Photography explores the photograph in the 21st century and its importance as a media form. Stephen Bull considers our media-saturated society and the place of photography in everyday life, introducing the theories used to analyse photographs and exploring the impact of digital technology.

The book is split into short, accessible chapters on the broad themes central to the study and analysis of photography, and key issues are explained and applied to visual examples in each chapter.

Topics covered include:

- the identity of photography
- the meanings of photographs
- photography for sale
- snapshots
- the photograph as document
- photography as art
- photographs in fashion
- photography and celebrity.

Photography is an up-to-date, clear and comprehensive introduction to debates about photography now and is particularly useful to media, photography and visual culture students.

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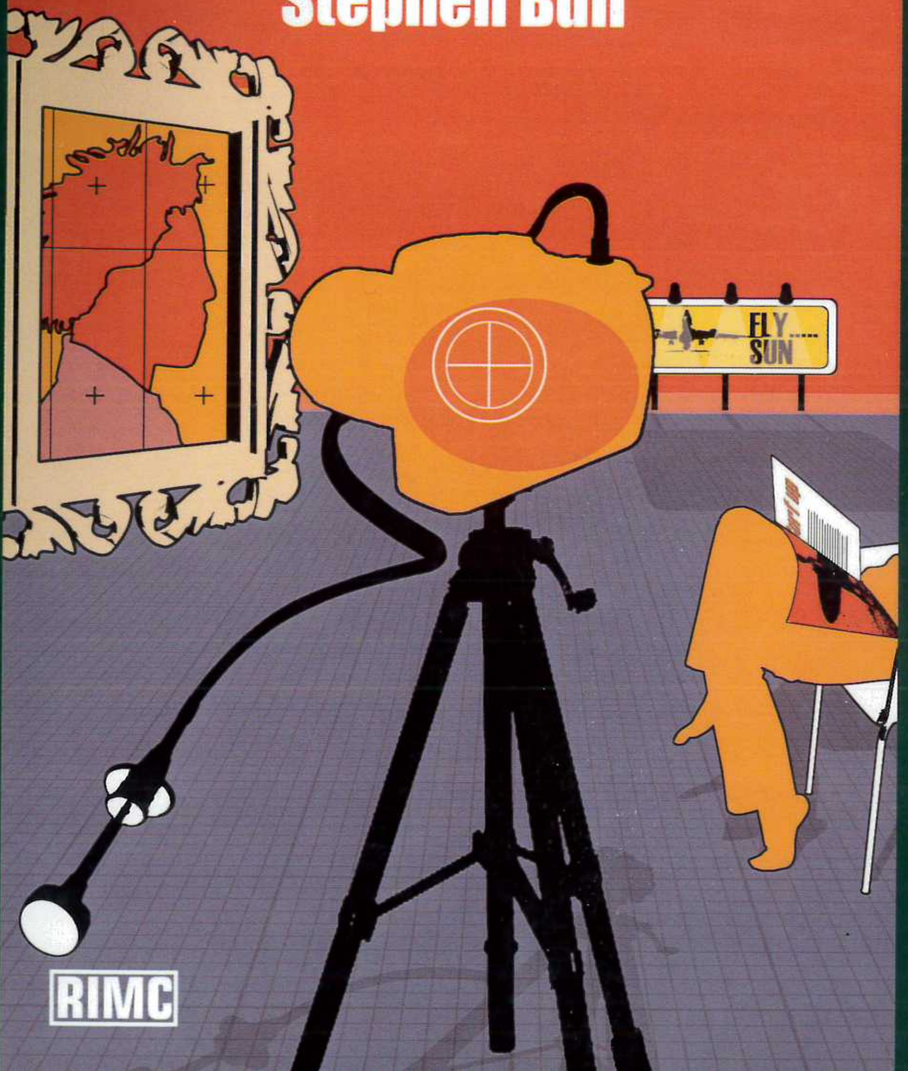

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gave the title to 'You'. The cover of the 25 December issue of the magazine featured a computer, the screen of its monitor replaced by mirrored paper to reflect the reader. Richard Stengel, the magazine's editor, justified this choice by arguing inside that through online technologies the public were interacting with – and therefore 'creating' – the mass media as never before (Stengel 2006: 4). Slater contends that in the late 20th century the idea of the 'chooser', who decides their own pathway through the media they use, was replacing that of the consumer. However, he argues that these decisions can only be made within a structure that is not created by the choosers themselves. Instead, digital images join the previously existing flow of systematised leisure, with users selecting from pre-programmed choices and with certain pathways encouraged (Slater 1995: 141–143).

In terms of snapshots, online social networking sites take their structures from older traditions: for example, just as with Kodak Culture, the recording and viewing of leisure activities rather than work is actively promoted on *Facebook*. Most uploaded snaps still fit the traditional categories defined in the first section of this chapter. Any potential for true interactivity and empowerment through disseminating a more diverse range of photographs via online social networking does not take place because these images do not fit within the structure of such sites (see Cobley and Haeffner 2009). The online systems by which 21st-century snapshots are widely distributed empower the user to conform.

Private viewing is arguably a central characteristic of snapshot photography. Once a snap becomes public, the meaning of the picture – which was previously specific to its participants – can change dramatically with its new context. For example, in 2007 images of Oxford students celebrating their exams over-enthusiastically in the street were used as evidence towards their expulsion after the photographs were posted on a *Facebook* page. The same year, a British parliamentary aide was forced to resign from his job when images of him 'blacking up' the face of a colleague appeared online (Doorne 2008: 110–111; see also Sutton 2005: 46–47). Images from social networking sites are also widely used to illustrate news stories in papers and online; for example, if someone who was previously unknown to the public becomes newsworthy, images of them from their online albums often become widely reproduced.

With their move from the domestic space to wider contexts, snapshots

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6

THE PHOTOGRAPH AS DOCUMENT

In 1844 William Henry Fox Talbot enthusiastically promoted the usefulness of the photograph as document. Inside his book *The Pencil of Nature* he accompanied a picture of his own *Articles of China* (ornate vases, bowls, figurines, and cups and saucers lined up in rows on shelves) with the statement that the photograph would provide legal evidence of his possession of these objects should they be stolen (Sekula 1989: 344–345). The descriptive simplicity of Talbot's image, each object ordered and presented frontally to the camera then recorded in some detail by the resulting photograph, makes it the perfect example of a photographic document (this desire to catalogue also recalls the legacy of photography's Enlightenment-era origins; see Chapter 2 and Roberts 2004b). Throughout its uses in this context, photography is seen to provide evidence of what was in front of the camera lens. Central to this are the terms 'objectivity' and 'subjectivity'. With photographic objectivity it is 'the objects' in front of the camera that are regarded as producing the photograph. With photographic subjectivity it is the photographer behind the camera – known as 'the subject' (not to be confused with the picture's subject *matter*) – who is regarded as the producer of the photograph. I return to these ideas and apply them to images throughout the chapter. As we shall see, the distinction between the terms is often open to question.

This chapter examines the various applications of photographs as photography moved from being regarded as an objective device for revealing 'things as they are' in a primarily photojournalistic context to a form of subjective expression in the context of photobooks and gallery exhibitions. In the final two sections I debate the role of photography in war and terrorist incidents in revealing and concealing evidence; including an examination of the ways that such events are now more likely to be seen by the public through photographic documents made not by professionals but by amateurs.

PHOTOGRAPHS AS EVIDENCE: PORTRAITS AND SURVEILLANCE

Portrait photographs have generally been widely regarded as providing evidence about their subject's outward appearance; sometimes portraits are also thought of as revealing something about their subject's inner personality (Barthes 2000: 10–12; Clarke 1992; Ewing 2006; Rosenblum 1997: 74–78). The portrait photographs that appear on the profile pages of social networking websites such as *Facebook* form part of an online image and text database of information by and about that individual (see Chapter 5). In turn, this is embedded within a much larger database of information about other individuals. In the 21st century, concerns have been raised about the availability and use of such personal details, especially when they can be widely disseminated (or lost) (see Davies 2000). In the UK, the planned National Identity Scheme, wherein all British citizens were due to have their passport information recorded on a national database by 2012 with the option of an identity card complete with photograph, became the centre of much controversy. Whereas the range of profile pictures on social networking sites have no official guidelines for them and vary widely in their style, the look of such government-controlled photographs is strictly regulated and demands that the front of the subject's head and face are fully revealed to the camera.

The increasing opportunity to have a photographic portrait made in the mid-19th century (see Chapter 4) led to what John Tagg refers to as a 'democracy' of the image (Tagg 1988a). Like the profile pictures found on *Facebook*, most photographic studio portraits in the mid-19th century exhibit a range of styles, often resembling portrait paintings in their asymmetry and elaborate posing (see Pinney 1997: 74–75). Even police

audience. But by the end of that century a much more familiar and uniform approach had come to dominate the look of the photographic portrait: a frontal view of the head and shoulders, much like that of the passport photograph (Tagg 1988c). David Green and Allan Sekula have both argued that this was due to the effects of developing ideas about physiognomy and phrenology, which together influenced the emerging science of eugenics (Green 1986; Sekula 1989). All of these theories, which continue the Western world's earlier Enlightenment beliefs in progress, order and classification (see Chapter 2), contentiously suggested that facial appearance and the structure of the head were visible indications of personality and intelligence.

Because photography was seen as the ideal tool for providing evidence due to its perceived indexicality (see Chapter 2), it was used to observe and record the face and head. In the 1850s and 1860s the British eugenicist Francis Galton obtained portrait photographs of criminals from the archive of Millbank Prison. He meticulously re-photographed these pictures, exposing a number of them onto a single glass plate negative to create a 'composite' image. As Green notes, any individual details were lost in the mass of superimposed faces, while any recurring traits were emphasised (1986: 17). The resulting images, Galton argued, provided faithful evidence of the physical appearance of 'the criminal type'.

Galton's images are often examined in comparison to those made by the 19th-century Paris police photographer Alphonse Bertillon, who devised a precise system of photographing criminals (Hamilton 2001). This involved photographing the full face and profile of each individual subject from a precise distance, accompanied by the measuring and recording of information about the subject's physical features (Sekula 1989). Vitally, these details were then filed within cabinets enabling data to be quickly found and through which comparisons of subject could be made. As Sekula puts it, Galton 'sought to embed the archive in the photograph' through his combining of archival photographs in his composites, while Bertillon 'sought to embed the photograph in the archive' through his placing of the photograph within an archival system (1989: 373). Arguing from a postmodern critical approach, Green and Sekula emphasise the meaning of these photographs in the social context of the developing evolutionary theory in the West in the 19th century (Galton was the cousin of its chief proponent, Charles Darwin). The physiognomic 'evidence' provided by these photographs was used to legitimate the hereditary 'superiority' of of sciences, including the social science of anthropology (the study of humankind).

With its links to science and nature and its perceived indexicality (see Chapter 2), photography, coupled with positivism, began to be used as an observational and recording tool for anthropology as the West explored and documented 'the rest of the world' (Hamilton 2001: 85). This exploration included colonising countries such as Africa and India as the British Empire – and the empires of other European countries – expanded (Edwards 1997). In Britain the Royal Anthropological Institute, another institution that emerged at around the same time as photography, began to establish guidelines about how to create photographic evidence of the people, places and objects that were being observed. While there were some variations in technique, the conventions encouraged are remarkably similar to those that Tagg identifies within medical, educational and legal institutions. Elizabeth Edwards, a writer at the forefront of studies on photography and anthropology, notes how people were photographed one by one, isolated in bright and evenly lit shallow spaces (Edwards 1997: 56).

The two pioneers of this kind of anthropological photographic classification were J H Lamprey and T H Huxley. As well as full face and profile images, their guidelines advocated the full-length study of the body, which they recommended should be naked (a style that has been linked to the type of illustrations found in encyclopaedias; see Spencer 1992). In the late 1860s, Lamprey devised a system where subjects were photographed in front of a portable frame of silk threads forming a grid of two-inch squares, allowing for the comparison of measurements across subjects, while at around the same time Huxley recommended the use of measuring rods against which subjects were positioned (Edwards 1997; Hamilton 2001). Placed within a system of images, these photographs could be made to function as individual types representing the whole, allowing for comparisons across races. As Hamilton notes, what was considered 'superior' (the look and shape of the Western European face and body) was compared with what was considered 'inferior' (the look and shape of any other type of face and body) in order to legitimate colonialism and social Darwinist evolutionary theory (2001: 84–93).

Edwards applies the idea of the exotic 'Other' to this issue: where what is different (or Other) is an object of both anxiety and desire, used to justify the 'normality' of what is not Other (an idea that has also been

'savage' compared to the civilised clothed Westerner (Edwards 1992, 2001). Christopher Pinney has argued that it is not just the strict guidelines for making anthropological photographs that authenticates them as evidence (their meanings fixed by their positioning within the image and text system of the archive), but also the perceived technological superiority of the camera apparatus itself (Pinney 1992). The era of anthropological and colonial certainty, from approximately the mid-19th century to the early 20th century, coincides with an era of photographic certainty. Pinney argues that uncertainty about photographs of anthropological origin emerged when they were removed from their meaning-fixing position within archives and became the object of much critical analysis during the final decades of the 20th century – coinciding with an era of postmodern questioning of the reality of the photograph (Charity et al 1995; Edwards 1992; Pinney 1992). Edwards has consistently emphasised that while anthropological photographs are still images meant to record facts, meanings move around them and shift over time: they are active, unfixed images, not passive bearers of fixed, anthropological evidence (Edwards 1992: 3–17; Edwards 2001; see also Chapter 2). As Edwards and Pinney's arguments make clear, the perception of anthropological photographs as evidence has altered as the belief in the reliability of photographic documents in general has changed.

OBJECTIVE FICTIONS: DOCUMENTARY PHOTOGRAPHY AND PHOTOJOURNALISM

Although the term 'documentary' was occasionally used before the 1920s (see Winston 1995: 8–10), it was not yet in wide circulation when photographers such as Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine were making the images that are regarded as some of the most well-known precursors to documentary photography. Riis, a pioneer of flash photography, and Hine, a sociologist who took up the camera to record child and immigrant labour, illuminated the poor conditions of workers in America in the late 19th century and early 20th century respectively (Marien 2006: 202–208). The books they published of their photographs were an attempt at social reform and led to some improvements in the situations they recorded. It is this kind of social documentation that first came to be closely linked with the term 'documentary'. As the previous sections in this chapter have suggested – and as Martha Rosler, Abigail Solomon-Godeau and Ian

1927) described his pictures as 'simply documents I make', he was articulating a view of photographs as being 'objective' that was dominant at the time (Nesbit 1992: 1; Walker 2002: 21–22). It was only after some practitioners began to successfully establish photography as an art form that there was a need to define which images were based on 'objective' reality (documentary) and which were instead the creations of an artist's 'subjective' sensibility (art) (Rosler 2003; Sekula 1982; Solomon-Godeau 1991b; Walker 2002: 21–23; see also Chapter 7).

The concept of documentary is therefore historically specific. The word and its associated ideas largely derive from the filmmaker John Grierson, who in 1926 described a film by Robert Flaherty as having 'documentary value' (see Solomon-Godeau 1991b: 299–300n; Wells 1999: 213). Like Grierson, Flaherty made films about the lives of real people, including *Man of Aran* (1934) based on a family struggling to survive the harsh conditions on the west coast of Ireland. Flaherty also used a high degree of fiction, construction and staging; for example, the family members in *Man of Aran* were not actually related and many scenes were performed specifically for the camera (see Wells 1999: 217–219; Winston 1995: 19–23). Nevertheless, the idea of objectively recording people living very different lives to those of the film's viewers, and especially lives that are difficult and which might raise the moral concern of the audience, became embedded in the idea of documentary film and was carried over to the term's use in photography (later being retrospectively conferred onto the work of Riis and Hine in seminal histories of photography, such as Newhall 1964; see also Bull 2003). Yet both Rosler and Solomon-Godeau have argued, from a point-of-view clearly informed by Marxism, that this kind of 'concerned' documentary labours under the idea that social reform will make a fundamental difference to society by raising consciousness of issues, without taking into account that a capitalist system requires the exploitation of workers and a hierarchy of wealth to function (Rosler 2003: 262; Solomon-Godeau 1991b: 179).

What is arguably the definitive concerned documentary photography project took place in 1930s America during an era when the US capitalist system seemed on the verge of collapse. At a time of droughts and economic depression, the government-led Farm Security Adminstration (FSA) commissioned a team of photographers including Walker Evans and Dorothea Lange to record the plight of the starving farmers, many of

worried but stoic woman still looking after her children (a picture usually known as the *Migrant Mother*, see Lange 1996; Price and Wells 2009: 38–49), have come to represent not just the FSA but concerned documentary photography in general. It is important to note that at the time, however, the names of the photographers were irrelevant to the audience, reinforcing the idea of objectivity. Only later, as discussed below, did the photographers' subjective viewpoints become recognised as significant.

Many of the FSA photographs were published in widely read newspapers and magazines to raise awareness of what was happening. Mary Panzer has traced the development of photography in newspapers and magazines where, from the first reproduction of an actual photograph in 1880 to the boom in photo magazines from the 1920s to the 1960s, photographs were prioritised and appeared along with text, applying the principle of montage (see Chapter 3) to tell 'objective' stories about 'things as they are' (Panzer 2006: 8–33). In Europe *VU*, *Münchner Illustriete Presse* and *Berliner Illustriete Zeitung*, in Britain *Picture Post* and *The Sunday Times Magazine* and in America *Life* (along with many other photo magazines across the world) helped to establish and consolidate the principles of photojournalism during this period (Hall 1979; Hopkinson 1970; Panzer 2006; Rosenblum 1997: 462–479).

Initially, newspapers and photo magazines would commission photographers to work for them, and it is important to remember the impact of editorial control over photographers' commissioned work and the wider ideological context in which these magazines were produced (*Picture Post*, for instance, was primarily created by its editor Stefan Lorant as a form of pro-British propaganda in the run up to the Second World War). However, clashes between editorial policy and the use of photographs led to many photographers resigning from their roles as staff photographers and seeking greater independence (Capa 1989; Rosenblum 1997: 485).

During the middle years of the 20th century, freelance photographers such as Robert Capa and Henri Cartier-Bresson strived for such a freedom, travelling the world and getting close to the action using new smaller and faster cameras such as the Leica (Rosenblum 1997: 480–191). Capa's pictures from the D-Day Landings and Spanish Civil War show his close proximity to the fighting, especially in images such as that of a falling Spanish loyalist soldier (published in magazines including *VU* and *Life*) who of the mid-20th century, was also influenced by the Surrealist idea of 'chance encounters' in the city street (Durden 1999; Scott 2007: 162–194; Walker 2002: 168–187; see also Chapter 3).

Sometimes these 'chance encounters' have proven to be less than random. Images by photographers such as the similarly Surrealism-influenced Bill Brandt, the street photographer Robert Doisneau and the extraordinary tabloid photojournalist Weegee (Arthur Fellig) have been revealed to be set-ups with fictionalised elements (Barth 2000: 26–28; Thomas 2006: 126–128). There has also been much debate about whether Capa's famous photograph actually depicts the soldier being shot (see for example Brothers 1997: 178–185; Koetzle 2002: 18–27; Sontag 2004: 29–30; Taylor 1998: 58–59). Many of the supposedly 'objective' images made within the discourse of documentary are in fact highly constructed fictions. The peak of such fictional photojournalism may have been reached in the 21st century with a new breed of freelance reportage photographers who work within virtual worlds such as *Second Life*, photographing entirely digital people and places in entirely digital images (see Ritchin 2009: 144).

The American philosopher and semiotician John Deely has made the distinction between things, objects and signs (Deely 1994) – distinctions that are useful for the analysis of objectivity and subjectivity in photography. 'Things', in Deely's terms, exist in nature without the need to be experienced by humans, whereas 'objects' – to be objects – are things that are, as he refers to it, 'dosed' with human experience. When these objects are used in processes of signification (when they are photographed, for example) they become signs (see Chapter 3). To Deely, then, 'objectivity' must be redefined: it is not – as it is commonly understood – some kind of unbiased point-of-view, but is instead already a viewpoint on the world determined by human experience of objects. Deely's distinctions suggest that the idea of presenting 'things as they are' – without human intervention – via photographs is impossible. We can never apprehend 'things' because, as soon as we do so, they become 'objects' of our experience. Equally, 'subjectivity' is also called into question by Deely's ideas. Because he argues that the interpretation of all objects is affected by human experience in general, a subjective view of the world can consist only in what is an individual variation of a more general objectivity. According to Deely's argument, the differences between objectivity and subjectivity become almost irrelevant. In the next

SUBJECTIVE FACTS: DOCUMENTARY PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE PHOTOBOOK AND GALLERY

Walker has argued that, whereas American documentary photography such as the FSA was seen as state-sponsored and objective, from the 1930s onwards an increasing idea of the subjective expression of individual convictions through photographs was combined with the observation of reality that had developed in European documentary photography (Walker 2002: 22). Emblematic of this freedom from editorial control and the increasing emphasis on supposedly subjective, individual viewpoints on topics was the formation in 1947 of Magnum, a co-operative photo agency where all members retain control of how their images are used (Capa and Cartier-Bresson were two of the agency's founders, and pioneers of the photo essay such as W Eugene Smith soon joined) (see also Chapter 3). However, as Deely's ideas suggest, this idea of individual viewpoints in documentary photographs suggests a potential problem. Grierson himself defined documentary as 'the creative treatment of actuality' – but Brian Winston has wondered just what is left of 'actuality' after it has been treated creatively (1995: 11). In answer to this, Walker proposes that the documentary photograph combines construction with indexicality: positioning the documentary photograph as a kind of subjective fact (Walker 2002: 8–29). Catherine Belsey has defined the term 'expressive realism' as one which describes works in any medium that 'tell truths – about the period that produced them, about the world in general or about human nature – and that in doing so . . . express the particular perceptions, the individual insights of their authors' (Belsey 1980: 2). Victor Burgin has argued that this idea of expressive realism underpins a great deal of visual practice in the Western world, 'and it is nowhere stronger than when it is legitimating documentary photography' (Burgin 1986b: 157).

Documentary photographers came to increasingly acknowledge and exploit this idea of presenting subjective facts in their photographs (Westerbeck 1998), and the single-authored book (or 'photobook') became one of the key vehicles for their opinions. When Robert Frank toured America in the 1950s making photographs along the way for his book *The Americans*, originally published in 1958/9, he deliberately set out to discover and present his own point-of-view on the country (see Ferguson 2001: 9–11; Mitchell 2005; Weski 2003: 24–25). With its subtle, rhythmic ordering of images and recurring motifs, Frank's book

In the 1970s and 1980s, under the influence of Americans William Eggleston and Stephen Shore, colour became used increasingly in documentary (see Butler 1999). Black and white photography – so long the format of 'serious' photography associated with photojournalism, rather than garish, fanciful advertising (see Chapter 4) or frivolous snapshots (see Chapter 5) – began to look nostalgic in a culture of colourful consumerism. By the 1980s, a British wave of subjective colour documentary photographers including Anna Fox, Paul Graham and Paul Reas were depicting their personal viewpoints on contemporary themes in monographs of their work (Williams and Bright 2007: 137–139). Martin Parr, the most well-known photographer to emerge from this era, was able to fully acknowledge that his witty, bright photographs recording everyday life in a style that became known as the 'snapshot aesthetic' (mimicking some of the visual characteristics of snapshot photography defined in Chapter 5), were created with a full awareness that photography is an inherently prejudiced and exploitative medium (Parr 1999; Williams 2002).

By the last decades of the 20th century, photographers such as Nobuyoshi Araki, Nan Goldin and Richard Billingham were essentially producing diaries in a loosely documentary form. Throughout the years since the 1970s, Japanese photographer Araki and the American Goldin have recorded their own lives as well as those of their friends and lovers in intimate, explicit and sometimes painful detail (Cotton 2004: 136–165). Some of British artist Billingham's photographs of his family were originally taken as the basis for paintings. The photographs themselves were then expanded into book form in the 1990s and have been regularly exhibited in galleries ever since, with Billingham being nominated for the Turner Prize in 2001 (see Billingham and MacDonald 2007). The showing of work such as Billingham's in exhibitions is an indication of the shift in context for documentary photography that happened in the late 20th and early 21st century – as documentary photography left the pages of newspapers and magazines to find a place, not just in photobooks, but on the gallery wall.

The 1955 exhibition *The Family of Man* at the Museum of Modern Art, New York (MoMA) represents a transitional moment when the kinds of photographs found in a documentary context of newspapers and magazines moved to being exhibited in an art gallery (Steichen 1955). Like many of the photography exhibitions curated by Edward Steichen during his time at MoMA, the look of the show retained some aspects of

In Steichen's shows at MoMA the overall theme of the exhibits generally superseded the ideas of individual photographers. Indeed, Christopher Phillips has likened Steichen's role to that of a picture editor (Phillips 1989: 24–25). The concept of *The Family of Man* was to present a 'humanist' view of the world (an approach familiar from much magazine photojournalism under the auspices of editors such as Lorant), where documentary photographs from around the planet were combined to suggest that all human beings are essentially the same and equal. *The Family of Man* in the form of both its touring exhibition and accompanying book was hugely successful but has been widely criticised, most famously by Roland Barthes who argued that the presentation of human life as 'one big family' ignored all the historical, cultural and economic differences that separate human beings across the world (Barthes 1973: 107–110). Other writers such as Miles Orvell and John Roberts have countered that the show's incorporation of images from Communist Russia and of contemporary American black culture into 'the family of man' at all during a time of widespread Cold War paranoia and racial segregation in 1950s America was an achievement in itself (Orvell 2003: 115–120; Roberts 1998: 122–127).

Even before they were used for *The Family of Man*, Evans' photographs had already been removed from their FSA context and exhibited in 1938 as evidence of his skill as a practitioner in the first solo exhibition by a photographer at MoMA (and in the accompanying book *American Photographs*). Evans was later to distance his work from the 'documents' that he argued were the kinds of images made by police photographers, claiming instead to work in a 'documentary style'; a phrase which has been interpreted as meaning the taking of a more subjective, individual and artistic approach to documentary photography (Bush and Sladen 2006: 11; Dexter 2003: 16; Weski 2003: 23). This is an example of the way that the interpretation of photographs can shift depending on discursive context: in this case the images came to be presented as subjective expression rather than objective documentary (see Chapter 3 and Sekula 1982: 108–109). In 1967, John Szarkowski's MoMA exhibition *New Documents* presented three street documentary photographers (Diane Arbus, Lee Friedlander and Garry Winogrand) in precisely the role Belsey defines as 'expressive realists' (Panzer 2006: 22; Rosler 2003: 269–270). As Steve Edwards has put it, their photographs were now seen as

244). Rosler called this 'victim' photography. The subjects were not only victims of their situations, but also of the camera itself, which presented them in aesthetically pleasing documents, while showing a general condition of humankind that apparently could not be changed (Rosler 2003: 261–264) and where pity, in Sekula's words, 'supplants political understanding' (quoted in Campany 2003a: 30). Susan Sontag argued that photographs represent a power relation between the person photographing and the person photographed, with the photographer as the one in power and the photographed as their 'victim'; an idea she saw as reinforced by the potentially violent language of photography (load, aim, shoot, etc.) (Sontag 1979: 14; see also Chapter 5 for the origins of these terms in photography).

As a response, and following Rosler's lead, Solomon-Godeau called for a reconstruction of documentary photography into a form that was critical both of social realities and of the claim to factuality of documentary photography itself (Solomon-Godeau 1991b: 183). Work made for galleries and books using sequences of images and texts were identified by Solomon-Godeau as examples of this. Rosler's own *The Bowery in Two Inadequate Descriptive Systems* (1975), made in pointed contrast to the work of the 'new documentary' photographers, presented images of an area of New York known at the time for street drinking, but minus any of the 'victims' themselves, alongside text panels of American slang terms for being drunk (Slyce 2001). Larry Sultan and Mike Mandel's 1977 book *Evidence* re-presented anonymous photographs made to record scientific, engineering, industrial and medical experiments in an art book context and minus captions in order to humorously reveal how the aesthetics of 'art photography' could be discovered in anonymous documentation (Sultan and Mandel 2003; see also Chapter 7).

The arguments for the necessity of such reconstruction and parody of documentary were strong. However, Walker has suggested that by the early 1980s the genre of documentary photography had been 'problematised almost to the point of paralysis' (1995b: 244). As an apparent response to this seizing up of the genre, the late 20th and early 21st century saw two different tendencies reinvigorate documentary photography in the context of art: images which used various degrees of construction (by artists such as Jeff Wall) and, at the other extreme, images which – returning to the early styles of photographic evidence

SHOCK AND AWE: WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH

British photographer Roger Fenton's photographs, made using a large format camera during the Crimean War in the 1850s, are often regarded as some of the first examples of war photography (see Rosenblum 1997: 178–191). The images Fenton made were generally either posed portraits of soldiers at rest or landscapes showing the aftermath of battles, most famously *The Valley of the Shadow of Death* (1855) where cannonballs strewn across the scene are the only visible suggestion of the preceding conflict (their possible interpretation as skulls suggested by the image's title and its reference to a line from Alfred, Lord Tennyson's poem *The Charge of the Light Brigade*, published the previous year). A decade later, Matthew Brady and his team of photographers also recorded the aftermath of battles, this time during the American Civil War. Their photographic documentation included picturing the dead bodies of those lying on the battlefield, as well as the devastation to cities and towns caused by the war – such as a series of pictures showing the skeletal remains of buildings in Richmond, Virginia.

While printing technology in the 1850s and 1860s was not yet advanced enough to allow actual photographs to be reproduced in newspapers (see Panzer 2006: 12), illustrations drawn from Fenton and Brady's pictures did appear – their basis on photographs conferring a kind of indexicality to the images (see Albert and Feyel 1998). The discursive context of the newspaper reportage also provided the images with an alleged neutral and factual objectivity, which the distance of space and time that photographers such as Fenton and Brady maintained from the events of war emphasised. However, as with Flaherty's filmmaking, these photographs involved elements of fiction as well: Fenton added many more cannonballs to the valley he photographed, while Brady and his team were not averse to moving bodies (Sontag 2004: 43–51).

By the time of the Vietnam War in the 1960s and 1970s – and following in the tradition of practitioners such as Capa – photographers, including Larry Burrows and Don McCullin, got as close to the conflict as possible while it happened (sometimes at the expense of their own lives). The photographs they made reached a vast audience via their reproduction as photojournalism in widely read publications such as *Life* and *The Sunday Times Magazine*. Many of what Umberto Eco has called the 'epoch-making' images of war and conflict (the ones that go beyond individual incidents