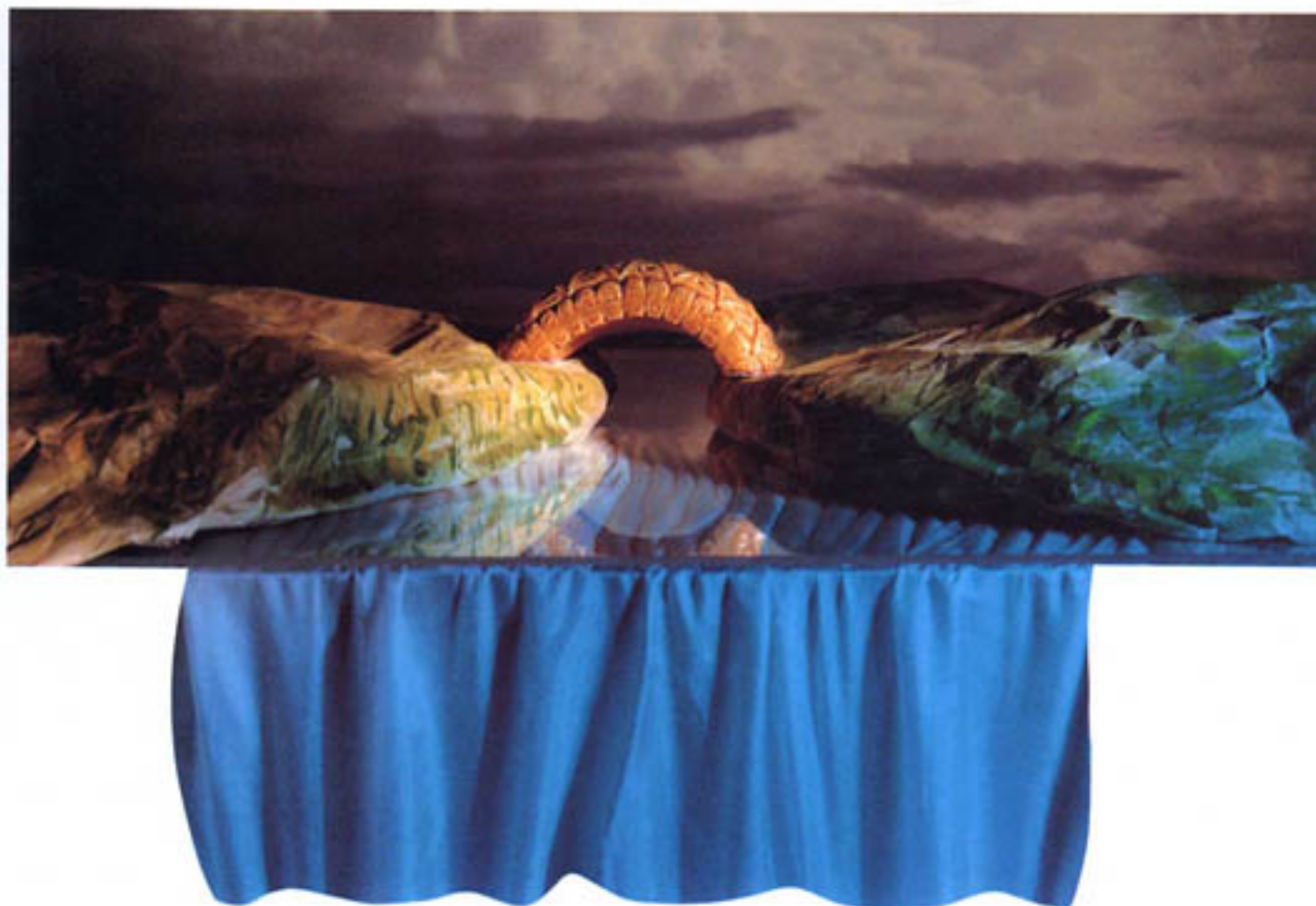


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MUSÉE CANADIEN DE LA  
PHOTOGRAPHIE CONTEMPORAINE

# In Camera

## THE PHOTOGRAPHY OF DONIGAN CUMMING

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*Reality and Motive in Documentary Photography*, the title chosen by Donigan Cumming for his monumental, three-part cycle, recalls the dualities in Jane Austen's titles (*Pride and Prejudice; Sense and Sensibility*), as well as the distinctions drawn by Balzac between the "zoological species" and "social species" which populate the *Comédie humaine*. Closer to us in time and more explicitly relevant to the nature/culture or nature/nurture dichotomy that obsesses the modern spirit — including the spirit of Cumming's work, which might as well have been named "The Lived and the Posed" — is the title of Roland Barthes's collection of essays, *L'obvie et l'obtus*, in which Barthes's post-structuralist, semiotic analysis is applied to works of visual art, to works he called "l'écriture du visible."

The *obvious* and the *obtus* are categories invented by the later Barthes in an attempt to transcend traditional, structuralist readings (including his own) of the visible text — and perhaps, in the end, to transcend semiology itself. To the transparent foundation of *information*, the communication of the readily perceived, are added two more constructions: that of a network of symbols (*significations*) which constitute a common currency of exchange among literate members of a given culture; and an extra meaning (*significance*) in a work of art which resists easy codification but is, nevertheless, its most gripping feature of all. This "extra" meaning is the one that compels us to return to the work, the one that somehow makes us know it matters. It makes the work of art an obscure and irresistible object of desire, transforming the knowing reader into a hapless detective endlessly ruminating over motifs and motives.

One more dichotomy appears to constitute the core of Cumming's project which, by now, includes not just the body of photographs and their title, but also the critical polemics that have surrounded *Reality and Motive* since its first (partial) showing in 1983.<sup>1</sup> Cumming's work is, at heart, an illustration of the troubling dichroism of the photographic medium itself: it exhibits properties of documentary fact when viewed from one angle, those of narrative fiction when seen from another. Neither angle is adequate for bringing the content into sharp focus; from picture to picture, we are forced to shift ground and negotiate the uneasy terrain between photography and art.

Such manoeuvring ought not to be so difficult, not today. "The distinction between art and photography, historically fraught with anxieties, has ceased to be one of definition," Nancy Foote wrote in *Artforum* in 1976.

"Nevertheless," she noted, "it continues to bug us. Though the post-modernist revolution has (as in many other disciplines) eradicated traditional boundaries and brought about a tremendous increase in 'esthetic mobility,' photography's status in the art world remains problematic. For every photographer who clamors to make it as an artist, there is an artist running a grave risk of turning into a photographer."<sup>2</sup>

Foote's essay pertained to a time before everything old had become "Neo-" again. It was about the conceptual art of the seventies which then appeared to represent the ultimate rejection of traditional, formalist studio practices: painting, sculpture — and photography. Lived experience — palpable, extended and durational — replaced the unique form and, with it, that unique (and uniquely modernist) instant in which a still, immutable construction offered the gaze the promise of an immutable fact, an immanent Truth.

In his introduction to *Structures for Behaviour*, - a seminal exhibition of post-modern sculpture held

at the Art Gallery of Ontario in 1978, Roald Nasgaard spelled out the new rules inherent in the perception of durational, hybridized art, rules that clearly apply as well to grasping the extreme "esthetic mobility" of Cumming's project. The new sculpture's horizontally and architectural structuring look back to modernism, Nasgaard observes; in the same way, most of Cumming's individual images refer overtly to the subject matter and compositional strategies of famous documentary photographs of the past.<sup>4</sup> The aura of violent commitment that emanates from *Reality and Motive* — and especially from the critics' analyses of it — is in large part due to this entanglement with the past: it is the jaundiced gratitude of the hopelessly indebted.

Post-modern art's links with the past are undeniable but, notes Nasgaard:

...to an increasing degree the art, as such, of these works is not very readily found in the objects or structures by themselves... These constructions may or may not be of special visual interest but it quickly becomes apparent that what the eye alone can see is not sufficient to reveal what the sculptures are about. In an unprecedented way the works seem to demand to be physically traversed, to be walked round, through or over. The eye by itself is insufficient to understand what they are because it cannot always encompass them and the spectator is made aware of broader requirements of behaviour in order to raise the works from their inertness.<sup>5</sup>

If we substitute "photographs" for "sculptures," then Nasgaard's description is an uncanny anticipation of the problems presented by *Reality and Motive*. What the eye can see in any single picture of Cumming's is already a polymorphous amalgam of information and strategy. There is copious description of the models and their surroundings; explicit (and frankly didactic) demonstrations of how the photographer's directorial role is an intrusion into the models' lives; and the unfolding of some kind of dramatic action whose central conflict is the "extra" meaning of the work. In this dramatic action we observe the model becoming a *character* through a reenactment of two parallel scripts: one composed by a photographer in full possession of all the hackneyed conventions of the documentary genre, the other inspired by a private impulse of wish fulfilment but still dependent on the artist's collaboration because it's clearly the camera's presence that releases the "player" in the model.

Installed in a fixed sequence,<sup>6</sup> the 70 photographs of the first part of *Reality and Motive in Documentary Photography* (R.M. I) are double-hung in the gallery, so that the horizontal development of character transformations is qualified and annotated by a vertical reading (PLATES 14, 15); R.M. II comprises 45 pictures hung in a single row (PLATE 16); R.M. III is an installation of six mural-sized photographs, each accompanied by a sound track (PLATE 17). This auditory dimension means that R.M. III must be displayed in a space of its own, which effectively cuts off any single vision we might hope to have of the work as a whole. The added medium of sound also signals what the previous parts only hint at: that Cumming's project is something other than the purely photographic meditation the title promises. Martha Langford has likened it to Artaud's existentialist theatre;<sup>7</sup> Robert Graham, while locating it within the documentary tradition, notes nevertheless that "Cumming's work appeals to encounters outside of documentary's usual channels."<sup>8</sup>

It could be that those "broader requirements of behaviour" Nasgaard demands of the postmodern viewer include the admission that work like Cumming's presents us with a multisensory, polysemic experience that simply cannot be fitted into convenient categories, and that no single interpretation, no matter how rigorously reasoned, can ever be entirely apt. This is the very nature of the new art advocated by Barthes in *The Death of the Author*, where he dismisses the neatly turned plots of traditional *écriture* (an art in which the author is in charge of all production of meaning, reducing the reader's role to that of a passive consumer of received ideas) and proposes, instead, a new *écriture* which, "...by refusing to assign a 'secret,' an ultimate meaning, to the text (and to the world as text), liberates what may be called an antitheological activity, an activity that is truly revolutionary, since to refuse to fix meaning is, in the end, to refuse God and His hypostases — reason, science, law."<sup>9</sup>

It is quite possible that this notion, or at least the sentiment behind the idea, and the metaphor that shapes both, were first awakened in Barthes by the Paris showing of *The Family of Man*, the exhibition of documentary photographs organized by the Museum of Modern Art in 1955. The leaflet introducing the show to the French public intoned: "This look over the human condition must somewhat resemble the

benevolent gaze of God on our absurd and sublime ant-hill"; and this inspired one of the most bracingly iconoclastic of Barthes's "mythologies."<sup>10</sup>

Barthes and Cumming share the same enmity: they despise the blind idealism inherent to the documentary tradition, the blinkered smugness which presumes to "sum up" some aspect of the human condition and having done that, with a single click, implicitly assures the viewer that something has now been accomplished, simply by attention having been paid. This is the shameless complicity on which the "humanistic" spirit of documentary is based: the photographer and the viewer align themselves with whatever ideological power rules by holding out "hope."

Barthes unmasks this complacent, "we are all one family" code, and Cumming destroys it by refusing to settle for the comforting closure of the single, decisive image. Duration created by sequence, and narrative equivocations within the sequence, undermine any fixed notions of what his characters live or "what they are" — robbing the viewer of the essential optimism that is the poisoned apple proffered by the documentary ideology: the intimation that culture is a scheme in which everyone has a secure place. And if that place is an uncomfortable one, never fear: "Concerned photography" is already at work, right there, being God's right hand, quickly repairing the damage some careless swipe of His left hand has caused. No man is an island after all, the "concerned" reason; and just by looking at the Other, we are looking out for each other. The notion of an artist "running the grave risk of turning into a photographer" takes on special meaning in this context: it is the risk of Pygmalion turning into Pollyanna.



Like a hard-boiled detective who has trained himself to look at the facts and expect only the worst, Barthes's semiology can at times appear to be based on some principle of creative paranoia. The "indisputable image" that is the photograph when discussed as "myth" is the empty container of the *signified* that is enveloped by a *concept*, which is itself a subterfuge: "the motivation which causes the myth to be uttered."<sup>11</sup>

For all his attachment to the amorous discourse of art, Barthes seems to treat the photographic icon not as an equal but as if he were a lover for whom the text is an all-powerful, mysterious Other whose every utterance must be decoded. The clarity of face value, of indisputable presence, is not to be taken for assurance of fidelity: realism, Barthes seems to argue, is a code like any other — and perhaps the most dangerously treacherous of all.

The same iconoclastic misery hovers over *Reality and Motive in Documentary Photography*: it engenders the work's title (which, in turn, arouses in the viewer a vaguely corresponding mood of skepticism) and inspires the double-rowed syntax of R.M. I. But for all their congruencies, there is a crucial difference between Cumming and Barthes. Barthes's methodology permeates his *style* as well, and style, Barthes reminds us in *What is Writing?*, is more than a mere device. It is the unconscious manifestation of a temperament: biological or biographical in origin, "style is...the transmutation of a Humour."<sup>12</sup>

Cumming's skepticism, in contrast, is restricted to functioning as a strategic device and is never allowed to permeate the work itself. The victory of *Reality and Motive* is that Cumming's troubled relationship with the photographic medium, a personal dilemma that might easily have become "style," is transformed into a driving force for a fully realized work of fiction. Doubt transcends being mere method, and the photographs are allowed to transcend the function of merely illustrating attitude and method. Cumming's doubt is a dangerous undertow, but it is also a source of immense energy, animating the characters as well as the photographer. It releases the artist in the photographer and allows what might have remained a mere critique of the documentary ideology to bloom into a full-blooded, creative work of fiction.



Once liberated from photography's treacherous code of realism and allowed to move to analysis of narrative fiction, Barthes, too, seems released. His codes multiply, and his previously reductive semiology blooms into an almost alarming luxuriance. In *S/Z*, his book-length investigation of Balzac's *Sarrasine*, he

identifies five "signifying systems" or codes that construct the text, each code a multiplicity of systems in itself and constantly interacting with the others.<sup>13</sup>

Barthes works his way along the text a few phrases or actions at a time, each step bringing him closer to the revelation of a code; and this is how we, too, may attempt to read *Reality and Motive in Documentary Photography* — except in reverse, by simply trying to locate the seminal elements that motivate Cumming's work.<sup>14</sup>

Brazenly simplified (and possibly mangled by having been wrested from Barthes's thicket of prose), his five codes are as follows:

1. THE PROAIRETIC *or* CODE OF ACTIONS. "The main armature of the readerly text," this propels the narrative. It is not a set of major movements meant to develop a plot but any and every gesture, as trivial as opening a door.
2. THE HERMENEUTIC CODE *or* CODE OF PUZZLES. Barthes names ten consecutive strategies designed to keep the reader's attention by delaying the revelation of the "truth" the reader seeks. This is a series of riddles.
3. THE CULTURAL CODES. There are many of these, all referring to contexts (and texts) already familiar to the reader. They assure contact and, at their basest, *realistic* level, do not create meaning but reaffirm conventional wisdom.
4. THE CONNOTATIVE CODES. A series of suggestions that encourage the reader to cluster connotations into a "theme." These are the messages most expressly addressed to the receiver. They do *not* exclude obvious denotation.
5. THE SYMBOLIC CODE. Rhetorical devices, based mainly on the conflict of binary oppositions (of situations, actions, images or codes themselves), that elevate a mundane event into the realm of the mythologically essential. Though Barthes does not say this, he leaves the impression that this is the privileged code of art.

Following the Barthesian clues, we can locate some elements of each code as found in *Reality and Motive in Documentary Photography*.

#### I. CODE OF ACTIONS

Four major narrative lines converge in Cumming's work. The tripartite sectioning of the project records movements: from overcrowded rooms of the inner city in R.M. I, to the more spacious suburban settings of R.M. II, to, finally, the chapel-like construction of R.M. III, which can only be installed in a pristine, high-ceilinged art gallery.

The characters who inhabit these spaces (several of them appear in more than one part of the work) also move. In a psychic evolution that follows the changes of location, they move from quotidian domesticity to symbol-laden self-dramatization to quasi-religious ecstasy: from acceptance to escape to transcendence. Intersecting with the symbolic code, they also follow a gruesome trajectory that is the economics of faith in our society: they replace the desperate materialism of the functioning poor with the narcissistic self-involvement of the mobile middle class and finally leap over the edge — into the cult-worshipping self-abnegation of the underclass.

A second narrative focusses on the peripatetic photographer. His actions are always visible: Cumming visits people's homes, has them pose, arranges their possessions (or the props he brings with him) in a way that will direct our reading along this d/evolutionary plot. The frames of R.M. I's photos fairly burst with the possessions of their rooming-house tenants, while R.M. II's compositions are much less crowded. Rather than a teeming space, the surroundings in R.M. II are neutral backdrops, and objects seem less like accumulated possessions, hoarded and jealously preserved, than disposable stage properties:

props chosen only because they are useful to the construction of a phantasy image of the self.

A third action, minor compared to the others, narrates the lives of those characters who appear several times in sequence; that of two elderly men, for instance, whom we first see in their shabby-genteel home (their dressing gowns make it clear that they share this room). In a later picture we see one of these men again in an antiseptic hospital room, now alone. This thematizes the connotative code of decline and loss.

But Cumming's most overt code of action is *posing*. His models are hyperactively involved with the camera. Unlike the traditionally passive or unaware subjects of traditional documentary, they are full participants in the creative project. They play out multiple lives rather than living one, and the camera reanimates them with every shot. Each posed gesture serves to point an accusing finger at the cultural codes of documentary reduction to Truth, at the gaping chasms underneath the fragile link between cause and effect.

The link seems solid in traditional documentary because the "still" lends it an aura of immutability, the finality of closure. Duration, as Cumming uses it, allows us to observe the self in mutation, or at least in its contingent states of temporary compromise between the wished and the endured.

## 2. CODE OF PUZZLES

This is the central code of post-modernism and the most powerful arsenal in Cumming's attack on the documentary. The paradigmatic strategy of equivocation — the title's dichotomy, the double-rowed hanging, the contrapuntist's use of sound and image in *R.M. III* — is used to frustrate the viewer's desire for closure. All the codes converge in this one, the dominating element of Cumming's discourse.

"Photographs furnish evidence," Susan Sontag writes. "Something we hear about, but doubt, seems proven when we're shown a photograph of it."<sup>15</sup>

When Cumming photographs a frail old woman sitting on her bed, our immediate impulse to thematize quickly files her under *L/S/D* — lonely, sick, dispossessed. But in later shots we see her in other guises, appearing variously as a vamping bathing beauty, as a pensive-regal figure standing by her fridge (which is full), and as a porno queen.

What "evidence" has been furnished? Only that the reductive code of realism cannot account for the multiple personalities that hide within each of us; and that decline, while inevitable, does not inevitably follow a straight path clearly signposted with thematic directions.

The hermeneutic code dominates *Reality and Motive in Documentary Photography* because, for all our passionate interest in the characters, we can only thematize the multiple clues they project, we can never know "who they are," even as fictional entities. The models are neither free agents (subjects unaware of the camera) nor paid impersonators (they *collaborate* with the photographer and therefore are beyond the total control of the artist's imagination). And they are beyond our own. Faced with these spectres looming behind the inviolably smooth surface of the photograph, our relationship to them comes to resemble the self-projection in Proust's terrifying definition of love:

It irradiates toward the beloved, in whom it encounters a hard surface whence it rebounds to its point of departure. It is the ricochet of our own affection that we call the other person's love for us.<sup>16</sup>

So powerful is Cumming's use of mystification that at least one viewer seems to have been persuaded, photographic evidence notwithstanding, that the models don't exist at all. Commenting on the picture of the two men in dressing gowns, here is how Clara Gutsche describes the models: "Organically bound to their natural habitat are two unsavoury male specimens, one receding and shriveled, the other aggressive and bloated."<sup>17</sup>

One might reasonably describe in this way the figures painted by Bacon or invented by Sade, but surely not people who, the photos make clear, are our contemporaries living in Montreal. That a viewer — especially one who is a partisan of the "concerned" school — can be trapped into this level of insensitivity is some kind of tribute to Cumming's mastery of the codes of puzzles: his viewer cannot possibly believe

that the models exist as other than characters, that they might possibly read the magazine in which their description appears. Having been photographed, they may be called specimens: they cannot be alive because they can't be hurt.

### 3. CULTURAL CODES

R.M. I is a virtual compendium of the already known: each picture is a reference or quote, if not an outright parodic homage to some of the best-loved images of the documentary genre. The various conventions of the snapshot are also well represented: the portrait, the couple, the family, the group of friends gathered around a table.

Two codes are conspicuous through absence: (Cumming does not use close-up head shots, and he rarely ventures outdoors, thus dispensing with two of the privileged clichés of documentary: the celebration of Power, in the manner of Karsh, and the veneration of Nature, in the tradition of Adams. (Clearly, neither of these myths fits into the scheme of "concerned" photography which, as a rule, mistrusts the sublime.)

When Cumming stages scenes outdoors, placing models in a garden or at a lake's shore, nature seems as still and artificial as a painted backdrop. The models keep perfectly still, and nature itself seems to be posing for the camera: no wave dares to splash in these photographs.

Landscape is mostly glimpsed indoors, not even through windows but in the paintings and photo-murals of the models' rooms. (Sometimes we also see one of Cumming's own photographs on the wall: this is a negation of the cultural code of the unique event but a powerful code of action of repeated visits by the photographer.)

These interiors are also filled with trinkets of pop culture — Elvis Presley memorabilia dominate — and with newspapers and documents expressly presented to the camera. All these signs situate the viewer in a specific time and place.

### 4. CONNOTATIVE CODES

Cumming does not rely heavily on connotative codes. While the whole of *Reality and Motive in Documentary Photography* certainly provokes thematization (in our discussion of the previous codes we have done hardly more than reposit suggestions of decline, social status, transcendence, etc.), it is only in R.M. II's repeated display of Freudian symbols that we might begin to recognize a "common nucleus" of connotations.

These codes, however, are not reiterated from picture to picture. While each individual photograph can be read as a metaphor, the sequence does not develop into allegory, no single connotation is strong enough to engender a system of reading.

Many critics have remarked on the affinities between Cumming's photographs and those of Diane Arbus, and it is not impossible to read R.M. II as an extended meditation on the art of Arbus. They share similar themes of antithesis: incongruous couples, the bravado of the defeated, the defiant narcissism of the outcast.

There is an important difference, however. In Cumming the connotative code is semiologically dormant. It laconically points out certain patterns of behaviour without pointing toward a possible scheme of relationships that might be responsible for generating these patterns. (This absence is less noticeable in R.M. I, where the double-rowed structuring and the frequent reappearance of familiar characters seem to constitute a series of plots.)

In Arbus, on the other hand, the connotative code is stridently active: the photographs' captions denote for the viewer social and psychological schemes operating within her images.

In the photograph *A Jewish Giant at Home with His Parents in the Bronx, N. Y. 1970*,<sup>18</sup> Arbus portrays one specific caprice of nature and then extends this situation into a more universal metaphor through the explicitness of pointing out the components: Jewish — giant — home — parents — New York. The tiny couple is all parents who have ever stared disbelievingly at their child, trying to fathom

what beloved monster to which they have given life; the giant is every child whose growth of self-esteem results, inevitably, in a concurrent shrinking of the parental figure, the increasingly suffocating love within the parental home. This Freudian reading is suggested by the image and expressly *dictated* by the caption which sharpens the focus of universality into a specific world's view: the Freudian complexes of Alex Portnoy. The connotative code is strong in Arbus because it works in tandem with a cultural code.

Cumming's connotative code, in contrast, is subsumed by his privileged code of puzzles. A Freudian reading is possible, in some images it is even suggested, but it is never dictated. In his own gripping photo of a family<sup>19</sup> the triad is inverted: two healthy young people kneel by the bed of an old woman so frail that she is fading away before our eyes. Freud's temporal Darwinism of family life *might* be a reading here, but not the inevitable one.

Compared to the low, confining ceiling in Arbus, which locks the trio into a dark box, Cumming's ceiling is barely present, permitting our gaze to move upward, beyond the frame. Neither is Cumming's trio locked into a circle of stares: the couple face the camera, the old woman turns her back on it; she is elsewhere, on her own.

Cumming's family is framed, instead, by two pictures of Christ aligned with the vertical edges of the photograph. The two pictures frame the composition, *implying* that the family unit is bracketed by Faith. But this implied reading is put into doubt as soon as we notice that in the picture on the left Christ is blindfolded, his eyes covered by a streak of light which is a reflection produced by the camera's flash. Faith is undone by artifice, connotation of documentary evidence dissolves into puzzle, meaning is dissolved by the hermeneutic code.

## 5. THE SYMBOLIC CODE

Throughout this contemplation of *Reality and Motive in Documentary Photography*, I have tried "naming" the work by locating the astounding number of dichotomies it features and implies. If the privileged code of narrative fiction is the differentiation of binary conflicts, then we must conclude that Cumming's work is photographic fiction of a kind unprecedented in the history of the medium. R.M. I is a manifesto on the dual roles of art and photography; R.M. II is a novel about being and becoming; and R.M. III — which resists semiology because, once it has been dismantled and its sound track silenced, it simply no longer exists as text (it cannot be mechanically reproduced) — is a passion play in which all the conflicts are reenacted.

Elvis sings:

You saw me crying in the chapel  
The tears I cried were tears of joy...

Barthes says, "No sooner is a form seen than it must resemble something: humanity seems doomed to Analogy, i.e., in the long run, to Nature."<sup>20</sup>

By exposing the duplicity of photographic evidence — the tears we see in his pictures could be tears of joy or sorrow, or they could be make-up — Cumming releases us from doom: his refusal to fix pat analogies inverts into the liberating tap of Art's wand.

1. See Martha Langford's essay "Donigan Cumming: Crossing Photography's Chalk Lines" for an analysis of the critical reaction to Cumming's work. In Martha Langford, *Reality and Motive in Documentary Photography* (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography, 1986), pp. 14-35.

2. Nancy Foote, "The Anti-Photographers," *Artforum* (September 1976), p. 46.

3. Roald Nasgaard, *Structures for Behaviour* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1978). The exhibition comprised sculptures by Robert Morris, David Rabinowitch, Richard Serra and George Trakas.

4. Langford, pp. 20-23, traces the source of these "quotations."

5. Nasgaard, p. 9.

6. See Langford, p. 25, for the physical specifications of how the three parts of the work are installed in exhibition.



7. Langford, pp. 31-32.
8. Robert Graham, "Donigan Gunning: Undoing Documentary," *Parachute* (March, April, May 1984), p. 24.
9. Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: I Till and Wang, 1977), p. 147.
10. Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), pp. 100-102.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
12. In Roland Barthes, *Writing Degree Zero and Elements of Semiology*, trans. Annette Lavers and Colin Smith (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970), p. 11.
13. Roland Barthes, *S/Z*, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1974).
14. A similar application of Barthes's method is used to analyse a story by James Joyce in Robert Scholes, *Semiotics and Interpretation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 87-104.
15. Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973), p. 5.
16. See Marcel Proust, *À la recherche du temps perdu* (Paris: Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1954), Vol. I, p. 609. Translation used here was taken from *Marcel Proust, Aphorisms and Epigrams from Remembrance of Things Past*, ed. and trans. Justin O'Brien (New York: Columbia University Press, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964), p. 143.
17. Clara Gutsche, "Open Parody, Hidden Agenda: Donigan Gunning," *Vanguard* 13,4 (May 1984): 23.
18. Diane Arbus, *Diane Arbus: An Aperture Monograph* (Millerton, N.Y.: Aperture, 1972), unpaginated.
19. Reproduced in the catalogue *Reality and Motive in Documentary Photography*, p. 56.
20. Roland Barthes, *Roland Barthes*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, The Noonday Press, 1977), p. 44.