

Exacting Photography: Self-imaging and its frustration in contemporary art photography

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This article examines the use of physically and psychologically exacting conditions to frustrate efforts at self-presentation in a number of contemporary photographic portraits. I argue that, through these strategies of distraction, recent artists have worked against the conventions traditionally defining the portrait as a genre, bringing their work closer to the experimental techniques encountered in early scientific photography, particularly the work of Duchenne de Boulogne and Jean-Martin Charcot. It is my contention that such links are far from incidental, and I identify a shared distrust of the subject as an uncontrolled performative presence as the key factor informing the manufacture of the exacting environments in both contemporary art and nineteenth-century science. I conclude that the recent work recommends a shifted role for the portrait within art photography, responding to post-modern theorizations of subjectivity and the conscious acts of self-fashioning endorsed by late capitalist consumer culture: its authority no longer determined by the artful consolidation of a projected self-image, but in photographing aspects of behaviour that lie beyond the subject's conscious control.

As frozen images—in advertisements or style magazines—become the models from which people design their living spaces or themselves, extreme alienation sets in. One becomes, by definition, increasingly uncomfortable in one's own skin.¹

It is very true that certain people, comedians above all, possess the art of marvellously feigning emotions that exist only on their faces or lips...But it will be simple for me to show that there are some emotions that man cannot simulate or portray artificially on the face: the attentive observer is always able to recognise a false smile.²

A distinct strand has emerged within contemporary art photography, in which people are depicted in uniform series, usually individually, and positioned centrally within the frame.³ The series vary in terms of their subject, location, and the precise circumstances in which the photographs are made, but share in their manufacture of physically or psychologically exacting environments. Exposed to extremes of heat,

drenched by rain, or seemingly oblivious to the presence of the camera, the photographed subject is shown to struggle to present the self-image they might usually hope to display. Projects by Rineke Dijkstra, Bettina von Zwehl, Adam Broomberg and Oliver Chanarin, Phil Collins, Marjaana Kella, Oliver Sieber and Albrecht Tübke can all be counted as prominent examples of this mode.

As such failures at self-imaging emerge as a manifest theme of the work, so the recent strain is notable for its turning away from the historical conventions defining the portrait as a genre - namely, the demonstration of artistic originality through consolidating the self of the portrayed. Rather, this contemporary mode might be more closely linked to early scientific applications of photography, particularly those in which various stimuli were deployed to artificially simulate expressive forms of behaviour, for example, in Duchenne du Boulogne's well-known photographic studies of various facial expressions, published in his 1862 book *The Mechanism of Human Facial Expression*, and Jean-Martin Charcot's photographs of female patients diagnosed with hysteria at the Salpêtrière Hospital in Paris.

What might these potential scientific parallels imply with regards our understanding of the contemporary work? This essay offers two suggestions. By opening a dialogue between the nineteenth-century scientific photographs and recent examples of art photography, I want to first establish a series of methodological links: considering *how* the various strategies of distraction encountered in contemporary art draw on, mimic or reproduce aspects of those deployed by Charcot and Duchenne. So the nineteenth-century material will serve as the locus around which different examples of contemporary art photography are drawn together, revealing a methodological uniformity in the recent work through the identification of these common approaches. Secondly, I want to consider the reasons behind this uniformity, to explore *why* artists may have adopted such strategies in the making of their portraits. To do so, I turn again to the work of Charcot and Duchenne, identifying a common distrust of the photographed subject as an uncontrolled performative presence within their efforts to replicate and document aspects of human behaviour for the purposes of scientific analysis and illustration. I aim to link this distrust to the similar suspicion displayed by contemporary artists in relation to their subjects, tied this time to post-modern

theorizations of subjectivity, and the conscious acts of self-fashioning endorsed by late-capitalist consumer culture.

On Method

Duchenne described his approach to the face as a form of ‘animated anatomy’: the application of small electrical charges initially conceived as a means of isolating and analyzing the individual action of specific muscles that, when stimulated in combination, could ‘like nature herself, paint the expressive lines of the emotions on the face of man.’⁴ It was as much the use of photography to document and disseminate these experiments that set his book apart from previous scientific studies of facial expression – as the author suggested in his introduction, each picture taught ‘a thousand times more than extensive written description.’⁵ The additional benefit of Duchenne’s electrophysiological method lay in allowing him to stage, and to hold, the usually fleeting expressions of the face for a period long enough to accommodate the exposure times demanded by early photographic technology (fig. 1).⁶

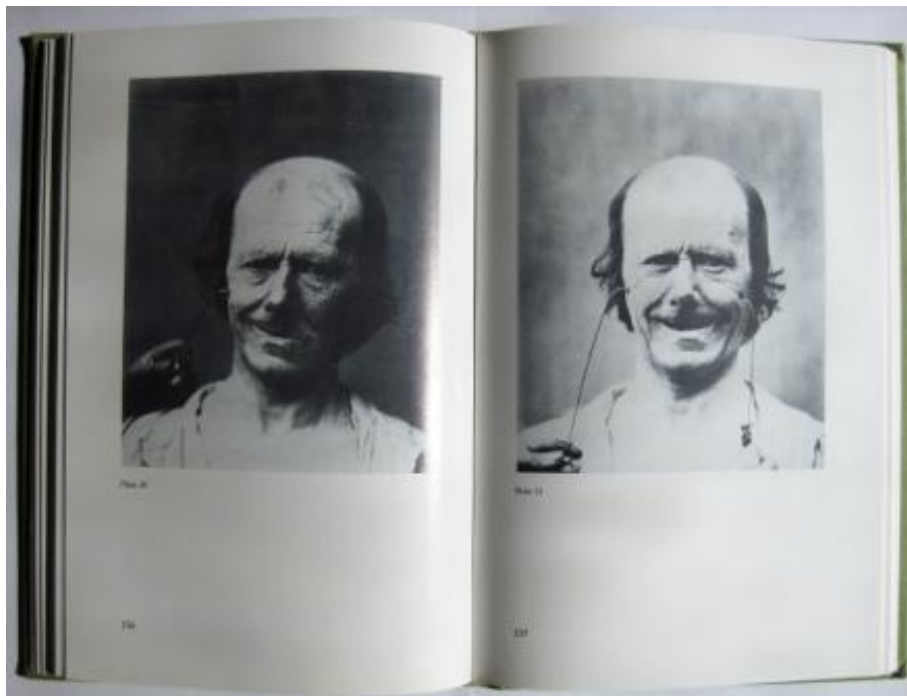


Fig. 1: Duchenne du Bolougne, *The Mechanism of Human Facial Expression*, 1862 (Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Where Duchenne's images aimed to document a universal language of facial expression, the forms of expressive behaviour clinically photographed by Charcot and his staff at the Salpêtrière were of a more specific order. As such, these photographs respond to a different, and more specific, set of problems. Hysteria had not yet acquired much status as a respectable object of medical science when Charcot was completing his medical studies just after 1850.⁷ The photographs of patients experiencing hysterical attacks aimed to provide what he regarded as an essentially neurological condition with permanent visual form, in order to further affirm its existence. So, as Georges Didi-Huberman has described, 'by freezing in time putative phases of the hysterical attack, the camera identified, analysed and ultimately reified clinical events that had seemed too elusive to investigate.'⁸ Charcot established a studio within the Salpêtrière dedicated to photographically documenting the hysterical subject, its output published in three volumes under the title *Iconographie Photographique de la Salpêtrière*.⁹ As much as these photographs aimed to document and so to prove in positivist terms the existence of hysteria, Charcot also voiced concerns regarding the 'malingering' tendencies he saw as characterising the condition: an 'intentional, willed deception, in which the invalids exaggerate their real symptoms or indeed meticulously create an imaginary array of symptoms.'¹⁰ It was suggested, furthermore, that the likelihood of this performance was increased by the presence of medical staff. Charcot's patients were 'more prone to do so when they think they are being observed and admired' and, particularly, 'when the victim of deceit happens to be a physician.'¹¹

A number of writers have subsequently acknowledged the ambiguous status such sentiments lend the photographs produced by the Salpêtrière, particularly those published in the first two volumes of the *Iconographie Photographique*, which purport to document the various stages of an hysterical attack.¹² Whilst the captioning of these images insisted on the veracity of the phenomena they claimed to represent, the necessary presence of the camera—a double for the physician-observer—in producing the photographs, must have, by Charcot's own account, increased the likelihood of an alternative, simulated form of hysteria. As a mechanical recording device, the camera was impotent to distinguish the symptom from its performance. It is in the third volume of *Iconographie Photographique*, published in 1888, that these

concerns appear to have been addressed: its illustrations drawing on a collection of photographs documenting Charcot's various experiments with hypnosis, and the application of stimuli to induce forms of behaviour equivalent to those constituting the different phases of hysterical attack.¹³ A 'hypnotic sleep' was used to induce an initial state of hysterical 'lethargy', following which, a bright light or the vibrations of a tuning fork were shown to turn the subject 'instantly cataleptic'. The sudden extinction of the light or the silencing of the tuning fork stopped 'the catalepsy instantly' (figs. 2 & 3).¹⁴ Thus 'by stimulating the mind of the patient', Charcot aimed to 'bring back the symptoms of hysteria', his 'artificially induced paralysis' considered 'an exact reproduction of the previous symptoms.'¹⁵

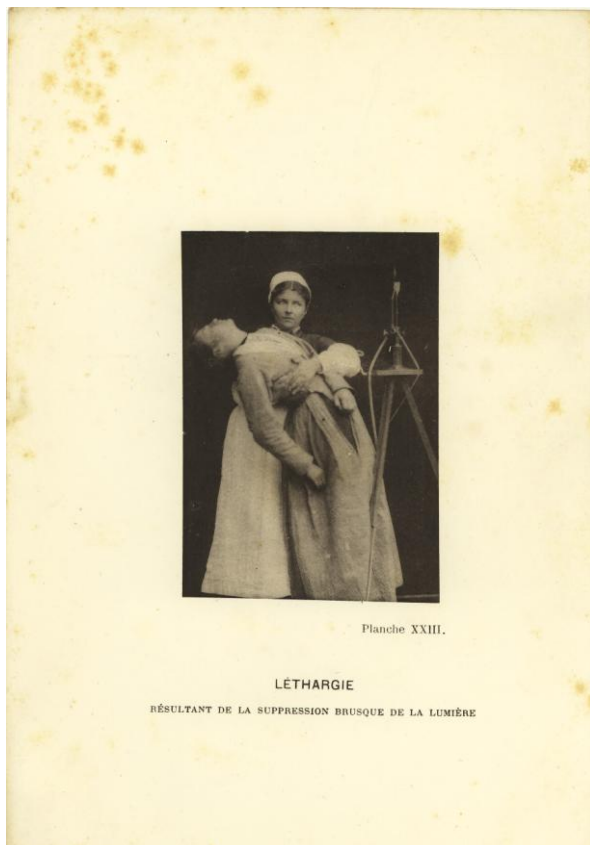


Fig. 2 (Left): Paul Regnard, 'Lethargy resulting from the abrupt suppression of light'
First published in *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière* Vol III, 1880.
Courtesy of the Waring Historical Library, MUSC, Charleston, S.C.

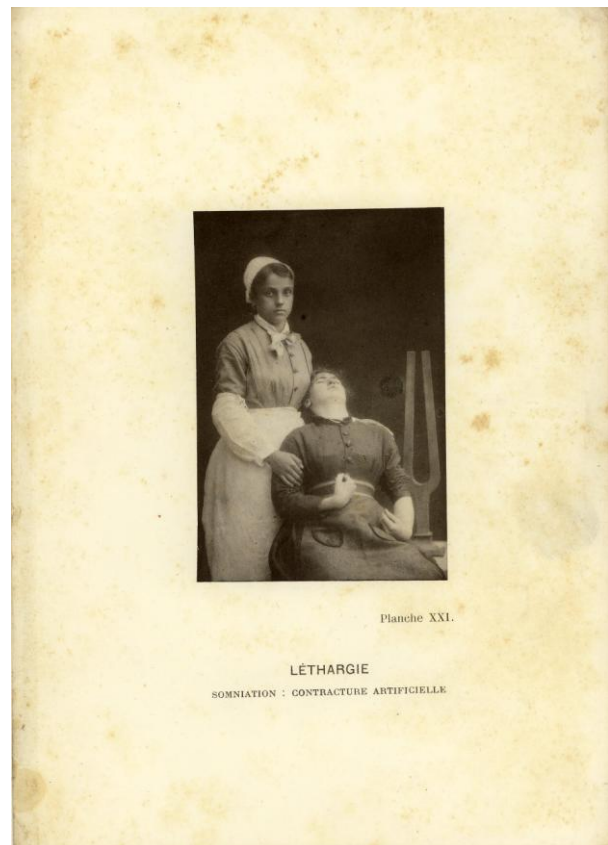


Fig. 3 (Right): Paul Regnard, 'Catalepsy provoked by the sound of a tuning fork'.
First published in *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière* Vol III, 1880.
Courtesy of the Waring Historical Library, MUSC, Charleston, S.C.

The methodological links that tie such images to a number of the strategies of distraction encountered within contemporary portraiture are clear. In Rineke Dijkstra's photographs of young mothers after childbirth (1994), matadors after bull fights (1994-2000), and Israeli conscripts after military training exercises (1999-2000), the residual traces of these extreme forms of physical exertion are harnessed as a means of disrupting her subject's efforts at self-presentation (fig. 4).¹⁶



Fig. 4: Rineke Dijkstra, *Amit, Golani Brigade, Orev Unit, Elyacim, Israel, May 26, 1999*.
Courtesy Marian Goodman Gallery, New York

The pseudo-laboratory style conditions manufactured by Bettina von Zwehl in her three *Untitled* series (1998-9) attempt something similar, the artist photographing her sitters as they wake from sleep, after strenuous exercise, or asked to hold their breath (fig. 5).¹⁷ In a related vein, Phil Collins slaps his subjects in the face moments before they are photographed, for his series *You'll Never Work in this Town Again*

(2004-ongoing).¹⁸ In each case, a tension is established between the subject's efforts at self-presentation and the physical discomfort they are shown to experience. Much as Duchenne's subjects appear conscious of the camera—which they confront directly with their gaze—whilst the electrical charges induced expressions over which they had little or no control, here, the subject's direct gaze into the lens suggests an awareness of the self as image, whilst the signs of their exertion implies a consciousness of their physical presence before the camera, and how this might undermine any such efforts at composure.¹⁹

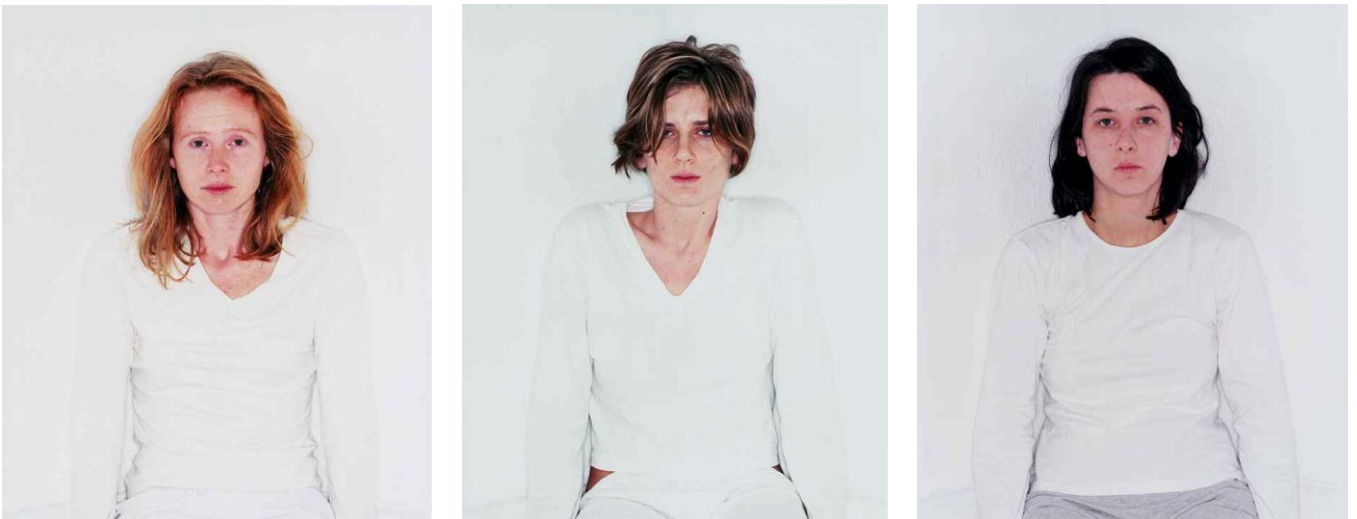


Fig. 5: Bettina von Zwehl, from *Untitled I*, 1999. Courtesy the artist.

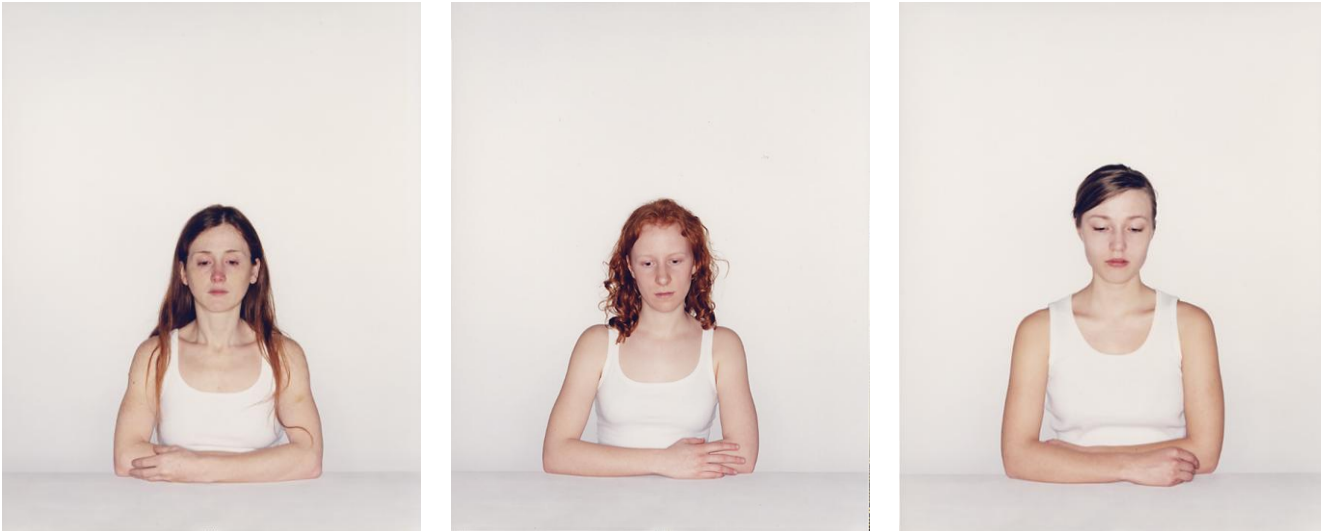


Fig 6: Bettina von Zwehl, from *Alina*, 2004. Courtesy the artist.

Alternatively, stimuli are applied in such a way that the subject is shown to forsake control over self-presentation, signalled by their inability to look at the camera directly. This is the case with von Zwehl's series *Rain* (2003), which shows women drenched by the heavy downpour produced by a rain machine, and *Alina* (2004), in which a bright flash is used to momentarily illuminate women sat in a darkened room listening to music (fig. 7).²⁰ A similar point holds true for the majority of the photographs in Adam Broomberg and Oliver Chanarin's project *Trust* (2003).²¹ Here, the artists first approached subjects to request permission to photograph them before waiting until they became engrossed in, or overwhelmed by a variety of elements,



Fig. 7.: Adam Broomberg and Oliver Chanarin, from the series 'Trust', 2001. Courtesy the artists.



Fig. 8: Oliver Sieber, *Anja, Duren 2002*, from the series 'Die Blinden'.
Courtesy the artist.



Fig. 9: Adam Broomberg and Oliver Chanarin, from the series 'Trust', 2001.
Courtesy the artists.

including computer games arcades, sports events, and beauty and dental treatments (fig. 7). In Oliver Sieber's series *Die Blinden* (2003), a clinical gaze is turned onto a cast of blind people.²² The artist's interest in these subjects resides in the fact that, owing to their disability—particularly their lack of any prior exposure to either photographs or mirrors—their appearance also lacks the usual forms of conscious control (fig. 8).²³ In the case of the hypnotised sitters in Marjaana Kella's *Hypnosis* series (2000) and the images of anaesthetized patients which conclude Broomberg and Chanarin's project, the subjects are shown to lose consciousness altogether (figs. 9 & 10).²⁴ Much like Charcot and his use of hypnosis, magnesium flashes and tuning forks, such photographs offer serial depictions of subjects unable to control self-presentation, owing to the conditions sought out or manufactured by their maker.

These efforts at manipulation and control can also take on more subtle forms. Talking about his 2004 series *Citizens*, Albrecht Tübke, has described his interest in 'the big gap between what my subjects think they are and what is finally visible,' whilst Dijkstra likewise suggests her well known series of beach portraits (1992-8) aimed 'to strike that balance between what people want to show, and what they show in spite of themselves.'²⁵ In both cases, the 'gap' opened or exploited by the photographers results from a similar combination of elements, as Tübke has explained:

The first thing I would tell them is not to smile. I am not interested in a typical smiling face in a photograph. And when I told them I am not interested in them smiling, the situation of photographing the people changed immediately. People become aware that this is not a simple photograph, that this is something more. It immediately becomes a very strange situation, but the people have already said yes, so they can't really escape. So it becomes a very energizing situation, because people sometimes get scared of what it is all about. This is a good moment, because people's visual expression changes a lot. People have this attitude of being very visible in what or who they are. It is a mixture between their real identity and their public construction of what they are. This is the situation I want to organize.²⁶

In both *Citizens* (fig. 11) and Dijkstra's beach portraits, the strangeness of the fleeting photographic encounter and the single instruction not to smile combine with the sustained period of stillness demanded by the photographer's large format cameras,



Fig. 10: Marjaana Kella, *Hypnosis, Ritva 3*, 2000. Courtesy Van Zoetendaal Photography



Fig. 11: Albrecht Tübke, from the series 'Citizens', 2001. Courtesy the artist.

to create an environment within which subjects, again, become conscious of their physical presence before the camera, often prompting an awkwardness that impedes



Fig. 12: Rineke Dijkstra, *De Panne, Belgium, August 7, 1992*.
Courtesy Marian Goodman Gallery, New York

their efforts to project a confident self-image (fig. 12). The fact that this aspect often appears more pronounced in Dijkstra's work than in Tübke's is largely due to the particular nature of these conditions and the subjects they have chosen to photograph. Shown fully clothed in various urban settings, Tübke's adult cast prove relatively articulate in the languages of self-fashioning when contrasted with the half-formed identities of Dijkstra's semi-clad adolescents (fig. 11).

Although in a less overt manner than those projects which parade their various strategies of distraction, even these more subtle forms of manipulation might be likened to Duchenne's electrodes or Charcot's bright flash. Applied in a uniform fashion, irrespective of the individual sitter and their character, the various methods seek to draw forth distinct forms of behaviour which lie beyond the subject's conscious control, undermining measured acts of self-presentation with an alternative set of poses determined, at least in part, by choices made by the photographer well in advance of the specific photographic exchange.²⁷ It is one thing to identify the existence of such similarities, and another to try to explain them, to offer some suggestions as to why recent artists may have adopted the manipulative role of the nineteenth-century clinical scientist in relation to their subjects. One reason may relate to changed understandings of the nature of subjectivity; such formal and methodological parallels hinting at a shared distrust of the subject before the camera as an uncontrolled performative presence.

Anatomy of Control

The theatrical staging and manipulation of the subject evident in the photographs produced by Charcot and Duchenne relate to what Elizabeth Edwards describes as 'a growing trend in nineteenth-century laboratory practice to replicate the actualities of the physical, empirically experienced world in controlled conditions which allowed for their analysis.'²⁸ In Charcot's photographs, this replication took two forms. Whilst the third volume of *Iconographie Photographique* sought to replicate the hysterical symptom through hypnosis and the application of various stimuli, the first two volumes brought together images within which the genuine symptom was indistinguishable from its uncontrolled and performative replication by the hysterical patient. The movement towards a totalising form of control, exercised over this simulation, and played out across the three volumes of *Iconographie Photographique*, thus bears the marks of Charcot's distrust of the latter, potential replication, rooted in what he regarded as the 'malingering' tendencies of the hysterical subject.

A similar concern emerges within Duchenne's publication, when he presents the reader with a series of photographs aimed at verifying the naturalism of his artificially induced expressions. As he explained:

My experiment could not be complete without comparing natural expressive movements with those produced by localized electrification. The muscles that move the eyebrows, of all the expressive muscles, are least under the control of the will; in general, only the emotions of the soul can move them in an isolated fashion. Unfortunately, the old man referred to above was of too low intelligence or too poorly motivated to produce the expressions that I have produced artificially on his face. Happily, I met a subject who, after much practice, could perform a large range of eyebrow movements. He was an artist of talent and at the same time an anatomist who was interested enough to undergo this study on himself. By calling on his feelings, he could produce perfectly most of the expressions portrayed by each of the muscles of the eyebrow.²⁹

The photographs, and the manner in which Duchenne discusses them, serve a dual function. Firstly, they are used to testify to the accuracy of his own artificially induced expressions through a series of visual comparisons (fig. 13). Secondly, Duchenne's insistence on the general physiological difficulties preventing most people from convincingly conveying the emotions at will, implies a subtle prioritisation of his own, electrically produced simulations, over those his subjects could ordinarily perform. In this sense, the actor is presented as the exception proving the rule. Although the ability to simulate and hold expressions for long enough to take a photograph was a secondary benefit of Duchenne's electrophysiological method, the implication of such a sentiment is that the resulting photographs constitute a more accurate portrayal than the alternative, more uncontrolled form of simulation that the long exposure times of early photographic equipment would have demanded. So, whilst Duchenne suggested 'there are some emotions that man cannot simulate or portray artificially on the face: the attentive observer is always able to recognise a false smile,' he

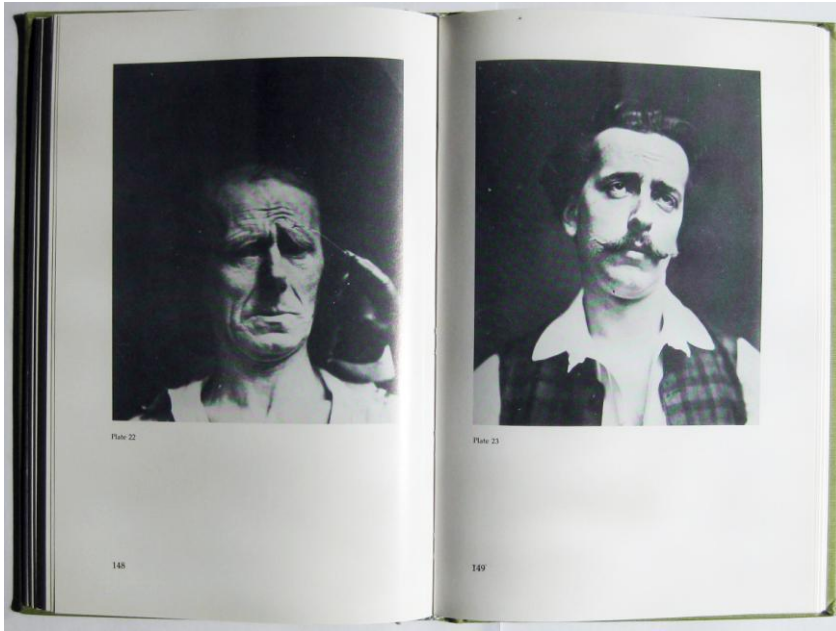


Fig 13: Duchenne du Bolougne, *The Mechanism of Human Facial Expression*, 1862 (Cambridge University Press, 1990).

insisted that 'in spite of...the unfortunate presence of the electrodes and the hands which held them in my plates, my artificial expressions remain grippingly true.'³⁰

In a general sense, both Duchenne and Charcot looked to photography as a means of permanently documenting and publicly disseminating aspects of expressive behaviour: the captioning and analysis of their images foregrounding the communicative potential of the face and the body as indices of inner emotional or psychological states.³¹ In each instance, however, these phenomena—as they occurred in nature—lay beyond the bounds of early photographic possibility. As a result, the production of the photographs demanded a form of simulation. The preference suggested in each case for those simulations over which the investigator could exercise an often-totalising form of control reflects a wider debate, concerning the scientific value of early photography. In their influential 1992 essay, 'The Image of Objectivity', Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison identified objectivity as a distinct and historically unstable representational trope, fundamentally altered by the invention of the photograph.³² Until this point, scientific illustration had derived its authority from the interpretive presence of the scientist, who sought to tame anomalous aspects of the natural world through the creation of idealised forms of representation and the

creation of representative types.³³ Photography promised a new and unmediated form of illustration, producing ‘not just more observations, but better observations,’ and so resulted in what is described as a paradigm of ‘mechanical objectivity’.³⁴ For the authors, such a shift was of a moral, as well as a scientific order, the self-conscious efforts to guard against subjective distortion chiming with the cultural themes of self-purification through self-abnegation resonant in late nineteenth-century Europe.³⁵

The controlled simulations of Charcot and Duchenne—produced between 1862 and 1880—stand at a historical threshold, representing a somewhat awkward transition within the formulation of objective scientific protocol with regards the uses of photography: the particular authority of their simulated evidence drawing on two, conflicting, factors.³⁶ The evidential value of these images derived from the verisimilitude promised by the new medium, and the mechanical objectivity the camera seemed to guarantee. But the interpretive and controlling presence of the scientist is rarely concealed within them. Just as the electrodes are present in each of Duchenne’s images, so Charcot photographed the flash bulb and the tuning fork. As such, these photographs also look back to an earlier period, deriving an alternative form of authority from the aesthetic and ontological judgments made by the scientist regarding the necessary elements constituting an ‘accurate’ representation. So the photographer intervenes in the image and sculpts the photographic subject to replicate the specific phenomenon the picture is intended to convey. This continued investment in the controlling presence of the clinician-photographer also manifests itself conversely, through the distrust or uncertainty these figures expressed in relation to more uncontrolled types of performance or simulation: in Charcot’s uncertainty regarding the malingering hysterical patient, and in Duchenne’s insistence on the physiological impossibility of controlling the muscles in isolation, and the related difficulties of simulating the emotions at will.

The methodological links that tie these early experiments with the efforts at control and distraction within contemporary art photography are thus far from incidental, for post-modern theorizations of subjectivity and identity have also stressed their performative character, challenging traditional notions of the subject as an

autonomous, self-conscious being.³⁷ According to this logic, people are inseparably actors, who perform actions, and interpreters, who elaborate social meanings by exchanging signs, which are the form action takes when it is caught up in flows of relations on which people seek to confer meaning.³⁸ It is therefore in interaction, where they are subject to interpretation, that these qualities are invested with meanings; and meanings, depending on relation, vary as we pass from one to another.³⁹ So, for the French sociologist Michael Maffesoli, writing in 1988, 'whereas the individualist logic is founded on a separate and self-contained identity, the person (persona) can only find fulfilment in relation with others.'⁴⁰

In their 2005 book, *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello suggest that these recent theorizations of a performative subjectivity have fed the 'materialistic hedonism of consumer culture'. The fluidity of what the authors term our contemporary 'paradigm of the network', along with its lack of any overarching representation, means that 'actions in it are always embedded in the contingency of the present situation.'⁴¹ As a result, new emphasis is placed on 'the ability to control and alter self-presentation' or on what Stuart Ewen has described as 'a sense of self that was malleable and sensitive to the power of surface.'⁴² Such thinking has fed a vast industry built around the means to fashion the self through clothing, adornment and surgery, along with a commercial image world offering a variety of templates for such performances.⁴³ Indeed, when subjectivity is reduced to self-fashioning in this way, every posture might be understood as a form of simulacrum, reflecting those prescribed by a spectacular image world.⁴⁴

So it is that recent portraiture also proceeds from a distrust or uncertainty regarding the photographed subject as an uncontrolled and performative presence. As such, the uniform efforts to manipulate or control the subject, to work against or undermine self-presentation, represent a distinct change to the conventions historically governing the portrait as a genre. Where the value of the portrait was once defined by the artist's ability to visually consolidate the self of the portrayed, such projects propose an alternative criteria – their interest or "authenticity" founded on an ability to disrupt and undermine such performances, to seek out aspects of behaviour which fall outside the subject's conscious control.⁴⁵ If the sitters' projected self-images

result from the internalisation, combination and re-enactment of a vast proliferation of images, many of them peddled to the consumer by mass media and advertising, the strategies of control and distraction seek out aspects of behaviour and appearance which appear to resist commodification: foregrounding unconscious gestures, instinctive physical reactions to various stimuli, and the biological facts of the body as a physical organism. Yet through this process, the previously uncommodified aspects of the subject and their appearance are arguably packaged and sold by the artists in series, *precisely as a counterpoint* to the standardised image practices of the commercial media and more conventional forms of portraiture. So the photograph seeks its value as contemporary art through its seeming resistance to, and distance from, the medium's commercial applications within mass culture.

¹ Stuart Ewen, 'Marketing Dreams: The Political Elements of Style' in Alan Tomlinson (ed.), *Consumption, Identity, Style: Marketing Meanings and the Packaging of Pleasure* (London: Routledge, 1990): 51.

² Duchenne du Boulogne, *The Mechanism of Human Facial Expression*, 1862, trans. R. Andrew Cuthbertson, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990): 30.

³ Julian Stallabrass, 'What's In a Face? Blankness and Significance in Contemporary Art Photography', *October* no. 122 (Fall 2007): 71.

⁴ Duchenne: 8-10.

⁵ Duchenne: p. 37.

⁶ Philip Prodger, 'Photography and the Expression of Emotions' in Darwin, *The Expression of Emotion in Man and Animals* (London: Penguin, 2009): 405.

⁷ Christopher G. Goetz, Michael Bonduelle & Toby Gelfand (eds), *Charcot: Constructing Neurology*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995): 172.

⁸ Georges Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria: Charcot and the photographic iconography of the Salpêtrière*, trans. Alisa Hartz (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2003): 185.

⁹ Désiré Magloire Bourneville (ed.), *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière Vol III*, (Paris: Salpêtrière, 1876-80).

¹⁰ Jean Martin Charcot, *Oeuvres Complètes: Leçons sur les Maladies du Système Nerveux*, (Paris: Delahaye & Lecronsnier, 1886): 282. Translated from French for the author by Max Leonard.

¹¹ Jean Martin Charcot, 'De l'influence des lésions traumatiques sur le développement des phénomènes d'hystérie locale', *Photographie Médicale*, (May 4, 1878): 335-8 cited Goetz et al: 172 and J. M. Charcot, 'De l'ischurie hystérique', *Oeuvres Complètes*: 255.

¹² See Didi-Huberman, pp. 107-82 and Ulrich Baer, *Spectral Evidence: The Photography of Trauma* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2005): 25-61.

¹³ Ulrich Baer, *Spectral Evidence*: 25-9.

¹⁴ Désiré Magloire Bourneville (ed.), *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière Vol III*, (Paris: Salpêtrière, 1880): 174-7. Charcot's pupil, Paul Richer, provided a similar description in his *Études Cliniques sur l'hystéro-Epilepsie ou Grande Hystérie*, (Paris: Delahaye & Lecronsnier, 1881). See also Baer: 30-9.

¹⁵ Charcot, *Oeuvres Complètes*: 92.

¹⁶ Rineke Dijkstra, *Portraits* (London: Schirmer/Mosel and Art Data, 2004).

¹⁷ Rebecca Drew (ed.), Bettina von Zwehl, (Gottingen: Photoworks/Steidl, 2004).

¹⁸ Clare Bishop and Mark Sladen, *Double Agent* (London: ICA, 2008). Although Collins warned his subjects of his intention to slap them, the surprise and pain they exhibit is real. Speaking about the

project, he has explained, 'I always tell the person that I will count to three before I slap them, but I always do it on two to catch them out.' Francesca Martin, 'Turner nominee slaps 28 people', *The Guardian*, (23 January 2008).

¹⁹ See any of the plates in Duchenne's *Mechanism*.

²⁰ Bettina von Zwehl.

²¹ Adam Broomberg and Oliver Chanarin, *Trust* (London: Westzone Publishing, 2001).

²² Oliver Sieber, *Die Blinden* (Koln: Schaden, 2006).

²³ Sieber has explained that it is often the sitters' relatives who 'tried to give them a visual appearance, that is sometimes not to their own taste. So the visual codes that appear in fact come from someone else.' Oliver Sieber, email correspondence with the author (3 December 2009).

²⁴ Marjaana Kella, *Marjaana Kella* (Amsterdam: Van Zoetendaal, 2002).

²⁵ Albrecht Tübke interviewed by the author (21 October 2009). For *Citizens* see Albrecht Tübke, *Portraits* (Nürnberg: Verlag Moderne Kunst, 2006); Sarah Douglas, 'Rinike Dijkstra: the Gap Between Intention and Effect', *Flash Art* no. 36 (October 2003): 78.

²⁶ Tübke interviewed by the author. Dijkstra has likewise suggested, 'when I photograph somebody, especially with the full body, it always makes them wonder 'oh, what am I going to do with my hands, etc.' And I think, retrospectively, I really used that more or less in the beach photographs.' Jessica Morgan 'Interview [with Rinike Dijkstra]' in *Rinike Dijkstra: Portraits* (Boston, 2001): 76.

²⁷ Von Zwehl is particularly lucid in discussing her work in these terms: 'I thought...How can I distract the sitter? How can I remove this kind of photographic mask?...How can I go beyond that and create something else that is maybe another kind of pose, but is, at least, not the same one you always get?' Bettina Von Zwehl interviewed by the author (4 November 2009).

²⁸ Elizabeth Edwards, 'Ordering Others: Photography, Anthropologies and Taxonomies' in Chrissie Iles and Russell Roberts (eds), *In Visible Light: Photography and Classification in Art, Science and the Everyday*, (Oxford: Museum of Modern Art, 1997): 58.

²⁹ Duchenne, *Mechanism*: 30.

³⁰ Duchenne, *Mechanism*: 30-43.

³¹ Duchenne explained that 'these lines and folds are precise signs, which in their various combinations result in facial expressions.' Duchenne, *Mechanism*: 1.

³² Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, 'The Image of Objectivity', *Representations* no. 40 (Autumn 1992): 81-128. This thesis is expanded by the authors in their book *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007).

³³ Daston and Galison, 'The Image of Objectivity': 84-90.

³⁴ Daston and Galison, 'The Image of Objectivity': 83.

³⁵ Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*: 93-4.

³⁶ Prodger has suggested that Darwin's publication 'could not conform to rules about scientific objectivity because it was part of the creation of those rules.' See Prodger, 'Illustration as Strategy': 141.

³⁷ Luc Boltanski & Eve Chiapello, *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, Trans. Gregory Elliot, (London & New York: Verso, 2004): 145-7.

³⁸ Boltanski & Chiapello: 147.

³⁹ Boltanski & Chiapello: 147.

⁴⁰ Michael Maffesoli, *The Time of the Tribes: The Decline of Individualism in Mass Society*, Trans. Don Smith (London: Sage, 1988): 10.

⁴¹ Boltanski & Chiapello: 152.

⁴² Boltanski & Chiapello: 152; Ewen: 46.

⁴³ Boltanski & Chiapello: 96-7.

⁴⁴ Jean Baudrillard, *Simulations* (New York: Semiotext(e) Inc., 1983).

⁴⁵ Ernst van Alphen, 'The portrait's dispersal: concepts of representation and subjectivity in contemporary portraiture' in Joanna Woodall (ed.), *Portraiture: Facing the Subject* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997): 239.

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