterende-verzameling-kunst-op~b07315d7/.

⁴⁸ "De Pest," Museum Het Valkhof Nijmegen, Accessed July 29, 2021, https://www.museumhetvalkhof.nl/zienen-doen/tentoonstellingen/de-pest/.

⁴⁹ Museum Het Valkhof, "De Pest - De Podcast," *Spotify*, February 2021, Accesed 29 July 2021, https://open.spotify.com/show/7uBVHZFJj7jtprRmC6fkyN.

with the vapors poisoned people through the air was also used as explaining this invisible enemy.⁵⁰ Even though it was suspected that the plague was more than a divine punishment, the mother looks upwards in the painting and refuses medicine because human resources were useless if the divine could not assist.

Stage two is the sick man in bed behind the mother. He has a cloth around his head, dark spots on his arms, and his eyes are almost closed. As seen from the sad look of the woman sitting next to him, the man is dying. The Black Death, as the disease is sometimes called, killed one-third of the European population.⁵¹ The plague is called Black Death because of two reasons. First of all, the black has to do with blood clotting in body tissues that no longer receive oxygen and dies, causing black spots as in the painting. However, there is also a misconception because the plague was also called *Atra Mors*, which meant terrible death and can translate as black.⁵² The final stage of the disease is pictured directly behind the sad-looking woman. A man carries the body of a deceased victim outside for burial. For people who got the diseases, death was the final destination. Another vital element in this painting is the cloth that the other characters hold in front of their mouths. Although people had no scientific knowledge, they did know that keeping distance and protection could help against the disease.

Another essential depiction of the plague was the beak mask that doctors used to protect themselves (figure 14). Although there is an ongoing discussion if doctors used this mask throughout Europe, there is evidence that the mask was used in France and Italy. The mask with the whole black suit was invented in 1619 by Charles L'Orme (1584 -1678), a doctor of high noblemen such as the Medici family.⁵³ He invented the outfit with influences of military armors, which completely covered the body. Although it was known to be used in France and Italy, its scale is not clear.⁵⁴ However, the mask became an icon of the plague, probably because it was in our collective memory as this idea that all doctors during the plague used this black outfit.⁵⁵

Around 1720-1730 the significant plague outbreaks left Europe. In the late nineteenth century, the third plague pandemic starts in the Yunang province and the historical city of

⁵⁰ Museum Het Valkhof, "De Pest - De Podcast," *Spotify*, February 2021, Accesed 29 July 2021, https://open.spotify.com/show/7uBVHZFJj7jtprRmC6fkyN.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ A powerful and influential family, which played a leading role in the field of art in Florence and are the founders of international banking during the 15th-century.

⁵⁴ Museum Het Valkhof, "De Pest - De Podcast," *Spotify*, February 2021, Accesed 29 July 2021, https://open.spotify.com/show/7uBVHZFJj7jtprRmC6fkyN.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

Manchuria in China. The initial spread of the plague can be traced to the expansion of mining in the region where many people worked and lived. Around the same time, in 1850, revolts were happening, which caused people to move to other places and port cities such as Hong Kong.⁵⁶ From there, the diseases spread to almost every continent, causing major outbreaks.⁵⁷ This phase of the pandemic created a visual and photographic language, something different from paintings and medical photographs. As Lyntheris states:

"More than simply being a permutation of medical photography, epidemic photography captures the past, present, and future of epidemic events and processes, drawing out an epidemic potentiality across social existence. Epidemic photography does not simply render the causes, victims, or drivers of epidemics visible. Rather, it forges a powerful dialectic between visibility and invisibility."⁵⁸

Medical photographs depicted symptoms, patients, and methods of cure. However, the epidemic photographs began to focus on the causes of the disease and measures for its control and containment (figure 6).⁵⁹ At the same time, people and scientists understood a proper outbreak. Photographs began to capture major events and thereby sketched the visualization of pandemics and epidemics of the modern world.

The plague is depicted based on how people thought and could explain from their worldview and knowledge. God, the alignment of the celestial bodies, protection before their mouths, hygiene, and medical outfits depict the plague in various artistic expressions and photographs. The story of the plague appears in the Bible and mythology as a kind of punishment that made people reflect on the sources they knew and had. In plague depiction, death plays a major role, depicting death as a theme and personification (figure 1, 6, and 12).⁶⁰ The third phase of the plague is also the epidemic photographed for the first time, creating a paradigm for how people visualize and understand other epidemics and pandemics. Epidemic photographs told more about what was thought and happened than medical photographs did. As mentioned in the introduction, it depicted the situation, emotions, and

⁵⁶ The Taiping Rebellion in 1850.

⁵⁷ Museum Het Valkhof, "De Pest - De Podcast," *Spotify*, February 2021, Accesed 29 July 2021, https://open.spotify.com/show/7uBVHZFJj7jtprRmC6fkyN.

⁵⁸ Ann, Keck, and Lynteris, *The Anthropology of Epidemics*, 1-8.

⁵⁹ Christos Lynteris, "Photography and Pandemics," *Apollo Magazine*, 22 April 2020, Accesed 29 July 2021, https://www.apollo-magazine.com/photography-pandemics/. ⁶⁰ Ibid.

ideas, making these elements also relevant today for understanding how epidemics are depicted nowadays.

II- Rijksmuseum Boerhaave – Contagious

Another exhibition about infectious diseases such as the Plague, Covid-19, Ebola, Aids, and Measles is *Contagious!* of Rijksmuseum Boerhaave in the City of Leiden. Their exhibition was also in the making before the current pandemic. However, ironically when the opening approached, it had to close due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Rijksmuseum Boerhaave is known for its extensive scientific and medical history collections and exhibitions. Therefore arranging an exhibit about diseases is not something new to them. Their vast collection of science history starts with the anatomical theaters in which anatomy lessons were taught and performed in the past. The museum teaches about mathematics, nature, and the evolution of medical sciences.⁶¹

Based on the museum's background and their collection, in *Contagious!*, the curators⁶² wanted to warn people about a new virus that could come at any moment. ⁶³ Initially, the virus was named X, but Covid-19 wrote its name into the exhibition. The motivation to arrange this exhibit was to show the importance of science. Thereby historical artworks, photographs, and stories of past diseases to link the past to the present are used. When the exhibit's opening was canceled because of Covid-19, they also made adjustments to implement Covid-19 in their exhibition. For example, the museum collected clogs worn during Covid-19 by medical workers and the coronavirus protein model in glass (figure 15). An electron microscope that the Sar-Cov 2 virus proteins resemble a crown. Its form is essential for knowing how it adheres to its host and for creating a vaccine.

One way Rijksmuseum Boerhaave linked the past with the present is by showing examples of then and now. Showing a photograph of quarantine in 1951 (figure 16), the exhibit also shows quarantine during Covid-19 (figure 17). The relevance of such comparisons is that this idea of quarantine to prevent the spread of the virus is not only from this time. The *Black Plague* exhibition explained that the idea of quarantine was also present

⁶¹ "Ontdek De Wetenschap," *Rijksmuseumboerhaave*, Accessed 30 July 2021, https://rijksmuseumboerhaave.nl/ontdek-de-wetenschap/.

^{62 &}quot;The Curators," *Rijksmuseumboerhaave*, accessed 30 July 2021, https://rijksmuseumboerhaave.nl/english/about-museum/curators/.

⁶³ "Besmet!," *Rijksmuseumboerhaave*, Accessed 29 April 2021, https://rijksmuseumboerhaave.nl/te-zien-te-doen/besmet/.

in the Middle Ages. Rijksmuseum Boerhaave also published a book about this exhibition where they make similar parallels with the past and present. ⁶⁴ Figure thirteen, which was discussed earlier, is part of the story of their publication and exhibit. This painting is also part of the exhibit *Corona in the City* of Amsterdam Museum (chapter three). The painting shows the Dam in Amsterdam during the plague epidemic of 1656, with the new town hall under construction and the new church on the left. In their publication, the museum compared the painting with a current photograph of the Dam during Covid-19.⁶⁵ There are plenty of images of an empty Dam in *Corona in the City* (figure 18). The photograph of the current situation also shows a difference in imaging. While the paintings use references to the plague by showing the white staff and the numbers of daily death written in the left corner of the painting (figure 19), the photograph references the lockdown during Covid-19 with an empty square. It is fascinating that such an empty photograph can tell yet so much. By making such comparisons with the visuals, the museum creates a much relatable feeling to the past. The distance stories are becoming closer than ever.

While the plague still ruled, another contagious disease, namely cholera, appeared. Same as the plague, this is a bacterial infection, but which was transmitted through contaminated water. This disease spread quickly and made that people suddenly became deathly ill. The first outbreak in the Netherlands was in 1832, followed by eight other outbreaks. 66 Due to expert advice and medical insights to take hygienic measures to, for example, construct sewers, the spread of the cholera bacillus, discovered in 1882, was stopped. Since this disease was prevalent at the time of the plague, there are not many explicit references in the imaging. In the exhibit, a cartoon in which cholera, depicted as a skeleton referring to death, helps a lady get into a carriage that takes her on her way to her final destination (figure 20). Another visual depicts cholera as a skeleton referring to death to the people beneath him in the French newspaper *Le Petit Journal* (figure 21). However, the museum does not explain this visual, thereby making the visitor uninformed about the reason behind this image (figure 22). In reality, the image is about soldiers during the Balkan War (1912) who also had to deal with the bacteria because of the unhygienic trenches. 68

Withholding or not clarifying the image may cause the idea that cholera was only prevalent in

⁶⁴ Scholten and Mathijs, Besmet!: Angst Voor De Onzichtbare Vijand, 39-53.

⁶⁵ Scholten and Mathijs, Besmet!: Angst Voor De Onzichtbare Vijand, 48-49.

⁶⁶ Scholten and Mathijs, Besmet!: Angst Voor De Onzichtbare Vijand, 53-69.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Jean-loup Charmet, "Science Photo Library," *Science Photo Library*, Accessed 30 July 2021, https://www.sciencephoto.com/contributor/jlc/.

the 19th century, while it also existed during the first world war. While the first world war happened, cholera and the plague ruled simultaneously, known as the 1918 flu. In the First World War, there were probably more deaths because of diseases than soldiers killed in battle.⁶⁹

On a board, in the exhibition, the museum has listed the diseases from past to present. The board gives information on where the outbreaks took place and the death toll. It gives a clear idea of how many and what proportions these epidemics or pandemics happened (figure 23). This board ensures that the visitor gains insight into the number of pandemics and epidemics and their consequences. With a timeline, the exhibit also shows what solutions were devised at a particular time. In the past centuries, all kinds of medicines against infectious diseases have been developed. First, there were natural substances and then substances developed in labs such as vaccines and antibiotics (figure 24). One of the first things in the timeline is a travel pharmacy with cholera drops from 1850-1875. It is unknown what the drops are made of, but it is now clear that they did not help against the cholera bacteria. The other bottle shows an apothecary bottle with Quinetum, a mixture of plant substances from the cinchona tree. This mixture was used in the 19th century for fever, flu, and later also malaria. The timeline ends with the Ebola vaccine because when the museum visit took place, the vaccine for Covid did not exist yet. However, the place for the Covid-19 vaccine was ready to be filled. Nobody knew that within a few months, the vaccine could be added. Given the length of the timeline and the historical story and background of pandemics, the timeline may well get longer in the future.

The museum covers to a greater or lesser extent all epidemics and pandemics since the Middle Ages in *Contagious!*. The purpose of the exhibition is also to inform visitors how a pandemic or a disease can arise, what the causes can be, and what solutions have been devised. Using visuals from the past and present and other works of art, the museum paints a picture of the progress of science. Unfortunately, because this research is associated with restrictions, not all diseases can be discussed with associated images. However, to get a clear idea of what a pre-pandemic exhibit looks like, these examples are enough to compare the motivations and visualization of pandemics with the Covid-19 exhibits created during a pandemic. Because the two exhibits discussed above were the two major exhibits about past pandemics, the exhibit *Sick & Healthy #2* of Stedelijk Museum Breda that showed how

⁶⁹ Nancy Hill, "Podcast Episode 25: Commemorating the 1918 Flu Pandemic with Mütter Museum Organizer Nancy Hill," *Monument Lab*, Accessed 30 July 2021, https://monumentlab.com/podcast/commemorating-the-1918-flu-pandemic-with-mutter-museum-organizer-nancy-hill.

diseases and institutions have been influential in Breda is not discussed. Although this exhibit was also created in 2020, the small scale and the countless examples of the previous two exhibitions provide enough information for this research about the visualization of past pandemics and how exhibits about past pandemics are realized.

In this chapter, both exhibitions informed the audience about past pandemics. While Museum Het Valkhof focused on the plague, Rijksmuseum Boerhaave raises public awareness about various diseases, epidemics, and pandemics. Both museums showed how people in the past suffered and dealt with the consequences of pandemics. Both museums showed what parallels can be drawn with the present by, for example, comparing situations from then and now. These exhibitions try to arouse empathy by showing these comparisons and also by explaining how hard it must have been for people not to know precisely what caused a disease or not to have a cure. They inform about the insecurity people felt in the past and how this was suddenly experienced. With Covid-19, people had to deal with the same emotions. The past became relatable, which can lead to a sympathetic attitude.

Chapter 2- Entirely Artistic Covid-19 Exhibits in 2020

This chapter will describe and explain the motives and approaches of Museum Arnhem and Stedelijk Museum Bredafor creating a Covid-19 exhibit. Both museums used works of local professional artists in their Covid-19 exhibits. While Museum Arnhem commissioned one artist, Stedelijk Museum Breda used works of several artists. This chapter will explain if the visuals and the exhibits, in general, are creating compassion.

Museum Arnhem- Nightfall

The subject of *Nightfall* is the empty City of Arnhem during quarantine in March 2020. *Nightfall* is the third photo assignment that Museum Arnhem has realized since the museum's doors had to close due to the corona crisis. According to the museum's director Saskia Bak, the museum wants to connect (art) collections with the City of Arnhem. She states: "Heritage is (art) historical, but the perspective of this time has not been collected. We capture that with the images in this exhibition, something that is important in this special time." ⁷⁰ She then continues:

"For this assignment, we asked Miyuki Okuyama to capture Arnhem as a city in this special period. The character of Arnhem is formed by the whole of people, buildings, movement, sound, and during the corona crisis, the city came to a standstill, but time is also experienced differently at night, in the early morning or with bad weather." ⁷¹

Miyuki's nighttime walks every evening are the starting point for the artistic impression, hence the title *Nightfall*.⁷² Her knowledge about the city and her aesthetic way of making photographs made the museum want Okuyama to capture the once-thriving city, which became abounded, spooky, and almost fictional. (figure 25).

There are several reasons for a museum to commission artists. First of all, simply because the museum would rather not want the work of others. Perhaps because others could

⁷¹ Ibid.

^{70 &}quot;Nightfall," *Museum Arnhem*, Accessed 15 April 2021, https://www.museumarnhem.nl/nl/tentoonstellingen/nightfall.

⁷² "Nightfall," Museum Arnhem, accessed 15 April 2021, https://www.museumarnhem.nl/nl/tentoonstellingen/nightfall.

not create what the museum had in mind visualizing the pandemic. An artist, in this case, Okuyama, has a clear idea of how her artwork or photographs would enhance or complement the interpretation of the pandemic. Although her series for *Nightfall* does not literally refer to Covid-19, it creates the opportunity for Okuyama to take the photographs at an extraordinary moment. Another reason for commissioning artists is that museums want to have something more unique for their audience. Something that other museums do not do or have not done in this way. Bak's words indicate that museum Arnhem rather links art by artists to the city of Arnhem rather than public works.

Okuyama was born in a small village in Japan, then moved to the United States to study photography and eventually met her husband and settled in the City of Arnhem in the Netherlands. When Okuyama was little, she was fascinated by photography as a medium, and Julia Margareth Cameron, a 19th-century woman photographer. Cameron was well-known for her portraits of the elite (figure 26) and her ability to mystical scenes, all in black and white. Okuyama's portraits are, in contrast to Cameron, not of the elite. An example is Okuyama's project "Stateless -War displaced Filipino Japanese," which is about Japanese descendants after the second world war in Mindanao, Philippines. Before the war, Japanese workers had a flourishing industry in Mindanao and lived quite well. However, after the war, the community's descendants grew up in poverty and faced anti-Japanese sentiments because of Japan's role in World War II (figure 27).

Okuyama creates, like Cameron, mystical scenes as well. Okuyama's photographs are dark and strange (figure 28). Inspired by southern gothic literature, Okuyama creates beautifully poetic black and white photographs. She captures photographs of places and objects almost vanishing before disappearing, for example, abandoned villages (figure 29). Her project "Land of the Setting Sun" represents the anonymous streets and corners of various cities of Japan after various disasters hit it in 2011 and thereby the collective anxiety. This project is printed in a book form on newsprint paper with a Risograph. Riso printing internally creates a stencil laid onto a drum filled with mostly plant-based ink, spins at high speed, forcing the ink through the stencil onto the paper. This process creates a unique

⁷³ Tate et al, "The Museum of Scotland and Conservation Issues of Commissioned Art," 16-20,

⁷⁴ Tate et al, "The Museum of Scotland and Conservation Issues of Commissioned Art," 16-20,

⁷⁵ "Julia Margaret Cameron: MoMA," *The Museum of Modern Art*, Accessed 15 April 2021, https://www.moma.org/artists/932?=undefined&page=&direction=.

^{76 &}quot;Miyuki Okuyama," Stateless, Accessed 15 April 2021, http://www.miyukiokuyama.com/projects/stateless.

⁷⁷ "Miyuki Okuyama," *Book "Land of the Setting Sun"*, Accessed 15 April 2021, http://www.miyukiokuyama.com/projects/book-quotland-of-the-setting-sunquot.

textured print, creating graininess in the photographs that cannot be replicated.⁷⁸ While her project depicts the emptiness and collective anxiety of people in Japan, with the photographs in *Nightfall*, Okuyama represents a different kind of disappearance, namely the disappearance of people in usually busy places (figure 30). In *Nightfall*, the photograph of Arnhem Central Station shows an unreal environment in which there are no people to be seen at an ordinarily busy station.

Okuyama takes analog photographs because she feels that these are more tangible than digital photography. The most significant difference between analog and digital photographs is that digital photographs are recorded through a sensor, and analog photographs are recorded on a film. These films are then printed in a dark room on materials such as paper or gelatin silver. In this case, the photographs are printed on baryta paper, which is a special photo paper. Baryta paper provides deep blacks, sharp contours, and high contrast on the printed photographs. This paper is the best choice for black and white photography and is often used for archiving works of art. The baryta paper feels smooth, has a light shine, and is firm and thick. The paper creates a similar effect to silver print, which is often used in analog photography. 79 All fourteen photographic works made by Okuyama for Nightfall were printed on baryta paper in 65 cm × 98 cm format. Therefore, the works exhibited on trotter billboards in Sonsbeek Park (figure 31) were the original prints of which the museum acquired two for their permanent collection (figure 25 and 30). The exhibit of Okuyama was given in Sonsbeek Park because Museum Arnhem was closed due to a major renovation and could not receive visitors in their building. 80 However, exhibiting in the Park showed an inventive and creative solution to restrictions due to corona and the renovation and showed the works to a broader audience.

Another reason Okuyama likes to take analog photographs is because of the way light is captured, especially after sunset, as the exhibition is named, at nightfall. First of all, after sunset is in Japanese culture the time that spirits and ghosts pop up, Okuyama states. Because she is fascinated with old spooky stories, this element gives her photographs an extra dimension. ⁸¹ The diffuser on her lens, a tiny plastic object, also gives her photographs a softer look. Another difference between analog and digital photographs is that there is limited place

⁷⁸ Renee Fleck, "An Introduction to Risograph Printing," *Dribbble*, 2 March 2020, Accessed 31 July 2021, https://dribbble.com/stories/2020/03/02/intro-to-risograph.

⁷⁹ Tomšová and Ďurovič, "Influence of Disinfection Methods," 78-85.

⁸⁰ "Bulletin Friends of Parken Sonsbeek – Zypendaal – Gulden Bodem" Accessed 31 July 2021, https://sonsbeek.nl/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Nummer-3-jaargang-32-najaar-2020.pdf.

⁸¹ Dennis Gaens, "Podcast Interview with Miyuki Okuyama," *Museum Arnhem*, July 2020, https://open.spotify.com/episode/7kkaFI3YEhrt732ri0gpUR?go=1&utm_source=embed_v3&t=28076&nd=1

on a film with analog photography, making them more unique than digital photographs. Digital cameras can make hundreds of them, which does not give the feeling of capturing something special, which was the intention when Okuyama was commissioned.

There are two parts to a (museum) narrative. The first part is the narrative, which tells the story of what happened sometime and someplace. The second part is the narrative discourse, where the story is being told or represented by a medium such as the internet or a cultural institution. In other words, someone tells the story, and the other listens, and in between, there is the creation of personal interpretation. For Okuyama, the viewer must create their own narrative because her photographs have free storytelling. The aspect of personal interpretation is critical for Okuyama because she wants the visitors to deploy their interpretive strategies and repertoires to make sense of the exhibition and experience it as a whole. It is essential that the public triggers their memory and turns it into a running story themselves, instead of the exhibition being forced and numbered by the museum. For Okuyama, the museum should be the tool where the public can create meaning to a particular story. However, one might ask, how can people have free-thinking with her artwork if the museum specifically asked for the pandemic being captured in her style? Is the public then not in a sense forced to see the story the museum wants them to see?

⁸² Bedford, The Art of Museum Exhibitions, 57-65.

II- Stedelijk Museum Breda and rapid respsonse collecting

Being the youngest city museum in the Netherlands, Stedelijk Museum Breda gives the people of Breda the opportunity to organize projects and present themselves in the project space called NEXT. Next, indicate the following topic to be depicted and discussed. One of the projects that has been realized is called *East-West, Home Best?*. This exhibition was part of the "Month of History" event and was created in collaboration with the Nieuwe Veste and Breda City Archives. The Month of History is the most extensive history event in the Netherlands. Hundreds of museums, libraries, bookstores, and other cultural organizations, with countless diverse activities, on location and online, make people aware of particular historical topics. In 2020 the topic was East vs.West, Us vs. Them, and Here vs. There, and how this idea played a role in history and the present day. The title of the exhibit is therefore referring to this event. Asking the question if other places are better than home, the title also refers to Covid-19, in which everybody was forced to stay at home.

Since 2018, Nieuwe Veste, Breda City Archives and Stedelijk Museum Breda jointly organize the Month of History in Breda. The reason for this is to bring the city's history to the attention of a broad audience in an attractive way. The City Archives of Breda appealed to city residents to help build a heritage collection about the corona times through the press and social media (figure 32). The cultural institution, The Nieuwe Veste, exhibited these submitted works. Stedelijk Museum Breda exhibited Covid-19 artworks from several artists and professional photographers from Breda. They state that all corona news reports will soon disappear; therefore, these were collected rapidly. Several curators also explained why rapidly collecting (tangible) objects of historical events is essential. When they wanted to collect objects relating to Ebola, it was hard and almost impossible because they did not start collecting immediately. They stated: "It is crucial, therefore, that while we collect material that documents a range of social and medical responses to Covid-19, we ensure that this material is interpreted within the context of "Scotland's" ongoing political dialogue and journey." The same idea applies when "Schotland" is replaced by Breda or any other city having a Covid-19 exhibit.

Many cultural institutions have adopted the rapid response strategy. Curator Sandro Debono argues that this type of collecting started in response to the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York in 2001 by the New York Historical Society.⁸⁴ The initiative of the NYHS was to

⁸³ Laurenson, Robertson, and Goggins, "Collecting Covid-19," 334-336, https://doi.org/10.29311/mas..

⁸⁴ Debono, "Collecting Pandemic Phenomena," 1-7, https://doi.org/10.1177/1550190620980844.

collect material culture from significant events, such as 9/11, as they were unfolding. Since 2014, the Victoria and Albert Museum in London made it their business to collect items from breaking events worldwide immediately. Everyday objects such as the iPhone, shoes from the manufacturer Christian Louboutin and even trousers from the retailer Primark are acquired for their collection. These items become valuable primary sources explaining certain times or eras. For example, the trousers of Primark tell the story of fast fashion and its effects on the world. Therefore collecting stories and objects about Covid-19 will be valuable for future generations explaining this historical moment. Rapidly collecting enables museums and archives to keep up-to-date with social and political changes, local or global, and ensures that primary sources of unfolding events are not lost. This is the reason for the City Archives of Breda to collect corona-related stories rapidly.

The City Archives of Breda is called "the memory of the city" because it consists of past and present stories of Breda. With this collection, "We are writing history, " said Joris Verhoeven of the Breda City Archives in April 2020. Phe whole corona collection consists of 3143 different items. Besides the residential materials submitted, the archive also has professionals working for them, documenting the situation in Breda. The entire project aims to show what the effect of the corona crisis was in Breda. Loneliness, experiencing distance, but also how to be creative in this situation. The emphasis in this research will be on the works shown in the exhibition, and therefore, the exhibition of Nieuwe Veste with the citizens' works will not be discussed.

However, the drawings of the illustrator and graphic designer Bas Linssen named "Signed by Corona" were in both exhibits. The exhibition in the project space NEXT started with his drawings (figure 33). Linssen always made drawings about what was on his mind, and now it was Covid-19. His drawings show the changed life of people and the changing life in public places. ⁹² One of the drawings is called "Museums Have Walking Routes" (figure 34)

⁸⁵ Alice Millard, "Rapid Response Collecting: Social and Political Change," *Museum-Id*, 13 December 2017, https://museum-id.com/rapid-response-collecting-social-and-political-change-by-alice-millard/.

⁸⁶ "Trousers Primark Stores," *Victoria and Albert Museum*, Accessed 29 July 2021, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1278284/trousers-primark-stores-limited/.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

^{88 &}quot;Stadsarchief Breda," Accessed 19 April 2021, https://stadsarchief.breda.nl/verdieping/blog.

⁸⁹ Hendriks, "Expo En Activiteiten in Teken Van Corona," *BN de Stem*, 25 September 2020, Accessed 19 April 2021, https://www.ad.nl/breda/maand-van-de-geschiedenis-in-breda-expo-en-activiteiten-in-teken-van-corona~a95a921a/.

^{90 &}quot;Corona Collectie," Accessed 19 April 2021, https://stadsarchief.breda.nl/collectie/beeld/films-enfotos/?mode=gallery&view=horizontal&q=corona%2Apage=1&reverse=0.

⁹¹ Zeljka Udiljak, "Stadsarchief Breda Legt Coronacollectie Aan," *Stadsarchief Breda*, April 2020, Accessed 19 April 2021, https://stadsarchief.breda.nl/actueel/nieuws/273-nieuw.

^{92 &}quot;Bas Linssen," Accessed 20 April 2021, https://baslinssen.nl/bas-2/.

), indicating the reopening of museums after the first lockdown with the new measures. The closure of Dutch museums lasted from mid-March until the first of July. Museums were only allowed to open their doors if people could reserve a time slot and buy their tickets online in advance. This resulted in a limited number of people being allowed inside the museum for a limited amount of time. The routes ensured that people avoided each other and made going to a museum similar to having an appointment.

If people thought of doing something exciting such as going on vacation, Covid-19 stood literary in the way (figure 35). It was not possible to go on a vacation because at any moment measures to travel to other places and countries could change. When people think back on their past vacations, they feel happy. However, when they think about not going on vacation because of Covid-19, black thoughts appear, and people become depressed. It felt as the good old days were gone, and people could not go East or West. Even places people went for work were missed. During the first lockdown, working at home came into play. Children did not go to school, so everyone was at home (figure 36). In the drawing, the children are making much noise. The parents eventually 'hid' themselves upstairs. Even being at home felt not the same and therefore, as the exhibition's title asks, is home really the best now? Even though the drawings show the situation in a sometimes humorous way, the impact of Covid-19 on social life is visible. The drawings show emotions such as sadness and loneliness but also pressure and isolation from working from home and not being able to move freely.

Photographer Edwin Wiekens also depicted this feeling of isolation. While sitting at home and avoiding boredom, Wiekens realized that he had not been outside for almost two days. Stay at home was the advice of Rutte. However, Wiekens felt as there was no other choice. It inspired Wiekens to capture others who had to stay home because of necessity. He made family portraits during the first lockdown of many families in Breda (figure 37). Some families grew closer and appreciated that they were together, while others wondered how long this time would last. While some were glad they did not have to go out for school or work, others felt a sense of insecurity. While the combination of work, household, homeschooling, and being a lovely parent was sometimes quite difficult, it was a valuable time to reflect on our lives and ask if some changes were indeed that bad. Wiekens' photo series and Linssen's drawings showed loneliness, sadness, depression, and self-reflection. Their works created the

⁹³ "Wij Blijven Thuis!"," *Photed*, 26 July 2021, Accessed 2 August 2021, https://photed.com/wordpress/wijblijven-thuis-2/.

⁹⁴ "Wij Blijven Thuis!," *YouTube*, 23 June 2020, Accessed 2 August 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v= SXlciUrW7I.

question of whether the corona crisis had not only caused bad things but showed the creative side and feeling of togetherness. Compassion is created by creating these artworks that trigger emotion, just as philosopher Susan Neiman stated. The awareness that is raised with the artworks is that people are not going through this period alone. Therefore, art can make things better, and art can comfort.⁹⁵

Another way of making people aware that they were not alone was the initiative of Dutch content creator Anneloes Officier. She challenged homeworkers through social media to imitate a famous painting with three objects from home (figure 38). Her Instagram page #tussenkunstenquarantaine translated as "Between Art and Quarantine," instantly gained many followers. Staying at home and boredom were turned into a playful challenge many people joined. From Mona Lisa to the Nachtwacht, every artwork was recreated by different people globally. Officiers' initiative went viral, and many museums worldwide, such as the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam and Getty Museum, were inspired by this Instagram account and challenge. Many museums soon took over the initiative. Museums started to challenge their audience to re-create their favorite artworks at home and post it on the museums' social media pages. 96 Museums this way wanted to stay present in people's lives even when they were not physically reachable. Stedelijk Museum Breda also exhibited works from the Instagram page of "Between Art and Quarantine" to show the creative side of Covid-19. Explaining this initiative, the museums used the re-created image of Bansky's "Gas Mask Boy" (figure 39). The initiative of Officier shows that creativity can connect people during a crisis. Therefore "Between Art and Quarantine" became an essential contribution to the exhibition.

This chapter looked at the pandemic exhibitions of Museum Arnhem and Stedelijk Museum Breda. Both museums showed the impact of the virus in a different artistic way. The works of Okuyama give the feeling of strangeness and emptiness of the city in lockdown. Her work shows the viewer another equally relevant and absurd consequence of the current pandemic. An image of a dark, empty and haunted city also evokes certain feelings. However, if it is a performative gesture of compassion is doubtful. Maybe when these places become crowded again, these works will be looked at, and the question of how it was possible may arise. *East-West, Home Best?* of Stedelijk Museum Breda showed the creativeness and own initiatives of local artists. By helping people with stating that people are not alone, all these

⁹⁵ Adams, Kunst Moet Ook In Tijden Van Cholera, 67-93.

⁹⁶ Tim van Boxtel, "Anneloes Ging Viral Met Haar Account Tussen Kunst & Quarantaine," *Algemeen Dagblad*, 17 January 2020, Accessed 10 May 2021, https://www.ad.nl/binnenland/anneloes-ging-viral-met-haar-account-tussen-kunst-en-quarantaine-maar-verdient-er-geen-cent-mee~a1e036d55/.

initiatives can be seen as performative gestures of compassion. The museum exhibiting these works again makes the message spread to a broader audience.

Chapter 3- Hybrid Covid-19 Exhibits in 2020

This chapter will be devoted to two Covid-19 exhibits created in the Netherlands with rapidly collected materials from the local public and artists. While the exhibit of The Haags Historisch Museum depicted only the first lockdown in the Netherlands as a physical exhibition in the museum, the exhibit of Amsterdam Museum, which is entirely online, continues to collect until 2025 from the citizens of Amsterdam. Both museums asked the public directly. In early April 2020, the Haags Historisch museum started a project called the *Corona Collection*. Through the local press, radio, and social media channels, the museum asked city residents to document the effects of the coronavirus in The Hague society. The call stated the following:

Call! It is clear that the coronavirus has an incredible impact on our lives. Nevertheless, how are we going to explain this to future generations later on? We call on residents of The Hague to record and share their experiences and stories. The Hague Historical Museum is the memory of The Hague. Help us record history here and now. What do you think should be preserved? Send the museum (by e-mail) a photograph, video, or object that depicts this crisis's impact on you (figure 40).

The project manager of this collection, Patricia Deiser, stated that this collection would only pursue objects and visuals of the first lockdown. ⁹⁷ By devoting their exhibit to the first lockdown, it only depicts a small part of the Covid-19 story.

From 30 April 2020, people could submit photographs, videos, texts, and audio fragments on the online platform called *Corona in the City* of Amsterdam Museum. The button "share your story" leads to a form where you can fill in the type of file, title, and additional information to be submitted. In step two, personal data is asked, and the last step is to agree on the terms and conditions in which the museum may share your personal information and contact you (figure 41). *Corona in the City* is part of the *Collecting the City* project of the Amsterdam Museum. In this project, the Amsterdam Museum, together with the Public Library (OBA), University of Amsterdam, City Archives, Tropenmuseum, and the City of Amsterdam, collects stories from city residents for the 750-year-old existence of Amsterdam. On 15 May 2020, the platform *Corona in the City* went online, and the museum

⁹⁷ The additional information used in the thesis explained by Patricia Deiser is made through e-mail contact.

tends to keep the submissions open until 2025. The museum states: "So that they become part of the story of our city. The collective memory that we record together and preserve for the future." Keeping the submission open until 2025 ensures the follow-up of the pandemic story will be depicted, something the other Covid-19 exhibits neglect.

Both of the museums show local stories. The Hague Historical Museum shows the history and heritage of the City of The Hague in all its facets since 1991. Cityscapes and portraits, dollhouses and collections of silverware and glass bring the city's stories to life and shed light on local history and culture. The Amsterdam Museum is a city museum that officially exists since 1926 and manages the collection of the city of Amsterdam. With over 80,000 objects in its collection, it tells stories of the early Middle Ages through the Seventeenth Century to today's Amsterdam. Both museums state that the reason for focusing on their own cities is because they are the "memories" of the cities and their stories. The core meaning of any individual or group identity, namely, a sense of sameness over time and space, is sustained by remembering; and what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity. This assumed identity, the feeling of community, transcends individual interest by making the stories of the local community receptive. With their local Covid-19 exhibits, the museums try to create the feeling that belonging to the city is to have a collective identity. In other words, these exhibits exclaim: See what happened in your city, which can lead to a feeling of togetherness and sameness.

This idea of asking the public to contribute to the collection or exhibition is not something new. At the turn of the twenty-first century, museums began to collect more mass-produced and everyday items. Museums started to collect everyday life material of different groups, such as the example of the Primark trousers, described in the introduction. Museums also started to collect materials from major events such as 9/11. The Covid-19 pandemic being also a major event, the new way of showing compassion is realized by rapidly collecting materials firsthand. Thereby the museums want to be more inclusive and responsive spaces in showing the everyday life of ordinary people, but also how this life can change by a major event. By displaying everyday items, which could have been your own, it makes it easier to understand other people. It thereby creates empathy because that story could have

⁹⁸ "Over Het Museum," *Haags Historisch Museum*, Accessed 16 April 2021, https://www.haagshistorischmuseum.nl/museum.

⁹⁹ "Stadsmuseum Van Amsterdam," *Amsterdam Museum*, Accessed 1 August 2021, https://www.amsterdammuseum.nl/over-ons/stadsmuseum-van-amsterdam.

¹⁰⁰ Gillis, "Memory and Identity," 2-24.

¹⁰¹ Boomgaard, Hurkmans, and Westerveld, Compassion: A Paradox in Art and Society, 11-45.

¹⁰² Macdonald, "Collecting Practices," 81-98.

been your story. Thereby collecting everyday items can release certain emotions in people and thus provide compassion through those emotions, including empathy.

However, a museum applies value-judgments by displaying certain things, which makes that people learn the rules of their community and accept these as they are shown, collected, and exhibited. Tony Bennet states that exhibitionary complexes such as museums and galleries but especially exhibitions are places of power enforcing their 'truthful' knowledge on people. These complexes are seen as fundamental places in the conception of an educative and civilizing agency. People believe what museums are showing is accurate and, in some cases, as if these are the only truths. ¹⁰³ As a project team did make a selection from the submissions for the *Corona Collection* in The Haags Historisch Museum, that can mean that they are selective in what they are putting out there as "Covid-19 experience". Therefore the exhibition can be compromised and can create division even when the museum does not realize this. Choosing to display or not display certain stories can strengthen the idea of us vs. them, even when museums want to be more inclusive.

However, sometimes a local story can touch upon a more global ethical issue. The project manager of the *Corona Collection* of The Haags Historisch Museum stated that by making the selection, it was important not to show much of the same, but to include various stories with various topics such as solidarity, the new normal, and protests. ¹⁰⁴ The exhibition raises awareness about various global social and ethical issues such as racism, bullying, and loneliness (figure 42). The first part of the exhibition highlights the Black Lives Matter Movement and protests. The movement draws attention to police brutality against "African"-Americans. The term is often used to describe people of darker skin color in the United States despite that not all people of color are necessarily African. The Black Lives Matter Movement gained much fame and following in 2014 after the deaths of "African"-Americans Eric Garner and Micheal Brown in the United States. On 25 May 2020 in Minneapolis, as the "African"-American George Floyd lay on the floor, a white police officer kneeled on Floyd's throat for eight minutes until he died. ¹⁰⁵ After his death, simultaneously with Covid-19, made Floyd part of the Covid-19 story. His death also caused massive protests against racism and police violence. First, in the United States followed by many countries, including the Netherlands.

¹⁰³ Tony Bennett, in *The Birth of the Museum*, 59-86.

¹⁰⁴ The additional information used in the thesis explained by Patricia Deiser is made through e-mail contact. ¹⁰⁵ "I Can't Breathe," *RTL Nieuws*, 31 May 2020, https://www.rtlnieuws.nl/nieuws/artikel/5138911/george-floyd-demonstraties-vs.

Black Lives Matter protests were held at the Malieveld in The Hague, depicted by Sandra Uittenbogaart (figure 43). Uittenbogaart lives in The Hague and works as an independent editor and photographer, mostly making documentary and journalistic images of the city. In collaboration with the museum and The Hague Municipal Archives, she made a series of hundred photographs about the Covid period in The Hague. ¹⁰⁶ In addition to the city residents' objects, the exhibition also consists of her photographs. These photographs depict an anti-racism demonstration and are relevant because they embody the so-called "New Normal" with face masks, uncommon in ordinary life before Covid-19. To prevent contamination, the protesters also keep 1.5 meters away from each other. The photograph creates a strong message not to be scared of the coronavirus but also the virus called racism. They are both contagious and should be fought against together, both locally and globally. Therefore, although the photograph depicts a local story, joining global protests touches on a global phenomenon and is an act of global solidarity and sympathy.

Museum studies professor Richard Sandell questions: "If individual visitors are understood to generate their own highly personalized and variable meanings from the same exhibition encounter, what role, if any, might museums play in constructing spatial forms which communicate notions of equality and enable meanings that combat, rather than enhance, prejudice?" ¹⁰⁷ However, in this case, the Black Lives Matter Movement is a symbol of commonality and unity. Symbols can contribute to social cohesion in which people identify and engage with each other around shared meanings and ideas. Therefore exhibiting Floyd's story can bring people together and contribute to exchanges between individuals with different social positions and perspectives. However, a symbol also can be used by people who attach a different meaning. That can lead to misunderstandings, and instead of working on a common goal and talking to each other, people can talk past each other. ¹⁰⁸

The Black Lives Matter Movement progress also challenged people and museums to acknowledge racism in societies and institutions. We should ask what we want from our cultural institutions in light of inequality and injustice? ¹⁰⁹ Museums in the Netherlands started a new network called "Museums Acknowledging Color'. This new network of major Dutch museums aims to anchor diversity and inclusion in the museum and heritage sector.

_

^{106 &}quot;Beelden," Het Haags Gemeentearchief, Accessed 16 April 2021, https://haagsgemeentearchief.nl/mediabank/beeldcollectie/?mode=gallery&view=horizontal&page=1&reverse&sort=random%7B1605077611617%7D+asc&fq%5B%5D=search_s_vervaardiger%3A%22Uittenbogaart%2C+S andra%22&filterAction.

¹⁰⁷ Sandell, "Constructing and Communicating Equality," 185-203.

¹⁰⁸ Boomgaard, Hurkmans, and Westerveld, Compassion: A Paradox in Art and Society, 87-107.

¹⁰⁹ Crooke, "Communities, Change and the COVID-19," 305-310.

These museums want diversity in their exhibitions and artworks but also in staff representation. The Haags Historisch Museum is also a member of this network. Sylvana Terlages, a communication specialist for the Museums Acknowledging Color, adds that diversity in the media and cultural sector is essential. "The media and the cultural sector are pre-eminent platforms for challenging people to look at each other differently and – above all – listen to other perspectives. It is precisely there that more representations of different world views are needed." Looking at each other requires understanding each other. Because can there be compassion without really understanding people who are different from us? Without understanding, it does not matter how many representations are put out there. Understanding is, therefore, where compassion begins. 111

Corona in the City also touches upon the topic such as the Black Lives Matter Movement, love, family, protest, loneliness, sadness and emptiness. The stories in the exhibition do not end with the first lockdown but continue to grow in rich, creative, and various ways. The online collection of the Corona in the City website will hold all the submissions (figure 44). The only selection made on this platform is to categorize some topics as 'rooms.' However, if all contributions of the same topic are all placed in rooms is sometimes unclear. With the filter button, you can search on media such as image, pdf, video, audio, text, and topics such as education, lockdown, empty city, children, solidarity. The museum becomes a search engine where people can select and relate to topics they want to see. Maybe to see how others have experienced the topic of fear, for example. However, selecting the topic 'fear' shows the number of stories. It does not necessarily show if the stories are curated in a room. Therefore the curatorial approach is sometimes confusing, and the topics feel randomly selected. The museums' online public program can give more clearness. Every Thursday afternoon, these new 'rooms' are presented during the online public program Corona in de Stad Live, which may give the information needed to visit the platform.

Diversity in this exhibition occurs in many artistic, amateur, and professional forms and submissions. Well-known people of Amsterdam such as film director Dick Maas, curator Marian Duff, photographer Kadir van Lohuizen, Amsterdam city poet Gershwin Bonevacia, artist Teun Castelein, rapper Massih Hutak, and fashion designers Bas Kosters and Ronald

¹¹⁰ "Black Lives Matter - New Network of Dutch Museums," *Leiden University*, 30 June 2020, Accessed 19 April 2021, https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/news/2020/06/black-lives-matter-in-new-network-of-dutch-

Boomgaard, Hurkmans, and Westerveld, Compassion: A Paradox in Art and Society, 87-107.

van der Kemp also contributed.¹¹² Nearly more than 20 different institutions also contributed to the platform, making it a very diverse project.¹¹³ One of the amateur submissions is "Looking Inside," made by social media specialist Ewa Piotrowska, showing a series of photographs between 24 April and 7 May, between 5:01 PM and 8:28 PM in Amsterdam-North. Her work is relatable to the topic of boredom, isolation, and loneliness, just as the family portraits of Edwin Wiekens (chapter two). However, the subjects in her photographs are not families but herself. In the 14 photographs, we always see Ewa behind the window (figure 45).¹¹⁴ She states that having to be indoors a lot every day has started to look the same.

Not everybody thought or experienced being indoors the same. Art student Kris Hutten and storyteller Lisette Vlassak filled their time by making a humoristic stop-motion movie called #antihamsterweken about the hoarding in supermarkets with their childhood toys. They built a supermarket from K'NEX and filled it with mini items people could save at the Dutch supermarket Albert Heijn some time ago. Their Bratz dolls played the primary role of customers (figure 46). The term hoarding had taken on an entirely new twist and became a worldwide phenomenon. After the virus became global news, people started to shop en masse at supermarkets because they did not know what to expect and what was to come. From long shelf-life products to toilet paper, the shelves became empty. The message of their video was: Stay home and do not hoard!¹¹⁵ While Piotrowska experienced isolation and saw the days as a grind, photographing herself pitiful behind a window visualizes these feelings of loneliness, Vlassak and Hutten show that this time can also be used by making a corona-related video and relativizing the crisis. So instead of focusing on the frustrating lonely feelings, deal with this isolation constructively and humorously. This shows that how one experiences isolation can be very different. This also means different people will be able to relate or identify to these works, just as feelings of compassion will be evoked differently for everyone.

The "Female Gaze Goes Viral" is a room in the exhibition which is an ode for all Amsterdam women (figure 47). Documentary photographer Willemieke Kars curates the

¹¹² "50.000 Bezoekers Digitale Tentoonstelling Corona in De Stad," *Corona in de Stad*, 1 September 2020, Accessed 20 May 2021, https://www.coronaindestad.nl/magazine/50-000-bezoekers-digitale-tentoonstelling-corona-in-de-stad/.

^{113 &}quot;Partners," *Corona in de Stad*, 11 May 2021, Accessed 26 July 2021, https://www.coronaindestad.nl/partners/.

^{114 &}quot;Looking Inside," *Corona in de Stad*, 3 July 2020, Accessed 11 May 2021, https://www.coronaindestad.nl/looking-inside/?h=.

^{115 &}quot;#Antihamsterweken," *Corona in de Stad*, 16 June 2020, Accessed 20 April 2021, https://www.coronaindestad.nl/antihamsterweken/?h=.

room. Kars finds it essential to make women visible during this crisis. The room consists of fifty other women who turned their fear, insecurity, anger, and frustration into (art)work. ¹¹⁶ One of the stories is "Intervening Space: Reframing Conventions (2013) in Quarantine (2020)" by a conceptual performance artist from Amsterdam named Lisette Ros. ¹¹⁷ The starting point of her work is the confrontation with control over herself, her daily routine, and her body condition. In this video, she explores the act of sitting, which results in a live performance where she sits in the same chair for 8 hours, without any other action (figure 48). The original video and live performance of this work are from 2013. However, due to the Covid-19 outbreak and being in quarantine in a small apartment in Amsterdam, she restarted the work with the same relevance of confronting herself. Isolation and being in quarantine made her question her daily routines with a different perspective than in 2013.

Another way the quarantine is depicted is by the rapper Massih Hutak. Who made a song called "Slippers and Ray-Ban." Slippers and Ray-Ban is a new chapter of his visual album about gentrification in Amsterdam-North. Gentrification is not a natural phenomenon but the result of policy. North was considered undesirable and the place where the most impoverished workers lived. The neighborhood becoming hip also brought issues such as residents getting in trouble because of the increasing rents. Hutak went in search of how cities can grow and old and new residents can live together. In his video clip, a girl dances in the empty squares and streets with slippers and a ray-ban in Amsterdam-North. The slippers do refer to do the lower class, while the ray-ban is referring to the opposite. The song and video clip are, according to Hutak, an ode to Amsterdam-North in quarantine and raises attention to gentrification. According to Hutak, the city should be a place for everyone. These examples show that because different artists address certain target groups, these groups can better relate to a particular situation. That ensures that this target group gains a certain empathy.

According to visual artist Rini Hurkman (1954) a traumatized community goes through three stages. The first one, as we saw, is that stage of diaries, day-to-day life, and

¹¹⁶ Willemieke Kars, "Female Gaze Goes Viral," *Corona in de Stad*, Accessed 7 June 2021, https://www.coronaindestad.nl/zaal/tentoonstelling/female-gaze/.

^{117 &}quot;Intervening Space: Reframing Conventions (2013) in Quarantine (2020)," *Corona in de Stad*, 3 July 2020, Accessed 20 April 2021, https://www.coronaindestad.nl/intervening-space-reframing-conventions-2013-in-quarantine-2020-2/.

¹¹⁸ "Slippers Ray-Ban," *Corona in de Stad*, 17 June 2020, Accessed 12 June 2021, https://www.coronaindestad.nl/slippers-ray-ban/.

¹¹⁹ Peter Teffer, "Once Unfashionable, Noord District of Amsterdam Gains Cachet," *The New York Times*, 12 April 2012, Accessed 2 August 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/13/greathomesanddestinations/once-unfashionable-noord-district-of-amsterdam-gains-cachet.html.

when people stick to actual events and try to cope and understand the situation. The second stage is anger and is mainly characterized by protests against the situation. The last stage is where the next generation can place the event in a broader context and gives it a place. This is also the time when monuments are erected. The utopic and romantic solidarity ideal changed in the course of the pandemic. In October 2020, the second lockdown came into play. The new measures became stricter and longer, which eventually led to the rise of unrest. People began to protest en masse against the measures, such as the closure of terraces, shops, and cultural institutions. In January 2021, a curfew was introduced in the Netherlands, which lasted until 28 April 2021. Many people, especially the youth, were against this measure in the beginning. The curfew felt as if the freedom of people in the Netherlands was taken away. The last time such a curfew was introduced was during Second World War. An unknown person called via social media to riot against the curfew. Many young people shared, retweeted, and got on the streets because of this call, showing the power and the other side of social media. The room 'Social Unrest' shows stories that depict these riots (figure 49).

The violence and aggression did not last long. In about two weeks, rioting stopped, and more serene images emerged, such as the video "Snow during the curfew in Amsterdam" by Gosse Bouma. 123 This video, made by a drone, shows a quiet Amsterdam in a layer of white snow, which gives the feeling of a city fairytale. The footage is almost spooky, resembling the work of Okuyama (figure 50). Hurkman indicated that step three is when people have finally placed an event in a broader context. However, arguably, people used their creativity during the first step to place the events, which were then displayed in museums. These public and artistic contributions and exhibitions can already be seen as monuments of that time. As the previous examples show, iconic and symbolic depictions and representations of Covid-19 can also be seen as using art to deal with the event and to be able to place it in some context.

1/

¹²⁰ Boomgaard, Hurkmans, and Westerveld, Compassion: A Paradox in Art and Society, 22.

¹²¹ "Rellen En Vernielingen in Amsterdam Oost," *Corona in de Stad*, 16 March 2021, Accessed 11 May 2021, https://www.coronaindestad.nl/rellen-en-vernielingen-in-amsterdam-oost/.

¹²² "Sociale Onrust," *Corona in de Stad*, Accessed 20 April 2021, https://www.coronaindestad.nl/zaal/tentoonstelling/sociale-onrust/.

^{123 &}quot;Sneeuw Tijdens De Avondklok in Amsterdam," *Corona in de Stad*, 22 March 2021, Accessed 2 May 2021, https://www.coronaindestad.nl/sneeuw-tijdens-de-avondklok-in-amsterdam/.

Chapter 4- Compilation Through Platform: Covid-19 Exhibit 2020

The previous chapters examined how artistic and public contributions were exhibited locally. This chapter shows the exhibition, which focused on the story of Covid-19 in the Netherlands in general. While chapter three focused on The Haags Historisch Museum and Amsterdam Museum, which appealed to their audience directly to submit their stories, Museum Hilversum chose another approach. The inspiration for Museum Hilversum to create an exhibition about corona was the online platform Care4Corona. All kinds of different experts in their own field offered help via the platform. From teachers to sexologists, general practitioners, pastors, psychologists, and journalists, everyone who thinks they can offer meaning in society is sharing articles about mental and physical health, family, friends, love, and loneliness. There is no direct contact with the experts. However, helplines are provided. Ronald van der Mark, the establisher of Care4Corona, wanted to create a space where people could cope with the pandemic. Van der Mark wanted to establish a platform that will give hope and perspective to people's daily lives. 124 In other words, to create a place where people could seek support and take care of themselves through the shared articles.

In addition, the platform organized a photo contest where Dutch citizens and artists could send in their photographs, showing how Covid-19 affected their lives in the Netherlands. A total of 2700 photographs were submitted depicting all emotions and feelings felt during this unique period. A professional jury made a daily selection of the most memorable photographs, from which a weekly winner of the jury and the public was chosen. The photographs were selected by a professional jury consisting of Merel Bem, who has written about photography and visual arts for *de Volkskrant* (a Dutch newspaper) since 2000, and Hans Roosenboom, curator of photography in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam. Other jury members consisted of top photographers such as Ilvy Njiokiktjien, awarded Dutch portrait photographer Koos Breukel and celebrity photographer William Rutten. ¹²⁵ The jury chose the photographs that they thought were special. According to them, these selected photographs stood out and set something in motion in them. These selections and winners were then posted on the website of the platform. ¹²⁶ The best four photographs received a prize which varied from € 2500-500.

-

¹²⁴ "Over Care4Corona," *Care4Corona*, 1 August 2020, Accessed 20 April 2021, https://www.care4corona.nl/over-care4corona/.

¹²⁵ "Juryleden - Fotowedstrijd Care4Corona," *Care4Corona*, 23 April 2020, Accessed 26 July 2021, https://www.care4corona.nl/juryleden-care4corona-fotowedstrijd/.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

Museum Hilversum selected amateur and professional photographs of the contest for their exhibition *PANdemIC*. Using materials from a platform that care already has in its name, the museum shows a way of caring for the audience. The works of professional photographers such as Koos Breukel, Ilvy Njiokiktjien, and press photographers such as Ad Nuis, Marcel Molle, and Raymond Rutting were also added. These different professional photographers take pictures from different angles and perspectives, which makes the exhibition varied. According to Museum Hilversum, *PANdemIC* represents a micro-history of the corona crisis in the Netherlands. *PANdemIC* is a micro-history because it only shows the images of a micro-moment, namely the first lockdown. According to Museum Hilversum, this exhibition features the most memorable recognizable and emotional moments of this life-changing crisis with personal stories and photographs of citizens of the Netherlands.¹²⁷ The exhibition's name is not only the word pandemic, but the capital letters also stand for the word PANIC, which the virus caused when people suddenly had to deal with it. The last capital letters stand for Intensive Care, emphasizing the IC's pressure during Covid-19.

In addition to the photographs, each floor also showed a film. The series of photographs put in a film format on the first floor is by photographer Jiri Büller. Just like the clogs in *Contagious!* referred to the hard-working healthcare staff, his work "When the masks go off, the faces speak" is about care workers after exhausting hospital shifts. (figure 51). On the main floor is the film of photographer Robin de Puy and cameraman Maarten van Rossem. De Puy tells the story of her struggle being at home with her children. ¹²⁸ The story was relatable for many people who felt trapped at home during corona times. Her film also relates to the previous examples of Edwin Wiekens and Ewa Piotrowska. On the last floor, we see a film called "Hold me again" by photographer and show maker Lieve Blancquaert, which portrays the first encounters and hugs after being separated from family and friends because of the pandemic. ¹²⁹ Blancquaert states that people had not experienced that they could not touch each other for so long. Therefore capturing those first encounters was for her capturing a historical moment. ¹³⁰

The exhibition opens with the following quotation:

¹²⁷ "PANdemIC," *Museum Hilversum*, Accessed 25 April 2021, https://www.museumhilversum.nl/pandemic/. ¹²⁸ Robin de Puy, "Too Close in a House Called Ceres," *Robindepuy.nl*, 20 April 2020, Accessed 19 April 2021,

¹²⁸ Robin de Puy, "Too Close in a House Called Ceres," *Robindepuy.nl*, 20 April 2020, Accessed 19 April 2021 http://www.robindepuy.nl/diary/2020.

^{129 &}quot;Ontroerende Verhalen Achter Warme Knuffels," één.be, Accessed 19 April 2021, https://www.een.be/houme-nog-eens-vast/ontroerende-verhalen-achter-warme-knuffels.

¹³⁰ "Lieve Blancquaert Fotografeerde Eerste Knuffels Na De Lockdown" *Radio 2*, 10 June 2020, Accessed 12 June 2021, https://radio2.be/spits/lieve-blancquaert-fotografeerde-eerste-knuffels-na-de-lockdown-mijn-gezicht-heeft-constant-in

"It starts with the hoarding of toilet paper, images of overcrowded IC units, and the banners in front of grandpa and grandma to keep them going. Empty movie theatres and children glued to the PC because teachers teach online; images about the corona crisis are now part of our collective memory." ¹³¹

Added to the walls are extensive quotes from Prime Minister Rutte from given press conferences about the pandemic. For example, the yellow-black tape says: work as much as possible from home, and the white/black tape with the text: 1.5 meters distance. On the other tape, it repeatedly says: wash your hands (figure 52). These quotes explain the government regulations in the Netherlands during the crisis and should also be in the collective memory. Although the previous Covid-19 exhibitions focused on local stories and artists, they also showed how life in the Netherlands, in general, had changed. Therefore, all these exhibitions can claim that their exhibition is part of the "Dutch" collective memory. Similar to the other exhibits, PANdemIC shows the impact of the pandemic with the experiences in quarantine, changed daily routines, 'hamster sales,' and hygiene measures.

In chapter three, the stop motion film of Vlassak and Hutten showed the hoarding which took place during the first lockdown. Ad Nuis photographed an employee of the Carrefour in Turnhout, who is tired after a day working since corona and the hoarding started (figure 53). Not only the grocery stores became empty, people who worked in these stores also became empty of energy. Nuis's photograph shows the consequences that only people working during those times can understand. People who have not experienced the hard work themselves, but have only seen the empty stores or the pressured IC units, cannot feel the same as those who experienced it. Therefore, it is hard to tell if all depictions of Covid-19 experiences are collective experiences and if those arouses compassion in people. Therefore claiming something to be "Dutch" collective memory is complicated.

People dealt with this time creatively by creating art, and they also were creative in bending the rules and keeping social distance. Due to the corona crisis, visiting the elderly was not possible at times. However, the Oosterheem nursing home residents in Oosterhout received a visit from family on a lifting platform on Easter Monday (figure 54). Edwin Wiekens, who also made the family portraits in Breda, depicted these encounters, which also is relatable to the photographs and movie Lieve Blanquart made. The happiness on the face of

¹³¹ "Explore Museum Hilversum PANdemIC in 3D," *Matterport*, Accessed 19 April 2021, https://my.matterport.com/show/?m=dB8dNsUk7EA.

the old lady triggers that compassionated feeling. Visiting older people at their homes while the visitors stay outside is also captured touchingly by mother Petra van Beek. While her children visited their grandfather, they had to stay outside (figure 55).

Other people who were affected by the regulations were top athletes such as swimmer Jacyntha Plat. She improvised with a pool in the garden because all public places were closed, including swimming pools and gyms (figure 56). For instance, religious people also had to improve and pray with 1,5 meters distance (figure 57). Freelance photographer Remco Koers took this photograph of Muslims during their prayer in a mosque in The Hague. Although the element of divine and faith is not referred to in this new series of pandemic visualization as with the plague depictions, the photograph does refer to the time of prayer in times of crisis. Or swimming during a crisis.

The last example is probably a very well-known representation for everyone around the world, namely the corona test selfie made by photographer Martijn van de Griendt (figure 58). Merel Bem had chosen this photo as the weekly winner in week 14 of the competition. She chose this photo not only because of the emotion and strained veins. The photograph was taken from below and takes us into his nose, as that is where the test goes in. The soft upholstery of the car is in stark contrast to the hard truth that de Griendt is being examined for a contagious disease. ¹³²

The importance and reasons for the jury to support the photo contest is that they all agree that it will provide a time document and that this competition offers an excellent opportunity to record the history and share it with later generations. According to Rooseboom and Njiokiktjien, it is also essential to have a good idea of what was on the mind of people when the corona crisis ends. How they got through this challenging, sometimes painful, and worrying period and how they visualized this. Njiokiktjien states:

"I believe that this special time should be well documented. In my opinion, it is important to have a picture of what the coronavirus looked like later on. I, therefore, think it is a great initiative that this competition is now being created where hopefully very different images will be sent in.'

However, according to Hurkman, our artworks and creative expressions end up looking more and more alike because of the hyper-connected world we live in. Everybody wants to express

45

^{132 &}quot;Weekwinnaar Jury ," *Care4Corona*, Accessed 3 August 2021, https://www.care4corona.nl/fotowedstrijd/weekwinnaar-jury-week-14-martijn-van-de-griendt/

their individual stories. ¹³³ However, by doing so, conformity also plays an important role. Conformity is the tendency to conform to behavior and beliefs in a particular group. Even though people want to share their autonomous individual stories, they want to be part of a group. Art allows people to identify with certain groups. People can show how and what they find essential through art. The individual does not play a role here but the community. The shared perception of works of art and cultural heritage provides collective experiences, joint discussion, and thus, however modest, for a joint frame of reference. ¹³⁴ It is, therefore, that many Covid-19 expressions are looking the same.

According to Museum Hilversum director Stef van Breugel, the selection for their exhibition was based on originality and quality, but the most crucial feature was the stopping power of the image. People should be triggered and drawn into the photograph for a moment. This effect is often a reaction to a certain emotion that one gets when seeing such a photograph. Selecting on stopping power is also selecting on the ability to evoke emotions. Having strong emotions on specific images can be a first step towards feeling compassion. Would it then make a difference that the creative expressions are the same, as Hurkman states, if the images manage to trigger something? The research of art historian Kiersten Latham shows how museum visitors interpret "authentic" museum objects. She argues that the visitor's aesthetic experience is more important than the actual object. Therefore it is not an issue for the experience of many museum visitors that an object is 'original' or 'authentic' or 'expressed differently.' Narrating the story of the pandemic does not require images to be 'authentic.' It is about the story, the visuals, emotions it triggers, and the museum transfer, which makes these visuals already self-authenticating. 135

The second lockdown in October 2020 forced the museum, such as other public places, to close its doors again; however, this was not the end of this exhibition. It is still visitable via a 3D model (figure 59) called the Dollhouse. Although the exhibit is visible online, additional information is missing. The curator of the exhibition, Veronique Jansen, stated that if she could have changed something about the exhibition, she would use an application that gives additional information about the exhibition and exhibited works. The museum uses this application now with its other exhibitions. This 3D model is made via the website of Matterport. The mission of Matterport is to make the whole world virtually

¹³³ Boomgaard, Hurkmans, and Westerveld, Compassion: A Paradox in Art and Society, 21-23.

¹³⁴ Adams, Kunst Moet Ook In Tijden Van Cholera, 67-93.

¹³⁵ Edwards and Hart, *Photographs Objects Histories*, 196-214.

¹³⁶ The additional information used in the thesis explained by Veronique Jansen is made through e-mail contact.

¹³⁷ "The Standard for 3D Space Capture and Collaboration," Accessed 25 April 2021, https://matterport.com/.

accessible. The mission of Matterport can be translated to the museum's mission nowadays because being online also means being accessible to a more significant and more extensive audience. The mission of Museum Hilversum is to strengthen the cultural offerings through the power of media and thereby focuses since 2013 on visual and (new) media art. Before 2013, they were known as the Goois Museum, focusing on Gooi's cultural history combined with contemporary art. They shifted their focus because they believe that the new generation of museum visitors increasingly derive their historical insight from (news) photographs and visuals. ¹³⁸

_

¹³⁸ "Beleidsplan-2018-2022," *Museum Hilversum*, 24 July 2020, Accessed 19 April 2021, https://www.museumhilversum.nl/anbi-publicatie-en-informatie/.

Conclusion

This research showed that pandemics are of all times. People feel unsafe, and when such an invisible enemy shows up, it gives the feeling of losing control of life. People are, according to psychologist Damian Denys, fixed on viruses because they are uncontrollable. When control is lost, and people do not know what is happening, fear is the dominant emotion to react. Denys states that regulations such as the lockdown are expressions of fear. Anxiety plays a big part when people think about the virus. Anxiety is not only the result of the virus because viruses and diseases are always there, but the anxiety is because of the disruption of life and not having control of them.¹³⁹

Additional consequences of the crisis are that society is becoming empathetic and compassionate, resulting in creative initiatives to cope with the pandemic. ¹⁴⁰ Professor Lotte Jensen of Radboud University did encounter past empathetic initiatives in her research as well. For example, in 1853, people appealed to each other by raising money for cholera sufferers. People sympathized with the ones who needed this money. Another example is songs made for the Spanish Flu to mourn together and get through a challenging period. ¹⁴¹ Such an example is the humoristic song children in the United States sang as they skipped rope: "I had a little bird, its name was Enza. I opened the window, and in-flu-Enza." ¹⁴² The song indicates that while just by opening the window, the influenza virus got in. Therefore creative initiatives are not only of this particular time.

There was also criticism about the creative initiatives in the past. According to Jensen, not all initiatives were sincere, and people used the plague as an excuse to earn money. Songs and poems about the plague were sold, and because people could earn money, bad poems occurred and were sold too. During Covid-19, there was a lack of protective equipment such as face masks. Worldwide there was a search for where to buy these. Some people took advantage of this scarcity and often offered the resources and then did not deliver. There will always be people who take advantage of a situation. Creative initiatives were not only critiqued in the past. An example of criticism of a creative initiative in the Netherlands was the song "Sun." Many famous Dutch people participated as a sign of being able to do

¹³⁹ "1. De Ontwrichting Van De Maatschappij - Besmet!," *Rijksmuseum Boerhaave*, 30 June 2020, Accessed 6 August 2021, https://boerhaave.buzzsprout.com/1159823/4376246-1-de-ontwrichting-van-de-maatschappij. ¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Hoffbuhr, "A Little Bird Named Enza," 6, https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1551-8833.2006.tb07810.x.

¹⁴³ "Fraude Met 11 Miljoen Mondkapjes," RTL Nieuws, 22 April 2020, Accessed 7 August 2021, https://www.rtlnieuws/nederland/artikel/5099281/oplichting-mondkapjes-fraude-nederlands-duo-duitse-overheid.

something. The song intended to support people who had to work hard during Covid-19 in supermarkets, hospitals, and schools. The song should have created the feeling that people feel more empowered and not alone. 144 While the purpose of the song was to bind people together, stand-up comedian Peter Pannekoek said: "Nothing brings a country together as to find something rubbish together. Hate unites," in which he meant not only the virus but also the song. The song can feel too forced, fake, and not sincere, which also can be said about artworks and exhibitions.

The Covid-19 exhibits in this research were not all received well by everyone. The audience sometimes found it challenging to be confronted with the visuals. For example, a person who had a bad experience of being sick or lost someone because of the disease can have more trouble seeing the visuals. Their experience is different from someone who, for example, could not go on holiday. Therefore some of the audience found it very intense that an exhibition about the pandemic appeared during the pandemic. The exhibits were not received as fake, but in these cases, exorbitant by being faced with the reality.

Other people found the Covid-19 exhibits exceptional and remarkable and enjoyed looking back at the first lockdown. That time was marked by fear of losing control but also solidarity and compassionated gestures. The meaning of solidarity is the agreement between and support for the members of a group. 145 The solidarity during Covid-19 was for each other, for careworkers, teachers, and everyone struggling and fighting hard during the crisis. This solidarity was shown in local museums for local citizens. Museum Hilversum tried to show general solidarity for the Dutch people. In the same year, even the images of the first lockdown seemed from a distant past. 146

In the past, the artist created compassion by depicting these devastating and sad scenes in their artworks. For example, Triumph of Death of Breugel visualizes a theater of death and a devastating platform. Death is a common element in past pandemic visuals which also was evident in the cartoon and newspaper article, which depicted cholera as a skeleton referring to death (figure 20-21). However, in other representations, past pandemic visuals and present visuals do not differ from each other. For example, medical professionals are depicted in the past (figures 6, 12, and 14) and present (figures 7, 15, 51, and 58). Past

^{144 &}quot;Honderd Bekende Nederlanders Zingen Lied Tegen Corona," YouTube, 31 March 2020, Accessed 7 August 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yCSIYUTAbbk.

^{145 &}quot;Solidarity," Cambridge Dictionary, Accessed 8 August 2021, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/solidarity.

¹⁴⁶ These thoughts are from several exhibition reviews and comments of the museum's social media channels from the museum audiences.

pandemic depictions are based on how people thought and could explain from their worldview and knowledge. The references to, for example, faith and God are not evident in the Covid-19 depictions. Furthermore, faith is no longer seen as a refuge in current visualizations. Supporting each other with creative expression and science is now the refuge of people.

This research looked at the following exhibitions if these are performative gestures of compassion during a crisis. *Contagious!* of Rijksmuseum Boerhaave covers all epidemics and pandemics since the Middle Ages to a greater or lesser extent. The exhibition aims to inform the audience how a pandemic or a disease can arise, what the causes can be, and what solutions have been devised. Using visuals from the past and present and other works of art, the museum paints a picture of the progress of science. *The Black Plague* of Museum Het Valkhof showed how the plague had affected art and society with various visuals. Both museums provided historical background on how the diseases have originated and the course and social consequences. Better understanding is the beginning of having compassion in which people can relate to past and even present stories. Therefore the museums' exhibits can be seen as performative gestures of compassion because, while the crisis happened, it informed people how we had overcome the past pandemics. The pre-covid exhibitions in this research are not so much based on evoking compassion. Instead, they have a more informative and educational purpose. They, therefore, have a different approach from the Covid-19 exhibitions.

The exhibits Nightfall of Museum Arnhem and East-West, Home Best? of Stedelijk Museum Breda used only works of professional artists. Museum Arnhem specially commissioned Okuyama to capture the city of Arnhem in lockdown. The museum commissioned Okuyama because they already had an idea of what style they wanted for the exhibit. The way Miyuki Okuyama made photographs of Arnhem during the lockdown in Nightfall makes that the aesthetic aspects are important. Her aesthetic method of photographing and capturing an empty city does not give the idea that the exhibition is a performative gesture of compassion. The goal was to capture the effects of Covid-19 artistically and store them as art in the collection for future generations. While the first lockdown inspired Museum Arnhem and Stedelijk museum, Breda, to actively organize an artistic Covid-19 exhibit, the execution was made differently. Stedelijk Breda used artworks already made by artists. East-West, Home Best? of Stedelijk Museum Breda shows the creativeness and initiatives of local artists. Not only emotions such as loneliness, empathy, and sadness are depicted in their artworks, but also togetherness and equalness of people in

the same situation are. The works show situations that many people may have experienced in which people can empathize and therefore can evoke feelings of compassion.

Corona-Collection of The Haagsch Historisch Museum and Corona in the City of Amsterdam Museum depicted their local stories with works of local artists and local citizens. These museums realized their exhibitions through direct audience submissions in collaboration with other cultural institutions. They used rapid response collecting showing the everyday life of ordinary people. By exhibiting everyday objects or visuals, people can easily relate and can therefore gain empathy. Despair, fear, and loneliness are shown in various examples. From hoarding to staying isolated at home, these artworks tried to create compassion through some relatable scenarios. These two museum exhibits also touched upon global stories and raised questions about global social and ethical issues. Both exhibitions address Covid-19 and topics such as gentrification, racism, and poverty, which the previous exhibits lack. Because the publicly submitted objects are easily relatable, people can recognize themselves in the visuals.

One significant difference is that while the first three exhibitions focused on the first lockdown, Amsterdam Museum continued to collect and exhibit further, which resulted in different scenery in the Covid-19 depictions. As Hurkman stated, the first lockdown is when people try to cope and deal with the situation. The second stage is that of conflict and dissatisfaction with the situation. This gives different visuals than experienced during the first lockdown. Now the visuals showed much more protest against the restrictions, which triggers another kind of emotion. Some people were for the protests, and others were against them. Amsterdam Museum also tries to evoke compassion for either. This and the works of Piotrowska, Vlassak, and Hutten show that compassion is personal and different for everybody.

Although all the exhibitions emphasize their local stories and their city narratives, it depicts the stories and situation in the Netherlands in general, just as *PANdemIC* of Museum Hilversum. Museum Hilversum compiled their pandemic exhibition through photographs submitted by professional and amateur photographers to the online platform called Care4Corona. This platform was established to give hope and perspective to people's daily lives. ¹⁴⁷ Choosing this platform is a conscious choice of the museum to foster performative gestures of compassion. The museum has also consciously selected photos with stopping power that trigger strong emotions. While one person can get these overwhelming

¹⁴⁷ "Over Care4Corona," *Care4Corona*, 1 August 2020, Accesed 20 April 2021, https://www.care4corona.nl/over-care4corona/.

sympathetic emotions, other people can react differently. Arguably, local exhibits can trigger more emotion than general exhibits. Change is often challenging to deal with, as we have seen in the pandemic exhibitions. Seeing visuals of your own changing city also affects people more than images of other cities changing because of the pandemic.

This research showed that depicting and displaying art is a way of going through a crisis and processing feelings of empathy, fear, and despair. That is a performative way of showing compassion to each other and taking care of yourself. The majority of the exhibitions show collectivity and can therefore be seen as a collective symbol. It is generating community spirit and is creating compassion, and empathy. Art during a crisis is helping people act concerning others to say something about the world around them or let others know about it. 148 Expressing how you see and experience the world and share this with others is done through art and creative initiatives.

The case studies have shown that there are different approaches to reflect the current pandemic. The work that is more likely to create compassion is where everyday life during the crisis was depicted because this was easier to relate to. It was evident that Dutch museums mostly used this kind of visuals to depict the Covid-19 pandemic. However, compassion is created and experienced differently by everyone. One does feel compassion with one artwork while the other does not. In the end, you have to ask yourself what feeling do these visuals give me?

Word count: 17.161

¹⁴⁸ Boomgaard, Hurkmans, and Westerveld, Compassion: A Paradox in Art and Society, 21-23.

Illustrations

Introduction



Figure 1: Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Triumph of Death*, 1562, oil on panel, (Museo del Prado, Madrid, room 055A)



Figure 2: Peter Paul Rubens, *The Three Graces*, 1630–1635, oil on oak panel, (Museo del Prado, Madrid, room 029)



Figure 3: Gustav Klutsis, *Fulfilled Plan, Great Work*, 1930, Lithograph on cream wove paper, 118.4 x 83.8 cm, (Museum Of Modern Art Object number 357.1937) This design promoted the Soviet Union's First Five-Year Plan, which consisted of a series of national centralized economic plans.

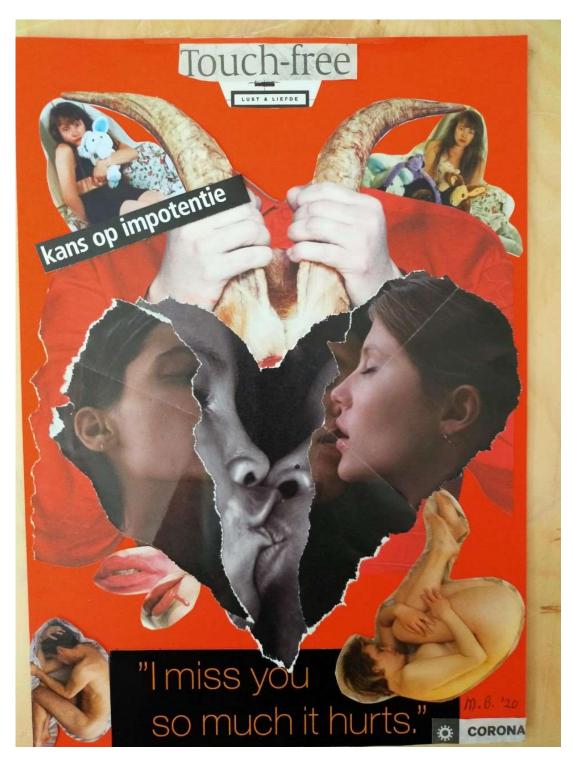


Figure 4: Marnel Breure, *Touch-free*, May 2020, digital image, (Amsterdam Museum, Collection Corona in the City, room Corona Collages) Touch-free deals with the disruption of intimacy and lack of physical contact during Covid-19.



Figure 5: Screenshot of the Instagram page of Museum Hilversum. The grid of Instagram pages resembles another type of collage.



Figure 6: Unknown author, *Medical officer attending plague patient*, 1911, digital image, (Repository University of Cambridge, https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.29013)



Figure 7: Francesca Volpi, medical workers, working at a newly-set-up emergency room and trying to structure the room to ease procedures at the hospital. The photograph was taken on March 13, 2020, in Brescia, Italy, (The Covid Photo Museum, exhibition 1,5 meters)



Figure 8: The Haagsche Courant, *Anti- influenza masks*, 16-03-1932, (Koninklijke Bibliotheek number 15061). The caption beneath the photograph on the right: In London, where there is currently a low level of influenza, people wear anti-influenza masks.



Figure 9:

Photograph of white students doing anatomical research with cadavers, which the curator Anna Dhody of the Mutter Museum claims to be African-Americans who died and were labeled as anatomical specimens because nobody claimed their bodies after their deaths during the 1918 flu. The photograph is in the archive of Temple University Libraries.

Chapter 1



Figure 10: Cornelis Jonson van Ceulen I, *Portret van IJsbrand van Diemerbroeck* ,1657, oil on canvas, 114 x 91 cm, (Nijmegen, Museum het Valkhof)

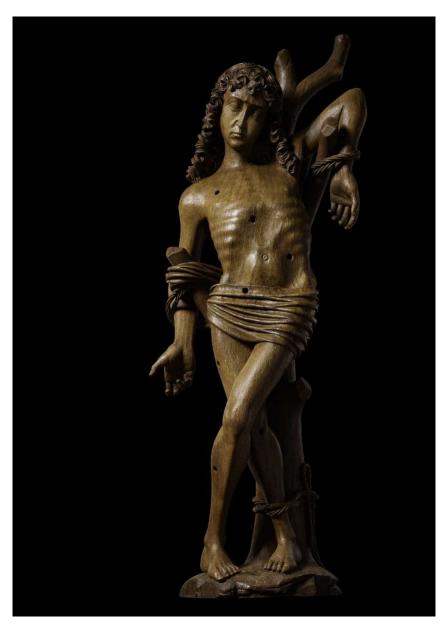


Figure 11: Henrick van Holt, *Saint Sebastian*, 1520-30, oak wood, length 115 cm, (Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen)



Figure 12: Theodoor van der Schuer, *Pestlijders in een gasthuis*, 1682, 149,5 x 179 x 6 cm (Leiden, Museum De Lakenhal). The painter depicted the plague as a threatening cloud. The pieces of cloths are for protection and against the stench that came with the disease and the bodies.





Figure 13: Original Jan Lingelbach, *The Dam in Amsterdam with the new City Hall under construction, seen to the north,* 1656, oil on canvas, 122,5 cm x 206 cm. Reinier Craeyvanger, 1860, nineteenth-century watercolor copy of the painting. The man is walking with a white staff.



Figure 14: Erwin Olaf, *Plague Doctor*, 2011, chromogenic print, 60 x 80 cm. (From the series: The Siege and Relief of Leiden (2011), commissioned by Museum De Lakenhal and Leiden University). The rat in the hand of the doctor depicts the disease.



Figure 15: The glass coronavirus protein model. Beneath the clogs worn by a medical worker in the Netherlands with the name of a famous tattoo shop in Rotterdam called Tattoo Bob.



Figure 16: Nurses Stafhorts and Fidelia are in the retreat house Cenakel during the smallpox epidemic in 1951 in Tilburg. The photograph is in the regional archive of Tilburg, photo number 042003.



Figure 17: Annabel Jeuring, *Carole in a Decor of Net Curtains*, 2020. The photo report of Jeuring is called 'Through the Glass- Corona in the Picture,' showing moving family portraits of people in quarantine in the Netherlands during the first lockdown in 2020. Her book "Nederland in Quarantaine" came out June 1, 2020, with this photograph as cover.



Figure 18: Marion Keizer, *Only the pigeons on the dam*, 2020, digital photograph. Keizer states: "Born in Amsterdam, I have never seen 'my city' so quiet in 58 years. To make you go quiet!"



Figure 19: Figure 13: Original Jan Lingelbach, *The Dam in Amsterdam with the new City Hall under construction, seen to the north,* 1656, oil on canvas, 122,5 cm x 206 cm. Reinier Craeyvanger, 1860, nineteenth-century watercolor copy of the painting. In the left corner, the number 896 written indicates the number of deaths that day.



Figure 20: Pierre Langlumé, *Cholera helps a lady in a carriage for the eternal journey*, 1825-1850, cartoon. (Rijkmuseum Boerhaave Leiden inv. nr. P00742)



Figure 21: Unknown author, *Le Cholera*, December 1912, Le Petit Journal, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 22: The *Le Cholera* in the exhibit of Rijksmuseum Boerhaave.

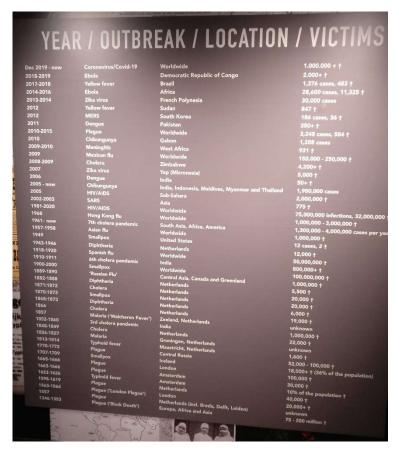


Figure 23: A poster with year, outbreak, location, victims, and the names of the epidemics and pandemics. Worldwide is a pandemic, small-scale and local are epidemics.



Figure 24: Parts of the timeline in Museum Boerhaave explaining cures developed in the past until the present against diseases.

Chapter 2



Figure 25: Miyuki Okuyama, *Nightfall-Willemsplein*, 2020, photograph printed on baryta paper, 65 cm × 98 cm. The photograph shows a recognizable well-known Arnhem place and the typical Arnhem cables that recall Arnhem's long history of public transport. Photograph acquisition by Museum Arnhem for their permanent collection nr. GM 2020.045.2.

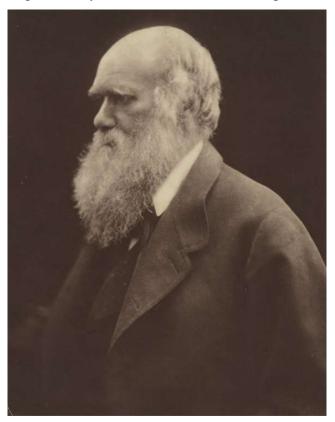


Figure 26: Julia Margaret Cameron, *Charles Darwin*, 1868, carbon print photograph, 26.7 × 21 cm. (Online collection of Museum of Modern Art Manhattan, New York, Object number 121.1952, department photography).



Figure 27: Photograph number 1 of the project "Stateless War displaced Filipino Japanese" by Miyuki Okuyama. Portrait of Satoko, born in 1942 in Davao Oriental, a province in the southeast of the island of Mindanao. She lives in a small banana plantation surrounded by settlements without running water or power.



Figure 28: Miyuki Okuyama, *Craws*, 2019, photograph number 1 of the project "At Dusk." Okuyama states, "The images of "At Dusk" symbolizes the border between conscious and unconscious, light and dark or life and death. Dusk, being the transitional hour bridging day and night, things become invisible, and instead, what normally invisible starts to appear."

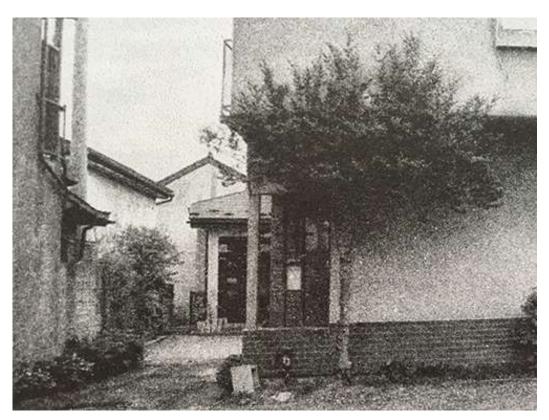


Figure 29: Miyuki Okuyama, photograph number 6 of the project and photo booklet "Land of the Setting Sun," printed on newsprint paper with Risograph. Project and photographs present the anonymous streets and corners of various cities in Japan.



Figure 30: Miyuki Okuyama, *Nightfall Arnhem Central Station*, 2020, photograph printed on baryta paper, 65 cm × 98 cm. The photograph shows the 'modern Arnhem' with the new, futuristic-looking central station and an unreal urban environment: there are no people in sight. During the first lockdown, in the spring of 2020, Okuyama captured the city of Arnhem, free from human traffic and in stillness. Photograph acquired by Museum Arnhem for their permanent collection nr. GM 2020.045.1



Figure 31: Photograph of the exhibition *Nightfall* in Sonsbeek Park by Marco Derksen posted on Twitter.



Figure 32: Appeal of the City Archives of Breda through Facebook asking residents of the city to help build a heritage collection about the corona times. The appeal was posted on April 14, 2020, on the City Archives Facebook page. In the photograph, we see a child and a woman talking to each other with social distance.



Figure 33: The exhibition "East-West, Home Best?" starts with the drawings of graphic designer Bas Linssen.

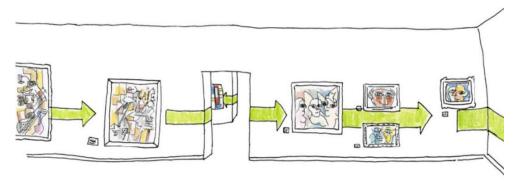


Figure 34: Bas Linssen, *Signed by Corona; Museums have walking routes*, 2020, drawing. (Identification number 20202741 in the online archive of the City Archives of Breda).

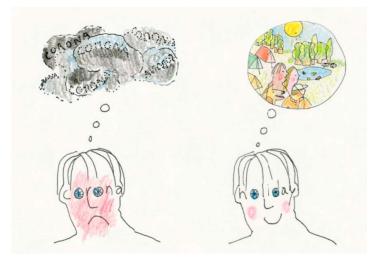


Figure 35: Bas Linssen, *Signed by Corona; Corona holiday*, 2020, drawing. (Identification number 20202746 in the online archive of the City Archives of Breda).



Figure 36: Bas Linssen, *Signed by Corona; home workplace, mom and dad work at home,* 2020, drawing. (Identification number 20201694 in the online archive of the City Archives of Breda).



Figure 37: Edwin Wiekens, *We are Staying Home*, April 10, 2020, photograph. (Identification number 20203893 in the online archive of the City Archives of Breda).



Figure 38: Photomontage of photographs of the #tussenkunstenquarantaine challenge, made by unknown. Posted by the Stedelijk Museum Breda on November 4, 2020, with the question if people will join the challenge to recreate artworks at home.



Figure 39: Photograph of the #tussenkunstenquarantaine challenge in the exhibition of the Stedelijk Museum Breda. This image is from the Instagram page #tussenkunstenquarantaine and was made by a person named Patricia on March 17, 2020. She created the Gas Mask Boy from the artist Bansky, and instead of a gas mask, she put on a face mask, hinting at the coronavirus.

Chapter 3



Persbericht Den Haag, 3 april 2020

Corona-collectie Den Haag: een verzamelproject van het Haags Historisch Museum

Haags Historisch Museum doet oproep om herinneringen aan de Corona-crisis te bewaren en te delen.

Corona-collectie Den Haag

De uitbraak van het coronavirus (COVID-19) en de maatregelen ter bestrijding hiervan veranderen het leven in Den Haag radicaal. Hoe kunnen we toekomstige generaties laten zien wat de Corona-crisis voor Den Haag heeft betekend? We worden in korte tijd gedwongen andere gewoontes aan te leren, mensen anders te benaderen, maar ook om creatief te zijn en elkaar op te beuren. Het Haags Historisch Museum roept Hagenaars op om hun ervaringen en verhalen vast te leggen en te delen.

Wat zou er volgens jou bewaard moeten blijven? Stuur het museum een foto van een voorwerp, of een foto of filmpje van een moment of gebeurtenis die de impact van deze crisis op jou weergeeft. In je persoonlijke alledaagse leven of voor je werk. Zet er een korte beschrijving bij wat dit object of moment voor je betekent. Een selectie van de objecten, foto's en filmpjes wordt opgenomen in de collectie van het Haags Historisch Museum.

Het Haags Historisch Museum is het geheugen van Den Haag. Help ons de geschiedenis hier en nu te vast te leggen.

Stuur je foto en je verhaal per email naar: corona@haagshistorischmuseum.nl.

Bij het insturen van foto's geef je daarmee toestemming aan het Haags Historisch Museum om het publiekelijk te maken. Voor een mogelijke toevoeging van het object aan de collectie zal op een later moment contact opnemen.

Noot aan de redactie:

Figure 40: Call from the Haags Historisch Museum for the public to submit their experiences, stories, and objects.

TYPE *			
Selecteer het media-tyc	e dat je wilt opsture	m,	
AFBEELDING	OIGUA	VIDEO	TEKST
UPLOAD JE BESTANDEN HIER.			
Upload hier de bestande	en tot maximaal 5MB	L.	
	Sleep besta	inden hierheen of	
	SELECTE	ER BESTANDEN	
	PHOTO		
E KUNT GROTERE VIDEO'S O	OK HIER UPLDADEN		
Jploed de video op You	Tube of vimeo en ge	ef hier vervolgens de URL	op.
https://			
100 00 00 00 00 00 00 00 00 00 00 00 00			
TITEL INZENDING*			
mar medicino			
LUTEUR			
AUTEUR			
AUTEUR			
	ER JE INZENDING?		
KUN JE MEER VERTELLEN OVI		schoten? Voer wis heb jo	oon godicht
KUN JE MEER VERTELLEN OV Wat zien we op de foto?	Waar is de video ge		oon godicht
CUN JE MEER VERTELLEN OV Wat zien we op de foto?	Waar is de video ge		oon godicht
CUN JE MEER VERTELLEN OV Wat zien we op de foto?	Waar is de video ge		oon godicht
CUN JE MEER VERTELLEN OV Wat zien we op de foto?	Waar is de video ge		oon godicht
CUN JE MEER VERTELLEN OV Wat zien we op de foto?	Waar is de video ge		con godicht
KUN JE MEER VERTELLEN OV Wat zien we op de foto?	Waar is de video ge		oon godicht
KUN JE MEER VERTELLEN OV Wat zien we op de foto?	Waar is de video ge		oon godicht
KUN JE MEER VERTELLEN OV Wat zien we op de foto?	Waar is de video ge		oon godicht
KUN JE MEER VERTELLEN OVI Wat zien we op de foto? geschreven? Kortom; voo	Waar is de video ge		oon godicht
KUN JE MEER VERTELLEN OV Wat zien we op de foto?	Waar is de video ge		oon godicht
CUN JE MEER VERTELLEN OV Wat zien we op de foto?	Waar is de video ge		con godicht VOLGENDE STAP

Figure 41: The submission form on the platform Corona in the City of Amsterdam museum.



Figure 42: Photographs of the entrance of the exhibition *Corona Collection* of the Haags Historisch Museum.



Figure 43: Sandra Uittenbogaart, photograph from the project "Hou Je Haags," June 2, 2020, color photo (digital), The Hague, Malieveld Demonstrations. Photograph Identification no.HGA001326950, online collection of The Hague Municipality Archives.



Figure 44: There are 2221 stories submitted in total. These stories can be divided into rooms. The search for specific content can be done with the filter button.



Figure 45: Ewa Piotrowska, *Looking Inside*, all photos were taken between April 24 and May 7, between 5:01 and 8:28 PM in Amsterdam North. Ewa Piotrowska photographs herself on fourteen consecutive days. Standing in front of the window of her home in Amsterdam-North, she seeks guidance in the power of the camera and the view outside. It is her way of relating to the here and now in a surreal reality in which all days have started to resemble each other. In the *Corona in the City* collection of Amsterdam Museum.



Figure 46: Kris Hutten and Lisette Vlassak, #antihamsterweken, April 10, 2020, a screenshot of the stop motion film. The term hoarding has taken a completely new turn during this time. The problem is a global phenomenon. The message of the video is: stay home and do not hoard. In the *Corona in the City* collection of Amsterdam Museum.

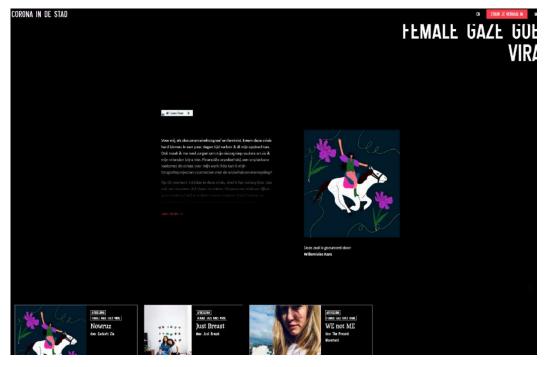


Figure 47: Screenshot of the room "Female Gaze Goes Viral" curated by Willemeke Kars in which other stories (beneath) about women are placed. This gives an idea of how the exhibition *Corona in the City* of Amsterdam Museum is organized.



Figure 48: Lisette Ros, Intervening Space Reframing Conventions (2013) in Quarantine (2020)', May 1, 2020, video in Hotel Maria Kapel. In this work, Ros explores the act of sitting, resulting in a live performance where she sits in the same chair for only 8 hours without practicing any other human activity. The original video and live performance of this work is from 2013. In the "Corona in the City" collection of Amsterdam Museum.



Figure 49: AT5, *Riots, and destruction in Amsterdam East*, January 5, 2021, news video about the dozens of young people gathered around the intersection of Molukkenstraat and Insulindeweg in Amsterdam after several calls to pass the curfew and stir up unrest. Heavy fireworks were set off, and windows were smashed. On the screenshot, we see police trying to calm people down and send them home. In the "Corona in the City" collection of Amsterdam Museum.

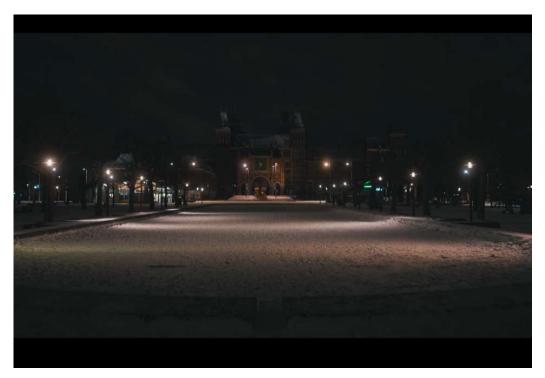


Figure 50: Gosse Bouma, *Snow during the curfew in Amsterdam*, February 10, 2021, video of Amsterdam during snow and curfew, gives a very empty, still, and almost spooky view. In the photograph, the empty Amsterdam Central Station, usually very crowded. In the *Corona in the City* collection of Amsterdam Museum.

Chapter 4



Figure 51: Jiri Büller, first portrait Ilse van de Laak (39) IC nurse Bernhoven, second portrait of Lisa Kreemer (32) Anesthesia nurse Bernhoven. Photo series called "Healthcare Staff," and the video is made for the Volkskrant, a Dutch newspaper. Doctors and nurses from the covid wards had themselves portrayed, sometimes with the sweat of a night's work on their foreheads in the Bernhoven hospital in the city of Uden.





Figure 52: A screenshot of the start of the exhibition *PANdemIC* with the meaningful quote 1,5 meters distance on the white and black tape. The big quote states, "I do not have an easy message for you." from prime minister Mark Rutte's speech on television when the Netherlands announced the crisis.



Figure 53: Ad Nuis, Carrefour Worker, 2020, digital photograph.



Figure 54: Edwin Wiekens, Residents of nursing home Oosterheem in Oosterhout, received a visit from family on an aerial platform on Easter Monday.



Figure 55: Petra van Beek, *Op afstand bij Opi op bezoek. "Dag lieve opi, tot gauw!"*, April 11, 2020, digital photograph. Winner of week 8 of the CareforCorona platform. Chosen as one of the photographs in the exhibition *PANdemIC* with the caption: With distance visiting grandfather. Bye, sweet grandpa, we see you soon!



Figure 56: Pim Ras, Swimmer Jacyntha Plat in a bath in the garden in Steenwijk, 2020, digital photograph. The photo shows top athletes training at home and shows how they had to improvise in corona time.



Figure 57: Remco Koers, 1.5 meters standing Muslims during their prayer in a mosque in The Hague.



Figure 58 : Martijn van de Griendt, Corona Test S.elfie , 22-07-2020.



Figure 59: A screenshot of the 3D model of exhibition *PANdemIC*.

Credits Illustrations

Introduction

Figure 1: Downloaded July 27, 2021

https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/the-triumph-of-death/d3d82b0b-9bf2-4082-ab04-66ed53196ccc

Figure 2: Downloaded July 27, 2021

https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/the-three-graces/145eadd9-0b54-4b2d-affe-09af370b6932

Figure 3: Downloaded July 27, 2021

https://www.moma.org/collection/works/6487

Figure 4: Downloaded July 27, 2021

https://www.coronaindestad.nl/corona-collages/

Figure 5: Screenshot taken on authors phone on July 27, 2021

https://www.instagram.com/museumhilversum/

Figure 6: Downloaded July 28, 2021

https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/281650

Figure 7: Downloaded April 29, 2021

https://www.covidphotomuseum.org/15-meters

Figure 8: Downloaded July 27, 2021

https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?query=influenza&facets%5Btype%5D%5B%5D=illustratie+met+onderschrift&page=1&maxperpage=50&coll=ddd&identifier=MMKB04:000146902:mpeg21:a0053&rowid=3

Figure 9: Screenshot taken April 11, 2021

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pY2Jo4S15hU&t=790s

Chapter 1

Figure 10: Downloaded July 29, 2021

https://www.museumhetvalkhof.nl/collecties/recente-aanwinsten/oude-kunst.html

Figure 11: Downloaded July 29, 2021

https://www.museumhetvalkhof.nl/zien-en-doen/tentoonstellingen/de-pest/

Figure 12: Downloaded July 29, 2021

https://www.museumhetvalkhof.nl/zien-en-doen/tentoonstellingen/de-pest/

Figure 13: Downloaded July 30, 2021

https://archief.amsterdam/beeldbank/detail/a64c2e16-f27c-89a8-4e10-ea7d9b6d9a08

Figure 14: Downloaded July 30, 2021

https://depthoffield.universiteitleiden.nl/0101a03/

Figure 15: Downloaded June 9, 2021

https://tentoonstellingen.museumhetvalkhof.nl/zien-en-doen/tentoonstellingen/de-pest/

Figure 16: Photograph author November 24, 2021, at the exhibition *Contagious!* of Rijksmuseum Boerhaave Leiden.

Figure 17: Photograph author November 24, 2021, at the exhibition *Contagious!* of Rijksmuseum Boerhaave Leiden.

https://annabeljeuring.nl/boek

Figure 18: Photograph author November 24, 2020, of the exhibition *Contagious!* of Rijksmuseum Boerhaave Leiden.

Figure 19: Downloaded July 30, 2021

https://www.coronaindestad.nl/alleen-de-duiven-op-de-dam/

Figure 20: Downloaded July 30, 2021

https://archief.amsterdam/beeldbank/detail/a64c2e16-f27c-89a8-4e10-ea7d9b6d9a08

Figure 21: Downloaded July 30, 2021

https://rijksmuseumboerhaave.nl/collectie/verhalen/besmet/cholera/

Figure 22: Photograph author November 24, 2020, of the exhibition *Contagious!* of Rijksmuseum Boerhaave Leiden.

Figure 23: Photograph author November 24, 2020, of the exhibition *Contagious!* of Rijksmuseum Boerhaave Leiden.

Figure 24: Photograph author November 24, 2020, of the exhibition *Contagious!* of Rijksmuseum Boerhaave Leiden.

Chapter 2

Figure 25: Downloaded April 15, 2021

https://www.museumarnhem.nl/nl/collectie/GM+2020.045.2

Figure 26: Downloaded April 15, 2021

https://www.moma.org/collection/works/46623?artist_id=932&page=1&sov_referrer=artist

Figure 27: Downloaded April 15, 2021

http://www.miyukiokuyama.com/projects

Figure 28: Downloaded April 15, 2021

http://www.miyukiokuyama.com/projects/at-dusk-2

Figure 29: Downloaded April 15, 2021

http://www.miyukiokuyama.com/projects/book-quotland-of-the-setting-sunquot

Figure 30: Downloaded April 15, 2021

https://www.museumarnhem.nl/nl/collectie/GM+2020.045.1

Figure 31: Posted on Twitter August 17, 2020. Downloaded April 15, 2021 https://twitter.com/marcoderksen/status/1295314438929752065/photo/2

Figure 32: Downloaded August 2, 2021

https://m.facebook.com/pg/geheugenvanBreda/posts/?ref=page_internal&mt_nav=0

Figure 33: Posted on Facebook October 22, 2020. Downloaded April 19, 2021

https://www.facebook.com/stedelijkmuseumbreda/photos/3450804838330755

Figure 34: Downloaded April 20, 2021

https://stadsarchief.breda.nl/collectie/beeld/films-en-foto-

 $\underline{s/?mode=gallery\&view=horizontal\&q=bas\%20linssen\&rows=1\&page=1\&record=36830fc2-3e77-32ce-0618-19c7f9b91032}$

Figure 35: Downloaded April 20, 2021

https://stadsarchief.breda.nl/collectie/beeld/films-en-foto-

s/?mode=gallery&view=horizontal&q=bas%20linssen&rows=1&page=1&record=36830fc2-3e77-32ce-0618-19c7f9b91032

Figure 36: Downloaded April 20, 2021

https://stadsarchief.breda.nl/collectie/beeld/films-en-foto-

s/?mode=gallery&view=horizontal&q=bas%20linssen&rows=1&page=1&record=36830fc2-3e77-32ce-0618-19c7f9b91032

Figure 37: Downloaded April 20, 2021

https://stadsarchief.breda.nl/collectie/beeld/films-en-foto-s/detail/6580498e-15f9-046f-3418-b6bcad782c50/media/7965ab8f-bf74-2da7-1df9-

db4062cf8f56?mode=detail&view=horizontal&q=edwin%20wiekens&rows=1&page=82

Figure 38: Posted on November 4, 2020, on Twitter. Downloaded May 10, 2021

https://twitter.com/stedelijkbreda/status/1324064205264326659/photo/1

Figure 39: Posted on November 4, 2020, on Twitter. Downloaded May 10, 2021

https://twitter.com/stedelijkbreda/status/1324064205264326659/photo/1

https://www.instagram.com/p/B92Msi7AVy-/

Chapter 3

Figure 40: Downloaded April 3, 2020

 $\underline{\text{https://www.haagshistorischmuseum.nl/files/2020-05/oproep-haagse-corona-collectie-3-4-2020.pdf}$

Figure 41: Screenshot taken April 3, 2020

https://www.coronaindestad.nl/inzenden/

Figure 42: Photographs sent to me by the project manager Patricia Deiser in an email on February 2, 2021.

Figure 43: Downloaded April 16, 2021

https://haagsgemeentearchief.nl/mediabank/beeldcollectie/detail/b1a14c94-1019-149a-1e76-6a740a0f1b03/media/b6aa6f6d-24f6-3280-71a9-

ea069ea6c3f4?mode=detail&view=horizontal&q=sandra&rows=1&page=71

Figure 44: Screenshot taken April 16, 2020

https://www.coronaindestad.nl/#expo-anchor

Figure 45: Downloaded May 20, 2021

https://www.coronaindestad.nl/en/looking-inside-2/

Figure 46: Downloaded April 20, 2021

https://www.coronaindestad.nl/antihamsterweken/?h=.

Figure 47: Downloaded June 7, 2021

https://www.coronaindestad.nl/zaal/tentoonstelling/female-gaze/.

Figure 48: Downloaded April 20, 2021

https://www.coronaindestad.nl/intervening-space-reframing-conventions-2013-in-quarantine-2020-2/.

Figure 49: Downloaded May 11, 2021

https://www.coronaindestad.nl/rellen-en-vernielingen-in-amsterdam-oost/

Figure 50: Downloaded May 2, 2021

https://www.coronaindestad.nl/sneeuw-tijdens-de-avondklok-in-amsterdam/.

Chapter 4

Figure 51: Downloaded July 25, 2021

https://www.volkskrant.nl/kijkverder/v/2020/als-de-maskers-afgaan-spreken-de-gezichten~v382125/

Figure 52: Downloaded April 25, 2021

https://my.matterport.com/show/?m=dB8dNsUk7EA

Figure 53: Downloaded August 3, 2021

https://www.standaard.be/cnt/dmf20200512 04956274

Figure 54: Downloaded August 4, 2021

https://photed.com/wordpress/ouderen-krijgen-bezoek/

Figure 55: Downloaded July 25, 2021

https://www.care4corona.nl/fotowedstrijd/weekwinnaar-publiek-week-8-petra-van-beek/

Figure 56: Posted August 11, 2020. Downloaded April 19, 2021,

https://www.facebook.com/103008996404349/photos/pb.100042370014662.-

2207520000../3289192244452659/?type=3

Figure 57: Screenshot taken August 5, 2021

https://my.matterport.com/show/?m=dB8dNsUk7EA

Figure 58: Downloaded August 5, 2021

https://www.care4corona.nl/fotowedstrijd/weekwinnaar-jury-week-14-martijn-van-de-griendt/

Figure 59: Screenshot taken April 25, 2021

https://my.matterport.com/show/?m=dB8dNsUk7EA

Bibliography

List of secondary literature

- Adams, Thije. *Kunst Moet Ook In Tijden Van Cholera*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Van Gennep, 2012.
- Appelboom, Thierry. "Rubens and the Question of Antiquity of Rheumatoid Arthritis." *JAMA: The Journal of the American Medical Association* 245, no. 5 (1981): 483. https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.1981.03310300037016.
- Bedford, Leslie. *The Art of Museum Exhibitions: How Story and Imagination Create Aesthetic Experiences*. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2014.
- Bennett, Tony. Essay. In *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, 59–86. London New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Boomgaard, Jeroen, Rini Hurkmans, and Judith Westerveld. *Compassion: A Paradox in Art and Society*. Amsterdam: Valiz, 2017.
- Buchloh, Benjamin H. "From Faktura to Factography." *October* 30 (1984): 82–119. https://doi.org/10.2307/778300.
- "Bulletin Friends of Parken Sonsbeek Zypendaal Gulden Bodem." Arnhem: Sonsbeek.nl, September 2020.
- Chatzidionysiou, Katerina. "Rheumatic Disease and Artistic Creativity." *Mediterr J Rheumatol*, 2, no. 30 (June 2019): 103–9.
- Crew, Spencer R, and James E Sims. "Locating Authenticity: Fragments of a Dialogue ." Essay. In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Museum Display*, edited by Ivan Karp and Steven D Lavin, 159–76. Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990.
- Day, Gail, and Steve Edwards. "Gobal Dissensus: Art and Contemporary Capitalism." Essay. In *Art&Visual Culture 1850-2010: Modernity to Globalization*, edited by Steve Edwards and Paul Woods, 257–91. Tate Publishing, 2012.
- Debono, Sandro. "Collecting Pandemic Phenomena: Reflections on Rapid Response Collecting and the Art Museum." *Collections: A Journal for Museum and Archives Professionals*, 2021, 1–7. https://doi.org/10.1177/1550190620980844.
- Dietz, Steve. "Collecting New-Media Art: Just Like Anything Else, Only Different." Essay. In *Collecting the New*, edited by Bruce Altshuler, 85–103. Princeton University Press, 2013.
- Edwards, Elizabeth, and Christopher Morton, eds. *Photographs, Museums, Collections: Between Art and Information*. Bloomsbury Academic, 2015.
- Fyfe, Gordon. "Sociology and the Social Aspects of Museums." Essay. In *A Companion to Museum Studies*, edited by Sharon Macdonald, 33–50. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2006.

- Galani, Areti, and Alexandra Moschovi. "Other People's Stories: Bringing Public-Generated Photography into the Contemporary Art Museum." *Museum & Society* 11, no. 2 (2013): 172–84. https://doi.org/10.29311/mas.
- Gillis, John R. "Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship." Essay. In *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, 2–24. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Ginsburg, Faye. "Rethinking the Digital Age." Essay. In *The Visual Culture Reader*, edited by Nicholas Mirzoeff, 605–18. London: Routledge, 2013.
- Greenberg, Stephen. "The Vital Museum." Essay. In *Reshaping Museum Space: Architecture, Design, Exhibitions*, edited by Suzanne MacLeod, 226–38. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2006.
- Helff, Sissy, and Stefanie Michels. *Global Photographies Memory History Archives*. Bielefeld: Transcript, 2018.
- Henning, Michelle. "New Media." Essay. In *A Companion to Museum Studies*, edited by Sharon Macdonald, 302–19. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2006.
- Hoffbuhr, Jack W. "A Little Bird Named Enza." *Journal American Water Works Association* 98, no. 11 (2006): 6–6. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1551-8833.2006.tb07810.x.
- Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean. *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Kahn, Rebecca Josina, Tobias Blanke, and Ruth Adams. "Smudges on the Glass: Tracing and Locating the Museum in the British Museum's Digitised Collections," 2018.
- Kaiser, Wolfram, Stefan Krankenhagen, and Kerstin Poehls. *Exhibiting Europe in Museums: Transnational Networks, Collections Narratives, and Representations*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2014.
- Kalpaxi, Elisavet. "Photography and Museums of Mutuality: A Metaphor." Stedelijk Studies,
- Kaschek, Bertram, Müller Jürgen, and Jessica Buskirk. "The Imaginarium of Death: Pieter Bruegel's The Triumph of Death." Essay. In *Pieter Bruegel the Elder and Religion*, 134–58. Leiden: Brill, 2018.
- Kavanagh, Gaynor. "Collecting from the Era of Memory, Myth, and Delusion." Essay. In *Museums and the Future of Collecting*, edited by Simon Knell, 133–43. Routledge, 2004.
- Kelly, Ann H., Keck Frédéric, and Christos Lynteris. *The Anthropology of Epidemics*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2020.

- Kidd, Jenny, and Areti Galani. "Hybrid Material Encounters Expanding the Continuum of Museum Materialities in the Wake of a Pandemic." *Museum & Society* 18, no. 3 (2020): 298–301. https://doi.org/10.29311/mas.
- Knell, Simon J. Essay. In *Museum and the Future of Collecting*, 1–46. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999.
- Knell, Simon J., Suzanne Macleod, and Watson Sheila E R. *Museum Revolutions: How Museums Change and Are Changed*. London: Routledge, 2010.
- Latham, Kiersten F. "The Poetry of the Museum: A Holistic Model of Numinous Museum Experiences." *Museum Management and Curatorship* 22, no. 3 (2007): 247–63. https://doi.org/10.1080/09647770701628594.
- Laurenson, Sarah, Calum Robertson, and Sophie Goggins. "'Collecting Covid-19 at National Museums Scotland." *Museum & Society*, n.d., 334–36. https://doi.org/10.29311/mas.
- Lavédrine Bertrand. *Photographs of the Past: Process and Preservation*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2009.
- Leighton, Debra. "In the Frame: Investigating the Use of Mobile Phone Photography in Museums." *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing* 12, no. 4 (2007): 308–19. https://doi.org/10.1002/nvsm.320.
- Li, Chenyang, and Sophia Psarra. Rep. Building Pandemic Resilience in Design: Space and Movement in Art Museums during Covid-19, 2020.
- Lynteris, Christos. "Epidemic Photograph." Essay. In *Human Extinction And The Pandemic Imaginary*, 64–69. Routledge, 2020.
- Macdonald, Sharon, and Susan A Crane. "The Conundrum of Ephemerality: Time, Memory, and Museums." Essay. In *A Companion to Museum Studies*, 98–111. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2006.
- Macdonald, Sharon. "Collecting Practices ." Essay. In *A Companion to Museum Studies*, edited by Sharon Macdonald, 81–98. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.
- MacLeod, Suzanne, Ross Perry, and Andrew Sawyer. "Space and the Machine: Adaptive Museums, Pervasive Technology and the New Gallery Environment." Essay. In *Reshaping Museum Space: Architecture, Design, Exhibitions*, 39–53. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2006.
- Marsden, Scott. "An Insurgent Curatorial Strategy: Using Dialogue and Collaboration to Create Meaning in Public Art Galleries and Museums." *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 37, no. 1 (2017): 134–46. https://doi.org/10.1080/02601370.2017.1406545.
- McBride, Virginia. "The Snapchat Monteur? New Platforms for Photomontage." *History of Photography* 43, no. 2 (2019): 206–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/03087298.2019.1682834.

- Mirzoeff, Nicholas. How to See the World: an Introduction to Images, from Self-Portraits to Selfies, Maps to Movies, and More. New York: Basic Books, 2016.
- Mirzoeff, Nicholas. The Visual Culture Reader. London: Routledge, 2013.
- "Museums, Visitorship, and Mission." *Museum Management and Curatorship* 33, no. 3 (2018): 216–22. https://doi.org/10.1080/09647775.2018.1468007.
- Neumüller, Moritz. *The Routledge Companion to Photography and Visual Culture*. New York and London: Routledge, Taylor et Francis Group, 2018.
- Pollen, Annebella. *Mass Photography Collective Histories of Everyday Life*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2015.
- Rosenblum, Naomi. *A World History of Photography*. New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1997.
- Samaroudi, Myrsini, Karina Rodriguez Echavarria, and Lara Perry. "Heritage in Lockdown: Digital Provision of Memory Institutions in the UK and US of America during the COVID-19 Pandemic." *Museum Management and Curatorship* 35, no. 4 (2020): 337–61. https://doi.org/10.1080/09647775.2020.1810483.
- Sandell, Richard. "Constructing and Communicating Equality: the Social Agency of Museum Space." Essay. In *Reshaping Museum Space: Architecture, Design, Exhibitions*, edited by Suzanne MacLeod, 185–203. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2006.
- Sassoon, Joanna. "Photographic Materiality in the Age of Digital Reproduction." Essay. In *Photographs Objects Histories: on the Materiality of Images*, edited by Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, 196–214. London: Routledge, 2010.
- Sawyer, Andrew, and Ross Parry. "Space and the Machine Adaptive Museums, Pervasive Technology and the New Gallery Environment." Essay. In *Reshaping Museum Space: Architecture, Design, Exhibitions*, edited by Suzanne MacLeod, 39–53. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2006.
- Scholten, Annelore, and Gulik Thomas Mathijs van. *Besmet!: Angst Voor De Onzichtbare Vijand*. Zutphen: Uitgeverij Walburg Pers, 2020.
- Smith, Terry. "Currents of Worldmaking in Contemporary Art." Essay. In *The Visual Culture Reader*, edited by Nicholas Mirzoeff, 109–17. London: Routledge, 2013.
- "Special Issue: 'Isolation as a Collective Experience': Museums' First Responses to COVID-19." *Museum & Society*, 3, 18 (2020): 295–348. https://doi.org/10.29311/mas.
- Sturken, Marita, and Lisa Cartwright. *Practices of Looking an Introduction to Visual Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Tate, James, David Clarke, Helen Spencer, and Belén Cobo del Arco. "The Museum of Scotland and Conservation Issues of Commissioned Art." *Studies in Conservation* 49, no. sup2 (2004): 16–20. https://doi.org/10.1179/sic.2004.49.s2.004.

- Tomšová, Kateřina, and Michal Ďurovič. "Influence of Disinfection Methods on the Stability of Black and White Silver Gelatin Prints." *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 24 (2017): 78–85. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.culher.2016.10.004.
- Wahl, Chris. "Between Art History and Media History: A Brief Introduction to Media Art." Essay. In *Preserving And Exhibiting Media Art: Challenges and Perspectives*, edited by Julia Noordergraaf, 25–59. Amsterdam University Press, 2012.
- Wheelis, Mark. "Biological Warfare at the 1346 Siege of Caffa." *Emerging Infectious Diseases* 8, no. 9 (2002): 971–75. https://doi.org/10.3201/eid0809.010536.

List of Internet websites

- Adams, Geraldine Kendall. "Icom Unveils New Museum Definition." Museums Association, August 14, 2020. https://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-journal/news/2019/07/31072019-icom-reveals-updated-museum-definition/.
- "#Antihamsterweken." Corona in de Stad, June 16, 2020. https://www.coronaindestad.nl/antihamsterweken/?h=.
- "1. De Ontwrichting Van De Maatschappij Besmet!" Rijksmuseum Boerhaave, June 30, 2020. https://boerhaave.buzzsprout.com/1159823/4376246-1-de-ontwrichting-van-de-maatschappij.
- Avro. "Peter Pannekoek Analyseert Coronalied." YouTube, April 5, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Di_omU85--A.
- "Banksy Gas Mask Boy." Phillips. Accessed August 8, 2021. https://www.phillips.com/detail/banksy/UK010121/21.
- "Beelden." Terug naar Haags Gemeentearchief. Accessed April 16, 2021. https://haagsgemeentearchief.nl/mediabank/beeldcollectie/?mode=gallery&view=horizontal&page=1&reverse=0&sort=random%7B1605077611617%7D+asc&fq%5B%5D=search s vervaardiger%3A%22Uittenbogaart%2C+Sandra%22&filterAction.
- "Besmet!" Rijksmuseumboerhaave. Accessed July 28, 2021. https://rijksmuseumboerhaave.nl/te-zien-te-doen/besmet/.
- "Bestuur, Governance Code Cultuur & ANBI." Museum Hilversum, March 9, 2021. https://www.museumhilversum.nl/anbi-publicatie-en-informatie/.
- "Black Lives Matter New Network of Dutch Museums." Leiden University, June 30, 2020. https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/news/2020/06/black-lives-matter-in-new-network-of-dutch-museums.

- Boxtel, Tim van. "Anneloes Ging Viral Met Haar Account Tussen Kunst & Quarantaine." Algemeen Dagblad, January 17, 2021. https://www.ad.nl/binnenland/anneloes-ging-viral-met-haar-account-tussen-kunst-en-quarantaine-maar-verdient-er-geen-cent-mee~a1e036d55/.
- "Bredase Verhalen." Home Stadsarchief Breda. Accessed April 19, 2021. https://stadsarchief.breda.nl/verdieping/blog.
- Charmet, Jean-loup. "Science Photo Library." Science Photo Library. Accessed July 30, 2021. https://www.sciencephoto.com/contributor/jlc/.
- "Corona-Collectie Den Haag: Een Verzamelproject Van Het Haags Historisch Museum," April 3, 2020. Haags Historisch Museum. https://www.haagshistorischmuseum.nl/files/2020-05/oproep-haagse-corona-collectie-3-4-2020.pdf.
- "Coronacast 5: Verbondenheid." SoundCloud, 2020. https://soundcloud.com/peterwired/coronacast-5-verbondenheid.
- "The Coronavirus SARS-CoV-2." RIVM. Accessed July 26, 2021. https://www.rivm.nl/en/coronavirus-covid-19/virus-sars-cov-2.
- "Covid Photo Museum." Covid Photo Museum. Accessed April 29, 2021. https://www.covidphotomuseum.org/.
- "The Curators." Rijksmuseum Boerhaave. Accessed July 30, 2021. https://rijksmuseumboerhaave.nl/english/about-museum/curators/.
- "De Pest." Museum Het Valkhof Nijmegen. Accessed July 28, 2021. https://www.museumhetvalkhof.nl/zien-en-doen/tentoonstellingen/de-pest/.
- Engelmann, Lukas. "What Are Medical Photographs of Plague?" Visual Representations of the 3rd Plague Pandemic, March 17, 2017. https://visualplague.wordpress.com/2017/03/14/what-are-medical-photographs-of-plague/.
- "Expositie over Eerste Coronamaanden." Omroep West, December 3, 2020. https://www.omroepwest.nl/nieuws/4181340/expositie-over-eerste-coronamaanden-wat-je-hier-ziet-kom-je-op-straat-niet-meer-tegen.
- "Expositie." Museum Hilversum, February 24, 2021. https://www.museumhilversum.nl/expositie/.
- Fleck, Renee. "An Introduction to Risograph Printing." Dribbble, March 2, 2020. https://dribbble.com/stories/2020/03/02/intro-to-risograph.
- Forbes, Duncan, and Marcela Chao. "Pandemic Objects: Photograph V&A Blog." V&A Blog, November 12, 2020. https://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/projects/pandemic-objects-photograph.

- Forbes, Duncan. "Pandemic Objects: Photographs." V&A Blog, November 12, 2020. https://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/projects/pandemic-objects-photograph.
- "Foto's En Films Corona Collectie." Foto's en films. Accessed April 19, 2021. https://stadsarchief.breda.nl/collectie/beeld/films-en-foto-s/?mode=gallery&view=horizontal&q=corona%2A&page=1&reverse=0.
- "Fraude Met 11 Miljoen Mondkapjes." RTL Nieuws, April 22, 2020. https://www.rtlnieuws.nl/nieuws/nederland/artikel/5099281/oplichting-mondkapjes-fraude-nederlands-duo-duitse-overheid.
- Graas, Tim. "Ex Tempore: De Verbeelding Van Epidemieën En Geneesheiligen." Katholiek Documentatie Centrum. Radboud Universiteit, December 9, 2020. https://www.ru.nl/kdc/@1289336/ex-tempore-verbeelding-epidemieen-geneesheiligen/.
- Hendriks, Jacques. "'Maand Van De Geschiedenis' in Breda: Expo En Activiteiten in Teken Van Corona." BN de Stem, September 25, 2020. https://www.ad.nl/breda/maand-van-de-geschiedenis-in-breda-expo-en-activiteiten-in-teken-van-corona~a95a921a/.
- Hill, Nancy. "Odcast Episode 25: Commemorating the 1918 Flu Pandemic with Mütter Museum Organizer Nancy Hill." Monument Lab. Accessed July 30, 2021. https://monumentlab.com/podcast/commemorating-the-1918-flu-pandemic-with-mutter-museum-organizer-nancy-hill.
- "Honderd Bekende Nederlanders Zingen Lied Tegen Corona." YouTube, March 31, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yCSIYUTAbbk.
- 'I Can't Breathe': Hier Komen De Leuzen Met Een Dodelijke Voorgeschiedenis Vandaan." RTL Nieuws, May 31, 2020. https://www.rtlnieuws.nl/nieuws/artikel/5138911/george-floyd-demonstraties-vs.
- "Intervening Space: Reframing Conventions (2013) in Quarantine (2020)'." Corona in de Stad, July 3, 2020. https://www.coronaindestad.nl/intervening-space-reframing-conventions-2013-in-quarantine-2020-2/.
- "Jaarverslag." Museum Arnhem, January 2020. https://www.museumarnhem.nl/nl/overons/jaarverslag.
- "Julia Margaret Cameron: MoMA." The Museum of Modern Art. Accessed April 15, 2021. https://www.moma.org/artists/932?=undefined&page=&direction=.
- Kahn, Rebecca. "Corona as Curator: How Museums Are Responding to the Pandemic." Elephant in the Lab. The elephant in the Lab, April 14, 2020. https://elephantinthelab.org/corona-as-curator-how-museums-are-responding-to-the-pandemic/.
- December 11, 2019. https://stedelijkstudies.com/journal/photography-and-museums-of-mutuality-a-metaphor/.

- Kars, Willemieke. "Female Gaze Goes Viral." Corona in de Stad. Accessed June 7, 2021. https://www.coronaindestad.nl/zaal/tentoonstelling/female-gaze/.
- Klutsis, Gustav. "Gustav Klutsis. Let's Fulfill the Plan of Great WORKS. 1930: MoMA." The Museum of Modern Art. Accessed July 27, 2021. https://www.moma.org/collection/works/6487.
- Leeuwen, Anna van van. "De Pest Toon Onze Menselijke Kwetsbaarheid." de Volkskrant, June 17, 2021. https://www.volkskrant.nl/cultuur-media/de-pest-toont-onze-menselijke-kwetsbaarheid-dat-levert-een-schitterende-verzameling-kunst-op~b07315d7/.
- "Lieve Blancquaert Fotografeerde Eerste Knuffels Na De Lockdown: 'Mijn Gezicht Heeft Constant in Een Grote Glimlach Gestaan.'" Radio 2, June 10, 2020. https://radio2.be/spits/lieve-blancquaert-fotografeerde-eerste-knuffels-na-de-lockdown-mijn-gezicht-heeft-constant-in.
- Lynteris, Christos. "Photography and Pandemics." Apollo Magazine, April 22, 2020. https://www.apollo-magazine.com/photography-pandemics/.
- Ligtenberg, Corien. "Bas Linssen Maakt Coronatekeningen Als Teken Van Deze Tijd." Brabant Cultureel, November 5, 2020. https://www.brabantcultureel.nl/2020/11/05/bas-linssen-maakt-coronatekeningen-als-teken-van-deze-tijd/.
- "Looking Inside." Corona in de Stad, July 3, 2020. https://www.coronaindestad.nl/looking-inside/?h=.
- Millard, Alice. "Rapid Response Collecting: Social and Political Change." Museum-Id, December 13, 2017. https://museum-id.com/rapid-response-collecting-social-and-political-change-by-alice-millard/.
- Ministerie van Algemene Zaken. "Coronavirus Tijdlijn." Rijksoverheid.nl. Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, July 14, 2021. https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/coronavirus-tijdlijn.
- Ministerie van Algemene Zaken. "Letterlijke Tekst Persconferentie Minister-President Rutte En Minister De Jonge over Verlenging Coronamaatregelen." Mediatekst | Rijksoverheid.nl. Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, May 6, 2020. https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/mediateksten/2020/03/31/persconferentieminister-president-rutte-en-minister-de-jonge-over-verlenging-coronamaatregelen.
- "Miyuki Okuyama." Book "Land of the Setting Sun" | projects | miyuki okuyama | photo artist. Accessed April 15, 2021. http://www.miyukiokuyama.com/projects/book-quotland-of-the-setting-sunquot.
- "Miyuki Okuyama." Stateless | projects | miyuki okuyama | photo artist. Accessed April 15, 2021. http://www.miyukiokuyama.com/projects/stateless.
- Museum Het Valkhof. "De Oest De Podcast." Spotify. Museum Het Valkhof, February 2021. https://open.spotify.com/show/7uBVHZFJj7jtprRmC6fkyN.

- "Nightfall." Museum Arnhem. Accessed April 15, 2021. https://www.museumarnhem.nl/nl/tentoonstellingen/nightfall.
- "Ontdek De Wetenschap." Rijksmuseumboerhaave. Accessed July 30, 2021. https://rijksmuseumboerhaave.nl/ontdek-de-wetenschap/.
- "Ontroerende Verhalen Achter Warme Knuffels." één.be. Accessed April 19, 2021. https://www.een.be/hou-me-nog-eens-vast/ontroerende-verhalen-achter-warme-knuffels.
- Oosterman, Johan. "Parallellen Met De Pest." Radboud Recharge, July 6, 2020. https://www.radboudrecharge.nl/nl/artikel/parallellen-met-de-pest.
- Oosterman, Johan. "Parallellen Met De Pest." Radboud Universiteit, July 7, 2020. https://www.ru.nl/nieuws-agenda/vm/2020/juli/parallellen-pest/.
- "Organisatie." Haags Historisch Museum. Accessed April 21, 2021. https://www.haagshistorischmuseum.nl/organisatie.
- "Organisatie." Stedelijk Museum Breda. Accessed April 21, 2021. https://www.stedelijkmuseumbreda.nl/nl/museum/organisatie.
- "Over Bas." Bas Linssen, October 2, 2020. https://baslinssen.nl/bas-2/.
- "Over Het Museum." Haags Historisch Museum. Accessed April 16, 2021. https://www.haagshistorischmuseum.nl/museum.
- "PANdemIC." Museum Hilversum, August 25, 2020. https://www.museumhilversum.nl/pandemic/.
- "Partners." Corona in de Stad, May 11, 2021. https://www.coronaindestad.nl/partners/.
- Person. "Pandemic-Foto's Nu Ook Vastgelegd in Boek." Gooi en Eembode, September 2, 2020. https://www.gooieneembode.nl/nieuws/cultureel/184268/pandemic-foto-s-nu-ook-vastgelegd-in-boek.
- Puy, Robin de Puy de. "Too Close in a House Called Ceres," April 20, 2020. http://www.robindepuy.nl/diary/2020.
- Rebolledo, Fabio Bravo. "Angst Regeert in India: 'Als Je Nu Ziek Wordt Door Corona, Is Delhi De Hel'." RTL Nieuws, April 30, 2021. https://www.rtlnieuws.nl/nieuws/buitenland/artikel/5228335/india-coronavirus-doden-zuurstoftekort-vaccinaties-crematoria.
- "Rellen En Vernielingen in Amsterdam Oost." Corona in de Stad, March 16, 2021. https://www.coronaindestad.nl/rellen-en-vernielingen-in-amsterdam-oost/.
- rijksoverheid. "TV Toespraak Minister President Mark Rutte in Het Kader Van Corona Van 16 Maart." YouTube, March 30, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G9z0xEuxt4I.

- Rose, Gillian. "On the Relation between 'Visual Research Methods' and Contemporary Visual Culture." *The Sociological Review* 62, no. 1 (2014): 24–46. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954x.12109.
- "Rutte Tijdens Historische Toespraak: 'We Moeten Dit Met Z'n Allen Doen'." RTL Nieuws, March 16, 2020. https://www.rtlnieuws.nl/nieuws/nederland/artikel/5058561/rutte-toespraak-nederland-coronavirus.
- SeventhQueen. "Juryleden Fotowedstrijd Care4Corona." Care4Corona, April 23, 2020. https://www.care4corona.nl/juryleden-care4corona-fotowedstrijd/.
- "Slippers Ray-Ban." Corona in de Stad, June 17, 2020. https://www.coronaindestad.nl/slippers-ray-ban/.
- Smiths, Devi. "Amerikaans Meisje (10) Sterft Aan De Pest: Wat Is Er Aan De Hand?" DeMorgen, July 27, 2021. https://www.demorgen.be/nieuws/amerikaans-meisje-10-sterft-aan-de-pest-wat-is-er-aan-de-hand~b9a97038/.
- "Sneeuw Tijdens De Avondklok in Amsterdam." Corona in de Stad, March 22, 2021. https://www.coronaindestad.nl/sneeuw-tijdens-de-avondklok-in-amsterdam/.
- "Sociale Onrust." Corona in de Stad. Accessed April 20, 2021. https://www.coronaindestad.nl/zaal/tentoonstelling/sociale-onrust/.
- "Solidarity." Cambridge Dictionary. Accessed August 8, 2021. https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/solidarity.
- "Stadsgedicht Fluisterende Stad." Corona in de Stad, July 16, 2020. https://www.coronaindestad.nl/stadsgedicht-fluisterende-stad/.
- "Stadsmuseum Van Amsterdam." Amsterdam Museum, February 4, 2021. https://www.amsterdammuseum.nl/over-ons/stadsmuseum-van-amsterdam.
- Teffer, Peter. "Once Unfashionable, Noord District of Amsterdam Gains Cachet." The New York Times, April 12, 2012. https://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/13/greathomesanddestinations/once-unfashionable-noord-district-of-amsterdam-gains-cachet.html.
- "Tentoonstelling Pandemic Net Zo Emotioneel Als Corona Zelf." Nieuws uit Hilversum, September 14, 2020. https://svjmedia.nl/hilversum/1481/tentoonstelling-pandemic-net-zo-emotioneel-als-corona-zelf/.
- "The Three Graces ." Collection Museo Nacional del Prado. Accessed July 27, 2021. https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/the-three-graces/145eadd9-0b54-4b2d-affe-09af370b6932.
- Torrey, Trisha. "When Does an Epidemic Become a Pandemic?" Verywell Health, May 5, 2020. https://www.verywellhealth.com/difference-between-epidemic-and-pandemic-2615168.

- "The Triumph of Death the Collection." The Collection Museo Nacional del Prado. Accessed July 27, 2021. https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/the-triumph-of-death/d3d82b0b-9bf2-4082-ab04-66ed53196ccc.
- "Trousers Primark Stores." Victoria and Albert Museum: Explore the Collections. Accessed July 29, 2021. https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1278284/trousers-primark-stores-limited/.
- Udiljak, Zeljka. "Stadsarchief Breda Legt Coronacollectie Aan." Home Stadsarchief Breda, April 2020. https://stadsarchief.breda.nl/actueel/nieuws/273-nieuw.
- Undefined. "NHGIB 20200911." Podcast Luisteren (PodNL), September 11, 2020. https://podcastluisteren.nl/ep/Gooische-Business-NHGIB-NHGIB-20200911.
- "Visual Representations of the 3rd Plague Pandemic." Visual Representations of the 3rd Plague Pandemic. Accessed July 27, 2021. https://visualplague.wordpress.com/.
- "Weekwinnaar Jury ." Care4Corona, August 3, 2020. https://www.care4corona.nl/fotowedstrijd/weekwinnaar-jury-week-14-martijn-van-degriendt/.
- "Wij Blijven Thuis! ." YouTube, June 23, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v= SXlciUrW7I.
- "Wij Blijven Thuis!" ." Photed, July 26, 2021. https://photed.com/wordpress/wij-blijven-thuis-2/.