GAYA FOTO KASSIAN CEPHAS (1845 – 1912): JURUGAMBAR JAWA MAHKAMAH KESULTANAN YOGYAKARTA

IWAN ZAHAR*

TENGKU FAUZAN TENGKU ANUAR**

KARNA MUSTAQIM ***

iwan.zahar@esaunggul.ac.id* (*Penulis Koresponden*), tengkufauzan@umk.edu.my**, karna.mustaqim@esaunggul.ac.id ***

Abstrak

Pertikaian mengenai kerja foto Kassian Céphas telah diperdebatkan sehingga hari ini. Mengapa gambar-gambar kerajaan Jawa kelihatan begitu kaku, bermuka-muka, bermaruah, bercahaya rata dan, tidak mencerminkan watak Raja Jawa. Kajian ini dijalankan menggunakan model kritikan seni Barrett dan analisis semiotik. Gambar Raja Sultan Hamengkubuwana VII biasanya bergambar berwibawa, pose formal, menghadap ke hadapan seperti adat Jawa, mengikut protokol istana, dan jurugambar biasanya tidak cuba mendedahkan watak model. Odalisque tidak digunakan oleh Kassian Chepas kepada keluarga diraja kecuali untuk gambar di studionya sendiri. Bagaimanapun, Kassian Céphas juga kreatif dengan gambar wanita muda Jawa dalam pelbagai pose dan teknik cahaya studio termasuk chiaroscuro dan menerapkan gaya Odalisque di studionya. Gayanya lebih kepada "pendekatan dokumentari" dan tidak mengikut gaya High Art. Gambar Kassian Chepas telah diiktiraf sebagai ikon, indeks dan simbol. Khususnya bagi orang Jawa, imej Sultan adalah ikon dan simbol yang terkenal bagi orang Indonesia. Imej sultan sejak zaman Sultan Hamengkubowono X boleh didapati. Sultan Hamengkubowono VII membuat kesimpulan bahawa Belanda memerintah Indonesia pada zaman penjajahan dengan menggunakan pakaian seragam tentera Belanda sebagai penunjuk.

Kata Kunci: Chiaroscuro, High art style, Javanese, Kassian Céphas, Netherland East India, Odalisque, Sultan Hamengkubuwana VII

Dihantar: 07 November 2021

Disemak: 17 Ogos 2022

Diterbit: 3 September 2022

*** Dekan di Fakulti IIndustri dan Rekabentuk, Universitas Esa Unggul, 11510 Indonesia



^{*} Pensyarah Kanan di Fakulti Industri dan Rekabentuk, Universitas Esa Unggul, 11510 Indonesia

^{**} Pensyarah Kanan di Institut Penyelidikan dan Pengurusan Kemiskinan, Universiti Malaysia Kelantan, 16300 Malaysia

THE PHOTOGRAPHIC STYLE OF KASSIANN CEPHAS (1845 – 1912)- JAVANESE PHOTOGRAPHER OF THE COURT OF THE YOGYAKARTA SULTANATE

IWAN ZAHAR*

TENGKU FAUZAN TENGKU ANUAR**

KARNA MUSTAQIM ***

iwan.zahar@esaunggul.ac.id* (*Corresponding Author*), tengkufauzan@umk.edu.my**, karna.mustaqim@esaunggul.ac.id ***

Abstract

The dispute over Kassian Céphas' photo work has been debated to this day. Why do the pictures of the Javanese kingdom look so rigid, face-to-face, with dignity, flat lighting and do not reflect the character of the King of Java. This study was conducted using Barrett's art criticism model and semiotic analysis. The picture of the King of Sultan Hamengkubuwana VII is usually photographed in an authoritative, formal pose, facing forward as it is a custom of Java, following palace protocol, and the photographer usually does not try to reveal the character of the model. Kassian Chepas did not apply the Odalisque to the royal family except for photographs in his studio. However, Kassian Céphas is also creative with photos of young Javanese women in various poses and studio light techniques, including chiaroscuro and applying Odalisque style in his studio. His style is more "documentary approach" and does not follow the High Art style. Kassian Chepas' photographs have been recognized as icons, indexes, and symbols. In particular, for Javanese people, the Sultan's image is a well-known icon and symbol for Indonesians. Images of sultans dating back to Sultan Hamengkubowono X are available. Sultan Hamengkubowono VII inferred that the Dutch ruled Indonesia during the colonial era by using the Dutch military uniform as an indicator.

Keywords: Chiaroscuro, high art style, Javanese, Kassian Céphas, Netherland East India, Odalisque, Sultan Hamengkubuwana VII

Submitted: : 07 November 2021

Revised: 17 August 2022

Published: 3 September 2022



^{*} Senior Lecturer at Faculty of Industrial and Design, Universitas Esa Unggul, 11510 Indonesia

^{**} Senior Lecturer at Institute for Poverty Research and Management (InsPeK), Universiti Malaysia Kelantan, 116300 Malaysia

^{***} Dean at Faculty of Industrial and Design, Universitas Esa Unggul, 11510 Indonesia

1.0 Introduction

Power is everywhere, and Foucault (1978, p. 93) believed that power comes from "below". Foucault disagrees if it is held by a handful of people (Foucault, 1978: 93). Only this viewpoint is incorrect, and it does not refer to the Sultan of Java, who is regarded as the earthly embodiment of "Allah" at the Yogyakarta Palace, where he has resided for approximately 250 years (Woodward 2011, p.137). The question is not a problem of the magnitude of the power of God's revelation on earth or in the palace, but to what extent the influence of a Sultan's authority and traditions in the Yogyakarta palace affect the "style" and the results of a Kassian Céphas' photo? Kassian Céphas (1845-1912) was the first Indonesian photographer and often photographed the Yogyakarta royal family, does Kassian Céphas succeeded in developing his style of photographing during the colonial period? Many criticisms were reviewed by foreign writers (Siegel, 2005) mentioned that Kassian Céphas' way of photographing the Sultan seems just authoritative. If you look at the evolved style, it nearly fits Plato's idea that the artist does a lot of copying to imitate the precursor. Photography is a message without code. From object and reality to photography are a reduction in proportion, colour and perspective. Photography is imitative art which convey two messages; a denoted message which is an analog on itself, and a connoted message which is the sociocultural and 'personal' associations drawn from the label or text. For example, the word 'Panzani' in the illustration connotes Italianicity (Barthes, 1968).

It is difficult to picture the evolution of a photographic style for a Javanese who was adopted by Europeans who acted as first-class citizens and exploited the colonial country at the time. Kassian Céphas, whom a European family raised, is thought to have learned photography, which is a rare skill and a luxury commodity in the colonial era. Imperialism, according to Edward Said (1994: p xxi), leads the colonized to lose their identity, as there is no freedom of expression, culture, or existence and no integrity to present something without the support of western countries or colonizers. The problem of the colonized's identity, which was purposefully hidden, began with the colonized's dress regulations. Javanese women wear kebayas while their husbands wear batik. Meanwhile, the governor of Deandles recommended a Dutch uniform that eliminated the requirement for princes wearing Dutch uniforms to sit down while meeting the Sultan (Carey, 2008: 356-357). As a result, the painter Raden Saleh, who was raised in the Netherlands, wrote a letter to King Willem-Alexander of the Netherlands, requesting that he not be bound by Dutch conventions to facilitate his work.

After the painter returned to his home in Java, King Willem III (r. 1849-1890) ignored this (Kraus and Vogelsang, 2012: 84-85). Where there is power, says Foucault (1978: 95), there is resistance. Twenty-seven years after the Dipenogoro conflict in 1840-1845, the resistance persisted with demonstrations in the form of a painting depicting Prince Dipenogoro's imprisonment. Although according to Carrey, the "resistance" is only slightly visible in the Dipenogoro army's sorrowful look and the resistance of Prince Dipenogoro's gaze, according to Bowo Kanjangan (Edhie, 2018). Only resistance or a kind of protest against the invaders is absent from The artwork of Kassian Céphas. Kassian Céphas was the son of Kartodrono and Minah, and he was adopted by a Dutch family named Schalk when he was 15 years old. As a result, Céphas spoke Dutch well and turned to Christianity at 15. Dutch photographer Isidore van Kisnbergen (1821-1905) taught photography at Céphas. Céphas learnt photography from court photographer Simon Willem Camer, according to another story.



Between 1861 and 1871, Céphas mastered photography from one or more Europeans (Knaap, 1999). Later, like Isidore van Kinsbergen and Simon Willem Camerik, Kassian Céphas worked as a photographer in the Yogyakarta Palace

2.0 Research Methodology

This study used a literature review and mainly discussed the use of Terry Barrett's criticism models coupled with semiotics analysis. Terry Barrett integrated denotation and connotation from Roland Barthes into his criticism model in his book titled Barrett, T. (2006). Criticizing Photographs, An Introduction to Understanding Images (4 ed.).

Terry Barrett's Criticism model (Barrett, 2006) has been used by Zahar (2010) in this study. Barrett's model is an evolution of Feldman's model, which has four stages: description, interpretation, analysis, and evaluation. On the other hand, Barrett's model comprises three parts: internal context, original context, and external context.

The internal context consists of descriptions and analyses of forms and forms and technical photography issues covered in forms and forms. Another item that contributed to examining Roland Barthes' semiotic theory (Moriarty, 1991) was the necessity to make denotation messages and picture connotations.

While the discussion in the original context is about the photo's style, influence, and cultural circumstances at the time, it was taken. The final point is to discuss the external context, which includes a discussion and review of how the photo is shown. Books, the Tropen Museum, and the National Gallery of Singapore show the exterior background of Céphas' photos.

3.0 Result

In Yogyakarta's Loji Kecil Wetan, Kassian Céphas runs a photo studio (now JI Mayor Surotomo). Regrettably, Céphas photographed the royal family, dancers, city vistas, rituals, gorgeous ladies, and Borobudur. He shot photographs of common people, housekeepers, and other ordinary people (Knaap,1999), as well as aristocrats and "native" upper classes. Kanjeng Sultan Hamengkubowana VII was standing on the golden-colored Singasana and wearing a robe most likely received from Hamengkubuwana 1 and was only permitted to be worn by the sultan, was shot by Kassian Céphas (Suyanto, 2002, Knaap, 1999).

According to the French historian Claude-Guilot (1981), Kassian Céphas' photograph does not appear to portray life, and the picture is taken looking front, firmly posed, with flat light and just dignity. This inconsistency persists, according to Yudhi Suryoatmojo, who claims that the sultan's stance displays power rather than individual character (Siegel, 2005). This sultan's stance and the current Sultan Hamengkubuwana X's image were preserved until Sultan Hamengkubowana IX in the Suharto period. Raden Saleh's paintings are included, and they depict similar, if not identical, attitudes, such as stiff, authoritarian, and similar. Eky Tandyo (personal communication, 20 September 2019) continues to be enchanted by the Sultan's authority, customs, and convention. Sinuhun PB XII, the royal family of Solo, rather than the Sultan of Jogja, maintains a rigorous palace procedure. Eky, who documented the royal family of Solo for six years, including the event. All photographs were shot in accordance with procedure, which included praying at the location where the studio would be utilized.



All photos were taken according to protocol, which included praying at the area where the studio would be used. There is a sense of enchantment because Eky Tandyo, who usually takes pictures, will first examine it with a polaroid (in the analogue era). Two of the polaroid packets turned out to be black and unusable. The polaroid photos were finished as soon as Sinuhun PB XII sat down and allowed a new photo shoot. According to Eky Tandyo, Sinuhun PB XII allowed him to adjust his pose. Only Eky finally made the King's pose look authoritative because he was a king. Photographs of people in power, such as official photos of President Soeharto, hardly seem to change much in style. Saussure described the sign as a binary structure, that is, as a structure made up of two parts: (1) a physical part, which he termed the signifier, and (2) a conceptual part, which he called the signified. (Chandler, 2002). The signifier or physical part in the Sultan Photo usually used special costumed that was not used every day and during the photo session. The signified or the conceptual part of the photos shows that Sultan Hamengkubowono VII uses the parang rusak batik motif, which is used for the king's coronation. However, the other Sultan Hambenkubowono VII used Dutch Military for European tourists who visited Netherland Indie (VOC). The photos also signify that the Javanese Kingdom is already under dutch colonials. A Symbol does not resemble the signifier and the signified (Pierce). The connection between them must be culturally learned (Chandler, 2002). The King is a symbol for Javanese people to be regarded as the earthly embodiment of "Allah" at the Yogyakarta Palace.

President Suharto was almost usually pictured with his deputy on a striped canvas backdrop, which was captured by photographer Oey Boen Bie at the time. Darwis Triadi observed the state etiquette when shooting President Joko Widodo, and saw that the postures were more diverse and more likely to develop style. When it comes to photographers who used to capture prominent individuals, the name Yousuf Karsh (1908-2002) comes to mind. Of course, Karsh's views and picture conceptions diverged from the Kassian Céphas era, notably in lighting methods and postures, since he founded a photo studio in Canada in 1940. In reality, the lighting method used by Kassian Céphas, which Guillot criticized, was wrong. Almost all photographers at the time employed the loop light technique, which is still widely used today. With a small shade on the nose, light from the left or right. With a small shade on the nose, light from the left or right. During the Yousuf Karsh era, the lighting approach was drastically altered, with several light effects or flashes employed with a funnel to focus on specific areas.

Karsh has the benefit of just illuminating sections of the body with these little lights, rather than the entire body, like in his hands, ear area, and so on. The attitudes and positions are tailored to the personalities of the powerful, large, and well-known persons being shot. Karsh's daring in stealing a cigar from British Prime Minister Winston Churchill elicited shock and outrage. The photo's look made Winston Churchill famous, and it was hard to duplicate Kassian Céphas's King of Java. The sultan and the prijajis governed by Kassian Céphas have different postures than Isidore van Kinsbergen, the Kassian instructor. Céphas never postures with his hands on his chin or half-lying on the sofa in the Odalisque manner of Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780-1867). (lozzia, 2017).

This style focuses on women's sensuality, which was uncommonly seen or created by Indonesian artists during the period. While the Kassian Céphas style is popular among Javanese working families, it is based on the Jogyakarta Palace's traditional style, which includes a position in which the hands cup each other in front of the stomach. Ekman and Friessen (1972) study the facial coding system to see whether the observer can detect the clinical change, whether people from different cultures interpret differently and make accurate inferences about emotion etc. The facial



expressions of Sultan are not much different from one photo to another, the face has no distinct facial expression that shows angry, sadness, surprise and fear.



Figure 1: Céphas , K (Photographer). (before 1890). Kangjeng Sultan Hamengkubowono VII. (Source: Knaap, G.,1999)



Figure 2: Céphas , K (Photographer). . Kangjeng Sultan Hamengkubowono VII. (Source : Knaap, G., 1999).

The "abstract" gestures from Sultan Hamengkubowono's gestural languages can be made at the level of the chin, cheeks, elbow, forehead, eyes, nose, mouth, teeth, and body. The abstract signs used at this level have a wide range of connotations that are related to one another, including to consider, to reflect upon, to understand, to know, to believe, theory, scholar, to be right, to learn, to have an idea, to imagine, intelligent, crazy, to remember, to forget, to dream, to change opinions, capricious (Blanariu, N.P., 2021). The "abstract" sign is used in this position to highlight Sultan's dignity.

Photographers in England, including one of the most notable, Julia Magaret Cameron, primarily made photos to portray individuals in poetry, books, and operas during the Kassian Céphas era, particularly the Victorian era in England. As a result, the photographs have a nostalgic feel, with messages and mythical stories that resemble scenes from the stage. These photographers occasionally employ the double printing process to avoid seeming like ordinary situations, also known as high art photography (Langford, 1983).

Unlike these British photographers, Kassian Céphas picked a position from the dance scene to capture, such as the Gatotkaca and Pregriwa dance, which featured Prince Hamengkunegara III as Gatotkaca and the Sultan's son as Pregriwa. One of the sequences in the dance is Pregriwa rising on Gatotkaca's feet, which is photographed. Pregriwa's head is visible between the top lines of the shot, which was taken in an outdoor courtyard with natural light. The background is blurred,

and this image shines out because Céphas utilizes such a narrow depth of field. The height and position of Pregriwa's head above Gatotkaca create an asymmetrical composition.

For example, arabesques, which are fundamental movement patterns that can be categorized as "symbolical" movements (Laban 123), have been kept and developed through the history of ballet. Fundamental positions of the kind of possession/repulsion (or, at the level of basic visual figures, focusing/dispersion) can also be found in dance, albeit (re)semantized in aesthetic rules. In classical ballet, they keep contrasting arabesque and attitude, or straight form with fluid form (Laban 124). Despite not having a precise meaning, a choreographic symbol in ballet conjures up various images for the audience (Laban 124). More than 400 gestures, or mudras, are used in Indian classical dance to express actions, emotions, and relationships. The Indian public has continued to access these mudras' meaning because they are a part of an ancient cultural legacy. In this instance, dance denotes based on a code in the strict meaning of the word: a collection of symbols: a connection made possible by a socius's semiotic convention between some contents and their appropriate manifestations. Indian classical dance tells the traditional narrative of the gods through a code that replaces verbal storytelling. On the other hand, the master of "abstract" ballet George Balanchine believed that, in contrast to drama, the dance could not convey intricate narratives or character relationships (Blanariu, N.P., 2021). Gatot Kaca and Pergiwa dances exhibit various gestural cues that imply romance between Gatot Kaca and Pergiwa, much like ancient Indian classical dance. Gatot Kaca's holding on to Pergiwa in his foot symbolised their enduring love for one another.



Figure 3: Céphas , K (Photographer). Gatot Kaca and Pergiwa. (Source: Knaap, G., 1999)



Unlike British photographers of the High Art Photography era, who captured images in a style that was removed from daily life. Kassian Céphas still prefers to photograph in a more realistic or journalistic approach. Kassian Céphas' photography style is also not theatrical like Julia Margaret Cameron's, who uses soft focus methods to produce a mystical, dreamy image (Cox and Ford, 2003). Kassian Céphas' work, on the other hand, is more reminiscent of the Ansel Adams period, even if he does not utilize an aperture as tiny as the f/64. When Kassian Céphas shoots ladies in his studio, he is unaffected by the Sultan's power, formality, or Palace culture. The stance has been loosened to make Kassian Céphas' photo style more evident, particularly in the three ladies sitting as though she is reflecting the Javanese manner of sitting or resting in the village or on the couch at home. Similarly, some photographers employ the Chiaroscuro method, which makes the shadows appear black while the light in the bright areas (highlights) is plainly apparent. When shooting the Sultan, this method is not employed.

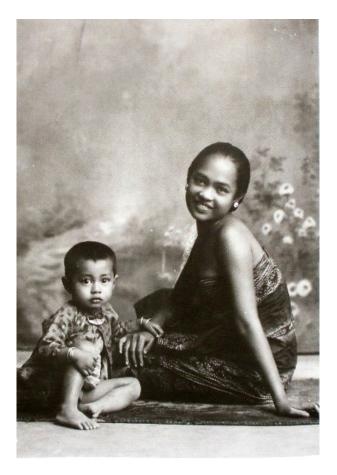


Figure 4: Céphas , K or Céphas , S (Photographer). (1900). Young Javanese woman and boy [Photography] (Source : Knaap, G., 1999).

Widely used President Kennedy election campaign pose from the 1960s, featuring a half-length profile shot, upward-looking eyes, and linked hands. Here, the subject's pose prepares the reader to understand the connotations of youthfulness, spirituality, and purity (Barthes, 1977). Due to the influence of western photographers, photographs of Javanese women with their hands on their chins and a curved body posture that forms the letter S may still be seen. Foreign photographers



such as Lambert in Singapore (Lokman, 2018), The hand position on the chin style was utilized by photographers like Isidore van Kinsbergen and others who built photo studios (part of the odalisque style). The connotation of the fashion image will be seen as feminine, sensual, and elegant. Studying the "gestural languages" of deaf-mute persons, Danielle Bouvet identifies a separate category: "abstract" signs. They reveal a symbolism based on "bodily experience" (Blanariu, N.P., 2021). Inside the Kassian Chepas photo studio, the gestural languages of people were also displayed. Even said, not all of the gestures made by the women in the Kassian Chepas studios accurately reflect the gestures made by Javanese women



Figure 5: Céphas, K (Photographer). (1900). Young Javanese woman (Source: Knaap, G., 1999)

4.0 Conclusion

Shooting formal portraits with studio lighting is still done in big studios and by professional photographers, particularly during the beautiful analogue age of the Soeharto era. The loop method and postures have been used to photograph authorities or persons in positions of authority since the Kassian Cephas period. The odalisque style, or variants on it, is still popular today. Photographers who want to shoot influential people often run into issues with the stringent court or royal etiquette, such as Kassian Céphas'. As a result, most of the styles that emerged, particularly during the Dutch colonial era, did not originate in the conquered nation. Only western photographers, such as Gustav Lambert and Isidore van Kinsbergen, use the Odalisque style.



In court circles, Kassian Céphas did not practice the manner of holding hands or using hands to touch the chin. Kassian Céphas' approach to shooting the Palace is similar to Raden Saleh's and other pictures of the Jogjakarta palace. The style developed is more visible to Kassian Céphas when photographing women and children in his studio. The chiaroscuro lighting technique and natural or more realistic poses are seen in Kassian Céphas's photograph.

What poses did Kassian Chepas, a portrait photographer, come up with? Kassian Chepas's stance was reportedly questioned by one of Chepas' biographers, who claimed that the Javanese King's attitude was rigid and solely showed power. The posture was performed in full compliance with royal custom. The Sultan was captured in the same posture by the painter Raden Saleh and many other photographers. Meanwhile, the position of the Sultan's son and his partner, Kassian Chepas, did not alter, and according to the Gatotkaca gandrung Periwa dance neither did the pose of the sultan's son and his partner. Chepas' postures and lighting experiments take place primarily in his studio rather than with the royal family. The odalisque stance, which consists of a seated and sleeping pose, is considered to have started with the 18th-century Ingres painter and was replicated by Kassian Chepas' master, photographer Isidore van Kinsbergen. However, this posture was not attempted on the royal family by Chepas, but by Isidore van Kinsbergen, according to the book. This mother-daughter posture reminds me of someone relaxing in front of a Java home. Chepas's approach, in contrast to British photographer Julia Margaret Cameron's, is more realistic and less dramatic, with a lot of darkroom modification. Cameron's pictorialist approach was developed in England before Alfred Stieglitz arrived in America. So Kassian Chepas attempted to preserve or create a stance similar to that seen in front of people's homes but in his studio. Experimenting with postures was limited at the time due to the camera's weight and the fact that it was usually mounted on a tripod.

Photographs by Kassian Chepas were recognized as icons, indexes, and symbols. The Sultan's portrait is a prominent icon and symbol for Indonesians, particularly Javanese people. Up till Sultan Hamengkubowono X, images of sultans can be found. Sultan Hamengkubowono VII used the Dutch military uniform act as an index, suggesting that Indonesia was governed by the Dutch during the colonial era. The image of Sultan Hamengkubowono falls under the symbol and index categories. Typically, photos of Sultan Hamengkubowono will serve as an index and identify the event, celebration, or Javanese ceremony.

References

Andang Iskandar & Muhamad Abdul Aziz Ab Gani. (2017). Keraton Yogyakarta Dalam Pembingkaian Fotografi Karya Kassian Cephas. Idealogy,2(1): 150-163, 2017

Babad Dipanegara 2010. *Babad Dipanegara*. 4 jilid. Nindya Noegraha (peny.), Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia.

Barrett, T. (2006). Criticizing Photographs, An Introduction to Understanding Images (4 ed.). McGraw Hill.

Barthes, R. (1968). Elements of semiology.1st ed. New York: Hill and Wang

Blanariu, N.P. (2021). Semiotic and Rhetorical Patterns in Dance and Gestural Languages Southern Semiotic Review Issue 15(ii), 56-76.



- Chandler, D. (2002). Semiotic the basic, Routledge.
- Carey, P. (2008). The Power of Prophecy; Prince Dipanagara and the End of an Old Order in Java, 1785-1855, KITLV Press.
- Cox, J. & Ford, C. (2003). Julia Margaret Cameron: The Complete Photographs. Oxford University Press.
- Ekman, P., Friesen, W. V., & Ellsworth, P. (1972). *Emotion in the human face: Guidelines for research and an integration of findings*. Pergamon Press.
- Edhie Prayitno (28 Maret 2018). Wajah Pangeran Diponegoro Saat Penangkapan 188 Tahun Lalu. https://www.liputan6.com/regional/read/3411776/2-wajah-pangeran-diponegoro-saat-penangkapan-188-tahun-lalu
- Foucault, M. (1978). The History of Sexuality Vol 1 an Introduction, Random House.
- Guillot, C. (1981). Un exemple d'assimilation á Java: le photographe Kassian Céphas". *Archipel* (in French), 22, 55-73. doi:10.3406/arch.1981.1669
- lozzia, D. (2017). Notes on Ingres' Odalisque en grisaille, International Journal of Business, Humanities and Technology. 7 (3). http://www.ijbhtnet.com/journals/Vol_7_No_3_September_2017/1.pdf
- Knaap, G. (1999). Céphas, Yogyakarta: Photography in the service of the Sultan, KITLV Press.
- Kraus, W and Vogelsang, I (2012). *Raden Saleh. The Beginning of Modern Indonesian Painting*, Goethe Institut.
- Laban, Rudolf. La Maîtrise du mouvement, trans. Jacqueline Challet-Haas et
- Marion Hansen, Paris: Actes Sud, 1994.
- Langford, M. (1983). The Complete Encyclopaedia of Photography, Ebury Press.
- Lokman, Wan, Zahar, I., & Datoem, A. (2018). Foto Hitam Putih Masyarakat Melayu Abad ke 19 karya Gustav Richard Lambert. *Wacana Seni Journal Arts discourse*, 17, 77-106.
- Moriarty, M. (1991). Roland Barthes. Stanford University Press.
- Said, E. W. (1994). *Culture and Imperialism*, Vintage Books.
- Siegel, J. T. (2005). The Curse of Photography: Atjeh, 1901. *Indonesia*, 80, 21-37. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3351317
- Woodward, M. (2011). Java, Indonesia Islam, Springer.
- Zahar, I. (2010). Pengembangan Model Pembelajaran Berbasis Masalah untuk Interpretasi Foto. Disertasi Doktor Universitas Negri Jakarta.

