The Art of War:

An Interrogation of the Aesthetics and Poetics of Visual Representations of Conflict

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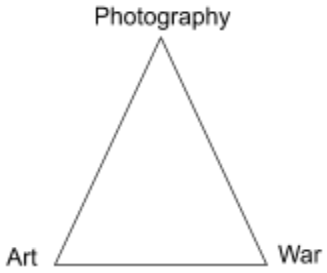
To my supervisor Dr Helen Westgeest, for her guidance and mentorship.

Introduction

The Art of War: the association of the title of this thesis with ancient Chinese military strategist Sun Tzu's identically titled treatise on military strategy and tactics is not coincidental. This thesis is about the art of images of war, or, in other words, about photography, art, and war. The choice of those three key terms is strategic as they form a triangle of multiple relations with different meanings. Let us briefly consider the axes of the triangle.



Photography-Art: Today, photography is considered an art form, but this has not always been the case. There is also art photography which is not the same as documentary photography and while "many viewers still bristle at the blurring of fact and fiction," as art historian Lucy Soutter writes, constructed images can be a valid tool for documentary strategies within contemporary art and "offer new ways to think about the complex reality in which we live."[1]

Art-War: In order to address the topic of war photography, the intersection of art and war is important to consider. "Theatre of war," "the art of war," "martial arts," these metaphors have entered the English language because of the connotation warfare carries with craft and technical skill (the meaning of "art" in Latin).

War-Photography: This axis, which is the focal point of this thesis, relates to images of war, which, according to media scholar Barbie Zelizer, "have come to represent an elaborated template for imagining and assessing the wars of the twenty-first century."[2] The increased circulation of images in the media with the advent of digitization has engendered another metaphor, the so-called "war of images." Just as military strategy can be perfected to a skillful mastery, so can images of war be recruited in "the war of images," which art historian Julian Stallabrass defined as the making and use of images as a

[1] Soutter, 2013, 52.
[2] Zelizer, 2004, 115.

constitutive part of the conflict, not merely a record of it.[3] In this sense, the title *The Art of War* also aims to convey the strategic and tactical importance of the image in modern warfare.

War is a matter of politics. As a consequence, war photography is intrinsically political, a condition which especially resonates with photojournalism. The photojournalistic practice can adopt a critical stance on social issues and foreign policy, however, photojournalists are bound to the institutions they represent and have limited freedom to express views that conflict with the interests of media conglomerates and their political affiliations. Artists, on the other hand, enjoy more freedom in this regard and it is generally assumed that art photography can shed a critical perspective on the practices of press conflict photography as artists are unencumbered by the frames imposed upon photojournalists by the institutional practices of professional media. While this is true in many artistic approaches to war photography, it could be argued that this very distinction between art photography and photojournalism is a convention in itself. Because of art's critical potential there seems to be an expectation that art will use the freedom denied photojournalism and be critical of its ideological dispositions. This thesis aims to examine the conventions governing both photojournalism and art with regard to war photography. More specifically, how are conventions in representations of war in photojournalism interrogated by artists and what conventions in turn govern artistic approaches to war photography? The relationship between art and war photography will be examined in relation to three artworks, which present a complementary approach towards the discussed issues.

The ability of images to represent events depends largely on the relationship between an image and its context, most often explained in its caption. As literature scholar Jefferson Hunter has remarked, "For good or bad, a photograph is always an object in a context, and the context is determined most obviously by the words next to the photograph."[4] War photographs need to be moored to textual information in order to shape viewers' understanding of the events depicted. Image-text relations are the central focus of Chapter 1 in which the complex relationship between image and text in war photography is deconstructed through an examination of playwright and poet Bertolt Brecht's *Kriegsfibel* (1955) and artist duo Adam Broomberg and Oliver Chanarin's *War Primer 2* (2011), itself an appropriation of Brecht's book. *Kriegsfibel* is an antiwar photobook that consists of press clippings of World War II photographs and accompanied by four-line poems written by Brecht. The artist's photobook is an exemplary site for unconventional image-text sutures and this chapter will examine

[3] Stallabrass, 2013.
[4] Hunter, 1987, 11.

how the two photobooks relate and overlap, and what arguments they contribute to debates on image-text relations, such as those theorised by art historian W.J.T. Mitchell.

"What happens when war is reduced to a photograph?" Zelizer asked in *Reporting War: Journalism in Wartime* (2004). This question is pertinent to the problematic in Chapter 2, which maps out the ways in which press photography produces and reproduces visual repertoires. Taking visual artist Coralie Vogelaar's *Recognized/Unrecognized* series (2016) as the central case study, this chapter will examine how press war photography creates visual tropes that shape ways of seeing and framing in news reporting. In her series, Vogelaar, with the use of an algorithm, attempted a visual deconstruction of the aesthetics of newsworthy wars, conflicts, and humanitarian crises. Such a deconstruction warrants the application of theories of visual framing which is provided by communication scholars Lulu Rodriguez and Daniela Dimitrova. Vogelaar's algorithmic analysis shows that most news photographs adhere to certain conventions in art historical painting composition. In support of these findings, visual analyses by Zelizer and Mitchell are illuminating with regards to the visual similarities between war imagery and the Western art historical tradition. Another key issue addressed in Chapter 2 is the ways international photography contests, such as the World Press Photo, act as conglomerations for the fabrication of visual tropes of otherness, a point elucidated in a study by media scholars Marta Zarzycka and Martijn Kleppe.

The third and final chapter of this thesis problematizes a different kind of aesthetic in visualisations of war. Given the discourses on the crisis of representation and compassion fatigue in conflict photography, some contemporary photographers have responded by inverting the conventions of photojournalism. Such a response is exemplified by photographer Luc Delahaye's *History* series (2001-2003). As mentioned above, this thesis aims to interrogate conventions in the relationship between war photography and photojournalism as well as war photography and art. Delahaye's artistically conceived *History* series shows the complexity of this issue and engenders debates about conventions governing both art and photojournalism. From the selected artists, Delahaye is the only one with a background in photojournalism. Delahaye's transition into the art world is an interesting case as his photojournalism was regarded as an embodiment of the tenets of the profession inherited from its founding fathers Henri Cartier-Bresson and Robert Capa, a point argued by literary scholar Jan Mieszkowski. Thus, the final chapter will discuss how Delahaye challenges the dominant codes of photojournalism and how his series fits within debates about ethical approaches to the representation of war. Delahaye's shift from a photojournalist to an artist who concerns himself with newsworthy subject matter intended for the art world is, according to art historian Erina Duganne, a response to the crisis in photojournalism. A complementary account is provided by Mieszkowski who maintains that the

aesthetics of distance and emotional disengagement in Delahaye's *History* series is an act of resistance against the oversaturated economy of conflict imagery. The question of ethics in regard to Delahaye's series is another key debate addressed in the chapter, steered through the opposing views of theorists Michael Fried and Ariella Azoulay on war photography's ethical obligations. Literature on the practices of aesthetic journalism and anti-photojournalism by Hilde van Gelder, Lucy Soutter, and Alfredo Cramerotti offers illuminating insights into the series. Last but not least, there can hardly be a discussion of war photography ethics without cultural critic Susan Sontag's seminal text *Regarding the Pain of Others* (2003).

The selected three artworks are complementary in that they reflect on the crisis in photojournalism and/or the proliferation of war imagery from various angles and converge on different points. *War Primer 2* addresses the issue of the diffuse authorship of images in a digital era when government-media collaborations are no longer effective in constraining the dissemination of war imagery and overt censorship has, in many ways, become impossible. Vogelaar's series addresses the crisis in photojournalism from the perspective of conventions governing media representations of war and the ways these conventions are shaped by various factors such as technological developments and determining cultural ideological dispositions in image making. From the examined artistic approaches to representations of war, Luc Delahaye is the only case in which the images in the artwork are produced rather than collected from archives. In *War Primer 2*, Broomberg and Chanarin work with archives of images with diffused authorship and while *Recognized/Unrecognized* primarily works with news images, Vogelaar also recognizes citizen photojournalism as an important variable in the economy of press images.

One last remark, in order to convey the various complex interrelations between key terms, I occasionally make use of the sign "X" which I borrow from Mitchell's appropriation of it as a "Joycean verbo-voco-visual pun."[5] In other words, X conveys how the relations between terms such as image-text, art-photojournalism alternatively evince differences and similarities and denote both *versus* and *as*. Thus, X expresses the fusion, overlap between key concepts, or even artworks, and represents the intersection of the crossover between them.

[5] Mitchell, 2015, 181.

Chapter 1: The Book of War

"If somewhere in the vicinity of every photograph there is a hand holding a pen, ready to write a preface, a caption, an Agee-style excursus or Laughlin-style elegy, there is somewhere in the vicinity of many poems a photograph, real or imagined, hinted at or precisely described."[6]

A lot is at stake when the relation of visual and verbal codes is considered in the context of war. The metaphorical concept of images as weapons of war has been explored by many photography theorists. Likewise, the caption has been recognized as a powerful weapon in war's arsenal which is what drove German poet and dramatist Bertolt Brecht to produce *Kriegsfibel* [War Primer] in 1955. *Kriegsfibel* is an antiwar photobook about World War II, consisting of clippings of photographs culled from newspapers and magazines and accompanied by epigrammatic quatrains composed by Brecht, a layout which clearly draws attention to the relationship between image and text. Artist duo Adam Broomberg and Oliver Chanarin's *War Primer 2* is a radical appropriation of Brecht's work and compounds the disjunctive image-word strategies in *Kriegsfibel*. By close-reading photo-epigrams from both *Kriegsfibel* and *War Primer 2,* this chapter maps out the complex relations and layers of meaning created by the *Kriegsfibel* X *War Primer 2* symbiosis guided by W.J.T. Mitchell's theoretical insights into image-text relations.

The Image X Text Problematic in Photography

Etymologically, the image versus text dialectic can be traced to the poetry versus painting debate in art history. The Greek poet Simonides of Ceos, to whom the *ut pictura poesis* tradition is attributed, is referred to in the opening of German philosopher Gotthold Ephraïm Lessing's essay *Laocoon* (1766) as "a man of fine feeling" as he was the first to compare painting with poetry.[7] Leonardo da Vinci's *Paragone* extolls the supremacy of painting and sculpture over poetry.[8] As art historian William John Thomas Mitchell remarks, "it is easy [...] to be persuaded by Deleuze's suggestion that the antinomy of word and image is something like a historical *a priori.*"[9] Comparisons of the arts – finding similarities,

[6] Hunter, 1987, 161.
[7] Gotthold Ephraïm Lessing quoted in: Mitchell, 1987, 48.
[8] Leonardo da Vinci cited in: Mitchell, 1987, 48.
[9] Mitchell, 1994, 83.

differences, and analogies – have informed the tradition of art history. Critical theory has attempted to bridge this divide between the visual and the verbal and find a system to unify these *seemingly* different codes, almost polar opposites, which nevertheless belong to the same systems of reference, representation, denotation, and meaning. Thus, critical discourse has been marked by attempts to synthesise a theory of art which unifies pictorial and verbal signs into a synoptic theory of aesthetics and semiotics.[10] Following the so-called "linguistic turn" of the 1960s and 1970s in which the dialectical relationship of image-text was observed in binary oppositions such as signifier and signified, index, icons and symbols, connotations and denotations, a "pictorial turn" in visual culture studies has dominated the humanities since the 1990s which is not to suggest the privileging of images over texts but rather their mutual interdependence and intertwining.[11] Photography theorist Victor Burgin, for example, writes that, "We rarely see a photograph in use which does not have a caption or a title."[12]

The subject of the image-text is "unavoidable and necessary" as there are no pure media; "all media are mixed media" within which "different codes, discursive conventions, channels, sensory and cognitive modes" are combined.[13] The relationship between an image and text represents an "unstable dialectic" and verbal and visual experiences cannot be systematically separated.[14] Attempts at separating the representational fields of the verbal and visual are historically grounded in the comparative method which has its limitations. A comparative approach to the study of image-text relations can be arbitrary rather than informed by the presumed objectivity of the scientific method. Comparison in itself is not necessary when considering image-text relations as there is a whole ensemble of relations outside similarity, resemblance, and analogy. A lack of consideration for these variables and their incommensurability represents a pitfall as it may attempt to render homogeneous the heterogeneous relations between the verbal and the visual. Any comparative study needs to be historically contextualised as theoretical considerations are often an emanation of the governing conventions within art historical pedagogical frameworks on verbal-visual relations. The complexity of such relations requires analysis on a meta level where not only the differences between the image-text relations are interrogated, but the meanings produced by those differences or similarities are also questioned, and the significance of conjunctions considered. A comparative strategy should address the image-text problematic but refrain from homogenising outcomes. Often, the comparative impulse stems not from theoretical considerations but normative judgements on medium specificity. An example of

[10] Mitchell, 1987.
[11] Horstkotte & Pedri, 2008, 2.
[12] Burgin, 1982, 144.
[13] Mitchell, 1994, 94-95.
[14] Mitchell, 1994, 83.

this is the transition of the visual to the verbal in cinema – from silent film to the "talkies." Nevertheless, a comparative analysis has value as it tries to critically connect different aspects of cultural experiences. One way to avoid the reductionist tendencies of the comparative method, argues Mitchell, is to insist on "literalness and materiality" which are found in mixed vernacular arts such as illustrated texts, newspapers, film, theatre, and television.[15] These media, contends Mitchell, offer empirical material in which the prevailing conventions of image-text relations can be observed. What is more, they represent sites of struggle where the image can either "resist or collaborate with language."[16] In illustrated newspapers in particular traditional image-text relations elicit a more rigid, formulaic suturing of visual and verbal codes. Artists' books, on the other hand, can exhibit completely disjunctive image-text relations unencumbered by or inverting photojournalistic conventions.

In the relation between the visual and the verbal, different degrees of integration or opposition can exist. Theories of intermediality identify a number of strategies for image and text interactions. Intermedial references can, in varying degrees, be either manifest or hidden. They are manifest when visual and verbal codes are explicitly combined, and hidden when one medium is implicitly evoked within another. More implicit forms of integration can occur either through an ekphrastic reference to a visual artifact in a text or, conversely, through an image's reference to a prior verbal text.[17] Photography theorist and artist Allan Sekula believed that photographs communicate their message through hidden, or implicit texts ("a system of linguistic propositions").[18] In illustrated texts or images with titles or captions, intermedial references can manifest as more straightforward combinations, which nevertheless privilege one medium over the other. Instances where the overlaying of both visual and verbal codes is indispensable to the constructed meaning are demonstrated in composite forms such as collage and montage.[19] Press conflict photography often employs hidden intermedial references, an issue discussed in Chapter 2. The following sections examine how the antiwar photobook manifests image-text relations which deliberately construct disjunctive, experimental, and radical conjunctions. French philosopher Michel Foucault's reflection on image-text relations is apt within the context of war photography. Foucault described the image-text relationship as "a whole series of intersections – or rather attacks launched by one against the other, arrows shot at the enemy target, enterprises of subversion and destruction, lance blows and wounds, a battle."[20]

[15] Mitchell, 1994, 90.
[16] Mitchell, 1994, 324.
[17] Horstkotte & Pedri, 2008.
[18] Sekula, 1982, 85.
[19] Horstkotte & Pedri, 2008.
[20] Michel Foucault quoted in: Mitchell, 2015, 174.

The Twentieth-Century Antiwar Photobook

The photobook became an important phenomenon only in the twentieth century when technical developments in printing allowed for the mass dissemination of illustrated books. The capacity for irony in image-text juxtapositions has been exploited by many photographers and writers in making serious commentaries on social and political issues. The twentieth-century antiwar photobook is an example of how the ironic potential of the image versus text confrontation became a modernist tactic to air sweeping rhetoric. Literature scholar Jefferson Hunter identifies a number of antiwar photobooks from the twentieth century which show various approaches to this issue.[21] Frederick Barber's *The Horror of It: Camera Records of War's Gruesome Glories* (1932) and Laurence Stallings' *The First World War: A Photographic History* (1933) are two notable examples. Barber's book employs a relatively straightforward division of labour between image and text. It contains laconic captions under the photographs, perhaps assuming that the images speak more than words can describe. For example, many images show corpses strewn on the ground, some are decomposing, others mangled and decapitated; these are captioned with short phrases or single words: "Field of Glory," "Landscape," "At Rest," "Bones" (Fig. 1). In one particularly didactic example, two consecutive images are named "Cause" and "Effect," the first shows what appears to be a mound of bombshells, while the second image shows an equally large pile of skulls, suggesting a causal relationship between the two (Fig. 2). As Hunter notes, the book's relentless irony, sarcasm, and shock-effect wear off "until the reader can hardly bear to turn its pages."[22] Overuse of irony can dilute the impact of anything which is why Barber's pacifist endeavor was ultimately self-defeating, concludes Hunter. Stallings' book, on the other hand, makes more effective use of irony than Barber's contrived rhetoric. The book begins with a sardonic preface written by Stallings in which "[t]he editor is conscious of his shortcomings in the matter of captions."[23] Stallings' irony reveals a degree of self-reflexivity that acknowledges the impossibility of language providing an answer to the images shown in the book. Stallings writes that no conclusions can be drawn from the book, the images are only the "camera['s] record of chaos."[24] This conscious endeavor on Stallings' part, writes Hunter, is more successful because it turns irony into a subject and not a method. Stallings' equally implacable pacifism reveals a more complex purpose in that he tries to undermine the grand narratives of war by juxtaposing political rhetoric against disillusionment with nationalist sentiments.

[21] Hunter, 1987.
[22] Hunter, 1987, 19.
[23] Laurence Stallings quoted in: Hunter, 1987, 19.
[24] Laurence Stallings quoted in: Hunter, 1987, 19.

One image captioned “A place in the sun” shows German amputees gathered around a swimming pool (Fig. 3). Another image turns the popular morale-boosting phrase “Keep the home fires burning” into something horrific (Fig. 4).[25] Stallings’ method borrowed directly from antiwar poetry and prose that expressed disillusionment with European nationalism. In this way, Stallings’ book is a visual-verbal counterpart to antiwar literature from the early twentieth-century. The disjunctive image-text combinations Stallings employs are reminiscent, contends Hunter, of the approaches adopted by the poet T.S. Eliot. According to Mitchell, however, the composite art of poet-painter William Blake is the archetypal example of the allure and arbitrariness of the comparative method with regards to the image-text problem. Mitchell considers Blake’s composite art as one that demands both visual and verbal literacy as the image-text combinations of his books “range from the absolutely disjunctive to the absolutely synthetic identification of verbal and visual codes.”[26] For Mitchell, Blake’s art unequivocally exemplifies the various ways in which the genre of the artist book exhibits radical and experimental image-text relations.

Image-text relations can become even more complicated when additional layers of image or text are introduced and even more so if the images were previously published in a different context. Such is the case of Bertolt Brecht’s *Kriegsfibel* [War Primer]. *Kriegsfibel* tells a fictionalised story of World War II in a sardonic tone, deploring the actions of Germany and expressing distrust towards the political agenda of the Western Allies. The photographs in *Kriegsfibel*, which Brecht began collecting during his years of exile from Germany in Scandinavia and the United States, are a paradoxical amalgamation of American, Swedish, and German newspaper prints, Nazi propaganda photographs, studio photographs, aerial reconnaissance images, as well as snapshots from Brecht’s personal albums. The sixty-nine image-text combinations in *Kriegsfibel,* which Brecht called “photo-epigrams,” were published in the GDR (German Democratic Republic) in 1955. In this composite work, Brecht’s quatrains are placed beneath clippings of press images, mostly from *Life* magazine, many of which still retain their original captions. As a result, several layers of interpretation are required on the part of both spectator and writer. Taking into account the original context, its meaning to later viewers as well as the writer’s reason for selecting a given image, the process of interpretation becomes a conscious exercise for the viewer, claims Hunter.[27] As the name “primer” (a children’s manual to learn the alphabet) suggests, *Kriegsfibel* has a simple and entertaining inflection. Some photo-epigrams evoke the ironic juxtapositions of Stallings where an ecstatic quatrain captions the grim political reality. In plate 42, for

[25] Gulyas, no date.
[26] Mitchell, 1994, 91.
[27] Hunter, 1987.

example, under a photograph in *Life* magazine of German Field Marshal Erwin Rommel drinking a toast before the retreat of his Afrika Korps, Brecht salutes "The great Misleader [...] of foes and friends!" with "Cheers!" (Fig. 5). Brecht's taunting continues with the next plate where we see the legs of a dead German infantryman sticking grotesquely out of the ground, whose "thrill of marching bands and banners flying" was crushed and his only option was to dive for cover. However, "There was none." (Fig. 6). As Hunter writes, "Bleak humour is only one of Brecht's effects. In subsequent quatrains he is elegiac, vulgar, infuriated, cryptic, facetious, sympathetic, earnest in the manner of recruiting posters, lapidary in the manner of memorial inscriptions, and eloquently imitative of battlefield derangement."[28] In some plates, Brecht is the omniscient narrator while in others he envoices the figures in the photographs. In plate 45, the American senators Sol Bloom and Holden Tinkham address the spectator with: "Behold us here, antagonists. See how/ Each angry look is like a poisoned dagger." (Fig. 7). In other plates, Brecht adopts a lighter form of playful mockery. Plate 32 is a caricature which simulates a conversation between Nazi Party members Joseph Goebbels and Hermann Goering: "'Joseph, I'm told you're saying it's a fact I loot things' – 'Hermann, looting's not for you.'" (Fig. 8).

The montage of image-text is a technique which Brecht deployed in his epic theatre through the use of explanatory captions or projected illustrations on a screen during a play (Fig. 9).[29] Textual projections in Brecht's theatre did not merely serve an aesthetic function, but were also politically motivated.[30] This method of montage was translated in *Kriegsfibel*. To understand *Kriegsfibel*, it is important to consider the concept of montage as understood by Brecht. Cultural critic and Brecht's contemporary Walter Benjamin writes about montage in Brecht's epic theatre as a technique to "interrupt the context into which it is inserted."[31] By interrupting the action on the stage, the illusion of reality is dispelled and seen for what it is – "an experimental set-up."[32] When the spectator becomes aware of the staged conditions of life, effected by an interruption of the dramatic processes, he recognises their artifice and is able to distance himself from them. The term Brecht uses for this distancing, or estrangement, is *Verfremdungseffekte* (creation of knowledge through making strange) which denotes the process by which the spectator's stupor is shattered, and his existing circuits of knowledge penetrated.[33] For Brecht, looking at press photographs should be governed by the same estrangement effect as his theatre in order to disabuse any notions of reality.[34]

[28] Hunter, 1987, 171.
[29] Luebering, no date.
[30] Mitchell, 1994.
[31] Benjamin, 1982, 28.
[32] Benjamin, 1982, 28.
[33] Larsson, 2015.
[34] Hunter, 1987.

Studies of *Kriegsfibel* have predominantly placed it within the framework of a Marxist corrective to the capitalist, Western narrative of World War II. However, argues visual arts scholar Jonathan Long, to think of *Kriegsfibel* as a critique of capitalism is rather myopic as the medium of photography has been inextricably tied to the capitalist state from its very invention.[35] A telling example being the fact that the French Parliament awarded Louis Daguerre and Isidore Niépce a lifetime pension in order to obtain the patenting rights to the photographic process and make it available to the public. Moreover, the photographic invention has been complicit in the imperial-capitalist enterprise of European expansionism.[36] Marxist intellectuals regarded the photographic medium as a conveyor of capitalist ideology with the image as its material expression. The distrust of Marxists towards the medium of photography crystallised during the Weimar Republic because of the proliferation of images in the media and their utilisation as a tool for political propaganda. Brecht's contention that the false consciousness behind photographic representations can be circumvented through the process of reinterpretation needs to be viewed within this historical context.[37] For Brecht, the photographic medium in a capitalist society is an epistemologically impoverished incarnation of the commodification of the work of art, capable of mere mimetic reproductions of reality.[38] Photography might be employed by the governing powers as a "weapon against the truth" but photography also has the potential to rise above its status as mere *Genussmittel,* and restore its political instrumentality through the caption.[39] Certainly, a caption can explain or falsify a photograph; alter the caption, alter its use.[40] In "Uber Fotografie" (1928), Brecht suggests combining images with text in order to repurpose photographs in the service of truth, an idea later developed by Walter Benjamin.[41] In "The Author as Producer," Benjamin writes that the photographer, or better yet, the writer who takes photographs, has the ability to "rescue" photography "from the ravages of modishness and confer upon it a revolutionary use value" by putting captions underneath photographs.[42] The photo-epigram, for Brecht, "creates interference in the reception of the photograph," a way of disrupting the mechanism of the ideologies at work.[43] Cultural critic Susan Sontag comments that Marxist moralists harbour the naive "hope that words will

[35] Long, 2008.
[36] Azoulay, 2018.
[37] Mitchell, 1987.
[38] Long, 2008.
[39] The German word *Genussmittel* refers to stimulating substances such as coffee, alcohol, and tobacco. The term is used pejoratively by Brecht to denote art whose value lies in its ability to entertain or induce pleasurable feelings. Both Brecht and Benjamin condemned the tendency of artworks to beautify reality expressed in their attack on New Objectivity photography embodied by Albert Renger-Patzsch's book *The World is Beautiful* (1928).
[40] Sontag, 2002.
[41] Long, 2008.
[42] Benjamin, 1982, 24.
[43] Buckley, 2018, 11.

save the picture" and demand that photographs "do what no photograph can ever do – speak."[44] For Marxist moralists, the caption can deliver the photograph from ideological deception and speak the truth. Long points out that the aim of repurposing the political instrumentality of photographs through the deployment of captions, advocated by the Brecht-Benjamin nexus, is problematic as the meaning-production of captions and reorganisation of political consciousness are two potentially incommensurable endeavours.[45]

Artist-writer Ruth Berlau, in the preface to the first edition of *Kriegsfibel* writes, "This book seeks to teach the art of reading images. For it is just as difficult for the untrained viewer to read images as it is for him to read hieroglyphs. The widespread ignorance of social relations that is carefully and brutally maintained by capitalism turns the thousands of photographs in illustrated magazines into true hieroglyphs that are indecipherable to the gullible reader."[46] Hunter and Long postulate that despite its sweeping antiwar, anticapitalist rhetoric, Berlau does not do justice to Brecht, because *Kriegsfibel* is less doctrinate than this preface suggests.[47] In fact, rather than teaching "the art of reading" pictures which are indecipherable hieroglyphs to the newspaper reader, *Kriegsfibel* shows that reading photographs can be problematic as images lend themselves to multiple interpretations. Long adds to this that the paratextual profusion in *Kriegsfibel* even precludes a coherent ideological reading.[48] Thus, Hunter and Long reason, *Kriegsfibel* is more than a didactic work of Marxist critique; Brecht's photo-epigrams lend themselves to interpretation as poems, not as translations to hieroglyphs.[49]

According to literature and visual studies scholar Jennifer Bajorek, in an image-sated medium, Brecht wanted readers not to learn from war but from photographs of it.[50] Ultimately, *Kriegsfibel* is about looking and ways of seeing – not looking at war as through a transparent window but looking at representations of war and seeing the act of looking at pictures of war. This intention is visible in the recurrent use of the imperative verb "See" in many of the quatrains and the selection of photographs showing people in the act of looking (Fig. 7, 10 & 12).[51] The final section analyses Broomberg and Chanarin's update of Brecht's enterprise and its addition of layers to an already complex structure.

[44] Sontag, 2005 [1977], 83-84.
[45] Long, 2008.
[46] Ruth Berlau quoted in: Long, 2008, 206.
[47] Hunter, 1987; Long, 2008.
[48] Long (2008) refers to the whole ensemble of texts (original newspaper captions, titles, explanatory notes, foreword, jacket copy, title page, and the author's signature) found in *Kriegsfibel* as paratextual profusion.
[49] Hunter, 1987; Long, 2008.
[50] Bajorek, 2011.
[51] Hunter, 1987.

War Primer 2

Adam Broomberg and Oliver Chanarin's *War Primer 2* forges a "metanarrative" on the so-called War on Terror through a heterogeneous mix of low resolution images taken from the virtual space of the Internet.[52] As art historian Katarzyna Ruchel-Stockmans notes, an important discussion on images of conflict in the wake of 9/11 revolves around the performative aspect and agency of these images.[53] As the Abu Ghraib photographs illustrated, images are no longer mere representations of conflict but have become constitutive elements of the events they record. In this collision between camera and weapon, the act of photography becomes a fundamental part of violent conflict. By "hijacking" Brecht's plates, Broomberg and Chanarin tackle the issue of agency of images of conflict in the post-9/11 era.[54] *War Primer 2* redoubles the experimental relations created by Brecht, saturating the layers of meaning. Broomberg and Chanarin have placed a new layer of color images on top of the original black and white images in *Kriegsfibel*, covering them partially or completely. This layered composition complicates the image-text relations even more as the collection of images pertaining to the War on Terror are placed above Brecht's original poems. Thus, *War Primer 2* itself offers a constellation of relations which combine with the already profuse paratextuality of the original work.[55] While *War Primer 2* has kept Brecht's quatrains, there are links and explanatory notes to the added photographs at the back of the book, running over English translator John Willet's notes with a red font (Fig. 11). Where Willet provided information about the original publication of the images in *War Primer*, Broomberg and Chanarin provide links to the websites the images were taken from. The digital language of links with compressed descriptions of the website to which they are connected generate poems in their own right.[56]

The variation in method of image collection between the two works illustrates a fundamental shift in media technologies. Brecht cut his images out of newspapers and magazines – professional media with control over the publication and dissemination of images. The images in *War Primer 2*, on the other hand, are drawn from sources as diverse as amateur and fashion photography, citizen journalism, screenshots from CCTV cameras, drones, videos, TV, films, and military trophy snapshots as well as press photography. This selection shows that the authorship of images has become diffuse. In

[52] Skinner, 2011, 275.
[53] Ruchel-Stockmans, 2015.
[54] "Hijacking" is Broomberg and Chanarin's term of choice for their appropriation of Brecht's work.
[55] Long, 2008.
[56] Skinner, 2011.

the age of digital media, professional media and governmental institutions can no longer exercise control over the political economy of images.[57] In *Kriegsfibel*, images of war were "corrected" by the discordant tone of Brecht's quatrains. Brecht aimed to treat images critically, an approach compounded by Broomberg and Chanarin. Moreover, *Kriegsfibel* changed tone and address between plates – the poems either redirected the viewer's attention or simply mirrored the original caption. Similarly, *War Primer 2* varies its pace by relating to Brecht's photo-epigrams through either mirroring or distortion.[58] Broomberg and Chanarin's images sometimes correspond to the events referenced in *Kriegsfibel* while in other cases the combinations seem disjunctive but produce a third unexpected meaning. Often, *War Primer 2* turns Brecht's satire and acerbic irony into a grotesque spectacle in "the theatre of war" in which spectators hijack, stage, imitate, and reproduce "real" violence.[59]

Artist-writer Justin Coombes argues that Broomberg and Chanarin's appropriation of *Kriegsfibel* brings the quatrains closer to Brecht's intended effect.[60] Where ekphrasis is not explicit, contends Coombes, an internal ekphrasis takes place. For example, Brecht's original plate 24 shows a clipping from a Swedish paper whose caption reads, "Searchlight display. We reproduce a picture from Associated Press, Berlin, showing a German fighter plane caught in English searchlights." (Fig. 12a-b). Brecht's quatrain reads as follows, "What you see here, caught in your night defences/ These steel and glass cocoons for killing people/ With tons of bombs, are just the consequences/ For all, and not the causes of the evil." Brecht's quatrain is straightforward. Through the literary device of simile, the fighter plane visible in the photograph is compared to a "steel and glass cocoon for killing people." In Broomberg and Chanarin's reworking of the plate, we see a screengrab from a CCTV footage of one of the suspected hijackers from 9/11 passing through airport security in Portland, Maine, with a superimposed text reading, "9-11-01 24h 5.45.13." Visually and contextually there is no direct correspondence with Brecht's plate, however, the process of triangulation produces an image of sinister dimensions. The collision of Brecht's poem with our knowledge of the event referenced in Broomberg and Chanarin's chosen image produces a powerful, anachronistic effect whereby Brecht's quatrain suddenly becomes prescient. In the era of post-9/11 paranoia, the "steel and glass cocoons" also become the airplanes and the catching is done by the CCTV camera. Brecht's quatrain becomes ominous, the causes of the evil are unknown; in the War on Terror, the enemy, the Other is unknown and deterritorialized. What is more, he could remain unrecognized even when "seen" by the CCTV camera. The internal ekphrasis creates the *Verfremdungseffekt* which Brecht sought.

[57] Ruchel-Stockmans, 2015.
[58] Skinner, 2011.
[59] Ruchel-Stockmans, 2015, 71.
[60] Coombes, 2011.

In another example, plate 12 in *Kriegsfibel* shows an image from an American newspaper which depicts an execution, its original caption reading, "The Germans were "kind" to this Frenchman. They blindfolded him before he was shot" (Fig. 13a). The ensemble of relations in the plate reveals an intricate irony. The Germans, granted a voice through the use of the first person plural pronoun "we" in Brecht's quatrain, address the reader: "And so we put him up against a wall:/ A mother's son, a man like we had been/ And shot him dead. And then to show you all/ What came of him, we photographed the scene." The original caption of the photograph betrays the cynical attitude of the American journalist, joined by Brecht's ironic envoicing of the German soldiers as thinking of themselves as noble and humane and wanting to demonstrate their humanity through the act of photography. According to Hunter, Brecht decided to include the original caption in order to show that the meaning of a photograph extends beyond the intention of its maker and captioner.[61] In order to see through the tangle of imposed interpretations, different perspectives, including the original context, need to be considered. Most importantly, adds Hunter, Brecht wanted to show how a photograph is *used*, regardless of who is doing the talking. A third layer of meaning is added in *War Primer 2* where all but the caption of Brecht's original plate is obscured by a photograph of what the endnote reveals to be a routine army procedure in which soldiers are required to identify casualties after a battle (Fig. 13b). In this photograph, the soldiers cut a dead Iraqi boy's clothes and strip him naked in order to look for identifying tattoos. The photograph shows them scanning his iris using a portable biometric scanner. This image is mirrored in Brecht's quatrain and this time the American soldiers become endowed with a conscience – the Iraqi is a mother's son like they are. While one might assume that the fallen men in the two images are merely casualties of war, a more macabre reality lurks behind Broomberg and Chanarin's image. Although the endnote to the photograph seems to explain what we are seeing, the link provided under the note (http://publicintelligence.net/rolling-stone-published-more-u-s-kill-team-photos-and-videos/) reveals that this photograph is part of a series of war trophy photographs which were leaked to the press and caused a scandal on the scale of Abu Ghraib. Broomberg and Chanarin's choice exposes the discordance between Brecht's quatrain satirizing the illusions of altruistic convictions and the grotesque sight of torture porn. The photograph, once again, is a photograph of the act of photography – the biometric iris scanner is evocative of the photographic apparatus which itself has become a weapon in the war's arsenal. Seeing and not seeing happens both figuratively – though our minds' perception – and literally – via the image imprinted on our oculus. The obstruction of view is also literal as *War Primer 2* willfully

[61] Hunter, 1987.

obscures Brecht's original plate, leaving our mind's eye to fill in the gaps.[62] Brecht's quatrain serves as a continuation of history and the exercise of control and "possession of the ocular" – the blindfolding of the prisoner in *Kriegsfibel* and scanning of the iris of the dead Iraqi boy.[63] The ironic attempt at compassion towards the prisoner in *Kriegsfibel* transformed into a macabre spectacle in *War Primer 2*. In both cases, the act of photography has become the ultimate act of violence.[64] Mutilated bodies, combined with Brecht's elegy or ludic parody, are a recurrent image in *War Primer 2*. Trophy photographs are not new in times of war as the photograph of a burnt skull in plate 53 in *Kriegsfibel* shows (Fig. 14). Nevertheless, Broomberg and Chanarin show that the theatres of war today "are even more gruesome, malign, and bleak."[65]

As Simone Weil wrote in her essay on war "The Iliad, or, The Poem of Force," "violence turns anybody subjected to it into a thing."[66] Broomberg and Chanarin's selection draws attention to discourses about the grievability of war, determined by the discursive frames which establish what theorist Judith Butler terms the "norms of recognizability."[67] The "depravity of aesthetics" has shifted into high gear and trophy photos are a form of entertainment – twenty-first century *Genussmittel*.[68] This is also indicated in Broomberg and Chanarin's choice for plate 50 which originally showed a carrot with a suggestive form (Fig. 15a). The editors of *Life* had asked their readers to send pictures to the magazine which would cheer US soldiers in the battlefield, the endnote explains, who were in need of entertainment.[69] Brecht's quatrain reads as follows, "So you may have what you've been pining for/ This sexy carrot might bring satisfaction./ A pinup for your tent on distant shores!/ They say such pictures rouse the dead to action!" In Broomberg and Chanarin's "update," The Hooded Man from Abu Ghraib covers the upper part of the carrot, the roots of which visually appear as an extension of the man's limbs (Fig. 15b). Broomberg and Chanarin's choice alludes to the sexual quality many of the Abu Ghraib photographs carry.[70] Moreover, the ludic parody of Brecht's quatrain chimes troublingly with the torture practices at Abu Ghraib where photographs of what art historian Stephen Eisenman has called the "eroticised chastisement" of the prisoners were, if not pinned up on the soldiers' tents, initially

[62] Skinner, 2011.
[63] Skinner, 2011, 276.
[64] The act of photography is a term theorised by Ariella Azoulay who argues that the taking of a photograph is a political act in which the participants are the photographer, the photographed person, and the spectator. See Ariella Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography* (2008) New York: Zone Books.
[65] Ruchel-Stockmans, 2015, 71.
[66] Simone Weil quoted in: Sontag, 2002.
[67] Judith Butler cited in: Lübecker, 2013, 402.
[68] Giroux, 2011.
[69] Ruchel-Stockmans, 2015.
[70] Evans, 2018.

disseminated electronically among military personnel before arriving from the "distant shores" of Abu Ghraib to the homes of millions of viewers.[71] While the initial experience of Brecht's quatrain and Broomberg and Chanarin's visual is disjunctive, perhaps unusual, the underlying contexts resonate. The produced third meaning is the realisation that the image of the "sexy carrot" seems like a rather innocuous form of *Genussmittel* in comparison.

Brecht's deep distrust of images is supported by the paratextual profusion in *Kriegsfibel* as a means to counter the capacity for ideological mystification and polysemy in images.[72] This is contrasted by a supplementation of further images by Broomberg and Chanarin, hindering Brecht's rational recourse to language. The relationship between photography and war has developed significantly since *Kriegsfibel*'s publication in 1955 and while the media landscape during World War II was already oversaturated, in today's interconnected world wide web in which violent imagery is a kind of "muzak" to the world, the critical questioning of images becomes an even more challenging task.[73] As Coombes suggested, *War Primer 2* reopens Brecht's quatrains and brings them "paradoxically closer" to Brecht's purpose than the original book.[74] The meanings we bring to bear on Brecht's poems in *War Primer 2* reaffirm the necessity of treating images critically, as Brecht wanted his audiences to do. The stratum of images in *War Primer 2* rejuvenates Brecht's photo-epigrams, accentuating the non-chronological, anachronistic nature of images whose interpretation is infinitely malleable and, as Sontag has remarked, "no caption can permanently restrict or secure a picture's meaning."[75] *War Primer 2* confirms Mitchell's theory about the unstable dialectic between image and text, and that there is no prescribed or single method of comparison for understanding all the relations they generate. *War Primer 2* creates an ensemble of relations which add layers of meaning to *Kriegsfibel*'s already complex project. Broomberg and Chanarin's reworking of *Kriegsfibel* not only invites the reevaluation of Brecht's approach to representations of war and the degree to which some of those issues still resonate today but it is also a thought-provoking formal exercise that interrogates the image-text relationship in war photography. The images of Adam Broomberg and Oliver Chanarin are weapons and Bertolt Brecht's quatrains pull the trigger.

[71] Stephen Eisenman quoted in: Evans, 2018, 162.
[72] Long, 2008.
[73] Skinner, 2011, 273.
[74] Coombes, 2011, 169.
[75] Sontag, 2005 [1977], 84.

Chapter 2: The Grace of Suffering

"Between the head shots of report and judgement and the heart shots of rapport and emotion, rest the lungs that experience the fog, stench and smoke and pass on the whispers of unsubstantiated reports. One can imagine a war portrayed only by head shots, images illustrating foreign policy and argument but, in the absence of heart shots of dread and excitement, it would not really be like a war."[76]

There are various levels of visual framing implicit in media representations of war. Frames create visual repertoires and particular ways of seeing which are time and again produced and reproduced by press photography. This chapter examines the practices of press conflict photography and the specific aesthetics it engenders through visual artist Coralie Vogelaar's project *Recognized/Unrecognized* (2016) (Fig. 16). For her series, Vogelaar worked with news images from major conflicts around the world distributed by popular stock (Getty) and press photo agencies (Reuters, Associated Press). Through the use of a computer algorithm, Vogelaar examined images from an archive of more than 850,000, which she classified as "successful" or "unsuccessful" depending on their popularity, and concluded that photographs with the most views on Google, i.e. "successful" images, adhere to certain conventions in art historical painting that spectators find aesthetically pleasing. This chapter analyses how Vogelaar's algorithmic analysis of the aesthetics of representations of war, conflict, and humanitarian crises interrogates conditioned ways of seeing and conventions of framing in the media. The first section of the chapter positions the *Recognized/Unrecognized* series within theories of semiotics and visual framing. A study by communication scholars Lulu Rodriguez and Daniela Dimitrova provides an overview of the key debates in visual framing in the media. The section that follows begins with Zelizer's analysis of the aesthetics of news images and looks at a number of photographs that support Vogelaar's findings. The section ends with a discussion of the practices of international photography contests such as the World Press Photo. The last section brings into focus the visual trope of the refugee as a product of the Western cultural imaginary, which serves as an analytical framework for the images pertaining to the European refugee crisis in the *Recognized/Unrecognized* series.

[76] Graham, 2013, 257.

The Image, the Frame, and the Symbol

Press images are subjected to the visual framing famously identified by Roland Barthes as the photographic paradox.[77] Only the photographic medium, compared to other media such as film or painting, contains both denotative and connotative messages, which stem from its analogical perfection. The latter, according to Barthes, is what defines the photograph. The visual (scene, object, landscape) and the textual (title, caption, article) constitute the denoted message of a photograph. The visual framing of press images happens within the connoted message of the image, which constitutes a symbolic order borrowing from stereotypes such as certain gestures, expressions, and the arrangement of elements. The denotative status of the photograph as a perfect analogon contains within it the myth of photographic objectivity, the spectre of which haunts the photojournalistic practice. On the level of denotation, an image may show a particular individual, thing or place but on the level of connotation there will be certain ideas and concepts associated with them. Thus, news images need to be analysed as signs with relations to other signs within the system of signs. For a discussion of the meaning of the different signs within the *Recognized/Unrecognized* series, reflections on the theory of semiotics of Charles Sanders Peirce in Rodriguez and Dimitrova's study are useful to consider. Peirce identified three types of signs – the index, the icon, and the symbol. The algorithm in *Recognized/Unrecognized* analyses on the level of icon, identifying compositional patterns by marking and tracing the shapes in the image with bright green or blue dots and lines, and facial recognition squares. Here, Vogelaar uses a different strategy from Brecht's *Verfremdungseffekt*. Rather than subversion through "making strange," Vogelaar shows how press photographs confirm the conventions through exaggeration of the familiar ordering; the algorithm of the press image is accentuated with lines, dots, and squares. This deconstruction of the patterns of icons, or the denoted message, allows for the analysis of the connoted messages implicit in the recognized patterns as press images are symbolic signs that communicate certain social meanings. According to Peirce, the meanings of symbols are highly personalised and culturally embedded and their effect on the spectator is stronger than that of indexical or iconic signs.[78]

The news frame, according to sociologists William Gamson and Andre Modigliani, is often the "central organising idea or storyline that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events" and suggests what the essence of the issue is.[79] Sociologist Todd Gitlin states that framing can also function as a

[77] Barthes, 1961.
[78] Charles Sanders Peirce cited in: Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011.
[79] Gamson and Modigliani quoted in: Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011, 49.

device for journalists to package dense information for their audiences.[80] The news image, emphasise media scholars James Hertog and Douglas McLeod, can be a powerful symbol that deploys recognizable myths and metaphors in building its narrative.[81] This creates "excess meaning" in the image as it activates ideas and notions shared among the members of a given culture.[82] Images work on a cognitive level and also have a strong affective potential. With rhetorical tools such as metaphors and symbols, argue William Gamson and David Stuart, images aim to capture the essence of an event graphically, "condensing symbols that suggest the core frame."[83]

According to visual communication scholars Paul Messaris and Linus Abraham, visuals have three distinguishing characteristics: 1. the analogical quality of images, 2. the indexicality of images, 3. the lack of an explicit propositional syntax in images.[84] The analogical quality of images refers to their interpretation based on similarity or analogy. Because of their true-to-life quality, photographs can obscure their constructedness. The second characteristic, the indexicality of the image, borrows from Peirce's theory of semiotics and refers the photograph's ability to serve as evidence for things that exist in the real world, which again can mislead spectators into taking their truth claim for granted. Even if an image has not been staged, framing happens on the level of selection, cropping, and editorial decisions. The third characteristic of images refers to their inadequacy in establishing cause and effect relationships as standalone depictions without text.[85] While editorial choices do form a certain visual syntax, spectators are often unaware of any pre-selection which favors certain choices over others. The first two characteristics of Abraham and Messaris' classification correspond to Barthes' concept of denotation of the photographic message. Rodriguez and Dimitrova name this the first level of framing, which applies the Gestalt principles of proximity (the grouping together of items according to their closeness), similarity (the grouping of visually analogous elements), closure (the perception of multiple elements as a totality), and equilibrium (the tendency toward order in the visual field).[86] With the convergence of these Gestalt principles, spectators seek to form "a coherent interpretation of the total image."[87] For example, in the images pertaining to the 2011 London Riots and the 2014 Kiev protests in *Recognized/Unrecognized*, the algorithm draws harmonious lines within the chaotic environments of those events, illustrating the Gestalt principles at work (Fig. 17a-b). Vogelaar has selected two images to

[80] Todd Gitlin cited in: Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011.
[81] James Hertog & Douglas McLeod cited in: Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011.
[82] James Hertog & Douglas McLeod quoted in: Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011, 50.
[83] William Gamson & David Stuart quoted in: Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011, 51.
[84] Paul Messaris & Linus Abraham cited in: Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011.
[85] To refer back to Chapter 1, it was this particular characteristic of images which led Frederick Barber to caption the images in figure 2 as "Cause" and "Effect," in an attempt to correct this inadequacy.
[86] Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011.
[87] Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011, 53.

represent each of the two events – one successful and one unsuccessful. According to the algorithmic analysis, the images on the right side are more successful, which is indicated by the higher number of search results and views on Google. Indeed, it would seem that the right side images apply more closely the Gestalt principles. The two London Riots images depict an altercation between armed forces and civilians. The image on the right has a clearer protagonist marked by a square around his head towards whom the action is concentrated. Facing him with their backs to the camera and forming a straight line are the three dark figures of policemen in full riot gear, holding bats frozen in midair. The background is one of blurred mayhem. The image on the left is less dramatic, the four squares identify potential protagonists, scattered and looking in different directions, none of whom seems to be central, and police vans clutter the background. The two images from the Kiev protests depict a masked and hooded protester about to throw a stone; the protagonist is clear in both photographs. However, a more dramatic effect is achieved in the image on the right where the background is a smoky sky, which isolates the protester. In comparison, in the image on the left, a crowded background interferes with the action in the foreground. The application of Gestalt principles is also echoed in Vogelaar' observation during an interview about the series: "There are certain patterns that attract attention [equilibrium], for example, people standing together [proximity] whereby all their positions are part of a certain motion: 1, 2, 3 [closure]. It's like a story, a progression."[88] (My translation)

Already in the 1950s, art historian Erwin Panofsky distinguished between three strata of analysis in the work of art, which are useful for the current investigation.[89] The first one is the primary or natural subject matter which pertains to the identification of forms as representations of natural objects such as human beings, objects, and environments whose mutual relations create expressions of mourning, pose, gesture, and a certain atmosphere. These are artistic motifs and their identification represents a pre-iconographical analysis of the work of art. The secondary or conventional subject matter connects artistic motifs and compositions with themes and concepts. Such motifs with secondary or conventional meanings tell stories and allegories and belong to the study of iconography. As Panofsky illustrates, "a male figure with a knife represents St. Bartholomew, [...] a group of figures seated at a dinner table in a certain arrangement and in certain poses represents the Last Supper, or [...] two figures fighting each other in a certain manner represent the Combat of Vice and Virtue."[90] Semiotician Theo van Leeuwen writes that such iconographical symbolism is more easily recognisable as a convention of the past than a

[88] "Het Herkennen van Patronen - een Interview met Coralie Vogelaar," 2016. Original text: "Er zijn bepaalde patronen die de aandacht trekken, bijvoorbeeld mensen die bij elkaar staan waarbij al hun posities een deel van een bepaalde beweging lijken: 1, 2, 3. Het is als een verhaal, een progressie."
[89] Panofsky, 1955.
[90] Panofsky, 1955, 29.

convention of the present, which is why an iconographical analysis of contemporary images can be a valuable tool.[91] The third stratum is the intrinsic meaning or content, which reveals the basic attitudes of a given society or, in other words, the ideological meaning. Besides pure forms, motifs, allegories and underlying principles, certain symbolical values are intrinsic to an image. In another example, Panofsky explains that Leonardo da Vinci's fresco of the Last Supper could be interpreted in terms of its composition and iconographical significance.[92] However, if we were to gain an insight into the personality of da Vinci or understand religious attitudes in the civilization of the Italian High Renaissance, the aforementioned elements would have to be treated as evidence of "something else," of the symbolic values of the artist, which are often communicated even when they are not explicitly intended.[93] Panofsky calls this level of analysis iconology, as opposed to iconography.

Alluding to such embedded values, journalist Edgar Roskis argues that even when photojournalistic conventions are contested, what matters fundamentally is whether photographs agree with history. Whether they are posed or serendipitously capture a decisive moment rendered as a touching allegory, news images are often reduced to a symbolic system, which belies the complexity of the political issue. An event is deemed newsworthy on the grounds of whether it can sell a story which must meet certain criteria such as "an easily digestible narrative, vehicles (i.e. characters) to whom something unusual happens, photogenic locations, graphic or aesthetic possibilities, and an out-of-the-ordinary story."[94] The criteria identified by Roskis are echoed in Vogelaar's commentary on the tendency of news images to synthesise a clear story amid the chaos of war and conflict, "The successful photos show a simple story that you can follow and ensure that your attention is drawn to a person, usually the victim. Everyone in the photo, all hand gestures and all lines move towards this person so that you, as a viewer, can identify with him or her directly."[95] (My translation) Such convergence is evident in the numerous images in the series of clashes between civilians and authorities, and of victims of natural or man-made disasters.

As a consequence of such practices, writes Roskis, news images are cut loose from their history to "saunter about freely like ghastly or pretty empty shells without rhyme or reason."[96] Similarly, according to cultural theorist Paul Virilio, photojournalism's omnivoyance compresses events into a

[91] Van Leeuwen, 2004.
[92] Panofsky, 1955.
[93] Panofsky, 1955, 31.
[94] Roskis, 2003, 285.
[95] "Het Herkennen van Patronen - een Interview met Coralie Vogelaar," 2016. Original text: "De successvolle foto's laten een simpel verhaal zien dat je kan volgen en zorgen dat je aandacht wordt getrokken naar een persoon, meestal het slachtoffer. Iedereen in de foto, alle handgebaren en alle lijnen, bewegen richting deze persoon waardoor je je als kijker direct met hem of haar kan identificeren."
[96] Roskis, 2003, 287.

whole image, deleting context, "repressing the invisible" so that what remains visible is merely the reality-effect.[97] Roskis uses an interesting analogy to illustrate the economy of press conflict photography where the packaging of the story is more important than the contents:

"[...] you go to the supermarket in search of raspberry yoghurt. But this store, because of some dictatorial decision, either does not sell raspberry yoghurt or it sells a product labelled "berry" that is really made out of bananas. You return home and try your yoghurt, which tastes strongly of banana. You are quite aware that there is nothing "berry" about it, with or without the prefix "rasp." But since this yoghurt is delicious, you continue to eat it without complaining."[98]

The mechanism, or *algorithm*, through which images are reduced to delicious, empty shells is, for example, illustrated by the framing of the 2011 London Riots, one of the extensively mediatized events visually deconstructed in *Recognized/Unrecognized*. The riots were predominantly framed as a veritable war zone in the British media featuring statements from residents such as: "It's just crazy. It looks like it's the Second World War"; "a war zone reminiscent of Beirut in 1980 or Northern Ireland at the height of the conflict in 1975."[99] Dramatic scenes of civil unrest and aggression were, in addition to images of altercations between hooded rioters and armed forces, supported by recognizable war-zone imagery featuring spectacles of burning cars, buildings, and broken shops. The compounding of the verbal and visual rhetoric of the war zone conveyed a heightened sense of destruction and socio-cultural divisions. Such graphic reporting, asserts cultural theorist Stuart Hall, "is detrimental to a deeper understanding of the conditions that produce social unrest."[100] The trend of evoking past war imagery in the media contributes to the further de-contextualisation and obfuscation of current events, a point that is elaborated in detail in the following sections where more explicit art historical intertextual references in press imagery are considered.

The Non-journalistic Images of Journalism

On the basis of her findings in *Recognized/Unrecognized*, Vogelaar proposes that images in the media are governed by photographic archetypes informed by the visual literacy of Western spectators who exhibit a preference for compositions that adhere to the Western art historical tradition. Literature on

[97] Virilio,1994, 33.
[98] Roskis, 2003, 287.
[99] Allmark, 2012, 125-126.
[100] Stuart Hall cited in Allmark, 2012, 122.

the topic of symbolism in news imagery corroborates this view. Media scholar Barbie Zelizer argues that images of conflict aim for memorability, dramatic impact, or vividness by relying on a formula that has proven to work frequently: aesthetic composition and familiarity.[101] According to Zelizer, in times of war, journalism turns to images and this visual turn is characterised by certain attributes. One such attribute is the fact that images lean towards non-journalistic modes of visual representation in wartime more than in times of peace. By non-journalistic modes, Zelizer refers to aesthetic markers such as lack of definitive detail, large formats, and vivid colors. Zelizer believes that such an approach obfuscates any meaningful understanding of the reported event – a statement that resonates with Roskis and Hall's arguments about the implications of aestheticization in reportage.

Another defining attribute of the visual turn in photojournalism is the pronounced tendency toward familiar depictions of the past in wartime more than in times of peace. Wartime images are consonant with existing notions of war and human disaster, and images of past wars can be a rich source for journalists to tap into for familiar and accessible context. Comparisons in the media of the 2011 London riots with previous wars and riots is a case in point. Facilitating the accessibility of current events through the rhetoric of past conflicts represents one type of mediation. Historical archetypes embedded in Judeo-Christian iconology, Greek mythology, and art history also function as a potent repository for visual framing.[102] Linkages to historical antecedents can be established either through text, parallel images, or substitutional images. For example, two news reports on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict illustrate the symbolic power of certain visual tropes recycled by the press to relay historically resonant events. In 1987, a Deutsche Presse-Agentur image of the First Israeli Intifada depicting a crowd led by a man carrying the Palestinian flag was likened to *Liberty Leads the People* by French Romantic painter Eugène Delacroix commemorating the July Revolution of 1830.[103] A more recent event from October 22, 2018, covering the protests against the Israeli blockade of the Gaza Strip, depicts a shirtless protester bearing the Palestinian flag in one hand and gripping a slingshot in the other (Fig. 18a). In Al Jazeera, the title and subtitle of a news article published on October 24, 2018, reads, "'Iconic' image of Palestinian protester in Gaza goes viral"; "Photo of shirtless Gaza protester goes viral, is compared to iconic 'Liberty' French Revolution painting" (Fig. 18b).[104] The majority of the article discusses the symbolic qualities of the image, provides the historical context of the painting, and features eloquent tweets commenting on the image: "When a Michelangelo with a camera captures David fighting Goliath in action"; "Snapped on

[101] Zelizer, 2004.
[102] Wright, 2002.
[103] Zelizer, 2004.
[104] "'Iconic' image of Palestinian protester in Gaza goes viral," 2018.

the way to storming the bastille"; "Beautiful Image of David Vs Goliath. Oh the irony!" "Bernini's David, 1623-24."

Zelizer notes that in journalism's turn to the visual, it is not the truthful referentiality of the photograph that endures, but its symbolic and connotative force.[105] Photojournalists, knowingly or unwittingly, rely on informal cues such as frequency, aesthetic appeal, and familiarity in order to direct public engagement with news photographs. As journalist Louis Staples from *The Independent* remarks, the fetishization of the "chiselled jaw and physique" of the Palestinian protester, as commented by some social media users, induces feelings of detachment and deflects attention from "one of the most desperate human rights situations in the world."[106] Aestheticization inevitably produces an anachronistic effect whereby the Oriental Other is consigned to another time and place – the past – even if the issue is unfolding in the present.[107] Aestheticized subjects are depoliticized, transformed into "timeless and spaceless symbol[s] of suffering and mourning."[108] Mitchell illustrates the anachronistic effect of news imagery with the example of Mahmud Hams' photograph of a dead mother and her two dead babies in the morgue taken in 2007 after an Israeli bombing attack on Gaza (Fig. 19a).[109] Mitchell explains that the photograph was, in fact, also used to illustrate a bombing incident from January 2009, which was only reported with verbal descriptions. He also points out that *The New York Times* story from January 9, 2009, reporting on the Israeli attack on Gaza with the headline "Gaza Children Found with Mothers' Corpses," could have been the caption for the 2007 photograph. Mitchell traces this "anachronistic verbal relay" to an even more remote historical moment portrayed in French Classical painter Nicolas Poussin's *The Plague at Ashdod* (1630) (Fig. 19b).[110] The centre foreground of the painting shows the horrifying sight of a dead mother surrounded by living infants, one of whom is trying to suckle. Mitchell makes this comparison not only to show Poussin's influence in the composition of Hams' photograph, who may or may not have known he was borrowing a scene from the Western art historical tradition, but also to identify the iconological symbolism that links the current crisis in Gaza to the history buried in the painting. The city of Ashdod is geographically situated between Gaza and modern-day Tel Aviv and the painting depicts the plague, which has descended upon the innocent to mete out divine justice for the conflict between the Philistines and the Israelites. This example illustrates the deep allegorical shadows war imagery can cast and the iconographical and iconological symbolism infused within it.

[105] Zelizer, 2004.
[106] Staples, 2018.
[107] Konstantinidou, 2007.
[108] Konstantinidou, 2007, 156.
[109] Mitchell, 2015.
[110] Mitchell, 2015, 191.

The mimetic capacity of photography, which constructs meaning through the combination of photographic conventions with sociological signs and codes, forges binary categories between the (Western) spectator and the non-Western world such as past/present, archaic/modern, ordered/disordered, urban/non-urban, masculine/feminine, anger/lament.[111] According to Virilio, such moral relativism "is always at work in the appearance of events, of things as they happen" because spectators constantly have to make subjective judgements "in order to recognize the shapes, objects and scenes [they] are witness to."[112] The models of witnessing, claim media scholars Marta Zarzycka and Martijn Kleppe, as inherited from our understanding of twentieth-century documentary photography, have been transformed into a symbolic system facilitated by the challenges introduced by twenty-first century technological conditions.[113] For Zarzycka and Kleppe, the act of witnessing is synonymous with journalism's potential for social change and accuracy, an issue addressed in Chapter 3 of this thesis. The twenty-first century digital affordances and the current cultural climate accommodate the recognisability, affective potential, and symbolic accessibility of tropes in war and conflict imagery: "In the age of global digital image banks, tropes have become especially expedient semiotic resources; the more multi-purpose and generic they are, the more commercial and widespread they become [...]."[114] The method of collection and analysis of the images in *Recognized/Unrecognized* demonstrates this process. For the series, Vogelaar created an archive of more than 850,000 images from the databases of five of the biggest press agencies, and ran the images through web pages indexed by Google in order to look for patterns. Digital image banks such as Google Image Search allow for the collection and grouping of all images related to a specific event. Algorithms used by Google Analytics form patterns of recognisability that produce archetypes that are further reproduced and reinforced in the viewers' perception. Such technological processes create symbolic systems that are "actively and intentionally sustained by powerful agents."[115]

International photography contests represent such an entity with a powerful agency and in which journalism's turn to the visual comes into its own. An influential photography contest that produces and perpetuates visual tropes in representations of conflict is the Amsterdam-based World Press Photo (WPP) Foundation. The contest awards first, second, or third prize in various categories such as General News, Spot News, Daily Life, Nature, Contemporary Issues, and Portraits. The Photo of the Year award, in particular, is regarded as the pinnacle of achievement for a photojournalist and brings

[111] Konstantinidou, 2007.
[112] Virilio, 1994, 66.
[113] Zarzycka & Kleppe, 2013.
[114] Zarzycka & Kleppe, 2013, 991.
[115] Zarzycka & Kleppe, 2013, 991.

him or her international fame and prestige. A study conducted by Zarzycka concludes that more than two-thirds of all award-winning photographs depict conflict, and the process of their selection and recognition is subject to "cultural (mis)conceptions of gendered and geopolitical differences."[116] Despite the large number of entries to the contest, there appears to be a preference for images with recognizable tropes and variations of established motifs. Examples of recurrent, identifiable visual tropes in the World Press Photo are images of mourners, survivors, and protesters, among others. As Vogelaar remarks on the results of the algorithmic analysis in *Recognized/Unrecognized*, viewers have been conditioned to recognize certain archetypes in the images they are exposed to. As an example, Vogelaar points out that refugees are usually portrayed as victims even if their personal circumstances are not so dire. The status of a refugee has to correspond to the image of a victim, generally a male, "most likely a poor child who looks into the camera, everyone is circling him and the surroundings are a bit chaotic."[117] (My translation)

Zarcyzka and Kleppe contend that press images are often organised around cultural gendered representations of femininity and masculinity. Female figures are predominantly represented as "mourners" or "persons being rescued," foregrounded by the symbolic categorisation of the female body as vulnerable.[118] The image of the 2013 Rana Plaza building collapse in *Recognized/Unrecognized*, taken by photographer Kevin Frayer, exemplifies the common press photography trope of a person being rescued (Fig. 20a). The composition of this image, a central female figure with outstretched arms being pulled by male rescuers, is replicated in another image by Frayer of a Rohingya refugee fleeing into Bangladesh to escape ethnic cleansing, as the caption reads (Fig. 20b). The photograph won the second prize in the General News category of the 2018 World Press Photo Contest. In the aftermath of the collapse of the Rana Plaza factory building in Bangladesh, Frayer took the portraits of the survivors at the hospital, all women. One of the portraits of a worker at the factory whose arm has been amputated, bears a striking resemblance to another World Press Photo winner discussed in Zarzycka and Kleppe, namely Jodi Bieber's 2011 Photo of the Year depicting a disfigured girl, framed by *Time* magazine as an emblem of the mistreatment of Afghan women (Fig. 21a-b). Despite the horrific sight of her missing nose, the image is nevertheless pleasing owing to the soft light falling on her hair and the shawl draped around her, and her beautiful dark eyes turned towards the camera. Zarzycka and Kleppe argue that this photograph appeals to the prurient sensibilities of the Western gaze in which the young,

[116] Zarzycka, 2013, 179.
[117] "Het Herkennen van Patronen - een Interview met Coralie Vogelaar," 2016. Original text: "een arm kind dat in de camera kijkt, iedereen omringt hem en daaromheen is een beetje chaos."
[118] Zarzycka & Kleppe, 2013, 983.

non-Western female body signifies sexual desirability and "lost beauty," evocative of the nineteenth-century Orientalist tradition in the work of Delacroix.[119]

The examined cases from the series and the related examples show the ways in which certain tropes in media representations are successfully replicated and reinforced, much like an algorithm that repeatedly performs the same calculation. Just as viewers create archetypes through repeated viewings on Google, so do photojournalists and media conglomerates fabricate and recycle visual repertoires. The final section of this chapter discusses the images of the so-called European refugee crisis from 2015 in *Recognized/Unrecognized* in order to dive deeper into Christian symbolism and Greek mythology in the representation of refugees.

The Boat of Humanity

The photograph in *Recognized/Unrecognized* of an overcrowded dinghy with refugees, which deflated one hundred meters before reaching the Greek Island of Lesbos in September 13, 2015, displays a number of aesthetic qualities recurrent in press photography (Fig. 22). As in the other photographs in the series, the algorithm traces lines along the figures of the people, converging in the middle to a man holding a child in the air to save him from drowning. Yellow squares mark the anguished expressions of people fighting for their lives. The photographer Alkis Konstantinidis is among a group of Reuters photographers who received a Pulitzer Prize for their coverage of the Greek refugee crisis.[120] According to media scholar Terence Wright, the majority of representations of refugees in the media conform to certain categories of "image types" that show a distinction between the Old Testament and New Testament representations.[121] The Old Testament stereotype is derived from Adam and Eve's expulsion from the Garden of Eden and forms the "Fall of Man" stereotype, which usually depicts a couple or small groups of people in states of degradation, nakedness, etc. (Fig. 23a). In contrast, images of displaced persons who do not necessarily look destitute and carry a few possessions with them borrow from the New Testament story of Mary and Joseph's "Flight into Egypt" (Fig. 23b). Such image types can be seen in the images from the *Recognized/Unrecognized* series pertaining to the European refugee crisis where we see people either lamenting their expulsion from the Greek border by authorities or crowds of displaced people carrying their possessions (Fig. 24-25). The tradition of Christian iconography has been influential for the collective imaginary of Western visual representation and the media is saturated with

[119] Zarzycka & Kleppe, 2013, 987.
[120] Staudenmaier, 2016.
[121] Wright, 2002, 57.

images related to this humanitarian crisis that bear similarities in style and content to the Christian roots of the image of the refugee. The framing of refugees as biblical prototypes is exemplified by documentary books such as *Images of Exile* (1991), published by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and *Exodus: 50 Million People on the Move* (1997), published by the European photographic agency Signum.[122] Christian rhetoric is also manifest in the media with headlines such as "Would Syrian Refugee Baby Jesus be Allowed to Immigrate to the U.S.?"[123]

The image by Konstantinidis, as well as other images of refugees on boats, have elicited comparisons in the media to French Romantic painter Théodore Géricault's *The Raft of the Medusa* (1818-1819), whose symbolism is connected to the Christian moral conventions of virtuous suffering and humanitarianism (Fig. 26a).[124] Géricault's painting is considered by some as the precursor of documentary photography. Virilio maintains that the process of painting *The Raft of the Medusa*, the events preceding it, and the preparation for it, draw parallels with a journalistic investigation.[125] Géricault gathered details about the tragic incident from newspapers, met with the survivors of the shipwreck, and used dying patients at the hospital and corpses in the morgue as models. Virilio suggests that the choice for the gigantic size of the picture − thirty-five square meters − clearly betrays an intention to capture the attention of the public not as an artist, but as a journalist. The sheer size of the painting attracted a lot of critical attention and its reception was not so much as a work of art but a pamphlet that aimed to discredit the French government, which was perceived as responsible for the incident.

Virilio argues that what attracted Géricault to this particular event was the symbolism the raft's name carried with the Greek myth of the Gorgon, Medusa.[126] In his essay "Death in the Eyes" (1985), historian Jean-Pierre Vernant writes that the gaze of the Gorgon transforms living flesh into dead stone.[127] The viewer's death occurs at the very instant of looking into the eyes of the monstrous Gorgon. Critical theorist Mark Featherstone suggests that the terrible effects of the Gorgon's gaze are replicated when viewers freeze before Géricault's vision of the accident, unable to fully comprehend the tragic event. Akin to the Gorgon's fatal vision, images of refugees on rafts and dinghies become sites of death in which context and history get buried "beneath the tombstone of the phatic image."[128] Such phatic

[122] Szörényi, 2006.
[123] Cole, 2015.
[124] The photograph by Sergey Ponomarev (Fig. 26b) of the European refugee crisis, which has been compared to the painting, won the first prize in the General News category of the 2016 World Press Photo Contest.
[125] Virilio, 1994.
[126] Virilio, 1994.
[127] Jean-Pierre Vernant cited in: Featherstone, 2003, 433.
[128] Featherstone, 2003, 436.

images, writes Virilio, force us to look and hold our attention, "singling out only specific areas, the context mostly disappearing into a blur."[129] In much the same way it could be said that phatic images induce what Mitchell terms the "Medusa Effect."[130] The gaze of the Medusa, which faces the spectator and turns him to stone, is a metaphor for the compassion fatigue that images of suffering induce in the spectator. Media representations of conflict protect spectators from "a direct view of the paralyzing spectacle," which is mediated by the emotional responses of horror, terror, and lament on the expressions of the pictured.[131] Journalist Jonathan Jones, writing for the liberal news outlet *The Guardian*, makes an analogy between the European refugee crisis and the tragic incident depicted in *The Raft of the Medusa*, bemoaning the indifference of contemporary audiences compared to the cries of outrage expressed by the nineteenth-century French public.[132] In his article, Jones makes an appeal to the moral imperative of the West to alleviate the suffering of the Other and couches his normative point on the humanitarian symbolism suffused in Géricault's painting. Art Historian Jonathan Friday contends that Géricault's journalistic impulse to document this incident of human suffering is intended as an affirmation of the human condition.[133] Friday suggests that Géricault's choice could be considered as a testament to the universality of the human condition meaning that suffering is universal and the same fate could have befallen the viewer. The raft becomes a metaphor for human suffering, the horror of which is redeemed by the knowledge that there is hope and deliverance from it. The viewer experiences catharsis in the realisation that there is meaning to all this suffering. Hope is illustrated by the arrival of a rescue ship on the horizon. While the rescue team is not present in Konstantinidis' photograph, it is nevertheless assumed to be there, evidenced by the presence of the photographer. Friday states that *The Raft of the Medusa* is the archetypal example of the quest for truthful documentary as a means of gaining moral insights from incidents of human tragedy. He adds that this new documentary direction in painting was to be succeeded by photography fifty years later. Despite the relations and historical parallels that can be drawn between Géricault's nineteenth-century painting and twenty first-century press photography, this is not to suggest that any conclusions can be drawn about image conventions in the in-between period as this warrants further research.

In conclusion, theories of visual framing by Rodriguez and Dimitrova and the representational practices rooted in the Western cultural heritage theorised by Panofsky and Wright have been instrumental in

[129] Virilio, 1994, 14.
[130] Mitchell, 1994.
[131] Mitchell, 1994, 80.
[132] Jones, 2015.
[133] Friday, 2000.

understanding the way the *Recognized/Unrecognized* series identified conventions in press conflict photography. The algorithm used by Vogelaar shows how repetitive, generic visual tropes can be perpetuated and reproduced by major news outlets and photojournalists as well as international photography contests, as the study by Zarzycka and Kleppe demonstrates. Theories on intermediality by Zelizer, Virilio, and Mitchell reveal the aesthetic and anachronistic qualities, and the deep ideological and symbolic structures underpinning war photography.

Chapter 3: War's Detached Devastation

"*'War' is signaled by photographs of men with guns, not, for example, by images of a barren landscape—even if that landscape is seeded with mines, and is, in effect, as much a war zone as that street filled with guerrilla fighters.*"[134]

"*Still, sheared-off buildings are almost as eloquent as body parts.*"[135]

The crisis in photojournalism has generated alternative artistic movements which have been described as aesthetic journalism, post-documentary, or anti-photojournalism. The *History* series of photographer Luc Delahaye is one such artwork that subverts the established idioms of war representation. However, Delahaye was not always an artist. Prior to a career shift, he worked as a photojournalist for Sipa Press, Magnum Photos (1993-2004), and *Newsweek*. He has covered conflicts in Lebanon, Afghanistan, Rwanda, Iraq, Chechnya, the former Yugoslavia, and the Gulf war. He has won numerous awards throughout this career: World Press Photo (1993, 1994, and 2002), Robert Capa Gold Medal (1992 and 2001), Oskar Barnack Award (2000), Infinity Award, International Center of Photography, New York (2001), Niepce Prize (2002), Deutsche Börse Photography Prize (2005), and Prix Pictet (2012). In 2003, Delahaye declared that he was officially an artist and left the Magnum agency to mark his separation from his career as a photojournalist. Delahaye's *History* series, taken between 2001 and 2003, inaugurated his work as an artist. The series consists of thirteen monumental panoramas − eight by four feet – showing events such as the U.S. bombing of Taliban positions in Afghanistan, the trial of Slobodan Milosevic, a United Nations Security Council meeting in New York, the first memorial service at Ground Zero, and the Jenin refugee camp in Palestine in the aftermath of an attack by the Israeli Defence Forces, to name a few (Fig. 27). Although Delahaye's choice of subject matter is still newsworthy events from around the world, his approach in *History* departs significantly from the conventions of photojournalism. The series shows a shift from straight photographs of the fragmented action in theatres of war to ultra-detailed, still tableaux that promote a slow, distant, detached approach to the representation of conflict, and involve digital manipulation. Where the algorithm used in Coralie Vogelaar's *Recognized/Unrecognized* picked out focal points in the images which converged around clearly identifiable protagonists, Delahaye goes against the grain with large-scale panoramic photographs that digitally combine multiple images to produce a more dramatic representation of events. Moreover,

[134] Moeller, 1999, 42.
[135] Sontag, 2010.

compared to the implicit associations of Vogelaar's selected photographs with the art world, Delahaye's photographs openly boast themselves as artworks. Delahaye's work has been discussed within the framework of aesthetic journalism, aftermath photography, or placed alongside the work of Canadian artist Jeff Wall as near-documentary. The photographs from this series were taken parallel to Delahaye's commissioned photojournalistic work and the ways in which Delahaye's work as an artist differs from his previous career as a photojournalist is a key issue addressed in Chapter 3. Furthermore, this chapter examines unconventional approaches to the representation of war within the context of anti-photojournalism and aesthetic photojournalism as forms of artistic practice in order to understand how Delahaye's series fits within this discussion, and what the implications of the war photograph as an artwork are with regards to the documentary value and ethics of images of war. The first section of the chapter outlines key debates within documentary photography by art historian Julian Stallabrass and artist-writer Martha Rosler, as well as different aspects of aesthetic photojournalism as discussed by writer and curator Alfredo Cramerotti. The following two sections analyse how Delahaye's *History* series navigates the domains of documentary and art photography provided by the accounts of art historians Michael Fried, Jan Miezskowski, and Erina Duganne, and why his work is problematic in light of the theoretical propositions of photography scholar Ariella Azoulay about the social function of artistic forms of documentary photography.

Art X Photojournalism

Literature on the documentary genre's move into the art domain ascribes numerous factors to this development. According to Julian Stallabrass, the retreat of journalism from mass media to the world of fine art is partly due to technological changes that gradually rendered obsolete the illustrated press as a dominant visual news medium.[136] Moreover, Stallabrass cites the unsuitability of photojournalism and documentary photography for the neoliberal climate as a contributing factor to the crisis in photojournalistic representations of war, socio-political conflict, and poverty. The late nineteenth and early twentieth-century documentary work of modernist photographers such as Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine was characterised by the conservative optimism for social democratic change. Documentary and photojournalism experienced a heyday from the 1930s to the 1950s when illustrated magazines, particularly *Life,* were in mass circulation. Subsequently, the utopian agenda of photojournalism was taken over by neoliberal capitalist forces, which increasingly monopolised the ownership of the media.

[136] Stallabrass, 1997.

As a result, the ethos of the market became incompatible with "serious" journalism, which was not conducive to consumerism. These political developments compromised the liberal agenda of photojournalism as editorial decisions became more exclusive and the spectacular gained precedence over the critical. The restrictions imposed on photographers have pushed the move into the art market, argues Stallabrass. Furthermore, he outlines the double predicament facing photojournalism and documentary photography. On the one hand, dominant news media conventions neutralise the critical function of photography, while on the other, the genre is lambasted by academia for being insufficiently critical.

One of the more prominent critics of the project of liberal documentary has been Martha Rosler, who, in her 1981 essay "In, Around, and Afterthoughts (On Documentary Photography)," argues that the documentary, in its exercise of turning victimhood into a spectacle, ultimately serves as a reaffirmation of the status quo rather than affecting any real social reform.[137] Rosler identifies two moments in the paradigm of the documentary image. The first one is the truth-claim of the documentary image as a document, as evidence conscripted for or against a given ideological position. The second moment is the so called "aesthetic-historical" moment in which any ideological message "cedes to the organismic pleasure afforded by the aesthetic [...] of the image."[138] Rosler warns against the danger of the aesthetic eliminating the historical context of the photograph as its topicality inevitably decreases over time and its aesthetic status is amplified by its subsequent move from the press to the gallery wall. Rosler concludes that a real documentary genre has not yet emerged and proposes that the way forward is self-reflexivity and continuous interrogation of content and context. Allan Sekula, a contemporary of Rosler, shared similar views about the state of straight photojournalism. The notion of anti-photojournalism as a concept and practice can be traced to Sekula's anti-photojournalistic manifesto for the World Trade Organisation (WTO) protests in Seattle in 1999 called "Waiting for Tear Gas [white globe to black]" (1999-2000). Here, he declared that "the rule of thumb for this sort of anti-photojournalism [is]: no flash, no telephoto zoom lens, no gas mask, no auto-focus, no press pass and no pressure to grab at all costs the one defining image of dramatic violence."[139]

Anti-photojournalistic practices of artists "at the edge of photography" are identified by artist and curator Alfredo Cramerotti in his 2009 book *Aesthetic Journalism: How to inform without informing* in which he defines a "journalistic change of direction in art."[140] Cramerotti's aesthetic journalism describes artistic methods that concern themselves with the investigation of social, cultural or political

[137] Rosler, 2004.
[138] Rosler, 2004, 186.
[139] Allan Sekula quoted in: Van Gelder, 2014.
[140] Imhoff & Quiros, 2011, 275.

issues.[141] The outcomes of such research are presented in an art context rather than through mainstream media channels. By using the investigative techniques of journalism, the journalistic work of an artist ideally aims to offer a meaningful understanding of reality rather than mere factual reportage. Cramerotti emphasizes that aesthetics and journalism interact and relate to each other, and that a set of aesthetics is always employed in any photographic work. Here, Cramerotti understands the concept of aesthetics as not "a state of contemplation" but rather the choice of techniques adopted.[142] If the mode of anti-photojournalism, in Sekula's view, corresponds to the aesthetic choices of no telephoto zoom lens, no flash, and no auto-focus, then it would follow that the telephoto lens, the flash, and auto-focus are the aesthetic markers of traditional photojournalism. The only difference, Cramerotti states, is that the aesthetic markers of traditional photojournalism are accepted as the standard and hence not regarded as art. Documentary filmmaker John Grierson recognized the documentary genre as the "creative treatment of actuality" from its very inception.[143] Thus, the implementation of a different set of aesthetics can create a level of meta-cognition and question the aesthetics of the status quo. Cramerotti points out that one of the main aspects of aesthetic journalism should constitute an attempt to exploit journalism's potential for social change and not represent a mere change of site from the press to the gallery wall. He suggests that the investigative practices of artists might even encourage straight journalism to adopt a more critical attitude. Based on these arguments, it would appear that aesthetic journalism could potentially embody the real documentary Rosler wrote about, or it could help straighten the course of a straight journalism gone awry. Either way, the prognoses put forward by Cramerotti bode well for the future of documentary.

Cramerotti identifies two aspects of the ethics of aesthetic journalism. One aspect examines ethics with regards to the represented subject while the second relates to the very process of producing artistic journalism. Cramerotti asserts that "the artist as journalist," in his or her appropriation of the techniques of journalism to exploit its potential for social change, may fail in fulfilling such a function and instead induce an anaesthetizing effect in the viewer.[144] Here Cramerotti assumes that it is the duty of an artist to shed a critical light on social and political issues. The topic of the ethical engagement of the war photographer has been extensively theorised by Ariella Azoulay in *The Civil Contract of Photography* (2008), where she draws out the details of the contractual relations between the participants in the event of photography as informed by political discourses on citizenship and state sovereignty. Azoulay's theory is pertinent in relation to the ethical implications of Delahaye's work, and

[141] Cramerotti, 2008.
[142] Cramerotti, 2008, 21.
[143] John Grierson quoted in: Cramerotti, 2008, 40.
[144] Cramerotti, 2008, 39.

war photography more broadly. “The civil contract of photography,” as understood by Azoulay, draws out an ethical framework for the participants in the citizenry of photography, namely photographers, photographed subjects, and spectators of photographs. The implicit relations between said participants are not institutionalized by the sovereign power of any given country because photography, as a separate sovereign of its own, governs these relations. The relations codified by state law, on the other hand, create conditions of inequality as the legal owner of the camera, or the higher authority to whom he or she is contractually bound, has sole rights over the photographs produced. In order to establish equality in the citizenry of photography, all participants must honour the conditions of this unwritten contract and waive their right to the sole ownership of photographs. As Azoulay explains, the exchange value of the photographic image and the ideological forces governing the medium have left weak populations exposed, and their rights to the ownership of their own images have been alienated. In the violent act of photography, the vulnerability of those whose status as citizens has been compromised is exploited and their privacy denied. A thesis less forbidding than that of Azoulay is art historian Michael Fried’s position on the “responsibility of art to anything except itself.”[145] In *Why Photography Matters as Art as Never Before* (2008), Fried offers an account of developments in contemporary art photography embodied in the tableau form which recast spectatorial relations in a depoliticized frame.[146] These opposing discourses are the steering mechanism for mapping the art X photojournalism debate in the forthcoming sections.

A Death with a View

In his seminal work *Why Photography Matters as Art as Never Before*, Michael Fried interprets Delahaye’s *History* series within the framework of the so-called “tableau form” – a term coined by French critic Jean-François Chevrier and which gained importance in the sphere of art photography from the late 1970s onwards.[147] Referring to Chevrier’s 1989 essay “The Adventures of the Tableau Form in the History of Photography,” Fried writes that this new form of photography is marked by a shift from the traditional reception of photographs as small, portable prints in books and magazines, to be viewed in the intimate space of one’s hands, as Roland Barthes wrote in *Camera Lucida*, to large scale formats which were “designed and produced for the wall” with the aim of summoning “a confrontational

[145] Green, Brown & Cattapan, 2015, 165.
[146] Fisher, 2009.
[147] Fried, 2008.

experience on the part of the spectator."[148] This confrontational experience is contingent upon "an enforced distance between work and viewer."[149] Such an enforced distance is palpable in Delahaye's *History* series, writes Fried. In some of Delahaye's photographs the distance is literal. In others, while the subject is positioned physically closer, there is nevertheless a sense of emotional disengagement. Commenting on his work, Delahaye has said, "I am cold and detached, sufficiently invisible because sufficiently insignificant, and that is how I arrive at a full presence to things, and a simple and direct relation to the real. That idea, in my work, is central."[150] The news photograph often portrays heroic feats in which the action is frozen in a single vivid frame. The tableau form, on the other hand, invites the spectator to approach the photograph in order to study its details and let his gaze roam around different parts of the image in prolonged contemplation, perhaps even discover details unintended by the photographer. Emotional distance from the subject matter allows for absorptive contemplation of the format during which the viewer might be struck by certain details, such as the piece of straw on the Taliban soldier's face in Delahaye's most controversial photograph of the dead soldier (Fig. 28). Literary scholar Jan Mieszkowski argues that the straw adds an uncanny effect to the photograph.[151] The body of the dead boy lies in a ditch, its serene position resembling a *pietà*. The detail of the stray piece of straw in the middle of his face sits uncomfortably in this scene of death, drawing attention to his open and glazed eyes. Mieszkowski admits that he does not know for a fact whether this particular image has been digitally manipulated by Delahaye. However, he argues, it is inconsequential whether the scene has been arranged and whether the "randomness" of the straw is genuine or artificial.[152] Whatever the case, one can still derive an aesthetic pleasure from the rich colours, and the different forms and shapes, as one might do with a fine art painting. Miezskowski's uncertainty stems from the fact that some of the images in the series are digitally combined photographs of a single scene from multiple vantage points. Nevertheless, Fried explains, Delahaye mostly works with single photographs.

A similar method of operation with regards to the reconstructive aspect of photography and the visual affinities they share, has led Fried to compare Delahaye's work to Jeff Wall's "near-documentary" aesthetic. Departing from Fried's comparison, art historian Hilde van Gelder proposes Delahaye's approach be defined instead as "near-photojournalism" which she characterises as "an artistic method that facilitates the transformation of a potentially shocking image into a neutral, artistic picture."[153] Van

[148] Jean-François Chevrier quoted in: Fried, 2008, 164.

[149] Fried, 2008, 184.
[150] Luc Delahaye quoted in: Fried, 2008, 184.
[151] Mieszkowski, 2012.
[152] Mieszkowski, 2012, 80.
[153] Van Gelder, 2014.

Gelder's definition is in agreement with scholarship critical of artistic documentary photography practices which eschew photojournalism's long-standing tradition of interrogating the socio-political order. In a justification of his approach, Delahaye comments that emotional disengagement visually translates into "a more essential presence to things and to the world. In being transparent, I reduce the distance between the event and the spectator."[154] Taking his cue from Delahaye's words, Fried elucidates that it is the physical and/or metaphorical distance that counterintuitively yields a sense of transparency and objectivity which achieves an experience of immediacy, almost a merger between the viewer and the work. In their review of Fried's book, cultural-political geographer Noam Leshem and political scholar Lauren Wright aptly ask where the viewer would position him or herself if they stepped into this world of violence, if they found themselves next to the body of the Taliban soldier or among the ruins of a refugee camp. This question brings ethics back into the equation and points to the problematic application of Fried's theory to Delahaye's work.

Fried and Mieszkowski's discussion of the spectators' penetrative contemplation of the dead Taliban boy is evocative of a passage in Susan Sontag's *Regarding the Pain of Others* (2003) where she considers *The New York Times'* publication of a photograph of a wounded Taliban soldier. Sontag writes about the lack of compunction when exhibiting the pain and death of "those with darker complexions in exotic countries" without considering that we would not do this to "our own victims of violence; for the other, even when not an enemy, is regarded only as someone to be seen, not someone (like us) who also sees."[155] Seen from Sontag's ethical perspective, it could be argued that like the wounded Taliban soldier pictured prominently in *The New York Times*, surely Delahaye's Taliban in *Taliban* also had a wife, children, parents, sisters and brothers, some of whom may one day come across the exhibition of their husband, father, son, brother lying dead in a ditch – if they have not already. As long as cruelty is inflicted on the body of the other, we are able to look at such photographs with detached contemplation from a safe distance. Regarding an image of the war's dead is one aspect of the photographic act. Another is the photographer himself, who deliberates on his process and artistic vision for making history.

[154] Luc Delahaye quoted in: Fried, 2008, 187.
[155] Sontag, 2004, 72.

From Moment to History

Delahaye's aesthetics have been regarded in terms of late or aftermath photography, but this term cannot be applied to all of the photographs in the *History* series.[156] Delahaye's series differs from the work of aftermath photographers such as Simon Norfolk, Sophie Ristelhueber, and Paul Seawright in that it is often made as events are still unfolding.[157] While the images have the stillness and subdued affect of late photography, Delahaye is particular about the timing of the photographs: "I want to show the event at the very moment it takes place...My body must be anchored to the ground and to seek the best point of view, without any visual taboos. But then, at the heart of the event, my effort is to disappear, I introduce a distance that borders on indifference."[158] In wanting "to show the event at the very moment it takes place," Delahaye references Magnum Photos founder Henri Cartier-Bresson's "decisive moment." According to Mieszkowski, there are some similarities between Delahaye and Cartier-Bresson.[159] The essence of Cartier-Bresson's philosophy of photography is speed – a good photographic image is contingent upon how "quick, quick, quick, quick" the photographer is in seizing a key moment before it disappears forever.[160] Delahaye's effort to subsequently disappear from the moment is what supposedly distinguishes the two approaches, although, Miezskowski admits, "it is by no means obvious how the two-part sequence is to be realised."[161] While most of the images in the series observe the action from a distance, *Taliban* depicts a dead body at close range. Despite Delahaye's claim that photographing the dead Taliban soldier required quick decision-making, "as if he were seeking to shoot the scene as Cartier-Bresson would have yet somehow produced a completely different result," Miezskowki argues that Delahaye's photograph is not a decisive moment but "a 'slow' snapshot that is not an instant-of-death picture but rather a photograph of the posthumous shock that photography has visited upon the instant of this—and every—soldier's fall."[162] Even though Delahaye's *History* series appears to be an act of confrontation against the idioms of war representation espoused

[156] Late/aftermath photography is discussed by photography historian David Campany in his seminal essay "Safety in Numbness: Some remarks on problems of 'Late Photography.'"(2003). Campany describes it as "the highly visible turn toward photographing the aftermath of events – traces, fragments, empty buildings, empty streets, damage to the body and damage to the world[.] These images appear to us as particularly static, often sombre and quite 'straight' kinds of pictures. [...] The images often contain no people, but a lot of remnants of activity."
[157] Soutter, 2013.
[158] Luc Delahaye quoted in: Fried, 2008, 187.
[159] Mieszkowski, 2012.
[160] Henri Cartier-Bresson quoted in: Mieszkowski, 2012, 76.
[161] Mieszkowski, 2012, 77.
[162] Mieszkowski, 2012, 77-78.

by Cartier-Bresson as his tableaux do not depict instantly recognisable action photographs, Delahaye has not completely severed ties with his background as a photojournalist. In waiting for the precise moment to get close, he shows that he is still in search for that significant event if only to take his distance when that moment occurs.

Art historian Erina Duganne cites photography curator Carol Squiers' claim that Delahaye subverts the tenets of "immediacy" and "instantaneity" embraced by legendary war photographer Robert Capa, co-founder of Magnum, thereby counteracting the glorification of the suffering of war's victims.[163] By receding from the decisive moment and slowing down the action, Delahaye has grander ambitions to record history, be a witness not only to "the heart of the event" but also to the larger historical context. The tableau format in this case seems like an apt vessel for realising this project as the creator of the tableau does not simply snatch a key moment from the continuum of time but "cause[s] [it] to exist, concretely, give[s] [it] the weight and gravity, within an actualized perceptual space, of an 'object of thought.'"[164] Delahaye's own comments contribute to this reading of his tableaux as a slice of reality and history itself: "To voice the real and at the same time to create an image that is a world in itself, with its own coherence, its autonomy and sovereignty; an image that thinks."[165] His ambition is to conjure an image that is not a frozen fragment in a succession of images populating the pages of magazines and newspapers but one which leaves an indelible trace, "the trace of the trace," and which we can contemplate long after the object itself has receded into history.[166] Delahaye's historical moment is "the aesthetic historical moment" defined by Rosler, which invites the viewer to partake in "the organismic pleasure afforded by the aesthetic rightness of the image" and which, as the image recedes into history, finally finds its resting place on a gallery wall. While this correlation seems apt, Rosler's criticism was in fact directed towards traditional photojournalism. This raises the question as to how Delahaye's artistic work differs from his previous work as a prize-studded photojournalist and what constitutes the end goal of his aesthetics against the snapshot.

According to Duganne, Delahaye's photojournalism was never driven by a desire for social change. Instead, photojournalism's allure consisted in the "privileged relationship to the real" that Delahaye assumed was implicit in its evidentiary function.[167] As Delahaye discloses, "The majority of photojournalists tell themselves they do this work because it is important, that if people can just see these problems in these parts of the world they will do something about them. I have never believed

[163] Carol Squiers cited in: Duganne, 2007, 58.
[164] Jean-François Chevrier quoted in: Fried, 2008, 169.
[165] Luc Delahaye quoted in: Duganne, 2007, 59.
[166] Campany, 2003.
[167] Duganne, 2007, 60.

this. I even think that that is a con."[168] Artistic documentary photography, on the other hand, allows a direct approach, "like a simple recorder," and separates "bearing witness" from the "sentimentality" and "vulgarity" which dogs others in the profession.[169] In order to do this, Delahaye had to change the context in which his images were seen, hence the choice for a larger format as it made the photographs "incompatible with the economy of the press."[170] Unconvinced by Delahaye's rhetoric, Duganne questions the validity of this distinction and gives as an example publications of Delahaye bearing similarities with his artistically conceived *Taliban* which appeared while he was still working for *Newsweek* and Magnum. A *Newsweek* publication from November 26, 2001, featured a photograph of a dead Taliban soldier in a ditch, taken from a similarly detached point of view as *Taliban* in *History* (Fig. 29a). Similarly, the image *Taliban* from *History* is also featured, albeit cropped differently, in *Arms Against Fury: Magnum Photographers in Afghanistan* (2002) (Fig. 29b). Based on the visual affinities between these two examples and Delahaye's aesthetic in *History*, Duganne concludes that they must have been taken with his Linhof camera which leads her to wonder why they have not been included in the *History* series. With this argument, Duganne invalidates Delahaye's meditations on impartiality and disengagement imparted by the large-format camera. She contends that Delahaye "fails to realize" that the photographic apparatus, whether one is carrying a lightweight 35mm camera or a panoramic Linhof camera, is not intrinsically endowed with objectivity and pure visuality.[171] Instead, such qualitative characteristics represent "formal conventions whose meanings cannot be separated from the circumstances in which they were made or circulated."[172] Thus, for Duganne, the claim of objectivity in Delahaye's panoramas is a contrivance, a mere visual trope and most certainly insubstantial for absolution from discussions about the ethics of representing the dead. Likewise, Van Gelder maintains that ideologically Delahayes's journalistic work does not significantly differ from his artistic work.[173] Moreover, Delahaye's contestation of the precepts of photojournalism is informed by aesthetic considerations rather than a preoccupation with ethics. Delahaye's "cold and detached" approach to war photography, "a distance that borders on indifference," strikes a chord with Jünger's writings on photographs in the wake of World War I (WWI) in which he reflected on the correlation between the cold and distanced view of the photographic apparatus and human perception, which has increasingly adapted to the vision of the "artificial eye" of the camera.[174] Cultural theorist Bernd Hüppauf writes that

[168] Luc Delahaye quoted in: Duganne, 2007, 60.
[169] Luc Delahaye quoted in: Duganne, 2007, 60.
[170] Luc Delahaye quoted in: Duganne, 2007, 58.
[171] Duganne, 2007, 60.
[172] Duganne, 2007, 61.
[173] Van Gelder, 2014.
[174] Ernst Jünger quoted in: Hüppauf, 1993, 42.

the foregrounding of aesthetics over issues of morality has its precursor in theories of film and photography which emerged in the post-WWI era and this view is evident in the writings of Jünger. Hüppauf elaborates that according to Jünger, the objective quality of the photographic medium induced a hardening of the senses of man who distanced himself emotionally to foreground aesthetics over concerns about the ethics and moral implications of war photographs.

Photographer and art historian Lucy Soutter argues that one of the reasons for the controversial reception of Delahaye is the blurred boundary between fact and fiction.[175] While Delahaye does not pretend to produce factual reportage or take a political position, his work is inextricably linked to real-life events and undeniably informed by his earlier career as a photojournalist. Delahaye may have a foot in both worlds but his work is problematic from the standpoint of both art and journalism. One of the reasons for this, as Soutter explains, is that there are no clear rules of the game in Delahaye's work. For example, when compared to Jeff Wall, Wall's fictional works are experienced as realistic but the artifice is part of the agreement. In order to avoid any controversy or criticism on ethical grounds, Wall collaborates exclusively with hired models and thus guarantees immunity against charges of falsification or exploitation.[176] This is why Delahaye's work will remain controversial as his subjects are actual people caught in what Mitchell terms extreme social environments.[177] Delahaye's artistic reorientation, despite his intention of distancing himself from the aesthetics of the photojournalistic snapshot, draws him back to extreme environments.

Traditionally, according to Soutter, what separates photojournalism from art photography is what separates fact from fiction.[178] Photojournalism carries with it the promise of the real while art creates fictionalised worlds. Azoulay remarks that post-modern theories about the unreliable truth-value of photographs remain "anecdotal" and "marginalised" at best.[179] One need only look at a newspaper kiosk in order to see the enduring power of the indexicality of the photographic image in institutional practices. What is undeniably real and true in any photograph is the evidence of "an expression of a mutual guarantee, or its infringement."[180] The mutual guarantee being protection for the individual's "entitlement to become an image" or, as is the case with Delahaye, when the individual's status as an image "is taken to an extreme that threatens to turn [him or] her into *only* an image."[181] In

[175] Soutter, 2013.
[176] Van Gelder (2014) remarks soberly that Wall's work, despite being socially and politically engaged, ultimately serves the private collector.
[177] Mitchell, 2015.
[178] Soutter, 2013.
[179] Azoulay, 2008, 120.
[180] Azoulay, 2008, 120.
[181] Azoulay, 2008, 118.

this sense, Delahaye's work, whether fact or fiction, attests to an infringement which breaks the civil contract of photography. If, as Azoulay suggests, an ethical approach to images of war would be respecting the rights of the citizens of photography, then Delahaye's work does not honor this contract and his art serves to circumvent the conventions of photojournalism and absolve him of the humanitarian imperative of war photography. The question Azoulay asked in relation to Miki Kratsman's photograph of a dead Palestinian man laconically titled *Migrant Worker, Tel Aviv, 1998* (Fig. 30) still remains, "Should the photographer not have taken this picture of the exposed body, abandoned without anyone bothering to cover it, or was it his duty to take the picture, to draw our attention to the length of time that elapsed between the disaster's occurrence and someone going to the trouble of honoring the dead by covering it, as is customary?"[182]

In conclusion, contemplating modern warfare, Hüppauf wrote that the nature of modern reality "denies photographic realism its claim to represent war as it *really is*, because what is visible is only a small and often insignificant aspect of that reality."[183] Delahaye's *History* departs from the idea of the inability to see war in its totality within the framework of conventional war reportage. By looking at war from a distance with a dispassionate eye, Delahaye claims to achieve a measure of objectivity. Miezskowski's account of the doctrine of the decisive moment in relation to the *History* series and Duganne's comparative analysis of Delahaye's ideology as a photojournalist and artist shows that the distinction between his previous work as a photojournalist and his transition into the artworld is predicated on the visual trope of the slow and detached vision embedded in the artificial eye of the large-format Linhof camera. Such a vision is foregrounded by the myopic and false assumption of an objectivity divorced from the precepts of photojournalism. Scholarship on approaches to the representation of war predominantly foregrounds an earnest consideration of ethics informed by documentary photography's long-standing tradition as a witness and tool for social change. Artistic license divorced from moral codes is advocated by Michael Fried. However, the debates outlined by Duganne, Van Gelder, and Soutter make clear that Fried's proposition is problematic with regards to Delahaye's *History* series. Delahaye's vision for *History* shows a preoccupation with photography's aesthetic possibilities.

[182] Azoulay, 2008, 113.
[183] Hüppauf, 1993, 70.

Conclusion

This thesis has examined media practices in the representation of war and conflict from the perspective of artistic interrogations of war photography. In a sense, the complementary approaches of the three artworks analysed also formed a kind of triangle with different points of convergence, just as the terms photography, art , and war did in the introduction of this thesis. Each chapter addressed a different intersection of the war image as a document or a work of art, and investigated the blurred lines in between.

Chapter 1 considered the image-word relations as a site of complex interrelationships. The comparisons and differences between the two create an imaginary border, which, within the context of war, can acquire a metaphorical meaning and represent a political border that separates nation states, to use Mitchell's analogy. The image-text debate theorised by Mitchell served as a framework for understanding the ensemble of relations created in Broomberg and Chanarin's *hijacking* of Brecht's *Kriegsfibel*.

In Chapter 2, debates on the detrimental effect of aestheticization of press war photography on truthful reporting and theories of visual framing provided insights into Carolie Vogelaar's *Recognized/Unrecognized* series. Theoretical analyses of visual tropes rooted in religious and art historical symbolism were instrumental in decoding the conditioned ways of seeing in the examined images. The different layers of visual framing discussed in Rodriguez and Dimitrova's study and visual deconstructive analyses by Zarzycka and Kleppe showed that the conventions, tropes, and symbolism in the *Recognized/Unrecognized* images had come to represent an algorithm both figuratively and literally.

From the algorithm of the fast photojournalism in the *Recognized/Unrecognized* series, Chapter 3 shifted focus onto photojournalist-turned-artist Luc Delahaye's slow, distant approach to war photography. In his *History* series, marking his transition into the art market, Delahaye presents representations of war that are subversive to the photojournalistic genre in that they intentionally reject the *algorithm* of the press war photograph. Delahaye's panoramic, museum-scale tableaux and post-photographic manipulation have visual affinities with the socially engaged work of artists such as Jeff Wall. However, scholarship on the ethical parameters of contemporary art images of war is divided; the views of Michael Fried and Ariella Azoulay represent two opposite ends of the spectrum.

Finally, the three artworks represent various responses to the crisis in photojournalism and express different attitudes towards the social function of documentary photography and photojournalism with regards to the representation of war and conflict. In his book *Aesthetic Journalism:*

How to inform without informing, Alfredo Crametorri identifies two types of aesthetic journalism, one which uses its artistic standpoint as a platform for critical social commentary and another which foregrounds aesthetics but does not necessarily serve a political agenda. On the basis of this distinction, we can conclude that Adam Broomberg and Oliver Chanarin's *War Primer 2* and Coralie Vogelaar's *Recognized/Unrecognized* represent an interrogation of hegemonic visualities of war. Luc Delahaye's pictorial strategies in *History*, on the other hand, while equally subversive of the dominant codes of photojournalism, embrace the philosophy of *ars gratia artis*.

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Illustrations

Field of Glory

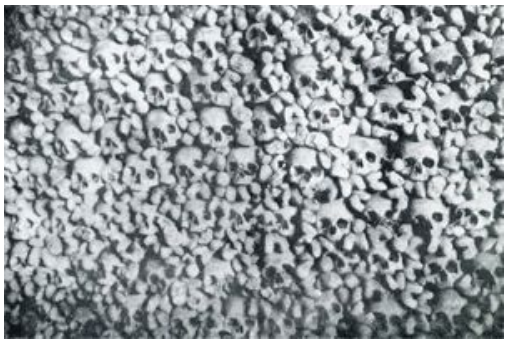
Landscape

At Rest

Bones

Figure 1. Frederick Barber, *The Horror of It: Camera Records of War's Gruesome Glories*, 1932. Source: https://survivorbb.rapeutation.com/viewtopic.php?f=175&t=3528&sid=3396cc375e52d58eb465faf30fc15ff3&start=10, accessed on May 24, 2019

Cause



Effect

Figure 2. Frederick Barber, *The Horror of It: Camera Records of War's Gruesome Glories*, 1932. Source: https://survivorbb.rapeutation.com/viewtopic.php?f=175&t=3528&sid=3396cc375e52d58eb465faf30fc15ff3&start=10, accessed on May 24, 2019

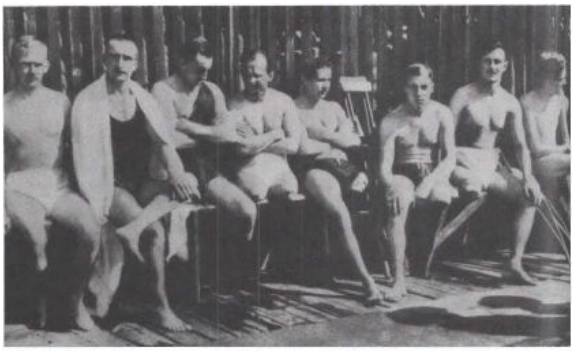


Figure 3. Laurence Stallings, *The First World War: A Photographic History*, "A Place in the Sun," 1933. Source: Hunter (1987)

Figure 4. Laurence Stallings, *The First World War: A Photographic History*, "Keep the home fires burning...," 1933. Source: Hanover College Department of History

When the "Fox of the Desert," German Field Marshal Erwin Rommel (left) drank this premature toast, his *Afrika Korps* was still "unbeatable."

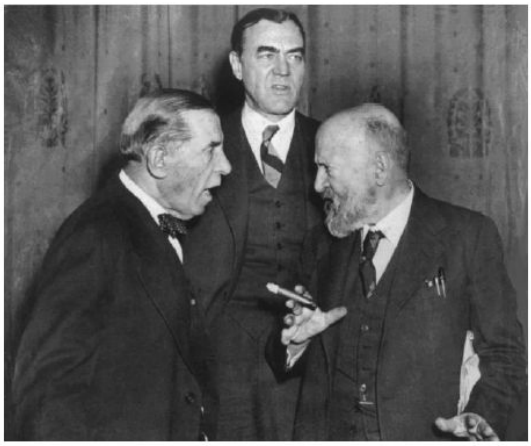
Here's to the Fatherland with all its Junkers!
The German sabre, plus its dividends!
The German People, armed and in its bunkers!
The great Misleader – Cheers! – of foes and friends!

Figure 5. Bertolt Brecht, Plate 42, Photo from *Life* of unknown date. Left: Rommel, whose Afrika Korps landed in Libya in March 1941, advanced to within Egypt and was pushed back at the Battle of Alamein in October 1942, *War Primer*, 2017 [1955], English edition

But in his recent flight across Libya, Rommel left behind many of his battered forces. From Allied attack this German vainly dived for cover.

O thrill of marching bands and banners flying!
Teutonic myth of swastika-crusaders dying!
Till all objectives were reduced to one:
To find yourself some cover. There was none.

Figure 6. Bertolt Brecht, Plate, 43, Photo from same page of *Life* as no. 42, *War Primer*, 2017 [1955], English edition



Statesmen at work: Chairman Sol Bloom of the House Foreign Affairs Committee debates with isolationist Holden Tinkham. Behind them: Hamilton Fish.

Behold us here, antagonists. See how
Each angry look is like a poisoned dagger.
A world of difference lies between us now.
The quarrel is: whose share's to be the bigger.

Figure 7. Bertolt Brecht, Plate 45, Photo from *Life* of unknown date, *War Primer*, 2017 [1955], English edition

'Joseph, I'm told you're saying it's a fact
I loot things.' – 'Hermann, looting's not for you.
Who'd grudge you what you want? They'd have more tact.
And if I said it, who'd believe it's true?'

Figure 8. Bertolt Brecht, Plate 32, Photo from *Life*, 3 February 1941. Goebbels (left) Josef, Goering Hermann, *War Primer*, 2017 [1955], English edition

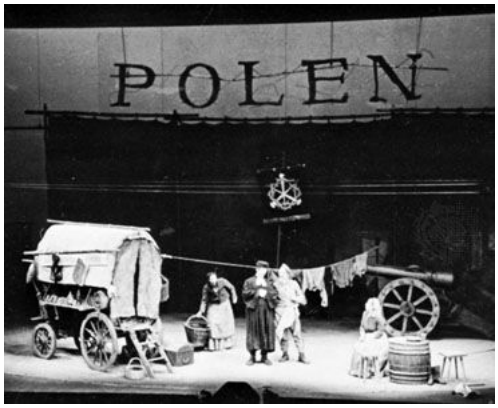


Figure 9. Setting for a scene in *Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder* (*Mother Courage and Her Children*), staged by Bertolt Brecht for a production in 1949 by the Berliner Ensemble. *Mordecai Gorelik Collection.* Source: Encyclopædia Britannica

German assault troops, here emerging from beneath railroad cars to attack the Albert Canal line, were young, tough and disciplined. In all, there were 240 divisions of them. But despite the world's idea that the conquest was merely by planes and tanks, it actually depended on the old-fashioned tactic of a superior mass of firepower at the decisive point.

Before you join the great assault I see
You peer around to spot the enemy.
Was that the French? Or your own sergeant who
Was lurking there to keep his eye on you?

Figure 10. Bertolt Brecht, Plate 8, Photo from *Life*, 30 December 1940. The German army reached the Albert Canal between Antwerp and Liège a few days after invading Holland and Belgium on 10 May, *War Primer*, 2017 [1955], English edition

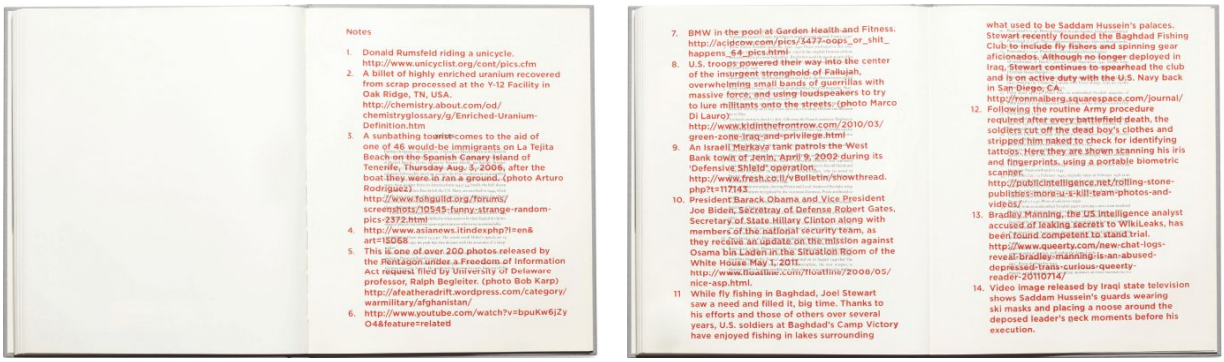


Figure 11. Adam Broomberg & Oliver Chanarin, Notes, *War Primer 2,* 2011

Searchlight display
We reproduce a picture from Associated Press, Berlin, showing a German fighter plane caught in English searchlights.

What you see here, caught in your night defences
These steel and glass cocoons for killing people
With tons of bombs, are just the consequences
For all, and not the causes of the evil.

Figure 12a. Bertolt Brecht, Plate 24, Photo from an unidentified Swedish paper of January 1941, showing the Thames in London with Tower Bridge. *War Primer,* 2017 [1955], English edition

Figure 12b. Adam Broomberg & Oliver Chanarin, Plate 24, *War Primer 2,* 2011

The Germans were 'kind' to this Frenchman. They blindfolded him before h
shot.

And so we put him up against a wall:
A mother's son, a man like we had been
And shot him dead. And then to show you all
What came of him, we photographed the scene.

Figure 13a. Bertolt Brecht, Plate 12, Photo from an unidentified American paper, *War Primer,* 2017 [1955], English edition

Figure 13b. Adam Broomberg & Oliver Chanarin, Plate 12, *War Primer 2,* 2011

Figure 14. Bertolt Brecht, Plate 53, Photo from *Life*, 1 February 1943, *Kriegsfibel*, 1977 [1955], German edition

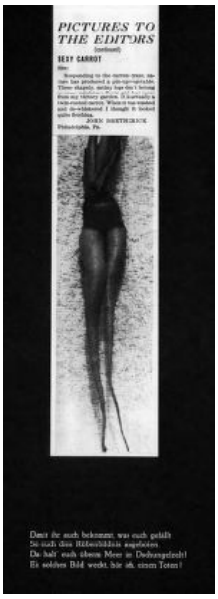


Figure 15a. Bertolt Brecht, Plate 50, Photo from *Life*, 25 October 1943, *Kriegsfibel,* 1977 [1955], German edition

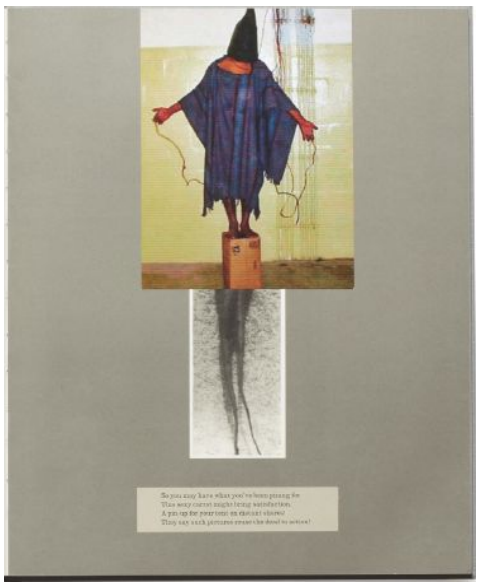


Figure 15b. Adam Broomberg & Oliver Chanarin, Plate 50*, War Primer 2,* 2011

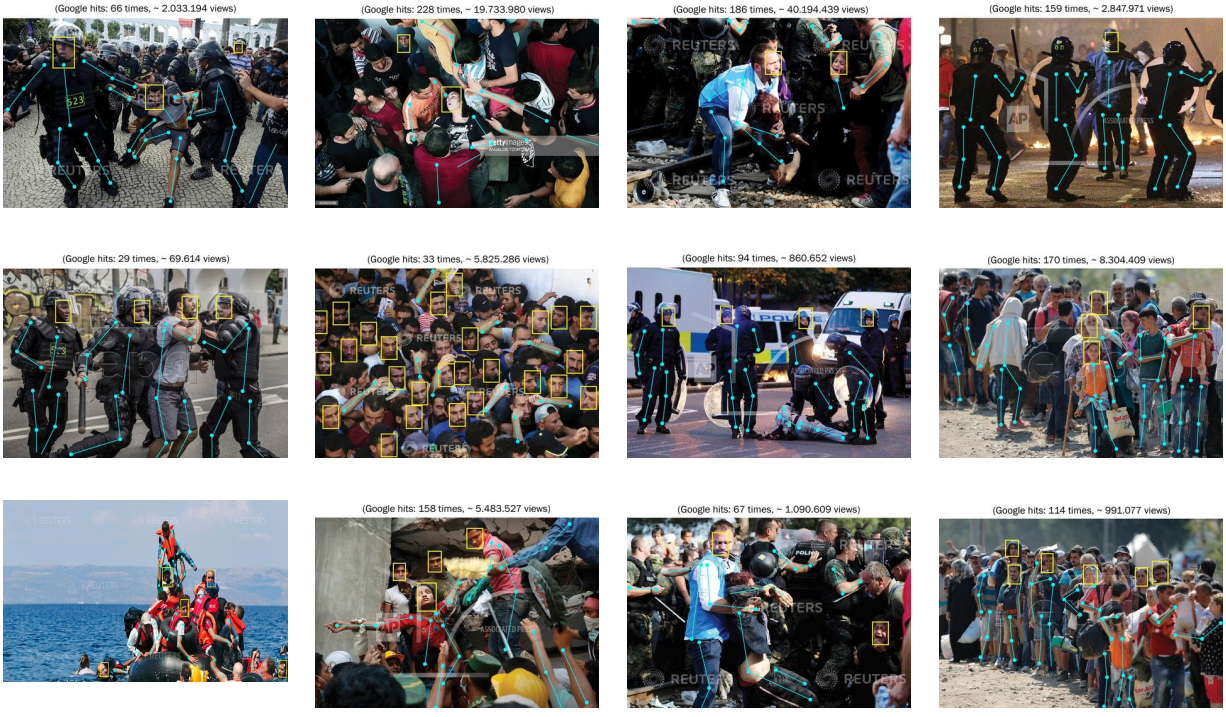


Figure 16. Coralie Vogelaar, *Recognized/Unrecognized*, 2016

Figure 17a. Coralie Vogelaar, *London Riots, United Kingdom, 9 August, 2011*, from the *Recognized/Unrecognized* series, 2016

Figure 17b. Coralie Vogelaar, *Kiev, Ukraine, 19 February, 2014*, from the *Recognized/Unrecognized* series, 2016

Figure 18a. Mustafa Hassona, *Protest against Israel's blockade of Gaza on October 22, 2018*. Source: Aljazeera

Figure 18b. Eugène Delacroix, *Liberty Leading the People*, 1830, detail. Source: Wikipedia

Figure 19a. Mahmud Hams, *Dead Palestinian mother and children, Gaza City morgue*. Source: Mitchell (2015)

Figure 19b. Nicolas Poussin, *The Plague at Ashdod,* 1630, detail. Source: WikiArt

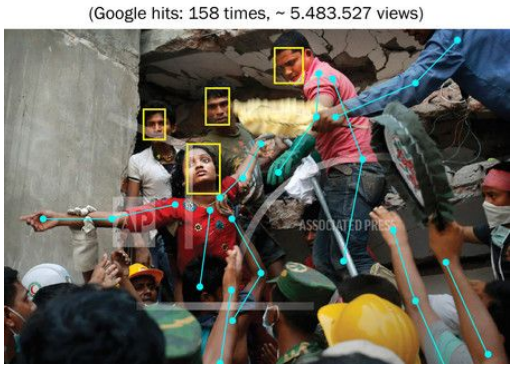


Figure 20a. Coralie Vogelaar, *The collapse of Rana Plaza, Bangladesh, 2013*, from the *Recognized/Unrecognized* series, 2016

Figure 20b. Kevin Frayer, *Rohingya Refugees Flee Into Bangladesh to Escape Ethnic Cleansing,* 1 October 2017. Source: World Press Photo

Figure 21a. Kevin Frayer, *27-year-old Rikta, who worked on the third floor of Rana Plaza, had her right arm amputated inside the rubble nearly 72 hours after the building came crashing down*. Source: Inhabitat

Figure 21b. Jodi Bieber, World Press Photo of the Year 2010. Source: Zarzycka & Kleppe (2013)

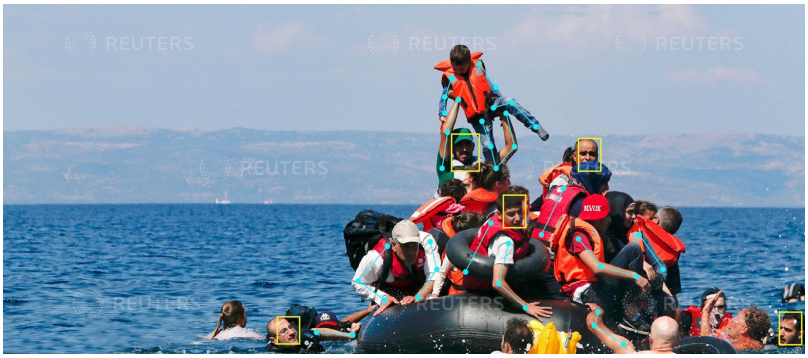


Figure 22. Coralie Vogelaar, *Lesbos, Greece, 2015*, from the *Recognized/Unrecognized* series, 2016

Figure 23a. Masaccio, *The Expulsion from Paradise*, c. 1425–1428. Source: Wright (2002)

Figure 23b. Fra Angelico, *The Flight Into Egypt,* c. 1430. Source: Hulton Archive/Getty Images

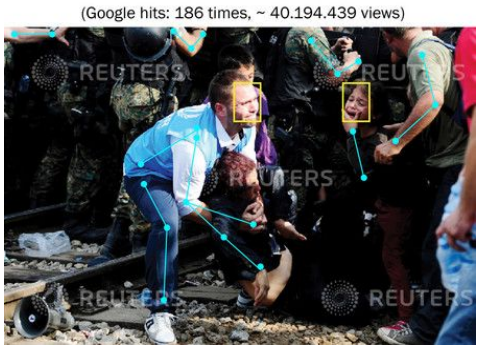


Figure 24. Coralie Vogelaar, *The border between Serbia and Macedonia, 2015*, from the *Recognized/Unrecognized* series, 2016

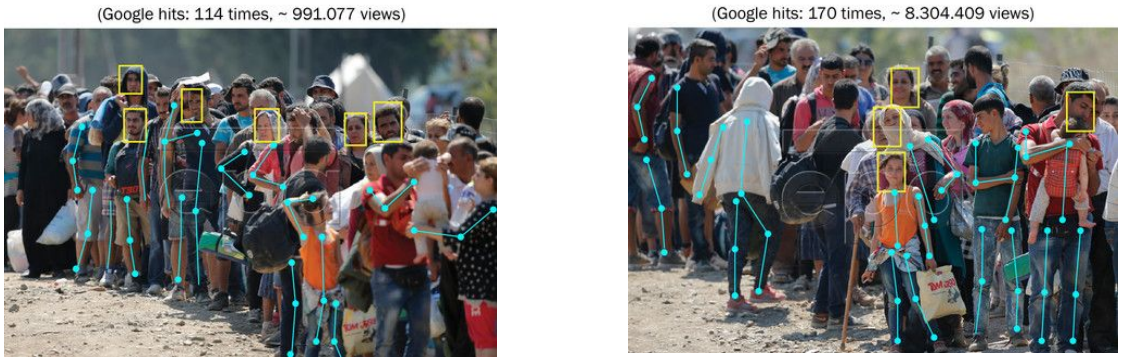


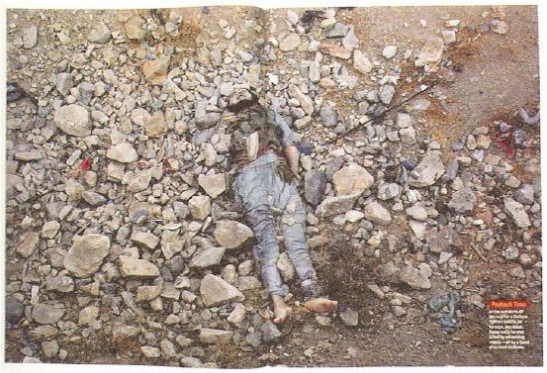
Figure 25. Coralie Vogelaar, *The border between Macedonia and Greece, 2015*, from the *Recognized/Unrecognized* series, 2016

Figure 26a. Théodore Géricault, *The Raft of the Medusa*, 1818-1819. Source: Wikipedia

Figure 26b. Sergey Ponomarev, 2016 Photo Contest, General News, Stories, 1st prize, Reporting Europe's Refugee Crisis. Source: World Press Photo

Figure 27. Luc Delahaye, *History,* 2001-2003

Figure 28. Luc Delahaye, *Taliban*, from the *History* series, 2001-2003



Luc Delahaye, *Taliban, Afghanistan*, 12 novembre 2001, in *Newsweek*, 26.11.2001, double page. L. D. / Magnum Photos

Fig 29a. Luc Delahaye, *Taliban*, *Afghanistan, 12 November 2001*, in *Newsweek*, 26.11.2001, double page. L.D./Magnum Photos. Source: Duganne (2007)

Luc Delahaye, *A Taliban soldier lay dead near the Kabul front line*, 12.11. 01, in *Arms Against Fury. Magnum Photographers in Afghanistan*, édité par Robert Dannin, PowerHouse Books, New York, 2002, p.166-185

Fig 29b. Luc Delahaye, *A Taliban Soldier lay dead near the Kabul front line*, *12.11.01*, in *Arms Against Fury: Magnum Photographers in Afghanistan*, 2002. Source: Duganne (2007)

Figure 30. Miki Kratsman, *Migrant Worker*, *Tel Aviv, 1998*. Source: Fisher (2009)