

**FOTOGRAFIJA
U BIOPOLITIČKOM
KONTEKSTU**

-



LEONIDA
KOVAČ

-
**PHOTOGRAPHY
IN THE CONTEXT
OF BIOPOLITICS**

Čitajući tekst fotografa i teoretičara Allana Sekule naslovljen *On the Invention of Photographic Meaning* koji je prvi put objavljen u časopisu *Artforum* 1975. godine, a u kojemu u kontekstu rasprave o mitu o fotografskoj istini autor operacionalizira termin *građanskog folklor* (*bourgeois folklore*), sjetila sam se akcije koju su pripadnici pokreta *Situacionistička Internacionala* izveli neposredno prije održavanja Generalne skupštine Međunarodne udruge kritičara umjetnosti (AICA) u Bruxellesu 1958. Tekst situacionističkog proglašenja poslan je na adrese, osobno uručen ili telefonski pročitano članovima udruge te u formi letka bačen u dvoranu gdje se skup održavao. Citiram sadržaj:

„Budući da se moderna kulturalna misao više od dvadeset pet godina dokazuje potpuno tromom, i budući da u cijelom tom razdoblju ništa nije razumjela niti išta promijenila, sada postaje svjesna svoje pogreške, a njezini glasnogovornici nastoje svoje aktivnosti transformirati u institucije. Oni tako žele postići službeno priznanje od strane potpuno zastarjelog, ali još uvijek materijalno dominantnog društva kojemu su, većina njih, bili odani psi čuvari. Glavna mana moderne kritike umjetnosti jest to da ona nikada nije gledala na kulturu kao cjelinu, niti na stanje eksperimentalnog pokreta koji je neprestano nadomješta. Na ovoj točki u vremenu sve veća dominacija prirodom dopušta i

iziskuje upotrebu viših sila u konstrukciji života. To su današnji problemi; a oni intelektualci koji se povlače u strahu od opće subverzije određenih oblika postojanja i ideja koje su ti oblici proizveli, ne mogu više ništa doli se iracionalno boriti jedni protiv drugih kao branitelji jednog ili drugog detalja starog svijeta – svijeta čije je vrijeme prošlo, a čije značenje nisu čak ni razumjeli.“¹

Situacionisti 1963. godine objavljuju tekst naslovljen *Ideologije, klase i ovladavanje prirodom* koji započinju tvrdnjom da je ljudsko prisvajanje prirode stvarna avantura u koju smo se upustili. To je središnji, nedvojbeni projekt, tema koja obuhvaća sve druge teme. Fundamentalno pitanje moderne misli i djelovanja uvijek je moguća upotreba sektora prirode kojime se zavladao.² Razlog zbog kojeg se u tekstu koji bi se trebao baviti performansama fotografskog medija, odnosno performativima fotografskih slika prisjećam situacionističkih kritičkih praksi jest kompleksna relacija između dvaju društvenih procesa koji se spominju u prethodno citiranim odlomcima. To su *konstrukcija života i prisvajanje prirode* te nadasve odnos tih procesa s pojmom *značenje svijeta* (starog ili novog, posve je svejedno). Jer, konstrukcija značenja fotografske slike u neraskidivoj je vezi s konstrukcijom značenja svijeta, odnosno samog života.

—
ALLAN SEKULA, *FISH STORY*, „ŠTITNICI ZA UŠI U STROJARNICI. PUTOVANJE 167 KONTEJNERSKOG BRODA M/V SEA-LAND QUALITY IZ ELIZABETHA, NEW JERSEY ZA ROTTERDAM. STUDENI 1993.“, AUTORSKA PRAVA ALLAN SEKULA & RICHTER VERLAG DÜSSELDORF

†
ALLAN SEKULA, *FISH STORY*, “THE EARS PROTECTOR IN THE ENGINE. TRAVEL OF THE 167 CONTAINER SHIP M V SEA-LAND QUALITY FROM ELIZABETH, NEW JERSEY TO ROTTERDAM. NOVEMBER 1993”, COPYRIGHT BY ALLAN SEKULA & RICHTER VERLAG, DÜSSELDORF

Reading the article *On the Invention of Photographic Meaning* by photographer and theoretician Allan Sekula, which was first published in *Artforum* in 1975, and in which the author operationalizes the term “bourgeois folklore” in the context of the debate on the myth of photographic truth, I recalled an action that the members of the *Situationist International* movement performed immediately before the general assembly of the International Association of Art Critics (AICA) in Brussels. The text of the Situationist proclamation was sent to the assembly members by mail, handed in personally, or read over the telephone, as well as thrown into the auditorium where the assembly was taking place, in the form of leaflets. I quote it here: “Inasmuch as modern cultural thought has proved itself completely stagnant for over twenty-five years, and inasmuch as a whole era that has understood nothing and changed nothing is now becoming aware of its failure, its spokesmen are striving to transform their activities into institutions. They thus solicit official recognition from the completely outmoded but still materially dominant society, for which most of them have been loyal watchdogs. The main shortcoming of modern art criticism is that it has never looked at the culture as a whole nor at the conditions of an experimental movement that is constantly

superseding it. At this point in time the increased domination of nature permits and necessitates the use of superior powers in the construction of life. These are today’s problems; and those intellectuals who hold back, through fear of a general subversion of a certain form of existence and of the ideas which that form has produced, can no longer do anything but struggle irrationally against each other as defenders of one or another detail of the old world – of a world whose day is done and whose meaning they have not even understood.”¹

In 1963, the Situationists published a text called *Ideologies, Classes, and the Domination of Nature*, which begins with the statement that the human appropriation of nature is the true adventure that we have thrown ourselves into. That is the central, indubitable project, the subject that encompasses all other subjects. The fundamental question of modern thought and action is always the possibility of using the sector of nature that we have come to dominate.² The reason why I recall Situationist critical practices in an article that should deal with the performances of the photographic medium, that is, with the performatives of photographic images, is the complex relationship between two social processes mentioned in the passages quoted above. These are *the construction of life*

Tvrđnju da je fotografska „pismenost“ naučena, odnosno da fotografskoj slici nije moguće pripisati intrinzično ili univerzalno značenje, Allan Sekula argumentira temeljnom premisom po kojoj je informacija ishod kulturalno determiniranih odnosa. Pritom zahtjev za intrinzičnim značenjem fotografije koji se nalazi u središtu uspostavljenog mita o fotografskoj istini, odnosno pretpostavku o transparentnosti samog medija, autor naziva osobito tvrdoglavim djelićem *građanskog folklor* (*bourgeois folklore*).

„Fotografije poprimaju semantički status kao fetiš objekti i kao dokumenti. Ovisno o kontekstu zamišlja se da fotografija ima moć koja je primarno afektivna ili moć koja je primarno informativna. Obje moći nalaze se u mitskoj istinitostnoj vrijednosti fotografije. Ali ovaj folklor, i ne znajući, razlikuje dvije odvojene istine: istinu magije i istinu znanosti. Fetiš (poput dagerotipije mrtvog djeteta) evocira značenje na temelju svog imaginarnog statusa relikvije – transcendentalnom istinom magije... Na drugom polu je ono što nazivam „informativnom“ funkcijom fotografije, onom po kojoj fotografija ima legalnu snagu dokaza; ta je funkcija utemeljena u empirizmu. S tog gledišta fotografija jednostavnom metonimijom predstavlja stvarni svijet: fotografija zamjenjuje predmet ili događaj limitiran svojim prostornim i vremenskim granicama, ili zamjenjuje kontekstualno povezani predmet ili događaj. Slika muškarčevog lica zamjenjuje

muškarca, a možda, zauzvrat, i klasu muškaraca. Tako se birokratski „racionalizam“ domogao fotografije kao oruđa; pariška je policija, primjerice, prisvojila fotografiju kao instrument klasnog rata kada je dokumentirala lica onih koji su preživjeli Komunu 1871.“³

Da bi se performativi fotografske slike razmotrili u kontekstu kulture kao cjeline, potrebno je performanse medija fotografije (koji nipošto nije transparentan) sagledati u njegovoj povijesnosti. Pritom je važno prisjetiti se da se invencija fotografije događa u razdoblju tzv. druge industrijske revolucije, koja je bila preduvjet ne samo nastanka monopolističkog kapitalizma i susljedne mu kolonijalne ekspanzije kao temelja tržišne ekonomije, već i uspostave građanskog društva s pripadajućom mu hijerarhijskom podjelom rasnih, klasnih i rodničkih uloga. Izum fotografije patentiran je gotovo istodobno u dvjema, tada vodećim, kolonijalnim silama; 1839. u Francuskoj (Louis Daguerre) i 1841. u Engleskoj (Henry Fox Talbot). Londonski nakladnik Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans objavljuje 1844. godine prvu komercijalnu knjigu ilustriranu fotografijama. Posrijedi je Fox Talbotovo djelo indikativnog naslova *The Pencil of Nature* koja sadrži 24 fotografske table popraćene autorovim tekstovima koji objašnjavaju sve prednosti fotografskog medija u odnosu na slikarski, sugerirajući ujedno mogućnosti i korist od upotrebe fotografije u različitim disciplinama, primjerice u

LEONIDA

KOVAC

and the appropriation of nature, and especially the relationship between these processes and the notion of *the meaning of the world* (whether old or new makes absolutely no difference). For the construction of the meaning of the photographic image is inextricably connected with the construction of the meaning of the world, or rather of the life itself.

Sekula's statement that photographic "literacy" is something learned, that is, that the photographic image cannot be assigned any intrinsic or universal meaning, has been argued with the help of a basic premise that information is a result of culturally determined relations. Thereby he considers the demand for an intrinsic meaning of photography, which is at the core of the established myth about the photographic truth, or rather the premise about the transparency of the medium as such, as a particularly obstinate segment of the *bourgeois folklore*.

"Photographs achieve semantic status as fetish objects and as documents. The photograph is imagined to have, depending on its context, a power that is primarily affective or a power that is primarily informative. Both powers reside in the mythical truth-value of the photograph. But this folklore unknowingly distinguishes two separate truths: the truth of magic and the truth of science. The fetish (such as the daguerreotype of a dead child) evokes meaning by virtue of its imaginary status as relic – that is, by the transcendental truth of magic. (...) At the other

pole is what I have chosen to call the "informative" function of the photograph, that by which it has the legal power of proof; this function is grounded in empiricism. From this point of view the photograph represents the real world by a simple metonymy: the photograph stands for the object or event that is curtailed at its spatial or temporal boundaries, or it stands for a contextually related object or event. An image of a man's face stands for a man, and perhaps, in turn, for a class of men. Thus bureaucratic "rationalism" seized the photograph as a tool; the Paris police, for example, appropriated photography as an instrument of class war when they documented the faces of the survivors of the Commune of 1871."³

In order to consider the performatives of the photographic image in the context of culture as a whole, we must view the performances of the photographic medium (which is by no means transparent) in its historicity. Thereby it is important to recall that the invention of photography occurred in the period of the so-called Second Industrial Revolution, which was a precondition not only for the emergence of monopolistic capitalism and its consequent colonial expansion as the basis of market economy, but also for the establishment of the bourgeois society, with the accompanying hierarchical division of roles related to race, class, and gender. The invention of photography was patented almost at the same time in two colonial powers

postupcima reproduciranja umjetničkih djela ili u kriminalistici. Tabla III – *Articles of China*, u kojoj fotografski kadar prikazuje police s porculanskim predmetima, popraćena je sljedećim tekstom:

„Iz ovdje danog primjerka dovoljno je jasno da cijela kolekcionarova vitrina može biti prikazana na papiru za malo više vremena nego što bi trebalo da se sačini pisani popis, a ukoliko bi lopov nakon toga ukrao blago i ako bi se nijemo svjedočanstvo slike upotrijebilo protiv njega na sudu, to bi u svakom slučaju bila nova vrsta dokaza. Na ovoj su tabli prikazani brojni artikli, međutim, koliko god brojni predmeti bili i koliko god njihov aranžman bio kompliciran, kamera ih sve opisuje odjednom. Objektiv se može suziti tako da se ispred njega postavi ekran ili dijafragma s malom okruglom rupicom. Tako će slika koja nastaje biti oštija i ispravnija. Ali, potrebno je više vremena da bi se ona otisnula na papiru.“⁴⁴

Iz ovog Talbotova obrazloženja Sekula iščitava zahtjev za novom legalističkom istinom, istinom indeksičnog umjesto tekstualnog popisa, pri čemu je jedino fotografija mogla zahtijevati zakoniti status bivanja *vizualnim* dokumentom vlasništva. On nadalje tvrdi da je Talbot u fotografiji prepoznao novi *instrumentalni* potencijal – tišinu koja ušutkava, jer protejski „oralni“ tekstovi kriminalaca i siromaha dopuštaju „nijemom svjedočanstvu“ da „obori“ i demaskira prijetvornost, alibi, isprike i mnogostruke biografije

onih koji su se našli ili smjestili s pogrešne strane zakona. Bitka između pretpostavljene denotativne jednoznačnosti zakonite slike i množine, odnosno pretpostavljene dvojnosti kriminalnog glasa odigrala se do kraja devetnaestog stoljeća. Za vrijeme njezina trajanja definiran je novi objekt – kriminalno tijelo, a to je rezultiralo izumom šireg „društvenog tijela“.⁵

Naslov Talbotove knjige *The Pencil of Nature* nedvojbeno denotira postupak naturalizacije u procesu popularizacije novootkrivenog reprezentacijskog medija: fotografska slika koja nije samo rezultat fotokemijskog procesa, već prije svega učinak pogleda aparata uvjetovanog određenim društvenim kodovima čitljivosti, legitimira se ovim naslovom kao prirodna. Nije na odmet ovdje spomenuti Barthesovu opservaciju da je isto stoljeće izumilo Povijest i Fotografiju⁶ te da Fotografija povijesno počinje kao umjetnost Osobe: identiteta, građanskog statusa, onoga što se u svakom značenju termina može nazvati *formalnošću* tijela.⁷ Nadalje, Talbotovu karakterizaciju fotografije kao „olovke prirode“ neophodno je razmatrati i u kontekstu Foucaultova pojma biopolitike, odnosno njegova proučavanja rastućeg uključivanja ljudskog prirodnog života u mehanizme i kalkulacije moći u razdoblju od sredine 18. stoljeća nadalje. Da bi se pojavila povijest prirode – piše on – nije bilo potrebno da se priroda zgusne, da se pomrača, da umnoži svoje mehanizme dok ne dobije onu mračnu težinu povijesti koju možemo samo

FOTOGRAFIJA U
BIOPOLITIČKOM
KONTEKSTU

PHOTOGRAPHY IN
THE CONTEXT OF
BIOPOLITICS

that dominated the scene at the time: it was in France in 1839 (Louis Daguerre) and in England in 1841 (Henry Fox Talbot). In 1844, London publisher Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans published the first commercial book illustrated with photographs: it was a work of Fox Talbot's with a telling title *The Pencil of Nature*, which contained 24 photographic plates accompanied by texts which explained all the advantages of the photographic medium over that of painting, suggesting at the same time that photography could be usefully applied in various disciplines, such as reproducing works of art or criminology. Plate III – *Articles of China* – which shows shelves with porcelain objects, is accompanied by the following text:

“From the specimen here given it is sufficiently manifest, that the whole cabinet of a collector might be depicted on paper in little more time than it would take him to make a written inventory and would a thief afterwards purloin the treasure – if the mute testimony of the picture were to be produced against him in court – it would certainly be evidence of a novel kind. The articles represented on this plate are numerous: but, however numerous the objects – however complicated the arrangement – the camera depicts them all at once. [The lens] should be diminished by placing a screen or diaphragm before it, having a small circular hole. The resulting image is more sharp and correct. But it takes a longer time to impress itself upon the paper.”⁴⁴

Sekula has interpreted this explanation of Talbot's as a demand for new legalistic truth, the truth of an indexical rather than textual inventory, whereby it was photography alone that could claim the legal status of being a *visual* document of ownership. Further on, he states that Talbot recognized a new *instrumental* potential in photography – a sort of silence that silences, since the protean “oral” texts of the criminal and pauper yield to a “mute testimony” that “takes down” and unmask the disguises, the alibis, the excuses and multiple biographies of those who have found or deliberately placed themselves on the wrong side of the law. The conflict between the presumed denotative univocality of the legal image, and the multiplicity and the presumed duplicity of the criminal voice, is played out during the remainder of the nineteenth century. And while it lasted, a new object was defined – the criminal body – which resulted in the invention of a more extensive “social body.”⁴⁵ The title of Talbot's book, *The Pencil of Nature*, undoubtedly denotes the naturalization procedure in the process of popularizing the newly discovered medium of representation: the photographic image, which was not only a result of the photochemical process, but above all the effect of the camera's gaze, is conditioned by certain social codes of readability, which was thus legitimated as natural. It is quite appropriate here to mention Barthes' observation that it was the same century that

konstatirati i opisati, a da je pritom ne možemo ni mjeriti, ni izračunati, ni objasniti: trebalo je – i to je upravo suprotno – da Povijest postane Prirodna. Povijest živog bića nije ništa drugo doli samo to biće upleteno u semantičku mrežu koja ga povezuje sa svijetom.⁸

Nakana Foucaultovih predavanja, koja je tijekom 1978. i 1979. godine držao na Collège de France, bila je elaborirati pojam biopolitike, odnosno razmotriti značenje populacije kao temelja na kojemu se biopolitika formira. Pritom je neprestano ukazivao na činjenicu da je pitanje biopolitike nužno razmatrati u kontekstu liberalizma, odnosno da je biopolitika neposredni učinak liberalnog režima vlasti, odnosno liberalne ekonomije. Foucault je relacije zakona i poretka, države i civilnog društva i nadalje pitanje politike života razmatrao u dvjestogodišnjoj perspektivi liberalizma. Terminom biopolitike označio je nastojanja racionalizacije problema koje su fenomeni svojstveni nizu živih bića koja čine populaciju nametnuli praksi vladanja. To su problemi poput zdravlja, higijene, broja stanovnika, životnih očekivanja, rase. Foucault je ukazao na rastuće značenje tih problema od devetnaestog stoljeća nadalje te na politička i ekonomska pitanja koja oni do danas postavljaju. Za njega su ti problemi neodvojivi od okvira političke racionalnosti unutar kojega se pojavljuju i poprimaju svoje intenzitete. On liberalizam ne analizira kao teoriju ili ideologiju, niti kao način na koji

„društvo“ sebe reprezentira, već kao praksu, „način činjenja“ usmjeren prema ciljevima i vlastitoj regulaciji u kontinuiranoj refleksiji. Liberalizam, tvrdi Foucault, treba analizirati kao načelo i metodu racionalizacije izvršavanja vlasti, racionalizaciju koja se pokorava unutrašnjem pravilu maksimuma ekonomije. S pojavom političke ekonomije, s uvođenjem restriktivnog principa u samu praksu vladanja, zbiva se važna promjena, budući da se *populacija* kojom vlast treba upravljati pojavljuje kao subjekt prava na kojemu se politička suverenost provodi. To je ishodišna točka organizacijske linije biopolitike.⁹

Proliferacija fotografije sredinom devetnaestog stoljeća koincidira s razvojem novih znanosti – fizionomije i frenologije. Te su znanosti povezivale svakodnevni ne-specijalistički empirizam sa sve većim nastojanjima da se proučavanje uma medikalizira. Fizionomija i frenologija, kao komparativne taksonomijske discipline koje su težile obuhvatiti cijeli registar ljudskih različitosti, temeljile su se na uvjerenju da je na površini tijela, posebice na licu i glavi, moguće iščitati vanjske znakove unutrašnjeg karaktera. Sekula tvrdi da su te discipline bile u službi legitimiranja organske podloge za dominaciju intelektualnog nad manualnim radom i tako pridonijele ideološkoj hegemoniji kapitalizma koji se sve više oslanjao na hijerarhijsku podjelu rada, kapitalizma koji je aplaudirao svom vlastitom napretku kao ishodu individualne bistrine i lukavosti.¹⁰

invented History and Photography,⁶ and that Photography had its historical beginning as the art of the Person: its identity, civic status, and all that which can be in any sense of the term called the *formality* of the body.⁷ Moreover, Talbot's characterization of photography as "the pencil of nature" must be viewed in the context of Foucault's notion of biopolitics, that is, his research on the increasing involvement of human natural life in the mechanisms and calculations of power during the period from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. In order for the natural history of appear – as he wrote – it was not necessary for nature to become denser and more obscure, to multiply its mechanisms to the point of acquiring the opaque weight of a history that can only be retraced and described, without any possibility of measuring it, calculating it, or explaining it: it was necessary for History to become Natural – which is precisely the opposite. The history of a living being is nothing other than that being itself, within the whole semantic network that relates it to the world.⁸ The aim of lectures that Foucault held at Collège de France during 1978 and 1979 was to elaborate the notion of biopolitics, or rather to consider the meaning of population as a basis on which that biopolitics takes shape. Thereby he insisted on the fact that the issue of biopolitics must be considered in the context of liberalism, and that biopolitics is an immediate consequence of the liberal regime of power, that is, of liberal

economy. Foucault reflected on the relationships between law and order, the state and the civil society, and particularly the issue of life politics, in the two-hundred years long perspective of liberalism. With the term "biopolitics" he described the efforts that were invested in rationalizing problems that the phenomena that are characteristic of a multitude of living beings, which the population consists of, have imposed on the practice of government. These are problems such as health, hygiene, number of inhabitants, life expectancy, or race. Foucault indicated the growing importance of these problems since the nineteenth century, as well as the political and economic issues that they have raised so far. For him, these problems were inseparable from the framework of political rationality within which they emerged and acquired their intensity. He did not analyze liberalism as a theory or ideology, or even the way in which the "society" represents itself, but rather as a practice, a "way of doing" directed at various goals, as well as its own regulation through continuous reflection. Liberalism, as Foucault claimed, should be analyzed as a principle and a method of rationalizing the execution of power, rationalization that is subject to an internal rule of maximized economy. With the emergence of political economy and the introduction of the restrictive principle into the very practice of governance, an important change occurred, since the *population* to be governed now emerged as

U svojoj studiji o uvjetovanosti realizma u britanskoj književnosti viktorijanskog razdoblja proliferacijom fotografskih slika Nancy Armstrong relaciju između „realizma“ i „stvarnosti“ uspoređuje sa strukturom arhiva, pri čemu bi realizam ujedno bio tekst koji reproducira svoj kontekst, i kontekst koji reproducira svoj tekst. Jer, kao što Derrida objašnjava, arhiv sadrži teoriju vlastite institucionalizacije, čija se bit sastoji u pravilima koja određuju što arhiv mora sadržavati da bi bio cjelovit, odnosno što mora biti isključeno da bi izgledao unificiran.¹¹

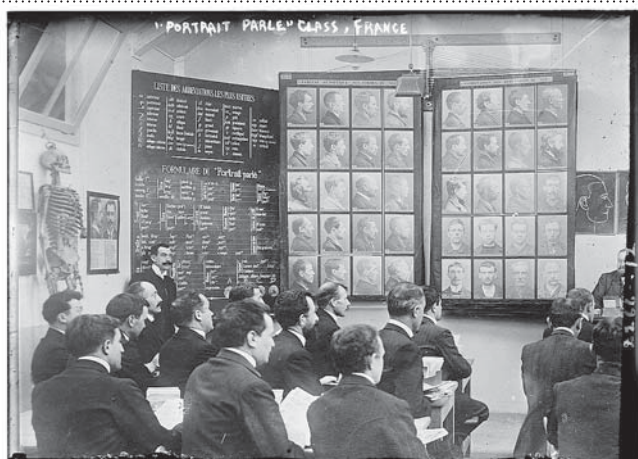
Armstrong navodi podatak da je između 1861. i 1867. godine u Engleskoj prodano između 300 i 400 milijuna fotografija formata *carte de visite*. Fotografska slika tada svojim konzumentima nije reprezentirala samo najudaljenija područja britanskog imperija i izgled njihovih stanovnika. U tom se razdoblju javljaju i pokušaji stvaranja fotografskog sustava koji bi mogao identificirati pripadnike urbanog društva sklone zločinu. U Engleskoj na takvu zamisao dolazi eugeničar Francis Galton, a u Francuskoj pariški policajac Alphonse Bertillon. U Italiji liječnik Cezare Lombroso

pokušava dokazati i fotografskim slikama dokumentirati postojanje kategorije „urođenih zločinaca“. Njihove su fotografske slike kanile ponuditi takvo precizno čitanje ljudskog tijela na temelju kojega bi se bilo koje tijelo moglo svrstati u odgovarajuću kategoriju.

Armstrong tvrdi kako su u tom razdoblju ljudi počeli, sami sebe i druge, vizualizirati ne samo u terminima roda, klase, rase i nacije, već i u terminima inteligencije, morala i emocionalne stabilnosti. Nove znanosti identiteta, a pod tim nazivom ona podrazumijeva znanosti poput fizionomije, frenologije i kriminologije, postojano su koristile fotografsku tehnologiju da bi tijelo učinile čitljivim. Tako je određeni broj vizualnih kategorija poprimio moć identifikacije gotovo svake osobe, mjesta ili stvari. Konstantni dotok vizualnog materijala reproducirao je, revidirao i revitalizirao mnogostruke pod-podjele unutar respektabilne kulture i njezina kriminalnog podzemlja, stvarajući nešto što je djelovalo kao beskrajni arhiv sjena, ili vizualni poredak stvari. Markirajući različite pozicije unutar vizualnog poretka, te su generičke slike

FOTOGRAFIJA U
BIOPOLITIČKOM
KONTEKSTU

PHOTOGRAPHY IN
THE CONTEXT OF
BIOPOLITICS



PREDAVANJE O BERTILLONOVOM
SUSTAVU KLASIFIKACIJE, 1911.

LECTURE ON BERTILLON'S
CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM, 1911

the subject of law on which the political sovereignty was based. That was the starting point of the lines along which biopolitics was organized.⁹

Proliferation of photography in the mid-nineteenth century coincided with the development of new sciences – physiognomy and frenology. These sciences linked an everyday, non-specialist empiricism to the increasing attempts to medicalize the study of the mind. As comparative taxonomic disciplines that sought to encompass the entire register of human diversity, physiognomy and phrenology were based on the belief that it was possible to read the external signs of a man's interior character on the surface of the body, especially the face and the head. Sekula claims that these disciplines served to legitimize on organic grounds the dominion of intellectual over manual labour, thus contributing to the ideological hegemony of a capitalism that increasingly relied upon a hierarchical division of labour, a capitalism that applauded its own progress as the outcome of individual cleverness and cunning.¹⁰

In her study on the ways in which realism in British literature was conditioned by the proliferation of photographic images, Nancy Armstrong has compared the relationship between “realism” and “reality” with the structure of the archive, whereby realism would be both the text that reproduces its context and the context that reproduces its text. For as Derrida has explained, the archive contains the theory of its own institutionalization, the essence of which consists in the rules that determine what the archive should contain in order to be complete, or what it must excluded in order to appear unified.¹¹

Armstrong bases herself on the data that between 1861 and 1867 between 300 and 400 million photographs of *carte de visite* were sold in England. At that time, the photographic image not only represented to the consumers the most distant corners of the British Empire and the appearance of their inhabitants. That was the time of the first attempts at creating a photographic system that could identify the members of the urban society who were prone to crime. In England, it was the

zadobile retoričku snagu prirode, a ujedno i svakodnevice.¹² Pionir eugenike Francis Galton (igrom slučaja bratić Charlesa Darwina) razvio je metodu kompozitnog fotografskog portreta. Kompozitni portret, kojemu je svrha bila prikazati uobičajeni tip osobe, realiziran je višestrukom ekspozicijom negativa, pri čemu je Galton kombinirao dijelove lica različitih osoba koje su „imale zajedničke karakteristike“, poput rasne pripadnosti, sklonosti kriminalu, ili obilježnosti nekom bolesti. Policijski službenik Alphonse Bertillon sedamdesetih je godina 19. stoljeća postavio standard osobne iskaznice s fotografskom slikom. Uspješnost njegove identifikacijske metode priskrbila mu je položaj šefa

novospostavljenog Odjela juridičkog identiteta pariške policije, a objava knjiga u kojima je metoda opisana, kao i predstavljanje njegova djela na World Columbian Exhibition u Chicagu 1893. godine, rezultiralo je prihvaćanjem Bertillonova sustava identifikacije diljem svijeta.

Istodobno nastanku Galtonove tipologije i Bertillonove klasifikacije medicinski diskurz proizvodi retoričku figuru koju naziva ženskom hysterijom, a njezina je diseminacija provedena upravo posredstvom fotografske slike u funkciji dokumenta i argumenta. Francuski liječnik Jean-Martin Charcot (kod kojeg mladi Sigmund Freud osamdesetih godina 19. stoljeća obavlja



Planche XXV.

ATTITUDES PASSIONNELLES

CRUCIFIEMENT

LEONIDA

KOVAČ

eugenicist Francis Galton who came to that idea, while in France it was the Paris policeman Alphonse Bertillon. In Italy, medical doctor Cezare Lombroso tried to prove and document with photographic images the existence of the category of “natural born criminals.” Their photographic images were supposed to offer such a precise reading of the human body on the basis of which it would be possible to classify any body into its adequate category.

Armstrong claims that it was during that period that people began to visualize themselves and the others not only in terms of gender, class, race, and nation, but also in those of intelligence,

morality, and emotional stability. The new identity sciences, by which she means sciences such as physiognomy, phrenology, and criminology, persistently used photographic technology in order to render the body readable. Thus, a certain number of visual categories acquired the power of identifying almost any person, place, or thing. The constant influx of visual material reproduced, revised, and revitalized multiple subdivisions within the respectable culture and its criminal underground, creating something that functioned like an endless archive of shadows, or the visual order of things. By marking their various positions within the visual order, these generic images acquired the

kliničku praksu) utemeljuje u pariškoj umobolnici Salpêtrière kliniku za tretman histeričnih žena i stvara arhiv koji se sastoji od fotografija koje „demonstriraju“ načine na koje se nered iskazuje ili izražava po kodu vizualno dostupnih „površinskih“ nadražaja. Biblioteka Charcot u bolnici Salpêtrière objavljuje 1875. godine knjigu naslovljenu *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière*. Ta je fotografska ikonografija histerije u razdoblju od 1876. do 1880. postala dostupna široj javnosti budući da je objavljena kao trotomno izdanje opremljeno sa 119 fotografskih tabli, koje potpisuju Charcotov asistent, liječnik Bourneville i fotograf, također liječnik, Régnard.¹³ Fotografskom je slikom histerično tijelo (u značenju nezdravog, stranog, izvanjskog, drugog) pretvoreno u vizualni znak u funkciji označitelja ženskosti.¹⁴

Razmatrajući pitanje kulture fotografskog realizma, Allan Sekula argumentira tezu da je u 19. stoljeću kamera bila uključena u puno širi ansambl: birokratsko-činovničko-statistički „obavještajni“ sustav. Taj sustav opisuje kao sofisticirani oblik arhiva, zaključujući da središnji artefakt toga arhiva nije kamera nego kartotečni ormar. Usprkos međusobnim razlikama – piše Sekula – i Bertillon (nominalistički sustav identifikacije) i Galton (esencijalistički tipološki sustav) pokušali su sačuvati vrijednosti starijeg, optičkog modela istine u historijskom kontekstu u kojemu se činilo da apstraktni statistički postupci nude ispravniji

put prema društvenoj istini i društvenoj kontroli. Premda su njihovi projekti bili specijalizirani i idiosinkratični, ti pioniri znanstvene policije i eugenike naznačili su opće parametre za birokratsko rukovanje vizualnim dokumentima. Između 1880. i 1910. godine arhiv je postao dominantni institucionalni temelj fotografskog značenja. Sve više i više arhivi su poimani centralnima u nizu različitih disciplina, od povijesti umjetnosti do vojnih obavještajnih službi.¹⁵

U historijskoj perspektivi dominantnih liberalnih praksi, Sekulina elaboracija operacionalizacije „informativne“ funkcije fotografije u svrhu birokratskog racionalizma, među ostalim, nudi i alate za razumijevanje situacionističkog protesta protiv discipline umjetničke kritike: *Glavna mana moderne kritike umjetnosti jest to da ona nikada nije gledala na kulturu kao cjelinu, niti na stanje eksperimentalnog pokreta koji je neprestano nadomješta*. Pojam moderne umjetnosti proizveden retorikom modernističke kritike i discipline povijesti umjetnosti neodvojiv je od moderne kulture. Modernu kulturu, utemeljenu prije svega na industrijskoj proizvodnji i njezinim ekonomskim i socio-političkim reperkusijama, nemoguće je razmatrati izvan konteksta performativa jednog od ključnih izuma modernog doba – fotografske slike. Fotografska je slika multipl bez originala, reprodukcija namijenjena daljnjem reproduciranju.¹⁶ međutim, pitanje koje se neizostavno nameće glasi: što se to reproducira u

FOTOGRAFIJA U
BIOPOLITIČKOM
KONTEKSTU

PAUL RÉGNARD, STANJA HISTERIJE – RAZAPINJANJE,
IKONOGRAFIJA FOTOGRAFIJE SALPÊTRIÈRE, BIBLIOTHÈQUE
CHARCOT, SALPÊTRIÈRE BOLNICA, 1876–1877.

PAUL RÉGNARD, ATTITUDES PASSIONNELLES – CRUCIFIMENT,
ICONOGRAPHIE PHOTOGRAPHIQUE DE LA SALPÊTRIÈRE,
BIBLIOTHÈQUE CHARCOT, SALPÊTRIÈRE HOSPITAL, 1876–1877

PHOTOGRAPHY IN
THE CONTEXT OF
BIOPOLITICS

rhetorical power of nature, including the everyday life.¹² The pioneer of eugenics, Francis Galton (accidentally a cousin of Charles Darwin's) developed the method of composite photographic portrait. The composite portrait, which aimed at representing the most common type of person, was realized by using multiple exposition of the negative, whereby Galton combined parts of faces belonging to different persons who “had common features,” such as race, criminal tendencies, or marks of diseases. In the 1870s, police official Alphonse Bertillon set up a standard of an ID with photographic image. The success of his identification method secured him the position of the chief of the newly established Department for Juridical Identity with the Paris police department, while the publication of books in which the method was described, as well as the presentation of his work at the World Columbian Exhibition in Chicago in 1893 resulted in the acceptance of Bertillon's system of identification all over the world.

Parallel with the invention of Galton's typology and Bertillon's classification, there was a medical discourse that produced the rhetorical figure called female hysteria, and its dissemination was performed precisely with the help of photographic image, which functioned both as a document and as an argument. French medical doctor Jean-Martin Charcot (with whom young Sigmund Freud made his clinical practice in the 1880s) established a

clinic for the treatment of hysterical women in the Paris asylum of Salpêtrière, creating an archive that consisted of photographs that “demonstrated” the ways in which disorder was revealed or expressed according to a code of visually available “superficial” impulses. In 1875, the Charcot library at Salpêtrière published a book called *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière*. That photographic iconography of hysteria, made in the period from 1876-1880, was made available to the broader public in a three-volume edition equipped with 119 photographic plates, which were signed by Charcot's assistant, medical doctor Bourneville, and photographer Régnard, who was also a doctor.¹³ With the photographic image, the hysterical body (meaning the unhealthy, foreign, extraneous other) was transformed into a visual sign functioning as the signifier of femininity.¹⁴

Discussing the issue of the culture of photographic realism, Allan Sekula has argued that in the nineteenth century the camera was integrated into a larger ensemble: a bureaucratic/clerical/statistic system of “intelligence”. He describes that system as a sophisticated form of the archive and concludes that the central artifact of that archive was the filing cabinet rather than the camera. Despite the differences, Sekula claims, both Bertillon (the nominalist identification system) and Galton (the essentialist typological system) tried to preserve the values of the older, optical model of the truth in a historical context in which it

procesima beskonačne reprodukcije? To je pitanje nesvodivo na Barthesov problem Fotografijina referenta.¹⁷

Situacionist Guy Debord započinje knjigu *Društvo spektakla* tvrdnjom da se sav život u društvima u kojima vladaju moderni uvjeti proizvodnje objavljuje kao golema akumulacija spektakla. Pritom objašnjava da spektakl nije skup slika, nego društveni odnos između pojedinaca posredovan slikama. Sve što se izravno proživljavalo, udaljilo se u predstavu. Prva nakana vladavine spektakla – piše on – bila je učiniti da nestane povijesna spoznaja općenito, a ponajprije gotovo sve informacije i svi razumni komentari o nedavnoj prošlosti. Dokazi su tako očiti da ih nema potrebe objašnjavati. Spektakl vješto organizira neznanje o onome što se događa, a odmah potom i zaborav onoga što se ipak moglo spoznati.¹⁸

Riječ modernizam u diskurzu disciplina povijesti umjetnosti i kritike umjetnosti funkcionira kao krovni termin za označavanje niza heterogenih umjetničkih fenomena dvadesetog stoljeća. Međutim, značenje termina moguće je iščitati i u smislu kulturalne reprezentacije modernosti. Po mišljenju Maud Lavin modernizam je označavao kolektivni društveni odgovor na kulturu koju je kapitalizam stvorio nakon industrijske revolucije. Ona ističe da se u vajmarskoj Njemačkoj proces modernizacije intenzivirao prodorom američkih financija u njemačku ekonomiju, a neposredni učinak toga prodora bilo

je stimuliranje konzumerizma i monopolističkog kapitalizma. U Njemačkoj je dvadesetih godina 20. stoljeća modernost značila iskustvo brzine, tehnologije, ekonomskog protoka, fragmentacije, urbanizma, industrijalizacije i racionalizacije. Masovni mediji, prije svega ilustrirani časopisi, koji zahvaljujući poboljšanim tehnologijama reprodukcije fotografskih slika upravo u tom razdoblju doživljavaju nagli razvoj, sudjelovali su u procesima modernizacije, a ujedno i odgovarali na te procese. Tadašnji najsuvremeniji mediji: film, fotografija i fotomontaža reprezentirali su novo iskustvo i novu vrstu percepcije. Lavin tvrdi da za njemačku avangardu od 1922. do Hitlerova dolaska na vlast goruće pitanje uopće nije bila pobuna protiv umjetničkih institucija, nego ozbiljno i dugotrajno pregovaranje s masovnom kulturom, a takav je angažman bio utjelovljen u praksama ruskog konstruktivizma koji je njemačka avangarda najdublje poštovala.¹⁹

U kontekstu relacije umjetničkih praksi povijesnih avangardi s modernizmom kao kulturalnom reprezentacijom modernosti vratila bih se Sekulinoj tvrdnji da fotografije poprimaju semantički status kao fetiš objekti i kao dokumenti. Jer upravo u vajmarskom razdoblju započinje fetišizacija fotografske slike u značenju umjetničkog medija. Naime, Deutscher Werkbund je 1929. godine u Stuttgartu organizirao izložbu *Film und Foto*, a tom su prigodom objavljene dvije knjige: *Foto Auge* na čijoj se

seemed that abstract statistical procedures were offering a more direct way towards social truth and social control. Even though their projects were specialized and idiosyncratic, these pioneers of scientific police and eugenics established the general parameters for the bureaucratic handling of visual documents. Between 1880 and 1910, the archive became the dominant institutional basis of photographic meaning. Archives were increasingly considered as central to a myriad of various disciplines, from art history to army intelligence.¹⁵

In the historical perspective of dominant liberal practices, Sekula's elaboration of the operationalizing, "informative" function of photography in the service of bureaucratic rationalism offers, among other things, tools for understanding the Situationist protest against the discipline of art criticism: *The main shortcoming of modern art criticism is that it has never looked at the culture as a whole nor at the conditions of an experimental movement that is perpetually superseding it.* The notion of modern art, produced with the rhetoric of modernist criticism and art-historical discipline, is inseparable from modern culture. Since it is based primarily on industrial production and its economic and socio-political repercussions, modern culture cannot be considered separately from the context of the performative of one of the crucial inventions of the modern era – the photographic image. Photographic image is

a multiple without original, a reproduction intended for further reproduction,¹⁶ but the question that inevitably imposes itself is the following: what is reproduced in the processes of endless reproduction? That question cannot be reduced to Barthes' problem of the Photography's referent.¹⁷

Situationist Guy Debord has started his book on *The Society of the Spectacle* with the statement that, in societies where modern conditions of production prevail, life is presented as an immense accumulation of spectacles. Thereby he has explained that the spectacle is not a collection of images, but a social relationship between people that is mediated by images. All that used to be experienced immediately has now been disconnected into a show. The first aim of the rule of the spectacle – as he writes – was to make historical thought disappear in general, primarily all the information and all reasonable accounts of the recent past. The evidence is so manifest that there is no need of explaining it. The spectacle skillfully organizes ignorance about what is going on, immediately followed by the oblivion of what could still be known.¹⁸

In the discourse of disciplines such as art history and art criticism, "modernism" functions as an umbrella term that describes a series of heterogeneous artistic phenomena from the twentieth century. However, its meaning can also be interpreted in terms of cultural representation of modernity.

korici nalazio čuveni, programatski autoportret El Lisickog i *Es kommt der neue Fotograf!* Učinak izložbe i pratećih publikacija očitovao se u zahtjevu za tretmanom fotografije ne samo kao dokumentarnog sredstva, nego prije svega kao umjetničkog medija, ravnopravnog, primjerice, slikarstvu. Tijekom dvadesetog stoljeća, u sveopćim procesima kapitalističke komodifikacije, ispunjenje tog zahtjeva rezultirat će komercijalizacijom tzv. umjetničkih fotografija, uključujući, paradoksalno, i one čiji su autori bili pripadnici socio-kritičnih avangardnih pokreta usmjerenih, među ostalim, i protiv komercijalizacije umjetnosti. U zaključnom poglavlju teksta u kojemu raspravlja o invenciji fotografskog značenja Sekula proizvodnju binarne opozicije umjetnička fotografija–dokumentarna fotografija također sagledava u kontekstu onoga što naziva građanskim folklorom: „Izgleda da se sva fotografska komunikacija događa u uvjetima svojevrstnog binarnog folklor. To znači da postoji „simbolistički“ folk-mit i „realistički“ folk-mit. Varljiv, ali popularni oblik ove opozicije je „umjetnička fotografija“ naspram „dokumentarne fotografije“. Svaka fotografija, u bilo kojem danom trenutku čitanja i u bilo kojem danom kontekstu, teži jednome od ova dva pola značenja. Opozicija između ta dva pola je sljedeća: fotograf kao onaj koji vidi nasuprot fotografu kao svjedoku, fotografija kao izraz nasuprot fotografiji kao reportaži, teorije imaginacije (i unutarnje istine) nasuprot teorijama empirijske istine, afektivna

vrijednost nasuprot informativnoj vrijednosti, i konačno metaforičko značenje nasuprot metonimijskom značenju.“²⁰ Sagledavajući postupak neutralizacije kritičkog potencijala avangardnih umjetničkih praksi u procesima institucionalizacije moderne, odnosno suvremene umjetnosti, koji kontinuirano traju od kraja dvadesetih godina dvadesetog stoljeća do danas, osobito važnom nalazim Sekulinu tvrdnju da je devolucija fotografske umjetnosti u mističnu trivijalnost rezultat temeljnog čina konstrukcije zatvorenog kraja (*closure*). Nije slučajno da autor čin o kojemu govori precizira terminom *closure* preuzetim iz filmske naratologije. Takvo zatvaranje – piše on – nastaje prije svega zato da bi se fotografija uspostavila *kao umjetnost*, a njime je zacrtana jasna granica između fotografije i njezina društvenog karaktera. Sekula pritom zaključuje da su bolesti fotografije bolesti estetizma, a smisljena umjetnost bilo koje vrste može nastati jedino ako se estetizam u cijelosti potisne. Korijene estetizma prepoznaje u Kantovu razdvajanju estetičke ideje od pojmovne spoznaje i interesa, a reperkusije takve idealističke estetike identificira u teorijama Benedetta Crocea, Rogera Frya i Clivea Bella, koji su, po njegovim riječima, stvorili svojevrstni labavi sindikat oko umjetnosti 20. stoljeća, zastupajući zakonitost onoga čemu je fotografija stremila. Invencija „genijalnog fotografa“ postala je moguća jedino razdvajanjem stvaratelja slike od društvene ukorijenjenosti slike, a invencija fotografije kao

FOTOGRAFIJA U
BIOPOLITIČKOM
KONTEKSTU

PHOTOGRAPHY IN
THE CONTEXT OF
BIOPOLITICS

According to Maud Lavin, modernism was a social response on the culture that capitalism created after the Industrial Revolution. She has pointed out that in Weimar Republic, the process of modernization was intensified owing to the influx of American finances into German economy, and the immediate effect of that was the stimulation of consumerism and monopolistic capitalism. In the Germany of the 1920s, modernity meant the experience of speed, technology, economic flux, fragmentation, urbanism, industrialization, and rationalization. The mass media, primarily the illustrated magazines, which owing to the improved technology of reproduction of the photographic images abruptly flourished precisely in this period, participated in the processes of modernization, responding to them at the same time. The most up-to-day media of the time – cinema, photography, and photo-montage – represented that new experience and the new type of perception. Lavin claims that the burning question for the German avant-garde from 1922 until Hitler's rise to power was not the rebellion against art institutions but its serious and weary negotiations with the mass culture, an involvement that was embodied in the practices of Russian constructivism, to which the German avant-garde paid the most profound respect.¹⁹ In the context of the relationship between the art practices of historical avant-gardes on the one side, and modernism as a cultural representation of modernity on the other, I would like

to come back to Sekula's claim that photographs acquire a semantic status as fetish objects *and* also as documents. For it is precisely in the Weimar period that the onset of fetishization of the photographic image in terms of artistic medium began. In 1929, Deutscher Werkbund organized an exhibition entitled *Film und Foto* in Stuttgart, on which occasion two books were published: *Foto Auge*, with a cover showing the famous programmatic portrait of El Lisicki, and *Es kommt der neue Fotograf!*. The effect of this exhibition and its accompanying publications can be seen in the demand that the photography should be treated not only as a means of documentation, but primarily as an art medium equivalent, for example, to painting. During the twentieth century, with the overall processes of capitalist commodification, the fulfillment of that demand would result in the commercialization of the so-called artistic photographs, including, paradoxically, also those made by the participants in socio-critical avant-garde movements that were directed, among other things, against the commercialization of art.

In the closing chapter of the texts in which he discusses the invention of the photographic meaning, Sekula also sees the production of the binary opposition between artistic and documentary photography in the context of what he calls “bourgeois folklore”:

visoke umjetnosti jedino njezinom transformacijom u apstraktni fetiš, u „značeću formu“.²¹

U tekstu *Postmodernizam ili kulturna logika kasnog kapitalizma* objavljenom 1984. godine Frederic Jameson konstatira da je danas, u razdoblju ekspanzije multinacionalnog kapitala estetička proizvodnja postala integrirana u robnu proizvodnju općenito, a žestoka ekonomijska hitna proizvodnja sve neobičnijih dobara estetičkoj inovaciji i eksperimentiranju pridaje bitniju strukturalnu funkciju i poziciju. Takve ekonomske nužnosti nalaze priznanje u svim raspoloživim vrstama institucionalne podrške novijoj umjetnosti, od fundacija i subvencija, do muzeja i drugih formi pokroviteljstva. Jameson napominje da se sve to što u svojoj raspravi naziva postmodernizmom ne može izdvojiti niti misliti bez pretpostavke o nekoj temeljnoj mutaciji sfere kulture u svijetu kasnog kapitalizma, što uključuje i znatnu modifikaciju njezine socijalne funkcije.²² Dva desetljeća nakon objavljivanja Jamesonova dalekosežno utjecajnog teksta na globalnoj se razini, i to u smislu ekonomskog imperativa, pojavio koncept kreativnih industrija. Da su kreativne industrije koje se temelje na iskorištavanju tzv. intelektualnog vlasništva neodvojive od neoliberalnih praksi racionalizacije, najbolje potvrđuje činjenica da je Blairova vlada formirala tim za kreativne industrije, budući da od svih sektora britanske ekonomije upravo one bilježe najbrži rast, a slična situacija pokazuje se i u svjetskim

razmjerima.²³ Međutim, termin industrija u sintagmi kreativne industrije čini se paradoksalnim, budući da označuje nešto bitno različito od industrijske proizvodnje koja je obilježila razdoblje od industrijske revolucije do završetka Drugog svjetskog rata. Antonio Negri i Michael Hardt prijelaz s moderne ekonomske paradigme, u kojoj je dominirala industrija, na današnju kojom dominira pružanje usluga i manipulacija informacijama, nazivaju procesom ekonomske postmodernizacije ili informatizacije. U uvodnom poglavlju knjige *Imperij* objavljene 2000. godine, poglavlju o političkoj konstituciji sadašnjosti, izriču tvrdnju da je politička sinteza društvenog prostora učvršćena u prostoru komunikacije. Iz toga proizlazi činjenica da su danas komunikacijske industrije zauzele središnju poziciju. One organiziraju proizvodnju u novom mjerilu i nameću novu strukturu primjerenu globalnom prostoru, integriraju imaginarno i simboličko s biopolitičkom građom, ne samo stavljajući ih u službu moći, nego zapravo integrirajući ih u samo svoje funkcioniranje, a time svoju opravdanost čine imanentnom.²⁴ Oslanjajući se na Foucaultovu misao, Negri i Hardt u današnjem stadiju Imperija prepoznaju povijesni, epohalni prijelaz društvenih formi iz disciplinarnog društva u društvo kontrole. Društvo kontrole bilo bi po njima ono (koje se razvija na krajnjem rubu modernosti i otvara prema postmodernom) u kojemu zapovjedni mehanizmi postaju sve „demokratičniji“, sve imanentniji

LEONIDA

KOVAC

“All photographic communication seems to take place within the conditions of a kind of binary folklore. That is, there is a ‘symbolist’ folk-myth and a ‘realist’ folk-myth. The misleading but popular form of this opposition is ‘art photography’ vs ‘documentary photography’. Every photograph tends, at any given moment of reading in any given context, towards one of these two poles of meaning. The oppositions between these two poles are as follows: photographer as seers vs photographer as witness, photography as expression vs photography as reportage, theories of imagination (and inner truth) vs theories of empirical truth, affective value vs informative value, and finally, metaphoric signification vs metonymic signification.”²⁰

Looking at the procedure of neutralizing the critical potential of avant-garde artistic practices in the processes of institutionalizing modernism, that is, contemporary art, which have been going on continuously since the late 1920s, I consider it especially important to consider Sekula's claim that the devolution of photographic art into mystical trivia is a result of a fundamental act of *closure*. It is not accidental that the author should choose that term, which he has taken over from cinematic narratology. This closure – as he says – was effected in the first place in order to establish photography as *an art*, thus drawing a clear boundary between photography and its social character. He then concludes that the maladies of photography

are those of aestheticism, while meaningful art of any kind can happen only by repressing aestheticism in its entirety. He has identified roots of this aestheticism in the Kantian separation of the aesthetic idea from conceptual knowledge and interest, with some echoes in the theories of Benedetto Croce, Roger Fry, and Clive Bell, who formed, according to him, a sort of loose syndicate around early twentieth-century art, representing the legitimacy that photography aspired to. The invention of the “photographer of genius” became possible only through a dissociation of the image-maker from the social embeddedness of the image, while invention of the photograph as high art was only possible through its transformation into an abstract fetish, into “significant form.”²¹

In his seminal text *Postmodernism or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, published in 1984, Frederic Jameson claims that today, in the age of the expansion of multinational capital, esthetic production has become integrated into commodity production generally, while the frantic economic urgency of producing fresh waves of ever more novel-seeming goods now assigns an increasingly essential structural function and position to innovation and experimentation. Such economic necessities find recognition in the varied kinds of institutional support available to the newer art, from foundations and grants to museums and other forms of sponsorship. Jameson

društvnom polju, distribuirani kroz mozgove i tijela građana. Postupci društvene integracije i isključivanja, svojstveni upravi, postaju tako sve više interiorizirani unutar samih subjekata. Moć se sada provodi kroz strojeve koji direktno organiziraju mozgove (u komunikacijske sustave, informacijske mreže, itd.) i tijela (u sustave socijalne skrbi, aktivnosti nadgledanja, itd.) prema stanju autonomnog otuđenja od smisla života i želje za kreativnošću. Društvo kontrole obilježeno je tako intenziviranjem i generalizacijom normalizirajućih aparata disciplinarnosti koji iznutra pokreću naše obične i dnevne prakse, ali za razliku od discipline, ta kontrola, kroz fleksibilne i fluktuirajuće mreže, seže daleko izvan strukturiranih mjesta društvenih institucija.²⁵ Komunikacija je forma kapitalističke proizvodnje u kojoj je kapital uspio potpuno i globalno potčiniti društvo svom režimu, potiskujući sve alternativne puteve.²⁶ Za verifikaciju Negrievih i Hardtovih postavki dovoljno je samo shvatiti performative jedne od brojnih društvenih mreža – *Facebook*, osnovane četiri godine nakon objavljivanja *Imperija*. Mreža *Facebook*, kojoj je imanentna upravo digitalna fotografska slika, paradigma je onoga što se danas označuje krovnim terminom kreativnih industrija. Početkom ove, 2011. godine objavljen je podatak da su američka investicijska banka Goldman Sachs i ruski investitor Digital Sky Technologies uložili 500 milijuna američkih dolara za 1% udjela u vlasničkoj

strukturi mreže, a na temelju te investicije vrijednost *Facebooka* procijenjena je na 50 milijardi dolara.²⁷ Najavljuje se da će na *Facebooku* uskoro biti dostupna i kompjuterska aplikacija sustava facijalnog prepoznavanja koja (poput *Appleove* aplikacije *iPhoto*) omogućuje automatsku identifikaciju ili verifikaciju osobe na temelju digitalne fotografije ili videokadra. Istraživanja za potrebe stvaranja sustava facijalnog prepoznavanja koji funkcionira uspoređujući oblik lica na određenoj fotografiji s facijalnom bazom podataka započela su šezdesetih godina dvadesetog stoljeća na njemačkim i američkim sveučilištima, a financirao ih je United States Army Research Laboratory. Vraćajući se ovdje Sekulinom tvrdnji da je u 19. stoljeću kamera bila uključena u puno širi ansambl: birokratsko-činovničko-statistički „obavještajni“ sustav, što je u biti sofisticirani oblik arhiva u kojemu središnji artefakt nije kamera nego kartotečni ormar, dodala bih da je početkom 21. stoljeća fizički predmet, kartotečni ormar, zamijenjen nematerijalnom, digitalnom bazom podataka, koja je, paradoksalno, sposobna materijalizirati društveno tijelo.

U međuprostoru pojma društvenog tijela i fotografske slike kao „nijemog svjedočanstva“ postavila bih pitanje: da li je danas, u razdoblju biokibernetičke reprodukcije,²⁸ u razdoblju financijalizacije koja ne mimoilazi ni ono što se naziva kritičkim umjetničkim praksama, moguć djelatni eksperimentalni

FOTOGRAFIJA U
BIOPOLITIČKOM
KONTEKSTU

PHOTOGRAPHY IN
THE CONTEXT OF
BIOPOLITICS

has observed that what he has called postmodernism in his discussion cannot be isolated nor considered separately from the supposition about a basic mutation of the cultural sphere in the world of late capitalism, which also includes significant modification of its social function.²² Two decades after the publication of Jameson's text, the concept of creative industries appeared on the global level, even in the form of an economic imperative. That the creative industries that are based on the exploitation of the so-called intellectual property cannot be separated from the neoliberal practices of rationalization is most evident in the fact that Blair's government has established a team for the creative industries, since it is precisely these that show the fastest development of all sectors of British economy, and a similar situation can be observed in global proportions.²³ However, the term industry seems paradoxical in that collocation, since it signifies something that is crucially different from the industrial production that marked the period from the Industrial Revolution to the end of World War II. Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt speak about the transition from modern economic paradigm, dominated by industry, into the present one, dominated by offering services and manipulating information, as the process of economic postmodernization or informatization. In the introductory chapter of their *Empire*, published in 2000, the chapter that speaks about the political

constitution of the present, they claim that the political synthesis of social space is strengthened in communication space. This has resulted in the fact that today the communication industries have come to occupy a central position. They organize production in new proportions and impose a new structure, appropriate to global space, integrating the imaginary and the symbolic into the biopolitical material and not only placing it into the service of power, but also integrating it into its very functioning, thereby making their justification immanent.²⁴ Relying on Foucault's thought, Negri and Hardt have recognized in the present state of the Empire the historical, epochal transition of social forms from the disciplinary society into the society of control. According to them, the society of control would be the one (developing on the very edge of modernity and opening up towards the postmodern) in which the mechanisms of command are becoming ever more "democratic" and more immanent to the social field, since they are distributed through the brains and bodies of the citizens. The behaviours of social integration and exclusion proper to rule are thus increasingly interiorized within the subjects themselves. Power is now exercised through machines that directly organize the brains (in communication systems, information networks, etc.) and bodies (in welfare systems, monitored activities, etc.) toward a state of autonomous alienation from the sense of life and the desire for

pokret, koji bi nadomjestio birokratiziranu kritiku umjetnosti, koja ni danas, kao ni onda kada su situacionisti izveli akciju u Bruxellesu, ne sagledava kulturu kao cjelinu? Sagledavanje kulture kao cjeline zahtijevalo bi, među ostalim, percipirati da, primjerice, situacionistički pokret nastaje u razdoblju dekolonizacije koja doduše započinje po završetku Drugog svjetskog rata, ali ni do danas nije okončana. Također bi bilo potrebno uočiti da je Sekulin tekst *On the Invention of Photographic Meaning* objavljen iste godine kada nakon dvadesetogodišnjeg rata počinje povlačenje američkih trupa iz Vijetnama. Sagledati kulturu kao cjelinu značilo bi percipirati da s padom Berlinskog zida nestaje posljednja prepreka uspostavi globalnog svjetskog tržišta, koje uključuje i tržište umjetnina. Današnja globalizacija karakterizirana sve bržim protokom informacija, roba i ljudi, može biti viđena i kao globalni oblik totalitarizma lišen bilo kojeg ideološkog predznaka te nadalje povijesno najokrutniji oblik kolonijalizma svojstven aktualnoj neoliberalnoj racionalizaciji koja se manifestira u neprestanom smanjivanju cijene rada, a susljedno tome i u beskrupuloznoj privatizaciji javnih dobara.

Allan Sekula započinje 1989. godine višegodišnji projekt *Fish Story* koji je od početka bio zamišljen kao davanje glasa „nijemom svjedočanstvu“ – fotografskoj slici, pri čemu specifični narativi dokidaju ne samo binarizam kategorija umjetničke i dokumentarne

fotografije, nego i razliku između diskursa umjetničke prakse i kritičke teorije. Taj prije svega istraživački projekt predstavljen je u formi galerijske izložbe na kojoj je 105 kolor-fotografija grupirano i postavljeno u odnos s 26 crno-bijelih tekstualnih panela. U zasebnom prostoru događaju se dvije paralelne slajd-projeksije u kojima se fotografske slike i tekstovi smjenjuju u intervalima od 15 sekundi. Integralni dio projekta je i knjiga koja osim reproduciranih fotografija i pripadajućih im priča sadrži dva iscrpna autorova teksta, oba naslovljena *Dismal Science* – što je u engleskom jeziku pogrdni naziv za ekonomiju. Premda fotografije bilježe prizore današnjice snimljene diljem svijeta na preookeanskim trgovačkim brodovima, u lukama i naseljima za lučke radnike, naslov i sadržaj Sekuline dvodijelne *Dismal Science* rasprave upućuje na devetnaestostoljetno ishodište problema koje njegov projekt artikulira. Viktorijanski povjesničar Victor Carlyle nazvao je ekonomiju frazom *dismal science* referirajući time na Malthusovu demografsku teoriju po kojoj bi zbog nerazmjera rasta ljudske populacije i dinamike proizvodnje hrane trebala nastupiti glad. Carlyle je tu frazu prvi put upotrijebio 1849. godine u raspravi *Occasional Discourse on Negro Questions* u kojoj je zastupao potrebu ponovnog uvođenja ropstva kao sredstva regulacije tržišta rada na Karibima (West Indies).

Svoju *Dismal Science* Sekula započinje citirajući Engelson tekst *The Condition of the Working Class in England* u kojemu

LEONIDA

KOVAČ

creativity. The society of control might thus be characterized by an intensification and generalization of the normalizing apparatuses of disciplinarity that internally animate our common and daily practices, but in contrast to discipline, this control uses its flexible and fluctuating networks to reach well outside the structural sites of social institutions.²⁵ Communication is a form of capitalist production in which capital has managed to subjugate the society to its regime absolutely and globally, repressing all alternative ways.²⁶

In order to verify Negri's and Hardt's claims, it is sufficient to understand the performatives of one of the numerous social networks – Facebook, which was founded only four years after the *Empire* was published. Facebook, to which digital photographic image is properly immanent, is a paradigm of what has been described under the umbrella term of "creative industries." Early this year, in 2011, it was published that the American investment bank Goldman Sachs and the Russian investor Digital Sky Technologies have invested 500 million US dollars to get 1% shares in the ownership structure of the network, and the value of Facebook has been estimated on the basis of that investment to 50 billion dollars.²⁷ It has been predicted that Facebook will soon introduce a computer application of facial recognition, which will make it possible (like Apple's *iPhoto*) to automatically identify or verify the person on

the basis of digital photography or a video shot. Research for this system of facial recognition, which functions by comparing the shape of face on a photograph with the facial data base, began in the 1960s at the German and American universities, financed by the United States Army Research Laboratory. Coming back to Sekula's claim that in the nineteenth century the camera was involved into a far broader ensemble – the bureaucratic/clerical/statistic system of "intelligence", which is in fact a sophisticated form of the archive in which the central artifact is not the camera, but the file cabinet, I would like to add that early in the 21st century that physical object, the file cabinet, has been replaced by a non-material, digital database, which is paradoxically capable of materializing the social body. In the interspace of the notions of the social body and the photographic image as a "mute testimony," I would like to raise the question whether today, in the era of biocybernetic reproduction,²⁸ of financialization that does not spare even what we call critical artistic practices, it is possible to launch an active experimental movement, which would supplement the bureaucratized art criticism, which today fails to see culture as a whole, just like in those times when the Situationists performed their action in Brussels? Seeing culture as a whole would require, among other things, the recognition of the fact that the Situationist movement, for example, emerged in the

njemački filozof opisuje ono što 1844. godine vidi s palube broda dok uplovljava u londonsku luku: „Putnik ima dobar razlog za divljenje engleskoj veličini čak i prije nego što stupi na njezino tlo. Tek kasnije putnik počinje cijeniti ljudsku patnju koja je sve to omogućila.“²⁹ Postavljajući retoričko pitanje „zašto bi itko bio toliko lud i tvrdio da je danas moguće inteligentno sagledati svjetsku ekonomiju s palube broda“, Sekula eksplicira razloge svog pothvata, priznajući da su njegove tvrdnje usmjerene protiv općeprihvaćenog mišljenja da su kompjuter i telekomunikacije jedine lokomotive treće industrijske revolucije. Nasuprot tome on uviđa kontinuiranu važnost morskog

prostora u smislu suprotstavljanja prenatraglašenoj važnosti koja se pripisuje širokom metafizičkom konstruktumu „cyberspace“ i korolarnom mu mitu o „trenutačnom“ kontaktu između udaljenih prostora. Sekula priznaje i iritaciju ignorancijom intelektualaca i njihovim samozadovoljnim konceptualnim preuveličavanjem „informacije“ često popraćenim pogrešnim vjerovanjima, poput kvaziantropomorfne zamisli da većina svjetskog tereta, poput ljudi, putuje zrakom. Tu pojavu on naziva narcizmom ograničena pogleda svojstvenim specijalistima za informacije, odnosno „materijalizmom“ koji ne seže dalje od „tijela“. Jer, proliferacija zračnih kurirskih službi i narudžbi putem internet-kataloga



FOTOGRAFIJA U
BIOPOLITIČKOM
KONTEKSTU

PHOTOGRAPHY IN
THE CONTEXT OF
BIOPOLITICS

ALLAN SEKULA, FISH STORY, „CJEVARI DOVRŠAVAJU STROJARNICU BRODA ZA LOV NA TUNE, BRODOGRADILIŠTE CAMPBELL, LUKA SAN DIEGO. KOLOVOZ 1991.“, AUTORSKA PRAVA ALLAN SEKULA & RICHTER VERLAG DÜSSELDORF

ALLAN SEKULA, FISH STORY, „PIPE FITTERS FINISH OFF THE ENGINE OF THE TUNA HUNTING BOAT, CAMPBELL SHIPYARD, SAN DIEG, AUGUST 1991“, COPYRIGHT BY ALLAN SEKULA & RICHTER VERLAG, DÜSSELDORF

period of decolonization, which began after World War II, but has not ended until the present day. One should also observe that Sekula's text *On the Invention of Photographic Meaning* was published in the same year in which the US began to withdraw their troops from Vietnam after twenty years of war. Viewing the culture as a whole would mean perceiving that, with the fall of the Berlin Wall, the last obstacle fell that was obstructing the establishment of the global market, which includes the art market.

Today's globalization is characterized by an ever faster flow of information, goods, and people. It can also be considered as a

global form of totalitarianism void of all ideological connotations, as well as the historically cruelest form of colonialism, typical of the current neoliberal rationalization that is manifested in the constant reduction of the price of labour and consequentially in the unscrupulous privatization of public goods.

In 1989, Allan Sekula launched a long-term project called *Fish Story*, which was from the very outset envisioned as giving voice to the "mute testimony" – the photographic image – whereby the specific narratives abolish not only the dichotomy between the categories of art and documentary photography, but also the difference between the discourses of art practice and critical

služi profesionalnim i privatnim potrebama, kao i dokolici klase managera i intelektualaca koji ne čine ništa da bi prizemljili svijest ili je okrenuli prema zaboravljenom prostoru mora. Otimajući zaboravu činjenicu da su upravo plovni putovi u sedamnaestom stoljeću omogućili nastajanje koncepta slobodnog tržišta, on nas podsjeća da još uvijek treba osam dana da se preplovi Atlantik, a dvanaest Pacifik, i pritom lucidno zaključuje da je društvo ubrzanih tokova ujedno i društvo namjerno sporog kretanja u određenim ključnim aspektima. „Zaboravljanje“ mora od kasno-modernih elita odgovara njihovoj obnovljenoj nepopustivosti prema očajnoj populaciji trećeg svijeta: Šrilančanima, Kinezima, Haičanima, Filipincima i Indonezijcima koji rade na morskim linijama. Zračni

promet omogućuje to da građanskim kozmopolitima više nije potreban nikakav kontakt s morem. Društvene klase više se ne taru ramenima u terminalima velikih parobrodskih linija. A kruzeri, ti ploveći aparthejd-strojevi postmoderne dokolice, imaju načina da putnicima zataje mizerne uvjete rada posade iz trećeg svijeta koja opslužuje njihovu mobilnost i ispunjava njihove želje.⁹⁰ Spektaklu koji „vješto organizira neznanje o onome što se događa, a odmah potom i zaborav onoga što se ipak moglo spoznati“ Sekulina *Fish Story* replicira inzistiranjem na spoznaji koja je moguća jedino povijesnim pamćenjem. Bivajući ujedno fizičkim putovanjem i društveno odgovornom intelektualnom avanturom, *Fish Story*, koja se doduše jednim svojim „poglavljem“



LEONIDA

KOVAC

theory. This primarily research project has been presented in the form of a gallery exhibition, where 105 colour photographs were grouped and juxtaposed with 26 black-and-white textual panels. In a separate space, there were two parallel slide projections, in which photographic images and texts alternated in 15-second intervals. An integral part of the project was a book, which contained reproduced photographs and the accompanying stories, but also two exhaustive texts written by the author, both bearing the title *Dismal Science* – as a derogatory name for economy. Although the photographs document scenes from the present times, shot all over the world on far-voyage cargo ships, in harbours and settlements for the dock workers, the

title and the content of Sekula's bipartite discussion on *Dismal Science* points to the nineteenth-century source of the problem articulated in his project. The Victorian historian Victor Carlyle coined the name *dismal science* for economy, referring thereby to Malthus's demographic theory, according to which the disproportional growth of human population and the dynamics of food production should lead to starvation. Carlyle first used this collocation in 1849, in his essay called *Occasional Discourse on Negro Questions*, in which he endorsed the reintroduction of slavery as a means of regulating the labour market in the West Indies.

Sekula opens his *Dismal Science* with a quotation from Engels'

manifestira i u formi estetiziranog fotografskog povećanja, ne odvajajući poziciju „onoga koji vidi“ i „onoga koji svjedoči“, jer glas koji fotograf daje „nijemom svjedočanstvu“ ne dopušta mogućnost da „stvaratelj slike“ bude odvojen od „društvene ukorijenjenosti slike“. Sekuline fotografije u društvu spektakla ne mogu postati „apstraktnim fetišima“, odnosno „značućim formama“, upravo zato što *Fish Story* postoji jedino u procesu trajne transgresije kanoniziranih diskurzivnih formi. Njegova djelatna praksa koja neprestano ukazuje na mnogostruka presjecišta fikcijskog i faktičnog, uspješno mimoilazi tipologiju koja bi pomno izabrane narative privela „zatvorenom kraju“.

Prezir spram zatvorenog kraja (*closure*) u narativnom postupku, odbacivanje binarizama dokumentarnost–fikcija, ili, umjetnička produkcija–teorijska refleksija, izbjegavanje estetizacije te nadasve motiv mora i plovidbe idejno povezuje Sekulinu *Fish Story* s posljednjim Godardovim remek-djelom (termin u ovom slučaju upotrebljavam svjesno i namjerno), posve hektičnim filmom iz 2010. godine naslovljenim *Film Socialisme*. *Film Socialisme* nema fabulu, a njegovi protagonisti – medijska slika i novac, rastjelovljuju stvarnost. Odričući se koherentne strukture i razumljivog scenarija, film je ritmiziran prikazima čina fotografiranja i snimanja

videokamerom. Replike likova koji se doimaju slučajnim i rečenice koje se čuju u *offu* citati su različitih tekstova čiji su autori, među ostalima, Walter Benjamin, Jacques Derrida, Hannah Arendt, Otto von Bismark, Jean-Paul Sartre, Denis de Rougemont, Luigi Pirandello, Samuel Beckett, William Shakespeare, Jean Genet. Dok u početnom kadru gledamo pokret vodene mase prouzročene plovećim brodom, glas u *offu* govori: *Novac je javno dobro, dakle kao i voda*. Dan prije početka službene distribucije, Godard je cijeli *Film Socialisme* postavio na *Youtubeu*³¹ podijelivši ga na šest dijelova koji se u uzajamnom uzastopnom slijedu „vrte“ u sve većem ubrzanju. Taj je čin njegov komentar kategorija autorskih prava i intelektualnog vlasništva na kojima se danas temelji najprofitabilniji ekonomski sektor – kreativne industrije.

¹ „Action in Belgium Against the International Assembly of Art Critics“, citirano prema: Ken Knabb (ur.), *Situationist International Anthology*, Bureau of Public Secrets, Berkeley, 2006., 60.

² „Ideologies, Classes, and the Domination of Nature“, u: *Situationist International Anthology*, Bureau of Public Secrets, Berkeley, 2006., 131.

³ Allan Sekula, „On the Invention of Photographic Meaning“, u: Victor Burgin (ur.), *Thinking Photography*, Macmillan Press Ltd., London, 1982., 94.

⁴ Citirano prema: William Henry Fox Talbot, *The Pencil of Nature*, London, 1844, Glasgow University Library – Special Collections Department, Book of the

FOTOGRAFIJA U
BIOPOLITIČKOM
KONTEKSTU

ALLAN SEKULA, FISH STORY, „PRODAVAČICE NA RIBARNICI ZA
VRIJEME ZATVARANJA JUTARNJE PRODAJE, PUERTO PESQUERO,
VIGO, GALICIJA, ŠPANJOLSKA. SVIBANJ 1992.“, AUTORSKA PRAVA
ALLAN SEKULA & RICHTER VERLAG DÜSSELDORF

PHOTOGRAPHY IN
THE CONTEXT OF
BIOPOLITICS

ALLAN SEKULA, FISH STORY, „SALESWOMAN AT THE
FISH MARKET DURING THE CLOSING OF THE MORNING
SALE, PUERTO PESQUERO, VIGO, GALICIA, SPAIN, MAY 1992“,
COPYRIGHT BY ALLAN SEKULA & RICHTER VERLAG, DÜSSELDORF

The Condition of the Working Class in England, in which the German philosopher describes what he saw in 1844 from the ship while it was entering the London harbour: “The traveller has good reason to marvel at England’s greatness even before he steps on English soil. It is only later that the traveller appreciates the human suffering that has made all this possible.”²⁹ Asking the rhetorical question why anyone would be “foolish enough to argue today that the world economy might be intelligently viewed from the deck of a ship,” Sekula explains the reasons for his enterprise, admitting that his arguments runs against the commonly held view that the computer and telecommunications are the sole engines of the third industrial revolution. In effect, he is arguing for the continued importance of maritime space in order to counter the exaggerated importance attached to that largely metaphysical construct of “cyberspace” and the corollary myth about the “instantaneous” contact between distant spaces. Sekula also admits that he is struck by the ignorance of intellectuals and their self-congratulating conceptual aggrandizement of “information”, which is frequently accompanied by peculiar erroneous beliefs, such as the quasi-anthropomorphic notion that most of the world’s cargo travels

as people do, by air. He calls that phenomenon an instance of blinkered narcissism of the information specialist, a “materialism” that goes no further than “the body”. The proliferation of air-courier companies and mail-order catalogues serves the professional, domestic, and leisure needs of the managerial and intellectual classes, who do nothing to bring consciousness down to earth, or to turn it into the direction of the sea, the forgotten space. Saving from the oblivion the fact that it was precisely the sea routes in the seventeenth century which enabled the creation of the free market as a concept, he reminds us that it still takes eight days to cross the Atlantic and about twelve to cross the Pacific, concluding with the insight that a society of accelerated flows is also a society of deliberately slow movement in certain key aspects. The “forgetting” of the sea by late modern elites parallels its renewed intransigence for desperate population of the Third World: for Sri Lankans, Chinese, Haitians, Cubans, for the Filipinos and Indonesians who work the sealanes. Air travel assures that bourgeois cosmopolitanism no longer requires any contact with the sea. Different social classes no longer rub shoulders in the departure terminals of the great steamship lines. And cruise ships, the

Month, February 2007, <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/month/feb2007.html>

⁵ Allan Sekula, „The Body and the Archive“, *October*, 39 (1986.), MIT Press, 5.

⁶ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, Vintage, London, 2000, 93.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁸ Michel Foucault, *Riječi i stvari: Arheologija humanističkih nauka*, Nolit, Beograd, 1971., 186–187.

⁹ Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France 1978 – 1979*, Michel Sennelart (ur.), Plagrave Macmillan, 2008.

¹⁰ Allan Sekula, „The Body and the Archive“, 11–14.

¹¹ Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, University of Chicago Press, 1996, 4–5.

¹² Nancy Armstrong, *Fiction in the Age of Photography: The Legacy of British Realism*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass., London, 2002., 16–19.

¹³ *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière*, Bourneville-Régnard, Paris: Bureaux du Progrès medical/Delahaye & Lecrosnier, 1876.–1877., 167 str., 40 fotografskih tabli. *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière*, Bourneville-Régnard, Paris: Bureaux du Progrès medical/Delahaye & Lecrosnier, 1878., 232 str., 39 fotografskih tabli. *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière*, Bourneville-Régnard, Paris: Bureaux du Progrès medical/Delahaye & Lecrosnier, 1879.–1880., 261 str., 40 fotografskih tabli.

¹⁴ O metodama indukcije histeričnog napada, odnosno torture s ciljem teatralizacije i erotizacije histeričnog tijela vidjeti u Georges Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria: Charcot and the Photographic Iconography of the Salpêtrière*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England, 2003.

¹⁵ Allan Sekula, „The Body and the Archive“, 16–56.

¹⁶ Pojašnjenje termina „multipl bez originala“ vidjeti u tekstovima: Rosalind E. Krauss, „The Originality of the Avant-Garde“, u: *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths*, The MIT Press, Cambridge Massachusetts, London, England, 1986.; Walter Benjamin, „Umjetničko djelo u razdoblju tehničke reprodukcije“, u: *Estetički ogleđi*, Školska knjiga, Zagreb, 1986.

¹⁷ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 76–77.

¹⁸ Guy Debord, *Društvo spektakla*, Bastard Books, Arkzin, Zagreb, 1999., 35–36, 184.

¹⁹ Maud Lavin, *Cut with the Kitchen Knife: The Weimar Photomontages of Hannah*

Höch, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1993.

²⁰ Allan Sekula, „On the Invention of Photographic Meaning“, 108.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 102–103.

²² Frederick Jameson, „Postmodernizam ili kulturna logika kasnog kapitalizma“, u: Ivan Kuvacić i Gvozden Flego (ur.), *Postmoderna: Nova epoha ili zabluda*, Naprijed, Zagreb, 1988., 190–191, 226.

²³ Taj podatak iznosi Colin Mercer u razgovoru sa Sanjinom Dragojevićem objavljenom u tekstu „Kreativne industrije trenutno su najisplativiji industrijski sektor“, *Zarez*, 157 (2005.), Zagreb, 16. 5. 2005.

²⁴ Michael Hardt & Antonio Negri, *Empire*, Harvard University Press, 2001., 33.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 23.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 345–347.

²⁷ Izvor: <http://www.facebook.com/notes/on-the-ground-news-reports/confirmed-goldman-sachs-invests-in-facebook-at-50-billion-valuation-nytimes/167555656620997>

²⁸ Termin preuzet od W. J. T. Mitchella; vidjeti tekst „The Work of Art in the Age of Biocybernetic Reproduction“, u: W. J. T. Mitchell, *What do Pictures Want?: The Lives and Loves of Images*, The University of Chicago Press, 2005.

²⁹ Citirano prema Allan Sekula, „Dismal Science: Part 1“, u: *Fish Story*, Richter Verlag, Düsseldorf, 2002., 42.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 48–51.

³¹ Izvor: <http://www.france24.com/fr/20100426-socialisme-jean-luc-godard-cineaste-comme-vous-aviez-deja-vu-cannes-festival-uncertainregard>

floating apartheid machines of postmodern leisure, have a way of obscuring from passengers the miserable conditions endured by the third world crews, who cater to their mobility and their desires.³⁰

To the spectacle that “skillfully organizes ignorance of what is going on, followed by the oblivion of what could still be known,” Sekula’s *Fish Story* responds by insisting on knowledge that is possible only through historical memory. It is a physical journey and a socially responsible intellectual adventure at the same time, with one of its “chapters” manifested in the form of an aestheticized photographic print, and yet it does not separate the positions of the “seers” and “witnesses”, since the voice that the photographer has given to the “mute testimony” does not allow for the possibility to separate the “image-maker” from the “social embeddedness of images.” In the society of the spectacle, Sekula’s photographs cannot become “abstract fetishes” or “significant forms” precisely because the *Fish Story* exists only in the process of permanent transgression of the canonized forms of discourse. Its active practice, which continuously indicates the multiple intersections of the fictional and the factual, successfully avoids the typology that would bring the carefully selected narratives to a “closure”. Despise for the closure in narration and the rejection of the dichotomies between documentary and fictional, or

art production and theoretical reflection, the avoidance of aestheticization, and especially the motif of the sea and sailing, is what conceptually links Sekula’s *Fish Story* with Godard’s latest masterpiece (which term I am using here consciously and intentionally), an utterly hectic film from 2010 entitled *Film Socialisme*. It has no plot and its protagonists – the media image and the money – disembody the reality. Rejecting all coherent structure and an understandable script, the film gets its rhythm from the scenes of the act of taking photographs and shooting with a video camera. Words of characters that appear accidental and sentences that are heard in the background are quotations from various texts authored by Walter Benjamin, Jacques Derrida, Hannah Arendt, Otto von Bismark, Jean-Paul Sartre, Denis de Rougemont, Luigi Pirandello, Samuel Beckett, William Shakespeare, Jean Genet, and others. Whereas the first shot shows us the movement of water mass, caused by a sailing ship, a voice in the background is saying: *Money is a public good, therefore it is like water. A day before the official distribution, Godard uploaded the entire Film Socialisme on YouTube*³¹ divided into six parts, which are shown in circle and “turn” with an ever greater acceleration. That act is his commentary on the categories of copyright and intellectual property, on which the presently most profitable economic sector is based – the creative industry.

¹ "Action in Belgium against the International Assembly of Art Critics," quoted from: Ken Knabb (ed.), *Situationist International Anthology* (Berkeley: Bureau of Public Secrets, 2006), 60.

² "Ideologies, Classes, and the Domination of Nature," in: *Situationist International Anthology* (Berkeley: Bureau of Public Secrets, 2006), 131.

³ Allan Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning," in: Victor Burgin (ed.), *Thinking Photography* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1982), 94.

⁴ Quoted from: William Henry Fox Talbot, *The Pencil of Nature* (London, 1844), Glasgow University Library – Special Collections Department, Book of the Month, February 2007, <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/month/feb2007.html>.

⁵ Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," *October* 39 (1986), MIT Press, 5.

⁶ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida* (London: Vintage, 2000), 93.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁸ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 140.

⁹ Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France 1978 – 1979*, ed. by Michel Sennelart (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

¹⁰ Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," 11-14.

¹¹ Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (University of Chicago Press, 1996), 4-5.

¹² Nancy Armstrong, *Fiction in the Age of Photography: The Legacy of British Realism* (London and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 16-19.

¹³ *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière*, Bourneville-Régnard (Paris: Bureaux du Progrès medical/Delahaye & Lecrosnier, 1876-1877), 167 p., 40 photographic plates; *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière*, Bourneville-Régnard (Paris: Bureaux du Progrès medical/Delahaye & Lecrosnier, 1878), 232 p., 39 photographic plates; *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière*, Bourneville-Régnard (Paris: Bureaux du Progrès medical/Delahaye & Lecrosnier, 1879-1880), 261 p., 40 photographic plates.

¹⁴ On the methods of inducing an attack of hysteria, that is, torture with the aim of dramatization and eroticization of the hysterical body, see Georges Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria: Charcot and the Photographic Iconography of the Salpêtrière* (London and Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003).

¹⁵ Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," 16-56.

¹⁶ Clarification of the term "multiple without an original" can be found in Rosalind E. Krauss, "The Originality of the Avant-Garde," in: *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (London and Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1986); Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in: idem, *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken, 1969).

¹⁷ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 76-77.

¹⁸ Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* (Canberra: Hobgoblin Press, 2002).

¹⁹ Maud Lavin, *Cut with the Kitchen Knife: The Weimar Photomontages of Hannah Höch* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

²⁰ Allan Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning," 108.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 102-103.

²² Frederick Jameson, *Postmodernism or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

²³ That information was supplied by Colin Mercer in an interview by Sanjin Dragojević, published in "Kreativne industrije trenutno su najisplativiji industrijski sektor" [Creative industries are currently the most profitable industrial sector], *Zarez* 157 (16 May 2005).

²⁴ Michael Hardt & Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Harvard University Press, 2001), 33.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 23.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 345-347.

²⁷ Source: <http://www.facebook.com/notes/on-the-ground-news-reports/confirmed-goldman-sachs-invests-in-facebook-at-50-billion-valuation-nytmes/167555656620997>.

²⁸ The term is borrowed from W. J. T. Mitchell; cf. "The Work of Art in the Age of Biocybernetic Reproduction," in: idem, *What do Pictures Want?: The Lives and Loves of Images* (The University of Chicago Press, 2005).

²⁹ Quoted from Allan Sekula, "Dismal Science: Part 1," in: *Fish Story* (Düsseldorf: Richter Verlag, 2002), 42.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 48-51.

³¹ Source: <http://www.france24.com/fr/20100426-socialisme-jean-luc-godard-cineaste-comme-vous-aviez-vu-cannes-festival-uncertainregard>.