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Taming Contingency: Photography at the Crossroads between Collections, Archives and Atlases

Estéfani Bouza Arnoso

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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THIS THESIS CONTAINS ONE USB MEMORY STICK IN A SEPARATE ENVELOPE

ABSTRACT

My practice-based PhD investigates how the gathering of visual information through the photographic camera, together with the visual strategies involved in the organisation and configuration of specific groups of images are key processes in the constitution of meaning. I use my own practice to 'de-construct' these ideas, to help me understand the role of photography in recording information with the purpose of piecing the gathered material together in an atlas, using the montage, and to finally present the result using the grid as a structure that holds all the photographs together.

One of the main aspects that underlies this research is the role that photography plays in recording information and the way in which historically, photography and archives are constituted together. In the last three decades, the concept of the archive has been given increasing prominence in the field of art. A review of the literature theorising the articulation between archives and art shows that in fact photographs and visual imagery are at the core of most archives. Therefore, the role of photography is one of the key elements to consider in the discussion between archives and art.

My research tries to recover, actualise and visually add to some of the discourses that focus on the singular relationship established between photography and archives. For this I will analyse my own work and artworks that use photography as the first means to gather visual information. However, in the construction of these artworks, artists use a range of organisational strategies borrowed from archives, collections and visual atlases. Therefore, the practices discussed in the thesis including my own neither constitute, nor belong to archives, collections, or visual atlases of images. What they do is to borrow strategies from all these systems, moving between them to create singular artworks that have a hybrid character.

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that all the material in this thesis is my own work.

INTRODUCTION

Theory Begins with Practice

My motivation to undertake this research began with my practice, which usually consists of creating large and systematic assemblage of photographs. For instance, my project *Notes, 2008* (2009) was a large-scale image containing over four hundred photographs of life-size crumpled Post-it Notes. Together they constituted a calendar of the year 2008, however rather than simply restricting the classification to one Post-it Note a day, some dates contained more than one or none at all in order to create a sense of narrative. This suggestion was further emphasised by the crumpled state of the notes and the partially concealed text. Within this work I was trying to create a system to organise the photographs, and to expose how the context alongside photographic representation as well as display strategies play an important role in the investment of knowledge and value.

One of the problems that I usually faced when dealing with large quantities of photographs was that of organisation. Allan Sekula in 'On the Invention of Photographic Meaning' (1975) points out that:

> […] the photograph, as it stands alone, presents merely the possibility of meaning. Only by its embeddedness in a concrete discourse situation can the photograph yield a clear semantic outcome.[1]

In this sense photography is 'unstable' and in order to be able to convey a specific meaning it needs to be part of a further system of organisation. Therefore, photography is inscribed in larger ideological discourses.

My thesis begins with these reflections on and with my practice. I am using my work as a 'theoretical object' that raises questions in the sense of Hubert Damisch's conception, for whom it:

[1] Sekula, Allan (1975), 'On the Invention of Photographic Meaning', in Victor Burgin (ed.), (1982), *Thinking Photography* (London: Macmillan Press), p. 91.

> […] is something that obliges one to do theory […] but also furnishes you with the means of doing it. Thus, if you agree to accept it on theoretical terms, it will produce effects around itself.[2]

This concept has been used by Damisch in the context of the history of art. My idea is to displace that notion and use it to consider my own practice and that of other artists. Therefore, extrapolating Damisch's heuristics the question to be posed is: can I use my art practice as the object of inquiry? And also, can I think with and from it? In this sense I am approaching my practice and that of other artists who create large systematic compilations of mostly visual material as possible models for knowledge. Therefore, I will argue that the representation and manipulation of objects in each of these works creates a form of knowledge that is specific to each project and as such it must be analysed within its particular framework.

This research investigates how the gathering of visual information through the photographic camera together with the visual strategies involved in the organisation and configuration of specific groups of images are key processes in the constitution of meaning. By this, I am arguing that the technology used in the registration of information in this case photography and the strategies employed in the organisation are core components in the creation of signification; but are by no means the only ones. Therefore, the main focus of the research is an investigation into the way in which the technology, photography, and the organisational strategies involved in the arrangement of materials reveal some of the aspects of how visual knowledge is constructed.

Another aspect that underlies this research is not only the role that photography has in recording information but also the way in which historically, photography and archives are constituted together. In the last three decades, the concept of the archive has been given increasing prominence in the field of art. A review of the literature theorising the articulation between archives and art shows that in fact photographs and visual imagery

[2] Bois, Yve-Alain, Hollier, Denis, Krauss, Rosalind, and Damisch, Hubert (1988), 'A Conversation with Hubert Damisch', *October*, 45 (Summer, 1988), p. 8.

are at the core of most archives. Therefore, the role of photography is one of the key elements to consider in the discussion between archives and art.

My research tries to recover, actualise and visually add to some of the discourses that focus on the singular relationship established between photography and archives. For this I will analyse my own work and artworks that use photography as the first means to gather visual information. However, the artists analysed use a range of organisational strategies borrowed from archives, collections and visual atlases in the construction of their artworks. Therefore, the practices discussed in the thesis including my own neither constitute, nor belong to archives, collections, or visual atlases of images. What they do is to borrow strategies from all these systems, moving between them to create singular artworks that have a hybrid character.

As a result, these artworks instead of simply mimicking a set of archival strategies with the corresponding danger of reproducing the ideology behind them, what they do is to introduce a 'subjective' input producing a disruption within the system they create. Therefore, in the works of Zoe Leonard, Gerhard Richter, Hanne Darboven and my own, we find different impetus at play. Firstly, in these projects there is an archival drive in preserving something through visual documentation. Secondly, in these works there is a personal collecting practice, which introduces a subjective character. Thirdly, they use the atlas with its 'intrinsic capacity for montage' to establish connections between its elements.[3] The fact that these works are in-between archives, collections and atlases transform them into tools that have the capacity to 'de-construct' the assumptions presupposed by these systems. By reading these works as in-between it allows me to comprehend the interconnection of an array of processes and understand better the specific ways in which these practices construct knowledge.

My methodological approach is an interdisciplinary one, encompassing art history, photographic studies, cultural history and archival studies, which have contributed to the possibility of establishing new connections within an existing debate. The

[3] Didi-Huberman, Georges (2010), 'Atlas or the Anxious Gay Science', in Georges Didi-Huberman (ed.), *Atlas. How to Carry the World on One's Back?* [Exh. Cat.], (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía), p. 16.

continuous exchange between the theoretical dimension and the practice-based process, and the reflection on the chosen artists and my own practice has enabled me to interconnect the idea of photography understood as an 'archiving machine' with organisational principles borrowed from collections, atlases and archives.

Throughout my thesis I have used an emergent methodology defined by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln in *A Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2000) as '*bricolage*', which 'changes and takes new forms as different tools, methods, and techniques of representation are added to the puzzle'.[4] Following this logic the researcher is a '*bricoleur*' who produces a research, the '*bricolage*' and which is 'a pieced together set of representations that are fitted to the specifics of a complex situation'.[5] This means that my research is open to new findings and consequently my practice and project adapt and depend on them for its development.

The methods used include the search and analysis of relevant theoretical approaches in the fields of philosophy, archival studies, art theory as well as history and theory of photography. The purpose is to research relevant aspects from those fields to contextualise my practice and to find useful tools to unpack my work.

Another method includes analysing artworks, alongside observation and critical reflection on my own practice and writing. With the investigation via the practice I have explored two different ways of gathering information through the camera and of organising it. Through my research I have produced two artworks: *Etcetera* and ∞, which I discuss in the subsequent chapters.

In the process of developing my work, there are three key stages in play, and as such they inform the methodology and the structure of the dissertation. In each of the following

[4] Denzin, Norman K., and Lincoln, Yvonna S. (eds.), (2000), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (London: SAGE Publishing), p. 4.
[5] Ibid.

chapters I am considering one of these processes in relation to my practice and to one artwork by one artist.[6] As a result this is the way my thesis will be structured:

In chapter one, the **'**Contextual Review**'**, I will start by proposing my working definition of the archive. I then explore the relationship between photography and the archive and analyse their embeddedness in each other as well as how they have historically come to be constituted together. The purpose is to understand how the camera is conceived in the nineteenth century as an 'archiving machine' and the photograph as an 'archival record'. I will then move on to explain the archival turn in art and scholarship since the 1990s referring to books, essays and exhibitions that are relevant in my research. To conclude I will provide my working definitions for collections and atlases since those systems are important to understand the artworks that I will analyse in the thesis.

In chapter two, 'Collecting Fragments: The Metaphor of the Rag-Picker in Zoe Leonard's *Analogue* (1998-2009)', I deal with the first step in the constitution of the work, which is that of gathering through the camera. I will analyse the meaning of the term 'to gather' and its application in Leonard's project. I use the metaphor of the rag-picker – who was a figure in nineteenth century Paris that collected leftovers – to explain Leonard's work and how she could be considered a 'rag-picker of the image'. In that sense Leonard collects part of her neighbourhood, whilst is disappearing through her photographs. In this chapter I also consider my practice project, *Etcetera* (2013) which consists in a systematic group of photographs of my own leftovers in relation to this 'gathering' through the camera.

In chapter three, 'Piecing Things Together: Montage in Gerhard Richter's *Atlas* (1962-ongoing)', I will deal with the second step in the production of the work, which is that of piecing things together through a temporary montage. To do this, I will look into the atlas using mostly Georges Didi-Huberman's understanding of the term as a tool that

[6] A similar content structure can be seen in: Van Alphen, Ernst (2014), *Staging the Archive: Art and Photography in the Age of New Media* (London: Reaktion Books). The author establishes the following archival principles: emergence, storage, listing, classification, administration, depletion and reanimation. Van Alphen deals in each chapter with one of these principles linking them to specific art practices, for instance with the work of: Ydessa Hendeles, Fiona Tan, and Akram Zaatari.

serves to organise visual knowledge. Didi-Huberman argues that the atlas has an 'intrinsic capacity for montage' which has 'the potential of producing transversal knowledge'.[7] Therefore, I will review Warburg's and Richter's projects to investigate how they construct different mnemonic systems by using the atlas as a visual tool to re-shuffle and create juxtapositions of images to produce new connections between their elements. I will also reflect on how I am using the atlas and the montage in my second practice work, ∞.

In chapter four, 'Structuring through the Grid: The Infinite System in Hanne Darboven's *Cultural History 1880-1983* (1980-1983)', I deal with the third step in the construction of the work, which is that of structuring the material that has been previously gathered through the use of the grid. The grid is an encompassing visual strategy that is prevailing in Darboven's practice, and therefore I will discuss how she specifically uses it in *Cultural History*. I will argue that in Darboven's project even though the grid seems to be a closed system is through the relationship established between the photographs that it creates an open field where things are interconnected. I will also discuss the grid in relation to both of my practice works.

In the conclusion I will briefly reflect on the findings of the thesis, making special emphasis on my practice component. I will also consider the relevance of the artists' practices discussed in the dissertation and my own work as complex transverse systems of information that use an array of strategies borrowed from archives, collections and visual atlases to create meaning.

[7] Didi-Huberman, Georges (2010), 'Atlas or the Anxious Gay Science', in Georges Didi-Huberman (ed.), *Atlas. How to Carry the World on One's Back?* [Exh. Cat.], (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía), p. 16.

CHAPTER 1

Contextual Review

1.1 Introduction

There are many different types of photographic archives: government, commercial, corporate, amateur, family, artists' archives among others. Since the information in this variety of archives is kept for different purposes, the rules and principles used in them vary. At the same time its users, for instance: an historian, artist, archivist, photographer or philosopher, make use of the archive for different ends.[1] Therefore, there is a variety of manifestations, applications and uses of archives that make it very difficult to speak of a general definition that can encompass all these practices. Sven Spieker in *The Big Archive: Art from Bureaucracy* (2008) acknowledges this when he writes: 'there seems to be little consensus as to what an archive is, how it might be distinguished from other types of collections'.[2] But maybe we should not speak of 'the archive' in the singular, but rather about 'archives' in the plural, in the sense given by Jorge Blasco Gallardo in 'Notes on the Possibility of an Exhibited Archive' (2002); where he claims that we are immersed in an *archive culture* that:

> […] takes for granted that registering, classifying, interpreting, filing and even displaying and narrating with images is a common feature of many forms of human behaviour, ranging from the most intimate realms to purely public expressions.[3]

All of us to a certain degree organise, order and administer physical and virtual materials, so in that sense, we are all 'archivists', and are immersed in this 'archiving culture' that extends from family albums, domestic archives, to institutional ones.[4] It is in

[1] For an account of different uses of a photographic archive see: Sekula, Allan (1983), 'Reading an Archive: Photography between Labour and Capital', in Liz Wells (ed.), (2003), *The Photographer Reader* (London: Routledge), pp. 442-452.
[2] Spieker, Sven (2008), *The Big Archive: Art from Bureaucracy* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press), pp. 4-5.
[3] Blasco Gallardo, Jorge (2002), 'Notes on the Possibility of an Exhibited Archive', in Jorge Blasco Gallardo, and Nuria Enguita Mayo (eds.), *Archive Cultures* (Salamanca; Barcelona; València: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca; Fundació Antoni Tápies; Universitat de València), p. 198.
[4] Ibid.

this way that the presence of the archive involves the private and public domain and it impregnates all layers of knowledge.

The set of questions that are developed in my research come from reflecting on my practice. Usually the output of my work consists of a large, but systematic group of photographs. It was in the process of making and assembling the works together that a few questions came up that are central to my research. One set of questions related to the 'making' of the work, concerns the role of photography in 'recording' an event or object, and how this technology that gathers information has a significant role in the constitution of the work. The other set, connected with the assembling of the photographs, concerns the need for organisation – once you have a rather large group of images, there is the question of how to make sense of them. From this latter point, what I am trying to understand precisely is what particular meanings arise from specific configurations of images. If we simplify this process I could say that it is a matter of gathering, 'collecting' something through the camera and then of organising it, and the implications of those actions.[5] However I am not proposing that photography and the organisational strategies used in the constitution of an artwork are the only means to produce meaning; what I argue in my project is that they are key factors, and the purpose is to unpack how they function in my work and in specific artworks.

As will be seen, beneath the research I am proposing, is a basic human compulsion; that of trying to tame 'order out of chaos'.[6] Whilst acknowledging the impulse underlying the endeavour, far from any positivist claim, my investigation acknowledges from the outset the 'precarious position between order and chaos, between organization and disorder', as well as the impossibility and the futility of such a task, which is doomed to failure since its very conception.[7]

[5] It is also a 'relation of contained to container', see: Foucault, Michel ([1970] 2001), *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Routledge), p. XVIII.
[6] Similarly Blasco Gallardo has referred to a 'human tendency to construct reality by means of its analysis, management, control and representation'. See: Blasco Gallardo, Jorge (2002), 'Notes on the Possibility of an Exhibited Archive', in Jorge Blasco Gallardo, and Nuria Enguita Mayo (eds.), *Archive Cultures* (Salamanca; Barcelona; València: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca; Fundació Antoni Tápies; Universitat de València), p. 198.
[7] Spieker, Sven (2008), *The Big Archive: Art from Bureaucracy*, (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press), p. XIII.

Such an endeavour has a labyrinthine character, in the sense that is concerned with choices and the many possibilities of what we decide to keep and how we order it.[8] It is in this way that it deals with the potential and constructive nature of this undertaking as well as it claims openly its inability to be complete, or to have any authority. However, it still considers that is an exercise that is worth trying, not in the sense of accomplishing a task, but more as an open process. By this I propose that is through the making of the work, its different steps, where it emerges a reflection on and through the practice and about the ideas that inform them.

1.2 Working definition of the archive

If we follow the definition from the dictionary an archive is: '**1** a collection of records of or about an institution, family, etc.; **2** a place where such records are kept'.[9] Its etymological origin is from: 'Late Latin *archīvum*, from Greek *arkheion* repository of official records, from *arkhē* government'.[10] We have a composite definition in which the 'archive' is two things at the same time: on one side it is a collection of 'records'; but on the other is also the container, the recipient that provides a physical shelter. However, the documents contained there are not organised following a random order, the arrangement is related with the *arkhē*, with government. For Jacques Derrida, in his *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (1996), the *arkhē* coordinates two principles, one according to history, 'where things *commence*' what he calls the '*commencement*'.[11] The other according to the law, where authority is exercised, where men '*command*', he refers to as the '*commandment*'.[12] Later in the text he reiterates these two sides of the archive that are already present in the description, when he states:

[8] For an exploration of the labyrinthine potential of organisation see: Eco, Umberto (2009), *The Infinity of Lists*, trans. Alastair McEwen (London: MacLehose Press). For a similar investigation applied to the archive see: Van Alphen, Ernst (2014), *Staging the Archive: Art and Photography in the Age of New Media* (London: Reaktion Books). Van Alphen considers that the labyrinthine promise of the archive is central in the archival practices that he discusses in the aforementioned book.
[9] Sinclair, J.M. (ed.), (2000), *Collins English Dictionary* (Glasgow: HarperCollins).
[10] Ibid.
[11] Derrida, Jacques ([1996] 1998), *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago, Ill.; London: University of Chicago Press), p. 1.
[12] Ibid.

> In a way, the term [archive] indeed refers, as one would correctly believe, to the *arkhē* in the *physical*, *historical*, or *ontological* sense, which is to say to the originary, the first, the principial, the primitive, in short to the commencement. But even more, and *even earlier*, 'archive' refers to the *arkhē* in the *nomological* sense, to the *arkhē* of the commandment.[13]

Besides, for Derrida the archive is precisely located at an intersection between the place, the substrate, and the law, the authority. However, he emphasises that for the archive to take place it needs to be paired with 'the power of *consignation*'.[14] He writes:

> By consignation, we do not only mean, in the ordinary sense of the word, the act of assigning residence or of entrusting so as to put into reserve (to consign, to deposit), in a place and on a substrate, but here the act of *con*signing through *gathering together signs*. It is not only the traditional *consignatio*, that is, the written proof, but what all *consignatio* begins by presupposing. *Consignation* aims to coordinate a single corpus, in a system or a synchrony in which all the elements articulate the unity of an ideal configuration.[15]

Taking Derrida as a framework we could propose a definition of the archive. One where the notion of the container, its configuration and the relationship established with the law are not considered as separate units, that go one after the other, but rather as elements that emerge together. We can relate this definition to the variety of approaches in which the archive has been understood in contemporary art. For example, in the following two projects the archive becomes 'a grammar (a model) whose rules constitute themselves together with the statements they help formulate'.[16] Firstly, Zoe Leonard's *The Fae Richards Photo Archive* (1993-1996) documents the life of a fictional character Fae Richards, a queer African-American singer and actress from the early twentieth century. Secondly, Walid Raad's *The Atlas Group Archive* (1999-2004) preserves, collects and creates documents that could 'shed light on the contemporary history of

[13] Ibid., p. 2.
[14] Ibid., p. 3.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Spieker, Sven (2008), *The Big Archive: Art from Bureaucracy* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press), p. 12.

Lebanon'.[17] These two works undermine the authority of the archive by proposing a small-scale intervention into history: Leonard's project offers a new insight on the politics of representation of African-American women in Hollywood and Raad's work in the history of the Lebanese Civil War of 1975-1991.[18]

My concern is not so much to argue against these practices, which offer meaningful insights in the form of critique to the institution of the archive; but rather to insist there are other possible readings of the archive and archival organisations.[19] What happens instead if we mainly focus on the archival principles of gathering and organising materials? Going one step further, we can adopt a working definition of the archive as a system of production of knowledge, that is predominantly visual, a collection of a variety of images organised in a systematic way; where both the strategy to gather information and the subsequent organisation of that gathered material are key mechanisms to create meaning.

Rather than locating the notion of the archive at the conjunction of the substrate, the authority of the law and the act of *consignation*, I will focus primarily on the archival principle of *consignation*, understood as the act of '*gathering together signs*', and the succeeding process of organising the material that has been gathered.[20] The purpose is to examine these two processes that are pivotal in the generation of meaning. However, 'gathering' is dependent on the technology used – in this case photography – that not only records but also creates its very own organisation. In this manner, as Derrida states:

> […] archival technology no longer determines, will never have determined, merely the moment of the conservational recording, but rather the very institution of the archivable event. It conditions not only the form or the

[17] Raad, Walid (1999-2004), *The Atlas Group Archive* [Online], <http://www.theatlasgroup.org>, accessed on August 27, 2017.
[18] For further information please see: Leonard, Zoe, and Dunye, Cheryl (1996), *The Fae Richards Photo Archive* (San Francisco, Cal: Artspace Books); and Borchardt-Hume, Achim (ed.), (2010), *Walid Raad: Miraculous Beginnings* [Exh. Cat.], (London: Whitechapel Gallery).
[19] I could also refer to the work of Christian Boltanski, Fiona Tan, and Tacita Dean among others.
[20] Derrida, Jacques ([1996] 1998), *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago, Ill.; London: University of Chicago Press), p. 3.

structure that prints, but the printed content of the printing: the *pressure* of the *printing*, the *impression*, before the division between the printed and the printer.[21]

The 'archival technology' used, in this case photography, creates a distinctive way of gathering visual information. By this I am referring to the de-contextualising process of photographing, its ambiguity and potential for meaning. As Allan Sekula has pointed out in his essay 'On the Invention of Photographic Meaning' (1975), 'the photograph, as it stands alone, presents merely the *possibility* of meaning'.[22] Thus, the idea is to analyse the inter-relationship between technology and the archivable event. Precisely one of the research questions that I will examine through the thesis is the relationship established between the archival principle of *consignation*, which engulfs the act of organisation as well as the strategies used in it, and photography.

1.3 Photography and the archive: The archiving machine[23]

In this section I will analyse the embeddedness of photography in the archive; how they are constituted one within the other. With this I am trying to understand what Sekula means when he proposes in his essay 'Reading an Archive: Photography between Labour and Capital' (1983) that: 'We might even argue that archival ambitions and procedures are intrinsic to photographic practice'.[24]

However, it is worth pointing out that this is an adaptable and ongoing relationship. In the sense, that both the archive and photography adjust their discourses and modus operandi to new technological developments. This can be seen with the emergence of the World Wide Web and digital photography.[25] We must also acknowledge how the links between both mediums cannot be reduced to a technological discourse. Instead

[21] Ibid., p. 18.
[22] Sekula, Allan (1975), 'On the Invention of Photographic Meaning', in Victor Burgin (ed.), (1982), *Thinking Photography* (London: Macmillan Press), p. 91.
[23] John Tagg refers to the photographic camera as an 'archiving machine' in: Tagg, John (2011), 'The Archiving Machine Or, The Camera and the Filing Cabinet', in Krzysztof Pijarski (ed.), *The Archive as Project* (Warsaw: Fundacja Archeologia Fotografii), pp. 24-41.
[24] Sekula, Allan (1983), 'Reading an Archive: Photography between Labour and Capital', in Liz Wells (ed.), (2003), *The Photographer Reader* (London: Routledge), p. 444.
[25] For an account of the implications of digital culture in the archive see: Ernst, Wolfgang (2012), *Digital Memory and the Archive* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press).

they belong to a larger framework that considers how social and political changes affect these technologies.

This embeddedness has a long history that can be traced back to the invention of photography. The aim of starting the analysis in the nineteenth century is twofold. On the one hand, the purpose is to show the historical context and to explain the process of how since the beginning both mediums were part of a similar discourse – the way in which photography was acknowledged as an archival record. On the other hand, it is to gather key aspects of this discussion that are still relevant to today's understanding of photography.

Joseph Nicéphore Niépce (1765-1833) is considered one of the inventors of photography.[26] By around 1824, Niépce had created a process called the heliograph or 'sun drawing', where he managed to fix images from the *camera obscura*. Niépce collaborated with Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851) and 'on 14 December 1829 a contract of ten years' partnership was signed' with the purpose of 'perfecting and exploiting Niépce's invention'.[27] However their collaboration came to an end with Niépce death in 1833. In the following years, Daguerre made modifications to the process developed by Niépce. He created the first successful daguerreotype in 1837, which was a unique-direct process.[28] However it is not until August 19, 1839 that Dominique François Arago's (1786-1853) announced the details of the new medium 'before a crowded join meeting of the Académies des Sciences and des Beaux-Arts at the Institut de France'.[29] As a matter of fact, the invention of photography, meaning the daguerreotype process, was divulged in France and released to the public by the French State.

If we refer to Arago's report that was presented, a bit earlier on July 3, 1839, in the French Chamber of Deputies, for a proposed bill granting a life pension to Daguerre and Niépce, we will see how in those early stages photography is already inscribed within a scientific

[26] For a detailed explanation of the invention of photography see: Gernsheim, Helmut, and Gernsheim, Alison ([1955] 1969), *The History of Photography from the Camera Obscura to the Beginning of the Modern Era* (London: Thames & Hudson), especially pp. 55-74.
[27] Ibid., p. 62.
[28] Ibid., p. 67.
[29] Ibid., p. 70.

discourse. This framework is foundational to understanding the emergence of the new invention as a recording instrument capable of producing objective archival documents.[30] To start with, photography was a process that was born out of different developments in the fields of chemistry, physics and optics. Michel Frizot in 'The Scientific Possibilities of Photography' (2013) argues that the operational criteria of the camera are 'implicitly scientific in nature' and therefore the resulting images are always 'endowed with scientific qualities'.[31] Seen from this perspective science and photography were also interlinked from the beginning. Furthermore, Arago, the person responsible for backing up the invention in official circles, was the secretary of the Academy of Sciences, an astronomer, physicist, and Deputy who was well known in the scientific milieu of the time.

In the aforementioned report, photography is valued mainly for its practical purposes, its potential usefulness in art, science and archaeology among others. Of the possible uses of photography Arago acknowledges how the new medium would have been a better tool than drawing in the task of copying out 'the millions of hieroglyphics which cover even the exterior of the great monuments of Thebes, Memphis'.[32] Besides photography could further the work that was being done by the Commission for Historic Monuments, whose reports were based on architectural drawings, and photography with its 'fidelity of detail and true reproduction' constituted a better tool to fulfil this enterprise.[33] Therefore, right at the very beginning we have hints of an understanding of the new medium as a transparent means for recording and its potential use as a tool in scientific observation. Furthermore, the new invention is identified as an objective, mechanical medium with little or no human intervention.

My point with this is that by implication Arago inscribes the new medium within a scientific discourse. Therefore, he validates its inclusion as a veritable scientific tool for

[30] See: Arago, Dominique François (1839), 'Report', in Alan Trachtenberg (ed.), (1980), *Classic Essays on Photography* (New Haven, Conn.: Leete's Island Books), pp. 15-25.
[31] Frizot, Michel (2013), 'The Scientific Possibilities of Photography', in Christin Müller (ed.), = *CrossOver = Photography of Science + Science of Photography* = [Exh. Cat.], (Winterthur: Spector Books), p. 42.
[32] See: Arago, Dominique François (1839), 'Report', in Alan Trachtenberg (ed.), (1980), *Classic Essays on Photography* (New Haven, Conn.: Leete's Island Books), p. 17.
[33] Ibid.

recording, due to its objectivity, and mimetic characteristics that made it the 'perfect' tool for research and exploration. Monika Burri in 'Science in Sight' (2013) argues that:

> It is therefore no coincidence that the development of photo technology went hand in hand with the positivist movement in the natural sciences. Modern science had made the sense of sight the primary instance for knowledge and, at the turn of the nineteenth century, knowledge was reduced to objectively verifiable and provable facts, which established itself as the scientific ideal for exactness. Photography's postulated ability to create true-to-life and unbiased reproductions made it the science medium par excellence.[34]

There is an emphasis on the 'mechanical and automatic aspects of the photographic process' that makes photography a tool to achieve an impersonal and objective representation and therefore it fulfils the positivist need of rendering things more objectively.[35] One of the key factors to understand the validation of photographs as archival documents is precisely this acceptance in nineteenth-century discourse of photographic images as purveyors of truth. In this sense the camera will take on the role of an archival machine, and the photograph the one of an archival record that functions according to the principle of mimesis and indexicality, preserving traces of an event. Therefore, following this logic and within this context the photograph is '*a priori* an archival object'.[36]

Analogously to France, similar claims in relation to the status of photography were also made in England. William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877) was a scientist who developed around the same time as Daguerre a different process for recording photographic images.[37] Talbot invented a negative-positive process that made it possible to produce unlimited copies from a negative. Again, we have photography as a medium where there

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[34] Burri, Monika (2013), 'Science in Sight', in Michael Gasser, and Nicole Graf (eds.), *Science in Sight. Pictorial Worlds: Photographs from the Image Archive, ETH-Bibliothek*, trans. Charlotte Eckler (Zürich: Verlag Scheidegger & Spiess AG), p. 38.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Enwezor, Okwui (ed.), (2008), *Archive Fever: Uses of the Document in Contemporary Art* [Exh. Cat.], (Göttingen: International Centre of Photography & Steidl), p. 12.
[37] For a detailed account of Talbot's invention see: Gernsheim, Helmut, and Gernsheim, Alison ([1955] 1969), *The History of Photography from the Camera Obscura to the Beginning of the Modern Era* (London: Thames & Hudson), in particular pp. 75-83.

is no human intervention, and the images produced are 'impressed by Nature's hand'.[38] Talbot published 'the first photographically illustrated book in the world', *The Pencil of Nature*, in instalments between 1844 and 1846.[39] This book contained twenty-four photographic prints, and below each plate Talbot wrote a small commentary on the possibilities of the new medium. For instance, in Plate X, 'The Haystack', he makes a comparison between drawing and photography, and points at the photograph's greater capacity at recording the 'multitude of minute details which add to the truth and reality of the representation'.[40] In Plate III, 'Articles of China', he states:

> From the specimen here given it is sufficiently manifest, that the whole cabinet of a Virtuoso and collector of old China might be depicted on paper in little more time than it would take him to make a written inventory describing it in the usual way. […] And should a thief afterwards purloin the treasures—if the mute testimony of the picture were to be produced against him in court—it would certainly be evidence of a novel kind.[41]

Therefore, Talbot recognises the photograph record keeping ability and its inventorying function. Among the possible applications, he acknowledges the role that the photographic image could perform as evidence. Talbot goes as far as giving it the status of a legal document. Furthermore, Helmut and Alison Gernsheim in *The History of Photography from the Camera Obscura to the Beginning of the Modern Era* (1955) describe Talbot's photographs for *The Pencil of Nature* as 'matter-of-fact records, showing the scientist at work', and in fact the antecedents of these frontal arrangements are found in scientific and technical illustrations.[42] Consequently, we have similar discourses to the ones used during Arago's daguerreotype presentation. Firstly, the idea of photography as untouched by the human hand. Secondly the fact that photography is given a legal

[38] Talbot, William Henry Fox (1844), *The Pencil of Nature* [Online], <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/33447/33447-h/33447-h.html>, accessed on August 27, 2017.
[39] Gernsheim, Helmut, and Gernsheim, Alison ([1955] 1969), *The History of Photography from the Camera Obscura to the Beginning of the Modern Era* (London: Thames & Hudson), p. 171.
[40] Talbot, William Henry Fox (1844), *The Pencil of Nature* [Online], <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/33447/33447-h/33447-h.html>, accessed on August 27, 2017.
[41] Ibid.
[42] See: Gernsheim, Helmut, and Gernsheim, Alison ([1955] 1969), *The History of Photography from the Camera Obscura to the Beginning of the Modern Era* (London: Thames & Hudson), p. 173; and Sekula, Allan (1986), 'The Body and the Archive', *October*, 39 (Winter, 1986), p. 6.

application due to its precision and evidentiary power. Thirdly photography relationship with science, for instance Talbot himself was a scientist, and as I have noted already, he mimics scientific illustrations in the production of his photographic arrangements.

Up to this point we have shown how photography comes to be seen as an indexical objective tool, and the way in which since its inception it has been associated with a scientific discourse rooted in nineteenth-century positivism. As a result, photography and science rather than being understood in terms of binary oppositions, 'they were both part of a single interlocking field of knowledge and practice'.[43]

Therefore, photography's relationship with science as well as its indexical claims are some of the reasons why it is understood as an archival medium but are not exclusive. In this sense we could say that photography is more than a technological development. It is worth acknowledging that, during the period we are discussing, even though on 'a superficial level the fictions of realism operate undisturbed'; nevertheless, there is a reconfiguration of vision.[44] This implies a shift that goes from the camera obscura to a physiological account of vision. Jonathan Crary in *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (2002) explains this change. Crary makes the argument that even though:

> […] the camera obscura, as a concept, subsided as an objective ground of visual truth, a variety of discourses and practices – in philosophy, science, and in procedures of social normalization – tend to abolish the foundations of that ground in the early nineteenth century.[45]

Crary expands his argument by explaining that the camera far from being only a part of a technological development is more than anything:

[43] Crary, Jonathan (2002), *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press), p. 9.
[44] Ibid., p. 14.
[45] Ibid.

> […] bound up in a single enduring apparatus of political and social power, elaborated over several centuries, that continues to discipline and regulate the status of an observer. The camera is thus seen by some as an exemplary indication of the ideological nature of representation, embodying the epistemological presumptions of 'bourgeois humanism'.[46]

Therefore, the camera is never a 'neutral piece of equipment', but is part of an 'ideology of representation', which is interwoven in a 'larger and denser organization of knowledge'.[47] This is how we can understand that even though archives have always existed, it is not until the nineteenth century that there is a modernisation of the archive and a 'trust in the possibility of registering contingent time in the form of discrete traces (records), the hope that the present moment – contingency itself – might become subject to measurement and registration'.[48] However as Derrida put it there is no archive without a place, classification, storage and retrieval mechanisms.[49]

Therefore, we could say that the 'archive' as such does not enter into photography discourse until the widespread use of the medium that happened around the 1850s. The popularisation was mainly due to the introduction of waxed-paper negatives and albumen coated printing that allowed the preparation of the negatives in advance making them more transportable, and easier to use when photographing outdoors than previous processes. Further improvements were also introduced at the time, which resulted in sharper photographic prints. Moreover stereoscopic images were introduced in the late 1850s, and they quickly became very popular, as Naomi Rosenblum in *A World History of Photography* (1984) has written: 'the purchase, exchange, and viewing of stereographs became a veritable mania'.[50] As a result the London Stereoscopic Company sold half a million stereoscopic images between 1854 and 1856.[51] With these new processes came a proliferation of photographic images and their introduction in the

[46] Ibid., p. 26.
[47] Ibid., p. 27.
[48] Spieker, Sven (2008), *The Big Archive: Art from Bureaucracy* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press), p. 5.
[49] See: Derrida, Jacques ([1996] 1998), *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago, Ill.; London: University of Chicago Press), pp. 1-5.
[50] Rosenblum, Naomi (1984), *A World History of Photography* (London: Abbeville), p. 35.
[51] Tagg, John (2011), 'The Archiving Machine Or, The Camera and the Filing Cabinet', in Krzysztof Pijarski (ed.), *The Archive as Project* (Warsaw: Fundacja Archeologia Fotografii), p. 26.

archive could be explained as an attempt to tame, organise, and avoid an endless accumulation. With the profusion of images comes the idea of a 'loss of control'. Precisely one of the fundamental problems of the archive is that of volume and abundance.[52] John Tagg for instance in *The Burden of Representation* (1988) explained that the flow of images created by institutions like police, medicine or psychiatry needed a method of storage and organisation if they were to have an instrumental use.[53] In *The Disciplinary Frame* (2009) he writes:

> […] there was the technical difficulty that everywhere afflicted the utility of photographic records: It was no use accumulating records if the storage system did not make it possible to retrieve them, cross-reference them, or compare them.[54]

The archive is not only a 'solution' to how to deal with a large number of images. Instead we need to consider the archive and its 'archival machinery' like the card index, the filing cabinet, the camera and its photographic images as emerging simultaneously. In this sense there is a mutual correspondence between all these elements, a relationship of dependency.

Furthermore Arago anticipated that one of the instrumental practices of photography would be 'to render every corner of the world visible'.[55] Such seems the intention behind some of the government led photographic surveys that started around the 1850s in France, and US, which in themselves constituted archival endeavours.[56] Timothy O'Sullivan's work was part of two of these US sponsored Western surveys and Rosalind Krauss in her essay 'Photography's Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View' (1982), uses his

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[52] Sekula, Allan (1986), 'The Body and the Archive', *October*, 39 (Winter, 1986), p. 29.
[53] See: Tagg, John (1988), *The Burden of Representation* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press).
[54] Tagg, John (2009), *The Disciplinary Frame: Photographic Truths and the Capture of Meaning* (Minneapolis, Minn.: The University of Minnesota Press), p. 13.
[55] Levitt, Theresa (2003), 'Biot's Paper and Arago's Plates: Photographic Practice and the Transparency of Representation', *Isis*, 94 (3), p. 457.
[56] In France one of these photographic campaigns received the name of *Missions Héliographiques*. It was organized in 1851 by the *Commission des Monuments Historiques* to document France's architectural patrimony. Some of the photographers that took part on this initiative were: Édouard-Denis Baldus, Hippolyte Bayard, Gustave Le Gray, and Henri Le Secq. In the US, Timothy O'Sullivan was involved in two government sponsored surveys between 1867 and 1874: the first one is the Clarence King's 40th Parallel Survey which he became part of in 1867, and the second is the Wheeler Survey. See: Rosenblum, Naomi (1984), *A World History of Photography* (London: Abbeville), pp. 99-104, and 133-143.

image *Tufa Domes, Pyramid Lake* (1868) as the starting point to argue that the discursive space of early photography was that of the archive, and not an aesthetic one, as it was later ascribed in twentieth-century discourse.[57] Krauss writes:

> Everywhere at present there is an attempt to dismantle the photographic archive – the set of practices, institutions, and relationships to which nineteenth-century photography originally belonged – and to reassemble it within the categories previously constituted by art and its history.[58]

For Krauss the images need to be considered within their production context to find out to which discursive space they belong.[59] O'Sullivan's image for instance was the product of a commission by the Clarence King Geological Survey. Krauss claims that the image 'belongs to the discourse of geology and, thus, of empirical science'.[60] And in order to function within this discourse the space in the image is organised according to a 'cartographic grid' which:

> […] has other purposes besides the collation of scientific information. As Alan Trachtenberg argues, the government-sponsored Western surveys were intended to gain access to the mineral resources needed for industrialization. It was an industrial as well as a scientific program that generated this photography […].[61]

Therefore, O'Sullivan's image was produced to perform a role within a 'scientific/topographic discourse' whose ultimately aim was the commercial exploitation of those natural resources.[62]

Additionally, most of O'Sullivan's photographs were distributed in their day as landscape stereographs, meaning that the images were produced with the aim of marketing the

[57] Krauss, Rosalind (1982), 'Photography's Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View', *Art Journal*, 42 (4), pp. 317-318.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid., p. 311.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Trachtenberg, Alan (1982), *The Incorporation of America* (New York: Hill and Wang), p. 20, as cited in Rosalind Krauss (1982), 'Photography's Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View', *Art Journal*, 42 (4), p. 318.
[62] Ibid., p. 313.

view itself. Stereoscopic images, as I indicated above, were the equivalent of a mass medium in the nineteenth century. Therefore, against the increasing accumulation of images, a system of organisation was needed. The file cabinet with its drawers, card dividers offered a space, a container with its own rules that facilitated the organisation of those images. Krauss has explained the function of the cabinet: 'It holds out the possibility of storing and cross-referencing bits of information and of collating them through the particular grid of a system of knowledge'.[63] In this context, O'Sullivan's image is a historical document produced with a specific archival context in mind, rather than an aesthetic object. Consequently, we should consider it as part of an archival undertaking.

As I indicated earlier on, the file cabinet is more than a practical solution for dealing with an over-accumulation of images. What we have is different technologies that are engulfed and constitute a bigger system. First, we have photography that produces 'archival records', but in order to function as such they need to be integrated into a larger unit, a 'bureaucratic, clerical system' that organises and classifies, the central mechanism of which is the filing cabinet.[64] The documents in the filing cabinet are 'there to be *accessed* through a secondary system of coordinates that gives everything its unmistakable address'.[65] As a result, the documents are produced to fit a set of 'standardized types of needs' as we have seen in the case of O'Sullivan.[66]

The cabinet constitutes a framework that determines the set of relations between images, involving a 'subordination of use to the logic of exchange'.[67] It enables the exchangeability and comparison between images with a subsequent loss of context.[68] All together, they articulate a higher hierarchy and create a particular system of knowledge that assumes that things can be measured and enunciated according to pre-existing categories, as a result of which we have a reduction of knowledge to objective verifiable

[63] Krauss, Rosalind (1982), 'Photography's Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View', *Art Journal*, 42 (4), p. 315.
[64] Tagg, John (2011), 'The Archiving Machine Or, The Camera and the Filing Cabinet', in Krzysztof Pijarski (ed.), *The Archive as Project* (Warsaw: Fundacja Archeologia Fotografii), p. 30.
[65] Spieker, Sven (2008), *The Big Archive: Art from Bureaucracy* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press), p. 102.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Sekula, Allan (1983), 'Reading an Archive: Photography between Labour and Capital', in Liz Wells (ed.), (2003), *The Photographer Reader* (London: Routledge), p. 445.
[68] Ibid.

facts. This is as well a constituent element of the 'modernist project of reality-founded rationality and order' whose claim to absolute knowledge relies on an increasing rationalisation of bureaucracy, an example of which is the filing cabinet, and the development of communication technologies, like the photographic camera.[69]

Moreover Sekula claims in 'On the Invention of Photographic Meaning' (1982) that: 'it is impossible even to conceive of an *actual* photograph in a "free state", unattached to a system of validation and support, that is, to a discourse'.[70] Likewise Tagg in *The Burden of Representation* (1988) argues that the fact that a photograph has the capacity of standing as 'evidence' 'rests not on a natural or existential fact, but on a social, semiotic process'.[71] Therefore photography has the status of evidence 'only within certain institutional practices and within particular historical relations'.[72] This argument is important because it implies that photography and the archive cannot be isolated; instead they belong to a set of complex cultural, social and historical relations. Sekula offers an example of this in 'The Body and the Archive' (1986), where he gives a detailed account of Alphonse Bertillon's system of 1880s for the identification of repeat offenders (more on that later).[73]

With this analysis, I have tried to explain how photography and the archive are embedded in each other and the way in which they articulate a system of knowledge. In this sense I understand the camera as an archiving machine and the photograph as inherently archival in the sense that is an organised method of preserving information. At the beginning, I have indicated that the other aim of this discussion of the relationship between photography and the archive was to gather key aspects that are relevant to today's understanding of photography. My work and the artists' practices that I will discuss in more detail in the following chapters engage with and actualise the discourse around photography and the archive. Without entering into much detail now, as it will be covered later on, one of the means of doing this is by dealing with the history

[69] Spieker, Sven (2008), *The Big Archive: Art from Bureaucracy* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press), p. 4.
[70] Sekula, Allan (1975), 'On the Invention of Photographic Meaning', in Victor Burgin (ed.), (1982), *Thinking Photography* (London: Macmillan Press), pp. 91-92.
[71] Tagg, John (1988), *The Burden of Representation* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press), p. 4.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Sekula, Allan (1986), 'The Body and the Archive', *October*, 39 (Winter, 1986), pp. 3-64.

of photographs as ambivalent documents, as 'objective' records. I agree with Sekula when he says that archives, and by extension we could say archival strategies, are not neutral since: 'they embody the power inherent in accumulation, collection, and hoarding as well as that power inherent in the command of the lexicon and rules of a language'.[74] However, I will argue that these artworks – instead of simply mimicking a set of archival strategies with the corresponding danger of reproducing the ideology behind them – introduce a 'subjective' input producing a disruption within the system they create.

1.4 The 'archival turn' in art and scholarship: Theoretical context

The so-called 'archival turn' has produced an extensive literature and the purpose of my undertaking is not by any means intended to be exhaustive.[75] Instead, my concern is with a set of texts and exhibitions that I consider foundational to the current understanding of the archive and art, or are representative for the questions and discussions that they pose.

In this section, I am trying to point out and briefly summarise some of the key texts and exhibitions, which inform my practice and the work of Zoe Leonard, Gerhard Richter and Hanne Darboven. These are the three artists that I will deal with in greater detail in the following chapters. The following texts and exhibitions are important to understand the role of the archive and archival organisational strategies in my work and in their practice.

[74] Ibid., p. 446.

[75] Some of the publications that I have not included in my research but are part of the literature of this 'archival turn' are: Bismarck, Beatrice von, Feldmann, Hans-Peter, Obrist, Hans-Ulrich, Stoller, Diethelm, and Wuggenig, Ulf (eds.), (2002), *Interarchive: Archival Practices and Sites in the Contemporary Field of Art* (Lüneburg; Köln: Kunstraum der Universität Lüneburg; Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther König); Comay, Rebecca (ed.), (2002), *Lost in the Archives* (Toronto: Alphabet City Media); Brouwer, Joke, Mulder, Arjen, and Charlton, Susan (eds.), (2003), *Information is Alive: Art and Theory on Archiving and Retrieving Data* (Rotterdam: V2/NAi Publishers); Osthoff, Simone (2009), *Performing the Archive: The Transformation of the Archive in Contemporary Art from Repository of Documents to Art Medium* (New York; Dresden: Atropos Press); Caraffa, Costanza (ed.), (2011), *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag); Miessen, Markus, Chateigné, Yann, Füchtjohann, Dagmar, Hoth, Johanna, and Schmid, Laurent (2016), *The Archive as a Productive Space of Conflict* (Berlin; Karlsruhe; Genève: Sternberg Press; Staatliche Hochschule für Gestaltung Karlsruhe; HEAD – Genève).

The archive has been one of the main preoccupations in art since the 1990s.[76] Spieker in *The Big Archive* writes in this regard: 'In late-twentieth-century art and art criticism, the archive became the trope of choice for a dazzling variety of activities'.[77] Perhaps one way of understanding this interest in the archive is because it seems that contemporary artists continue with the assault on the nineteenth-century archive 'that was began by the historical avant-garde movements, especially by Surrealism'.[78] For example they do so by using the postmodern strategy of 'appropriation' of materials such as mass media imagery, family albums, documents and photographs from archives to name a few. For instance Hans-Peter Feldman in his series of photo books that he began in 1968 uses vernacular photographs that re-shuffles in new combinations.[79] Therefore late-twentieth-century artists produce works that create a new context that breaks down the linear temporality assumed by the nineteenth-century archive with its confidence in the registration of time and they also question 'the truth claims of the nineteenth-century archive and its faith in the referentiality and authenticity of photography both as a technology and as a social practice'.[80]

Anna Maria Guasch, in her book from 2011 *Arte y Archivo, 1920-2010: Genealogías, tipologías y discontinuidades* [Art and Archive, 1920-2010: Genealogies, Typologies and Discontinuities], explains that the importance of the archive in art should be understood in terms of a 'paradigm', that goes from the first historical avant-gardes up to the present.[81] She understands this 'paradigm' as a transition that goes from an emphasis on the materiality of the object of art to the importance placed on the support of information. Guasch identifies this transition in a set of artists – including Kazimir Malevich, Marcel Duchamp, and Richter among others – who make use of what she calls

[76] Same artists that have explored different conceptions of the archive are: Susan Hiller with works such as *Dedicated to the Unknown Artists* (1972-1976) which consists of a collection of seaside postcards, and *From the Freud Museum* (1991-1996). Joachim Schmid who has been working with found photographs since the 1980s: *Archiv* (1986-1999). Ilya Kabakov installations such as: *The Big Archive* (1993), or *The Man who Never Threw Anything Away* (1996). Or Rosângela Rennó's work with police archives such as the Penitentiary Museum of São Paulo in her *Vulgo* series (1999-2003) and also *Bibliotheca* (1992-2002) which is comprised of a compilation of family album photographs that the artist bought in different flea markets.

[77] Spieker, Sven (2008), *The Big Archive: Art from Bureaucracy* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press), p. 4.

[78] Ibid., p. 136.

[79] Spieker also refers to the work of Gerhard Richter, Susan Hiller, and Walid Raad.

[80] Ibid., p. 139.

[81] Guasch, Anna Maria (2011), *Arte y Archivo, 1920-2010: Genealogías, tipologías y discontinuidades* [Art and Archive, 1920-2010: Genealogies, Typologies and Discontinuities]. (Madrid: Akal), p. 9.

the 'logic of the archive', which 'manifests and seemingly forms part of a bureaucratic conformity'.[82]

The interest in the archive is sustained by different ideas taken from philosophy, art, photography, and archival sciences. Michel Foucault and Derrida provided the initial theoretical framework for the aforementioned 'archival turn' that started in the 1990s. Foucault had already written about the archive, in his *Archaeology of Knowledge* in 1969.[83] In this book he understands the archive not as a group of documents, or the physical place, institution that preserves them, but rather as a discursive system.[84] Foucault uses the archive as a metaphor to shed light on ideas about knowledge and how is constructed and articulated. He writes:

> The archive is first the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events. But the archive is also that which determines that all these things said do not accumulate endlessly in an amorphous mass, [...].[85]

Foucault's archive functions according to a set of discursive rules which create a regulatory practice that defines what is included and excluded, and in that sense, it has an instrumental character. Foucault's analysis of the archive is relevant in my research because it has informed part of the writing that deals directly with the relationship between photography and the archive. We only need to consider Sekula's aforementioned texts: 'The Body and the Archive' and 'Photography between Labour and Capital' where he analyses a set of specific photographic archives acknowledging how they belong to complex ideological systems.[86]

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[82] Ibid., p. 10.
[83] Foucault, Michel ([1969] 2010), *Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (London: Routledge).
[84] Ibid., p. 145.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Sekula, Allan (1986), 'The Body and the Archive', *October*, 39 (Winter, 1986), pp. 3-64; Sekula, Allan (1983), 'Reading an Archive: Photography between Labour and Capital', in Liz Wells (ed.), (2003), *The Photographer Reader* (London: Routledge), pp. 442-452.

In 'The Body and the Archive', Sekula argues that projects such as Alphonse Bertillon's police archive of the nineteenth century are at the intersection of a number of discourses from different disciplines that range across statistics, physiognomy, photography and social legal practices of the time. Therefore, he examines the conditions of production of these archives to explain how they produce a specific system of knowledge with its own rules. This process described by Sekula allows us as well to see how the instrumental use of photography is constructed. Thus, both Foucault and Sekula expose the archive as an image of control.[87] Their reflections made me reconsider my position about the artworks discussed in the thesis. My initial approach was to analyse those works exclusively within an art context, however I realised they also deal for example with historical as well as social memory issues and therefore they should be considered in the discussion.

One of the key texts that shaped the current understanding of the archive is Derrida's *Archive Fever*.[88] The book was based on a lecture he delivered in 1994 at the Courtauld Institute of Art, part of a symposium called 'Memory – The Question of the Archives' that was organised by the Freud Museum as well as the *Société internationale d'Histoire de la Psychiatrie et de la Psychanalyse*.[89] *Archive Fever* begins with an ontological reflection on the archive, which was later appropriated and re-articulated in critical discourse and art.[90] Derrida's etymological analysis of the archive is relevant for my research, especially how paying attention only to the word history there is already an intermingling of meanings between a place, the law, authority, technology and memory. Derrida writes:

> As is the case for the Latin *archivum* or *archium* (a word that is used in the singular, as was the French *archive*, formerly employed as a masculine singular: *un archive*), the meaning of 'archive', its only meaning, comes to it from the Greek *arkheion*:

[87] John Tagg also makes a similar argument in: Tagg, John (1988), *The Burden of Representation* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press).
[88] Derrida, Jacques ([1996] 1998), *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago, Ill.; London: University of Chicago Press).
[89] Freud Museum London, *Memory – The Question of Archives* [Online], <https://www.freud.org.uk/events/73546/memory-the-question-of-archives>, accessed on August 27, 2017.
[90] The influence of Derrida can be seen in different fields, for an account on his influence on archive theory see: Craven, Louise (ed.), (2008), *What are Archives? Cultural and Theoretical Perspective: A Reader* (Aldershot: Ashgate). In an art and theory context see for instance: Comay, Rebecca (ed.), (2002), *Lost in the Archives* (Toronto: Alphabet City Media); and in photography see: Enwezor, Okwui (ed.), (2008), *Archive Fever: Uses of the Document in Contemporary Art* [Exh. Cat.], (Göttingen: International Centre of Photography & Steidl).

> initially a house, a domicile, an address, the residence of the superior magistrates, the *archons*, those who commanded.[91]

Derrida continues by explaining that:

> The archons are first of all the documents' guardians. […] They have the power to interpret the archives. Entrusted to such archons, these documents in effect speak the law: they recall the law and call on or impose the law. To be guarded thus, in the jurisdiction of this *speaking the law*, they needed at once a guardian and a localization.[92]

What I have done in my research is to use Derrida's meditations as my starting point to produce a working definition of the archive. Even though I am not dealing directly with this aspect of the archive in my research is worth mentioning that Derrida in *Archive Fever* argues as well that: 'The theory of psychoanalysis, then, becomes a theory of the archive and not only a theory of memory'.[93] In fact, Derrida's essay offers a reflection on Freud, on psychoanalysis, on the idea of the Freudian psychical apparatus as an archive constituted by marks, inscriptions that go through a process of memory, suppression and loss.

Ingrid Schaffner and Matthias Winzen were the curators of *Deep Storage: Arsenals of Memory. Collecting, Storing, and Archiving in Art*, an exhibition that was first shown at Haus der Kunst in Munich in 1997 and then toured to PS.1 in New York as well as Henry Art Gallery in Seattle in 1997.[94] This show was one of the first to deal with 'storage and archiving as imagery, metaphor or process in contemporary art'.[95] The exhibition comprised a wide range of artists from the 1960s until the 1990s – including Bernd & Hilla Becher, Christian Boltanski, Hanne Darboven, Feldmann, and On Kawara among others. The curators argue that one of the approaches that artists took against the

[91] Derrida, Jacques ([1996] 1998), *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago, Ill.; London: University of Chicago Press), p. 2.
[92] Ibid., p. 2.
[93] Ibid., p. 19.
[94] Schaffner, Ingrid, and Winzen, Matthias (eds.), (1998), *Deep Storage: Arsenals of Memory. Collecting, Storing, Archiving in Art* [Exh. Cat.], (Munich; New York: Prestel).
[95] Schaffner, Ingrid (1998), 'Digging back into "Deep Storage" ', in Ingrid Schaffner, and Matthias Winzen (eds.), *Deep Storage: Arsenals of Memory. Collecting, Storing, Archiving in Art* [Exh. Cat.], (Munich; New York: Prestel), p. 10.

overflowing of information was to produce projects based on establishing collections, and archives. Schaffner and Winzen use the word 'storage' in its allusion to memory as well as history. In the exhibition catalogue they resort to four metaphors to describe how information can be stored, they are: the 'collection-archive', 'the box', 'the studio', and 'data space'.[96] The exhibition also investigated what happens to objects when they are de-contextualised and subjected to a process of indexing, and labelling with the purpose of being integrated in a larger system of relation with other objects.

In the exhibition catalogue, there were collaborations from theoreticians such as Geoffrey Batchen, as well as the input of archivists, who deal with archives in a physical way, providing a different insight to the idea of storing information. This exhibition is important for my research because Schaffner and Winzen deal with the 'collecting drive', and some of the contradictions and ambiguities inherent to the processes of collecting, archiving and storing information. In that sense, they do not define or position the artworks presented in the exhibition, as archives or collections, but rather as practices that resemble collections and whose structure is similar to an archive.[97] This is significant because similarly I consider that the artists' practices I am analysing in my thesis and my work do not constitute archives, or collections but they borrow strategies from them.

Furthermore, the exhibition catalogue includes an essay by Benjamin H. D. Buchloh titled 'Warburg's Paragon? The End of Collage and Photomontage in Postwar Europe', that he later published in a revised version as 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas": The Anomic Archive' in 1999.[98] There, Buchloh analyses the work of European artists that are 'collectors' of images. He distinguishes between two archival modes: the first puts the emphasis on the regulatory principle of the law and it is based on 'homogeneity and continuity (as is the case with the work of the Bechers)'; the second has an anomic

[96] Winzen, Matthias (1998), 'Collecting – so Normal, so Paradoxical', in Ingrid Schaffner, and Matthias Winzen (eds.), *Deep Storage: Arsenals of Memory. Collecting, Storing, Archiving in Art* [Exh. Cat.], (Munich; New York: Prestel), p. 24.
[97] Ibid., p. 25.
[98] Buchloh, Benjamin H. D. (1998), 'Warburg's Paragon? The End of Collage and Photomontage in Postwar Europe', in Ingrid Schaffner, and Matthias Winzen (eds.), *Deep Storage: Arsenals of Memory. Collecting, Storing, Archiving in Art* [Exh. Cat.], (Munich; New York: Prestel), pp. 50-60; Buchloh, Benjamin H. D. (1999), 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas": The Anomic Archive', *October*, 88 (Spring, 1999), pp. 117-145.

principle and it is founded on 'heterogeneity and discontinuity that defines Richter's *Atlas*'.[99] They all share that they have taken:

> […] as the principles of a given work's formal organization photography's innate structural order (its condition as archive) in conjunction with its seemingly infinite multiplicity, capacity for serialization, and aspiration toward comprehensive totality.[100]

Buchloh's analysis of the role of photography in organisational systems and his interpretation of Richter's work will be relevant in my research and I will discuss them in more detail in a separate chapter.

In 2004 Hal Foster published his influential essay 'An Archival Impulse'.[101] Foster identifies this archival drive in contemporary art and he considers it 'a tendency in its own right'.[102] According to Foster what archival artists do is to retrieve historical information that has usually been forgotten and to make it present again. The aim of those practices is to offer a 'gesture of alternative knowledge or counter-memory'.[103] In fact this interpretation of the archive echoes in much of the contemporary art that he uses in the essay as examples of what he considers archival work, in the sense that it appropriates information from archives but at the same time it produces them as well.[104] Foster includes here the work of Tacita Dean, Stan Douglas and Thomas Hirschhorn, among others.

Charles Merewether's *The Archive* (2006) is a comprehensive compendium of essays and statements that specifically deal with the crossing between archivisation and art. Merewether argues that:

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[99] Buchloh, Benjamin H. D. (1999), 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas": The Anomic Archive', *October*, 88 (Spring, 1999), p. 117.
[100] Ibid., p. 118.
[101] Foster, Hal (2002), 'Archives of Modern Art', *October*, 99 (Winter, 2002), pp. 81-95.
[102] Ibid., p. 3.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid., p. 5.

> […] it is in the spheres of art and cultural production that some of the most searching questions have been asked concerning what constitutes an archive and what authority it holds in relation to its subject.[105]

Therefore, Merewether's compilation of texts refers to a wide range of approaches – with contributions from artists, philosophers, photographers, and art historians including: Susan Hiller, Paul Ricœur, Raad or Buchloh among others – in relation to the acts of accumulating, storing and recovering information. The book is divided in four sections: 'Traces', 'Inscriptions', 'Contestations' and 'Retracings'. The first one 'Traces' deals with the perceptions 'that events and experiences always leave behind them by means of their index'.[106] Even though the selection of texts in this book does not deal directly with photography, nonetheless we can establish similarities between their reflections and the relationship of photography and/or the archive. Merewether's book is significant because it provided me with an initial general framework for my investigation.

Okwui Enwezor organised an exhibition at the International Center of Photography in New York in 2008 called *Archive Fever: Uses of the Document in Contemporary Art*.[107] Enwezor in the exhibition catalogue's essay: 'Archive Fever: Photography Between History and the Monument' argues that he is referring to a conception of the archive 'as an active, regulatory discursive system'.[108] And Enwezor explains as well that the exhibition *Archive Fever*: 'explores the ways in which artists have appropriated, interpreted, reconfigured, and interrogated archival structures and archival materials' with the purpose of opening up new 'pictorial and historiographic experiences against the exactitude of the photographic trace'.[109] Therefore all the works presented in the exhibition use photography or video to deal with notions of identity, memory and history and how the modification of meaning occurs when re-using pre-existing images in a new context. Some of the artists that participated in the exhibition were: Raad, Harun Farocki, Feldmann, Jef Geys, and Tacita Dean among others. This exhibition is

[105] Merewether, Charles (ed.), (2006), *The Archive* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press; Whitechapel Gallery), p. 10.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Enwezor, Okwui (ed.), (2008), *Archive Fever: Uses of the Document in Contemporary Art* [Exh. Cat.], (Göttingen: International Centre of Photography & Steidl).
[108] Ibid., p. 11.
[109] Ibid.

important for my research because it specifically touches upon the relationship between photography and the archive.

Spieker in *The Big Archive* 'looks at the way in which the bureaucratic archive shaped art practice in the twentieth century'.[110] However, more than that, what Spieker does is to explore art practices, such as the French Surrealist group or Marcel Duchamp that aimed to undermine the nineteenth-century conception of the archive. The significance of this book for my research relies on the fact that in order to explain the influence of bureaucracy in art, he starts his analysis in the nineteenth century. Spieker argues that during 1880-1930 there was a 'control revolution' and this was possible thanks to a 'rationalizing modern bureaucracy' and to 'communications technologies'.[111] He explores the function of the typewriter, the card index, and the filing cabinet as technologies that are part of this rationalisation of the archive. Furthermore, for Spieker:

> […] the archive and what it stores, emerge at the same time so that one cannot easily be substracted from the other. In this archive, the objects stored and the principles that organize them are exempt neither from time nor from the presence of the spectator. Never quite selfsame, the archive oscillates between embodiment and disembodiment, composition and decomposition, organization and chaos.[112]

The selection of texts that I have discussed is only a small portion of a larger and ongoing debate. Proof of the topic's relevance is the regular release of publications that deal with different aspects of the subject. Some examples include: Ernst Van Alphen's *Staging the Archive: Art and Photography in the Age of New Media* (2014), Sophie Berrebi's *The Shape of Evidence* (2014) as well as *The Archive as a Productive Space of Conflict* (2016).[113] Furthermore, the topic has been explored in major exhibitions. For instance, in the thirteenth edition

[110] Spieker, Sven (2008), *The Big Archive: Art from Bureaucracy* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press), p. 1.
[111] Ibid., p. 5.
[112] Ibid., p. XI.
[113] See: Van Alphen, Ernst (2014), *Staging the Archive: Art and Photography in the Age of New Media* (London: Reaktion Books); Berrebi, Sophie (2014), *The Shape of Evidence* (Amsterdam: Valiz); and Miessen, Markus, Chateigné, Yann, Füchtjohann, Dagmar, Hoth, Johanna, and Schmid, Laurent (2016), *The Archive as a Productive Space of Conflict* (Berlin; Karlsruhe; Genève: Sternberg Press; Staatliche Hochschule für Gestaltung Karlsruhe; HEAD – Genève).

of Documenta, celebrated in Kassel in 2012, *Collapse and Recovery*, curated by Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev there was an emphasis on a section of the exhibition called 'The Brain'.[114] This constituted a conceptual visual map of the exhibition as a whole and consisted of a collection of objects belonging to different epochs, social and cultural contexts. For instance, Giorgio Morandi's bottles and vases that were used as props for his still life paintings shared space with Vandy Rattana's *Bomb Ponds* (2008) photographs that examine the US bombing of Cambodia during the Vietnam War. The purpose with this juxtaposition of elements was to create an open associative space, a visual atlas. Another example is the exhibition curated by Massimiliano Gioni *The Encyclopedic Palace* in 2013 and part of the Venice Biennale, which considered the labyrinthine quality of collections and the compulsion and obsessions behind them.[115] The exhibition also offered a reflection on collecting and on artists as collectors. One example of this practice was Cindy Sherman's personal collection of photographic albums. The exhibition *The Keeper* that was shown in The New Museum in New York in 2016, and also curated by Gioni is a continuation of the previous project.[116]

1.5 Collections and visual atlases: A brief introduction

My own practice and the practices of the artists that I will discuss in the thesis use photography as the main means to gather information. In the artworks that I analyse there is an interaction between archival mechanisms and strategies taken from collections and visual atlases. As a result, all these works do not constitute, serve or have the same function as archives, collections or visual atlases. They can be considered to some degree as 'archival', or even better we could say that one of the keys to understand these works is that they borrow 'archival' strategies or principles, but at the same time they also use strategies that are usually associated with collections, for instance in the way the artists and I engage with the materials, and also from visual atlases. In this sense

[114] *Documenta (13): Collapse and Recovery*, curated by Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev, Kassel (June 9, 2012 – September 16, 2012). For further information please refer to: Christov-Bakargiev, Carolyn, and Funcke, Bettina (eds.), (2012), *Documenta (13) Catalog 1/3: The Book of Books* [Exh. Cat.], (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz).
[115] *La Biennale di Venezia – 55th International Art Exhibition: The Encyclopedic Palace*, curated by Massimiliano Gioni, Venice (June 1, 2013 – November 24, 2013). For a detailed account please see: Gioni, Massimiliano (ed.), (2013), *Il Palazzo Enciclopedico. The Encyclopaedic Palace. Venice Biennale 2013* [Exh. Cat.], (Venice: Marsilio).
[116] *The Keeper*, New Museum, New York (July 20, 2016 – October 10, 2016), curated by Massimiliano Gioni.

I will argue that these practices prompt a hybrid reading of these systems. As a result, these three systems and their organisational strategies are important aspects of my research. To conclude the literature review I will propose a working definition of collections and visual atlases as I have done for the archive.

Archives, atlases and collections are all systems of organisation of images and texts. However, they all represent and construct reality in different ways. Regardless of their own singularities, according to Blasco Gallardo the three systems are part of a common genealogy that can be traced back to the Renaissance memory palaces and cabinets of curiosities.[117]

Following the dictionary definition, 'collection' is: '**1** the act or process of collecting; **2** a number of things collected or assembled together; […] **4** something gathered into a mass or pile; accumulation'.[118] Even though in practice, collections are mostly associated with their collector, the dictionary definition does not make any reference to who has arranged it or according to what parameter the collection was founded.

Previously, I pointed out that 'archives' can construct reality in a bureaucratic manner and will now argue that collections instead do so in an affective/subjective mode. Walter Benjamin articulates this in 'Unpacking My Library' (1931), he writes: 'But one thing should be noted: the phenomenon of collecting loses its meaning as it loses its personal owner'.[119] There is a narrative element to the collection and the living voice of the collector is what gives the collection its authority and links all the pieces together.[120]

Furthermore, Benjamin reflects on the strong bond that is created between the collector and what is collected.[121] In that regard he writes: '[For a collector] ownership is the most

[117] See: Blasco Gallardo, Jorge (2002), 'Notes on the Possibility of an Exhibited Archive', in Jorge Blasco Gallardo, and Nuria Enguita Mayo (eds.), *Archive Cultures* (Salamanca; Barcelona; València: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca; Fundació Antoni Tápies; Universitat de València), pp. 183-203.
[118] Sinclair, J.M. (ed.), (2000), *Collins English Dictionary* (Glasgow: HarperCollins).
[119] Benjamin, Walter (1931), 'Unpacking my Library', in Hannah Arendt (ed.), ([1970] 1999), *Illuminations* (London: Pimlico), p. 68.
[120] Spieker, Sven (2008), *The Big Archive: Art from Bureaucracy* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press), p. XII.
[121] Benjamin, Walter (1931), 'Unpacking my Library', in Hannah Arendt (ed.), ([1970] 1999), *Illuminations* (London: Pimlico), p. 69.

intimate relationship that one can have to objects. Not that they come alive in him; it is he who lives in them'.[122] In this sense the objects acquire a personalised meaning and the collector establishes a relationship between the things that is not based on utilitarian value. In *The Arcades Project* (1988) Benjamin expands on this: 'What is decisive in collecting is that the object is detached from all its original functions in order to enter into the closest conceivable relation to things of the same kind'.[123]

This personal attachment that the collector establishes with objects is an important aspect in Leonard, Darboven and Richter's practice. For instance, in *Analogue* (1998-2009) Leonard is deeply attached to an urban environment and she will 'collect' that space which is disappearing through photographs, so the project is a personal collection of spaces that are dear to her. In *Atlas* (1962-ongoing) Richter includes photographs that are part of his personal family album reflecting on the history of post-war Germany and the processes of disavowal and denial that he encounters when he arrives in West Germany in 1961. Throughout the *Atlas*, Richter continues adding his own family photographs, interweaving his personal life and work. In *Cultural History* 1880-1983 (1980-1983) Darboven includes objects, which were part of her personal collection, in that sense her artwork is related to her long-term collecting practice; and reflects as well in the interconnection between her collection, working space, home, and practice.

The atlas comprises a third modality for structuring and creating relationships among images. Following the dictionary definition, an 'atlas' is: '**1** a collection of maps, usually in book form; **2** a book of charts, graphs, etc, illustrating aspects of a subject'.[124] The term 'atlas' was first used around the end of the sixteenth century to refer to a collection of maps, printed in a set order in book format. The name comes from Gerhard Mercator's

[122] Ibid.
[123] Benjamin, Walter ([1988] 2002), *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland, and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press), p. 204.
[124] Sinclair, J.M. (ed.), (2000), *Collins English Dictionary* (Glasgow: HarperCollins).

map collections in 1585.[125] On the front page of which there was a picture of the mythological figure Atlas carrying a globe on his shoulders.[126]

In the nineteenth century, the term was also employed, particularly in Germany to refer to any tabular display of systematised knowledge, becoming almost a scientific genre. It was possible to encounter atlases in the fields of astronomy, anatomy, ethnography, archaeology and so on.[127] In the twentieth and twenty first century, the term has been used in a metaphorical sense. For instance, in the visual arts, Georges Didi-Huberman, in the exhibition *Atlas, How to Carry the World on One's Back* (2010) takes Aby Warburg's *Mnemosyne Atlas* (1924-1929) as its point of departure.[128] Didi-Huberman defines the atlas as a:

> Visual form of knowledge, knowledgeable form of seeing, the atlas disrupts all these frames of intelligibility. It introduces a fundamental impurity – but also an exuberance, a remarkable fecundity – that these models had been conceived to avert. Against any aesthetic purity, it introduces the multiple, the diverse, the hybridity of any montage.[129]

The atlas comprises a heterogeneity of images organised in a systematic way. However, what is more important is that the atlas is a tool to temporarily arrange visual materials and using the montage has the potential of composing and re-composing its contents in different ways. Through the artists' practices we will see how the atlas is a hybrid construction that offers the possibility of mixing both the bureaucratic character of the archive and the subjective element of the collection.

The purpose of these definitions was to propose a general framework to understand how I will deal with collections and visual atlases in this thesis. However, these two systems and their organisational strategies will be discussed in greater detail in the subsequent

[125] Buchloh, Benjamin H. D. (1999), 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas": The Anomic Archive', *October*, 88 (Spring, 1999), p. 119.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid., pp. 119-122.
[128] Didi-Huberman, Georges (ed.), (2010), *Atlas. How to Carry the World on One's Back?* [Exh. Cat.], (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía).
[129] Ibid., p. 15.

chapters. The artworks that I am referring to in this thesis are all complex projects that allow for multiple readings. Each of them constructs knowledge using a specific system of their own making which is composed of a mixture of strategies taken from archives, collections and visual atlases. My aim is to analyse what function they have in their practices and in that way unpack the different processes of how they are constructing meaning.

CHAPTER 2

Collecting Fragments: The Metaphor of the Rag-picker in Zoe Leonard's *Analogue*

2.1 Introduction

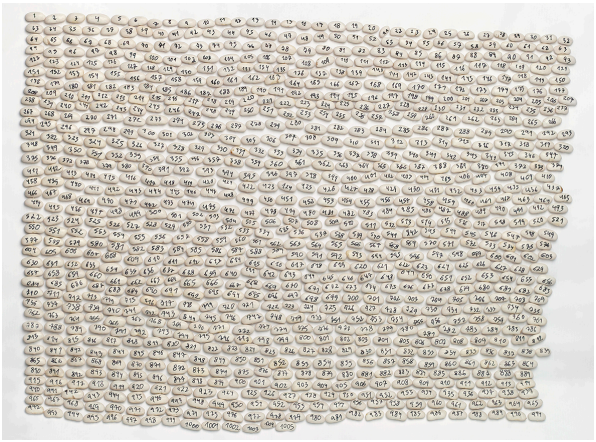

Figure 2.1: Estéfani Bouza, *1005* from the series *Collection* (2007)

A long-standing interest of mine is to photograph things that are not necessarily thought to be valuable, in a way that is 'unexpected'. One of the reasons for doing this is to 'disturb' how we normally see and understand those objects. In this vein I created a project called *Collection* (2007), which is composed of a set of fifteen photographs of different types of beans and legumes (Figure 2.1). Instead of using a conventional representation of these objects as food, I photographed them as if they were specimens or part of a precious collection. Trying to expose how the context, alongside photographic representation as well as display strategies play an important role in the investment of knowledge and value.

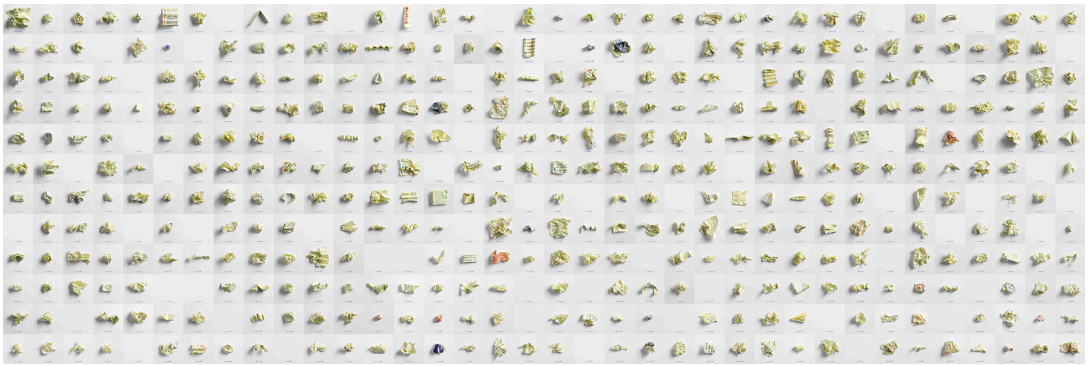

Figure 2.2: Estéfani Bouza, *Notes* (2008)

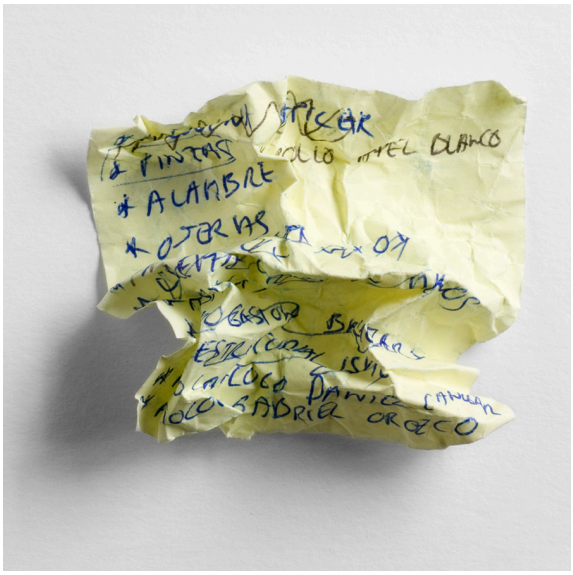

Figure 2.3: Estéfani Bouza, detail from *Notes* (2008)

For my project *Notes*, 2008 (2009), I collected my sticky notes over a period of time and then presented them resembling the methodology of the work mentioned above (Figure 2.2, Figure 2.3). However, in this instance, since I had used the crumpled notes, they had prints in them, including visible handwritten information, suggesting a narrative that gave hints of the person behind the collection. The way the notes were photographed played an important role in the construction of the work. As in the previous project, the idea that representation has the capacity to change the perception we have of objects is key in this work.



Figure 2.4: Estéfani Bouza, *Untitled* from the series *Etcetera* (2013)

Similarly, for my first project, *Etcetera* (2013), which I am presenting as part of the practice component, I began collecting the remains of everyday basic necessities, things that we usually put in the bin, including bits of paper, food leftovers, packaging, wrappings, and toiletries (Figure 2.4). All are irrelevant to some degree, but at the same time we cannot live without them in our day-to-day life. All these things had something in common: I had used them. Therefore, perhaps they are able to say something about myself. In that sense one of the questions is whether the traces and prints left on the objects able to offer a glimpse into someone's life. More importantly during this initial research stage I began to think about how to photograph these objects. What approach could I take towards gathering through the camera and what are the implications of it?

I decided to look into how artists who have a reflective attitude towards the use of the camera approached a similar issue and how they materialised it. By this I am referring to practitioners who pay close attention to the role of the gaze and the camera in the production of a photograph. Artists who ask the viewer to take a second look at both the objects represented as well as how they are displayed. This attitude leads to the adoption of photographic strategies which foreground that the photograph is a construction as well as the result of the artist's point of view.

Throughout this chapter, I will look mainly into the first step in the constitution of the work, which is the process of gathering through the camera and the methodology behind it. To do this, I will analyse the work *Analogue* (1998-2009) by the artist Zoe Leonard (Liberty, New York, US, 1961). The reason why I am using this artwork is because the self-reflective act of gathering through the camera as well as the use of a gathering methodology that has similarities with the rag-picker are defining characteristics of the project. Finally, at the end of the chapter I will discuss the strategies that I find useful in Leonard's work in relation to my first practice project *Etcetera*.

2.2 'To gather'[1]

Throughout this chapter I will look into photography and the camera as a means to gather visual information. My aim with this is twofold. Firstly, I am hoping to comprehend the role of photography in 'recording' an event, or object. Secondly, I am trying to understand how photographic technology has a significant role in the constitution of the work. These ideas will be explored in the context of Leonard's *Analogue* and my own work *Etcetera*.

Following the dictionary definition, gather means: '1 to assemble or cause to assemble; 2 to collect or be collected gradually; muster'.[2] However, Martin Heidegger in 'Logos and Language' (1944), offers a more detailed explanation of the verb 'to gather'.[3] It is a long quote, worth repeating here because his articulation and unravelling of the concept are important for my argument:

> To gather is to take up and pick up from the ground, to bring together and place together, *λέγειν*, collecting [*Sammeln*]. What is picked up and placed together in gathering, however, is not simply brought together in the sense of an accumulation that just ends at some point. Gathering first has its completion in that picking up that preserves what is taken up and brought in. Gathering is

[1] I use the term 'to gather' as per: Heidegger, Martin (1944), 'Logos and Language', in Günter Figal (2009), *The Heidegger Reader*, trans. Jerome Veith (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press), pp. 250-251.
[2] Sinclair, J.M., (ed.), (2000), *Collins English Dictionary* (Glasgow: HarperCollins).
[3] Heidegger, Martin (1944), 'Logos and Language', in Günter Figal (2009), *The Heidegger Reader*, trans. Jerome Veith (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press), pp. 239-252.

> simultaneously picking up [*Aufheben*] in the sense of taking something up from the ground, and in the sense of preservation [*Aufbewahrens*] […] Rather, true gathering already begins in the preserving picking-up insofar as gathering, in advance, already intends such a preservation that brings in, and remains constantly attuned by it. Gathering contains the predominant fundamental trait of preservation. At the same time, however, there is another trait to be grasped in gathering: Gathering is not an arbitrary grasping, a snatching-up that rushes from one thing to the next; the preserving bringing-in is always an attentive taking-in.[4]

Similarly, Leonard in an interview with Anna Blume in 1997 acknowledged that there is a side of photography that is comparable to gathering, she said:

> There is an aspect of photography that is like hunting and gathering. […] I go out into the world and find things, images or situations that strike a chord in me. Like any good hunter or gatherer, I am grateful that those things are there.[5]

Reading Leonard's statement and comparing it with Heidegger we could say, that first of all, she is 'picking up' visual information with the camera. In this sense the camera is used as a tool to gather what is out there. For that reason, every photograph is the result of this process of 'gathering together' and is a way of collecting a 'fragment' of reality.

Furthermore, Heidegger argued that the meaning of gathering comes not only from the act of 'picking up' but also from the preservation that is embedded in the gesture. Of course, photography is a medium that has a clear link to traces, memory and preservation. For example, a classic exploration of these issues can be found in Roland Barthes' book *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (1982).[6] Leonard is 'approaching photography as memory', and – as she remarked – gathering those aspects of reality that 'strike a chord' in her with the purpose of preserving them through their photographic

[4] Ibid., pp. 250-251.
[5] Leonard, Zoe, and Blume, Anna (1997), 'Zoe Leonard interviewed by Anna Blume', in Kathrin Rhomberg (ed.), *Secession: Zoe Leonard* [Exh. Cat.], (Vienna: Wiener Secession), p. 9.
[6] Barthes, Roland ([1982] 2000), *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (London: Vintage).

images.[7] In Leonard's case, it is important to understand preservation as a matter of 'Loss and replacement. An object standing in for something else'.[8] Meaning that the photograph does not substitute reality, but instead as Leonard put it: 'Part of the wonder of photographs is that, yes you are making another object, but the object that you are making is from something that is already there'.[9] Therefore the photograph is different from reality but it creates a link with it based on analogy and is also an index – an indexical light imprint that has a direct link with the 'thing itself'.

Heidegger also asserts that what is gathered is not simply an arbitrary accumulation. One of the reasons he gives is that in gathering there is an 'attentive taking-in' at place.[10] Likewise, Leonard gathers visual information with the camera, which has a special meaning to her: 'strike a chord in me'.[11] In Leonard's practice there is a consistent self-reflexive attitude towards the role of her gaze and the camera in the construction of a photograph, this is something I will explore on later.

In this chapter, I will elaborate on how Leonard specifically gathers information with the camera in *Analogue* through an analysis of three aspects. By focusing on the 'how' she gathers information I am hoping to reveal a set of underlying assumptions that are important to understand her practice. Firstly, I will explore the artist's allegiance to analogue photography. Secondly, I will investigate Leonard's approach to photography as an act of observation. Thirdly, I will study the 'methodology' of search that she uses in *Analogue*, which has parallelisms with the artist as rag-picker metaphor.

[7] Leonard, Zoe, and Blume, Anna (1997), 'Zoe Leonard interviewed by Anna Blume', in Kathrin Rhomberg (ed.), *Secession: Zoe Leonard* [Exh. Cat.], (Vienna: Wiener Secession), p. 23.
[8] Ibid., p. 22.
[9] Ibid., p. 9.
[10] Heidegger, Martin (1944), 'Logos and Language', in Günter Figal (2009), *The Heidegger Reader*, trans. Jerome Veith (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press), p. 251.
[11] Leonard, Zoe, and Blume, Anna (1997), 'Zoe Leonard interviewed by Anna Blume', in Kathrin Rhomberg (ed.), *Secession: Zoe Leonard* [Exh. Cat.], (Vienna: Wiener Secession), p. 9.

2.3 Zoe Leonard's *Analogue*



Figure 2.5: Zoe Leonard, *Analogue* (1998-2009), MNCARS, Madrid

Analogue is a body of work comprised of more than twelve thousand photographs produced over a ten-year period from 1998 until 2009. There are three different manifestations of the work.

The first one is an installation that is composed of a selection of four hundred and twelve photographs, three hundred and forty-two chromogenic colour prints and seventy gelatine silver prints (Figure 2.5). All the photographs in the installation have the same square size format of 28 cm x 28 cm. Furthermore, when they are exhibited in the gallery space, they are grouped in twenty-five grid formations of varying size, that Leonard has called 'chapters' or 'albums'.[12]

The second version is a loose portfolio of forty dye-transfer prints 'that can be shown individually or in groups'.[13] The third variation is as an artist book, *Zoe Leonard: Analogue* (2007), containing a selection of eighty photographs and an essay by Leonard: 'A Continuous Signal: An Essay of Excerpts and Quotations'.[14] The quotes on this

[12] Eugène Atget also arranged his photographs in 'albums'. See: Hambourg, Maria Morris (1983), 'The Structure of the Work', in John Szarkowski, and Maria Morris Hambourg (eds.), *The Work of Atget, Vol. 3: The Ancien Régime* [Exh. Cat.], (London; Bedford: Gordon Fraser), pp. 9-33; and Nesbit, Molly (1992), *Atget's Seven Albums* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press). I will come back to the relationship between Atget and Leonard's practice later on.
[13] Fer, Briony (2010), 'The Drift of Things', in Stefanie Braun (ed.), *Deutsche Börse Photography Prize 2010: Anna Fox, Zoe Leonard, Sophie Ristelhueber, Donovan Wylie* (London: Photographers' Gallery), p. 61.
[14] Leonard, Zoe (2007), 'A Continuous Signal: An Essay of Excerpts and Quotations', in Anne Bremner (ed.), *Zoe Leonard: Analogue* [Exh. Cat.], (Columbus, Ohio; Cambridge, Mass.: Wexner Center for the Arts; MIT Press), pp. 169-183.

compilation allude to issues concerning the birth of photography and its nature as well as ruins, archaeology, the city with its urban landscape, and memory among others. As we will see throughout this chapter these are all topics invoked in *Analogue*. For example, some of the sources used include: Danny Lyons' *The Destruction of Lower Manhattan* (1969); Gisèle Freund's *Photography and Society* (1974); and Claire L. Lyons' 'The Art and Science of Antiquity in Nineteenth-Century Photography' (2005).[15]

For my analysis I am discussing mostly *Analogue* as a whole and as seen in the installation version of the project. Rather than focusing on individual images, which is how they are presented in the portfolio or the book format. The main reason for this is that the installation contains the larger number of photographs and as a result is where we can see the interconnection of images in a more discernible way. All the figures in this chapter are taken from Leonard's retrospective exhibition that took place at the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía in Madrid in 2008.[16]

Leonard began to work on *Analogue* at the end of the 1990s after a two-year retreat period in Alaska. Upon her return she realised that the Lower East Side of Manhattan, where her studio was based since 1977 and which for her constituted her immediate urban landscape, was then under an accelerated process of gentrification.[17] As a result, the local business – grocery shops and restaurants among others, which were once mostly aimed at the Jewish and Latin American immigrant community – where gradually disappearing whilst being replaced by global brands as well as upscale

[15] These are a few more examples of the sources she has used: Shore, Stephen (1988), *The Nature of Photographs* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press); Nassar, Isaam (1997), *Photographing Jerusalem: The Image of the City in Nineteenth Century Photography* (New York: Columbia University Press); or Nesbit, Molly (1992), *Atget's Seven Albums* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press).

[16] The images are from the retrospective exhibition *Photographs* as shown in Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid (December 2, 2008 – February 16, 2009). It has also been shown in the following places: Wexner Center for the Arts in Columbus, Ohio (May 12, 2007 – August 12, 2007); Documenta 12, Kassel (June 16, 2007 – September 23, 2007); Villa Arson, Nice (November 24, 2007 – February 3, 2008); Fotomuseum Winterthur, Zurich (December 1, 2007 – February 17, 2008); Dia at the Hispanic Society of America, New York (November 5, 2008 – April 12, 2009); Pinakothek der Moderne, Munich (April 1, 2009 – July 5, 2009); Museum Moderner Kunst Stiftung Ludwig, Vienna (December 4, 2009 – March 7, 2010); MoMA, New York (June 27, 2015 – August 30, 2015). The reason why I am being very specific is because according to the documentation I have seen, both the layout and the photographs included were slightly different when they were exhibited at the Wexner Centre, Documenta and Dia Art Foundation presentations. The main differences being that some of the photographs do not appear or they are shown in a different configuration. Even though it is not a major change, it is significant enough in order to mention it.

[17] Leonard, Zoe (2002), 'Out of Time', *October*, 100 (Spring, 2002), p. 88.

boutiques, restaurants and independent stores targeted at an affluent new population that was moving in to that area of New York at the time.

The space as she knew it was vanishing little by little. This gradual disappearance prompted Leonard to start walking through the streets in order to take notes for herself with a camera to remember what was there.[18] She writes: 'I began to realize I would miss all this. So I started taking pictures. I wanted a record'.[19] During that time she bought a second-hand Rolleiflex camera from the 1940s, what she calls a 'leftover from the mechanical age'.[20] She noticed that what she was doing was something bigger than purely note-taking.[21]

In *Analogue,* Leonard deals with a double disappearance, where both the subject matter and the medium she uses to document it are gradually becoming obsolete. Walter Benjamin in 'Surrealism: The Last Snapshot of the European Intelligentsia' (1929), writing of André Breton claimed that:

> […] he was the first to perceive the revolutionary energies that appear in the 'outmoded' – in the first iron constructions, the first factory buildings, the earliest photos, objects that have begun to be extinct, grand pianos, the dresses of five years ago, fashionable restaurants when the vogue has begun to ebb from them.[22]

Therefore, according to Benjamin there is a latent 'revolutionary' energy present in outmoded things, which have the potential of offering a critical conception of the past. In *Analogue* there is a similar concern with the outmoded, Leonard for instance wrote:

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[18] Dmovies.net, *Documenta 12: Zoe Leonard, Analogue (1998-2007)*, [Online Video], <https://vimeo.com/68165540>, accessed on August 27, 2017.
[19] Leonard, Zoe (2002), 'Out of Time', *October*, 100 (Spring, 2002), p. 91.
[20] Ibid., p. 96.
[21] Dmovies.net, *Documenta 12: Zoe Leonard, Analogue (1998-2007)*, [Online Video], <https://vimeo.com/68165540>, accessed on August 27, 2017.
[22] Benjamin, Walter (1929), 'Surrealism: The Last Snapshot of the European Intelligentsia', in Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith (eds.), (1999), *Selected Writings, Vol. 2, Part 1, 1927-1934*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Cambridge, Mass.; London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press), p. 210.

> New technology is pitched to us as an improvement. […] But progress is always an exchange. We gain something, we give something else up. I'm interested in looking at some of what we are losing.[23]

When Leonard started to work in this project in 1998 analogue photography was being superseded by digital. And as the title of the project indicates one of the main threads of inquiry in *Analogue* is the near obsolescence of analogue photography. As Leonard put it, *Analogue* is a 'love-song to [analogue] photography'.[24] According to Margaret Iversen in 'Analogue: On Zoe Leonard and Tacita Dean' (2012) it is at this moment of loss when we become 'fully aware of the distinctive character of analogue photography', and one way that artists responded to this disappearance was by emphasising 'the virtues or specific character of predigital technologies'.[25] Precisely, one of these characteristics is the particular indexical nature of chemical photography that is based on 'a relatively continuous form of inscription involving physical contact'.[26] For instance, Leonard in 'A Continuous Signal: An Essay of Excerpts and Quotations' (2008) cites the following definition of analogue:

> [An] Analog [is] a representation of an object that resembles the original. Analog devices monitor conditions, such as movement, temperature and sound, and convert them into analogous electronic or mechanical patterns. For example, an analog watch represents the planet's rotation with the rotating hands on the watch face. Telephones turn voice vibrations into electrical vibrations for the same shape. Analog implies a continuous signal in contrast with digital, which breaks everything into numbers.[27]

Not only does Leonard provide a definition, but she has also consistently emphasised the importance of this indexicality in her practice. For example, Leonard – in her artist's talk at MoMA in 2015 – elaborated how at the core of her work is the fact that 'In analogue

[23] Leonard, Zoe (2002), 'Out of Time', *October*, 100 (Spring, 2002), p. 90.
[24] Ibid. It is important to note as well that Leonard has consistently used analogue photography throughout her career.
[25] Iversen, Margaret (2012), 'Analogue: On Zoe Leonard and Tacita Dean', *Critical Inquiry*, 38 (4), p. 798.
[26] Ibid., p. 797.
[27] Leonard, Zoe (2007), 'A Continuous Signal: An Essay of Excerpts and Quotations', in Ann Bremner (ed.), *Zoe Leonard: Analogue* [Exh. Cat.], (Columbus, Ohio; Cambridge, Mass.: Wexner Center for the Arts; MIT Press), p. 176.

photography there is contact, there is impression. The light hits a physical surface and there is a chemical response. It is all about contact'.[28]

Another case in point is the work of Tacita Dean, which encompasses large chalk drawings on blackboards like *The Roaring Forties: Seven Boards in Seven Days* (1997), depicting black and white cinema and the sea. Photography books like *Floh* (2001) comprised of one hundred sixty-three amateur photographs, which are shown without captions or explanations and that the artist collected over a period of six years from flea markets around Europe and America.[29] Or *Kodak* (2006), which is a 16mm film that shows the film production process in the Kodak factory in Chalon-sur-Saône, France. Dean produced this work before the factory stopped manufacturing celluloid film. The most important aspect for my argument is the fact that it shares with Leonard's a similar sensibility towards the use of analogue technologies. Dean in 'Analogue' (2006) provides the following definition:

> Analogue, it seems, is a description – a description, in fact, of all things I hold dear. It is a word that means proportion and likeness, and is, according to one explanation, a representation of an object that resembles the original; not a transcription or a translation but an equivalent in a parallel form: continuously variable, measurable and material.[30]

[28] *MoMa* (2015), *A Conversation Featuring Artist Zoe Leonard* [Online Video], <https://www.moma.org/explore/multimedia/videos/323/1604>, accessed on August 27, 2017.
[29] Dean, Tacita (2002), *Floh* (Göttingen: Steidl).
[30] Dean, Tacita (2006), 'Analogue', in Theodora Vischer, and Isabel Friedli (eds.), *Tacita Dean. Analogue: Films, Photographs, Drawings 1991-2006* [Exh. Cat.], trans. Ishbel Flett, and Catherine Schelbert (Göttingen: Steidl), p. 8.



Figure 2.6: Zoe Leonard, *Analogue* (1998-2009), chapter 7, MNCARS, Madrid

Again, we have a similar discourse. We could say that both artists feel close to and align themselves with an analogue mode of apprehending reality that creates a physically bound link between things. And as indicated, the importance of this indexicality resonates in Leonard's work in different ways. We can see an example of this in Leonard's documentation of a worn-out environment in *Analogue*. Where storefronts, signs, and objects 'bear the indexical marks of weather, age, and use' creating a connection between the things and the way the artist understands photography (Figure 2.6).[31] As Iversen claims:

> An analogue record of those traces doubles the indexicality of the image, making the image a trace of a trace and thereby drawing attention to an aspect of the medium within the image.[32]

Therefore, the indexical character of photography is found in the objects themselves.

[31] Iversen, Margaret (2012), 'Analogue: On Zoe Leonard and Tacita Dean', *Critical Inquiry*, 38 (4), p. 799.
[32] Ibid.



Figure 2.7: Zoe Leonard, *Analogue* (1998-2009), chapter 5, MNCARS, Madrid

I pointed out earlier on that in *Analogue* we are dealing with a double disappearance. And, this second loss has to do with her immediate urban environment. Leonard in the first half of the project from chapter one until chapter ten documented the remains of a model of shopping rooted in the needs of a specific community that was being displaced due to globalisation, and other commercial developments (Figure 2.7). An example of which is the increasing reliance on online retailers such as Amazon or eBay. Leonard wrote:

> These pictures examine remnants of other eras, hint at other ways of living: typewriter repair shops, flophouses on the Bowery, hand-lettered signs for Mandel Tobacco Co. on East Twelfth street, 'suckling pigs sold here' on West 125th.[33]

Also it is worth insisting that Leonard is using a camera from the 1940s – 'I like using this tool, looking at a new world through an old lens' – to photograph storefronts, window displays, shop signs and a variety of goods lay out on the sidewalk that we see

[33] Leonard, Zoe (2002), 'Out of Time', *October*, 100 (Spring, 2002), p. 93.

throughout these chapters.[34] Therefore there is an anachronistic aspect in this gesture of looking at the present with an old camera. Leonard said:

> I remember as a kid how excited I was to learn the word anachronism. I thought it amazing that an object could be out of its own time – that it could actually carry another time with it. So these pictures are about place and time. They are pictures of here and now, but also pictures of there and then. They look across place and across time.[35]

In fact, one way in which Leonard is proposing to look 'across place and across time' is by – metaphorically speaking – incorporating the gaze of Eugène Atget (1857-1927). In this sense she photographs New York in her present but establishing a link with late nineteenth and early twentieth century Paris via Atget.

Therefore, *Analogue* is a work rooted in visual knowledge, where Leonard pays homage and follows a lineage that goes back to Atget, as well as to Berenice Abbott (1898-1991) and Walker Evans (1903-1975). Leonard not only acknowledged this influence when she asserted: 'I'm interested in the traditions of Eugène Atget and Walker Evans'.[36] But she also devoted the entire section four of 'A Continuous Signal: An Essay of Excerpts and Quotations' to citations in connection with Atget's practice.[37] As a result, we find a series of similarities between the work of Atget and Leonard.

Firstly, they both photograph their respective cities at a transitional moment. Atget started to document what remained of the Old Paris in the late 1890s. He created a record of a city endangered by Georges-Eugène Haussmann's modernisation, focusing on the districts threatened by demolition. Consequently, he photographed buildings,

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[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid. Leonard seems to be indebted to Roland Barthes' argument in 'The Rhetoric of the Image' (1977) when he claims: 'What we have is a new space-time category: spatial immediacy and temporal anteriority, the photograph being an illogical conjunction between the here-now and the there-then'. See: Barthes, Roland (1964), 'Rhetoric of the Image', in Stephen Heath (ed., and trans.), (1977), *Image Music Text* (London: Fontana Press), p. 44.
[36] Leonard, Zoe (2002), 'Out of Time', *October*, 100 (Spring, 2002), p. 95.
[37] See: Leonard, Zoe (2007), 'A Continuous Signal: An Essay of Excerpts and Quotations', in Ann Bremner (ed.), *Zoe Leonard: Analogue* [Exh. Cat.], (Columbus, Ohio; Cambridge, Mass.: Wexner Center for the Arts; MIT Press), pp. 173-174.

streets, and artefacts dating from periods prior to the Revolution.[38] Furthermore Leonard pointed out that: 'Atget's photographs provide a record of Paris, but they also document the shift from a handmade world to an age of mechanical production'.[39] Likewise Leonard documents New York during the transition from analogue to digital that at the same time is part of a larger economic shift whose effects can partly be seen in the changes that are taking place in her neighbourhood.



Figure 2.8: Eugène Atget, *Costumier, 2 Rue de la Corderie* (1911)

Secondly, the organisation of their photographs is based on an eccentric system where images are not arranged by date or place but are loosely grouped in themes and materialised in albums. Furthermore, there are two photographic 'albums' from Atget's *œuvre* that are especially connected to *Analogue*. The first one is the *Métiers, boutiques et étalages* (*Trades, Shops, and Displays*) from 1912. This album is composed of sixty photographs where Atget depicts 'Parisian modes of organizing and displaying wares' in

[38] Hambourg, Maria Morris (1983), 'The Structure of the Work', in John Szarkowski, and Maria Morris Hambourg (eds.), *The Work of Atget, Vol. 3: The Ancien Régime* [Exh. Cat.], (London; Bedford: Gordon Fraser), p. 14.
[39] Leonard, Zoe (2002), 'Out of Time', *October*, 100 (Spring, 2002), p. 95.

working class districts.[40] They include: kiosks, shops around the area of the Rue Mouffetard and the place Maubert, fruit, vegetable and second-hand clothes shops among others (Figure 2.8).[41] As Molly Nesbit indicates in *Atget's Seven Albums* (1992), 'Small business was understood to be struggling for survival during these years, although the statistics show it remaining vital despite the threat from the big stores'.[42] We find parallels between this album and the first half of Leonard's *Analogue* from chapter one to chapter ten. Following on Atget's steps Leonard photographs a variety of shop window displays and storefronts. However, in contrast to Atget's images the small commerce that Leonard documents seems to be disappearing. In chapter one, we have a group of fifty-four photographs of derelict storefronts (Figure 2.9). They are ambiguous photographs because we see shops with their shutters down, but we do not know if it is because they are abandoned, not open to the public yet or indefinitely closed for business.



Figure 2.9: Zoe Leonard, *Analogue* (1998-2009), chapter 1, MNCARS, Madrid

[40] Hambourg, Maria Morris (1983), 'The Structure of the Work', in John Szarkowski, and Maria Morris Hambourg (eds.), *The Work of Atget, Vol. 3: The Ancien Régime* [Exh. Cat.], (London; Bedford: Gordon Fraser), p. 22.
[41] Nesbit, Molly (1992), *Atget's Seven Albums* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press), p. 158.
[42] Ibid.

The second album where we find similarities with Leonard's *Analogue* is Atget's *Zoniers* from 1913. This group of sixty photographs documents the territorial area, where the rag-pickers lived and traded. We find a parallelism between Atget's depiction of the *Zone* as a site housing marginal trades such as the rag-picker with their 'small stockpiles of scrap metal' and Leonard's focus on precarious and liminal parts of the city such immigrant neighbourhoods, or the rag industry in Brooklyn.[43]

Thirdly, they both rely on outmoded photographic technologies to document their cities. In the case of Atget, both his camera – a large wooden view camera that used glass plate negatives of 18 x 24 cm – and the printing process that he employed – albumen silver prints – were becoming obsolete. The same can be said of Leonard, and I will explore her printing process and use of colour in greater detail in the next section of this chapter. At the same time, both artists usually photograph outmoded objects that have traces of their previous uses, some examples include second-hand stalls of clothes, household items, shoes, etc. The documentation of these goods presents us in the case of Atget with 'a knowledge of working-class culture'.[44] Leonard provides an explanation of why these objects appear profusely in *Analogue* when she writes:

> Certainly, our cultures are recorded through the purposeful and self-conscious mediums of literature and art, but many stories and histories are told simply and clearly by pots and pans, ax handles and foldout couches, glass beads, satellite dishes, and Styrofoam cups.[45]

My point here is that both artists show an emphasis in outmoded objects and behind that there is an underlying assumption that the documentation of these goods can offer us some knowledge about the people that use these necessities and at the same time point to a larger economic and social context.

[43] Nesbit, Molly (1992), *Atget's Seven Albums* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press), p. 170.
[44] Ibid., p. 161.
[45] Leonard, Zoe (2002), 'Out of Time', *October*, 100 (Spring, 2002), p. 97.

Likewise, we find similarities between Leonard and Abbott. The latter became Man Ray's darkroom assistant in 1923. It was through him that in 1925 she met Atget. His work would have a major influence in her practice, she wrote:

> The first time I saw photographs by Eugène Atget was in 1925 in the studio of Man Ray in Paris. Their impact was immediate and tremendous. There was a sudden flash of recognition – the shock of realism unadorned.[46]



Figure 2.10: Berenice Abbot, *Pawn Shop, 48 Third Avenue, Manhattan* (1937)

Abbott, soon after Atget's death in 1927, bought some of his negatives and took them with her upon her relocation to New York in 1929. In 1930 she published simultaneously in New York, Paris and Leipzig, *Atget: Photographe de Paris*.[47] Furthermore Abbott, inspired by the work of Atget, began to photograph shop fronts, small merchants and buildings in New York. These photographs were published in a book, *Changing New York* in 1939.[48] In Abbot's documentation of small shops and window displays we find many photographs that resonate with the imagery in Leonard's *Analogue* (Figure 2.10).

[46] Abbott, Berenice (ed.), (1964), *The World of Atget* (New York: Horizon Press), p. 8.
[47] Atget, Eugène, and Orlan Pierre Marc, (1930), *Atget: Photographe de Paris*, (New York: E. Wayine).
[48] Abbott, Berenice, and McCausland, Elizabeth (1939), *Changing New York* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Company).



Figure 2.11: Walker Evans, *The Pitch Direct* (1958), Fortune (October 1958)


Figure 2.12: Zoe Leonard, *Analogue* (1998-2009), chapter 19, MNCARS, Madrid

Evans' admiration of Atget is well documented. For instance Maria Morris Hambourg in 'A Portrait of the Artist' (2000) explained: 'Evans, who had become friends with Abbott shortly after her return to New York in late 1929, shared […] also her utter fascination

with the work of Atget'.[49] For instance, Evans' photo essay – 'The Pitch Direct' – published in Fortune magazine in 1958 evokes Atget's images from *Trades, Shops, and Displays*.[50] Evans' essay was composed of a set of six photographs documenting shop windows and wares on the sidewalks of New York. Furthermore, there are striking similarities between some of these images and the ones from Leonard's *Analogue*, especially from chapter nineteen (Figure 2.11, Figure 2.12).

Therefore, the common denominator between Leonard, Abbott and Evans is that Atget's photographs influenced their work. In that sense, *Analogue* reflects a kaleidoscopic vision and Leonard is seeing New York through the lens of Atget as well as Abbott and Evans. However, it is not simply a question of mimicking their styles, aesthetic or strategies, but one of incorporating their gazes. Leonard evokes her predecessors by activating their images from the past but also transforming them through her singular approach. It is worth mentioning that the similarities are not limited to style, as these photographers are all seeking to understand the culture of their time – a period of transition – through a visual survey of obsolete and vernacular artefacts, along with the urban landscape. As a result, there is a shared sensibility in those ordinary things as being able to offer a visual commentary on who we are as a society at a specific moment in time.

With this section I hope I have articulated something about the meaning of Leonard's *Analogue*. At the core of the project there is a reflection on analogue photography, and an underlying discourse based on medium specificity that perhaps emerges as a response to the endangered position of photochemical photography due to the rise of digital. Nicholas Cullinan in 'Film Still' (2011) writing of Dean's work *Film* from 2011 made the following remarks about the medium specificity and they could easily be applied to Leonard:

[49] Hambourg, Maria Morris (2000), 'A Portrait of the Artist', in Maria Morris Hambourg, Jeff L. Rosenheim, Douglas Eklund, and Mia Fineman (eds.), (2000), *Walker Evans* [Exh. Cat.], (New York; Princeton, N.J.: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Princeton University Press), p. 19.
[50] Evans, Walker (1958), 'The Pitch Direct', *Fortune*, 58 (4), pp. 139-143, as cited in David Campany (2014), *Walker Evans: The Magazine Work* (Göttingen: Steidl), pp. 178-179.

> […] this is not the case of clinging to outmoded technology for nostalgia's sake. As any practitioner will testify, digital and analogue formats are markedly different. The constraints and disciplines of working with a medium are essential to shaping the finished product. [51]

Furthermore, Leonard uses analogue photography because she feels close to that mode of apprehending reality. In the context of her practice, photography is a tool to connect things by means of an (analogue) imprint and creates further linkages (analogies) with the work of Atget, Abbott and Evans.[52]

2.4 Photography: An act of observation

In the previous section, I looked closely into the meaning and use of chemical photography in Leonard's project *Analogue*. In this part I am broadening the scope by investigating Leonard's general approach towards photography. As I will explain, there are a set of common traits in her practice, and by analysing them I am hoping to get key clues that can help us to understand how she gathers information through the camera and its implications for *Analogue*.

Leonard's photographs encompass a series of untitled aerial views from the 1980s, in which we see the Niagara Falls, city models, rail tracks, and even maps from above. Some examples include: *Niagara Falls no. 4*, (1986/1991), *Washington D.C.*, (1989), and *Model of New York*, (1989/1990). The project *The Fae Richards Photo Archive* (1993-1996) is composed of eighty-two photographs that document the life of the fictional character Fae Richards, a lesbian African-American actress from the early twentieth century. *Tree + Fence* (1998-1999) is a series of photographs depicting urban trees that keep growing despite being enclosed by fences. Leonard reads such images as a metaphor of endurance and resilience.[53] Furthermore, she also produced photographs of storefronts, clothes, and

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[51] Cullinan, Nicholas (2011), 'Film Still', in Nicholas Cullinan (ed.), *Tacita Dean: Film* [Exh. Cat.], (London: Tate Publishing), pp. 8-9.

[52] For an understanding of photography and its relationship to analogy see: Silverman, Kaja (2015), *The Miracle of Analogy or the History of Photography, Part 1* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press).

[53] See: DeBord, Matthew (1999), 'A Thousand Words: Zoe Leonard Talks about Her Recent Work', *Artforum International*, 37 (5), p. 101. Some of Leonard's main exhibitions include: *Zoe Leonard*, Wiener Secession, Vienna (July 23, 1997 –

second-hand objects for *Analogue*. However, independently of the subject matter there are a few aspects that are common throughout her practice. For instance, photography in Leonard comes from a desire to understand something. She writes: 'I think I often photograph what I don't understand, or what I want to understand. I photograph in an effort to understand'.[54] Therefore she uses the camera as the main means to know about something, but also to gather and organise information. In this sense, the camera is a tool that serves her to look at 'how the world is ordered and thinking about how we organize our experience of it'.[55]

Furthermore, regardless of the topic, Leonard realised that the common ground of her practice was the fact that her 'perspective had accompanied' her.[56] In this regard, photography for Leonard is a direct means to show what is on her mind; to share what she saw with the viewer.[57] I quote Leonard again:

> [The camera] becomes a standard for your perspective in the world. I think what I am doing literally in taking pictures is I am taking a record from where I stand, from where I see. So, it is not just what I am taking a photograph off. It is not just the subject. It is from where I am taking that picture from.[58]

In this sense we could say that a prevailing thread running through her practice is the simple fact that her photographs reveal her point of view, and they all originate in the same 'gaze'. For instance, Leonard – after losing many friends due to the AIDS crisis in the 1980s – was interested in trying to comprehend why that happened by investigating

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September 14, 1997); *You See I Am Here After All*, Dia: Beacon, Beacon (September 21, 2008 – January 9, 2011); *Photographs*, Pinakothek der Moderne, Munich (April 1, 2009 – July 5, 2009); *Observation Point*, Camden Arts Centre, London (March 31, 2012 – June 24, 2012); *100 North Nevill Street*, Chinati Foundation, Marfa (December 15, 2013 – January 18, 2015); *In the Wake*, Hauser & Wirth, New York (September 13, 2016 – October 22, 2016).

[54] Dungan, Beth, and Leonard, Zoe (2002), 'An Interview with Zoe Leonard', *Discourse*, 24 (2), p. 85.

[55] Copeland, Huey (2013), 'Photography, the Archive, and the Question of Feminist Form: A Conversation with Zoe Leonard', *Camera Obscura*, 28 (2), p. 178.

[56] DeBord, Matthew (1999), 'A Thousand Words: Zoe Leonard Talks about Her Recent Work', *Artforum International*, 37 (5), p. 101.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía (2009), *A Conversation with Zoe Leonard* [Online Video], <https://vimeo.com/55789790>, accessed on August 27, 2017.

how the world is depicted, how we make sense of it and what power structures are implicit in those representations.[59] Leonard has explained:

> I take pictures of whatever fascinates or compels me. I still photograph nature. But, you know, in a way I think the AIDS crisis and getting involved in activism pushed me in a different direction. Not in an obvious way – my work is not about AIDS and most of my work isn't even overtly political, but I just became filled with rage. I began to question things more, and to want to look at history, to examine the structures of our world, the systems and people that make it so unfair and so cruel. That's when I started the medical history stuff and began to feel connected to those images.[60]



Figure 2.13: Zoe Leonard, *Wax Anatomical Figure, full view from above* (1990)

A series of photographs focusing on female anatomical wax models that she produced between 1990-1991 deals in an indirect way with these issues. One of her pieces, which is an example of this early practice, is the *Wax Anatomical Model, full view from above* (1990) (Figure 2.13).[61] In this photograph we see an anatomical model in a museum whose

[59] Cottingham, Laura, and Leonard, Zoe (2012), 'Zoe Leonard', [Online], *Journal of Contemporary Art*, <http://www.jca-online.com/leonard.html>, accessed on August 27, 2017.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Even though I am not dealing directly with this aspect of Leonard's work, it is important to point out that her practice is deeply inflected by her own female, queer gaze. We only need to consider that in the late eighties and early nineties she

stomach is open for the purpose of medical study, but at the same time she has a redundant pearl necklace and long blond hair. The photograph makes visible how women were represented in medical history at a specific point in time and the sexism implicit in that depiction. Nonetheless, the fact that she photographs the exhibit from above – from a slightly distorted angle – leaving visible her framing, but also the cabinet display, the light reflecting on the vitrine glass, and the black frame of the negative reveal how her position differs from the initial representation assigned to this model.

Therefore, with this example that I have given, we can see that Leonard is 'reframing' her subject matter.[62] 'Asking people to take a second look. Not just the objects themselves but how they are displayed'.[63] As a result we see how she introduces her point of view within the image, how there is an attentiveness to the act of observation, the importance of the gaze, and how the gesture of looking is never an 'innocent' one. As Mark Godfrey claims in 'Mirror displacements: Mark Godfrey on the art of Zoe Leonard' (2008) these are constant preoccupations in Leonard's practice:

> Every image of Leonard's presents itself as a record of something she has seen and taken an interest in, indicating the physical conditions in which she set up her camera and, often, her bodily proximity to the subject.[64]

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was a member of the activist group ACT UP (The AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power), which came up as a response to the AIDS crisis. In 1992, Leonard produced a poster – that was seen in the streets of New York – with Gang – an artist collective that was part of ACT UP – that consisted on a representation of a woman's vagina with the caption: 'Read my lips before they are sealed'. This work was born out of a concern with abortion regulations of the time and also the control of the female body. At the same time, that poster was the starting point for her contribution to the ninth edition of the Documenta in Kassel in 1992. Leonard chose seven rooms from the Neue Galerie containing paintings produced by men from the eighteenth century and depicting women mostly in portraits and nudes. Leonard's participation consisted in removing some of these paintings and replacing them with nineteen small black and white close-up photographs of vaginas. Therefore, with her photographs Leonard introduced the female sex, which was implicit but missing in those paintings, with the purpose of understanding her own gaze. With this what I am trying to show is an example of the inter-relationship between her activism, personal views and artistic practice. In this sense, her female, queer gaze underlines her work. *The Fae Richards Photo Archive* is an example, as well as the series of photographs about anatomical wax models. The latter can be read as a way to understand and criticise an imposed male gaze on the female body and to show us Leonard's framing and in that way 're-store' her position on the topic. For a detailed account on Leonard's early practice and her involvement in activism see: Leonard, Zoe, and Blume, Anna (1997), 'Zoe Leonard interviewed by Anna Blume', in Kathrin Rhomberg (ed.), *Secession: Zoe Leonard* [Exh. Cat.], (Vienna: Wiener Secession), pp. 7-23; and Leonard, Zoe, and Schulman, Sarah (2010), 'Interview of Zoe Leonard', [Online], *ACT UP*, <http://www.actuporalhistory.org/interviews/images/leonard.pdf>, accessed on August 27, 2017.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Godfrey, Mark (2008), 'Mirror Displacements: Mark Godfrey on the Art of Zoe Leonard', *Artforum International*, 46 (7),

However, her photographs go beyond merely emphasising the artist's agency. It is by the combination of drawing attention to the act of looking, the gathering through the camera, and the gaze, that she indicates that both photography and photographs are constructions. Lynne Cooke in 'Mapping a Course from Site to Sight' (2010) writes in regards to Leonard's practice:

> Far from providing objective information in a notionally transparent record, each work declares itself, first and foremost, a visual artefact. In rejecting the purported factuality of a documentary representation, Leonard seeks a personal sense of truth.[65]

Leonard has also written about the idea of the photograph as a construction. For instance, she has drawn attention to how looking at her photographs has an affinity with the experience of reading Gertrude Stein's writing:

> […] Stein never lets you get past the writing to just the story. You're always kept in the act of her writing and the act of your reading. That's something I'm interested in doing in my work: I constantly re-present the frame to ask you to look at the act of looking. Yes, there is a subject, a story, or a narrative, but there's also a consciousness of the whole frame and of language, and the fact that language can never quite jump over and substitute for experience.[66]

It is in this manner that Leonard makes use of a series of mechanisms – that are constant in her practice – to reinforce the idea that what the viewer is looking at is a construction, and it is never a neutral support. For instance, one of these strategies is the fact that Leonard never crops out an image and therefore during the printing process she always leaves visible the black edge surrounding the negative. Leonard said: 'I want to show that there is a frame; that every photograph is an edited, subjective image'.[67] In Leonard's

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p. 294.

[65] Cooke, Lynne (2010), 'Mapping a Course from Site to Sight', in Lynne Cooke, Karen Kelly, and Barbara Schröder (eds.), *Zoe Leonard: You See I Am Here After All* [Exh. Cat.], (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press), pp. 204-219.

[66] Copeland, Huey (2013), 'Photography, the Archive, and the Question of Feminist Form: A Conversation with Zoe Leonard', *Camera Obscura*, 28 (2), pp. 186-187.

[67] Dungan, Beth, and Leonard, Zoe (2002), 'An Interview with Zoe Leonard', *Discourse*, 24 (2), p. 79.

photographs this black frame functions as a reminder that you are looking to both Leonard's subjective point of view, and also to a visual construction.



Figure 2.14: Zoe Leonard, *Analogue* (1998-2009), chapter 6, MNCARS, Madrid

In *Analogue* there is a multiplicity of framing devices within the image. For example, firstly in this project we see spaces and things as they have been seen through Leonard's square format camera; therefore, the camera works as an initial framing tool. Secondly, in each photograph of *Analogue* we notice the black edge surrounding the photographs and containing the film brand names Kodak and Fuji – a subtle reminder as to the analogue character of the project. Thirdly, the storefronts, shop windows, devices such as shelves, signs – that appear in the first part of the project – are in themselves a way of displaying and framing (Figure 2.14). Lastly when the photographs are shown as an installation, they are simply affixed on the wall under a glass with four hooks. In that context, the white paper border that encloses the black edge of the negative stands out and becomes another means to frame the work. The co-existence of all these frames within the work prompts us to question which of these strategies is the 'one framing' the photographs. Is there a single point of view and a corresponding 'single frame' that

represents the photographs? Derrida in *The Truth in Painting* (1978) calls 'the frame: a *parergon*'.[68] He explains:

> A *parergon* comes against, beside, and in addition to the *ergon*, the work done [*fait*], the fact [*le fait*], the work, but it does not fall to one side, it touches and cooperates within the operation, from a certain outside. Neither simply outside nor simply inside.[69]

In this way we could read the frame and by extension framing devices as both containing and being contained by the work, becoming an inseparable part of it that is not external to the work. Therefore, the question 'of the frame, of the limit between inside and outside, must, somewhere in the margins, be constituted together'.[70]



Figure 2.15: Zoe Leonard, *Analogue* (1998-2009), detail from chapter 2

Applying Derrida to Leonard's work we could read the set of framing strategies, that I have described above, as the interplay between internal-external, inside-outside. But another way of thinking about the internal is as being correlated with the artist's subjective point of view that leaks in the images and becomes apparent. And the

[68] Derrida, Jacques ([1978] 1987), *The Truth in Painting*, trans. Geoff Bennington, and Ian McLeod (Chicago, Ill.; London: The University of Chicago Press), p. 60.
[69] Ibid., p. 54.
[70] Ibid., p. 55.

external as related to the objective traces of the photographic process that are made evident throughout the images. One example where we can see this at play is in the aforementioned black edge encircling the photographs, which is an aspect that is the direct result of a photochemical process, in this sense is our 'objective trace'. However, Leonard by leaving this black frame is reinforcing the idea that what you are looking at is firstly a fragment from a larger totality, secondly and more importantly is a means to introduce her point of view, her way of limiting reality. Furthermore, the second image on the third row of chapter two is an example of Leonard's representation and use of framing devices within frames (Figure 2.15). In this photograph we see the window display of a barber shop. This window is spilt in two and functions as a frame. In each side of the window we have two posters and each of them is composed of a grid of up to thirty images depicting the front, back and side view of male haircuts. If we consider this example together with the one I have given about the black edge encircling the image then we begin to understand the notions of interiority, exteriority as a way of unravelling a vertiginous *mise en abîme* of frames.[71] In this sense there is a collapse of interior and exterior where one gets incorporated by the other and in that way they are constituted together. Meaning that perhaps Leonard does integrate her point of view by way of insisting on revealing that what you are looking at is her framing, but at the cost of her gaze being engulfed by the frame and language of the camera. Therefore, in this sense they are intertwined.

Leonard's photographs rather than disguising, show the scratches, dust, blemishes that are part of the manual darkroom printing process.[72] This strategy constitutes the second mechanism that serves to highlight the idea of the photograph, as a visual artefact. Again, we have a reminder of the analogue character of her practice. In this case, Leonard leaves deliberately the traces of the printing process in her photographs. Therefore, there is an emphasis on the specific materiality of analogue photography in

[71] For my analysis on the role of the frame in Leonard's work I have borrowed from Patricia Allmer's interpretation of Lee Miller's photograph *From the Top of the Great Pyramid* (1937). See: Allmer, Patricia (2016), *Lee Miller: Photography, Surrealism, and Beyond* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 123-133.

[72] See for instance: Cooke, Lynne (2010), 'Mapping a Course from Site to Sight', in Lynne Cooke, Karen Kelly, and Barbara Schröder (eds.), *Zoe Leonard: You See I Am Here After All* [Exh. Cat.], (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press), pp. 216.

contraposition with the digital. As a result, it is not only the gaze that is important, but also the role of her hand and by extension the work implicit in the process of producing a photographic paper object. This is a strategy that appears throughout *Analogue*, where we notice small marks and scratches in the surface of the photographs when they are seen in close-up.



Figure 2.16: Zoe Leonard, *Analogue* (1998-2009), chapter 3, MNCARS, Madrid

Briony Fer, writing of *Analogue*, in 'The Drift of Things' (2010) points out that 'Zoe Leonard makes analogue photographs that have a very distinctive colour register'.[73] Moreover one that 'seems to be left over from another time'.[74] For instance, the materials – such as photographic paper – needed to produce the prints for *Analogue* were discontinued in 1992 and Leonard used the remaining existing ones in the US.[75] The particular colour appearance of *Analogue* is the result of the combination of the film, printing process, and photographic paper used to produce these photographs. Besides, in this project there is a mixture of black and white as well as colour prints. However, I only noticed this when

[73] Fer, Briony (2010), 'The Drift of Things', in Stefanie Braun (ed.), *Deutsche Börse Photography Prize 2010: Anna Fox, Zoe Leonard, Sophie Ristelhueber, Donovan Wylie* (London: Photographers' Gallery), p. 61.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.

looking closely at the work. Since the colour photographs – due to the processes used – are almost 'depleted' of colour and they look very similar to the black and white ones. For example, we see this at play in the photographs of storefronts of chapter one, chapter three, chapter four and chapter seven (Figure 2.16). Therefore, we could consider the use of colour as a third mechanism. One, that once more, reminds us of the material quality specific to analogue photography – and in this case it also points to an anachronistic aspect in the project – where colour functions as a sign that indicates the changing nature of photographic technology and also serves to situate the work within a specific historical as well as technological moment.[76]

As I have briefly explained, in Leonard's photographic process we can distinguish the following gestures. Firstly, she notices something in the outside world that interests her. Secondly, she takes a picture, and by the same token she re-frames something in a way that makes explicit her point of view. Thirdly, she later re-presents what she initially saw and show it to the viewer as a work on paper, emphasising the materiality of the photograph. It is in this way – throughout these different steps – that her photographs are a way of engaging visually with questions related with structures of seeing and depicting. Similarly, Urs Stahel in 'Charting Life' (2007), has written that Leonard's photographs are:

> […] representations of seeing, perceiving, discovering, surveying; they pose questions about how we see, from what viewpoint, and about how the way we see affects our attitudes.[77]

Therefore, we could say that Leonard's practice is steeped in a self-conscious and reflexive attitude towards the gesture of gathering through the camera. To conclude this section, it is worth noting that the different mechanisms that I have discussed suggest that Leonard's work stems from the discrepancy between reality and representation. As Leonard remarked: 'I'm also interested in the gap between reality and representation,

[76] Ibid.
[77] Stahel, Urs (2007), 'Charting Life', in Urs Stahel (ed.), *Zoe Leonard: Photographs, Fotomuseum Winterthur* [Exh. Cat.], (Göttingen: Steidl), p. 12.

objective evidence versus subjective fiction'.[78] The strategies discussed provide us with clues to Leonard's understanding of analogue photography as a trace of the world that is also deeply inflected by the artist's gaze and hand. In this sense we could say that Leonard creates 'documents' that nevertheless maintain an informational function but at the same time she introduces her understanding of what she saw in the photograph. So, her photographs instead of being representations are 're-presentations', in the sense of presenting again what she saw, from her point of view, to the viewer.

2.5 Zoe Leonard as a rag-picker[79]

In the above section I have considered Leonard's approach to photography in order to understand how the camera functions in her practice as the main tool to collect visual information and the implications of her way of approaching photography. In this part of the chapter I am focusing instead on studying the relevance of the rag-picker as a distinct gathering strategy that is both, specific and dominant in *Analogue*.

As I will elaborate below, the use of analogue photography together with the particular relationship that Leonard establishes with an urban environment inhabited by a 'surplus' community – where all these elements are becoming 'leftovers' – has resonances with Charles Baudelaire's metaphor of the artist as rag-picker. Especially in his writing on *Wine and Hashish* (1851), as well as in his poem 'The Ragpickers' Wine' from the *Flowers of Evil* (1857), and by extension with Walter Benjamin's use of this figure in *The Arcades Project* (1988).[80]

[78] Bright, Susan (2005), *Art Photography Now* (London: Thames & Hudson), p. 224.
[79] I borrowed the idea of Leonard as a rag-picker from: McDonough, Tom (2010), 'The Archivist of Urban Waste: Zoe Leonard, Photographer as Rag-Picker', *Afterall: A Journal of Art, Context, and Enquiry*, 25, pp. 20-29. There is also a recent essay that links Evans' work with the rag-picker, see: Jones, Julie (2017), 'Portraying Obsolescence: Walker Evans, Ragpicker of an America in Decline', in Clément Chéroux (ed.), *Walker Evans* [Exh. Cat.], trans. Sharon Grevet (Paris; Munich; London; New York: Centre Pompidou; DelMonico Books-Prestel), pp. 27-32.
[80] Baudelaire, Charles ([1851] 2002), *On Wine and Hashish*, trans. Andrew Brown (London: Hesperus Press Limited); Baudelaire, Charles (1857), 'The Ragpickers' Wine', in Marthiel Mathews, and Jackson Mathews (eds.), ([1857] 1989), *The Flowers of Evil*, trans. Christopher Mattison (New York: New Directions Publishing), pp. 136-137; Benjamin, Walter ([1982] 2002), *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland, and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press).

The rag-picker is a profession that dates from the end of the Middle Ages.[81] James Cannon in the *Paris Zone: A Cultural History, 1840-1944* (2016) states that: 'The term *chiffonier* entered the official lexicon in 1640 but rag-picking as a trade came into its own during the first half of the nineteenth century'.[82] As a result this occupation reached its peak by the mid nineteenth century. At this early stage of Paris's modernisation there were fifteen thousand rag-pickers or *chiffonniers* in the city.[83] They survived by gathering and collecting leftovers and selling them to small-scale junk dealers for a small profit. Rag-pickers served two functions: 'helping to clear the city of its waste while providing recyclable materials to heavy industry'.[84] They collected a variety of items including waste paper, metal, glass, cork, animal bones and skins, among others.[85] However as their name indicates they amassed mostly rags (*chiffons)*, which were needed for the production of paper.[86] It was the proliferation of printing that made the rag-picker's future, since the paper industry required large amounts of cloth and rags, which they provided.[87]

The rag-pickers lived in the centre of Paris until the late 1840s. Due to the rebuilding of Paris, under Haussmann's initiative the city's medieval slums were demolished between 1853 and 1869.[88] As a result, the rag-pickers were moved to the outskirts, to an area known as the *Zone.*[89] Ian Walker in *City Gorged with Dreams* (2002) distinguishes three spaces in nineteenth century Paris that where in an ambiguous position between city and country.[90] Firstly was a ring of fortifications that allowed entrance in and out of the city through a number of *portes.*[91] Secondly were the suburbs called *banlieue, which* were

[81] Musée Historique de l'Environnement Urbain (2009), *Les Chiffonniers* [The Rag-pickers], [Online], <http://www.mheu.org/fr/chiffonniers>, accessed on August 27, 2017.
[82] Cannon, James (2016), *The Paris Zone: A Cultural History, 1840-1944* (London: Routledge), p. 12.
[83] Musée Historique de l'Environnement Urbain (2009), *Les Chiffonniers* [The Rag-pickers], [Online], <http://www.mheu.org/fr/chiffonniers>, accessed on August 27, 2017. Also, it could be said that the rag-picker is the urban embodiment of the rural *glaneur*, who picked up wheat left after the harvest. For a contemporary understanding of the *glaneur* see: *Les glaneurs et la glaneuse* [The Gleaners and I], (2000), [DVD], dir. Agnès Varda (France: Ciné-Tamaris).
[84] Cannon, James (2016), *The Paris Zone: A Cultural History, 1840-1944* (London: Routledge), p. 12.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Musée Historique de l'Environnement Urbain (2009), *Les Chiffonniers* [The Rag-pickers], [Online], <http://www.mheu.org/fr/chiffonniers>, accessed on August 27, 2017.
[88] Cannon, James (2016), *The Paris Zone: A Cultural History, 1840-1944* (London: Routledge), p. 19.
[89] Ibid., p. 19.
[90] Walker, Ian (2002), *City Gorged with Dreams: Surrealism and Documentary Photography in Interwar Paris* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press), pp. 117-118.
[91] Ibid., p. 117.

located beyond the fortifications. Thirdly was the *Zone*, which was established in early 1840s and situated between the fortifications and the *banlieue*.[92] Walker writes:

> This was a strip of land about 250 metres wide immediately in front of the fortifications where building had been forbidden for defensive purposes. But the Zone outlived such practicalities, and by the late nineteenth-century, it was inhabited by gypsies, rag-pickers, itinerants – known collectively as the *zoniers* – whose presence had become integral to the myth of the city itself.[93]

Precisely, the understanding of the myth surrounding both the *Zone* and the rag-pickers plays a significant role when it comes to fully grasp the implications of using the construction of the rag-picker as a metaphor within literature and art.

Cannon develops further the idea of the mythology of the rag-picker by exposing the reasons behind it. He argues that in the first half of the nineteenth century the Romantic Movement 'turned rag-pickers into philosopher-kings or revolutionaries'.[94] Cannon maintains that one of the reasons why that happened was due to the fact that the *chiffoniers* lived in hermetic clans, and this encouraged the Romantics to project their fantasies into the rag-pickers.[95] Furthermore for the Romantics the rag-pickers came to be seen as urban inhabitants whose 'nomadic lifestyle or work practices subverted the prevailing moral and economic order of the urban bourgeoisie'.[96] But what is more important is that the *chiffonier* became an emblem for 'struggling young writers and artists seeking to dramatize their own sense of marginality and to contest – if only temporarily – their bourgeois heritage'.[97] This idea also appears in Walker, who maintains that: 'the bohemian writers of mid-nineteenth-century had often identified themselves with these outcasts of society [the *zoniers*]'.[98] In these aspects – which contributed to the Romantic mythology that was built around the rag-picker – we can

[92] Ibid., p. 118.
[93] Ibid., p. 118.
[94] Cannon, James (2016), *The Paris Zone: A Cultural History, 1840-1944* (London: Routledge), p. 13.
[95] Ibid., pp. 12-13.
[96] Ibid., p. 23.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Walker, Ian (2002), *City Gorged with Dreams: Surrealism and Documentary Photography in Interwar Paris* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press), p. 118.

see some of the reasons why Baudelaire was drawn to this marginal figure stigmatised by society. In *On Wine and Hashish* Baudelaire described the *chiffonier's* endeavour, but he also created an analogy between the poet and the rag-picker. Baudelaire writes:

> Here is a man whose task it is to pick up all the rubbish produced on one day in the capital. All that the great city has thrown out, all it has lost, all it has disdained, all it has broken, he catalogues and collects. He consults the archives of debauchery, works through the lumber-room of rubbish. He makes a selection, chooses astutely; he picks up, as a miser seizes on treasure, the refuse which, when chewed over by the divinity of Industry, will become objects of use or enjoyment. […] He arrives, wagging his head and stumbling over the cobbles like those young poets who spend all their days wandering around in search of rhymes.[99]

From Baudelaire's text it can be gathered first and foremost, as Benjamin already pointed out in *The Paris Arcades* (1988), that Baudelaire '[…] recognizes himself in the figure of the ragman'.[100] However this identification is problematic. I am basing my argument and following on Adrian Rifkin's call in *Street Noises: Parisian Pleasure, 1900–40* (1993) for a more careful elaboration of the rag-picker as a type within the context of history and literature.[101] For example, Baudelaire makes a comparison between the rag-pickers and poets' wanderings in the last sentence of the text that I have quoted. From this we could say that Baudelaire assumes that the rag-picker like the poet is a type of *flâneur* who strolls the city at free will. Contrary to this idea, the rag-pickers' wanderings were tied to a cycle of production/consumption. As a result, they followed the movement of commodities through the city as they were discarded. But what is more important is that they collected this different array of leftovers out of need, since the rag-picker was a

[99] Baudelaire, Charles ([1851] 2002), *On Wine and Hashish*, trans. Andrew Brown (London: Hesperus Press Limited), p. 8. See also: Baudelaire, Charles (1857), 'The Ragpickers' Wine', in Marthiel Mathews, and Jackson Mathews (eds.), ([1857] 1989), *The Flowers of Evil*, trans. Christopher Mattison (New York: New Directions Publishing), pp. 136-137.
[100] Benjamin, Walter ([1982] 2002), *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland, and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press), p. 350. Similarly, Benjamin the materialist historian could be seen as a rag-picker, especially in *The Paris Arcades*, where he deals with the 'detritus' of history. For a detailed account see: Wohlfarth, Irving (1986), 'Et Cetera? The Historian as Chiffonnier', *New German Critique*, 39, pp. 142-168.
[101] Rifkin, Adrian (1993), *Street Noises: Parisian Pleasure, 1900-40* (Manchester; London: Manchester University Press), p. 38.

borderline figure located geographically at the margin of the city – the *Zone* – and socially in 'the lower-limits of poverty'.[102]

In addition to this – and as part of the mythology surrounding the rag-pickers – they were perceived as independent figures. However already in the nineteenth century the rag-pickers were part of a structured trade. For instance, they were differentiated in the following:

> […] *maîtres-chiffoniers* (often wealthy wholesalers acting as intermediaries between individuals and industry), *placiers* (who worked a particular building or street), *coureurs* (who roamed the streets in search of objects rejected by the *placiers*) and *gadouilleurs* (who sifted through the final remnants of the city's waste as it was offloaded by municipal garbage collectors at suburban mills and incinerators).[103]

The rag-pickers were also an occupation regulated by law, proof of which is that they were required to wear a badge issued by the Police Department.[104] Following this logic we could apply Rifkin's analysis of the rag-picker's role in modernity to Baudelaire's use of the term. Rifkin states:

> In some ways, in so far as it can be pretended that the process of rag-picking is itself unconstrained by rules or contracts, the indiscriminate element in it parallels the ideology of art for its own sake, as both yield up a vision of freedom and choice.[105]

Therefore, Baudelaire's use of the rag-picker implies an absence and misrecognition of their socio-economic conditions. This lacks allows Baudelaire to appropriate this figure for his own discourse – one where '[the rag-picker's] search for goods itself becomes

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[102] Adorno, Theodor (1970), 'Letters to Walter Benjamin', in Ernst Bloch, György Lukács, Bertolt Brecht, and Walter Benjamin ([1977] 1980), *Aesthetics and Politics*, trans. Ronald Taylor (London; New York: Verso), p. 130.
[103] Cannon, James (2016), *The Paris Zone: A Cultural History, 1840-1944* (London: Routledge), p. 12.
[104] Musée Historique de l'Environnement Urbain (2009), *Les Chiffonniers* [The Rag-pickers], [Online], <http://www.mheu.org/fr/chiffonniers>, accessed on August 27, 2017.
[105] Rifkin, Adrian (1993), *Street Noises: Parisian Pleasure, 1900-40* (Manchester; London: Manchester University Press), p. 41.

identity'.[106] It is only by means of this simplification that Baudelaire is able to equate poet and rag-picker on the grounds that both use the same 'search methodology' in their work – which is the wandering through the streets in order to find refuse. However, as it has already been pointed out in the case of the rag-pickers, they scavenge the city in order to survive. In Baudelaire it is out of a belief that ruins, the discarded, worn-out and outmoded have the capacity to reveal his personal experience of the city. Consequently, there is a fascination with the marginal in Baudelaire's disguising of the poet as rag-picker. But what is more important is that Baudelaire's latent simplification does violence to this figure by not acknowledging the broader context.

Rifkin, by drawing attention to Theodor Adorno's correspondence with Benjamin, argues that there is a similar problem in Benjamin's use of the rag-picker.[107] Adorno in his letter points out that Benjamin fails to acknowledge that under capitalism even waste has an economic value as well as advises him to look into the figure of the rag-picker as portrayed in Gustave Charpentier opera *Louise* from 1900 'suggesting that he would find there a more completely socialised representation than that of Baudelaire's poem'. [108] Adorno writes:

> I am referring to the ragpicker. It seems to me that his destiny as the figure of the lower limits of poverty is certainly not brought out by the way the word ragpicker appears in your study. It contains none of the dog-like cringing, nothing of the sack on his back or the voice which, for instance, in Charpertier's *Louise* provides, as it were, the source of black light for an entire opera. There is nothing in it of the comet's tail of jeering children behind the old man. […] But I wonder whether I exaggerate in assuming that your failure to do so is related to the fact that the capitalist function of the ragpicker – namely, to subject even rubbish to exchange value – is not articulated.[109]

[106] Ibid., p. 40.
[107] Ibid., p. 41.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Adorno, Theodor (1970), 'Letters to Walter Benjamin', in Ernst Bloch, György Lukács, Bertolt Brecht, and Walter Benjamin ([1977] 1980), *Aesthetics and Politics*, trans. Ronald Taylor (London; New York: Verso), p. 130.

Similarly, in Leonard's *Analogue* we find echoes of the metaphor of the artist as rag-picker, in both the 'methodology of search' that she uses to collect information, and in the subject matter.[110] However I am not suggesting that Leonard's task is the same as the rag-picker. As explained in the case of Baudelaire the conditions under which artist and rag-picker work are very different. Therefore, my intention is to use the figure of the rag-picker as understood in modernity with its ambiguities and by doing so I am hoping to offer a possible reading of how Leonard could have approached the gathering of her subject matter when producing *Analogue*.

Ewa Lajer-Burcharth in 'Modernity and the Condition of Disguise: Manet's Absinthe Drinker' (1985) refers to Baudelaire's depiction of the *chiffonier* as '[…] a kind of archivist of urban waste, one who does not collect everything he finds but makes intelligent choices, bestowing preciousness on ordinary objects'.[111] Therefore the task of the rag-picker/poet figure as appropriated by Baudelaire implies a selection process; it is not simply a matter of accumulation, but of finding those remnants that resonate in the artist in order to create something meaningful and preserve them in that way.

For example, one of the fundamental concerns of *Analogue* is with that which is becoming a leftover of the urban landscape, a detritus of consumer society.[112] The point of departure for the first ten chapters of *Analogue* was Leonard's neighbourhood. In fact, the project begins with photographs of this urban landscape that were 'taken as Leonard walked the streets of her native New York'.[113] Therefore, Leonard's strategy of walking down the streets and recording her disappearing neighbourhood is reminiscent of the rag-picker's task. According to George Baker, in his essay 'Lateness and Longing' (2008),

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[110] For a detailed analysis see: McDonough, Tom (2010), 'The Archivist of Urban Waste: Zoe Leonard, Photographer as Rag-Picker', *Afterall: A Journal of Art, Context, and Enquiry*, 25, pp. 20-29.

[111] Lajer-Burcharth, Ewa (1985), 'Modernity and the Condition of Disguise: Manet's "Absinthe Drinker" ', *Art Journal*, 45 (1), pp. 21-22; Adorno, Theodor (1970), 'Letters to Walter Benjamin', in Ernst Bloch, György Lukács, Bertolt Brecht, and Walter Benjamin ([1977] 1980), *Aesthetics and Politics*, trans. Ronald Taylor (London; New York: Verso), p. 130.

[112] Leonard in an interview with Beth Dungan has mentioned her interested in detritus. She said: 'I think our detritus tells an awful lot about us'. See: Dungan, Beth, and Leonard, Zoe (2002), 'An Interview with Zoe Leonard', *Discourse*, 24 (2), p. 83.

[113] Molesworth, Helen (2008), 'Zoe Leonard, *Analogue*, 1998-2007', in Terry Smith, Okwui Enwezor, and Nancy Condee (eds.), *Antinomies of Art and Culture: Modernity, Postmodernity, Contemporaneity* (Durham, No. Car.; London: Duke University Press),p. 187

Leonard turns 'into an endless wanderer, a rag-picker of the image perambulating urban space day after day'.[114]

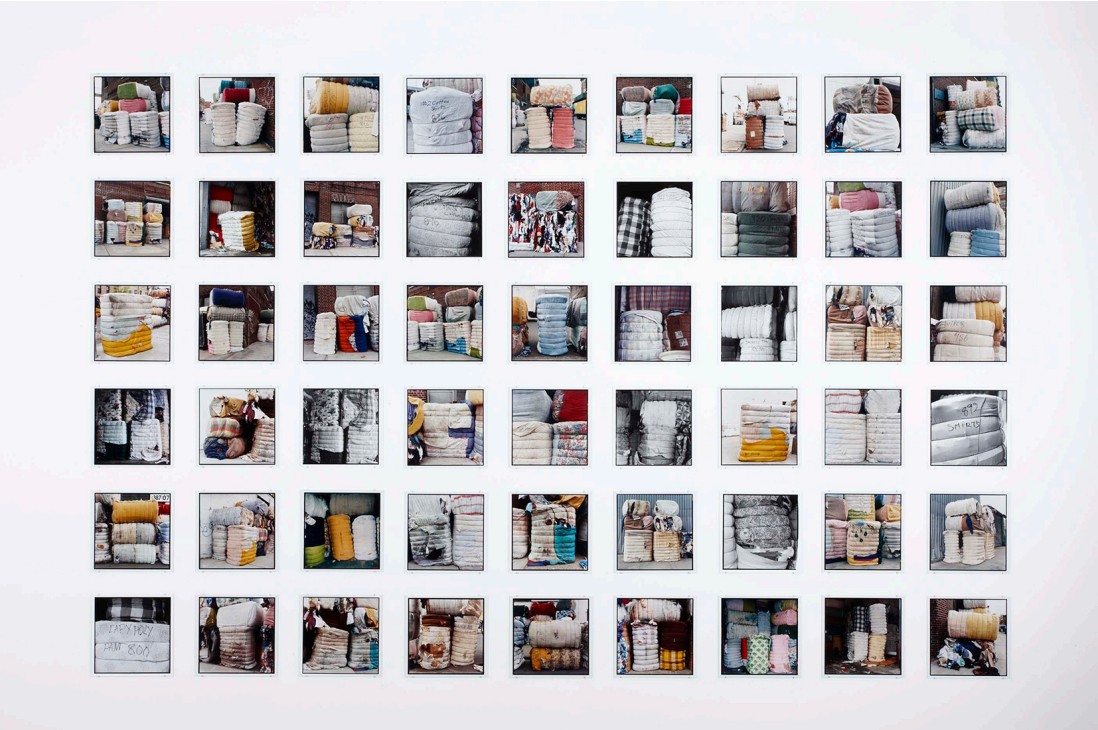

Figure 2.17: Zoe Leonard, *Analogue* (1998-2009), chapter 11, MNCARS, Madrid



Figure 2.18: Zoe Leonard, *Analogue* (1998-2009), chapter 13, MNCARS, Madrid

[114] Ibid., p. 58.

The rag-picker in *Analogue* serves not only as a metaphor to her photographic endeavour, but we can literally follow the rags and their trade. In the second part of *Analogue* from chapters eleven to twenty-five we see that Leonard gradually expanded the project from her neighbourhood to other boroughs of the city.[115] For example, Brooklyn's garment industry, tailors, fabric stores as well as clothing merchants have a significant place in the project. In fact, Leonard discovered the rag-trade industry there, and photographed the bundles of second-hand clothes ready to be shipped in chapter eleven (Figure 2.17). This is the largest chapter of the series and contains fifty-four images. The work's narrative follows the trip of these cast-off clothes to their journey's end in Kampala, Uganda (Figure 2.18). In this way Leonard 'began to see New York as a kind of fulcrum or hub' that had connections with a global commerce.[116] Godfrey has also explained that:

> Leonard became interested in the way in which the products she saw in these shops could unravel stories about the connections between New York and other countries – how immigrant storekeepers import products from the countries of their birth, and how used items are exported to developing countries.[117]

Therefore, if the rag-picker of the nineteenth century collected things to serve the growing demands of the paper industry, it seems that its contemporary version follows the requests of an international and globalised market. In this way the clothes that were initially produced in developing countries, were used in the US and by way of a detour they return to the places of their production once they had been cast-off.[118] For example Leonard photographed those clothes being sold in street market stalls from chapter thirteen to fifteen (Figure 2.18).

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[115] Cooke, Lynne (2012), 'Zoe Leonard, Derrotero', [Online], *Dia Art Foundation*, <https://diaart.org/media/_file/brochures/leonard-zoe-derrotero-2.pdf>, accessed on August 27, 2017.
[116] Leonard, Zoe (2002), 'Out of Time', *October*, 100 (Spring, 2002), p. 93.
[117] Godfrey, Mark (2008), 'Mirror Displacements: Mark Godfrey on the Art of Zoe Leonard', *Artforum International*, 46 (7), p. 294.
[118] For a detailed account see: Molesworth, Helen (2008), 'Zoe Leonard, *Analogue*, 1998-2007', in Terry Smith, Okwui Enwezor, and Nancy Condee (eds.), *Antinomies of Art and Culture: Modernity, Postmodernity, Contemporaneity* (Durham, No. Car.; London: Duke University Press), pp. 187-206.



Figure 2.19: Zoe Leonard, *Analogue* (1998-2009), chapter 20, MNCARS, Madrid

Moreover, in *Analogue* Leonard also follows other objects in their cycles of 'dispersal, dissolution, drift'.[119] For instance the images of photography shops and labs that are shown mostly in chapter one seem to reappear in the Kodak's kiosks in Mexico that are shown in chapter twenty (Figure 2.9, Figure 2.19). The items displayed in window shops and spilling over the streets that are in chapter five and six seem to replicate in a different guise in a flea market in Poland in the last chapter of *Analogue;* where everyday objects are shown after being used, discarded, and again back in the market waiting for a new owner and use (Figure 2.7, Figure 2.14, Figure 2.20). In this sense the second part of *Analogue* traces the movements of discarded goods from New York to vendor booths and flea markets stalls.

119 Fer, Briony (2010), 'The Drift of Things', in Stefanie Braun (ed.), *Deutsche Börse Photography Prize 2010: Anna Fox, Zoe Leonard, Sophie Ristelhueber, Donovan Wylie* (London: Photographers' Gallery), p. 62.

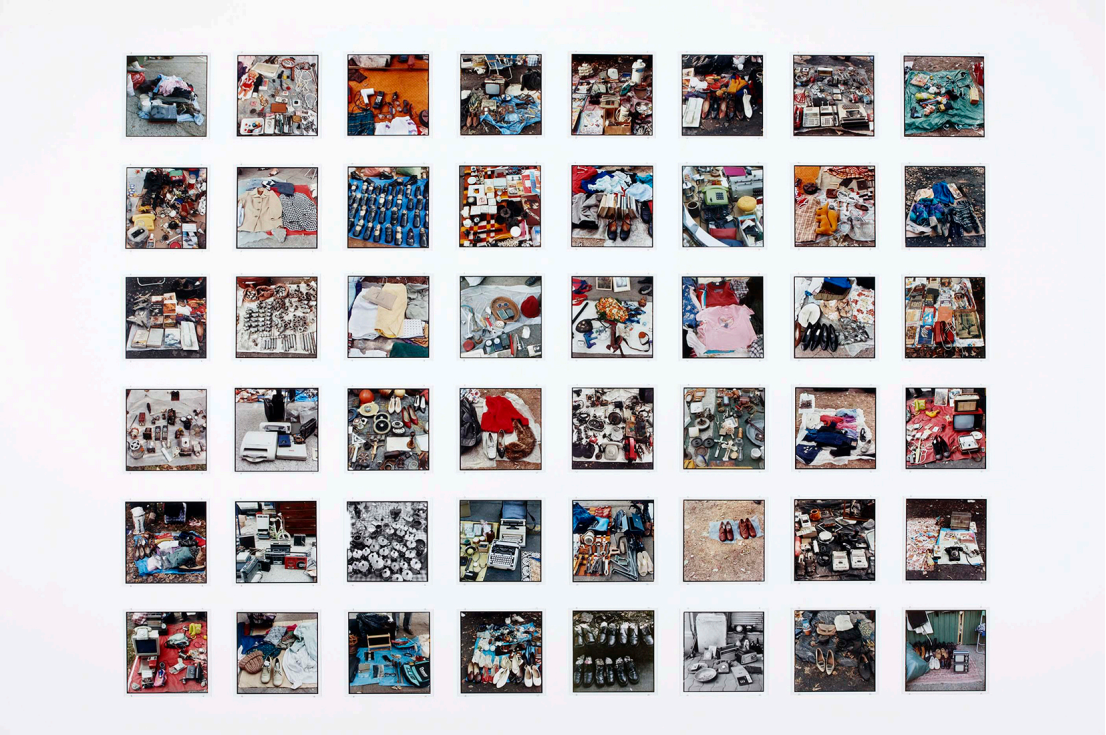

Figure 2.20: Zoe Leonard, *Analogue* (1998-2009), chapter 25, MNCARS, Madrid

To conclude, the strategy of the rag-picker offers a useful interpretation of Leonard's work, one that serves us to think about how she is specifically gathering through the camera in *Analogue*. As well, it offers us with Leonard's methodology behind this gathering, which is based on the artist's wanderings in the urban space with a camera in search of the outmoded, discarded and rejected by society with the purpose of collecting and preserving them through their photographic representation.

2.6 Reading *Analogue* as an archive – collection – atlas

Analogue has consistently been interpreted as a photographic archive; however I read this work differently.[120] Rather than constituting an archive, for me what runs deeper throughout the work is an archival drive in the desire to preserve something through its photographic documentation. For instance, Leonard has explained that a few weeks after she started taking pictures for this project she went on a trip and she realised that

[120] Alpers, Svetlana (2007), 'Zoe Leonard – Analogue', in Urs Stahel (ed.), *Zoe Leonard: Photographs, Fotomuseum Winterthur* [Exh. Cat.], (Göttingen: Steidl), pp. 219-223; McDonough, Tom (2010), 'The Archivist of Urban Waste: Zoe Leonard, Photographer as Rag-Picker', *Afterall: A Journal of Art, Context, and Enquiry*, 25, pp. 20-29; or Magagnoli, Paolo (2015), 'Archives of Commodities', in Paolo Magagnoli, *Documents of Utopia: The Politics of Experimental Documentary* (New York: Columbia University Press), pp. 87-122.

objects such as matches, or sugar packets are different in each country. Therefore, she explained:

> That's it, I thought. If I photograph every single product in the world, every item we have extracted, refined, manufactured, every item that is bought and sold, the pictures would contain the story of who we are, what kind of society we have become.[121]

Therefore in this sense *Analogue* originates in an 'excessive' archival impetus, and this desire to photograph every item becomes a 'parodic magnification of one of the crucial historical functions' of photography, which is that of documenting.[122] However in *Analogue* even though there is an archival drive, we have a lack of archival strategies both in the gathering of information since there is no criterion of why she photographs some of these things and no others, and in the presentation. For instance, in the installation version of the project any introductory text, captions or contextual information are absent; therefore, we do not know the date or location of any of the images. Another example is that morphologically, chapters one and seven look like typologies, however this arrangement does not apply to the whole installation (Figure 2.6, Figure 2.9). Moreover, there is no consistency in the use of the colour or black and white photographs since we have a mixture of both. Adding to this, there is no exhaustiveness, since the project does not comprehensibly represent all the shops in the neighbourhood in a specific historical moment.[123]

Therefore, the criteria for inclusion or exclusion are completely unknown to the viewer. Consequently, I would argue that the photographs in *Analogue* are removed from 'their contexts of origin and production' and they are being replaced with 'the context of the collection'.[124] The reason why things have been chosen in *Analogue* seems to be closer to the artist's personal interests rather than following a set of archival strategies. Leonard

[121] Leonard, Zoe (2002), 'Out of Time', *October*, 100 (Spring, 2002), p. 93.
[122] Krauss, Rosalind, and Baker, George (2002), 'Introduction', *October*, 100 (Spring, 2002), p. 4.
[123] I have already discussed Leonard's eccentric approach when I analysed Atget's influence in her practice.
[124] Stewart, Susan (1993), *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, No. Car.; London: Duke University Press), p. 156.

has written: 'These are things that move me'.[125] But also: 'I know the world will never look quite like this way again, and I feel that I want to look closely, to hold it near'.[126] Subsequently, we could maintain that Leonard's desire in collecting the image of the city through documentation is moved by an emotional and affective involvement with the space and its objects. It is in this way that the connection that she establishes with these things can be read as a personal collection. One of the main aspects in collecting is the attachment that people create with things, there is an emotional investment in objects and they become an extension of the self.[127] As we have seen, Leonard has stressed in different interviews and writings the importance of that urban space for her, and how:

> It was only as these old shops began disappearing that I realized how much I counted on them – that this layered, frayed, and quirky beauty underlined my own life. I felt at home in it.[128]

For that reason, we can read her photographs as an effort to metaphorically 'appropriate' and collect these things through their photographic image. In this sense, for Leonard the photographs become a substitute of the space as well as a replacement of the things that they record. Furthermore, it also constitutes a way of remembering, preserving the memory of that space for her. For Baker in *Analogue* we are dealing with:

> […] photography understood as inherently relational – affective and loving – its operations not just the indexical fixative of the double, but the unending (desiring) quest for similarity, comparison, connection, and analogy.[129]

Similarly, Jean Baudrillard in *The System of Objects* (1966) writes that the practice of collecting relies '[…] on the possibility of a series, and hence of an infinite play of

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[125] Cottingham, Laura, and Leonard, Zoe (2012), 'Zoe Leonard', [Online], *Journal of Contemporary Art*, <http://www.jca-online.com/leonard.html>, accessed on August 27, 2017.
[126] Leonard, Zoe (2002), 'Out of Time', *October*, 100 (Spring, 2002), p. 97.
[127] See: Baudrillard, Jean ([1996] 2005), *The System of Objects*, trans. James Benedict (London: Verso), pp. 91-95; and Benjamin, Walter (1931), 'Unpacking my Library', in Hannah Arendt (ed.), ([1970] 1999), *Illuminations* (London: Pimlico), pp. 61-69.
[128] Leonard, Zoe (2002), 'Out of Time', *October*, 100 (Spring, 2002), p. 88.
[129] Baker, George (2008), 'Lateness and Longing', in Daniel Birnbaum (ed.), *50 Moons of Saturn* (Milan: Skira), p. 62.

substitutions'.[130] Due to the fact that the relation to one another remains always open, then the search of the collector becomes endless, analogous to Baker's understanding of photography's role in *Analogue*. In this sense, we could say that *Analogue* is Leonard's 'personal' collection. In fact, the project relates to Leonard's previous pieces, which involve actual collections of used objects. For example: *Strange Fruit (For David)* (1992-1997) is composed of over three hundred skin fruits that have been collected, sewed and left to deteriorate. Leonard began this project after she lost her friend David Wojnarowicz, who died of AIDS in 1992. This is a work about mourning, where Leonard has mended the fruits peels in an act that suggests 'reparation or restoration'.[131] However the fruits inevitably deteriorate with the passing of time, as such the installation deals with the fragility of memory and its preservation.

Another work, *Mouth Open, Teeth Showing* (2000), is a collection of one hundred sixty-two obsolete second-hand dolls, which have signs of use. They deal with the issue of how the female body is portrayed in toys, which relates to Leonard's interest in the representation of the female body. *You See I Am Here After All* (2008) is as well a collection of more than four thousand postcards of the Niagara Falls gathered from second-hand markets and the Internet. Leonard's work both in photography and sculpture begins with an 'effort to understand' something that troubles her, and the different projects are connected by a 'desire to hold on to what is everywhere being lost', in this sense her collections are about preservation and the impossibility of it.[132] Therefore, there is a preoccupation with found objects and collections that runs throughout Leonard's work. In this way the primary motivation in *Analogue* seems to be with the preservation of what is threatened with disappearance and not the systematic archivisation of particular motifs or objects.

Furthermore, *Analogue* can also be thought as an atlas in the sense that it gives us hints to Leonard's journey during the ten years that she developed the project. Mapping her

[130] Baudrillard, Jean ([1996] 2005), *The System of Objects*, trans. James Benedict (London: Verso), p. 94.
[131] Iversen, Margaret (2012), 'Analogue: On Zoe Leonard and Tacita Dean', *Critical Inquiry*, 38 (4), p. 808.
[132] Godfrey, Mark (2008), 'Mirror Displacements: Mark Godfrey on the Art of Zoe Leonard', *Artforum International*, 46 (7), p. 300.

wanderings first in the streets of New York, as well as Chicago, Kampala, Warsaw, and Cuba among others.

As a conclusion I understand *Analogue* as an artwork that is driven by an archival impulse. But it is also based on an affective relationship with objects and space and as such constitutes a deeply personal collection of photographs, at the same time that offers an incomplete map of her itineraries, an atlas of sorts. Therefore, *Analogue* by borrowing from all these practices – without strictly adhering to any of them – creates is very own hybrid system of gathering, organising and displaying visual information.

2.7 Gathering in *Etcetera*

Even though from the outset Leonard's *Analogue* and *Etcetera* are completely different projects there are two aspects that I have borrowed from her and adapted to my project. Leonard in her practice uses a series of mechanisms to reinforce the idea that what the viewer is looking at is a construction. Asking the viewer to take a second look to both the objects represented and how they are displayed. In my case I am not using the same mechanisms, however there is a similar approach.

But before entering into how I use photography in this project, it is worth noting that my process started firstly by keeping all sort of discarded objects, paper and rubbish that I had used. Those collected things were 'generic', in the sense that they did not have any brand, logo, or identification of place visible. My initial idea was to produce out of this material a photographic archive of rubbish. One of my visual references was *Flat Waste* (1975–1976) by Dieter Roth.[133] For this work Roth collected in plastic sleeves all sort of papers, including food packages, found scraps and correspondence, which were not thicker than five millimetres. Roth then placed the plastic sleeves on folders organised chronologically and filed in bookshelves. The final artwork contains over six hundred of those folders. One of the aspects that I was interested in is that all the elements of that piece were related to his life, constituting a vague biographical record.

[133] Hauser & Wirth, 'Dieter Roth's "Flacher Abfall / Flat Waste" (1975-1976 / 1992) is on display as part of Art Basel Unlimited 2016', [Online], <https://www.hauserwirth.com/news/876/dieter-roth-s-flacher-abfall-flat-waste-1975-y-1976-1992-is-on-display-as-part-of-art-basel-unlimited-2016/view>, accessed on August 27, 2017.

However, at this stage I was not sure about how to classify the materials. Following archival strategies used to organise items, some of the options included: grouping objects according to their provenance, classifying them according to their material properties – like all paper or plastic items together – and another possibility was to organise the things chronologically.

Regarding the issue of how to create a photographic archive with this material, and how to depict those objects, one of the options was to photograph each element in a neutral background. Using a similar approach to for example the work of the Bernd and Hilla Becher, where they photograph each industrial building in a neutral background to create comparative juxtapositions establishing typologies.[134]

However, after trying the latter option, I decided that I wanted to explore what would happen if instead I based my work on a strategy that is not used in the constitution of a photographic archive. Firstly, I decided to organise the materials according to a subjective system, as a result I established that the different categories were based on the colours of the objects. This change also implies a step back from the rationale used in archives, and it gets closer to the one employed in collections where the organisation of the items is based on a subjective interpretation of them.

Secondly, and more importantly, my aim was to emphasise the artificiality of the categories through representation. Similarly, to Leonard I wanted the viewer to be aware that what they are looking at is a photographic construction. So, I photographed each object using a colour background that was similar to the colour of the object. For example, a yellow object is photographed against a yellow background, and the same rule applies for the other colours. However, I wanted to go a step further with the artificiality of the representation, so I decided to match the colour of the background with the main colour of the object.

[134] Becher, Bernd, and Becher, Hilla (2004), *Typologies of Industrial Buildings* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press).

On the other side, I have argued before that Leonard's methodology of search is similar to the rag-picker. In my case, my strategy is different to Leonard's and rather than being the rag-picker city wanderer I am closer to the rag-picker *gadouilleur,* who sifts through the final residues before they are ultimately discarded.[135] In this sense I am occupied with my own refuse and I use it with the intention of finding something meaningful to construct my own photographic collection. Lajer-Burcharth argues that the rag-picker, as understood by Baudelaire, bestows preciousness on ordinary objects.[136] Similarly in *Etcetera* my leftovers are transformed by the way they have been photographed. Factors such as the same lighting, the use of the colour and the absence of any element within the image that can work as a reference point, change our perception of the photographed object producing a loss of scale as well as a process of abstraction. One example of this transformation is the first image of the yellow panel, which is a melon fruit peel, which looks like a sculpture (Figure 2.4).

To close this section we could say that *Etcetera* is neither a collection nor an archive, but rather a system in-between those two. In that way, *Etcetera* mimics archival strategies, for example in the frontal framing, the use of the same lighting, the serial presentation, which facilitate the comparison between objects. But on the other side, the way the materials have been organised, corresponds with a subjective principle, where things are grouped according to their colours. As a result, we have very vague categories, in the sense that some of the objects could fit into a different one. Additionally, there are no set boundaries of what is being included or excluded, or the parameters based for those decisions, so there is no systematic archivisation in place.

I conclude that the outcome of my practice is a project that is in-between an archive/collection that is based on quantity, in the accumulation of images. But most importantly, I could keep adding elements that will provide different small clues, but overall it will not make any impact or change drastically the meaning of the whole work. Furthermore, in the very constitution of the project there is an element of impossibility,

[135] Cannon, James (2016), *The Paris Zone: A Cultural History, 1840-1944* (London: Routledge), p. 12.
[136] Lajer-Burcharth, Ewa (1985), 'Modernity and the Condition of Disguise: Manet's "Absinthe Drinker" ', *Art Journal*, 45 (1), p. 21.

of recognising the unending task of trying to sort out my own remains, at the same time that I keep producing more. There is in this sense a feeling of something that could go on indefinitely, but also the absurdity of such a task (see a selection of images from this project on Appendix A).

2.8 Conclusion

With this analysis I tried to show the relevance of the act of gathering, how it is one of the key organisational processes in *Analogue*, and also what particular meanings this strategy constructs in the context of the project. By studying the mechanisms that Leonard uses in gathering information we have found out about her understanding of photography, which is at the core of her practice. It is in this way that Leonard uses photography as a tool to understand reality, and as the primary means to gather visual information from it. However, even though she acknowledges that analogue photography has a similarity with reality, since it is based on a continuous signal; nevertheless, she highlights that a photograph never stops being a construction that is inflected by her gaze. The materialisation of this through her photographs has the effect on the viewer of being aware of the act of looking, of their participation in the construction.

We have also seen how the range of organisational strategies in *Analogue* is not unequivocally borrowed from archives, collections or visual atlases. The same can be applied to Gerhard Richter's and Hanne Darboven's works, which I will deal with in the following chapters. As a result, Leonard's work is located at the intersection of these systems but cannot be defined by either of them. The reading of the work as belonging to an 'in-between' position, allows us to understand how the complexity of *Analogue* resides in the confluence of different strategies to organise information.

CHAPTER 3

Piecing Things Together: Montage in Gerhard Richter's *Atlas*

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I am dealing with the second step in the production of the work, which is that of piecing things together through what I am considering a temporary montage. Fundamentally, the problem that I am covering here is that of how to organise images. Within this, there is the question of what form these images can take and what methodology I can use to put the images together. Therefore, I will address the particularities of this step of the production of the work. By this I mean what are the processes involved in grouping images applying a specific visual configuration, in this case the atlas. Also, what are the implications of using the montage as an open search methodology that potentially enables to compose and re-compose images in multiple materialisations.

Within this chapter I am referring to what I still consider an 'incomplete' stage of the artwork, a work in progress. In the context of my practice – this artwork's 'openness' allows for the possibility of creating new configurations that would establish different links between the images. As a consequence, the arrangements of images in clusters might have a short-lived character. Within this framework I will also tackle the role of photography and photographs in these distinct manifestations. These are all issues that arose in the development of my practice work.

My second project, which is called ∞ (2017) started with a physical hole, the one left in a space after the expropriation and demolition of a village called Saá, where I was born in northern Spain (Figure 3.1).



Figure 3.1: Estéfani Bouza, *Untitled* from the series *∞ (2017)*

Saá belongs to a small town called As Pontes, which was known mostly for its industrial complex. And it was originally comprised of a power station and an opencast coal mine. Saá was contiguous to this coal mine and expropriated by ENDESA – a national electricity company – in 1993 and finally demolished in 1994.[1] Therefore Saá disappeared as such due to the coal mine expansion.

It is worth noticing that there were two main issues with the lignite extracted in As Pontes. Firstly, it was its low calorific value and secondly, its high sulphur content, which caused a high level of air pollution. Spain signed the Kyoto protocol in 1998 and ratified it in 2002.[2] The new measures implemented by this protocol were aimed among others at the reduction of carbon dioxide emissions due to coal combustion. Therefore, As Pontes' mine was forced to close since the coal specifications did not comply with the new policy. As a consequence, and even though the extraction of the mineral was not exhausted, the mine was finally closed in December 2007. However, the power station is still working using only imported coal with low sulphur content. And as a result, the space once occupied by Saá is nowadays used as a coal depot.

[1] ENDESA stands for *Empresa Nacional de Electricidad, S.A.* (National Electricity Enterprise Corporation), and it was founded in 1944.

[2] Jefatura del Estado (2002), 'Instrumento de Ratificación del Protocolo de Kyoto al Convenio Marco de las Naciones Unidas sobre el Cambio Climático, hecho en Kyoto el 11 de diciembre de 1997', [Instrument of Ratification of the Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, adopted in Kyoto on December 11, 1997], [Online], *BOE-A-2005-1967*, <https://boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-2005-1967>, accessed on August 27, 2017.

If one of the main elements on the first project was on those things that we throw away, in this one I initially wanted to photograph those objects that people who were affected by this expropriation kept deliberately. Therefore, in both works there is an autobiographical reference. In *Etcetera* the items discarded were mine, and here I am working with a geographical space, a small village where I lived until I was eleven years old. Maurice Halbwachs in *The Social Frameworks of Memory* (1952) writes that: 'it is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memories'.[3] It is in this sense that collective memory is dependent on a social framework for its retrieval and construction.

Following on this concept, at the beginning of this project my idea was to contact people who lived in Saá to enquire about the type of objects connected to that space that they have preserved, and to ask them why they decided to keep them. My initial emphasis on the objects was based on the assumption that they could serve to some degree as deposits of a personal and social memory. By this I mean that the objects have traces of use and age and to show those imprints could potentially reveal some of those memories. Therefore, in this sense both the 'physical surroundings' but also the objects 'bear our and others' imprint' and have to some degree the capacity to recall experiences we had in that space.[4] Halbwachs observes:

> Rather, each object appropriately placed in the whole recalls a way of life common to many men. To analyse its various facets is like dissecting a thought compounded of the contributions of many groups.[5]

As a result a personal and collective memory is anchored to those objects. Besides and with this background in mind, I had a series of informal conversations with people who used to live in Saá and I realised that whenever I raised the issue of the objects they did not show much interest. However, they went into great detail about the relation they

[3] Halbwachs, Maurice (1992), *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis. A. Coser (Chicago, Ill.; London: The University of Chicago Press), p. 38.
[4] Halbwachs, Maurice (1950), 'Space and the Collective Memory', in Maurice Halbwachs ([1950] 1980), *The Collective Memory*, trans. Francis J. Ditter, and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper and Row), p. 128.
[5] Ibid., p. 129.

had with people, the land, the space, their homes, since some of them were over a hundred years old and passed on from generation to generation. So I sensed that they had a real attachment with what in Galician is called *terruño*, which can be roughly translated as a 'raw chunk of land'.[6] In this sense their lives were defined in relation to that 'specific configuration of the physical environment', as such many of the 'remembrances fastened' to that space were gone forever.[7] Besides many of the people affected by the expropriation ended up also being mineworkers, so they explained in great detail about the overall impact the mine had on their lives. At this stage, I became aware that to focus only on the objects, it would be to short-circuit something that was more complex than that. I understood that in order to comprehend the objects, and the memories associated with them I needed to look into the broader cultural, social and economic context.

So, I decided that even though one of the key points of the project will revolve around those objects they have preserved; I also wanted to cover part of the history of the mine, including the sociological changes it produced, the cycle of production/destruction that is implicit in the short lifespan of the mines, and the drastic changes in the landscape that can be seen throughout the years. As an example of the latter, we only need to think that a quarry pit with a depth of two hundred and thirty meters was dug for the extraction of two hundred and seventy million tonnes of lignite.[8]

Therefore, I started pulling out threads that were taking me in different directions. For instance, if we consider the history of the mine, it started to operate in 1942 in a small

[6] Galicia is an autonomous Spanish community that even nowadays is distinguished for being eminently rural. After the Spanish Civil War (1933-1936) and among other reasons due to poverty, a large part of its population was forced to emigrate especially to South America. It is in this context that the word *morriña* came to the fore. It can be translated as a feeling of nostalgia, melancholia for the native land. For instance, writers in the exile such as Alfonso Daniel Rodríguez Castelao (1886-1950) made recurrent use of the term in: Rodríguez Castelao, Alfonso Daniel ([1944] 2004), *Sempre en Galiza* [Always in Galicia], (Vigo: Editorial Galaxia). Even though the experience of the expropriation cannot be compared to those who had to emigrate; still I would argue that people affected by this expropriation had a very strong sense of belonging to the land and they were afflicted by a similar notion to that of *morriña* for what it was now a lost land.

[7] Halbwachs, Maurice (1950), 'Space and the Collective Memory', in Maurice Halbwachs ([1950] 1980), *The Collective Memory*, trans. Francis J. Ditter, and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper and Row), pp. 134 – 135.

[8] See: Aréchaga, Francisco, Ferrero, Toribio, Gil, Aníbal, Menéndez, José A., and Valle, Ramón (2011), *Riqueza Restaurada: Historia de la Mina de As Pontes* [Wealth Restored: The History of the As Pontes Mine], (Madrid: Endesa Generación), p. 9.

area until it reached a length of over six kilometres that took the shape of an infinity symbol.

It was open under Francisco Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975), and part of his autarchy program (1939-1959).[9] The aim of Franco's administration with this program was to create a national self-sufficient and closed economy. One of the objectives was to reduce the imports of foreign products including energy and to increase the national production. As a result, there was a strong government intervention in the industrialisation of Spain. The main purpose was to create national industries using the country resources, as well as the regulation of private companies. There are two laws both enacted in 1939 that are important to understand this process: the Law of Protection and Development of National Industry, and the Law of Regulation and Defence of National Industry.[10] The government created the INI (*Instituto Nacional de Industria* – National Institute of Industry) in 1941 with the goal of implementing these laws.[11]

The INI founded The Calvo Sotelo company in 1942 and they would settle in As Pontes in that same year. Moreover, this company established links with Nazi Germany early on. As a result, some of the engineers originally in charge of the As Pontes' mine were trained there. They also tried to import the machinery needed for the power station from Germany, but due to the Second World War it never arrived.[12] Instead the turbines and boilers used in As Pontes' power station were bought from two Swiss companies: Escher Wyss and Gebrüder Sulzer.

Thinking about the coal, initially it was sourced from As Pontes' mine. However, after the mine closure, approximately four million tonnes of coal were imported annually, mostly

[9] See: Carreras, Albert, and Tafunell, Xavier (2003), 'El Aislamiento de la Economía Internacional: Guerra Civil y Autarquía (1936-1951)', [Isolation from the International Economy: Civil War and Autarchy (1936-1951)], in Albert Carreras, and Xavier Tafunell, *Historia Económica de la España Contemporánea* [Economic History of Contemporary Spain], (Barcelona: Crítica), pp. 263-300; and Anes y Álvarez de Castrillón, Gonzalo, Fernández Plasencia, Santiago, and Temboury Villarejo, Juan (2001), *Endesa en su historia (1944-2000)*, [Endesa Within Its History], (Madrid: Fundación Endesa).
[10] Lieberman, Sima ([1982] 2006), *The Contemporary Spanish Economy: A Historical Perspective* (London; New York: Routledge), pp. 169-170.
[11] Ibid.
[12] See: *Endesa: 36 documentos para su historia* [Endesa: 36 Historical Documents], (1999), (Madrid: Endesa Generación), unpaginated.

from Tutupan coal mine in Indonesia as well as from Wyoming's mines in the US. And currently is sourced from Russia and Colombia.

Another aspect is related with the experiences of those people who were expropriated, and their personal memories, which are usually absent in the main narrative. Therefore, what I am describing here are only a few examples that offer a small glimpse of the many strands that the project is open to.

Thus, the research for this project generated a vast array of images, documentation and information. These were gathered from different sources such as family albums, documentation from the local archive related to the expropriation and from videos produced by the local media in relation to the mine. There were also books and images provided by the company in charge of the mine, but also by a local photographer. Images generated by the workers during the dismantling of the machinery after the closure of the mine. As well as photographs of how the spaces looked like before and after the mine. But also, the work I generated for this project.

It is during this process of the research that I encountered the problem of how to make sense of these images. At the same time, I was overwhelmed by a 'dizziness' produced by what at this stage was only an accumulation of material, where more and more stuff was piling up without a clear purpose. Against this, what strategy I could use to address the issue of putting the material together, what approach I could take towards organising it. What tools are in there that artists have used when they faced this problem of working with large quantities of images, the form these took and how could I apply them in my project?

One thing that was clear at this stage is that I wanted to avoid a hierarchical relationship between images. Therefore, I did not want the material to be enclosed within definitive classifications. Taking this into account, the idea was to find a form in which to materialise this, and a methodology that allowed me at the same time to keep the images in dialogue with each other.

In the following sections, I will explain the specific framework that I will use in my project when dealing with images. Firstly, I will start by analysing a visual tool, the atlas, using Georges Didi-Huberman's reading of Aby Warburg's *Mnemosyne Atlas* (1924-1929).[13] Secondly, I will look into the methodology of montage as seen in Warburg and Gerhard Richter's *Atlas* (1962-ongoing). Finally, to round things off I will come back to what I have learned from these two accounts and how I am making use of them in my project ∞.

3.2 The atlas: A visual tool

Georges Didi-Huberman is a French art historian who has written extensively about the importance of Warburg (1866-1929) in the context of art theory.[14] In 2010 Didi-Huberman applied his knowledge of Warburg to the visual arts, curating the exhibition *Atlas, How to Carry the World on One's Back,* which dealt with 'the fate of a visual form of knowledge' – the atlas.[15] To do this, Didi-Huberman took Warburg's *oeuvre* and in particular his *Mnemosyne Atlas* as the main reference point. The undertaking was conceived as 'homage' to Warburg in an attempt to re-actualise his work. Therefore, one of the aims of Didi-Huberman was to address the proximity between a work of knowledge, that of Warburg and the practices of artists from the twentieth and twentieth first century that use the form of the atlas.

In the catalogue's essay, 'Atlas or the Anxious Gay Science' (2010), Didi-Huberman starts with an explanation of why he considers the atlas a key tool for knowledge, and the principles of its functioning.[16] From mid-nineteenth century photographic scientific atlases made use of systematic assemblages of images, and at their basis was a

[13] Aby Warburg (1866-1929) was a German art historian and theorist. His research has an interdisciplinary character and focuses mainly in art and culture of the Renaissance period with a special emphasis on the afterlife of antiquity. See: Warburg, Aby ([1932] 1999), *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity: Contributions to the Cultural History of the European Renaissance*, trans. David Britt (Los Angeles, Cal.: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities). He is also the founder of the Warburg Institute which is now located in London.

[14] Among others see for instance: Didi-Huberman, Georges ([2000] 2005), *Ante el tiempo. Historia del arte y anacronismo de las imágenes*, trans. Óscar Antonio Oviedo Funes (Buenos Aires: Adriana Hidalgo Editora); and in particular: Didi-Huberman, Georges ([2002] 2009), *La imagen superviviente. Historia del arte y tiempo de los fantasmas según Aby Warburg* [The Surviving Image. Phantoms of Time and Time of Phantoms: Aby Warburg's History of Art], trans. Juan Calatrava (Madrid: Abada Editores).

[15] This exhibition was first shown in the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía in Madrid between 2010 and 2011 and later travelled to ZKM in Karlsruhe and to Sammlung Falckenberg in Hamburg.

[16] Didi-Huberman, Georges (2010), 'Atlas or the Anxious Gay Science', in Georges Didi-Huberman (ed.), *Atlas. How to Carry the World on One's Back?* [Exh. Cat.], (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía), pp. 11-220.

'confidence in empiricism and the aspiration toward comprehensive completeness of positivist systems of knowledge'.[17] The atlas as understood by Didi-Huberman refers to this tradition but in order to tear it apart. Instead, he proposes an atlas that is a 'visual form of knowledge, knowledgeable form of seeing'.[18] For that reason the atlas is a duplicitous object that belongs to both an aesthetic and epistemic paradigm. As a result, the atlas sets in motion a foundational unseemliness. Therefore, against an epistemic purity it introduces 'the lacunary character of each image' and against an aesthetic one 'the hybridity of any montage'.[19]

Consequently, the fact that the atlas dwells in-between these two paradigms, transforms it into a tool that has the capacity to de-construct the ideals that these paradigms presuppose. On one side the aesthetic ideal of unicity implied in the definitive form of the *tableau*, and on the other the epistemic ideal of integral knowledge.[20] And it has the ability to do so, because first of all the atlas is a mechanism for re-reading the world. And at the basis of this re-interpretation is the notion of 'imagination' that has the potential of producing transversal knowledge because of its intrinsic capacity for montage.[21] On that account the aim of the atlas is not to offer a visual synopsis but rather to create a space where to re-think the relations of its components.

3.3 Aby Warburg's *Mnemosyne Atlas*

Didi-Huberman extends his atlas interpretation to Warburg's *Mnemosyne Atlas*, which he considers a key work because it imprints our contemporary means of producing, exhibiting and understanding images.[22] In fact Didi-Huberman regards Warburg as 'the inventor of a new kind of atlas'.[23] One that leaves its mark within both 'an *aesthetic*

[17] Buchloh, Benjamin H. D. (1999), 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas": The Anomic Archive', *October*, 88 (Spring, 1999), p. 122. For a detailed explanation on the use of atlases within a scientific context see: Daston, Lorraine and Galison, Peter (2010), Objectivity (New York: Zone Books).
[18] Didi-Huberman, Georges (2010), 'Atlas or the Anxious Gay Science', in Georges Didi-Huberman (ed.), *Atlas. How to Carry the World on One's Back?* [Exh. Cat.], (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía), p. 14.
[19] Ibid., p. 15.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid., p. 16.
[22] Ibid., p. 19.
[23] Ibid., p. 68.

heritage since it invents a form, a new way of placing images together' and 'an *epistemic* heritage since it inaugurates a new genre of knowledge'.[24]



Figure 3.2: Panels from Rembrandt's exhibition as displayed in Aby Warburg's library (1926)

The first room of the exhibition – *Atlas, How to Carry the World on One's Back* – displayed life size photographic reproductions of a few panels from Warburg's *Atlas*.[25] Warburg devised a *Bilderatlas* – a picture atlas – already in 1905, but it would not be until 1924 that he started working systematically on what he would call *Mnemosyne Atlas*.[26] Since writing was difficult for Warburg, he preferred working with movable images that did not need to be presented as part of one big narrative.[27] It was Fritz Saxl – the Library for the Science of Culture's director – who suggested the idea of using panels for the arrangement of photographs to Warburg.[28] Furthermore Warburg also used similar displays of images in some of his lectures (Figure 3.2).[29]

[24] Ibid.
[25] The plates of the *Atlas* can be seen online on the following webpage: The Warburg Institute, 'The Mnemosyne Atlas, October 1929', [Online], <http://warburg.sas.ac.uk/collections/warburg-institute-archive/bilderatlas-mnemosyne/mnemosyne-atlas-october-1929>, accessed on August 27, 2017. For an introduction on some of the topics covered in the *Atlas* see: Cornell University (2013), 'Ten Panels from the Mnemosyne Atlas', [Online], <https://warburg.library.cornell.edu>, accessed on August 27, 2017.
[26] Gombrich, Ernst Hans ([1970] 1986), *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography with a Memoir of the History of the Library by F. Saxl* (Oxford: Phaidon), p. 285.
[27] Ibid., p. 284.
[28] Ibid., p. 284. Saxl in fact, had used this didactic model of display when he was an education instructor in the Austrian army; on this latest point see: Rampley, Matthew. (1999), 'Archives of Memory: Walter Benjamin's Arcades Project and

Moreover, the *Atlas* constituted Warburg's attempt to provide a visual system encompassing his understanding of images and the history of art. At the end of the nineteenth century the predominant method in the research of art history was based on aesthetic judgment and the study of styles.[30] Instead Warburg's method not only dealt with these aspects but also focused on the investigation of the cultural tradition and the literary sources.[31] As a result, his research was characterised by an interdisciplinary approach. For Warburg, the interpretation of images required the knowledge of different fields. If we look into his Library, which was originally located in Hamburg we have a glimpse of the diverse range of disciplines that he tried to cover. [32] For instance, he collected books from the fields of astrology, mythology, magical arts, religion, and anthropology among others. The arrangement of books in Warburg's *Library* and *Atlas* constitutes two different manifestations of his system of thought. Furthermore, the Library arrangement already shows that the books were organised according to the rule of the 'good neighbour' or 'elective affinities' and not to its subject.[33] Saxl in 'The History of Warburg's Library, 1886-1944' ([1970] 1986) writes:

> The arrangement of the books was equally baffling, and he may have found it most peculiar, perhaps, that Warburg never tired of shifting and re-shifting them. Every progress in his system of thought, every new idea about the inter-relation of facts made him re-group the corresponding books. The library changed with every change in his research method and with every variation in his interests. Small as the collection was, it was intensely alive, and Warburg never

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Aby Warburg's Mnemosyne Atlas', in Alex Coles (ed.), *De-, Dis-, Ex-. Volume 3: The Optic of Walter Benjamin* (London: Black Dog Publishing), p. 98.

[29] For instance for his lecture on 1926: 'Italian Antiquity in the Age of Rembrandt' he assembled a series of panels that he later exhibited in the reading room of his Institute. The same happened with his talk on Ovidio in 1927. Later in 1929 he gave a lecture with the title: 'Roman Antiquity in the Workshop of Domenico Ghirlandaio' at the Hertziana Library in Rome and it was also accompanied by panels. See: Warnke, Martin (ed.), ([2003] 2010) *Aby Warburg: Atlas Mnemosyne* [Aby Warburg: The Mnemosyne Atlas], trans. Joaquín Chamorro Mielke (Madrid: Akal), pp. 173-180.

[30] Ibid., p. 89.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Actually, the word *mnemosyne* was inscribed over the entrance of his Library for the Science of Culture in Hamburg. See: Gombrich, Ernst Hans ([1970] 1986), *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography with a Memoir of the History of the Library by F. Saxl* (Oxford: Phaidon), p.18.

[33] Didi-Huberman, Georges (2010), 'Atlas or the Anxious Gay Science', in Georges Didi-Huberman (ed.), *Atlas. How to Carry the World on One's Back?* [Exh. Cat.], (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía), p. 16.

ceased shaping it so that it might best express his ideas about the history of man.[34]

Moreover, there is also a relation of contiguity between the Library and the *Atlas*, since in fact Warburg physically began to work on *Mnemosyne* in the elliptic reading room of the Library.[35] Nonetheless the connections between both do not stop here. They are deeply intertwined. As a result, throughout this chapter there will be further references to their links.



Figure 3.3: Aby Warburg, *Mnemosyne Atlas* (1924-1929), panel 7

[34] Saxl, Fritz (1970), 'The History of Warburg's Library, 1886-1944', in Ernst Hans Gombrich ([1970] 1986), *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography with a Memoir of the History of the Library by F. Saxl* (Oxford: Phaidon), p. 327.
[35] Warburg's library can be hinted in the original photographs since behind the panels we see shelves with books. Photographic reproductions of the panels can be seen on: Warnke, Martin (ed.), ([2003] 2010) *Aby Warburg: Atlas Mnemosyne*, trans. Joaquín Chamorro Mielke (Madrid: Akal), pp. 8-133. Another aspect that indicates the relationship between the library and Warburg's *atlas* is the fact that the word *mnemosyne* was inscribed over the entrance of his Library for the Science of Culture in Hamburg. See: Gombrich, Ernst Hans ([1970] 1986), *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography with a Memoir of the History of the Library by F. Saxl* (Oxford: Phaidon), p.18.

For the construction of his *Atlas*, Warburg used a vast array of photographic imagery taken from his personal collection of more than twenty-five thousand images.[36] Including reproductions of works of art, maps, contemporary photographs of historical and political events taken from mass media, but he also incorporated his own diagrams, annotations, drawings and photographs. He then composed temporary arrangements with these images by affixing them with clips onto large wooden panels, covered in black cloth, and measuring approximately 150 x 200 cm. (Figure 3.3). Ernst Gombrich explains his working method in *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography* (1986):

> The method of pinning photographs to a canvas presented an easy way of marshalling the material and reshuffling it in ever new combinations, just as Warburg had been used to re-arranging his index cards and his books whenever another theme became dominant in his mind.[37]

Once Warburg had produced a configuration, each panel would be photographed with the purpose of possibly being one of the plates for his work *Mnemosyne Atlas*. Warburg intended to produce a publication constituted of two volumes of text including: a general introduction, an atlas with two thousand illustrations accompanied by a commentary on each plate, and an index by Gertrud Bing.[38] However, the project remained unfinished at the time of his death in 1929, because he could never decide a definitive order for it. Therefore, he produced different versions using the same panels.

The last version of the atlas was composed of sixty-three panels with more than a thousand images. However, the panels were lost in 1933 when the Warburg Library had to migrate from Hamburg to London due to the rise of the Nazi party in Germany.[39] As a

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[36] See: Didi-Huberman, Georges ([2002] 2009), *La imagen superviviente. Historia del arte y tiempo de los fantasmas según Aby Warburg* [The Surviving Image. Phantoms of Time and Time of Phantoms: Aby Warburg's History of Art], trans. Juan Calatrava (Madrid: Abada Editores), p. 410.
[37] Gombrich, Ernst Hans ([1970] 1986), *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography with a Memoir of the History of the Library by F. Saxl* (Oxford: Phaidon), p. 284.
[38] See Warburg's diary entry from April 8, 1929 in: Ghelardi, Maurizio (ed.), ([2005] 2016), *Aby Warburg y Gertrud Bing. Diario Romano (1928-1929)*, [Aby Warburg and Gertrund Bing: Roman Diary (1928-1929)], trans. Helena Aguilà Ruzola (Madrid: Siruela), p. 114.
[39] Saxl wrote: "In the early months of 1933 it had become clear that our work in Germany had come to an end". See: Saxl, Fritz (1970), 'The History of Warburg's Library, 1886-1944', in Ernst Hans Gombrich ([1970] 1986), *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography with a Memoir of the History of the Library by F. Saxl* (Oxford: Phaidon), p. 336.

result the panels have only survived through their photographic records. All that remains from the project is Warburg's introduction draft as well as photographic reproductions of the panels.

In order to understand the rationale behind Warburg's linking of different components we need to briefly look into Warburg's general aim with his *Atlas*, together with the ideas that underpin his approach towards images. As pointed out earlier on, Warburg uses an interdisciplinary approach with the aim of going beyond the confines of the art history of his epoch. For instance, Warburg in his diary entry of April 8, 1929 points to this broadening of scope when he considers his work as more than a regular history of art; he says that the *Mnemosyne Atlas* constitutes: 'An attempt of a historical and artistic science of civilisation'.[40] For this undertaking he concentrated on 'the problem of symbols and their life in social memory'.[41] Central to this conception is the idea of memory, and Giorgio Agamben – in 'Aby Warburg and the Nameless Science' (1975) – citing Gombrich observes that in 1908 Warburg acquired Richard Semon's book *The Mneme* (1904), which will be a key influence in Warburg's thinking.[42] Gombrich summarises Semon's theory as:

> It (memory) is the capacity to react to an event over a period of time; that is, a form of preserving and transmitting energy not known to the physical world. Any event affecting living matter leaves a trace which Semon calls an '*engram*'. The potential energy conserved in this 'engram' may, under suitable conditions, be reactivated and discharged – we then say the organism acts in a specific way because it *remembers* the previous event.[43]

[40] See Warburg's diary entry from April 8, 1929 in: Ghelardi, Maurizio (ed.), ([2005] 2016), *Aby Warburg y Gertrud Bing. Diario Romano (1928-1929)*, [Aby Warburg and Gertrund Bing: Roman Diary (1928-1929)], trans. Helena Aguilà Ruzola (Madrid: Siruela), p. 114.
[41] See: Agamben, Giorgio (1975), 'Aby Warburg and the Nameless Science', in Giorgio Agamben (1999), *Potentialities: Collected Essays in Philosophy*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press), p. 93.
[42] Gombrich, Ernst Hans ([1970] 1986), *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography with a Memoir of the History of the Library by F. Saxl*, p. 242, as cited in Giorgio Agamben (1975), 'Aby Warburg and the Nameless Science', in Giorgio Agamben (1999), *Potentialities: Collected Essays in Philosophy*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press), pp. 89-103.
[43] Gombrich, Ernst Hans ([1970] 1986), *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography with a Memoir of the History of the Library by F. Saxl* (Oxford: Phaidon), p. 242.

Gombrich goes on to explain the correspondence between symbol and engram in Warburg. He writes:

> In the life of civilizations, it is the *symbol* which corresponds to Semon's 'engram'. In the symbol – in the widest sense of the term – we find preserved those energies of which it is, itself, the result.[44]



Figure 3.4: Aby Warburg, *Mnemosyne Atlas* (1924-1929), panel 41a

So, it is in this sense that for Warburg the images and symbols that he studies are 'engrams' that store traces of different stages of the memory of civilisation. Warburg considered these 'engrams' as 'neutral' latent energies that could be discharged in a positive or negative manner, since they have a polar character.[45] For instance the same 'engram' could take the form of a 'pagan maenad or Christian Magdalene'.[46] We can see examples of 'engrams' at work in *Mnemosyne Atlas*, for example panel 41a, which is

[44] Ibid., p. 243.
[45] Ibid., p. 248
[46] Ibid.

dedicated to the death of Laocoön; or panel 42 which deals with the depiction of scenes of lamentation are both 'engrams' of the experience of suffering (Figure 3.4). Therefore the 'engrams' have the capacity of surpassing their materialisation in the image by surviving as an explicit or latent heritage awaiting to be transmitted, reactivated and metamorphosed. As a result, the image acquires a kaleidoscopic character by the way it echoes the memories of other images.

Given this context we can understand Warburg's key concepts of *Nachleben*, the study of the afterlife of Antiquity, and *Pathosformel*, the interconnection between emotional charge and image, as extensions on his preoccupation with memory. On this account the *Mnemosyne Atlas* embodies a mnemonic experience in which the present is put into dialogue with the past through the processes of 'transmission, reception, and polarization' of images. [47] Gombrich explains this interconnection of different temporalities in images, he writes:

> Every individual work […] was to him not only connected forward and backward in a 'unilinear' development – it could only be understood by what it derived from and by what it contradicted, by its *ambiente*, by its remote ancestry and by its potential effect in the future.[48]

Moreover, it is at this point that we can begin to understand why Warburg defined *Mnemosyne* as a 'ghost story for truly adult people'.[49] Once more, Agamben has explained this aspect, he writes:

> If one considers the function that he assigned to the image as the organ of social memory and the 'engram' of a culture's spiritual tensions, one can understand what he meant: his 'atlas' was a kind of gigantic condenser that gathered together all the energetic currents that had animated and continued to animate

[47] See: Agamben, Giorgio (1975), 'Aby Warburg and the Nameless Science', in Giorgio Agamben (1999), *Potentialities: Collected Essays in Philosophy*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press), p. 93.
[48] Gombrich, Ernst Hans ([1970] 1986), *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography with a Memoir of the History of the Library by F. Saxl* (Oxford: Phaidon), p. 284.
[49] Warburg, Aby cited in: Agamben, Giorgio (1975), 'Aby Warburg and the Nameless Science', in Giorgio Agamben (1999), *Potentialities: Collected Essays in Philosophy*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press), p. 95.

> Europe's memory, taking form in its 'ghosts'. The name 'Mnemosyne' finds its true justification here.[50]

Therefore, *Mnemosyne* deals with the survival and memory of images through their actualisation in the present.

3.4 Gerhard Richter's *Atlas*

Gerhard Richter is a German painter that was born in Dresden in 1931. Richter's *Atlas* is an ongoing project that is currently composed of around fifteen thousand photographs, sketches as well as collages organised in eight hundred and nine panels.[51] The images are arranged systematically on white cardboard measuring 50 x 35 cm, 50 x 65 cm, or 50 x 70 cm. Together they form a monumental repository that continues to grow and 'maps the ideas, processes, life and times' of Richter.[52]



Figure 3.5: Gerhard Richter, *Atlas* (1962-ongoing), panel 1 (1962)

[50] See: Ibid., pp. 95-96.
[51] The complete *Atlas* is accessible in Richter's webpage, see: Richter, Gerhard (1962-ongoing), *Gerhard Richter: Atlas*, [Online Images], <https://www.gerhard-richter.com/en/art/atlas>, accessed on August 27, 2017.
[52] Gerhard-Richter.com, 'Gerhard Richter: Atlas', [Online], <https://www.gerhard-richter.com/en/literature/monographs/gerhard-richter-atlas-125>, accessed on August 27, 2017.

In 1961 Richter moved from Dresden in the former East Germany to settle down in Düsseldorf in West Germany. Soon after his move he started to compile mostly black and white photographs from his private family album, but also from friend's albums. We can see examples of these images from panels one to six of his *Atlas* (Figure 3.5). Helmut Friedel has pointed out that these first panels could be understood as an attempt to come to grips with his recent move and as a record that tries to answer the question of 'Where am I from?'[53] Furthermore, as early as 1962 some of these photographs were used as a source material for his early photo-paintings.[54]



Figure 3.6: Gerhard Richter, *Atlas* (1962-ongoing), panel 9 (1962)

Richter would shortly increase his initial collection by adding amateur snapshots, clippings from newspaper and illustrated magazines among others, reflecting what was in West Germany, at that moment, a new incipient mass consumer culture. These types of images appear from panels seven to fifteen. For example, in panel nine we can see the magazine clipping that Richter will transform into the painting *Party* from 1963 (Figure

[53] See: Gerhard-Richter.com (2012), *Gerhard Richter: Atlas* [Online Video], <https://www.gerhard-richter.com/en/videos/exhibitions/gerhard-richter-atlas-54>, accessed on August 27, 2017.
[54] In Richter's official webpage they show all the associated works related to each panel. See: Richter, Gerhard (1962-ongoing), *Gerhard Richter: Atlas*, [Online Images], <https://www.gerhard-richter.com/en/art/atlas>, accessed on August 27, 2017.

3.6)[55]. It is worth noting that not all the photographs that ended up in the *Atlas* had been used as source material for his paintings. However, they are in there because at some stage they were part of Richter's working process, of selecting material and trying to materialise something from it.

As I have described Richter started to collect images from the beginning of the sixties, however the material was initially kept in drawers and portfolios. Actually, it would not be until the early seventies when he begins the process of arranging the materials onto pieces of cardboard that would constitute the first materialisation of his *Atlas*. Richter in an interview with Stefan Koldehoff in 1999 explained his drive behind this project; he said:

> But my motivation was more a matter of wanting to create order – to keep track of things. All those boxes full of photographs and sketches weigh you down, because they have something unfinished, incomplete, about them. So it's better to present the usable material in an orderly fashion and throw the other stuff away. That's how the *Atlas* came to be, and I exhibited it a few times.[56]

A preoccupation with 'the abundance of photographs taken every day' seems to be one of the concerns in Richter's *Atlas*.[57] In this vein, we could consider the *Atlas* as Richter's response towards the 'problem of taming' an increasing number of images. In fact, in an interview with Jan Thorn-Prikker in 1989 he has stated:

> In my picture atlas… I can only get a handle on the flood of pictures by creating order since there are no individual pictures at all anymore.[58]

[55] See: Richter, Gerhard (1963), *Painting* [Online Image], <https://www.gerhard-richter.com/en/art/paintings/photo-paintings/everyday-life-18/party-6367>, accessed on August 27, 2017.
[56] Richter, Gerhard (1999), 'Interview with Stefan Koldehoff', in Dietmar Elger, and Hans Ulrich Obrist (eds.), (2009), *Gerhard Richter: Text. Writings, Interviews and Letters 1961-2007* (London: Thames & Hudson), p. 350.
[57] Friedel, Helmut (ed.), (2006), *Gerhard Richter: Atlas* (London: Thames & Hudson), p. 5.
[58] Richter, Gerhard (1989), 'Gerhard Richter/Jan Thorn-Prikker: Ruminations on the October 18, 1977 Cycle', *Parkett*, 19, p. 143.

Moreover, already in these few panels we can hint at the crucial role that photography has in the constitution of Richter's *Atlas*.[59] Richter, in his *Notes* (1964), claims that he has always had an interest in photography. He writes:

> As a boy I did a lot of photography and was friendly with a photographer, who showed me the tricks of the trade. For a time, I worked as a photographic laboratory assistant: the masses of photographs that passed through the bath of the developer every day may well have caused a lasting trauma.[60]

The *Atlas* has two different formats: the first one is a publication that has gone through several editions, each one reflecting on the latest stage of the project.[61] The second is an installation, the *Atlas* was exhibited for the first time in 1972 at Hedendaagse Kunst in Utrecht and at that moment it was comprised of three hundred and forty-one panels.[62] He has been continuously revising the *Atlas* by adding panels. For instance, the *Atlas* included five hundred and eighty-three plates when it was acquired by the Kunstbau in Munich in 1995. The last time that it was exhibited in that same institution was in 2013 and it was composed of eight hundred and nine panels. However, Richter does not consider the *Atlas* as an autonomous artwork, he sees it as documentation of his practice.[63]

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[59] According to Helmut Friedel '[…] photography is actually the main focus in *Atlas*, beyond the sketches, collages and other materials'. See: Gerhard-Richter.com (2012), *Gerhard Richter: Atlas* [Online Video], <https://www.gerhard-richter.com/en/videos/exhibitions/gerhard-richter-atlas-54>, accessed on August 27, 2017.

[60] Richter, Gerhard (1995), 'Notes, 1964', in Gerhard Richter, *The Daily Practice of Painting: Writings 1962-2003*, trans. David Britt (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press), as cited in 'Extracts from Writings and Interviews 1962-2003', in Iwona Blazwick, and Janna Graham (eds.), (2003), *Gerhard Richter Atlas: The Reader*, trans. David Britt, and Benjamin H. D. Buchloh (London: Whitechapel), p. 17.

[61] See for instance: Wilmes, Ulrich, and Friedel, Helmut (eds.), (1997), *Gerhard Richter: Atlas*, (New York; London: D.A.P; Anthony d'Offay Gallery); and Friedel, Helmut (ed.), (2006), *Gerhard Richter: Atlas* (London: Thames & Hudson).

[62] See: Friedel, Helmut (1997), 'The Atlas 1962-1997', in Ulrich Wilmes, and Helmet Friedel (eds.), *Gerhard Richter: Atlas* (New York; London: D.A.P; Anthony d'Offay Gallery), p. 5. In that same page Friedel also points out that the first publication about the *Atlas* was created for that exhibition, and it contained 315 panels. However, in the gallery space there were 341 panels, what shows that Richter was constantly re-visiting the panels, and adding material until the very last moment. Some exhibitions are: *Gerhard Richter: Atlas der Fotos, Collagen und Skizzen* (1989), Cologne (August 2, 1989 – October 22, 1989), 445 panels; *Gerhard Richter: Atlas 1964–1995* (1995), Dia Center for the Arts, New York (April 27, 1995 – February 25, 1996), 583 panels; *Gerhard Richter: Atlas* (2003), Whitechapel Art Gallery, London (December 6, 2003 – March 14, 2004), 691 panels; and *Gerhard Richter: Atlas – Mikromega* (2013), Kunstbau München, Munich (October 23, 2013 – February 9, 2014), 802 panels.

[63] See: Gerhard-Richter.com (2012), *Gerhard Richter: Atlas* [Online Video], <https://www.gerhard-richter.com/en/videos/exhibitions/gerhard-richter-atlas-54>, accessed on August 27, 2017.

The first few panels from *Atlas* seem homogeneous in terms of content. Nevertheless, throughout the project there is a vast array of heterogeneous material both in content and form.[64] For instance following roughly the order established in the *Atlas* there are panels that contain: book clippings depicting the concentration maps, pornography imagery, portraits, different iterations of encyclopaedic images of famous men in preparation for his work *48 Portraits* of 1972. Then we move to Richter's personal snapshots, photographs related to his experimentation with abstraction, aerial photographs, serial images of landscapes taken by Richter, sketches, as well as photographs related with his series *18 October 1977* (1988). These are followed by more sketches, still life photographs, images from his private life, photographs related with his abstract paintings, more images depicting the Holocaust, and additional family photographs. Moreover, in two of the plates, which were added in 2013, we see the *Sonderkommando's* photographs taken in 1944 inside Auschwitz concentration camp.

From this we can gather that the *Atlas* does not follow any chronological order and the images seem to be grouped in clusters of similar related topics. Furthermore, Lynne Cooke in 'Gerhard Richter Atlas' (1995) writes:

> For all its compendious nature, *Atlas* is governed by no overriding logic and no polemic. […] there is neither a coherent and systematic compilation of an identifiable body of material nor an archaeological exhaustion of a specific subject. In retaining a hybrid identity, *Atlas* loosely adheres to some of the preoccupations informing Richter's paintings without being exclusively governed by them.[65]

Therefore, we could say that the *Atlas* has a diffuse nature. However, taken as whole it gives as clues to the complex dialogues between representation, photography and painting, underpinned by notions of history and memory that Richter explores across his work.

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[64] Cooke, Lynne (1995), 'Gerhard Richter Atlas', in Iwona Blazwick, and Janna Graham (eds.), (2003), *Gerhard Richter Atlas: The Reader*, trans. David Britt, and Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, (London: Whitechapel), p. 103.
[65] Ibid., p. 104.

3.5 Thoughts made visible: Montage in Warburg's and Richter's atlases

Before even sketching the role of montage in Warburg and Richter's practice, I think is crucial to acknowledge that they are two projects informed by different traditions. The first one is related with the history of art and the second one with painting and artistic expression. Consequently, the scope and the time frames they cover are very different. As an example of this, we only need to think that Warburg's aim with his *Atlas* was to create a visual history of art and for doing so, he uses photographic reproductions of objects and artworks since Babylon to Weimar Germany. Richter's *Atlas* instead is related to his practice as an artist, and among others it contains some of the imagery that he has used or considered in his work. As such one of the roles of his *Atlas* is that of documenting his working processes, therefore what we see in there are visual materials that are aligned mostly with Richter's own lifetime and culture.

However, they are at least three common traits between Warburg and Richter's practice. The first one is that, with their atlases they create personal mnemonic systems where the relationship between image, memory, loss and collection is key.[66] The second one relates to the way in which both projects trace 'collective cultural memory embedded in visual symbols'.[67] The third one considers how their atlases could be regarded as responses to a similar drastic experience of 'memory crisis'.[68] Benjamin Buchloh in 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas": The Anomic Archive' (1999) uses the concept of 'memory crisis' coined by Richard Terdiman. Buchloh explains that Terdiman used the term:

> […] 'memory crisis' to analyse those historical circumstances that generate an actualization of mnemonic efforts […] both to theorize the conditions of memory and to enact new cultural models of the mnemonic.[69]

[66] McGonagill, Doris (2015), *Crisis and Collection. German Visual Memory Archives of the Twentieth Century* (Würzburg: Verlag Königshausen & Neumann), p. 5.
[67] Ibid., p. 5.
[68] Buchloh, Benjamin H. D. (1999), 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas": The Anomic Archive', *October*, 88 (Spring, 1999), p. 136.
[69] Ibid., p. 136.

The time frame of the 'memory crisis' in the case of Warburg is located after the First War World and before the rise of National Socialism and therefore 'at the onset of a traumatic destruction of historical memory'.[70] In the instance of Richter is situated in the years after Hitler and the Second World War dealing with the aftermath of Fascism in Germany and the attempt 'to reconstruct remembrance from within the social and geopolitical space of the very society that inflicted trauma'.[71] Therefore their atlases cope with the 'crisis' originated by the rise and fall of Nazism. Moreover, Warburg and Richter's way of dealing with this 'memory crisis' is by mapping, collecting and reordering past and present through their atlases.

However, in Richter and Warburg, we encounter two different understandings towards images and photography. And given the framework of their practices we can recognise that each of them is dealing with visual materials from different perspectives. It is in this sense, that they are using the montage as a 'solution' to different problems.

Before entering into how they use the montage in their projects, first we need to know the meaning of the word. Therefore, following the dictionary definition, montage means: '**1** the art or process of composing pictures by the superimposition or juxtaposition of miscellaneous elements, such as other pictures or photographs'; and its origin is from French, 'from *monter* to mount'.[72] Consequently I will deploy the montage as a tool that allows me to compose and re-compose photographic materials in multiple materialisations. In this way is a mechanism to re-think the relationship of its components. But it also offers a space where the organisation of its elements creates a new reading. In that sense there is a transformation of meaning.[73]

Beginning with Warburg, in his case he tried to create a cultural history of art by tracing the survival of Antiquity through the migration of images in space and time. However, to create a written history of art implies a narrative, a succession of facts, where one

[70] Ibid., p. 127.
[71] Ibid., p. 127.
[72] Sinclair, J.M. (ed.), (2000), *Collins English Dictionary* (Glasgow: HarperCollins).
[73] Aumont, Jacques ([1989] 1997), *El Ojo Interminable: Cine y Pintura* [The Endless Eye: Film and Painting], trans. Antonio López Ruiz (Barcelona; Buenos Aires: Paidós), pp. 73-77.

element comes after the other.[74] Instead the methodology of the montage that Warburg uses in *Mnemosyne's* allowed him to simultaneously visualise a large number of photographic reproductions. Furthermore, the use of the montage materialised in the panels facilitates the comparison, arrangement and re-arrangement of images until a suitable combination is found. Therefore, Warburg ascribes to montage 'the capacity to produce, through the meetings of images, a dialectical knowledge of Western culture'.[75] Didi-Huberman in 'Knowledge: Movement (The Man Who Spoke to Butterflies)' (2007) writes:

> To create a *knowledge-montage* was therefore to reject the matrices of intelligibility, to break through the age-old guardrails. This movement, with its new 'allure' of knowledge, created the possibility of vertigo. Even today, one need only browse through the shelves of the Warburg Library to feel – in an attenuated fashion, since we have but the result of a virtually endless process – the sort of vertigo that Fritz Saxl well knew how to prolong: The image is not a closed field of knowledge; it is a whirling, centrifugal field. It is not a 'field of knowledge' like any other; it is a movement demanding all the anthropological aspects of being and time.[76]

Thus, in this context the montage serves as a heuristic tool, an open search mechanism, which for Warburg opens up the possibility of re-arranging his material to visually develop his ideas. And, at the same time it creates a fruitful, endless cycle of interpretation.

In addition to this, Buchloh stated that Wolfgang Kemp pointed out that the conception of Warburg's work was close in time with the invention of collage, and that his use of photographic montage has similarities with Surrealist procedures.[77] Furthermore

[74] As mentioned earlier on writing was difficult for Warburg.
[75] Didi-Huberman, Georges (2010), 'Atlas or the Anxious Gay Science', in Georges Didi-Huberman (ed.), *Atlas. How to Carry the World on One's Back?* [Exh. Cat.], (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía), p. 23.
[76] Didi-Huberman, Georges (2007), 'Foreword: Knowledge: Movement (The Man Who Spoke to Butterflies)', in Philippe-Alain Michaud, *Aby Warburg and the Image in Motion*, trans. Sophie Hawkes (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press), p. 13.
[77] Kemp, Wolfgang (1975), 'Benjamin und Aby Warburg', [Benjamin and Aby Warburg], *Kritische Berichte*, 3 (1), p. 5, cited in Benjamin H. D. Buchloh (1999), 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas": The Anomic Archive', *October*, 88 (Spring, 1999), pp. 127-128.

Warburg's montage has often been compared with another incomplete project of knowledge production and interpretation: Benjamin's *Arcades Project* (1988).[78] For which Benjamin started to do research at the end of the twenties as well.[79] In fact, the following could be applied to Warburg's *Atlas*:

> Method of this project: literary montage. I needn't *say* anything. Merely show. I shall purloin no valuables, appropriate no ingenious formulations. But the rags, the refuse – these I will not inventory but allow, in the only way possible, to come into their own: by making use of them.[80]

Following this we could say that Warburg's model of montage has similarities with Benjamin and Surrealism's in the juxtapositions of seemingly unrelated material with the aim of constructing a different reading. Furthermore, in all of them there is an underlying assumption by which the principle of montage 'eschews the subjectivity and interpretation of the traditional text, producing meaning solely through the juxtaposition of its individual elements'.[81]

It is important to acknowledge that Warburg's *Atlas* holds 'to the ideal of cultural progression, and in this sense was a product of the Enlightenment'.[82] Consequently *Mnemosyne* is based on the belief that it was still possible to construct a cultural memory.

Furthermore, it relies on the trust in the 'photograph's authenticity as empirical document' for its construction.[83] Therefore, as Didi-Huberman observed, we cannot:

Didi-Huberman also points at Georges Bataille's *Documents* magazine, as an atlas of images that is contemporaneous to *Mnemosyne*. See: Didi-Huberman, Georges (2010), 'Atlas or the Anxious Gay Science', in Georges Didi-Huberman (ed.), *Atlas. How to Carry the World on One's Back?* [Exh. Cat.], (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía), p. 81.

[78] See: Benjamin, Walter ([1988] 2002), *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press).

[79] However as stated by Matthew Rampley, we need to be careful about the comparison between, on one side Warburg's pictorial montage as seen in his *Mnemosyne Atlas*, and on the other Benjamin's interest and use of avant-garde montage techniques in *The Arcades Project*. Since, each approach comes from very different standpoints. For a detailed account see: Rampley, Matthew. (1999), 'Archives of Memory: Walter Benjamin's Arcades Project and Aby Warburg's Mnemosyne Atlas', in Alex Coles (ed.), *De-, Dis-, Ex-. Volume 3: The Optic of Walter Benjamin* (London: Black Dog Publishing), pp. 94-116.

[80] See: Benjamin, Walter ([1988] 2002), *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press), p. 460.

[81] Spieker, Sven (2008), *The Big Archive: Art from Bureaucracy* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press), p. 140.

[82] Rampley, Matthew. (1999), 'Archives of Memory: Walter Benjamin's Arcades Project and Aby Warburg's Mnemosyne Atlas', in Alex Coles (ed.), *De-, Dis-, Ex-. Volume 3: The Optic of Walter Benjamin* (London: Black Dog Publishing), p. 109.

> […] remain silent regarding its fundamental fragility. The Warburgian atlas is an object conceived on a *bet*. It is the bet that images, collected in a certain manner, would offer us the possibility – or better still, the inexhaustible *resource* – of a rereading of the world.[84]

Richter's *Atlas* on the contrary shatters the very possibility of constructing a social memory and it reveals a more ambivalent position towards Warburg's trust in photography. Following Buchloh we could say that: 'from the very outset Richter contemplates the reigning social uses of photography and their potential artistic functions with an attitude of profound scepticism'.[85]

Before reaching that point is important to reiterate that Richter is approaching the making of his *Atlas* as consumer, user as well as producer of images. This has implications for his understanding of photography. To unravel the meaning of Richter's *Atlas* we need perhaps to understand it first of all, as a response to a particular historical moment. As Richter observed in an interview with Buchloh in 2004, 'my national situation was also my historical, and vice versa'.[86] As Buchloh points out in that same interview, it is framed by Richter's experience 'as a German after the Second World War and after the Holocaust', which has concerned and shaped his work.[87]

Besides, I pointed out before that Richter's *Atlas* came about as an attempt to order that material which was a by-product of his artistic practice. In that sense, his solution was to organise his photographic materials in panels as a way of taming those images. Therefore, *Atlas* is a meta-work that reflects on the processes of Richter's practice. In that way the *Atlas* gives us hints into Richter's working method. One of the reasons why the *Atlas* is important is because it reflects on how for Richter 'painting could only be

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[83] Buchloh, Benjamin H. D. (1999), 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas": The Anomic Archive', *October*, 88 (Spring, 1999), p. 131.
[84] Didi-Huberman, Georges (2010), 'Atlas or the Anxious Gay Science', in Georges Didi-Huberman (ed.), *Atlas. How to Carry the World on One's Back?* [Exh. Cat.], (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía), p. 19.
[85] Buchloh, Benjamin H. D. (1999), 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas": The Anomic Archive', *October*, 88 (Spring, 1999), p. 134.
[86] Buchloh, Benjamin H. D. (2004), 'An Interview with Gerhard Richter', in Benjamin H. D. Buchloh (ed.), (2009), *Gerhard Richter (October Files)*, (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press), p. 176.
[87] Ibid.

understood, from its very beginning, as mediated by technology and photography'.[88] So the *Atlas* is also an indirect meditation on photography.

Richter studied in Dresden's art academy from 1951 until 1956, later in 1961 he moved to West Germany and in that same year he joined the Düsseldorf Academy. Therefore, in Richter's learning process there is a split between East and West Germany. And according to Buchloh in 'Divided Memory and Post-Traditional Identity: Gerhard Richter's Work of Mourning' (1996) this division serves:

> […] as an analogue to post-war Germany's own conflicted relation to its past (which it must both disavow and work through). For if Richter was formed in the politics and painting of National Socialism, first, and that of Stalinist socialist realism, second, this past not only needed to be exorcised, it also had to be reconciled with the experience of a third position, that of the hastily concocted painterly culture of post-war West Germany.[89]

An example is Richter's formation in the East, which was determined by a socialist realist dogma with the subsequent instrumentalisation of painting. For instance, in 1958 Richter painted a mural at the 'regional government headquarters of the Socialist Unity Party in Dresden, depicting police forces attacking a crowd of demonstrators'.[90] When Richter moves to the West, he comes into contact with new and emergent art tendencies and quickly acquires 'first French and then mostly American neo-avant-garde strategies'.[91]

My point with this is to illustrate that Richter during his formative years was in contact with very different conceptions of the image linked to dominant ideologies. I think this

[88] Ibid.
[89] Buchloh, Benjamin H. D. (1996), 'Divided Memory and Post-Traditional Identity: Gerhard Richter's Work of Mourning', in Benjamin H. D. Buchloh (ed.), (2009), *Gerhard Richter (October Files)*, (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press), p. 72.
[90] Elger, Dietmar ([2002] 2009), *Gerhard Richter, A Life in Painting*, trans. Elizabeth M. Solaro (Chicago, Ill.; London: The University of Chicago Press), p. 19.
[91] Buchloh, Benjamin H. D. (1996), 'Divided Memory and Post-Traditional Identity: Gerhard Richter's Work of Mourning', in Benjamin H. D. Buchloh (ed.), (2009), *Gerhard Richter (October Files)*, (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press), p. 72.

aspect is crucial to understand Richter's suspicion of the photograph and its relation to ideology.

Following Richter's neo-avant-garde strategies influence is worth noting that the artist has spoken about the impact of Marcel Duchamp, Pop Art, Neo-Dada, and Fluxus among others.[92] Richter has also explained that during the early 1960s he was interested mostly in an 'anti-aesthetic' position characterised by the appropriation of materials.[93] Eckhart J. Gillen in 'Painter without Qualities: Gerhard Richter's Path from Socialist Society to Western Art System, 1956-1966' (2011) observes that Richter's main source of information about contemporary art was the magazine *Art International*:

> […] which in January 1963 had featured an article by Barbara Rose entitled 'Dada Then and Now', distinguishing Pop Art from Neo-Dada and placing a positive spin on Pop artists' discovery of the trivial.[94]

Besides on May 1963 Richter, Manfred Kuttner, Konrad Lueg, and Sigmar Polke opened the exhibition *German Pop Art* or *Capitalist Realism* in Düsseldorf, which can be understood as the German response to these new art movements and as the East Germany Socialist Realism ideological opposite. The invitation cards used for the exhibition 'were decorated with a profusion of isms', and some of the words used, such as 'Neo Dada? Junk Culture? Common Object Painting?', were appropriated from Rose's aforementioned article.[95] In Rose's 'Dada Then and Now' she is referring to a group of artists that 'achieved maturity in affluent post-War America', for instance artists such as: Robert Rauschenberg, Jasper Johns and Jim Dine among others.[96] For Rose 'Neo-Dadaist, far from being anarchic, are the first to acknowledge that the artist's task is to order'.[97]

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[92] See: Buchloh, Benjamin H. D. (1986), 'An Interview with Gerhard Richter', in Benjamin H. D. Buchloh (ed.), (2009), *Gerhard Richter (October Files)*, (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press), pp. 1-12.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Gillen, Eckhart J. (2011), 'Painter without Qualities: Gerhard Richter's Path from Socialist Society to Western Art System, 1956-1966', in Christine Mehring, Jeanne Anne Nugent, and Jon L. Seydl (eds.), *Gerhard Richter: Early Work, 1951-1972* (Los Angeles, Cal.: J. Paul Getty Museum), p. 71.
[95] Elger, Dietmar ([2002] 2009), *Gerhard Richter, A Life in Painting*, trans. Elizabeth M. Solaro (Chicago, Ill.; London: The University of Chicago Press); p. 55.
[96] Rose, Barbara (1963), 'Dada, Then and Now', in Steven Henry Madoff (ed.), (1997), *Pop Art: A Critical History* (Berkeley, Cal.; London: University of California Press), p. 59.
[97] Ibid., p. 58.

And what these artists are ordering are mostly images but also objects, which are the product of an American consumer mass culture, therefore the image returns to:

> […] painting, but in a form they never imagined. It has come back via the TV, magazines, highway billboards, supermarkets and comic books, and not by way of Salon painting or socialist realism.[98]

For instance Rauschenberg began making his *Silkscreen Paintings* series in 1962 using his own photographs, found imagery sourced from books and magazines, as well as brushstrokes which were reminiscent of the prevailing abstract expressionism painting in the US during the 1950s.[99] Rauschenberg in his lithograph *Autobiography* from 1968 has explained that he 'began silkscreen painting to escape familiarity of objects and collage'. Therefore, Rauschenberg creates ambiguous and indeterminate juxtapositions of images by appropriating and re-contextualising them in a new support. Alan R. Salomon in 'From Robert Rauschenberg' (1963) writes:

> There are no secret messages in Rauschenberg, no program of social or political discontent transmitted in code, no hidden rhetorical commentary on the larger meaning of Life or Art, […] The enigmatic confrontations which he poses for us seem to demand explanation, and they force us to examine them closely, to search for the key, to *look*. Their real meaning is contained by this simple fact, since the more we look, the more we are faced with complexities of meaning.[100]

[98] Ibid.
[99] Willem de Kooning, Jackson Pollock and Mark Rothko are a few examples of abstract expressionism painters. See also: Greenberg, Clement (1961), ' "American Type" Painting', in Clement Greenberg ([1961] 1989), *Art and Culture: Critical Essays* (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press), pp. 208-229.
[100] Solomon, Alan R. (1963), 'From Robert Rauschenberg', in Steven Henry Madoff (ed.), (1997), *Pop Art: A Critical History* (Berkeley, Cal.; London: University of California Press), pp. 19-24.



Figure 3.7: Robert Rauschenberg, *Retroactive I* (1963)

Some examples of Rauschenberg's silkscreen paintings from 1963 are: *Archive*, *Scanning*, and *Retroactive I*. In the latter there is a juxtaposition of seemingly random images, featuring for example: an astronaut, a John F. Kennedy photograph, and an image of a glass of water taken by Rauschenberg among others (Figure 3.7). In this case – following on Salomon's reading – I think that rather than trying to come up with a possible 'single' meaning for this montage of images, it is more than anything about the gesture of appropriating imagery and following Marcel Duchamp's legacy downplaying the author function. It is also about creating a space where different aspects of art and life are intertwined. In that sense we can associate the images in *Retroactive I* to a larger socio-economic context for instance American politics as well as the space race during the 1960s.



Figure 3.8: Gerhard Richter, *Atlas* (1962-ongoing), panel 5 (1962)

Linking this back to Richter, Buchloh observes that: 'Richter explicitly credits the work of Robert Rauschenberg with having provided his introduction to collage/montage aesthetics'.[101] In fact in Richter's *Atlas* we find similarities with Rauschenberg's model of montage – as seen in his *Silkscreen Paintings* series – from panel one to fifteen. For instance, both artists are interested in the use of motifs that seem to be 'picked at random' like snapshots as well as the appropriation of images from illustrated magazines and newspapers due to their 'anti-artistic quality'.[102] Using Richter's panel number five as an example, we see that there are images taken from mass media featuring: a gymnast, a picture of two women with a cake, a chair, a cow, a secretary, a roll of toilet paper, planes, a car, and also family snapshots among others (Figure 3.8). Therefore, as a result of using these strategies Richter similarly to Rauschenberg creates ambiguous juxtapositions of images. This appropriation of imagery comes in the case of

[101] Buchloh, Benjamin H. D. (1999), 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas": The Anomic Archive', *October*, 88 (Spring, 1999), p. 142.
[102] See: Buchloh, Benjamin H. D. (1986), 'An Interview with Gerhard Richter', in Benjamin H. D. Buchloh (ed.), (2009), *Gerhard Richter (October Files)*, (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press), p. 13.

Richter as a rejection of 'modernist abstraction, affiliated with the free-market ideology of late capitalism'.[103]

Therefore, we could read the first panels from Richter's *Atlas* as his response to Rauschenberg's montage strategies. However, the US and German post-war social realities were very different. In US there is a generalised optimistic feeling towards consumer culture. On the contrary Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich-Nielsen in *The Inability to Mourn: Principles of Collective Behavior* (1967) observed that the society in West Germany embraced an incipient mass culture, which was the result of the German post-war 'economic miracle' and they understand it as a form of disavowal and repression of the past.[104] They write:

> But here we are asking that this therapy be carried out by a society which, at least materially, is on the whole better off than ever before. Therefore, it feels no incentive to expose its interpretation of the recent past to the inconvenient questioning of others; especially now that the manic defence of using the 'German economic miracle' to obliterate the past has been so successful, and the world, whatever else it may think about the Germans, acknowledges the German virtue of industriousness.[105]

Similarly, Richter's *Atlas* seems to consider photographic media culture 'as a system of ideological domination', and photography is understood as an 'instrument with which collective anomie, amnesia, and repression are socially inscribed'.[106] Following this line of thought we can understand Richter's interpretation of Rauschenberg's model of montage based on heterogeneity as having an anomic underside. Buchloh explained it better in 'The Anomic Archive' when he observes that this principle of random

[103] Buchloh, Benjamin H. D. (1996), 'Divided Memory and Post-Traditional Identity: Gerhard Richter's Work of Mourning', in Benjamin H. D. Buchloh (ed.), (2009), *Gerhard Richter (October Files)*, (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press), p. 72.
[104] See: Mitscherlich, Alexander, and Mitscherlich, Margarete ([1967] 1975), *The Inability to Mourn: Principles of Collective Behavior*, trans. Beverley R. Placzek (New York: Grove Press).
[105] Ibid., p. 15.
[106] Buchloh, Benjamin H. D. (1999), 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas": The Anomic Archive', *October*, 88 (Spring, 1999), p. 134.

accumulation can be thought 'as a kind of socially enforced legitimation of anomie disguised as an advanced state of individual independence'.[107]



Figure 3.9: Gerhard Richter, *Atlas* (1962-ongoing), panel 200 (1972)

However, the heterogeneity montage model does not apply to the whole *Atlas*, it only relates to the first fifteen panels. After that, we have groups of images that are juxtaposed according to content, for instance the Holocaust images (panels 16 to 20), or the pornographic imagery (panels 21 to 23). In *Atlas* the images are also grouped according to traditional pictorial genres: like portraiture (panels 30 to 37), landscape (panels 161 to one 182), still life (panels 397 to 401), but also abstract painting (panels 96 to 105), to cite only a few. Therefore, a large part of *Atlas* seems to be using a model of montage based on homogeneity and to take as one of its organising principles:

[107] Ibid., p. 142.

> […] photography's innate structural order (its condition as archive) in conjunction with its seemingly infinite multiplicity, capacity for serialization, and aspiration toward comprehensive totality.[108]

For instance, there are around three hundred and seventeen panels in *Atlas* that are Richter's own serial photographs of landscapes, mountains, seaside views and cities (Figure 3.9).



Figure 3.10: Gerhard Richter, *Atlas* (1962-ongoing), panel 17 (1972)

Figure 3.11: Gerhard Richter, *Atlas* (1962-ongoing), panel 18 (1972)

Therefore, in *Atlas* we find these two opposite models of montage: one based on heterogeneity and the other on homogeneity. Furthermore, the *Atlas* seems to locate photography as the instrument that simultaneously destroys and constructs memory. In contrast to the banality of most of the images in *Atlas*, the photographs related to the Holocaust appear throughout the project and work as the 'punctum' (Figure 3.10, Figure 3.11).[109] They are a remainder of that which German society was trying to repress.[110] And

[108] Buchloh, Benjamin H. D. (1999), 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas": The Anomic Archive', *October*, 88 (Spring, 1999), p. 118.
[109] Zweite, Armin (1999), 'Gerhard Richter's Album of Photographs, Collages and Sketches', in Iwona Blazwick, and Janna Graham (eds.), (2003), *Gerhard Richter Atlas: The Reader*, trans. David Britt, and Benjamin H. D. Buchloh (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery), pp. 55.

that 'trauma' is still a concern for Richter, since those photographs not only appear in the first panels that he added in 1967, he also included two panels with photographs featuring Hitler in 1969 (panels 101 and 102) and more recently in 2013 he added the *Sonderkommando's* photographs taken in 1944 inside Auschwitz concentration camp (panels 808 and 809). Therefore, it is when considering the *Atlas*' series of juxtapositions as a whole that we realise that Richter creates a space where to re-think the relationship between memory and anomie. As a result, the *Atlas* delves between this polarity but without offering any resolution.

3.6 Conclusion

Even though Warburg's and Richter's atlases are very different projects, I find both of them useful tools for my practice, and I appropriate different aspects from them. In the case of Warburg, I am not interested, in relation to my practice, on the topic or the theme of his project, which was very much embedded in late nineteenth century art history discourse with its preoccupation and interest on the Renaissance. However, what I appropriate for my work is the notion of the atlas as a heuristic visual tool. In this sense I am also following Didi Huberman's interpretation of the atlas as a 'visual tool for knowledge'.[111] Warburg's *Atlas* was based on his comprehension of the history of art, and when something changed in his understanding he would reflect it on his *Atlas* by moving images from one panel to the other or removing panels all together. Therefore, he created new juxtapositions and new relationships between the images. My point with this is that Warburg creates an endless cycle for interpretation. In this sense his atlas is, more than anything, an open process of piecing the images together.

Similarly, in my practice I appropriate the atlas as a tool that helps me to visualise, and search for meaning and relationships between images. Besides like Warburg the 'atlas' that I propose for my project ∞ is understood as an open process and therefore every time that is exhibited it would reflect on the latest stage of the research. Meaning that

[110] Buchloh, Benjamin H. D. (1999), 'Gerhard Richter's "Atlas": The Anomic Archive', *October*, 88 (Spring, 1999), p. 144.
[111] Didi-Huberman, Georges (2010), 'Atlas or the Anxious Gay Science', in Georges Didi-Huberman (ed.), *Atlas. How to Carry the World on One's Back?* [Exh. Cat.], (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía), p. 14.

each installation will be as well site specific and as such it will depend on the characteristics and dimensions of the space, as a result 'my atlas' will change as the project progresses. Endesa, the company in charge of the coal mine was privatised in 2000, and one of the measures that they implemented was to remove what they considered any unnecessary documentation related to the mine, as a result of this they dismantled the company archive little by little. On my last trip to Spain I met a person who was in charge of getting rid of all that unwanted material. However instead of destroying the documentation he decided to keep as much of it as he could, focusing mainly on photographs, but also on documents and sketches related to old machinery that was used in the mine. In June I had a brief look at his collection which is by far the most extensive and interesting that I have encountered. He has photographic albums documenting the changes of the mine throughout these years, but also groups of images that have a more personal character like an album with the photographs of a group of mine workers' who travelled to Greece in 1975 to research new methods in coal extraction. He also has an impressive collection of black and white aerial photography. Unfortunately, I have been unable to include this material in the current research. My point with this is that the project will continue to evolve and change as I make new discoveries around the topic.

There are a few resemblances between Richter's *Atlas* and my practice. For instance, my project similar to his has a personal autobiographic aspect. And also, of course on a completely different level both projects deal with a sense of loss. In the case of Richter, he began his *Atlas* when he moved to West Germany and his project, especially at the beginning, looks more than anything, like a personal album, a way of perhaps dealing with loss. Similarly, I am dealing in my project with a space related to my childhood, which has disappeared. And perhaps is also my way of dealing with this loss but many years later. From Richter's *Atlas* I am appropriating his use of two montage models, one based on heterogeneity and the other on homogeneity.

Using the heterogeneity model, I am creating different cluster of images. In this sense if we think about the coal mine, as a deposit, we can see that is composed of separate

layers in various thicknesses of clay, coal, and soil that in order to be used need to be separated. I use the metaphor of the deposit and the layering to treat different threads. To work with each 'layer', I use materials from a variety of sources, including amateur snapshots, recent photographs of the area that has been expropriated, found objects as well as images made on behalf of the coal company among others.

The first 'layer' is related to the expropriation of the village. In Appendix B there is a selection of images that partially shows this cluster of images. The first photograph is a map from 1956, used in the council to localise and sell states to the mining company and it corresponds roughly with the space occupied by the expropriated village. What it follows are a series of images of the houses, mixed with family photographs, recent images of objects that people have kept, mainly tools, but even entire constructions, such as granaries were moved to new locations. Finally, there are images that show how the space occupied once by the village, looks like today.

The second 'layer' that can be seen as well in Appendix B refers to the mine, its history, the coal. In this second cluster of images we see documentation of the mine throughout the years. There are also images that show the type of minerals, and rocks that are characteristic of the area. Within these two 'layers' there are also panels, containing groups of similar images, and where a serial quality of photography is emphasised, and therefore linking them with Richter's second montage model based on homogeneity. To conclude both the atlas and the montage are useful mechanisms to re-think the relationship between its components, and it has allowed me to arrange images in loose connections and therefore leaving the viewer the possibility of establishing their own links with the work.

CHAPTER 4

Structuring through the Grid: The Infinite System in Hanne Darboven's *Cultural History 1880-1983*

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I am considering the phase of assembling the photographs and therefore I am dealing with the need for organisation. I am focusing on an archival strategy that at the same time is one of the most prevalent forms of how to organise visual and non-visual information, which is the grid. In doing this I am dealing with the work of the German artist Hanne Darboven, whose practice is emblematic for the use of the grid.[1] I will specifically analyse her work *Cultural History 1880-1983* (1980-1983) in which, as we will see, the use of the grid becomes a key overarching component. Furthermore, I will also explain the role of the grid in my two practice projects, *Etcetera* (2013) and ∞ (2017).

The hypothesis of my research revolves around the idea that an investigation of the configuration of a specific group of images can create a framework or context that enhances our understanding of how the arrangement is a key process in the constitution of meaning. By this, I am arguing that the technology used in the registration of information and the archival strategies employed in the organisation are core components in the creation of signification; but are by no means the only ones. Therefore, at the centre of my research is an investigation into the way in which the technology, photography, and the archival processes involved in the gathering and organisation of materials reveal some of the aspects of how visual knowledge is created. Furthermore, for Foucault the archive is not the 'sum of all texts that a culture has kept'

[1] Hanne Darboven was born in Munich in 1941 and died in Hamburg in 2009. She was a student at the University of Fine Arts of Hamburg from 1962 to 1965. Then she moved to New York in 1966, and in 1968 she will return to her family's house in Hamburg where she lived until her death. The presentation of her work in the gallery space is usually done in grid formations, see for instance: *Konstruktionen* (1968), *Card Index: Filing Cabinet* (1975), *Schreibzeit* (1975-1980) or *Kosmos >85<* (1985).

or the institutions that preserve documents.[2] But it is rather constituted according to the rules of the historical a priori:

> […] it is defined as the group of rules that characterize a discursive practice: but these rules are not imposed from the outside on the elements that they relate together; they are caught up in the very things that they connect; and if they are not modified with the least of them, they modify them, and are transformed by them […].[3]

Reading Foucault's constructive rules in the context of Darboven's work and my practice will reveal how the means to organise the material, the grid, and its contents do not come one after the other but rather materialise at the same time. It is in this way that the structure and its components are interdependent. This is precisely what I am trying to unpack through my analysis. However, I understand that each artwork with its specific arrangement brings out its very own meaning. That is the reason why I am not dealing with the grid as a strategy in general but within the specificity of those projects. Therefore, as will be explained, the comprehension of the grid in these works distances itself from that which understands it as an armature imposed onto something.

4.2 The grid

If we refer to the definition given by the dictionary, the grid is: '**1** a utensil of parallel metal bars, used to grill meat, fish, etc; **2** any framework resembling this utensil'.[4] Furthermore the word is a shortening of 'gridiron' and also meant an instrument of torture.[5]

The grid is one of the most prominent visual structures in Western culture.[6] For instance, Dan Cameron in the exhibition catalogue *Living inside the Grid* (2003), writes about the

[2] Foucault, Michel ([1969] 2010), *Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (London: Routledge), p. 145.
[3] Ibid., p. 144.
[4] Sinclair, J.M., (ed.), (2000), *Collins English Dictionary* (Glasgow: HarperCollins).
[5] Cameron, Dan (ed.), (2003), *Living Inside the Grid* [Exh. Cat.], (New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art), p. 15.
[6] For a detailed overview see especially: Krauss, Rosalind (1979), 'Grids', *October*, 9 (Summer, 1979), pp. 50-64; and Higgins, Hannah (2009), *The Grid Book* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press).

'triumph of the grid'.[7] In art it is usually associated with Modernism; however if we consider its utilitarian facet as Hannah Higgins does in *The Grid Book* (2009), we can recognise that 'the grid has a history that long predates Modernity'.[8] Higgins follows the history of ten grids, starting from the brick: she goes to the tablet, the gridiron city plan, the map, musical notation, the ledger, the screen, moveable type, the manufactured box and finishes with the current ubiquity of the net. From this list we can realise two things: one is the adaptability and transformation of the grid to different needs through time, and two is how the grid has been a consistent element that permeates Western culture in one form or another. For instance, 'the screen' implied the introduction of perspective illusion in painting during the Renaissance, as Cameron put it:

> Once the grid was laid over the frontal picture plane, with objects and people located at a measurable distance between the viewer and the point on the distant horizon from which space appeared to move forward, the precise ordering of space according to tools of measurement was suddenly possible […].[9]

This capacity for ordering space was applied in architecture and city design, for example in the systematic layout of the Paris street plan in the early eighteenth century.[10] Later the avant-gardes of the twentieth century in the 1920s, especially Piet Mondrian, Pablo Picasso and George Braque with Cubism, and Kazimir Malevich with Constructivism got rid of any hint of the functional aspect of the grid.[11] It was used for its apparent 'neutrality' and as a purely abstract element that became an emblem of Modernism and rationalism. In the 1960s, the grid was employed in Pop Art. Andy Warhol's treatment of this structure is usually associated with consumer culture, and the assembly line.[12] One example is the thirty-two canvases that comprise Warhol's *Campbell's Soup Cans* (1962), which are arranged in a grid formation. The grid was also used in Minimalism, for instance in Carl Andre's floor arrangements. His work *144 Magnesium Square* (1969) is made up of one hundred and forty-four magnesium plates displayed as a grid on the

[7] Cameron, Dan (ed.), (2003), *Living Inside the Grid* [Exh. Cat.], (New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art), p. 11.
[8] See: Higgins, Hannah (2009), *The Grid Book* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press), p. 6.
[9] Cameron, Dan (ed.), (2003), *Living Inside the Grid* [Exh. Cat.], (New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art), p. 15.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid., p. 16.
[12] Ibid., p. 20.

gallery floor. An example of early Conceptual Art dealings with the grid is Sol LeWitt's use of serial systems in his wall drawings and sculptures of that period, like *Wall Drawing #1085: Drawing series-Composite, Part I-IV, #1-24, A+B*, (1968/2003). Darboven was part of post-Minimalism and early Conceptual Art and her use of the grid can be located between those two movements.

Before going into detail of how the grid functions in Darboven's practice, I will analyse Rosalind Krauss's influential essay 'Grids' (1979).[13] In which she explores the relationship between grids and modernism. Krauss explains how this structure appears in the realm of art at the beginning of the twentieth century and it 'has remained emblematic of the modernist ambition within the visual arts ever since'.[14] One way in which the grid functions to proclaim the modernity of modern art is spatial, it is 'antinatural, antimimetic, antireal', she writes:

> In the overall regularity of its organization, it is the result not of imitation, but of aesthetic decree. Insofar as its order is that of pure relationship, the grid is a way of abrogating the claims of natural objects to have an order particular to themselves […].[15]

For Krauss one of the main characteristics for its prominence in Modern Art is its connection to matter and/or spirit. She explains:

> The grid's mythic power is that it makes us able to think we are dealing with materialism (or sometimes science, or logic) while at the same time it provides us with a release into belief (or illusion, or fiction).[16]

Therefore, the mythic power of the grid resides precisely in its ambivalence, in the fact of maintaining values from both science and spirituality.

[13] Krauss, Rosalind (1979), 'Grids', *October*, 9 (Summer, 1979), pp. 50-64.
[14] Ibid., p. 50.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid., p. 54

In order to explain the emergence of the grid she goes to nineteenth-century art. Even though the grid was absent from the painting of that century, there was a literature that painters were using which was related to how light and colour are perceived. Those books on physiological optics used the grid for illustration purposes to demonstrate 'the interaction of specific particles throughout a continuous field'. [17] Therefore, Krauss argues that the grid served in that context as a 'matrix of knowledge'.[18]

One of the readings that she proposes for the modernist grid is the 'centrifugal', which understands the grid as having the potential of extending to infinity and whose boundaries are arbitrary. Thus, the work of art is seen as a fragment of some far broader structure or concept. According to Krauss:

> The beyond-the-frame attitude, in addressing the world and its structure, would seem to trace its lineage back to the nineteenth century in relation to the operations of science, and thus to carry the positivist or materialist implications of its heritage.[19]

Therefore, the grid is a procedure that is part of an increasing rationalisation of vision and information that it is seen in nineteenth century.[20] Furthermore Krauss's analysis of the emergence of the grid in modernist art and its source in the nineteenth century is relevant when analysing the work of Darboven as I will explain below.

Darboven's work is characteristic of the use of the grid. Her entire oeuvre consistently makes use of it, in both the internal construction of the work and in its exhibition in the gallery space in grid formations; some examples include: *Konstruktionen* (1968), *Card Index: Filing Cabinet* (1975), *Schreibzeit* (1975-1980) or *Kosmos* >85< (1985). Because the grid is a constant in her work, I will start the analysis of its impact in her early practice, and then I will continue separately with *Cultural History*. Later I will also apply Krauss's

[17] Ibid., p. 57.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid., p. 63.
[20] For the rationalization of vision in nineteenth century see: Crary, Jonathan (2002), *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press); for the rationalization of information see: Spieker, Sven (2008), *The Big Archive: Art from Bureaucracy* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press).

reading of the grid as an ambivalent space to Darboven's work. For Krauss, the grid facilitates a contradictory coexistence of the 'spiritual' and 'material'. In the case of Darboven it is subjective and objective values that survive within the structure without offering any resolution for the one or the other.

4.3. Hanne Darboven's systems and the function of the grid

Darboven was in New York for two crucial years from 1966 to 1968, there she developed the artistic principles on which she based all her later work. It was precisely during this time that she came up with her numerical constructions, for Darboven they constituted the basis of all her later work:

> My fear was always not knowing what I was meant to be doing in this world. Then, in New York, I tried to find something that I could write all my life. That's where I built up my work.[21]

Miriam Schoofs in ' "My Studio Am Burgberg": Hanne Darboven's Home-Studio as the Nucleus of her Oeuvre and Individual Cosmos' (2014) points out that in New York Darboven started drawing 'geometric constructions annotated with numbers and little arrows describing the geometric transformations'.[22] However, Schoofs claims that she moved away from this technical aspect and 'focused instead on writing down the sequences of numbers, thus replacing her previous geometrical operations with a more abstract method'.[23] Darboven used numbers because she considered them as neutral elements. She says:

[21] Graw, Isabelle (1989), 'Hanne Darboven Interview', *Eau de Cologne*, 3, pp. 26-27, as cited in Miriam Schoofs (2014), ' "My Studio Am Burgberg": Hanne Darboven's Home-Studio as the Nucleus of her Oeuvre and Individual Cosmos', in João Fernandes (ed.), *The Order of Time and Things. The Home-Studio of Hanne Darboven* [Exh. Cat.], (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía), p. 20.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.

> I only use numbers because it is a way of writing without describing. It has nothing to do with mathematics. Nothing! I choose numbers because they are so steady, limited, artificial.[24]

By mid-1968, Darboven had developed her 'Date Calculations'. For their construction she applied a system of her own invention, which she referred as *K* which stands for *Konstruktion* (construction) or *Kasten* (box).[25] This system is based on mathematical calculations and permutations using the dates of the Gregorian calendar. It is worth quoting Darboven at length to give an example of how one of her calculations is worked out:

> What I have written down stems from the dates of the year: (19)69
>
> 69 = 17K → 58K = No 1 → No 42
>
> (K = Konstruktion)
>
> All in all the digits of the numbers forming the date add up to 42
>
> The calculated total of the digits of the numbers will be progressively greater (from 17 → 58) and increase in the frequency (from 1 to 12) and return to 1 again.
>
> *Calculation Example:*
>
> 1.1.69 = 1 + 1 + 6 + 9 = 17 → 1x = No1 = 17*K*
>
> […]
>
> The digits 6 and 9 are calculated separately. All other double-digit numbers are calculated as a unit. All notations are recorded in numbers. Each number is repeated as many times as the face value indicates.
>
> *Sample:*
>
> 1.1.69 = 1 x 1 / 1 x 1 / 6 x 6 / 9 x 9 / [26]

[24] Darboven, Hanne cited in: Lippard, Lucy (1973), 'Hanne Darboven: Deep in Numbers', *Artforum International*, 11 (2), p. 36.

[25] Schoofs, Miriam (2014), ' "My Studio Am Burgberg": Hanne Darboven's Home-Studio as the Nucleus of her Oeuvre and Individual Cosmos', in João Fernandes (ed.) (2014), *The Order of Time and Things. The Home-Studio of Hanne Darboven* [Exh. Cat.], (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía), p. 21.

[26] Darboven, Hanne (1969) 'Statement', in Konrad Fisher (ed.), *Konzeption / Conception* [Exh. Cat.], (Leverkusen: Städtische Museum Leverkusen), as cited in Anne Rorimer (2001), *New Art in the 60s and 70s. Redefining Reality* (London: Thames & Hudson), pp. 164-166.

Therefore, the sequences of sums are obtained from the number of days belonging to the twelve months of the year. Basically, what Darboven explains is the specific structure in which she will base her permutations for her work in the exhibition *Conception*, held at Städtisches Museum, Leverkusen in 1969. However, she does not use the same system in all her works, so they are specific to each one. She writes:

> I build up something by disturbing something (destruction – structure – construction). A system became necessary, how else could I see more concentratedly, continue, go on at all? […] I couldn't recreate my so-called system. It depends on things done previously. The materials consist of paper and pencil with which I draw my conceptions, write words and numbers, which are the most simple means for putting down my ideas; for ideas do not depend on materials. The nature of idea is immateriality. All things have plenty of variations and varieties, so they can be changed.[27]

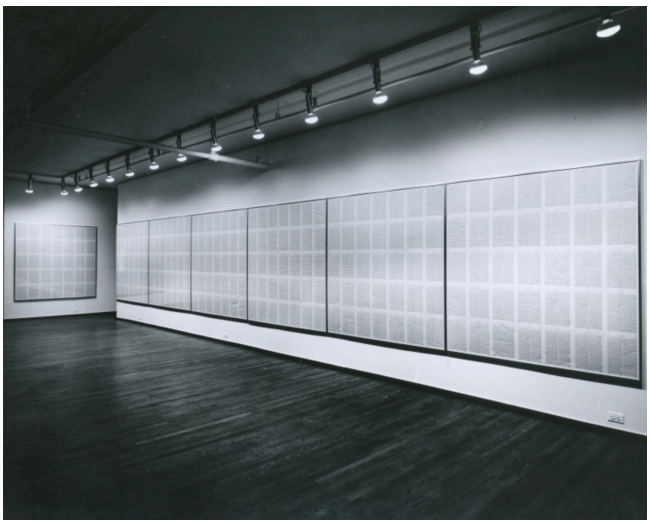

Figure 4.1: Hanne Darboven, *Hanne Darboven* (1973), Castelli Gallery, New York

In this text she is referring to the process in which her systems are based. It consists of the following interlinked stages: 'destruction – structure – construction'. The grid has the function within this process of being the supporting 'structure' that allows the construction of the work. Therefore, the way I see the grid in Darboven's practice is as an

[27] Darboven, Hanne cited in: Lippard, Lucy (1973), 'Hanne Darboven: Deep in Numbers', *Artforum International*, 11 (2), p. 39.

integral part of her systems. It is not an armature, or a framework imposed in the work. Rather is there at the very inception of it. Furthermore, she pointed out that she could not recreate her systems because they are founded on things done previously; as a result, the use she makes of the grid is different in each work. This can be seen in her practice; where the grid has different forms and functions. For instance, her early New York technical drawings were done in green graph paper. They are on a much smaller scale than later works and were exhibited inside a box or in smaller blocks. Here the gridded graph paper holds the work in place, and the grid functions as a way of containment, setting boundaries.[28] By this I mean that the work is constituted by what is inside the graph paper; in that sense the grid functions as a boundary. The project that Darboven exhibited at Leo Castelli gallery in New York in 1973 was reviewed in Lucy Lippard's article 'Hanne Darboven: Deep in Numbers' in that same year (Figure 4.1).[29] In that installation the work exhibited occupied the whole front room of the gallery and it comprised fourteen very large frames, each containing thirty-five pages.[30] In each frame there is an internal white space between the drawings, which conforms a grid, so the form of the grid is different to the previous work. Lippard observed that:

> The smaller back room contained most of the indices for the rest of the work which, if executed on the scale of the section in the front room, would fill both galleries a hundred times over.[31]

Here the grid functions as a structure that belongs to a system that has the potential of extending to infinity; in this sense the work is seen as an extract from what it could be a larger piece. These two examples show how the grid is part of an evolving system and therefore is specific to each work. However, despite this specificity there is one role of the grid, which is constant in her whole practice. This is the grid's capacity of neutralising both the objective and subjective polarities that are present in Darboven's practice.

[28] Rorimer, Anne (2001), *New Art in the 60s and 70s. Redefining Reality* (London: Thames & Hudson), p. 167.
[29] Lippard, Lucy (1973), 'Hanne Darboven: Deep in Numbers', *Artforum International*, 11 (2), pp. 35-39.
[30] Ibid., p. 35.
[31] Ibid.

In New York Darboven was in contact with LeWitt and Mel Bochner among others, who were part of early Conceptual and Post-Minimal art that focused mainly on serial systems.[32] Usually her work is seen as that which employs de-personalised, objective strategies.[33] In 1967, a year after Darboven arrived in New York, Bochner wrote 'Serial Art Systems: Solipsism' where he explains that a serial methodology is characterised by the use of structures that are the result of an impersonal, objective rigid logic system which eliminates individual personality factors as much as possible.[34] Furthermore he explains that numbers in serial art are not used for their rationality but are employed as 'a convenient regulating device, a logic external to both the time and place of application'.[35]

Even though Bochner does not address Darboven's work in this essay, we can see the application of these methods at play in her work.[36] Another aspect that Bochner explains and is relevant in the understanding of Darboven's practice is the idea of how for the solipsist there is nothing outside the self, analogically in serial art there is nothing outside the realm of the work, there is a self-referential quality; in this way the works are concerned exclusively with their own materiality.[37] Therefore the work follows a system, even though it does not have any instrumental function of conveying information; this is exactly what happens in Darboven's 'calculations'. But what is more important in relation to Darboven's practice is an aspect of serial art that Bochner refers to and it is that: 'although a logic is immediately intuited, how to apprehend or penetrate it is nowhere revealed. Instead one is overwhelmed with a mass of data […]'.[38] This aspect can clearly be seen in Darboven's numerical structures.

Briony Fer in 'Hanne Darboven: Seriality and the Time of Solitude' (2004) points out that Bochner's understanding of seriality is that which 'swings between two poles of an axis,

[32] See: Bochner, Mel (2008), *Solar System & Rest Rooms: Writings and Interviews, 1965-2007* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press).
[33] See for instance: Rorimer, Anne (2001), *New Art in the 60s and 70s. Redefining Reality* (London: Thames & Hudson).
[34] Bochner, Mel (1967), 'Serial Art Systems: Solipsism', in Mel Bochner (2008), *Solar System & Rest Rooms: Writings and Interviews, 1965-2007* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press), p. 40
[35] Ibid.
[36] The artists that Bochner makes reference in this essay are: Sol LeWitt, Dan Flavin and Carl Andre.
[37] Ibid., p. 38.
[38] Ibid., p. 40.

between the phenomenal situation and the intense interiority of the system'.[39] It is in this way that the extreme rational logic of the system points towards an obsessive, irrational character; similar to the solipsist, 'who has lost their bearings to an outside'.[40] This seems to be in contradiction with the serial artist's claims towards objectivity, because the system is at the same time also dealing with subjectivity. As a result, there is a collapse of the logic of the work: 'Seriality also insistently draws one to the infinite point that precisely cannot be commodified, that which escapes the system'. [41]

Thus in 1967 Bochner already acknowledges an irrational underside to serial art that can be applied to Darboven's numerical calculations and work. Lippard, in the aforementioned 'Deep in Numbers', specifically points to this subjective nature behind Darboven's work. For Lippard, Darboven's practice is not about a decodable mathematical system – which for her is a secondary aspect of the work – but is rather about an exemplary activity: 'a process which takes time to do, which takes time as one of its subjects, and which takes from time (the calendar) its numerical foundations'.[42] Furthermore Lippard understands Darboven's work as a process that originates in obsession, compulsion, in a regressive stage that she compares with 'the delight children take in endless songs, such as "One Little Two Little Three Little Indians" '.[43] Similarly to Bochner, Lippard recognises Darboven's work as a practice that 'saturate their outwardly sane and didactic premises with a poetic and condensatory intensity that almost amount to insanity'.[44]

Therefore, there are three important aspects. First is how Darboven's work is an evolving system in which the grid is a supporting structure that varies according to the system. Secondly there are the polarities that are at the centre of Darboven's work, for instance

[39] Fer, Briony (2004), 'Hanne Darboven: Seriality and the Time of Solitude', in Michael Corris (ed.), *Conceptual Art: Theory, Myth, and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 225.
[40] Ibid., p. 224.
[41] Ibid., p. 230.
[42] Lippard, Lucy (1973), 'Hanne Darboven: Deep in Numbers', *Artforum International*, 11 (2), p. 35. This duality or struggle between control and loss is also manifested in the square grid paintings of Agnes Martin's (1912-2004) who was in New York as well during the period of Darboven's stay in the city. For a general account of Martin's practice see: Morris, Frances, and Bell, Tiffany (eds.), (2015), *Agnes Martin* [Exh. Cat.], (London: Tate Publishing). For a detailed analysis of her painting *Night Sea* (1963) see: Hudson, Suzanne (2016), *Agnes Martin: Night Sea* (London: Afterall Books).
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid., p. 39.

the grid functions as the structure that keeps at bay the objective and subjective character of her work. Thirdly, there is a non-referential quality in her mathematical calculations, where numbers are used as 'neutral' elements that cannot be connected to anything else. In this sense the work deals with the process of its own construction. Thus, the time the artist spent working on it, is part of the content of the work – as explained by Lippard.

4.4 Hanne Darboven's *Cultural History 1880–1983*



Figure 4.2: Hanne Darboven, *Cultural History 1880-1983* (1980-1983), Dia: Chelsea, New York



Figure 4.3: Hanne Darboven, *Cultural History 1880-1983* (1980-1983), Dia: Beacon, New York

One of the first things that strike one in Darboven's *Cultural History* is the uniformity of format and size that creates a very visual powerful order through the structure of the grid. *Cultural History* is part of a series of works that Darboven started producing from the late 1970s onwards, where she addresses specific historical issues and introduces a narrative component. For instance, *Bismarck Time* (1978) was the first project in this vein, where in addition to her numerical writings she incorporated assorted objects, and visual documents such as photographic images into the project. *Cultural History*, uses similar strategies to this previous work. It is a monumental installation that occupies several rooms and is comprised of one thousand five hundred and ninety wooden framed panels measuring 50 x 70 cm each (Figure 4.2, Figure 4.3). Dan Adler in *Hanne Darboven: Cultural History 1880-1983* (2009) observes that 'the enormous scale and thematic scope' make *Cultural History* 'a truly daunting work'.[45] In fact every panel of this 'immense compendium of visual and textual information' contains a variable number of works on paper with an assortment of her calculations, texts copied out by hand, and appropriated images.[46]

The number of works on paper and images exceed that of panels. Separately, there are nineteen three-dimensional objects from her private collection of artefacts spread out at strategic places across several galleries. I would like to point out that the analysis will be based on the installation version of this work as it was shown at Dia Center for the Arts in New York initially in 1996. The piece was acquired by the Dia Art Foundation and it is now permanently installed at a different location at Dia: Beacon in upstate New York. However, it was first shown at the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, in 1986. I am pointing this out since most of the visual documentation that I have used in my research comes from the two Dia Center for the Arts arrangements.[47] The distinction is important since the configuration and the display is different in each location, with panels and

[45] Adler, Dan (2009), *Hanne Darboven: Cultural History 1880-1983* (London: Afterall Books), p. 1.
[46] Ibid., p. 6.
[47] I used this version because most of the visual documentation and writing that I found about this work focus on this arrangement, and there are very few images documenting the exhibition in Paris.

sculptures located in different places within the installation, therefore, bringing different meanings and sets of connections between images and sculptures. [48]

Furthermore, both installations at Dia, the one from 1996 and the current one, includes panels with images that show how the work was installed in Paris, such that the work also incorporates its own exhibition history (Figure 4.4).[49]

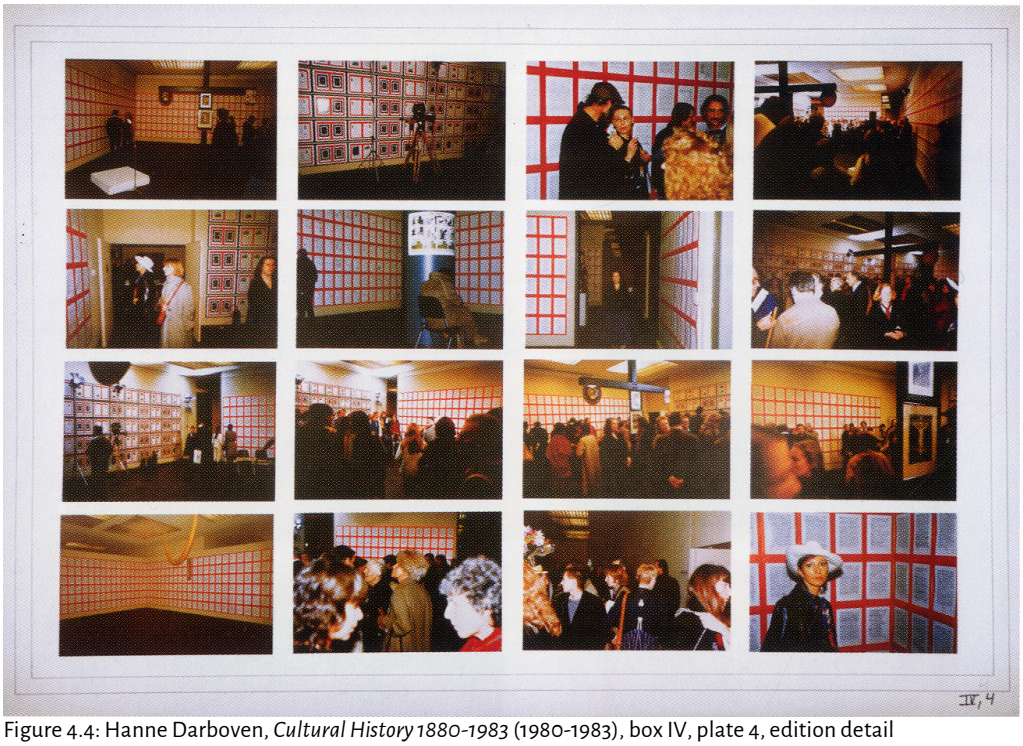

Figure 4.4: Hanne Darboven, *Cultural History 1880-1983* (1980-1983), box IV, plate 4, edition detail

The main function of the grid in *Cultural History* seems to be that of imposing homogeneity in a wide range of materials both in content and size. Therefore, the grid becomes the main means of organisation of which the immediate effect is to create a coherent visual unity. However, going beyond this visual-formal interpretation, we could again apply Krauss reading of the grid as an ambivalent space to this specific work. To see how this works in *Cultural History* we need to look into the grid as a structure and the strategies used in the organisation and gathering of the elements it contains. Furthermore, if we assume that Darboven is in fact creating a 'history' with this

[48] For more information in relation to this topic see: Adler, Dan (2009), *Hanne Darboven: Cultural History 1880-1983* (London: Afterall Books), p. 4.
[49] Ibid.

construction – as the title of the artwork suggests – then the question that arises is: what sort of history is she creating as well as what are the subjective/objective values that persist in the work?

4.5 Regulation of information: Systems – objectivity – archive

In *Cultural History* we have the presence of structures that underlie other systems. The first one is the grid; and in order to look into how the subjective and objective values persist in it we need to study the different systems that are present in the work in relation to the overlying classification methods that she employs.

In *Cultural History* we have the use of what it looks like objective systems and protocols to organise information. Bettina Carl in her essay 'Hard Work Looking Easy, the Ballerinas Always Smile: Notes on the Art of Hanne Darboven' (2005) has observed that one of the associations when looking at Darboven's practice is that of a displayed archive.[50] *Cultural History*, too, is produced in such a way that is legible and can be recognised as an exhibited archive. This is because the installation seems to be based on archival principles related to the registration and administration of information. In fact, she mimics 'archival protocols' that are used to organise information. As a result of Darboven's adoption of archival strategies all elements from *Cultural History* are under a process of systematisation and regularisation. Additionally, it has the effect of validating the objects by their inclusion in a system of knowledge, or more than that, a desire to inscribe this material into a legitimised discourse.[51] Following this logic we could say that Darboven adopts both the role of the archivist and the office worker. Benjamin H. D. Buchloh in his essay 'Conceptual Art 1962-1969: From the Aesthetic of Administration to the Critique of Institutions' (1990) has discussed LeWitt's analogy of the serial artist work as that of the work of a clerk. LeWitt writes:

[50] Carl, Bettina (2005), 'Hard Work Looking Easy, the Ballerinas Always Smile: Notes on the Art of Hanne Darboven', in Mike Sperlinger (ed.), *Afterthought. New Writing on Conceptual Art* (London: Rachmaninoff's), p. 57.
[51] Isabelle Graw explains Darboven's practice in terms of a desire to be part of an official culture. As a result she adopts and copies those strategies that belong to discourses that have been previously validated. See: Graw, Isabelle (1996), 'Work Ennobles – I'm Staying Bourgeois (Hanne Darboven)', in Catherine De Zegher (ed.), *Inside the Visible: An Elliptical Traverse of Twentieth Century Art in, of, and from the Feminine* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press), pp. 246-254.

> The aim of the artist would be to give viewers information. . . . He would follow his predetermined premise to its conclusion avoiding subjectivity. Chance, taste or unconsciously remembered forms would play no part in the outcome. The serial artist does not attempt to produce a beautiful or mysterious object but functions merely as a clerk cataloguing the results of his premise.[52]

Similarly, Darboven's practice fits in LeWitt's description and she performs the role of cataloguing her work. But at the same time, she is the one who gathers and mainly produces the materials that are shown in this 'archive' by copying and appropriating information. Therefore, she has the role of both the producer of documents and the administrator of them, the 'archive clerk'.

Spieker in *The Big Archive* observes that in the nineteenth-century archive, there is a relationship between the office, the registry and the archive.[53] Spieker explains that the office is where records are produced, the registry stores the paperwork that is in circulation and the archive keeps those records that have been taken out of circulation.[54] But what it is more important is that to start with, the records emerged with the archive in mind and were classified thinking about their place in the archive.[55] This has striking similarities with Darboven's process. She has the role of the office worker producing documents that she stores and catalogues according to her overarching system.

Furthermore, we can see in Darboven's *Cultural History* how the grid has not been imposed from the outset but rather the production of documents was already carried out with the grid in mind.[56] Consequently the materials were conceived systematically as part of a system of information that allows cross-referencing and comparison between its contents. We can think about the work as documents that belong to a filing cabinet and the exhibition of them on the gallery walls as the visualisation in space of the whole

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[52] LeWitt, Sol (1967) 'Serial Project #1, 1966', *Aspen Magazine*, 5+6 (Fall-Winter 1967), unpaginated, as cited in Benjamin H. D. Buchloh (1990), 'Conceptual Art 1962-1969: From the Aesthetic of Administration to the Critique of Institutions', *October*, 55 (Winter, 1990), p. 140.

[53] Spieker, Sven (2008), *The Big Archive: Art from Bureaucracy* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press), p. 21.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Also as it has been pointed out before the majority of Darboven's practice is exhibited as grid formations, but more than that I would argue that the works are already conceived with the grid in mind.

project. As a consequence, the grid is an integral part in producing what Krauss calls a realm of 'pure relationship' between its elements and which serves as a 'matrix of knowledge'.[57]

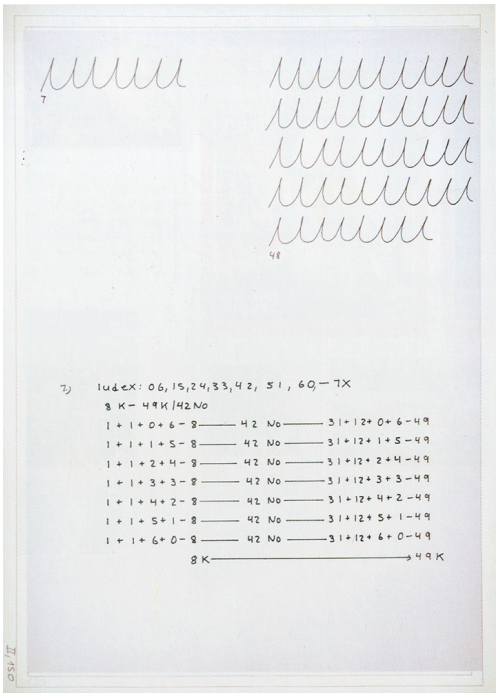

Figure 4.5: Hanne Darboven, *Cultural History 1880-1983* (1980-1983), box II, plate 150, edition detail

If the archive is a repository of information and we assume that *Cultural History* is in fact one, then we need to inquire into the type of documents that this archive contains and what it is registering.

However, more than anything what Darboven is doing with this project is to appropriate the 'language of the archive'. In Darboven's 'complex system of writing' we can find a set of these elements. The first, which appears at the beginning of the installation, is the 'index'; where she lists the contents, gives general indications about the permutations of her calculations and how the layout of the installation unravels (Figure 4.5). Then we have the copying out of citations from encyclopaedias, the collection and appropriation of images and objects and her 'indexing of time' with her numerical calculations. From the outset the archive Darboven is proposing seems to be related to positivism, with its

[57] Krauss, Rosalind (1979), 'Grids', *October*, 9 (Summer, 1979), p. 50.

desire for quantifiable knowledge and an understanding of culture as something that can be collected.

Furthermore, I have pointed out that Darboven follows the protocols of 'impersonal' systems in the production of information. I have already examined how Darboven uses these 'objective systems', when I gave a detailed examination of her 'Mathematical Prose'. I have considered the subjective value as that irrational character that is embedded in Darboven's constructions.

However Isabelle Graw in 'Work Ennobles – I'm Staying Bourgeois (Hanne Darboven)' (1991) indicates a different subjective value in Darboven's projects; she identifies it with a personal and subjective self that reports how much she has done in the work.[58] Graw also considers her handwriting as part of a personal agency that brings a 'subjective, retrograde element' that is at odds with serial art methods.[59] Therefore the subjective values are composed both of an irrational character and a personal agency.

In *Cultural History* we have a group of handwritten materials that consists mostly in her 'copying out of texts' by hand; where we can see this 'self-reporting' on work done. She began using this strategy in the early 1970s, when aside from her constructions, she introduced text in her installations, which was mostly copied out by hand from the artist's 1973 edition of the Brockhaus encyclopaedia.

In a process of inscription, where as she claimed, 'I inscribe, but I describe nothing'. [60] By copying out she also appropriates those texts, producing a distanciation – dislocation effect. As Schoofs has pointed out her method involved the act of appropriation as process and experience, including 'rewriting things by hand in order to convey myself through the mediation of the experience'.[61] A significant portion of materials from this

[58] Graw, Isabelle (1996), 'Work Ennobles – I'm Staying Bourgeois (Hanne Darboven)', in Catherine De Zegher (ed.), *Inside the Visible: An Elliptical Traverse of Twentieth Century Art in, of, and from the Feminine* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press), p. 251.
[59] Ibid., p. 253.
[60] Burgbacher-Krupka, Ingrid (1995), *Hanne Darboven. Konstruiert, Literarisch, Musikalisch. The Sculpting of Time* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz), p. 35.
[61] Schoofs, Miriam (2014), ' "My Studio Am Burgberg": Hanne Darboven's Home-Studio as the Nucleus of her Oeuvre and Individual Cosmos', in João Fernandes (ed.), *The Order of Time and Things. The Home-Studio of Hanne Darboven* [Exh. Cat.], (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía), p. 23.

group comes mostly from 'Writing Time – Schreibzeit' (1975-1980).[62] According to Jan Verwoert, 'Writing Time' becomes an "umbrella term", that contains all the writing she produced daily, including date calculations and the copying out of excerpts from books and magazines that she collected in thirty-two binders.[63] She uses segments of it in *Cultural History*.

We could say that the archive and the *Cultural History* that Darboven is proposing with this work have a self-referential quality. As such, the work consists in the process of doing it, in the act of marking time, of registering, of accumulating, of administering materials. It is in this way that she 'documents the reproduction of knowledge as work over time (writing, copying)'.[64] Consequently we can understand Darboven's *Cultural History* as:

> […] a survey of the different means to convey 'history' in particular and 'information' more broadly; her project functions as a collection of posting, affixing, displaying, exchanging or presenting information, with varying degrees of social efficacy, efficiency, fantasy, transparency, deception, worth, age, seduction and so on.[65]

Therefore, Darboven's uses in *Cultural History* a broad range of systems to register information, which are based in both 'objective' archival values as well as 'subjective' values.

4.6 Subjectivity – collection

As I have explained Darboven's practice is archival in the sense that it adopts and mimics the conventions of the medium. However, the organising principles of *Cultural History*

[62] Dan Adler points that she worked on it from 1975-1982 and Darboven in an interview with Mark Gisbourne asserts that she worked on it from 1975-1980. See: Adler, Dan (2009), *Hanne Darboven: Cultural History 1880-1983* (London: Afterall Books), p. 28; and Gisbourne, Mark (1994), 'Time and Time Again. Hanne Darboven interviewed by Mark Gisbourne', *Art Monthly*, 181 (November 1994), pp. 3-6.
[63] Verwoert, Jan (2014), 'Chain-Smoking Clotho', *Frieze d/e*, 15 (June-August 2014), pp. 62-71.
[64] Spieker, Sven (2014), 'Speaking from Within the System: Hanne Darboven's "Didactic" Art', in João Fernandes (ed.), *The Order of Time and Things. The Home-Studio of Hanne Darboven* [Exh. Cat.], (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía), p. 95.
[65] Adler, Dan (2009), *Hanne Darboven: Cultural History 1880-1983* (London: Afterall Books), p. 84.

seem to be based on personal criteria, and they are similar to the ones used in collecting practices. We could say that Darboven has the role of the collector and *Cultural History* constitutes a collection. Spieker in his essay 'Speaking from Within the System: Hanne Darboven's "Didactic" Art' (2004) writes: 'Darboven does not merely present reproduced information/knowledge, she also inventorizes it according to the rules and convention of the collection'.[66] Similarly we could say that in *Cultural History* Darboven organises some of the materials around clusters of objects which share thematic affinities and are spread throughout the installation. The items that refer to childhood could constitute one of these clusters. For instance, in the installation we have a rearing wooden horse, a carnival-ride car in the shape of a swan, a robot figure, a white children's rocking chair as well as illustrations and postcards of schoolgirls. Therefore, in *Cultural History* we find second-hand everyday objects and materials that 'have undergone a suppression of conventional use-value'.[67]

Following this thought we could say that Darboven has the role of a private collector. However, in all collections there is a strong bond between the things collected and collector. And usually the collector brings the objects alive through her own narrative, which is to some degree embedded in the things. Those elements are completely absent in Darboven's case, for instance she does not propose a narrative that could serve to give unity to the objects. Furthermore, as Lynne Cooke pointed out in 'Open Work. Lynne Cooke on Hanne Darboven' (2009) Darboven showed a clear detachment with the objects:

> Once Hanne had given us the unpublished score and the contact details for the shipping company where the artwork was stored, she made it clear that her role in the project was over.[68]

[66] Ibid., p. 94.
[67] Adler, Dan (2009), *Hanne Darboven: Cultural History 1880-1983* (London: Afterall Books), p. 3.
[68] Cooke, Lynne (2009), 'Open Work. Lynne Cooke on Hanne Darboven (1941-2009)', *Artforum International*, 47 (10), p. 58.

Cooke also explains how Darboven was not interested in seeing the space or discussing the layout.[69] Therefore she was not involved in any decisions about how 'her collection' was displayed.



Figure 4.6: Rainer Bolliger, *Hanne Darboven's Family Room* (2013)

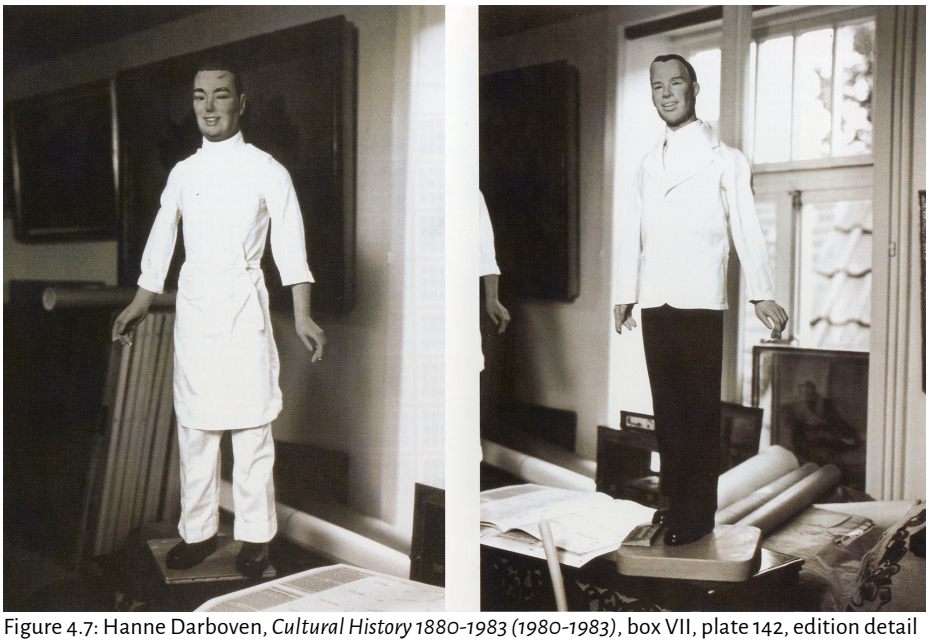

Figure 4.7: Hanne Darboven, *Cultural History 1880-1983 (1980-1983)*, box VII, plate 142, edition detail

However Spieker argues that Darboven's system is based on 'the collection of objects and texts she literally inhabited at her home-studio in Hamburg-Harburg, and which

[69] Ibid.

had existential significance for the artist' (Figure 4.6).[70] Visual documentation of Darboven's home space containing her collections, together with the actual tables and some of her personal objects were part of an exhibition that took place in 2014 at Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía in Madrid called *The Order of Time and Things. The Home-Studio of Hanne Darboven*.[71] The emphasis of the exhibition was on the connection she established with her family home, where she lived most of her life aside from those two years when she was in New York, as well as Darboven's holistic relationship with that space which she used as studio and as home. The effects of this intertwining can be seen in her practice, for instance in her projects from the 1970s onwards she always includes objects that were part of her collection (Figure 4.7). Cooke in 'Artist-Curators: Collections and Exhibitions as Medium, Critique, and Play' (2016) speaks about this interconnection between her practice and her home:

Often Hanne would take something from one of the rooms in her house and put it in an artwork, and then it would go back into her living quarter if the artwork wasn't sold and went into storage.[72]

[70] Spieker, Sven (2014), 'Speaking from Within the System: Hanne Darboven's 'Didactic' Art', in João Fernandes (ed.), *The Order of Time and Things. The Home-Studio of Hanne Darboven* (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía), p. 97.
[71] Fernandes, João (ed.) (2014), *The Order of Time and Things. The Home-Studio of Hanne Darboven* [Exh. Cat.], (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía).
[72] Cooke, Lynne, Schaffner, Ingrid, and Byers, Dan (2016), 'Artist-Curators: Collections and Exhibitions as Medium, Critique, and Play. Lynne Cooke and Ingrid Schaffner in conversation with Dan Byers', in Dan Byers (ed.), *The Artist's Museum* [Exh. Cat.], (Boston, Mass.; Munich; London; New York: ICA Boston; DelMonico Books-Prestel), p. 31.





Figure 4.8: Rainer Bolliger, *Hanne Darboven's Tower* (2013)

Figure 4.9: Rainer Bolliger, *Hanne Darboven's Tower* (2013)

Darboven's home was comprised of eight buildings, five of them are interlinked and form her studios. The photographs in the exhibition showed her 'collections' in the home-studio in the state they were when she died in 2009. The 'collections' can currently be seen in Darboven's home in the arrangement shown in (Figure 4.8). In Darboven's home we find an amalgam of objects related with her childhood like toys, dolls, souvenirs, pictures, musical instruments, and stuffed animals among others, and most of them are accumulated on tables. On the other side there are those objects related with her work, which are mostly working desks, writing materials and artworks. Furthermore, there are no clear boundaries between her studio and her living space, they are all linked together in one big unit.

My point with this is to make the link between the idea that the organising principle behind *Cultural History*, is that of a collection and her actual collection which was spread throughout her family house. But also, as we can see in the figures, the collections occupy most of her living space, and we are unable to identify a rule to explain how the organisation of the objects is worked out (Figure 4.9). Perhaps it is an arrangement based on personal affinities that she created with the objects. What is more Darboven literally

transformed her living and studio space into a 'labyrinth', where she could only understand the meaning of those objects. In this sense the space is transformed into a visual cabinet of curiosities.[73] This metamorphosis exemplifies the artist as collector paradigm from the end of Modernity, which is an important aspect that underlies this research.

4.7 Infinite system

Up to this point I have explained the presence of the grid in *Cultural History* as part of a system of Darboven's invention where objective and subjective values persist. Furthermore, I have pointed at how *Cultural History* mimics strategies from archives, but the organisation principle is closer to that of a collection. However, the work neither constitutes, nor belongs to archives, collections, or visual atlases of images. What it does is to borrow strategies from these systems, moving between them to create a singular artwork that has a transverse reading that is closer to how a database might work. It is in this way that I consider that the work is located at the intersection of these systems and in this manner, it is transgressive, since it does not follow a single rule, or principle.

[73] Several authors compared her collection to a cabinet of curiosities, see: Gisbourne, Mark (1994), 'Time and Time Again. Hanne Darboven interviewed by Mark Gisbourne', *Art Monthly*, 181 (November 1994), p. 3; Schoofs, Miriam (2014), '"My Studio Am Burgberg": Hanne Darboven's Home-Studio as the Nucleus of her Oeuvre and Individual Cosmos', in João Fernandes (ed.), *The Order of Time and Things. The Home-Studio of Hanne Darboven* [Exh. Cat.], (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía), p. 16.



Figure 4.10: Hanne Darboven, *Cultural History 1880-1983* (1980-1983), box IV, plate 210, edition detail

In *Cultural History* this transverse reading of the work is created mostly through the images and objects. Darboven mainly appropriates 'ready-made' imagery such as: images from the two World Wars, a variety of postcards from pre-World War II that include city views and landscapes, a collection of weaving patterns, covers and pages from the German news magazines Der Stern and Der Spiegel, a German art catalogue from the Ludwig collection of Post-War European and American Art mostly from the 1960s, photographs of pin-ups, movie and rock starts, postcards and posters about the Russian Revolution, the beginnings of Western industry, black and white images of New York City doorways, etc. Darboven also includes three dimensional objects, such as toys, a cross, a crescent moon, a kiosk, mannequins, etc. from her personal collection which she re-situates in the installation to give them a new context (Figure 4.10).

We see in *Cultural History* how the representational value of the imagery is partly engulfed by the whole installation. This is done as a result of an evacuation of meaning that is produced through repetition and through a de-contextualization of the images.[74]

[74] Briony Fer argues that: 'to repeat is to evacuate the meaning something might once have had'. Similarly, this can be applied to the use Darboven makes of images in *Cultural History*. See: Fer, Briony (2004), 'Hanne Darboven: Seriality and

Adler points out how the re-presented materials 'become opaque, freed from instrumentalised forms of communicative meaning and capable of engaging the speculative faculties of each beholder on a powerfully subjective level'.[75] It is in this way that the images and objects in *Cultural History* trigger the viewers' interpretation, creating a web of connections. Furthermore, if the grid according to Krauss resists narrative, here partly because of the use of the images and objects we have an 'imagined' narrative created by the spectator that manages to 'metaphorically' break down the rigidity of the grid and the whole project of *Cultural History*.[76]



Figure 4.11: Hanne Darboven and Roy Colmer, *Cultural History 1880-1983* (1980-1983), box III, plate 53, edition detail

the Time of Solitude', in Michael Corris (ed.), *Conceptual Art: Theory, Myth, and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 223.

[75] Adler, Dan (2009), *Hanne Darboven: Cultural History 1880-1983* (London: Afterall Books), p. 10.

[76] Rosalind Krauss (1979), 'Grids', *October*, Vol. 9, pp. 50-64.



Figure 4.12: Mel Bochner, and Robert Moskowitz, *New York Windows*, screenshot (1966)

By way of example, let us take the New York doorways group of images that at the Dia version of the project appear at the end of the installation (Figure 4.11). Darboven 'commissioned' those images probably around 1975 to the artist Roy Colmer.[77] What is shown in *Cultural History* is an extract or selection from Colmer's larger *Doors, NYC* project, which consists of more than three thousand images of Manhattan doorways.

Colmer produced this project from November 1975 until September 1976. With these images we have the representation of smaller grids within the larger one of the installation. We could think about these photographs as trying to say something regarding the architecture of the buildings depicted. Nevertheless, these images have been through a process of de-contextualisation from the larger Colmer collection.

[77] Darboven and Colmer where friends, who knew each other because both studied at Hochschule für Bildende Künste in Hamburg. I am not sure if Darboven was aware of the project and she decided to include some of the images in *Cultural History*, or if she knew and specifically commissioned him certain photographs. Dan Adler claims that Roy Colmer took those pictures from 1966 to 1968, at the same time that Darboven was in New York, but the information provided by The New York Public Library who holds the entire Roy Colmer *Doors, NYC* Photograph Collection contradicts this reading. They state that Colmer migrated to New York in 1967 and that he did not start working on film and photography until the 1970s. They maintain that the entire project was shot during 1975-76. See: Roy Colmer (1976), *New York City Doors Photograph Collection* [Online Images], <http://nypl.bibliocommons.com/item/show/16736558052>, accessed August 27, 2017, and Adler, Dan (2009), *Hanne Darboven: Cultural History 1880-1983* (London: Afterall Books), p. 15.

There are no clues in *Cultural History* as to why Darboven has chosen those particular photographs. This in fact could bear some resemblance with Colmer's conception of his project. Since Colmer did not have any fixed parameters, and he chose the doors he photographed at random.[78] But we can also relate *Doors, NYC* to *New York Windows* from 1966 by Bochner and Robert Moskowitz, which was a 16mm black and white film project composed of still images of New York window displays, a work that Darboven was aware of at the time it was produced (Figure 4.12).[79] A photograph from 1936 by Walker Evans, *Penny Picture Display, Savannah,* inspired this artwork (Figure 4.13).[80] In addition, Lauren Sedofsky in her article 'Hanne Darboven: Dia Center for the Arts' (1997), claimed that for *Doors, NYC* Colmer used the format and paper of the period 1930-1950 connecting it with the time of production of Evans' picture.[81]

In *Penny Picture Display, Savannah,* Evans' photographs the window sign of an itinerant studio photographer advertising penny portraits. In the image we see a grid composed of fifteen groups of photographs containing fifteen portraits each, making a total of two hundred twenty-five photographs. Evans' image is in itself a small archive of American studio portraiture of the period as well as a quintessential modernist grid. Furthermore, Bochner in an unpublished document from 1966 asserted that they selected the windows 'on the basis of the artificiality of their displays', the window display 'pre-fames' what the camera frames.[82]

Therefore, beginning with Colmer's work we have photographs that resonate with others, the idea of frames within frames, grid within grids replicating in each other and classification systems within already classified information. We could even link Colmer's images with photographs from Bernd and Hilla Becher with their architectural typological interest.[83] With this I want to point at how the images create a space full of associations, as well as a complex relation with time, where different tempo-realities

[78] Roy Colmer (1976), *New York City Doors Photograph Collection* [Online Images], <http://nypl.bibliocommons.com/item/show/16736558052>, accessed August 27, 2017.
[79] The video can be seen in: *New York Windows* (1966), [Short Film], dirs. Mel Bochner, and Robert Moskowitz, <http://www.melbochner.net/archive/new-york-windows>, accessed on August 27, 2017.
[80] Adler, Dan (2009), *Hanne Darboven: Cultural History 1880-1983* (London: Afterall Books), p. 17.
[81] Sedofsky, Lauren (1997), 'Hanne Darboven: Dia Center for the Arts', *Artforum International*, 35 (7), p. 89.
[82] Bochner, Mel (2008), *Solar System & Rest Rooms: Writings and Interviews, 1965-2007* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press), p. 33.
[83] Adler, Dan (2009), *Hanne Darboven: Cultural History 1880-1983* (London: Afterall Books), p. 17.

coexist. In the installation there is a combination of different times, Darboven uses mostly appropriated material that belongs both to the period when she made the piece as well as previously. Therefore, there is a clash of different temporalities that it is further emphasized by the viewer reading of the piece in the present, which brings another temporal dimension.

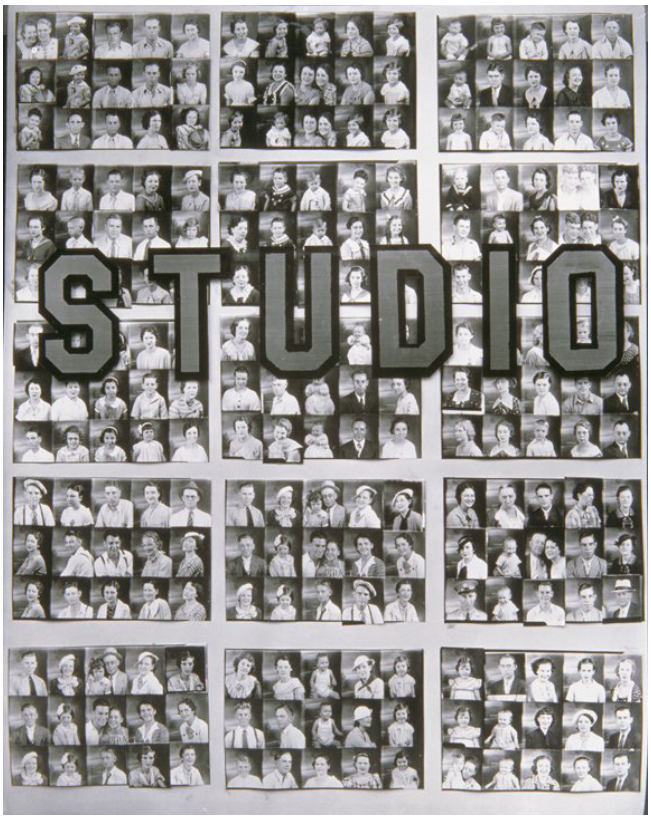

Figure 4.13: Walker Evans, *Penny Picture Display, Savannah* (1963)

Here, I am only referring briefly to one of the connections that can be established with one group of photographs, but we must not ignore that these images are part of a bigger work and in connection with more elements. Therefore, we begin to realise the complexity of the whole system she sets in place. Taking all these aspects into account we can see again how Darboven's work is fraught with contradictions engendered by ambivalence and paradox, without offering any resolution. For instance, in *Cultural History* we have the rigidity of the grid but also within it there is a transversal articulation of meaning as I have explained with the *Doors, NYC* group of images. In this sense the material of the installation is transformed by its inclusion in it and therefore the images

are not seen, anymore, as de-contextualized individual items but rather as belonging to an associative space. Even though in *Cultural History* all the material is classified within the boundaries of the grid, nevertheless it spills over by creating connections with things beyond the grid.

4.8 The grid in *Etcetera* and ∞

When my two practice projects: *Etcetera* and ∞, are exhibited in the gallery space they take the form of a grid of images. However, the grid has a different function in each project.

The project *Etcetera* is comprised of two hundred and fifty-eight images of leftovers that have been classified according to their colours, for this project I have a total of six colours: yellow, orange, red, green, blue and brown. For each category I have created a panel, which contains the total number of objects within that colour, for instance the yellow panel has a total of seventy-two photographs. Each photograph has a fixed dimension of 29 x 29 cm. When this project is exhibited it takes the form of a grid of images of the same colour (see Appendix C). The wall arrangement can vary in the sense that the number of images within each colour-grid can be adapted to the dimension of the gallery space.

In the case of *Etcetera* the grid serves as a structure that holds all the photographs together, but more than that, it creates order and allows as well to establish a visual comparison between its contents. It is too a mechanism that serves to classify and order all the elements it contains. In this sense, we could say that is almost like the photographs were conceived with the grid in mind, and therefore the content and the container are inseparable. The way the grid is working in this project has reminiscences with the nineteenth-century archive conception. In chapter one I argued that O'Sullivan's *Tufa Domes, Pyramid Lake* (1968) was a photograph that was conceived to fit within a system of classification and, in that sense, it was produced with the archive in mind. Similarly, in *Etcetera* the photographs were conceived to be part of this gridded

classification system, where the photographs enter into a new set of relations between themselves, which are based in accumulation, and comparison.

The project ∞ contains photographs from a wide range of sources including family albums, documentation from the local archive, material related to the expropriation of the village, images generated by the workers during the dismantling of the machinery after the mine closure, but also the work I generated for this project. They have been organised around thematic clusters like the expropriation of the village, or the history of the mine (see examples in Appendix B). When ∞ is exhibited in the gallery space it will be a floor-to ceiling grid installation containing clusters of those images.

We have seen that in Darboven's *Cultural History* all the material is organised in a systematic way through the grid. However, the associative nature of the photographs established a web of connections between images, which allowed one to break, metaphorically, the physical boundaries of the grid. In this sense the visual material was not seen, anymore, as individual items de-contextualised but as belonging to a complex web of meaning. This is the effect that I am trying to achieve when ∞ is exhibited as an installation in the gallery space.

CONCLUSION

In the thesis introduction, following on Sekula's claim from his essay 'On the Invention of Photographic Meaning', I explain his understanding of a photograph as a space of multiple truths.[1] Sekula argues that:

> […] the photograph is an 'incomplete' utterance, a message that depends on some external matrix of conditions and presuppositions for its readability. That is, the meaning of any photographic message is necessarily context-determined.[2]

The main point with this is that images are 'ambiguous' objects and their reading is clearly dependant on context. In this sense, photographs are constantly open to interpretation and 'their meanings are up for grabs'.[3] At the time of writing this essay, in 1975, Sekula was referring to analogue photography and in particular he analyses Lewis Hine's photograph *Immigrants Going Down Gangplank, New York* (1905) to elaborate his point that photography is 'open to appropriation' and as a result of this, the photographic image is displaced from its original context and used for different means.[4] Sekula, writing of the Hines' image expands on this latter point when he writes that:

> Hine prints that originally appeared in social-work journals reappear in a biographical treatment of his career as an artist only to reappear in labour-union pamphlets.[5]

With this case, Sekula illustrates how Hine's photographs accrue different meanings depending on the context in which they are seen. Given this example, we could say that Hine's work goes through both a process of displacement from its original context and dissemination. Later it is appropriated and used for different means within a

[1] Sekula, Allan (1975), 'On the Invention of Photographic Meaning', in Victor Burgin (ed.), (1982), *Thinking Photography* (London: Macmillan Press), p. 91.
[2] Ibid., p. 85.
[3] Sekula, Allan (1983), 'Reading an Archive: Photography between Labour and Capital', in Liz Wells (ed.), (2003), *The Photographer Reader* (London: Routledge), p. 444.
[4] Ibid., p. 91.
[5] Ibid.

sociological, artistic and political discourse. As a result, the reading of the image and its understanding are completely different in each of these contexts.

Sekula's argument is useful when considering the impact of digital technologies on photography, and by extension on digital photographic collections, atlases and archives. In 'Archive in Motion' (2011), Hito Steyerl uses as an example the sale of the New York photo agency Black Star's archive to a private collector and its subsequent move to and digitalisation by Toronto's Ryerson University.[6] Steyerl addresses the digital presence of the photographs and makes a similar argument to Sekula when she claims that both the dissemination and displacement of images are 'defining' characteristics of digital archives.[7] She writes:

> […] the photographs have always been on the move: travelling not only along the official paths from photojournalists to the agency and to publications but also far off the beaten track. Furtive displacements destabilize the foundations of the archive but paradoxically give the photographs another life.[8]

Taking into account Black Star's role in the circulation and redistribution of their images for publication, we might well maintain that photographs become more than anything fluid entities that change their meaning as and when they are being used, rather than being fixed objects. In fact, the transformation of analogue photographic archives into digital media brings to the fore aspects such as dissemination and displacement that have always been essential components of the photographic process. This latter is one of the central arguments in Geoffrey Batchen's essay 'Double Displacement: Photography and Dissemination' from 2016.[9] According to Batchen with the introduction of digital photography we need to consider:

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[6] Steyerl, Hito (2011), 'Archive in Motion', *Frieze d/e*, 3 (Winter 2011-12), pp. 83-87.
[7] Ibid, p. 83.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Batchen, Geoffrey (2016), 'Double Displacement: Photography and Dissemination', in Thierry Gervais (ed.), *The "Public" Life of Photographs* (Toronto; Cambridge, Mass.; London: RIC Books; Ryerson Image Centre; MIT Press), pp. 39-73.

> […] the full implications of photography's reproducibility – that is, with an accounting of dynamic relationships, not just static objects, and with a tracing of dispersals rather than a celebration of origins.[10]

Batchen uses the examples of Richard Beard's and Antoine Claudet's commercial photographic studios in 1850s London to explain the many 'lives' of images. For example, a daguerreotype, which was a direct-positive process that created unique images, was transformed into an engraving and reproduced among others in the press of the time, such us the *Illustrated London News*.[11] Following this logic, Batchen understands photography as a process of separations:

> […] first of form from matter and then of form from form, with this latter separation – of the photographic image from the photograph – driven above all by the demands of consumer capitalism. Although it is often associated with the advent of digital technologies, I am suggesting that this double displacement has always been central to our everyday experience of photography: now, but also from the beginning.[12]

Therefore, already in the nineteenth century, images were transferred from one media to another and by the same token they were transformed. This example of the many 'itineraries' of photographs is something that resonates with the digital presence of images, where there is a dematerialisation, a transformation from photographic object to image and a crisscrossing between appropriation, and reuse. Stemming from this, we could say that with the introduction of the World Wide Web, photography's distribution network has changed. But, as we have seen, the processes of displacement, dissemination, and circulation of images behind it are similar in both analogue and digital technologies.

[10] Ibid., p. 39.
[11] Ibid., pp. 39-73.
[12] Ibid., p. 69.

One of the main arguments of my thesis is that the representation and manipulation of objects in each of the works discussed creates a form of knowledge. And what I do is to unpack how meaning is created in certain configurations. That is the reason why I only discuss a specific iteration of Leonard's, Richter's and Darboven's projects as seen in the gallery space. If we acknowledge, following on Sekula, that the context in which photographs are seen influences their reception, then we have that the gallery space and the screen constitute two infrastructures in which images can be seen and each of them generates a different meaning. In this sense, exhibitions and installations are separate instruments to the Internet for the dissemination and sharing of images.[13]

One example in which we can see this at play is in Richter's *Atlas*, which exists as an online version as well as an exhibition. Each of them offers a significantly different experience of the project. Buchloh, referring to Richter's work, has stressed the importance of the juxtaposition of images as seen in the gallery space.[14] In fact, the meaning of the *Atlas* comes together as the viewer experiences the sequence and the relation between images and objects in a particular setting. To this account, we could add the idea of contemplation. In this way, the viewer has the possibility of establishing a dialogue with the work by going back and forth in the space to make connections between the images. Besides that, *Atlas,* as an installation, also allows experiencing its panels as paper objects with different provenances, like newspaper clippings, photographs with painting marks, drawings, and sketches among others.

The online version of Richter's *Atlas* works as a platform to share contents by providing open access to the entire project.[15] In this regard, it makes the work accessible to a wider public. But at the same time, it facilitates a knowledge driven engagement with the images. It does so by supplying detailed information for every single panel, such as: the

[13] For a detailed study of photographic exhibitions as an instrument in the dissemination of images see: Lugon, Olivier (2016), 'The Ubiquitous Exhibition: Magazines, Museums, and the Reproducible Exhibition after World War II', in Thierry Gervais (ed.), *The "Public" Life of Photographs* (Toronto; Cambridge, Mass.; London: RIC Books; Ryerson Image Centre; MIT Press), pp. 123-153.
[14] See: *Art Historian Benjamin Buchloh on Gerhard Richter at Fondation Beyeler* [Online Video], *Fondation Beyeler*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FhTB5jVRV_0>, accessed on April 14, 2018.
[15] Richter, Gerhard (1962-ongoing), *Gerhard Richter: Atlas*, [Online Images], <https://www.gerhard-richter.com/en/art/atlas>, accessed on August 27, 2017.

year it was produced, its dimension, the institution that owns each panel, associated works (for example, paintings and drawings derived from the panels), its exhibition history, related literature, and even associated videos. In this way we could read the digital *Atlas* as a research tool where it is easy to identify the further connections between Richter's *ouvre*.

Of course, I am not arguing or trying to imply that one experience is better than another. The aim is to reiterate how my reading of the works is tied up to the specificity of each configuration. Since the projects discussed are constructed above all for the gallery space. This is the main reason why in the thesis I do not discuss the digital presence of the works, and by extension the impact of digital technologies on photography, archives, collections and atlases. They are simply beyond the scope of my research. I consider that issues such as the widespread implementation of digital technologies, and the digitisation of photographic archives or collections open up a discussion related with technological developments, and their impact within society that per se could be the topic of another PhD.[16]

The concepts of the archive, collection and atlas are at the centre of the artistic practices discussed in the thesis. At the beginning of this document I proposed working definitions for them. Their role was to function as the starting point for my discussion on those terms and establish tentative boundaries. I think of these definitions as an initial general framework that allowed me to create connections between the three concepts. As a matter of fact, as explained throughout the thesis, archives, collections and atlases are interrelated in the practices that I discuss.

I now know that addressing the archive, atlas, or collection in general terms, as I initially did, does not mean much. They are very big, vague and abstract concepts that, to a certain degree, can encompass almost anything and everything. In spite of that, I began this research as a way of coming to grips with my practice, and this prompted me to

[16] For a recent interpretation on the impact of digital technologies on the archive see: Dekker, Annet (ed.), (2017), *Lost and Living (In) Archives: Collectively Shaping New Memories* (Amsterdam: Valiz).

consider more carefully the definitions and how they can only be applied when referring to particular cases. It was not until I focused on the context and the strategies used in the creation of the artworks that I was able to narrow down the concepts and find out what they mean in each specific project.

For example, at a very early stage for my project ∞ I amassed a large quantity of images and documentation related to different aspects of the As Pontes' coal mine expansion, as seen throughout the years. My main emphasis was on any documentation related to the expropriated village Saá, where I used to live when I was a kid. As a result of this accumulation, I ended up with materials from various sources including company images, family photographs, workers' documentation, reports and objects among others. At this stage, I could say that there was no archive, atlas, or collection; instead, at most I had an accumulation of visual materials.

I began working on this pile of disparate items, when I initially sifted through the photographs to later gather them by deliberately seeking out connections between images. The application of these two processes initiated the material's shift from merely an accumulation into 'something else'.

The interconnection of my own family photographs, objects inherited by my father alongside with my own memories of the place was an important part of the project. In that sense, I was shaping a deeply personal collection where I clearly had an emotional investment in those objects. One way in which these things were connected was through my personal narrative. In fact, with ∞ I reveal part of my own family history and try to understand something of the loss of a place through the collection, retrieval and organisation of old documents and photographs. This is my attempt to re-examine my own past and that of a small community. My classification and organisation of materials, that is, the bringing together, created a new system, namely a collection.

The project gradually evolved over time by my continuous re-organisation and re-arrangement of its images. I tried to create juxtapositions by combining different materials in such a way that I could transcend the personal side of ∞ and connect it to a

broader collective historical narrative related to coal mines. At this point, ∞ was still a personal collection, but it likewise adopted strategies from visual atlases. In this sense, the project charted not only my personal experience of the village's expropriation but also the larger socio-economic and environmental implications of the coal mine closure.

An example for the previous idea is the four groups of images I created for the exhibition (see Appendix C). The first one encompasses four panels that provide clues about the village location, the expropriated houses, the community who inhabited that space, and its agricultural economy among others. Besides that, there are my own family photographs, images depicting tools inherited by my father and a current photograph of how the space looks like today. The second group of images consists of two panels. In the first photograph of panel one we see the Spanish dictator Franco inspecting a piece of coal during a mine visit in 1949. In the same panel I move to photographs that show the different strata that constitute the mine, such as stones, layers and coal accumulations. The third group of images has three panels and it depicts my father's miner identity card together with his work calendar and the machinery used for the extraction and movement of coal. In the fourth group we have two panels comprised of workers' photographs that document the process of dismantling the machinery after the mine closure.

My own project demonstrates (once again) how the definitions and the boundaries between archives, collections and atlases are never fixed. Instead, the definitions can only be applied to specific cases. In that regard we can read ∞ as a project located in-between these systems without strictly adhering to one or the other. The work oscillates in-between an archival desire to preserve something through documentation, a personal collection and an atlas.

To conclude, the practices discussed in the thesis neither constitute nor belong to archives, collections, or visual atlases of images in a strict way. They simply borrow strategies from these systems, but they even go far beyond their standardised functions. They are in suspension, caught between the personal and the public, subjective and

objective as well as desire and loss. By reading these works as being in-between an archive, a collection and an atlas it allows me to comprehend the interconnection of an array of processes and to understand better the specific ways in which these practices construct knowledge.

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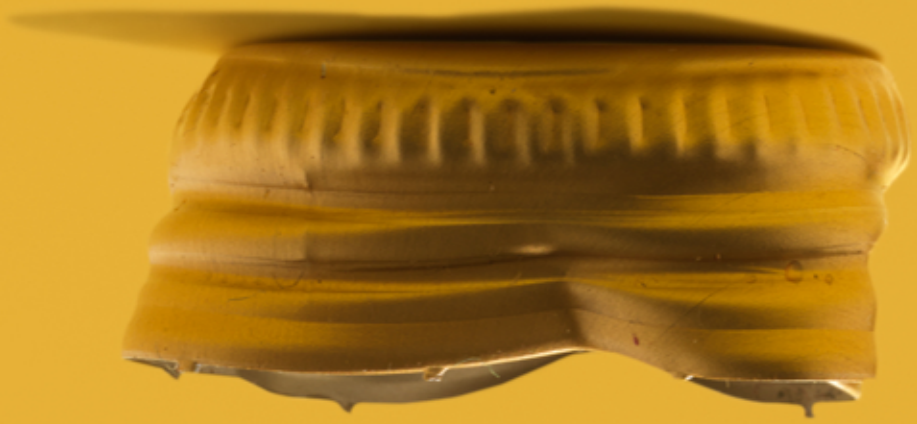
APPENDIX A

First project: *Etcetera* (selection of images)

















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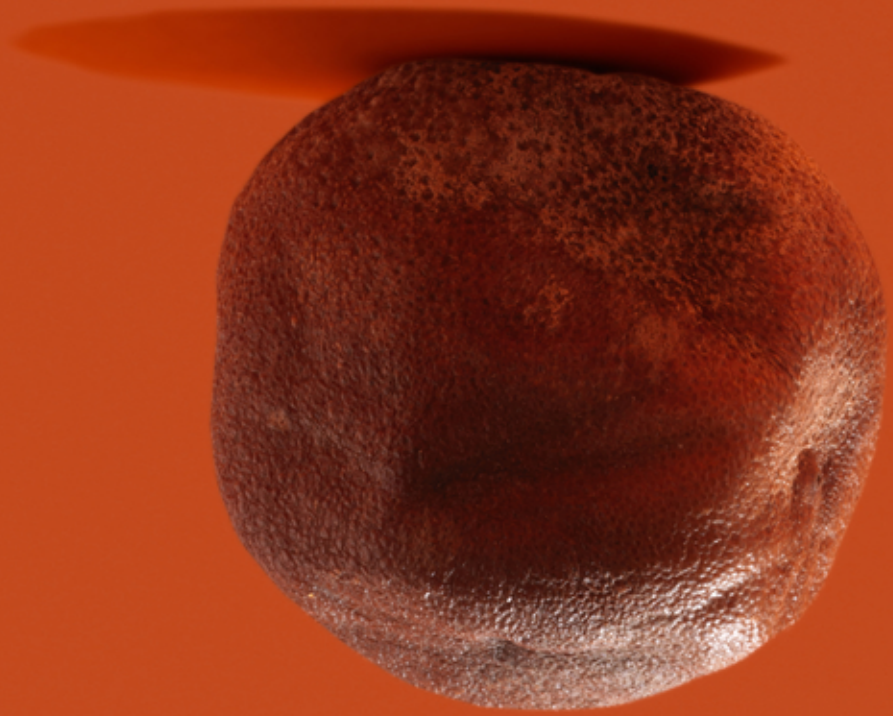

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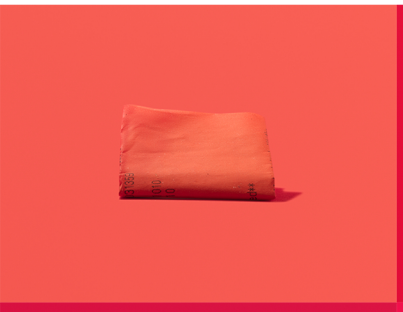

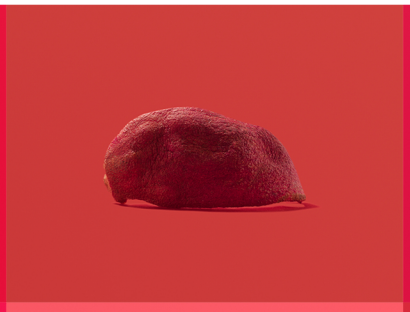
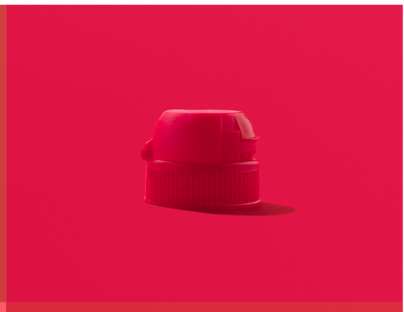








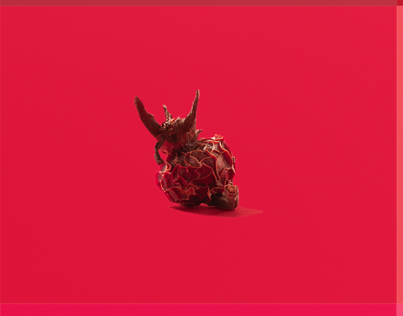






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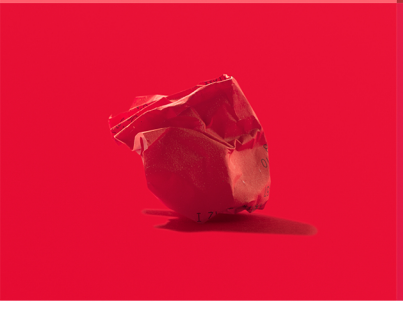
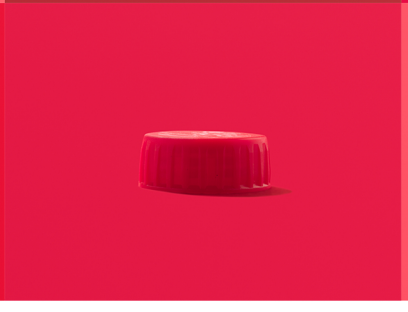




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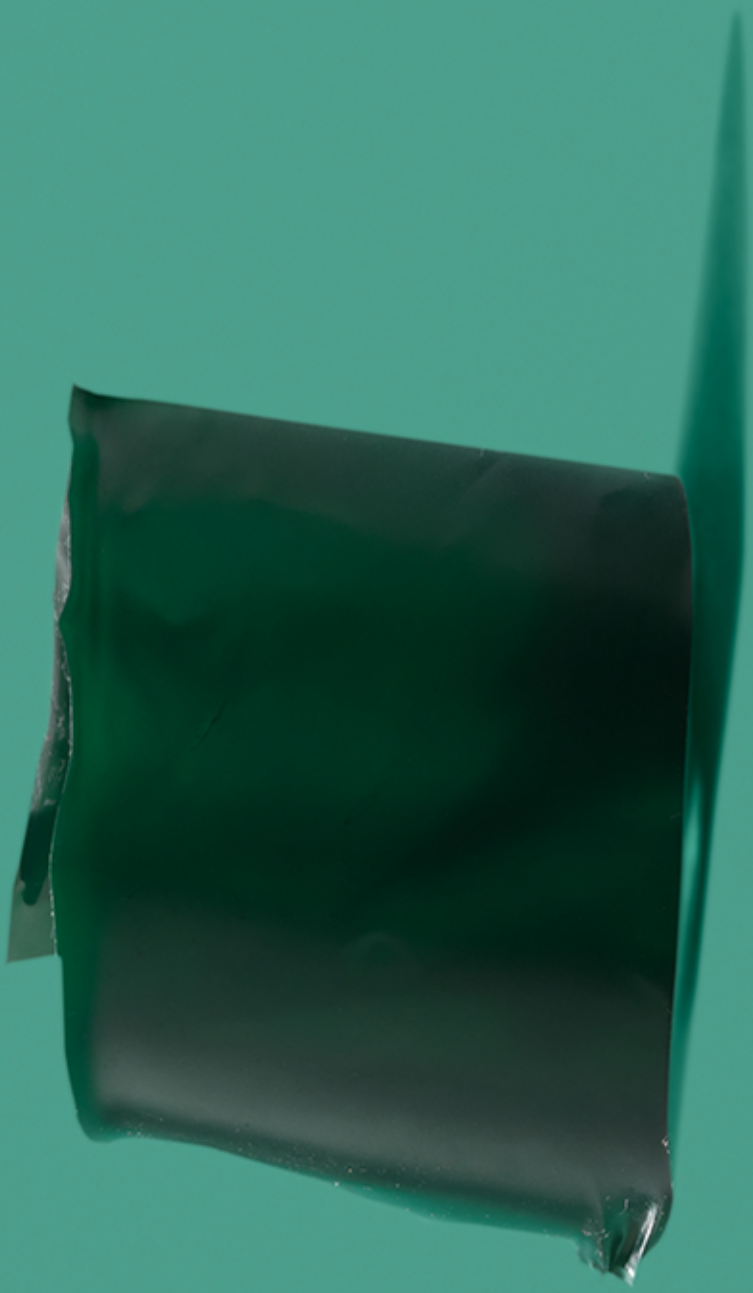







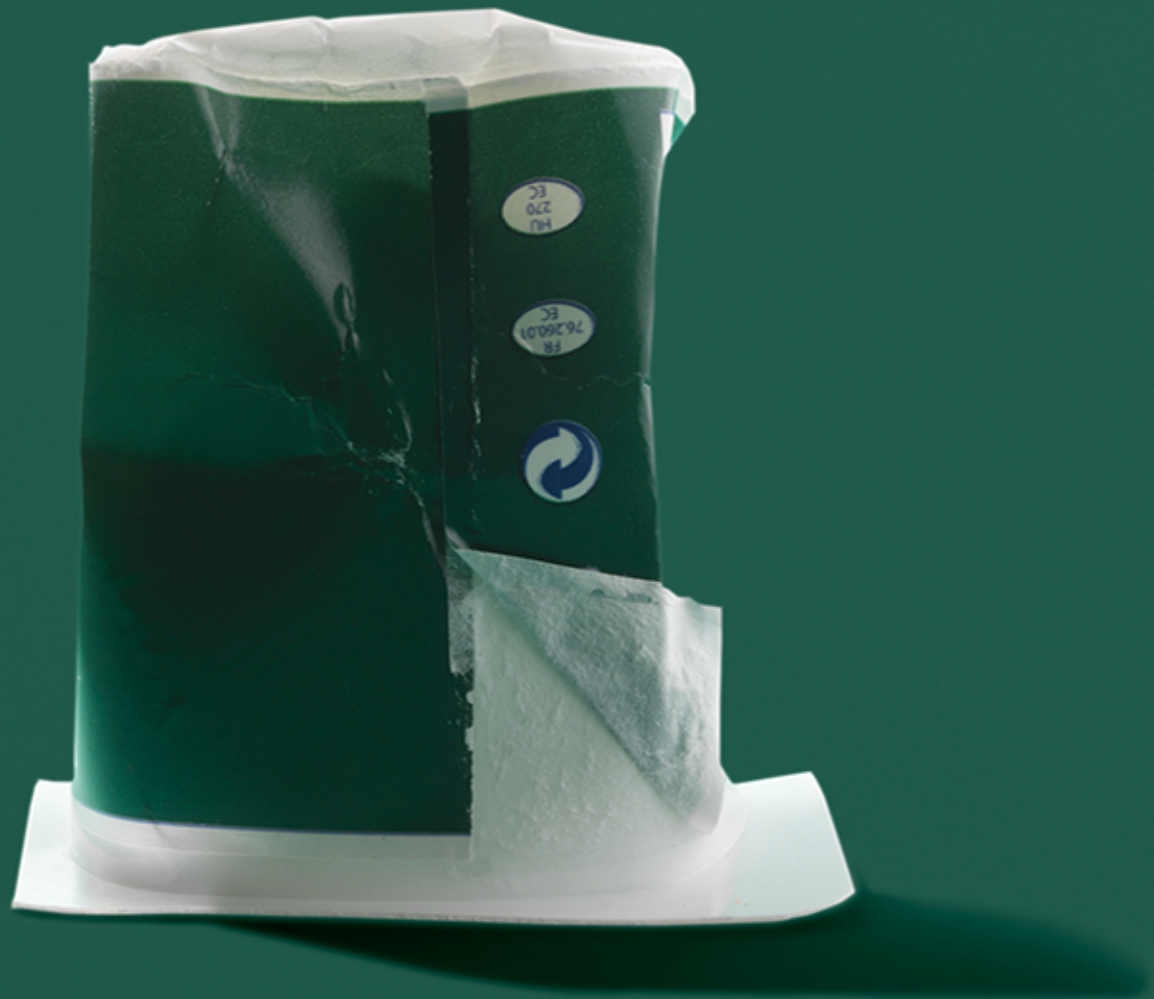
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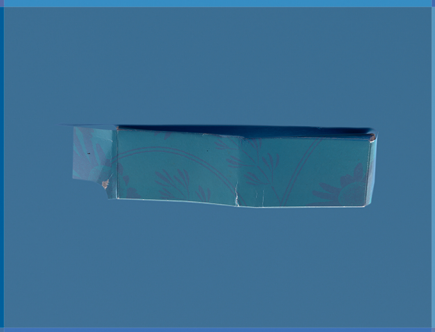


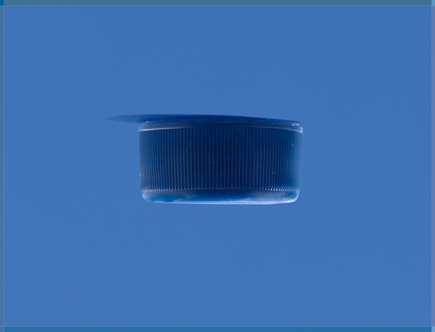


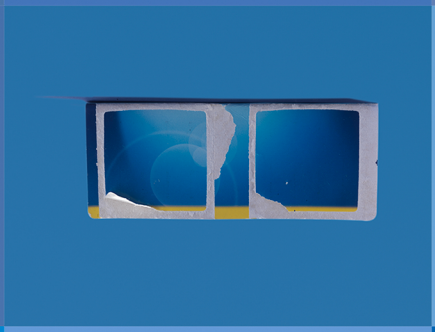
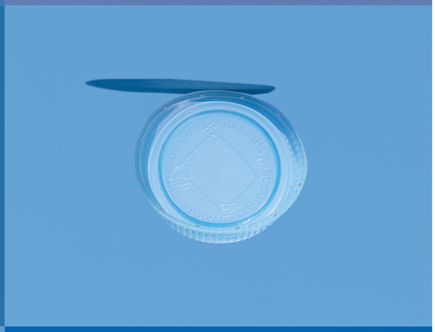
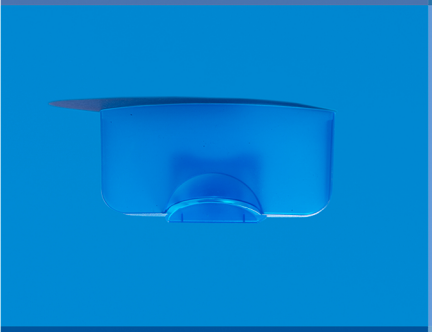
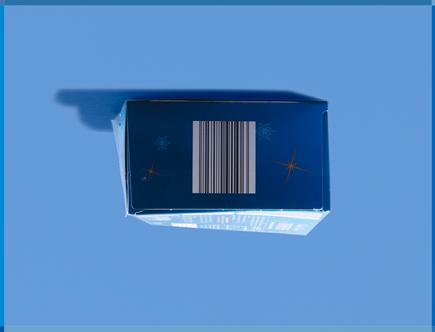



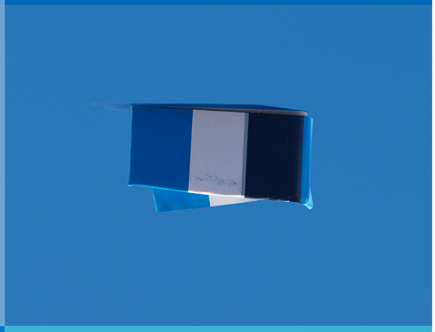







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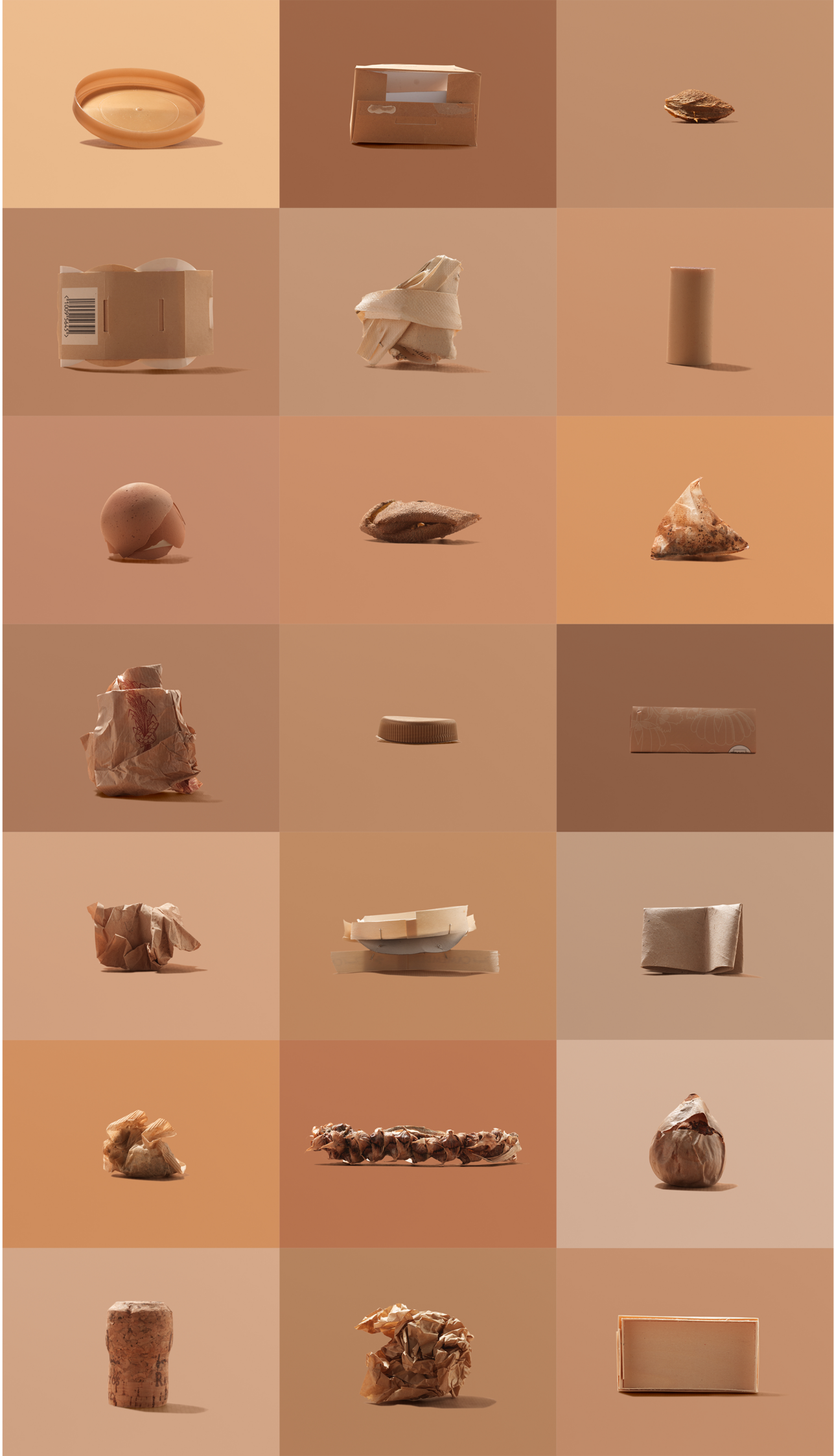








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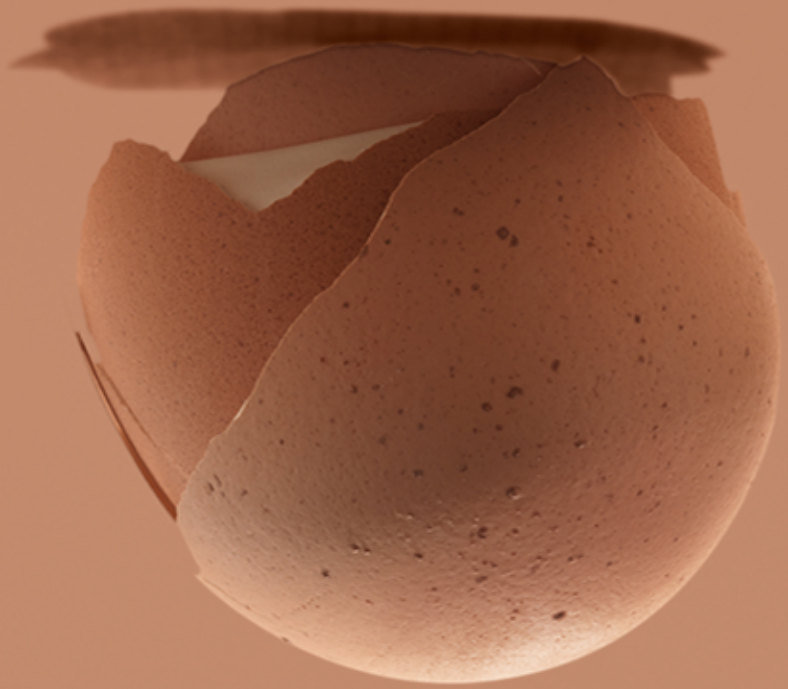



APPENDIX B

Second project: ∞ (selection of images)

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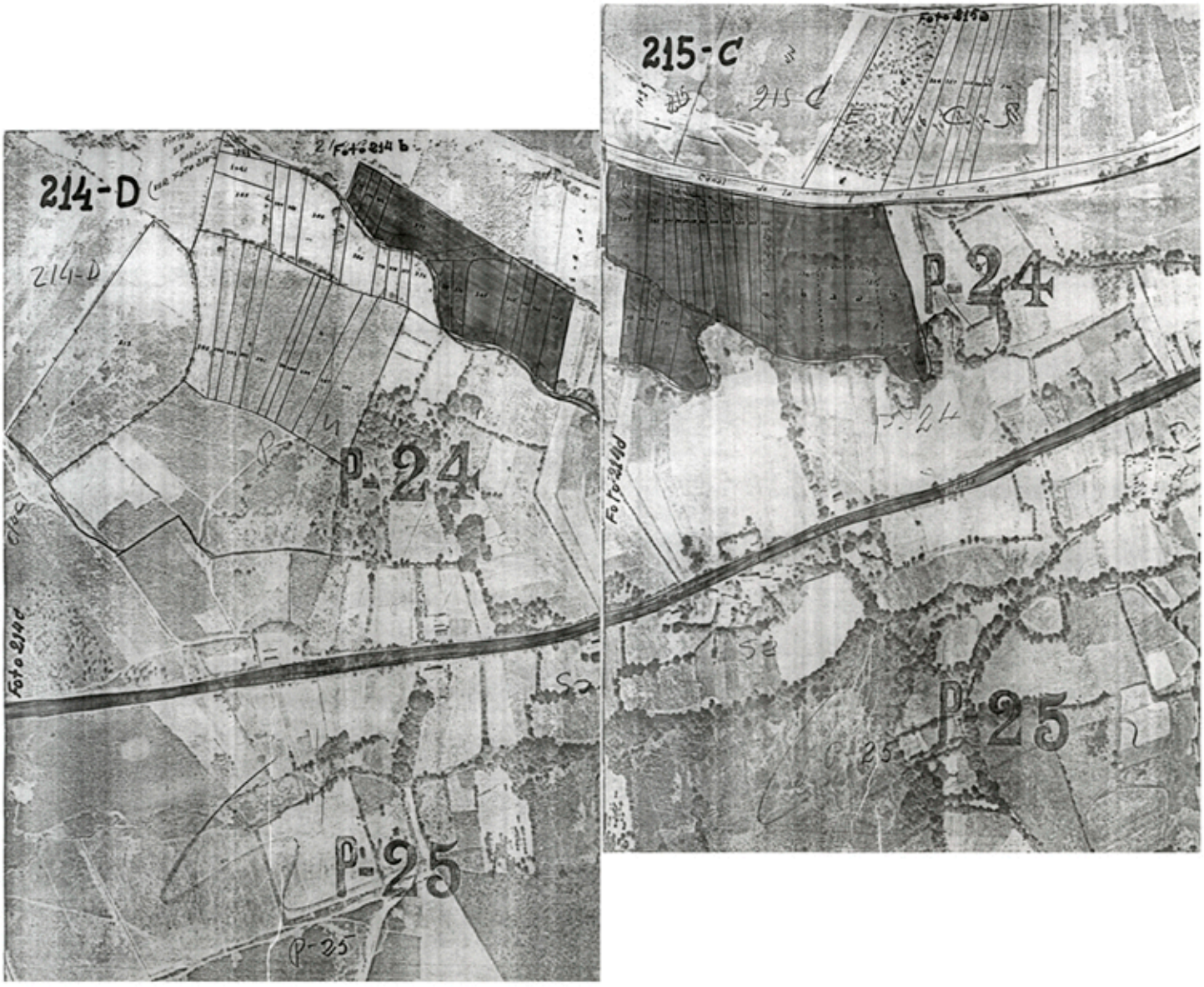
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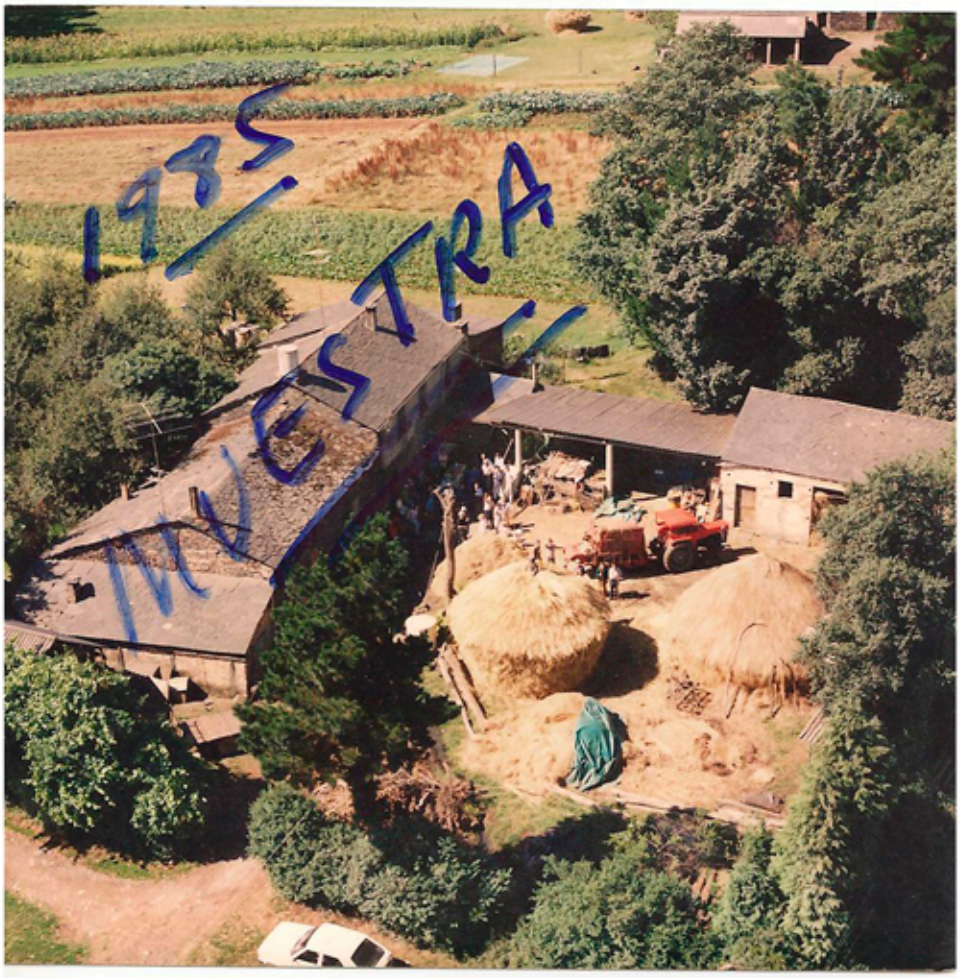
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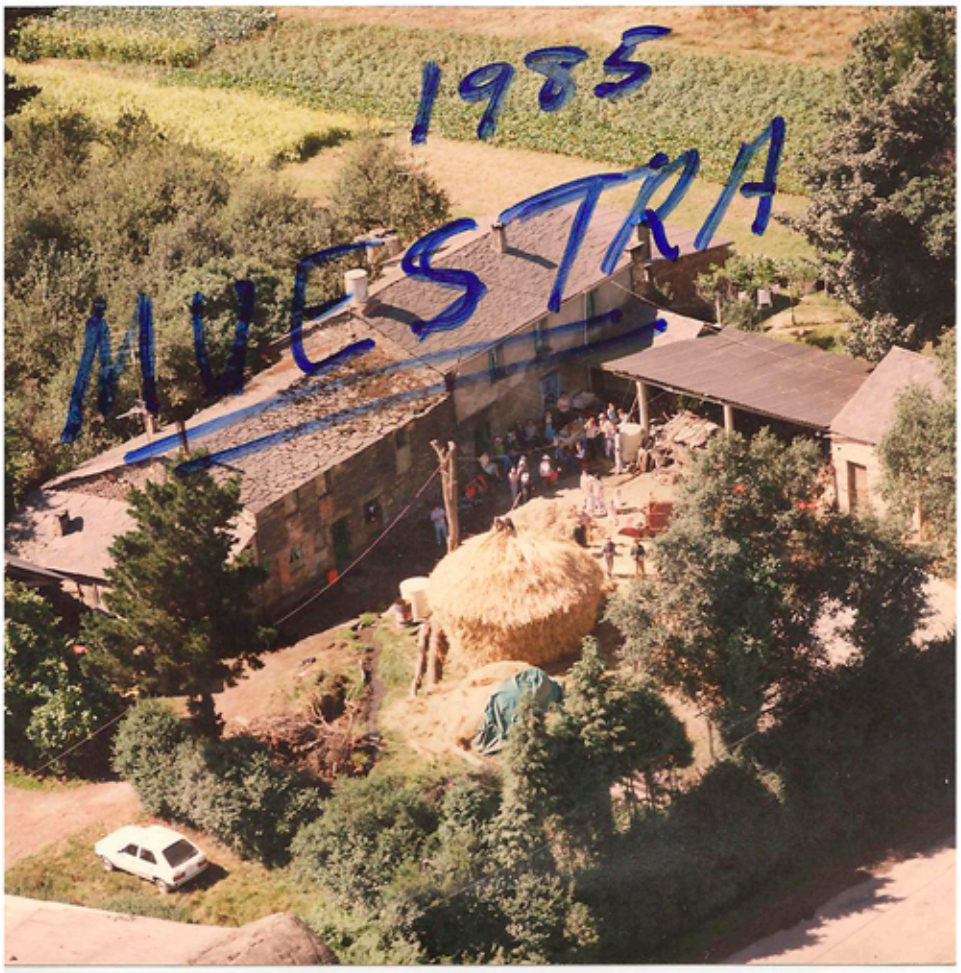
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Second group of images















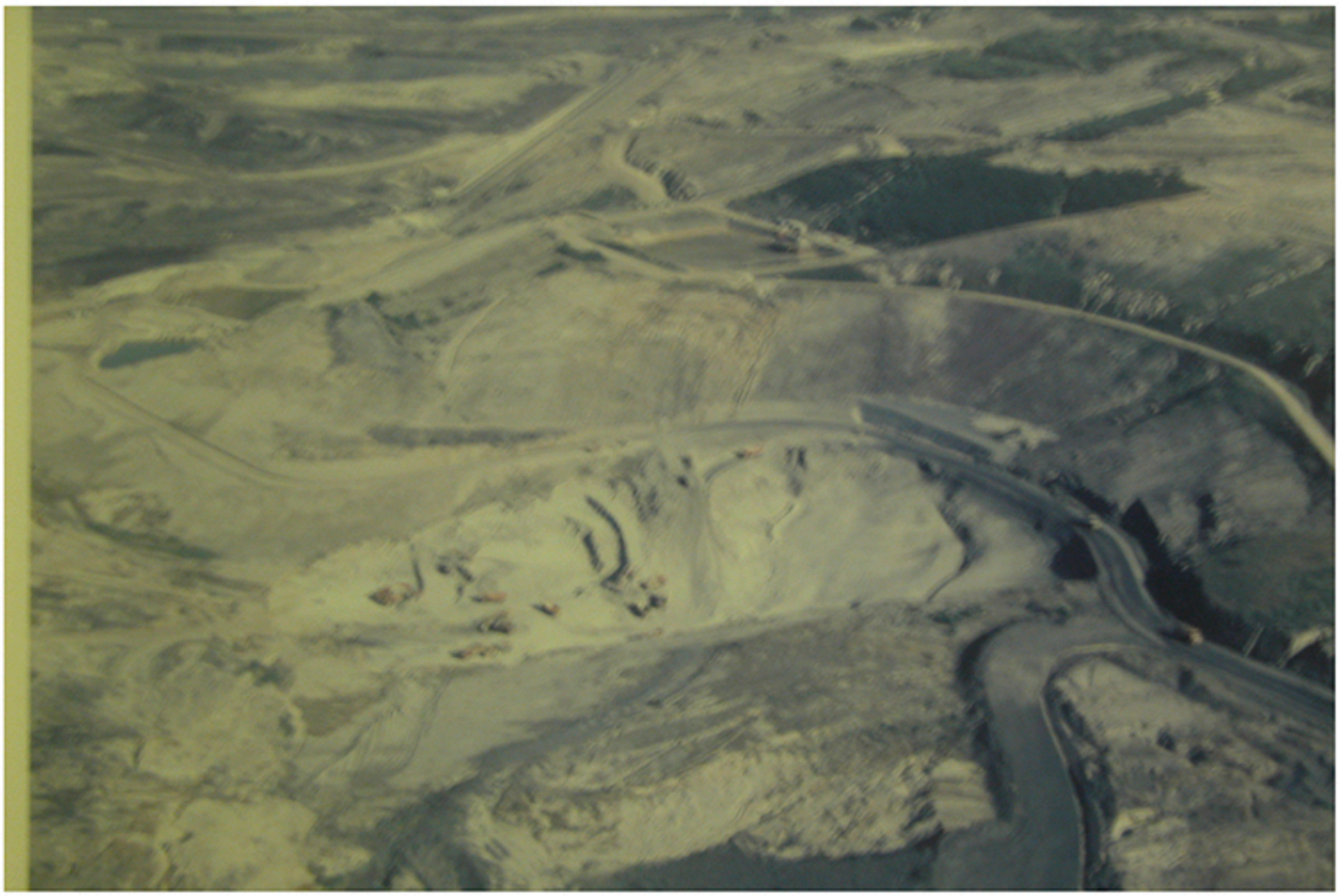




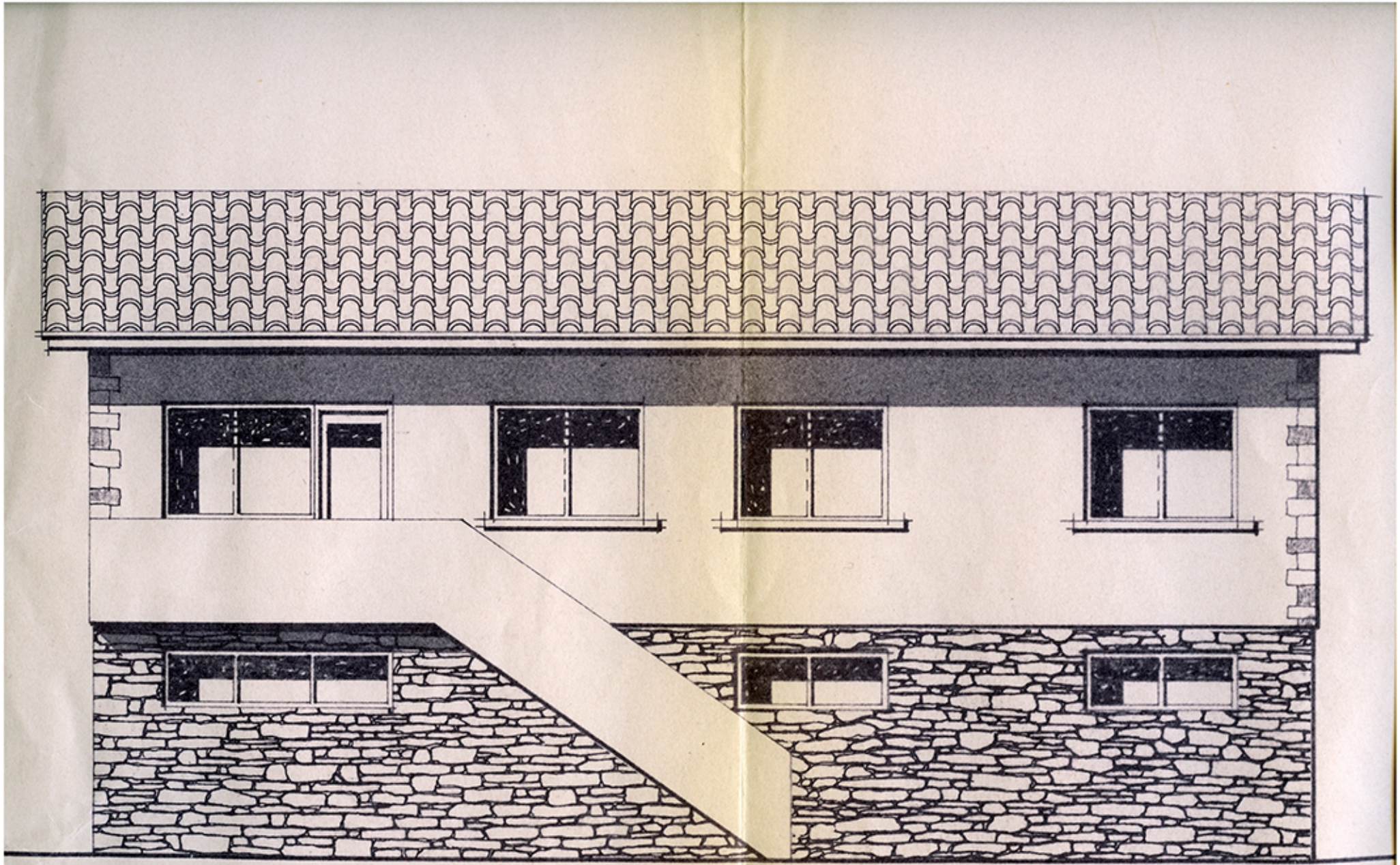




Third group of images







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AYUNTAMIENTO
DE
PUENTES DE GARCIA RODRIGUEZ
(LA CORUÑA)

Negociado .....
N.º Registro .....
Referencia .....

EXPEDIENTE DE EXPROPIACION FORZOSA QUE CON CARACTER DE URGENCIA SE INCOA POR LA DELEGACION PROVINCIAL DEL MINISTERIO DE INDUSTRIA, SECCION DE MINAS, PARA LA EXPROPIACION DE LAS FINCAS SITUADAS EN ESTE AYUNTAMIENTO, QUE SON NECESARIAS PARA LA EXPLOTACION "A CIELO ABIERTO" DE LOS YACIMIENTOS DE LIGNITO DE LOS TERMINOS MUNICIPALES DE PUENTES DE GARCIA RODRIGUEZ Y CAPELA, OBRA INCLUIDA EN EL III PLAN DE DESARROLLO ECONOMICO Y SOCIAL, DE LA QUE ES BENEFICIARIA LA "EMPRESA NACIONAL DE ELECTRICIDAD, S. A."

CEDULA DE NOTIFICACION

Por medio de la presente, y de conformidad con lo determinado en el articulo 48 de la Ley de Expropiación Forzosa de 16 de diciembre de 1954 y artículos 48, 49 y 50 de su Reglamento de 26 de abril de 1957, se notifica a Vd(s). como propietario(s) de la(s) finca(s) señalada(s) con el(los) n.º(s) 311 del plano parcelario, situada(s) en el lugar de Riveira de este término municipal, que el día 14 - 3 - 1.974 a las 10 horas, se procederá al pago, en la casa consistorial de este Ayuntamiento, de las fincas con las que han llegado a un acuerdo en precios con la "Empresa Nacional de Electricidad, S. A."

A este acto de pago, deberá venir previsto del Documento Nacional de Identidad, a efectos de identificación, debiendo concurrir, además, las personas que se citan seguidamente: Vd. unicamente.

Dios guarde a Vd(s). muchos años.
Puentes de García Rodríguez, 25 de febrero de 1.974
EL ALCALDE,

SR. D. Asunción Bouza Antón

Domicilio: Saa - Vilabella - Puentes



















HAZLO TU MISMO !

Confecciona juega y diviértete con tus amigos de la televisión ...Y GANA UNA BICICLETA !

Mattes, S.A. 1874

SERIE: EL PERRO DE FLANDES





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PREMIOS!

DE VENTA EN LOS ESTABLECIMIENTOS DEL RAMO TEXTIL

Los 100 primeros niños que envíen todos los dibujitos pequeños que figuran alrededor del personaje grande a color de cada una de las telas que irán apareciendo en el mercado, serán obsequiados con una bicicleta.
De la serie DIBUJOS ANIMADOS, aparecerán 9 telas y de la serie EL PERRO DE FLANDES, 8 telas.
Así, pues, para optar al regalo de la bicicleta, se tendrán que enviar: o bien los 81 muñequitos de la serie DIBUJOS ANIMADOS, o bien los 64 muñequitos de la serie EL PERRO DE FLANDES.

Después de estas 100 primeras bicicletas de REGALO, otras 100 bicicletas serán sorteadas entre todos aquellos niños que también envíen los 81 muñequitos de la serie DIBUJOS ANIMADOS o los 64 muñequitos de la serie EL PERRO DE FLANDES, o de ambas series a la vez, con lo cual sus posibilidades de ganar la bicicleta serán mayores.
Envía los muñequitos a la siguiente dirección:
MATTES, S. A.
Apartado de Correos, 119 - BARCELONA



Fourth group of images


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29.07.2008 15:45


MASA
S.L.
MASA
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200
150
100
50
0
bar
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29.07.2008 18:54


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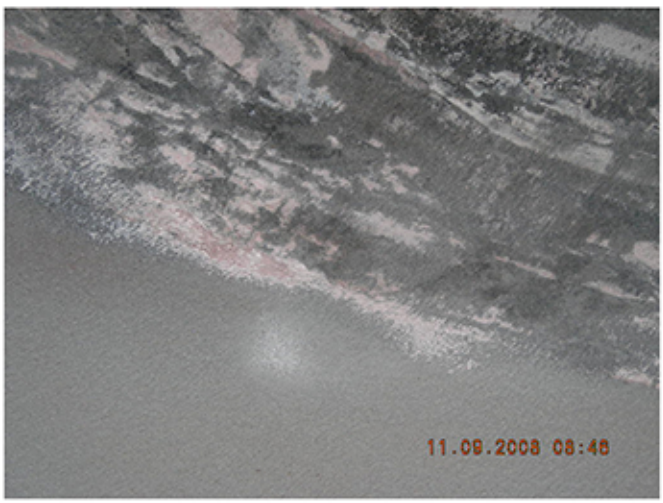
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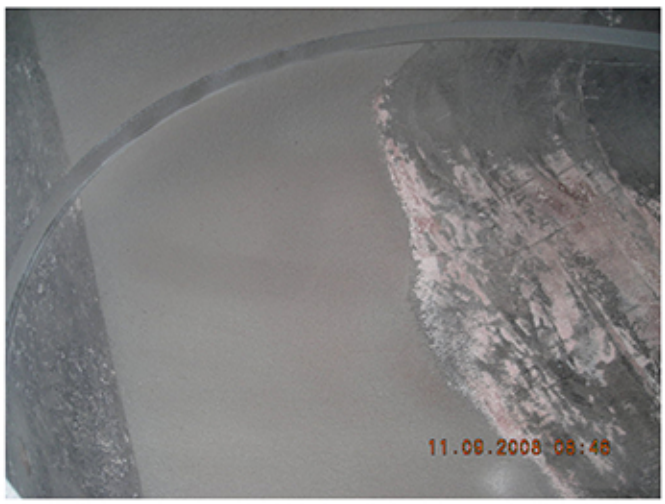
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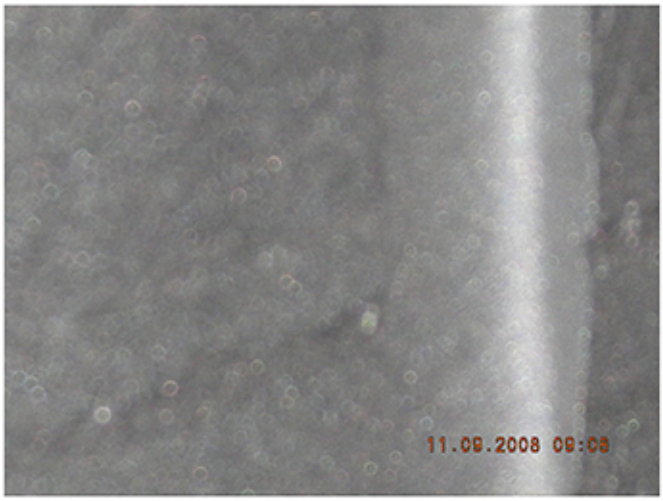
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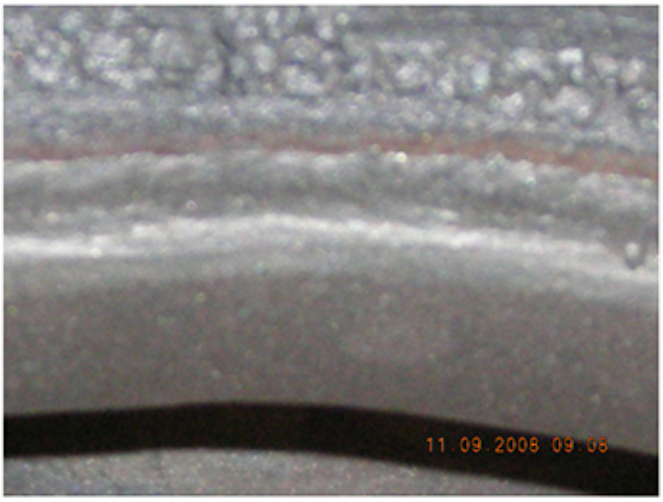
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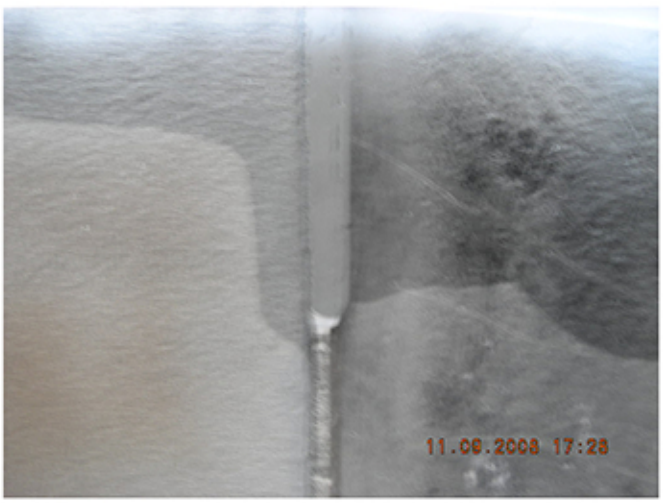
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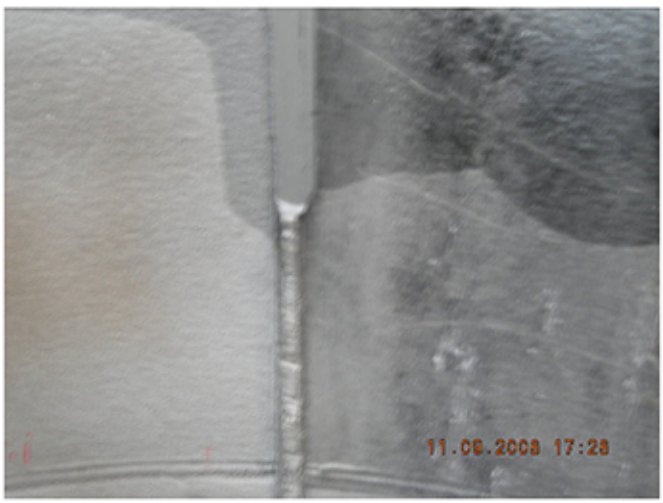
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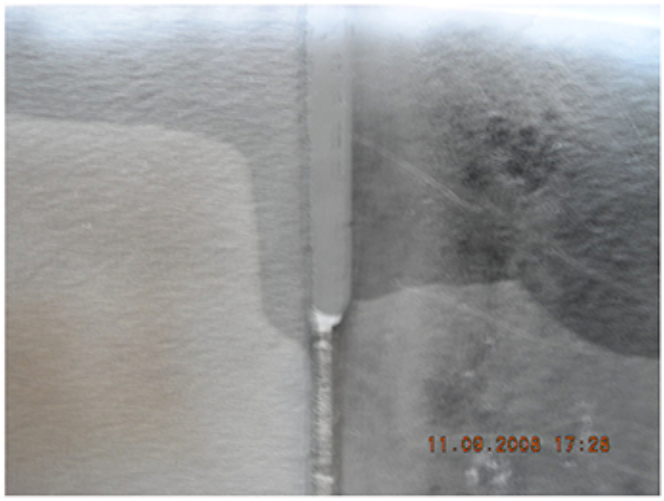
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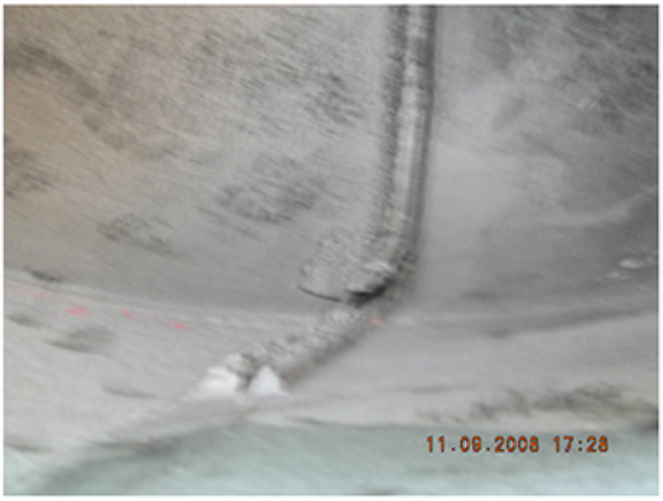
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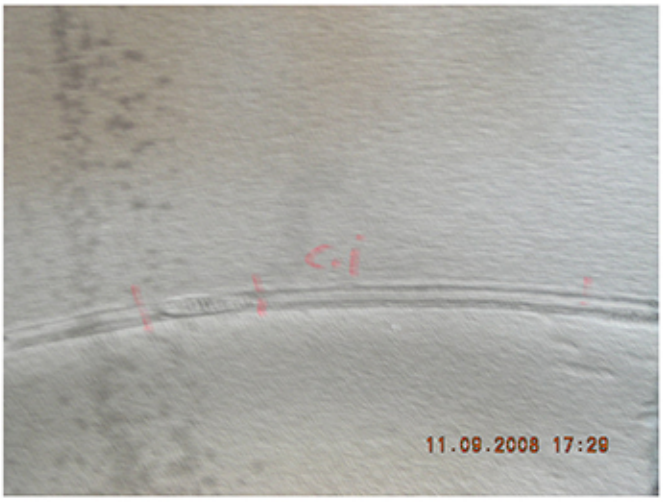
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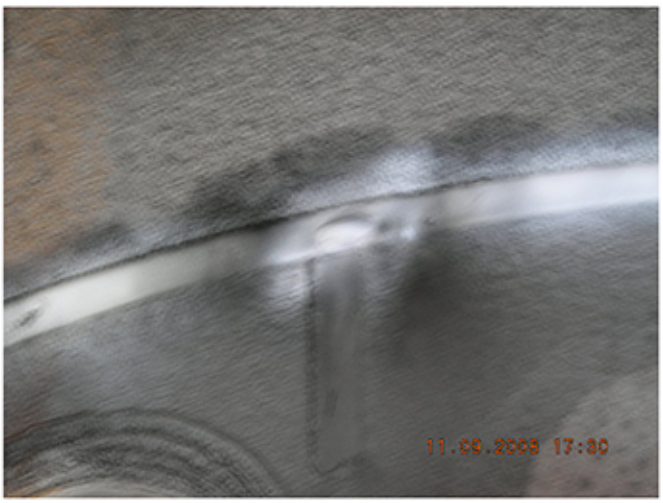
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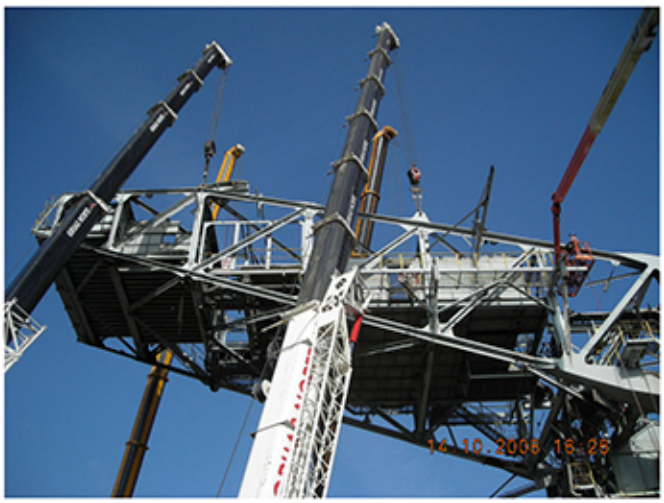
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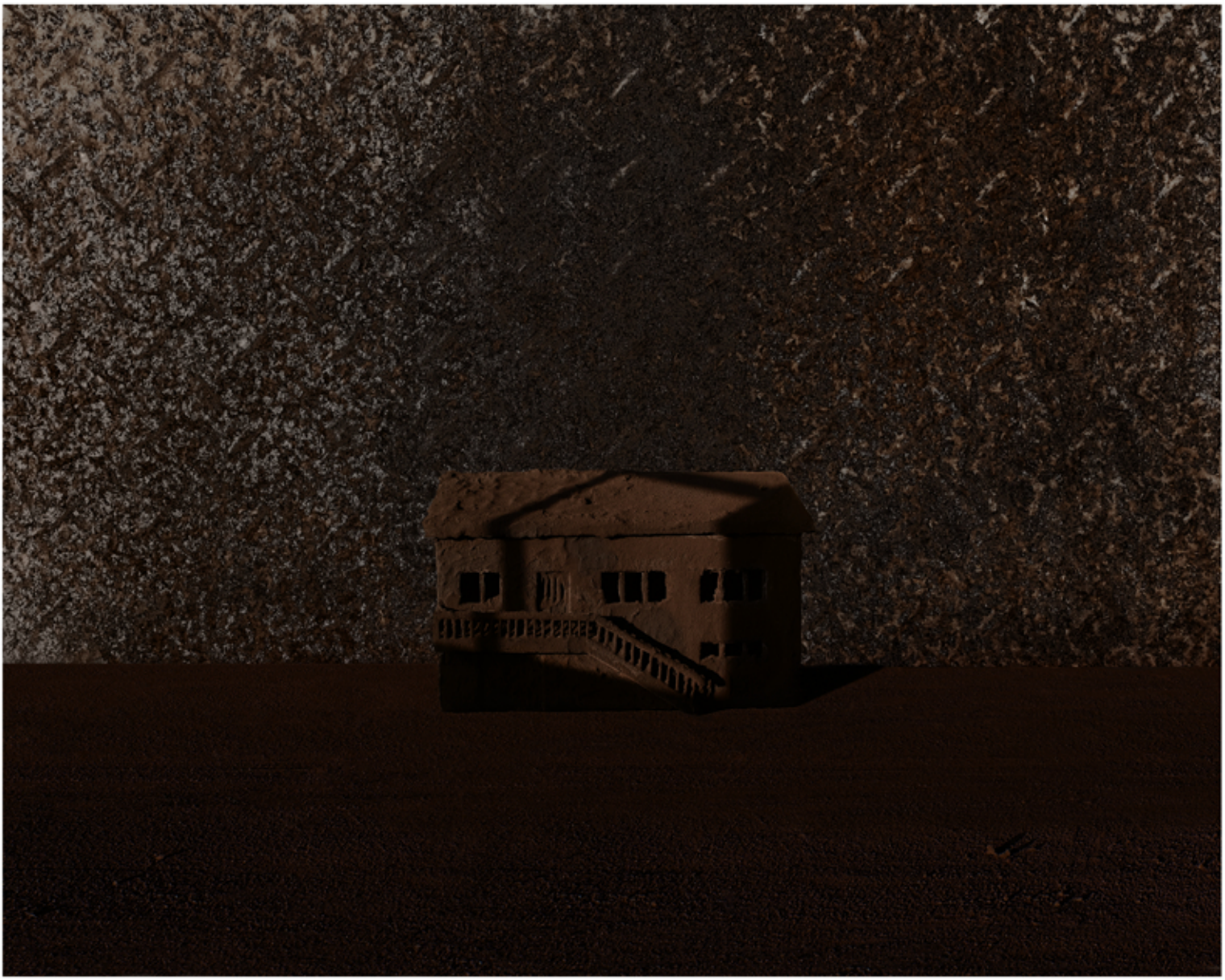











Provincia
Fecha





APPENDIX C

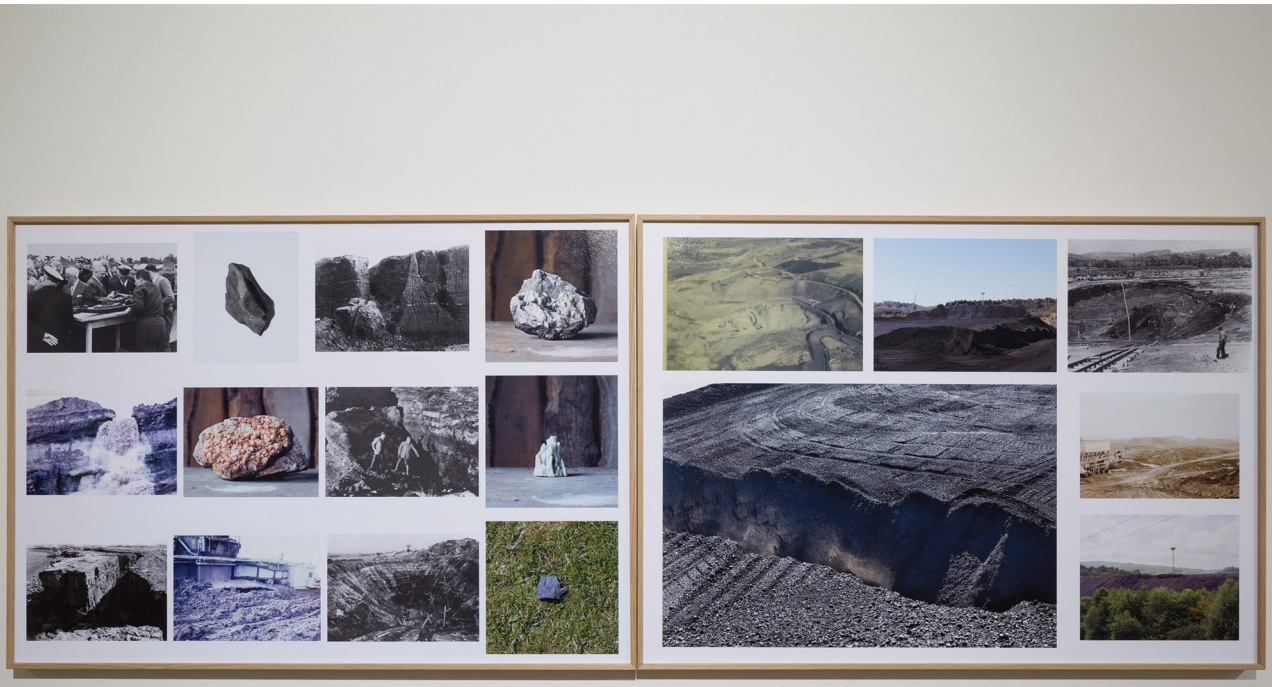
Installation images from London Gallery West, University of Westminster, 2017. From *Etcetera* and ∞. Courtesy of David Freeman




ESTÉFANI BOUZA








NUM. 9
Subj. Serv. y Ripados
CALENDARIO DOS TURNOS (OCHO HORAS DE TRABAJO+UNA DE TRANSPORTE) LUNES-SABADO
Núm. trabajadores = 6

