THE CRIMINAL SUBJECT

Alphonse Bertillon and Francis Galton, their Aesthetics and their Legacies

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Composite photographs as reproduced in Galton, 'Composite Portraits, Made by Combining
Those of Many Different Persons Into a Single Resultant Figure', *The Journal of the
Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 8, 1879

Abstract

This thesis applies aesthetic language to a variety of practices associated with the production and analysis of criminal identification portraits. Much of what might seem to be standardised in this model of portraiture was influenced by abstract visual techniques that were developed in the late nineteenth century, specifically in the work of Alphonse Bertillon and Francis Galton, which frequently moves away from the judicial, into the experimental. Structured theoretically as opposed to chronologically, this thesis provides a thorough examination of the components - material, technological, temporal, and symbolic - that constitute the identification portrait.

The theoretical resonance of Galton's composite portrait photography and other abstract techniques is seen to inform twentieth century and recent debates on photographic portraiture, and the transformation of the portrait for which Bertillon was responsible, which placed great emphasis on the need to summarise, even memorise, a subject's 'data' for police purposes, is found to have a legacy that extends far beyond the standardised 'mug shot' into much more imaginary territories. Jacques Derrida's terminology for the supplement, Roland Barthes' commentaries on the photographic portrait, Julia Kristeva's model of colour perception, and Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's notion of the 'body without organs', are some of the many theoretical models with which this material is seen to resonate.

Preface and Acknowledgements

This project marks the consolidation of an idea that I have been developing since undergraduate study, in relation to Francis Galton's composite photography, and its location within a discourse on portraiture that incorporates visual theory, debates on photographic processes, and current thinking about surfaces and structures in an art historical context. The more you look at a composite image, the less you seem to be able to see, and I hope that this fascinating feature of a photographic technique resonates throughout this study. The research was made possible with a three year Studentship from the School of Humanities at Nottingham, and with the support of the Department of Art History, for both of which I am extremely thankful. I am highly indebted to my two supervisors - Dr Simon Baker, who, with unabating enthusiasm, has endured my work on this and related topics for the past eight years, and Dr Anna Lovatt, without whose lucid critical feedback, I am not sure that the project would have reached this stage.

Writing about images that appear in as many quotidian contexts as they do specialist, I have yet to speak with someone who does not have an opinion about them. Over the course of four years, the variety of responses to just the word 'mug shot' was often overwhelming. This project is the culmination of such exchanges, and is therefore owing to all of them, from close friends to total strangers. I especially owe thanks and much more besides to Bill Francis, Cathryn Shepherd, Annie Gray, Gemma Cutting, Vicki Thornton, Bella Vernon, Clare Morris, Suzy Freake, Esra Plumer, Chris Ofili, Natalie Galustian, Nick Santos-Pedro, Robin Kirsten, Valentina Trimani, Charlie Bushnell, Will Oatley, Jon Lowe, and Ben Marley, for their support throughout the PhD process. The unrelenting force behind this project has always been Liz Francis, in whose memory I conducted this research, for whom I will write any future texts, and who has been told of the details throughout, irrespective of whether she has heard them.

'Is that who you are, that vaguely criminal face on your ID card,

its soul snatched by the government camera as the guillotine shutter fell…?'

Thomas Pynchon, *Gravity's Rainbow* [1973], London: Picador, 1975

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Introduction

'Natural groups have nuclei but no outlines'.[1]

The starting point of this thesis, and indeed, the foundation of my scholarly interest in depictions of criminal suspects, is Francis Galton's composite photography, which he developed in 1879. With this visual experiment, Galton, at once the controversial founder of the Eugenics Movement and also a figurehead for the development of forensics with his work on finger printing, also produced something that is of particular value to scholars working with visual cultures. Consequently, the technique now resonates with as many discussions in the visual arts as it does with sociological studies. This thesis is intended to traverse these fields by means of proposing ways in which the processes of construction and the visual effects of such experiments as the composite photograph have an aesthetic legacy, a legacy that continues to inform portraiture as a genre that is significantly rooted in both artistic and institutional practices - from contemporary 'mug shots' and prison documentation, to large scale studio portraits.

This traversal of different production contexts is highly significant for photography in general. The composite process was developed at a time when photographic portraiture was under serious debate, a debate that, in Anette Hoffmann's terms, 'hinged on the perceived incompatibility of artistry - in both technique and expression - with the camera's blunt factuality'.[2] From its initial applications in the 1840s onwards, the proliferation of photography continued to raise concerns for artists and scientists alike, or as Dawn Ades has put it, 'whether photography belonged in the domain of art or science was a question that arose at the start'.[3] On the one hand, the camera 'so effortlessly replicated nature that photographers were seen as nothing more than machine operators'.[4] In doing so, it was considered a threat to artists and illustrators who sought to create accurate representations in other media. On the other hand, it also offered new tools and vantage points for scientists, for whom, as Ann Thomas describes, 'the goal of perfect verisimilitude has been a constant in

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[1] Francis Galton, *English Men of Science: Their Nature and Nurture*, London: Macmillan, 1874, also quoted in Havelock Ellis, The Criminal, London: Walter Scott, 1901, p.21

[2] Erin C Garcia, *Photography as Fiction*, Los Angeles: J Paul Getty Museum, 2010, p.7

[3] Dawn Ades, 'Little Things: Close-up in Photo and Film, 1839 - 1963', in Dawn Ades and Simon Baker, *Close-Up: Proximity and Defamiliarisation in Art, Film and Photography*, exh. cat. Fruitmarket Gallery, Edinburgh, 24 October 2008 - 11 January 2009. Edinburgh: Fruitmarket Gallery, 2008

[4] Garcia, *Photography as Fiction*, p.7

scientific illustration', although 'its definition is always in flux'.[5] Before photography, 'the chief distinguishing feature of scientific illustration ... was the intrusion of the artist's choice, itself dependent on the current conventions of artistic representation'.[6] Choice of specimen, and the choices implied by the practice of hand-crafted illustration; Thomas alerts us to what was not just Galton's problem, but seemingly an issue as old as empiricism itself when she asks, 'can scientific accuracy be better served by illustrating a single specimen, or by generating an image based on a composite of several examples, in order to achieve a generalised or normative version?'[7] The question of the value of layering for the purpose of two-dimensional representation far precedes photography, then, and will recur throughout this thesis.

In publishing *The Origin of Species* in 1859 and *The Descent of Man* in 1871, Charles Darwin had unknowingly provided the conceptual framework for a theory of degeneracy. Darwin's 'soft' hereditarian position, as set out in his application of evolutionary theory to humans, with its rough equation of evolution with progress, was extended by some theorists to locate the excluded individual within an explanation of deviance that could be proven in an evolutionary or hereditarian context.[8] Galton, a cousin of Darwin, published his own take on evolution, paying specific attention to heredity. *Hereditary Genius* is primarily known as the publication that provided the foundation for the discourse on eugenics, and his theoretical position was secured in 1883 with a later volume, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development*.[9] Fuelled by this assumed equivalence of evolution and progress, the Eugenics movement entailed the search for a concise understanding of the principles of heredity, in support of their proposal for the regulation of individual characteristics through reproductive control. Ascribing problems like disease and criminality to what would later be established as genetics, and discounting other, external factors, it was thought: why not try to eradicate such things entirely by cutting short the supposedly mentally and physically inferior family tree?

Galton's initial research into heredity led him to undertake studies of a variety of subjects, including criminal suspects. One of Galton's key interests was statistics, and throughout his work he frequently called upon nineteenth-century statistical techniques, with the aim to transfer measurements of individuals onto a symmetrical graph, which would indicate both a 'normal' category in its central peak, and abnormal types either side. By aligning several

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[5] Ann Thomas, *Beauty of Another Order: Photography in Science*, exh. cat. 'Photography in Science: Beauty of Another Order', NG Canada, Ottawa, 17 October 1997 - 4 January 1998, New Haven and London, Yale 1997, p.24

[6] Thomas, *Beauty of Another Order*, p.24

[7] Thomas, *Beauty of Another Order*, p.24

[8] Nicole Hahn Rafter calls Darwin a 'soft' hereditarian in *The Origins of Criminology: A Reader*, London: Routledge, 2009, p.101

[9] Francis Galton, *Hereditary Genius: an Inquiry into Its Laws and Consequences*, London: Macmillan, 1869; *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development*, London: Macmillan, 1883.

negatives that depicted different subjects who were part of the same group – criminal, soldier, relative, and so on – and then re-photographing them, Galton believed that he had produced a successful illustration of the normative graph. These composite portraits were well received by his contemporaries, and were published in early criminological texts such as those by Havelock Ellis and Cesare Lombroso.[10] John T Stoddard, a particular advocate for the composite process, made a similar statement to that given in Galton's original lecture: that he had successfully extracted the 'typical characteristics' of 'several persons alike in most respects, but differing in minor details'.[11] For Stoddard, should 'the several portraits have the same aspect' and be 'nicely adjusted to exact superposition, finally yields a face from which the individuals have disappeared, and which retains in its stronger lines only those traits which are common to all or many of the number'.[12] The composite was the outcome of a search for the central points, for the nucleus of the human face, which was thought to reveal common ground between subjects with similar character traits.

With hindsight, it is clear that 'only an imagination that wanted to see a visual analogue of the binomial curve would make this mistake, finding the type at the centre and the idiosyncratic and individual at the outer periphery'.[13] That it was thought possible to isolate the central aspect of a subject's face from its outlines is perhaps a peculiar side effect of the belief during this time in the exceptional potential of photography to make the invisible, visible: to reveal aspects that were unavailable to the naked eye. It was in these final decades of the nineteenth century that there took place a 'renegotiation of the camera's status in regard to the visible world'.[14] As Walter Benjamin put it in 'A Short History of Photography', 'it is a different nature which speaks to the camera than speaks to the eye: so different that in place of a space

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[10] See Allan Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', in Richard Bolton ed., *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1992, p.368. First published in *October* 39, 1986, pp.3-65. Sekula is referring to the work of Adolphe Quetelet, the results of whose statistical projects would often be mapped out in the form of line graphs, known as 'bell-curves', the peaks of which were remarkably clear indicators of where the majority figure would sit. See Adolphe Quetelet, *Sur l'homme et le développement de ses facultés, ou Essai de physique sociale*, or 'A treatise on man and the development of his faculties', 1835, and Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', p.367. Ellis's The Criminal and Lombroso's *L'Uomo Delinquente*, or Criminal Man [first published as *L'uomo delinquente studiato in rapporto alla antropologica, alla medicina legale, ed alle discipline carcerarie*, Milano, 1876], were to become the central overviews of the new discipline of criminology. See Jonathan Finn, *Capturing the Criminal Image: From Mug Shot to Surveillance Society*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009, p.22.

[11] Francis Galton, 'Composite Portraits, Made by Combining Those of Many Different Persons Into a Single Resultant Figure', *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 8, 1879, p.132. Galton credits fellow Social Darwinist Herbert Spencer as having initially developed this technique.

[12] John T. Stoddard, 'Composite Photography', in *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, XXXIII, No. 5, March 1887, New York: The Century Co., Union Square, and London: T. Fisher Unwin Paternoster's, pp.750-7. The reception of the composite portrait technique in relation to photographic debates at the time was also discussed in W. M. Matthews, 'Sir Roger Tichborne and Photography', (unlabeled newspaper clipping, available from the UCL Galton Collection); *The Photographic News*, 2nd December, 1887, p.761, and G.M. Whipple, (superintendent of Kew Observatory) 'Composite Portraiture adapted to the Reduction of Meteorological and other similar Observations', *The Quarterly Journal of the Meteorological Society*, Vol. IX, No. 48.

[13] Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', p.368

[14] Josh Ellenbogen, *Reasoned and Unreasoned Images: The Photography of Bertillon, Galton and Marey*, Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 2012, p.1

consciously woven together by a man on the spot there enters a space held together unconsciously'.[15] For Benjamin, photography, 'with its time lapses, enlargements, etc.', a grouping of photographic techniques into which the composite would absolutely fall, we learn of the 'optical unconscious, just as one learns of the drives of the unconscious through psychoanalysis'.[16] This text brought clarity to the debates around photography that questioned the value of the camera beyond human vision, asserting that its effects could be rooted as much in abstraction as in science or logic. If Benjamin alludes to the association of the camera with making the invisible, visible, he does so also with the assertion that 'the difference between technology and magic' is a 'thoroughly historical variable'.[17] In doing so, Benjamin's text, first published in 1931, contributed to a new way of thinking about photographs that no longer concerned the occupation of their producers.[18] Where photography has this dual function with its scientific and artistic applications; its simultaneous promise as an assistant to the artist seeking truth to nature following the lineage of optical tools, most notably the camera obscura, and to aid scientific discovery (with its time lapses, enlargements, etc.), Benjamin's text avoids making such distinctions, promoting instead 'the physiognomic aspects of the world of images' irrelevant of their given context.[19]

With this in mind, what is particularly striking, and enduring, about the composite image is how it seems to be so un-fixed, recalling Foucault's description of the 'illumination of multiplicity', as: 'a flickering of light that travels even faster than the eyes and successively lights up the moving labels and the captive snapshots that refer to each other to eternity, without ever saying anything'.[20] Composite portraits epitomise the 'captive snapshot'. Suspended within the final image, they refer to each other indefinitely, and it is because of this intermittent quality that they are unable to ever 'say anything', whether that is to fulfil Galton's idealistic prophecy or to allow for a finite visual analysis, which is also necessarily subject to the constant sway of multiplicity. How could the quite simple, direct, finite process of re-photographing a handful of overlaid negatives produce such a fleeting, temporal and pictorial anomaly, from which its subjects simultaneously seem to emerge and recede in visibility? Where do these photographs 'fit' in terms of the history of photographic portraiture

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[15] Walter Benjamin, 'A Short History of Photography', first published in *Literarische Welt*, 1931, this translation by Phil Patton in *Artforum*, February 1977, and reprinted in Alan Trachtenberg (ed.), *Classic Essays on Photography*, New Haven: Leete's Island Books, 1980, p.202

[16] Benjamin, 'A Short History of Photography', p.202

[17] Benjamin, 'A Short History of Photography', p.202

[18] Benjamin calls upon the work of Karl Blossfeldt, whose images frequently appeared in Surrealist publications including Bataille's *Documents*, who 'with his astonishing photographs of plants, brought out the forms of ancient columns in horsetails, the bishop's staff in a bunch of flowers, totem poles in chestnut... gothic tracery in teasel'. (ibid., pp.202-3)

[19] Benjamin, 'A Short History of Photography', p.202

[20] Michel Foucault, 'Theatrum Philosophicum', in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon, Blackwell, Oxford, 1977. Part II: 'Counter-Memory: The Philosophy of Difference', p.189

and its duality; its simultaneous potential as art object and scientific experiment? Composite portraits are extremely valuable illustrations of this critical issue, and are recurring emblems in this thesis because they traverse the two categories so visibly that they illustrate the impossibility of a clear distinction between these models. They have an abstract quality that is reminiscent of the ambiguity of other experimental photographic techniques. Simon Baker has described of the photographic close-up that Dalí, 'looking through the rational to its irrational core, revealed a general truth about [it] in the 1920s and 1930s; namely, that it retained the sheerest possible veneer of objectivity (scientific or otherwise), from beneath which all manner of unforeseen realities were emerging'.[21] It is with this notion of 'looking through the rational' in mind that I am approaching the composite portrait. Indeed, this is an especially interesting concept if applied to these overlaid depictions of the human face, for here the 'irrational core' is the simulated figure whom Galton and many of his contemporaries believed to exist, composed of the flickering nuclei of the so-called natural group. But it also holds sway in discussions of portraiture in general, and takes on even further meaning when I come to discuss visualisation charts in Chapter Two. To the extent that it requires close looking, each image that I discuss invites a similar practice of looking and is seen to have, I think, an abstract quality at its core that is comparable with the photographic close-up, composite portrait, or other experimental photographic practice.

As my research in the Galton archive has expanded, it has become clear that his experiments with portraiture evolved to become more and more abstract, incorporating all number of media from skull tracings, to painted studies of tonal variation, even an attempt to reverse the composite process and identify the invisible points in between. Without losing my original motivation, to pursue the visual effects of composite photography, I have become more and more concerned with Galton's lasting influence on the more general practice of criminal identification. It is for this reason that I (as other scholars have before me) give Alphonse Bertillon's work a similar prominence to Galton's. Working in Paris at the same time, Bertillon saw great acclaim with his attempt to provide a thorough, yet shorthand anthropometric record for every subject entering police custody. His aim was to build a comprehensive archive of small cards containing photographic and written measurements and descriptions of each suspect, which he referred to as 'Signaletics', so that users of this primitive criminal database could quickly and conveniently connect each subject to his respective portrait in order to prove his identity, be aware of any previous convictions, and

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21 Simon Baker, 'Watch out for life: the conceptual close-up, 1920 - 2006', in Ades and Baker, *Close-Up*, p.79

carry out the appropriate treatment.[22] Given that Bertillon was the first to implement the use of 'straight' photographic portraits (full face and profile, side by side) in criminal record making, I had first assumed that Bertillon's project would provide a rational contrast to Galton's evermore experimental techniques. Reading Bertillon's first instruction manual, this was clearly not the case. The (perhaps inevitable) idiosyncrasies of his work do more to align Bertillon with Galton than set the two apart. Bertillon's attempts to summarise subjects reveal as much about what is missing from the translation of anthropometric and other details of a subject to a single record as they might propose a concise 'identity'. And the 'straight' portrait photographs also deserve more attention than they have so far received. How is it that this format has not yet been positioned alongside other photographic portrait styles so as to try to understand the phenomenon that is the mug shot, which is still very much a part of identification practices? If Galton's composite technique paved the way for later technologies that assimilate images of the face for the purposes of identification, which would lead to the use of composite portraiture as a tool in criminal identification, as with later Photo-fit and other montage systems, then Bertillon was one of the most significant contributors to the standard mug shot, where he can be attributed to developing the criteria that is largely still in use.

With a discussion of legacy in mind, it would be impossible, and illogical, to proceed without accounting for Galton and Bertillon's precursors - without first establishing some of the equally abstract foundations from which disciplines or, perhaps more suitably for this era, pseudo-disciplines such as criminology were developed. Significantly, in addition to concerns about overpopulation and identity, the point at which judicial portraiture gained a reputation in Western societies also coincides with the emergence of criminology as a discipline in its own right, in other words, criminal identification has been described as a 'criminal-justice topic that fed into criminology'.[23] In light of this, the origins of criminology and those of the very notion of a criminal portrait are almost identical. Both the field for the study of criminals and its visual artefacts share what has been described as a 'collective amnesia' about their roots.[24] Nicole Hahn Rafter has accounted for this in terms of the 'makeshift' nature of criminological study, which was often 'peripheral to the researcher's central endeavour'.[25] Significant studies

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[22] Although Bertillon has had a strong influence upon current police photography, this was the more accessible feature of his index card system, and due to the inconvenience encountered by the sheer mass of records that were produced and the often incoherent shorthand measurements, the system was eventually simplified. See, for example, Mark Maguire, 'The Birth of Biometric Security', *Anthropology Today*, Vol. 25, No. 2, April 2009, p.13: 'For Bertillon anthropometry was at the core of a utopia always just beyond his reach. Signaletics, contrary to his expectations, ultimately failed to slip its moorings in criminal identification'. See also Simon Cole, *Suspect Identities: A History of Fingerprinting and Criminal Identification*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001.

[23] Rafter, *The Origins of Criminology*, pp.xiii-xvii

[24] Rafter, *The Origins of Criminology*, p.xvi

[25] Rafter, *The Origins of Criminology*, p.xiii; with the exception of work that took place within the disciplinary environment itself, such as that of Alphonse Bertillon.

of criminals in the nineteenth century are known to have been produced in Italy, the United Kingdom, France, the United States, Russia, and Austria. Rafter has acknowledged the linguistic barriers that this inevitably resulted in, but this is more than a mere indicator of the complexities involved in formalising a history of criminology: it is logical that the international origins of criminology also directly contributed to the diversity of the images that were produced in support of each respective body of research.[26]

This is further complicated by the fact that few studies have been made into the history of criminology as a discipline in its own right, and very few into the visual aspects of such work. As Rafter makes clear, if criminology were 'to mature fully as a field of study', it would need to develop 'a strong sense of its own background, even if that background is full of contradictions, false starts, ludicrous by-ways, and lamentable thoroughfares'.[27] The same can be said for visual representations of criminal suspects. The notion of an isolated scholar, often working independently, and in a different country, to his contemporaries is illustrated by the lack of uniformity in the images that were produced to support their theories, and this too must affect current understanding. As Rafter has explained: 'historians (insofar as they have examined criminology at all) have tended to focus on the period since the 1890s, when criminology was so christened. And even then, their studies have often concentrated on a particular country or figure – a perfectly valid and useful procedure, but one that needs supplementation'.[28] The same can be said for visual histories relating to criminology, where studies have either been concerned with one or two projects, or with one of the many disciplines from which the study of criminals first developed. That criminal identification was also contemporaneous with the proliferation of photographic portraits and the developments in photography that allowed this to happen, is often assumed, but rarely discussed with enough detail to reveal the fascinating correspondence between the two practices.

A brief overview of some of the key disciplines that informed the projects that I discuss in this thesis will allow me to mark out this trajectory, whilst also describing the foundations upon which criminology was built, which are, at best, unstable. The images that I am concerned with are frequently connected with the following areas: (in no particular order) evolution and

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[26] In *The Origins of Criminology*, Rafter acknowledges that relevant material also exists in South America, and she also emphasises that the studies of Russian origin are yet to be fully incorporated. In addition to this, some studies have noted the ancient origins of a variety of procedures. This debate is no more prominent than in the case of fingerprinting, which has been accredited to various locations, including its use as decoration in ancient Chinese pottery, but where Galton, a renowned cultural geographer and by definition Imperialist, prevails as the key figure in the development of the process used by police today. It would be inaccurate to accredit one individual for each process, given the ambiguities surrounding the development of criminal identification that I have just set out. Judicial images should be considered in a global historical context, and whilst my project has an entirely different scope, there is evidently much more work to be done in this field in order to both expand upon existing Western generalisations, and to reconsider any attribution to alternatives as merely being 'ancient' whilst this is not fully understood. It is useful to refer at this point to the work of Simon Cole, particularly the aforementioned Suspect Identities: A History of Fingerprinting and Criminal Identification.

[27] Rafter, *The Origins of Criminology*, p.xvi

[28] Rafter, *The Origins of Criminology*, p.xvi

heredity; physiognomy and phrenology; health and hygiene; statistics; social studies; political philosophy; psychology; psychiatry; and anthropology. It is well-known that Europe in the late nineteenth century saw a particularly large swelling of the population, which is often accredited to improvements at the time in medical science, as testified, for example, by the work of Louis Pasteur and Robert Koch on germs and disease. It has been suggested that Pasteur, with his lack of formal education and initial struggle for recognition, might have regarded Bertillon as a 'natural ally'.[29] A recurring crossover between the early techniques adopted for the study of criminal subjects and other pseudosciences was a belief that criminality was caused by an inherited biological defect – an invisible attribute of the so-called 'germ plasm' (blood) that was intrinsically connected to the binary concept of 'bad living' versus 'clean living'.[30] At a time when great efforts were made to clean up cities, with, alongside initial studies in pharmacy and pharmacology, the development of the first sewer systems, sanitation reforms, and the first soaps being marketed, here was a concept of one particular contaminant that could not be treated: that which was believed to be inherent to the human body. For eugenicists, no short-term method of reform was conceivable: so the only option would be to prevent the so-called deviant from being born in the first place.

Eugenics was based on the assumption that mental capabilities bore an intrinsic relationship with external appearances, and many studies sought to prove this through particularly close examinations of subjects. With this focus on associations between internal and external features of the body, techniques that were applied to the study of criminal suspects were appropriated from physiognomic techniques of analysis. For physiognomists, it was believed that the analysis of the facial features could directly associate criminal behaviour and other unclean living with certain aspects of a subject's appearance.[31] On the other hand phrenologists, such as Franz Josef Gall and his student-colleague Johann Gaspar Spurzheim, 'tried to get to the root of the matter', believing that the size of the brain was related to its activity and that this could be observed through the analysis of the contours of the skull. The brain was believed to be divided into two main sections: 'higher faculties': conscientiousness, hope, spirituality, veneration, benevolence, and lower, or 'animal faculties', such as individual attachment, self-esteem, acquisitiveness or selfishness. An indication that the skull was more expansive around the areas of the brain that contained the lower faculties was thought to be connected with negative behaviour.[32] Though phrenology has long been dismissed as

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[29] Lacassagne: 'the social milieu is the mother culture of criminality, the microbe is the criminal', quoted in Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', p.363. For more on the relationship between Bertillon and Pasteur, see Henry T. F. Rhodes, *Alphonse Bertillon: Father of Scientific Detection*, London: George G. Harrap and Co. Ltd., 1956.

[30] See Nicole Hahn Rafter, *Creating Born Criminals*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997, pp.36-7

[31] See, for example, Johann Kaspar Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy: Designed to Promote the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind*, trans. H. Hunter, London: J. Stockdale, 1810.

[32] Havelock Ellis, *The Criminal*, London: Walter Scott, 1890, p.31: 'Lavater believed in the homogeneity of the human organism, but he was not a man of science, and he had been content to study the surface of the body; Gall, with true scientific instinct, tried to get to the root of the matter'.

pseudoscience, its influence upon criminology remained strong, 'long after the phrenological map of the brain had been forgotten'.[33] Many of the publications that were believed to provide a concise overview of visible criminal traits contained the results of studies in physiognomy and phrenology. Cesare Lombroso, whose original specialism was in psychiatry, published images that overtly illustrated the influence of these earlier methods on criminology, as did Havelock Ellis in his anthropological overview of the criminal.

By no means am I attempting to provide a comprehensive overview of such histories, myself concerned with the appeal of these images to aesthetic inquiry. My contention is that detailed visual analysis of some of the products of these 'ludicrous by-ways' will better establish the notion of the 'criminal image' as having as strong a root in the imaginary as it does in truth or objectivity. One illustration of just how archaic the beliefs in the connection between outer appearance and interior qualities were, is cited in Havelock Ellis' *The Criminal*, in which he explains: 'when Homer described Thersites as ugly and deformed, with harsh or scanty hair, and a pointed head, like a pot that had collapsed to a peak in the baking … he furnished evidence as to the existence of a criminal type of man'.[34] Ellis is referring to Thersites, a physically misshapen Greek warrior, in *Iliad (Book II)*. That Ellis opens his chapter on 'the study of the criminal with a fictional reference should undermine the scientific 'truth' to his claims, although he seems to have believed the opposite. Rather than contribute to existing work that takes the nineteenth century as its point of departure and develop a chronology, I hope to better locate nineteenth-century techniques as part of a much broader vocabulary for the portrait. As often as the other images that I consider will help to unpick, and to problematise, nineteenth-century practices, often the reverse is also true, and aspects of Bertillon and Galton's work that I describe will be seen to resonate throughout the more recent techniques that I discuss.

Allan Sekula, in 'The Body and the Archive', was one of the first to discuss early uses of photography in the context of its instrumental power, establishing it as a practice with a paradoxical status, which has the 'simultaneous threat and promise' that informs so many historical studies of the medium. Sekula refers to Henry Fox Talbot's *The Pencil of Nature* of 1844 – in which the first ever negative-based photographic prints were reproduced, including an image depicting four shelves of Articles of China – where the indexical power of photography is exclaimed: 'should a thief afterwards purloin the treasures – if the mute testimony of the picture were to be produced against him in court – it would certainly be evidence of a novel kind'.[35] With this caption came the first suggestion that photographs were infallible truth-carriers in their own right, and, interestingly, Fox Talbot's 'meditations on the

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[33] Rafter, *The Origins of Criminology*, p.19

[34] Ellis, *The Criminal*, p.26

[35] William Henry Fox Talbot, Plate 3, *The Pencil of Nature*, 1844, quoted from the facsimile edition, New York: Da Capo, in Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', p.345

promise of photography' were made with reference to the criminal subject.[36] Up until now, however, this 'legalistic' truth seems to have been the priority of both the judicial authorities in charge of producing and obtaining these images and the scholar who describes them. Sekula's reference to *The Pencil of Nature* is an attempt to trace back this branch of indexicality as a kind of institutional one, and while this is a plausible deduction, it extends little further than a chronology of Bertillon's and Galton's uses of the medium.

In many ways, this thesis will be an expansion and of much of what Sekula discussed in 'The Body and the Archive'. It is not a case of arguing against Sekula's position, or that of any other writer, it is a matter of repositioning texts like this as a starting point for a much broader theoretical assessment of the value of this type of image production. For few except specialists in judicial identification, the criminal image is photographic and nothing else. The implementation of photography to depict criminal suspects was simultaneous with the discrepancy over the problematic positioning of the photograph in relation to objectivity, which gained weight as photographic technologies were first developed. Even a number of daguerreotypes - those key contributors to the first peak of photography's reputation as an expensive, physically and chemically complex and time-consuming practice - were made of prisoners, in France from 1841, and in the United States from 1854.[37] With the debates around the origins of the photographic medium; the variety of processes that were 'announced' between 1820 and 1840; the contestations over who should be accredited as the medium's inventor or which process should be favoured; and disputes over the meanings that a photograph might carry and thus its potential use in a given context; the incorporation of photography into police work occurred at a time when the potential of the photographic image was under conscious consideration.[38] Jonathan Finn has emphasised that the initial photography of criminal suspects was part of a populist phenomenon, starting with rogues' galleries, which were attributed to Allan Pinkerton and his detective agency from 1850; and Thomas Byrnes of the New York City Police Department, whose 1886 compilation of photographic portraits is frequently cited.[39] In 1846, however, it is also known that Eliza Farnham commissioned a series of portraits of inmates in New York. Farnham, as a 'phrenologically inclined penal reformer', clearly had intentions that went beyond the

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[36] Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', p.344

[37] Harris B. Tuttle, 'The history of photography in law enforcement', *Finger Print and Identification Magazine*, Vol. 43, No. 4, 1961.

[38] For a detailed survey of these debates, see, for example, Alan Trachtenberg, *Classic Essays on Photography*, Stony Creek, Connecticut: Leete's Island Books, Inc., 1980; Geoffrey Batchen, *Burning With Desire: The Conception of Photography*, Massachusetts and London: MIT Press, 1999; Liz Wells (ed.) *The Photography Reader*, London: Taylor & Francis, 2003, and Abigail Solomon-Godeau (ed.), *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994

[39] See Thomas Byrnes, *Professional Criminals of America*, New York: Cassell & Co., 1886.

identification-based rogues' gallery.[40]

John Tagg's *The Burden of Representation* also provided a theoretical framework for these projects. Tagg's concern is with the social aspect of photography's incorporation as an objective or complicit tool in relation to the body.[41] This has persisted in Tagg's work, which, although it has significantly opened up police photography for theoretical discussion, usually concludes with what is I think a very linear deduction, one that is not especially helpful in my expansion of what a judicial portrait can and cannot be; that of the 'unwilling subject' held in place, and 'for whom the making of a likeness is also an unlikely investiture: a ritual induction under the law; an endowment with a status that will bring with it its own mandates… name, rank, and number; a ceremony of investment, clothing the body with meaning, tailoring what the individual may become, investing the subject, and, in turn, drawing interest as the subject commits itself to what it must be'.[42] The assimilation of a new, criminal, identity for the purpose of having one's photograph taken in this context is valuable to this discussion, but Tagg's line of thinking diverges from my own when it seems to concern only the instrumental aspect of the photograph. What of the matter of the agency of the subject as well as the photographer? To what extent is control really under negotiation when the very concept of portrait photography relies on the presence of a subject first and foremost? Do producer and subject not have more of an influence on the outcome of a portrait than just upholding its function as tool or instrument?

Rather than describing the use-value of criminal identification procedures to the police, in a field of research that is rapidly developing due to current debates on biometrics and hyper-modern strategies of surveillance, there is a distinct absence of studies that explicitly concern images of criminals not only as evidence of the systems in place but as constitutive elements in themselves. If Tagg finds the police mug shot to clothe the suspect's body with meaning, it is not only because of a photograph having been made, but is rather the product of a complex system of setting, staging, uniformity - techniques that strive for standardisation or neutrality - upon which the very principles of identification are based. I am less concerned with these images' value to police archives than I am with their role in visual history, and the questions

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[40] Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', p.348. The photographs were published in Marmaduke B. Sampson and Eliza W. Farnham, *Rationale of Crime and Its Appropriate Treatment*, New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1846.

[41] See John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988. For an example of Tagg's work within a more recent overview of photography, see Liz Wells, *Photography: A Critical Introduction*, third edition, London: Routledge, 2004, p.105.

[42] John Tagg writing on Thomas Byrnes 'The Inspector's Model' from *Professional Criminals of America*, New York, 1885, pp.52-3, in his introduction to The Disciplinary Frame, Minnesota, 2009, p.XXV

that follow are testament to this.[43] For example, what can be said for 'identity' in the images produced to mediate identity and individuality itself? How do depictions of the excluded, within disciplines of photography and other media, relate to art historical conventions in portraiture?

There are few texts that discuss portraiture, fewer still, identification images, from this theoretical position, without falling into the trap of focussing instead on narrative: on the case history of any subjects depicted or the biographical context of their producer. Up until very recently, those that do discuss Galton and Bertillon, these two figureheads for the development and implementation of Western criminal identification processes, tend to fall into a more singular and sociological context, often relying too heavily on the repressive function of the identification photograph and omitting the details that can indicate otherwise - the type of features that can lead to 'all manner of unforeseen realities'.[44] Many subsequent texts written on criminal identification cite Tagg and Sekula, but few have addressed the limitations of the essay, especially given the date in which it was written.[45] For example, writing on 'the various conditions of the archive, particularly as it pertains to photography', Okwui Enwezor typically relies on Sekula's text to account for the archival formation that Bertillon conceived, referring to its label as an 'instrument of social control and differentiation underwritten by dubious scientific principles'.[46] Bertillon and Galton's formulations are described to 'exist in the netherworld of the photographic archive, and when they do assume a prominent place in that archive, it is only to dissociate them, to insist on and illuminate their difference, their archival apartness from normal society'.[47] Or as Foucault put it in *Discipline and Punish*, 'individualise the excluded, but use procedures of individualisation to mark exclusion'.[48] And in this text they are treated in much the same way. As footnotes in the history of archival formations, it is as if, while theory has evolved from the archive as 'inert repository' - the 'dim, musty place full of drawers, filing cabinets, and shelves laden with old documents', to an 'active,

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[43] I am accepting that 'mug shot' is slang (and as such, without the regulation of a dictionary definition, it is interchangeably a 'mugshot' or a 'mug-shot') for a judicial or identification photograph, or, mainly in the US, 'booking photograph'. My choice to include it is because I think it creates an instantaneous image of exactly the type of portrait in question, with all of its arbitrary features, whereas the official terms imply an automatic sense of legitimacy.

[44] The most recent work to avoid this 'trap' is Ellenbogen's *Reasoned and Unreasoned Images*, which positions the photographs of Galton, Bertillon and Marey in relation to the history of photography as opposed to criminology in the attempt to reveal 'the drives, demands and strategies that structured their unfolding'. Ellenbogen, *Reasoned and Unreasoned Images*, p.6

[45] Mark Maguire in 'The Birth of Biometric Security' (2010); Jonathan Finn in *Capturing the Criminal Image* (2009) and Ellenbogen's *Reasoned and Unreasoned Images* (2012) are three of the most recent to incorporate Sekula's 1986 essay.

[46] Okwui Enwezor, 'Archive Fever: Photography Between History and the Monument', in Enwezor (ed.) *Archive Fever: Uses of the Document in Contemporary Photography*, exh. cat., ICP, New York, 18 January - 4 May 2008. New York: International Center of Photography, 2008, p.13

[47] Enwezor, 'Archive Fever', p.13

[48] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p.199, and my Introduction, p.1

regulatory discursive system' under which much contemporary art and photography falls, the work of Bertillon and Galton is still relegated to the former state. Moving on to describe alternative archival formations, Enwezor joins others in relying on Sekula as the cornerstone of research in criminal identification without actually giving the projects any more time or space than Sekula did.[49] Not only is Sekula still heavily cited in relation to criminal identification but there remains a lack of critical engagement with his text, where it is still being described as one of the few to bring this 'netherworld' into discussion. Only very recently does it seem to have been understood that the projects described by Sekula and others deserve more extensive aesthetic study, more recently still, that they inform current curatorial practice. Ellenbogen perhaps comes closest to acknowledging the limitations of existing research when he makes the statement that 'while scholars have fruitfully addressed parts of these endeavours, no one has yet developed a general intellectual framework that satisfactorily integrates them, one that reveals the drives, demands, and strategies that structured their unfolding'.[50]

The reductive characteristics of Sekula's essay have also been alluded to in subsequent writing on portraiture that, while produced in different contexts, provides a more contemporary frame for my own discussion. For example, Julian Stallabrass has described the 'prominent and distinct strand' of contemporary portrait photography 'in which people are depicted in uniform series, usually one per picture, and placed centrally in that picture, facing the camera head-on and gazing into the lens'.[51] With 'many of the pictorial elements controlled by the photographer' being 'held as standard', this leaves 'variability from picture to picture' to occur 'mostly in the particularities in the subject'.[52] Likening this style to ethnographic photography, Stallabrass questions the motive of contemporary artists for 'raising that old spectre of objectification and domination', it having been previously subjected to 'damning critique by theorists and artists who exposed its power relations and drew links to the continued use of photography for surveillance, classification, and control', the work of Sekula and Tagg being exemplary of this.[53] For Stallabrass, one potential explanation for the subsequent shift in thinking about this mode of portrait-making, and its corresponding appropriation in contemporary art, is 'to say that this photography depicts subjects who are not, at least apparently, strongly differentiated by their likely viewers'.[54] A shift in the power

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[49] Enwezor directs to Sekula for further reading: 'for a critical and extensive discussion of the photographic archive, see Allan Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive'. Enwezor, 'Archive Fever', p.47, Note 7

[50] Ellenbogen, *Reasoned and Unreasoned Images*, p.6

[51] Julian Stallabrass, 'What's in a Face? Blankness and Significance in Contemporary Art Photography', *October*, 122, Autumn 2007, p.71

[52] Julian Stallabrass, 'What's in a Face? Blankness and Significance in Contemporary Art Photography', *October*, 122, Autumn 2007, p.71

[53] Stallabrass, 'What's in a Face?', p.71

[54] Stallabrass, 'What's in a Face?', p.71

relations of portraiture, then, that demonstrates how thinking has evolved to incorporate the viewer into the portrait transaction.[55] To progress from Sekula's text is to eradicate much of the potential 'objectification and domination' from the argument and to bring focus instead to the alterior properties of images created in these contexts.

With the absence of aesthetic concerns in existing studies dealing with identification portraits, it is much more valuable to draw parallels between the issues raised by these images and critical approaches to photography in other contexts, as with Ades and Baker's aforementioned work on the photographic close-up, or, for example, Lynda Nead's *The Haunted Gallery*, in which she traverses different media by approaching a vast selection of images produced in the late nineteenth century in relation to their shared illustration of the shift from stasis to movement that culminated in the invention of film. While I am concerned with photographs that relate to debates on criminality and the practice of criminal identification, I want to locate this within an expanded context of the medium by which they were made. Nead introduces her book with her own response to the term 'medium' as 'simply a middle state; something that is intermediate between two qualities or degrees', or 'a person or an object that acts as ... an agent, channel or conduit of communication or expression'.[56] Although techniques such as sketching and engraving were used to depict 'deviants' long before photography was adopted, it is my contention that the intersection between photographic and other forms of representation, and their continued use simultaneously, are often of most use to art history.[57] Frequently, my discussion will begin with a photograph, but will then incorporate a variety of media that have informed, or even constitute, the final image: a literal expression of Nead's definition of the medium-as-intermediary. With the medium as an intermediate, it makes sense too for the practitioner not to have to be pigeon holed: this will be an aesthetic legacy, thus the occupation of the producer (and also occasionally, their motives) are secondary in this line of enquiry.

Whilst crime and punishment have long been topics of interest for artists – from the iconography of early modern paintings, to the Surrealists' fascination with, and subversion of, images pertaining to criminality – there is a lack of theoretical framework within which to situate them. Not enough studies dealing with this style of portrait assert just how beneficial it can be, as T J Demos puts it, to 'contemplate forms of visual experience beyond the framework of a single truth, beyond the certainty of history's chronology and beyond the static

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[55] See Joanna Woodall's *Portraiture: Facing the Subject*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997 for discussions of the portrait 'transaction'.

[56] See Lynda Nead, *The Haunted Gallery: Painting, Photography, Film, c. 1900*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007, pp.2-3

[57] Each of the key texts that I have cited provide illustrations of modes of representation used prior to photography, particularly 'overview' texts such as Ellis' *The Criminal* and Lombroso's *L'Uomo Delinquente*.

definition of subjectivity'.[58] Contrary to the existing approaches to images that reference criminality which rely on a rather doctrinaire approach to photography's use in institutional environments, my perspective is much broader. To use Demos' terms, my interest in this material is where it may be thought to illustrate how 'life becomes the object of continual negotiation, rather than passive submission to already established regimes'.[59] As the new compendiums of contemporary photographic practice make clear, it is possible to avoid this submission through 'new forms of documentary photography that throw the subject into transition, disrupt the boundary between fact and fiction, and blur history's linearity',[60] which is exactly the type of thinking that this thesis is intended to compliment. Less important is the label attached to the image's producer (physician, official, statistician, craftsman, illustrator, and so on) than the aspects of the image that are transferable between contexts, often between media too. For photography, this was problematic from the outset, for example in Peter Henry Emerson's instructions to photography students in 1889: 'do not call yourself an 'artist-photographer' and make 'artist-painters' and 'artist-sculptors' laugh; call yourself a photographer and wait for artists to call you brother', but I think it applies here in the broadest possible sense.[61]

Projects and exhibitions that do incorporate such material as identification cards, portrait photographs, diagrams, and other technical modes for the inscription of identification details often fail to consider how such material might inform an aesthetic discourse. Thus they too omit the use of the appropriate vocabulary, which I see to include terms such as temporality; materiality (of various technical processes or outcomes); and, fundamentally, the imaginary (how creativity and fiction might have informed these approaches to image-making, and vice versa). The exhibition *Crime et Châtiment*, which was held at the Musée d'Orsay in Paris in 2010, brought to light the vast and enduring relationship between the topics of crime and criminality and the visual artefact. Selecting material from a huge variety of different contexts, its curators were able, in the space of a few rooms, to compile a sort of chronology of crime in visual representation, from the prehistoric, and, for example, the first biblical characterisation of a criminal, Cain, to Jacques-Louis David's interpretation of the assassination of Jean-Paul Marat in 1793; from Bentham's model of the panopticon, to the age of Positivism and the emerging belief that a comprehensive understanding and reform of criminality was attainable, through to twentieth century practices such as those established by the Surrealists that engaged with crime for more subversive purposes. Whilst a great deal of the contents of the exhibit fall beyond the scope of this thesis, its curators sought to illustrate the long term fascination with

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[58] T J Demos, Introduction to *Vitamin Ph: New Perspectives in Photography*, London: Phaidon, 2006, p.1

[59] Demos, *Vitamin Ph*, p.1

[60] Demos, *Vitamin Ph*, p.1

[61] Peter Henry Emerson, 'Hints on Art', *Naturalistic Photography for Students of the Art*, London, 1889, reprinted in Trachtenberg (ed.), *Classic Essays on Photography*, p.100

crime and punishment that also informs a great deal of my research. If the exhibition successfully aligned these artefacts within a historical narrative of criminal behaviour as a topic of curiosity, illustrating the dominance of crime stories in all representational forms, from biblical references to modern art, then it simultaneously highlighted the absence of theoretical approaches to the material on display. This large scale exhibition consolidated the fact that most often, images that are produced in a judicial rather than artistic context – the material that was borrowed from the Bertillon archive at the Musée de la Préfecture de Police, for example, as opposed to artworks on loan from other collections – is only described in terms of a historical narrative.

What I seek to do in this thesis is to ask, how might it be possible to conceive of this enduring obsession with crime and punishment, and the visual material that supplements it, in terms other than the crime narrative, by which I mean, to transcend the details, notes, and curiosities of each specific case? As much as my criteria for selecting images for the thesis has developed, the context in which I think they should be discussed has also become more and more clear: the idiosyncratic properties of this material are contributors towards the practice of criminal identification as it is carried out now, and this has ramifications for the way in which all portraits can be interpreted. With the composite as my starting point, I incorporate other critical approaches to portraiture - not just photographic portraits but any visual description of a subject, to include the diagram, drawing, relief and painting. Selecting this material is a method of research as opposed to just a way of illustrating my thesis, and re-presenting images in the form of various case studies is intended to mimic, and consequently, subvert the structure of the very system that I am seeking to describe - that of attaining or constructing identities for the purpose of judicial records. Underpinned by this conceptual concern for the layered composite, and inspired by this mode of photography, I then make my own practical deconstructions of the portrait that are both theoretically rooted in Galton's composite experimentation, yet have a trajectory of their own. Thus in this thesis I map out a sort of legacy, an aesthetic legacy, which is not always necessarily concerned with particular subjects or case histories, but encompasses the unique approaches to image-making that accompany them. It will culminate in the work of contemporary artists who use similar techniques, where the outcomes are subversions, or seek to be entirely fictitious - a quality that is shared with much of the material I discuss. Some examples also mimic the structure of the systems that they were supposed to assist, in the form of 'case studies'. Where omissions in visual language have previously been made, the judicial portrait continues to be confined to a disciplinary context, as if mimicking the very restriction of criminal suspects themselves, both to the prison cell and to the guilty identity that might be implied by their portrait via this adherence to conditions that are intended to neutralise. My aim is to move the construct of the case study along the scale from confinement towards liberation: if so much of the existing critical literature on identification portraits falls into the trap of the case history, is it not possible to subvert the function of the case study as much as the portrait itself? The notion of a case study

deserves updating for an aesthetic context as much as the images do, whilst allowing me to present as many aesthetic variants as possible under the sway of this idea.

The best method by which to illustrate the lack of standardisation between portraits seemed to be not to follow in the path of existing work in this field and contribute to the historical information relating to these two figures, but instead to compliment my preliminary research in the Galton and Bertillon archives with a more direct assessment of the role played by the judicial image in the cultural landscape, especially in the context of museum and gallery displays.[62] What results from this approach is a sort of theoretical dissection of the portrait that incorporates a vast range of material, at times less a series of mug shots than a diverse assortment of the visual techniques that I think best support the ideas I am describing. For what is in places a very literal dissection – into aspects such as colour and apparatus – it seems inevitable that many of the images I discuss are the products of a degree of fragmentation, whether as evidence of Bertillon and Galton's own efforts to deconstruct the portrait, or the examples of my own isolation of a single aspect of the image in order to further my ideas about its structure or composition. I am less translating the mug shot into an art historical context than isolating some key features and applying art historical and theoretical principles to them; emphasising the importance of these portrait styles to visual culture whilst filling some of the gaps that other studies in this area have created, whatever the constraints that were behind them. It is not without intention that I employ a variety of such models in order to enrich and expand the vocabulary with which I think portraits deserve to be discussed. If at points it seems that each line of thought I incorporate only serves to replace another that was made earlier in the text, to me this only accentuates the richness of the material and underlines the necessity of what I see as a preliminary contribution to emerging studies in this field.

Portraits are comprised of certain facets that are exclusive to depictions of subjects. If their producer strives to attain neutrality for the purposes of identification, as is the case with so much police photography, they are the result of a contrived set of conditions, such as pale backgrounds, labelling and numbering, rulers and grids, full face or profile positioning, standard issue clothing, and so forth. Studying the existing compendiums of mug shot photography proves that, in the context of the judicial, this is far from standardised. It is much harder to find two images that recreate the exact same conditions than to observe differences

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[62] Notable exhibitions and displays that coincided with this thesis, which I have been able to attend, include *The Impossible Prison*, Nottingham Contemporary, Nottingham, 31 October – 14 December 2008; *Archives de l'Infamie. Michel Foucault, Une Collection Imaginaire*, Bibliothèque de la Part-Dieu, Lyon, 14 May – 28 August 2009; *Identity: Eight Rooms, Nine Lives*, The Wellcome Collection, London, 26 November 2009 – 6 April 2010; *L'Impossible Photographie*, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, 9 February – 4 July 2010; the aforementioned *Crime et Châtiment*, Musée D'Orsay, Paris, 16 March – 27 June 2010, and *Skin*, at The Wellcome Collection, London, 10 June – 26 September 2010.

between them.[63] In spite of recent exhibitions dedicated to visual representations of criminals, crime and punishment, and prisons, along with the surge in folio-type publications and survey studies corresponding to the mug shot, the lack of detailed analysis of such images in relation to art historical conventions, concepts of the portrait, and the origins of visual technologies, especially photography, is clear.[64] In providing such analysis, I hope to reveal some of the intricacies that have been omitted in other work.

With the relationship between interior and exterior - its role in debates in psychiatry, physiognomy, phrenology and anthropology - establishing the very foundation from which criminology and thus criminal identification emerged, I think it is highly beneficial to incorporate more recent inquiries about surface into this thesis. This is not intended to justify a close scrutiny of subjects, which would risk association with some of the more sinister studies carried out upon criminal suspects in order to pursue the goal of finding a biological explanation for crime. Instead I use the term surface because it is both central to the individual in charge of producing identity records - in terms of the depiction of surface detail as a founding principle of portraiture, and the forensic premise that identity is microscopically engrained - and because it is extremely significant to the way in which images are produced and seen. At the beginning of this study, with his composite portraits, Galton metaphorically splices his subjects, in order to reproduce their fragmented likenesses upon a single surface, and this has huge ramifications for the idea of criminal identity, and thus for the images that I go on to discuss, because it serves as a constant reminder to consider not only a single appearance, but what is often a many-layered object.

First, I discuss the Bertillon system of criminal anthropometrics in relation to what will be seen as an ongoing theme in this field: that of attempting to summarise a subject, in this case with written or spoken details. I assess the problems encountered in judicial photography with regard to temporality as part of a discussion of Roland Barthes' comments in *Camera Lucida* about the impossibility of preserving or capturing a likeness with permanence in any photograph. Moving on to consider Galton's composite photography of criminals, I use what Sekula referred to as a 'collapsed version of the archive'[65] in contrast to Bertillon's own archival logic, and as the premise for a more expanded portrait as it will be considered

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[63] Particularly significant folio-type publications, from which I have drawn material to illustrate the proceeding chapters, are Mark Michaelson, *Least Wanted: A Century of American Mugshots*, London: Steidl, 2006; and Raynal Pellicer, *Mug Shots: An Archive of the Famous, Infamous, and Most Wanted*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2009. Of the many online databases that are currently available, the most extensive is probably Michaelson's own, which can be viewed as follows: http://www.flickr.com/photos/leastwanted. Of course, this only highlights the compiled formats – to type 'mug shot' into a search engine will produce a vast set of results that span the past 150 years of reproduced police photography.

[64] Notable past exhibitions that have informed the thesis include *Police Pictures: The Photograph as Evidence*, San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and New York: The Grey Art Gallery and Study Centre, 1997; *The Beautiful and the Damned: The Creation of Identity in Nineteenth Century Photography*, London: National Portrait Gallery, 2001.

[65] Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', p.372

throughout the remainder of the thesis. This includes a less well-known reversal of the process that Galton developed, which resembles a disintegration of composite and, to an extent, photographic portrait theory into a series of tracings and abstract hieroglyphic 'transformers'. To this end, in the first chapter the portrait as a concise record of identity is seen to unravel, and this paves the way for an expanded definition of criminal identification.

I then approach colour photography, especially asking how the way in which a colour reproduction is obtained can affect an identification image. Only through close examination of some visible distinctions and theoretical implications of painted, printed, and photographic techniques can I assesses more broadly the role of colour in the construction of a so-called 'criminal subject' in comparison with the black and white snapshot that this type of portrait is more often associated with: literally, moving to the opposite end of the spectrum. Debates on objectivity are central, as are the problematic distinctions set out by Barthes and Julia Kristeva about colour as being inherent to both the surface of the image and the subject beneath that surface, which I see as especially interesting for images that depict people. I assess the value of colour in relation to the more conjectural aspect of the criminal portrait, expanding on ideas of colour as a 'noise' or 'weight' that may be central to ascribing alternate readings to identification images.

As pertinent as colour, and as relevant to the constitutive possibilities of the portrait, I then consider uses of gadgetry, asking how the role of the numerical assignment, measuring system, backdrop, and apparatus can be expanded from the instrumental towards the imaginative. How are later mechanisms for representing numerical data within the photographic portrait informed by the initial experiments that sought to merge physical likeness with more symbolic indicators of identity? Observing the fundamental obsolescence of many of the objects that were first used in what evolve to be more clinical spaces, I describe a shift from what began as a 'criminal laboratory', to what would become more minimal, asking what still resonates with the idiosyncrasies that initially constituted these environments, and questioning what this means for the identification portrait in general. In describing indicators of the *reverse* of images constituting identities, with the portrait instead encouraging a viewer to see alternatives, this gradual obsolescence of the apparatus that constituted the early 'criminal laboratory' is much more than a representative of the evolution of the mug shot in socio-historical terms.

Moving towards an overtly imaginary space, which is both of and for the camera, I then examine the tendency of early anthropometric experiments and more recent developments in judicial photography to focus on the peripheries of subjects. Drawing from a statement made by Galton on maps and meteorological traces that he gave prior to developing his composite process, this chapter may seem to be specifically bound up within the photographic medium where it revisits composite photography, but is actually more concerned with one of the little-

known principles of Galton's composite theory: the notion of equivalence between land and human body. Introducing the notion of *surfacism* in relation to how criminologists and others tend to approach the body, I draw upon Deleuze and Guattari's concept of the 'body without organs' in order to propose that the notion of the body as pure surface or limit is amenable to the surfacism of those studying only the outermost appearance of the body. I establish the influence of the topological and topographical in relation to Galton's early experiments in mapping; the role of the 'distinguishing mark' as utilised by Bertillon in the construction of criminal identity; and the theoretical role of the skin itself as outer periphery, organ in its own right, and, fascinatingly, as a simultaneous canvas for self-expression *and* container of microscopic identity information.

Taking leave from Robert Smithson's text 'Cultural Confinement' (1972), which likened the museum to the asylum and jail, my final chapter marks the progression of the thesis from interrogating images that are intended to have either judicial or scientific use-value, to considering explicitly artistic practices that will allow me to consider them in an expanded context. Based on Sekula's implication that Bertillon and Galton are 'ghosts' in our society, I describe some of the manifestations and manipulations of their practice, from those carried out by the Surrealists to contemporary work, in order to conclude with interesting responses to portraits that are contrived for the very purpose of identification.

1 Early Images, Early Imaginings of the 'Criminal Subject'

'Second only to coroners' photographs of the newly dead, prisoner identification portraits are perhaps the least merciful, the most disinterested, the most democratic, and the most anonymous portraits of all'.[1]

Bertillonage: Portrait or Autopsy?[2]

Sekula describes the practice of police photography as a fusion of the honorific and repressive potential of the portrait. For Sekula, police photography did not 'inherit and 'democratise' the honorific functions of bourgeois portraiture', nor did it simply function repressively, despite its negatively instrumental implications.[3] But these are only the roles that he proposes. Patrick Maynard has pointed out that, in 'The Body and the Archive', Sekula 'works by sets of dichotomies', describing his approach as follows: 'relative to the nineteenth century European 'bourgeoisie', photography could be honorific (in portraits) or repressive (the subject of his article), though we must attend to the relations between these two (no mention of other functions)'.[4] He continues that for Sekula 'repression required defining the law-abiding bourgeoisie against the 'criminal' other, itself split (shades of Sherlock) into the master criminals and the criminal type, upon whom criminology or criminalistics were practised with the aid of photography'.[5] In line with this problematic status between honorific and repressive, and Sekula's reliance upon such a dichotomy, it is interesting to consider Georges Didi-Huberman's suggestion that 'the connection between the portrait and the autopsy emerges even more clearly from the judicial and medico-legal uses to which photography was put'.[6] If I were to agree that Sekula, Tagg and others who write of the instrumental directives with which photography has been associated find the identification portrait to be generally repressive and unmerciful, then Didi-Huberman's proposal would seem to align itself with them.

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[1] Bruce Jackson, *Pictures from a Drawer: Prison and the Art of Portraiture*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009, p.10

[2] This section began as 'Portrait or autopsy? Towards a new vocabulary for the nineteenth-century mug shot', a paper that I presented in *Medical Media: The Aesthetic Language of Medical Imagery*, organised by Tania Woloshyn for the Association of Art Historians Annual Conference, Coventry: University of Warwick, 31 March – 2 April 2011. It is especially owing to Tania and to Susan Sidlauskas for their positive feedback.

[3] Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', p.347

[4] Patrick Maynard, review of Bolton (ed.), *The Contest of Meaning*, for *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol. 50, No. 1, Winter 1992, p.69

[5] *ibid.*

[6] Didi-Huberman, Georges. 'Photography – Scientific and Pseudo-Scientific' in Lemagny & Rouillé (eds.), *A History of Photography: Social and Cultural Perspectives*, p.74

It would follow that 'medico-legal' material is impersonal and, as Bruce Jackson supposes, 'disinterested', in contrast to its honorific alter-ego, the studio portrait. But this was written in the context of 'scientific and pseudo-scientific' photography only, and significant counters to such a suggestion can be found in enquiries that were not written under the sway of evidentiary contexts of image making. In an aesthetic context, it has been suggested that the very fact that evidence 'must always be produced and recognised under unpredictable conditions means that it harbours a force resisting reductive judgements that might quantify or otherwise fix its value', and that evidence 'thus further resembles the law in that the iterability that necessarily constitutes it also leaves it invariably subject to failure or graft'.[7] Thus evidentiary material, including portraits, autopsies, crime scene photographs, and so on, evades its repressive label and functions instead on a sliding scale that juxtaposes narrative and aesthetic value, both of which are constantly subject to interpretation.

I have already described the tendency of critics to rely on the amenability of evidentiary material to narrative captions, to emphasise its connection with crime stories and case histories, often with the effect of underplaying its aesthetic function. That is not to deny narrative a role in the discussion. For example, Eugenia Parry's *Crime Album Stories* uses narrative devices to illuminate images from the Bertillon archive rather than weigh them down. Written histories become lucid visual descriptions of brutal killings and the events that followed, as Parry oscillates between fact and fiction:

'Bertillon took photographs of victims at the morgue. He took Pranzini's three dead females close up. Excellent work. He got the hacked shoulder and cut throat of Marie Regnault. Her long hair flowed over the morgue slab. Her eyes were wide open. You could see the terror. Bertillon took the maid, to show how Pranzini nearly decapitated her, and the little girl with the worst wound of all. Only a piece of skin held her head to her neck. The pictures circulated in the offices. They were very well done. Everyone wanted them'.[8]

Parry even goes on to discuss their display:

'Police archivists used to make presentations of spectacular crimes with Bertillon's pictures. They hung them in little displays at the prefecture. Pranzini's case was a prime candidate. The victims, shown dead and alive, were artistically arranged, attached to the mountings with silk ribbons'.[9]

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[7] Andrew Stefan Weiner, 'Pretexts: The Evidence of the Event', *Afterall: A Journal of Art, Context and Enquiry*, Issue 26, Spring 2011, p.83, with reference to Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'*, London and New York: Routledge, 1993, pp.12-16

[8] Eugenia Parry, 'Big Pink Boy', *Crime Album Stories: Paris, 1886-1902*, Zurich, Berlin and New York: Scalo, 2000, p.31

[9] Parry, *Crime Album Stories*, p.31

By no means confined to photography, the relation of portrait and autopsy has a historical legacy that extends back into pre-photographic depictions of corpses in both scientific and artistic contexts, indeed, often at points where science and art are in a state of complex combination. By means of an example, Dolores Mitchell has accounted for the contrast displayed between the scientist and the corpse in Rembrandt's *The Anatomy of Dr Nicolaes Tulp* (1632), in which a corpse (that of a convicted man) is surrounded by members of the Amsterdam Surgeon's Guild, who observe Dr Tulp's demonstration of the anatomical structure of the subject's forearm. For Mitchell, the guild members 'appear overdressed, protected – almost armoured', signifying their 'stable careers and settled existences', compared with their subject, who 'possesses no clothing, except for a white loin cloth'.[10] Indeed, it can be said that their subject 'no longer 'owns' his body, which is the property of the state and is being dismembered'.[11]

Marie Regnault, from the archives of the Préfecture de Police, Paris, as reproduced in Parry, *Crime Album Stories*

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[10] Dolores Mitchell, 'Rembrandt's *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr Tulp*: A Sinner Among the Righteous', *Artibus et Historiae*, 15, No. 30, 1994, p.147

[11] Mitchell, 'Rembrandt's *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr Tulp*', p.147

While these comments were made in relation to an anatomy lesson, the exchange of ownership that Mitchell describes, along with the high contrast that is depicted between physician and subject, are useful illustrations of the long-established mechanisms in the history of representation of the deceased. The commissioning of the portrait by Tulp and the guild members is emphatic of the 'portrait' aspect, whose own illustrious portraits are dramatically fused with the flayed corpse beneath them in an abrupt visual juxtaposition of something very much akin to Didi-Huberman's portrait-autopsy distinction.[12] Incidentally, it echoes the display of the Pranzini case that compiled depictions of subjects both alive and dead. As another site of interplay between two different representational styles, the painting is emphatic of the limitations of portrait-autopsy as a dichotomy. Didi-Huberman makes his statement with reference to the work of Bertillon, whose contribution to the development of an extremely intricate identification system in Paris brought about his promotion to Chief of the Judicial Identification Service of France in 1882. The publishers of the first English translation of Bertillon's outline of the system seem to have had a similar outlook, where they exclaim:

'how much more precious still would such a means of identification be if it could be applied, not only to the living man, but to his dead body, even when crushed, mangled, or dismembered beyond the recognition of his nearest friends and relatives?'[13]

Bertillon's system has been variously referred to as 'descriptive anthropometry', 'Signaletics', and *Bertillonage*. Though it did not culminate in the worldwide integration that he believed plausible, the method was well received at the time of its conception, and his reputation remained strong for well over a decade after he took up his post. The aforementioned English translation of the instruction manual, which was supposedly all that was needed to in order to implement and use such a system, was published in 1896. The social function of *Bertillonage* is remarkably similar to that of civil registration, which was initiated in 1837. The system should also be considered in relation to the specific situation in Paris, as Sekula has noted that all of the city records - standard documentation in towns and cities to monitor a population at this time - existing prior to 1859 were burned during the Commune.[14] Sekula's broad impression of the system is of 'both an abstract paradigmatic entity and a concrete institution', which he refers to as a 'sophisticated form of the archive' in which the 'central artefact is not the camera but the filing cabinet'; as part of a 'bureaucratic-clerical-statistical system of 'intelligence'.[15] This is a simplification of what would have entailed a much more complex

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[12] Mitchell: 'The painting was probably commissioned by Tulp and six other guild members, including the two wardens represented on either side of the corpse's head'. 'Rembrandt's *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr Tulp*, p.145

[13] Anonymously written Publishers' Preface for Alphonse Bertillon, *The Bertillon System of Identification*, trans. Major R. W. McClaughy, Chicago and New York: The Werner Company, 1896, vii

[14] Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', p.361

[15] Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', pp.351-2

network of interrogation and transaction. Incorporating the setting within which the records were created might provide a sense of its lived reality that has not yet been fully recognised.
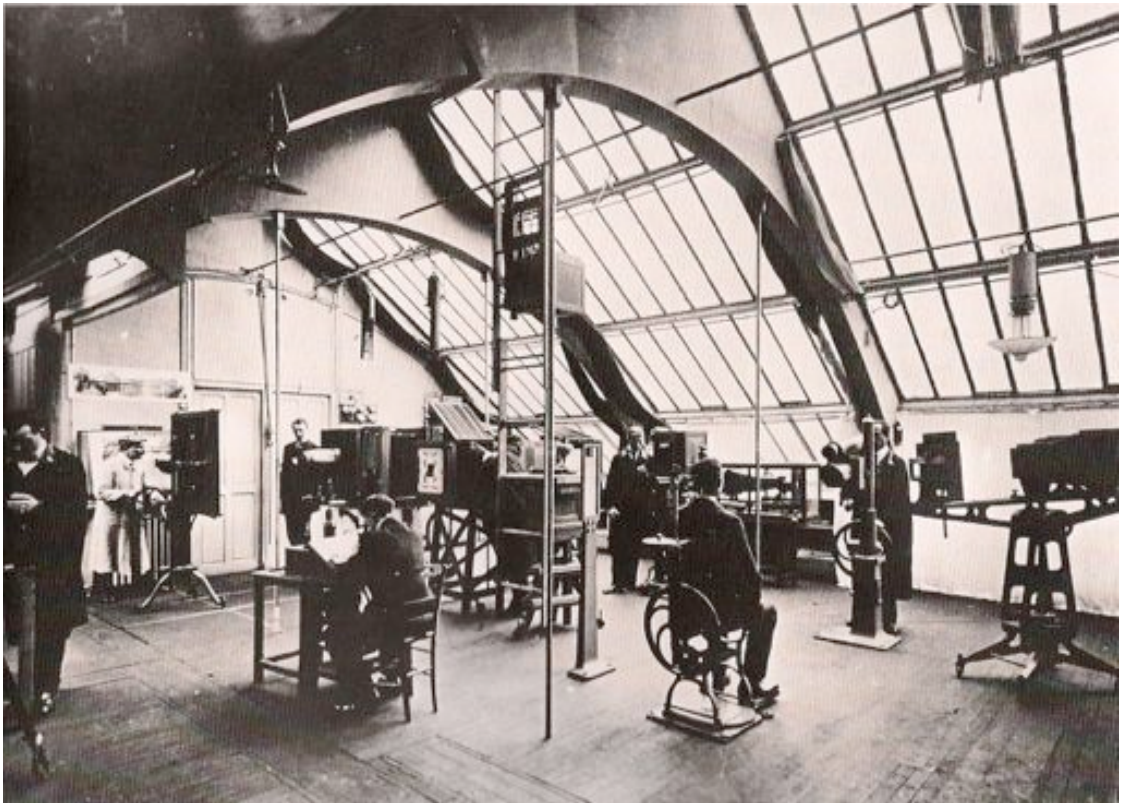
Bertillon's studio at the Préfecture de Police, Paris
Photographer and date unknown

Consisting of an enormous archive that was intended to contain records of the growing population of criminal suspects in Paris, a physical description of the Bertillon system would be that of a room full of filing cabinets, each packed with small *cartes*, upon which was inscribed various measurements and other information relating to each subject that was entered into the system.[16] There would be a separate area containing a variety of measuring instruments, small pieces of apparatus, as well as a space designated for photography.

A photograph of Bertillon's studio characterises the space as both an extension of official, bureaucratic police procedure *and* an over-filled experimental laboratory that is necessarily disorganised, temporary, and always subject to modification. Furniture seems to merge with equipment in this image, with its operators also somewhat blending into the background, promoting a sense of efficiency: depicting a man behind each piece of apparatus and also a suspect being photographed, the photograph was clearly produced as a record of a general productivity. Devices such as the head brace indicate the strong similarity between the eye of

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[16] My choice of the word 'into' here is intended to contrast the later tendency to add a subject 'onto' an archival database. Compared with adding an immaterial digital record, Bertillon's system was much more immersive, not least in the way in which records were contained in cabinets.

the physician and the eye of the photographer, where they could easily both be striving for the same result, the 'truth-to-likeness' that was believed to be so inherent in photography during the early stages of its development, provided a subject could stay still for long enough when exposure times would still have been a matter of minutes rather than seconds. Such devices enforce the unity of photographic apparatus across the board of scientific and artistic practice at this time, which is a simple but nonetheless significant factor in the suggestion for the judicial portrait as having emerged from somewhere between the two. Helmut Gernsheim discusses the use of the head brace in relation to the production of a *carte-de-visite*:

'his head fixed in a vice, the sitter was told to look at an indicated spot on the wall, and to keep quite still. Thus posed, he would regard the further operations with much the same feeling as he would those of a dentist; in fact in 1867 a modified form of dentist's chair was patented in which 'the sitter may lounge, loll, sit or stand in any of the attitudes easy to himself and familiar to his friends. But in practice the sitter was usually adapted to the chair, not the chair to the sitter, and when he was least at ease, he was asked to look pleasant. There was no attempt at characterisation'.[17]

This notion of 'characterisation' alludes to more traditional portrait making, especially in discourses of painting and sculpture. It brings to mind the processes described in literature (Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* first appeared in 1890). But the central motif is the apparatus, all of which appears to be in use at the same time, which epitomises Bertillon's aspirations for concise identity records, in this case, as the product of many different operations. Photographs such as this are testament to his belief that if enough, varied information could be photographed, measured, or described, it would summarise a subject, and the resulting record would act as a *translation* of a subject rather than what it actually, technically was - a composition of different elements that produced a new, *criminal*, identity as much as it might have recorded one.

As such, this image functions in the broadest possible sense as an illustration of the unstable foundations of criminal identification, which were appropriated and adapted from other disciplines. With these formulas that were intended to *contain* a society as much as possible within a structure of representation that would have had a limited storage space, and limited time (given that it was catering for a society that was rapidly growing, with crime rates duly increasing), the product, for Sekula, was 'bipartite', with the 'microscopic individual record' suspended within its 'macroscopic aggregate'.[18] A proposal for an archive of criminal society,

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[17] Gernsheim, *The Rise of Photography: 1850 – 1880*, pp.198-199

[18] Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', p.353. In Chapter Three, I will make more extensive descriptions of the often laboratory-type spaces in which identification and other practices that incorporated suspects were developed.

then, which is not only an 'abstract paradigmatic entity', but also an assimilation of a lived society that has been interrupted, paused, *arrested.* There is a friction to consider in any archival system between the prospect of the ever-accessible, unique artefact, which may rarely be called upon but is instead held in a long term state of suspension. To think of it in this way, an aim to 'summarise' a subject upon an identity card inevitably includes processes of translation—therefore the 'product' is also a record of a complex transaction that depicts a moment in time, as much as it might refer to the subject's body in a more permanent context. To incorporate Derrida's criteria for the archive, 'as much and more than a thing of the past, before such a thing, the archive should *call into question* the coming of the future'.[19] Already the failings of the system are revealed: how can a series of measurements and photographs taken in one moment, be representative of a subject past, present and future? Even if they include details from a subject's past, with this system, and arguably, with any system that documents human subjects, there was not enough anticipation of the future. From the moment that the first subject is documented, the archive is outdated. This was exacerbated by the conditions in Paris at the time, the swelling population and the rapidly growing number of arrests. Obsessing over details of the body that were less susceptible to change, prompting the use of particular limb measurements, profile images, and photographs of the ear,[20] changes to appearance over time were definitely a practical concern for Bertillon, but there is a sense of constant and rapid change to the system that would have been impossible to keep up with.

This notion of arrest in relation to the portrait photograph provokes a more theoretical reading too. Writing on detective fiction, Ronald Thomas has argued that the shifts between the anthropological and juridical analysis of Havelock Ellis, whose scrutiny of suspects' bodies connects him with Bertillon, defined the criminal 'not only as the racially other, but as the historically other as well, belonging to an earlier moment in time, somehow out of place'.[21] Within this peculiar archival configuration, then, many of the visual artefacts that were intended to support such theories must also be characterised as temporal anomalies. Bertillon's system was to be undertaken according to three different methodologies. Each corresponded to what Bertillon described as a particular 'signalment' of the body: 'the muster-roll which preserves the evidence of the real and effective presence of the person had in view by the administrative or judicial act'.[22] 'Anthropological signalment' was said to constitute 'under prescribed conditions' the 'measuring with the utmost precision' of a selection of 'the most characteristic dimensions of the bony structure of the human body'. The second method was 'descriptive' or 'morphological signalment': an 'observation of the bodily shape and

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[19] See Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression,* Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1998, pp.33-4

[20] See p.49

[21] Ronald Thomas, 'The Fingerprint of the Foreigner: Colonising the Criminal Body in 1890s Detective Fiction and Criminal Anthropology', *ELH,* 61, 1994, p.664

[22] Bertillon, *The Bertillon System of Identification,* p.11

movements, and even the most characteristic mental and moral qualities', and the third was 'signalment by peculiar marks', or 'pathological signalment', which relied upon observing so-called peculiarities of the surface of the body that resulted from 'disease, accident, deformity or artificial disfigurements, such as moles, warts, scars, tattooings, etc'.[23]

One such identification card illustrates the elaborate incompleteness of the handwritten sections of the *carte*, and, I think, epitomises in the broadest sense the appearance of the record as part of any system that requires a combination of a uniform layout with a written description of an individual. The most significant section is at the top of card, on the back, where, on closer inspection, it is almost impossible to discern the subject's name due to the overwriting and crossing out between the relevant lines. The notations that would be written on the *carte* were frequently modified as the system developed, and gradually became more streamlined. Interestingly, the summarising system itself was part of a continuous process of deconstruction, analysis, trial, and reorganisation. Rarely were the *cartes* fully and thoroughly completed; more often than not, the categorical notation gives way to blank spaces, over-written corrections and crossings out. One example of the given criteria, now widely reproduced in studies of the origins of criminal identification techniques, was used as the supposedly final template in the first complete manual in English. The template consists of a remarkable combination: methods of identification that have remained in common use, interspersed with relatively peculiar aspects, such as the bizygomatic breadth of the head, or the peculiarities of the iris. It contains the following (in the given order):

(front)	(back)
Height	Number
Curvature	Names (family and given)
Reach	Nicknames and aliases
Trunk	Born on / at
Head: length, width, bizygomatic breadth	Department
Right ear measurement	Son of / and of
Left foot	Profession
Left medius	Last residence
Left auricular [ear]	Papers of identity
Left forearm	Relations
Colour of left iris: class, areola, peripheral, peculiarities	Military services
Age	Previous convictions, number of
Born on / at / in	Cause and place of previous imprisonment
Apparent age	Present imprisonment, specification of offence
	Known arrests
	Sundry information

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[23] Bertillon, *The Bertillon System of Identification*, p.viiii

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Bertillon card (front and back) with mounted portrait
UCL Eugenics Archive, London

As the studio photograph also illustrates, the system was seen to function as a summary, whereas its individual parts, as in the case of this list, rely upon a level of scrutiny that was time-consuming and not always fruitful. This is not to say that it could not be of use to police in the confirmation of a known suspect's identity - although far from concrete at this stage, statistically it was common that a suspect with measurements or a case history such as this could be identified correctly - but it is important to point out their role in invention as much as in description: they might add up to the *suspect's* criminal identity, but this must not be mistaken for the identity of the *subject*. In other words, alongside any function it may perform as a record, the identification card fulfils the definition of a portrait, particularly in this case where it reveals an urge to summarise elements of the body and its history, presenting it anew in order to be preserved and filed.[24]

Autopsy
The word 'autopsy' originated from both the Latin and Greek 'autopsia' - a combination of 'autos' (self) and 'opsis' (sight) that refers specifically to an eyewitness account; literally, seeing with one's own eyes. Bertillon's template clearly represents the paradoxical (eugenic) ideal of obtaining a summary of a subject, whilst still allowing for the study of individual features so as to calculate averages, which could potentially be assumed into a model for the so-called criminal 'type'. Minute features, like the 'peculiarities of the iris', were listed and subjected to analysis, in order to produce a study of anomalies. There is a friction inherent to this system: the inventory has the external appearance of a logical mode of surveillance due to its serial structure and all-round exhaustiveness, but on closer inspection, it is clear that Bertillon's study tended towards the arbitrary. As such, perhaps Bertillon's system can be said to resemble an autopsy of sorts, both in terms of its broad social significance and, on the 'microscopic' scale, with respect to the specific measurement procedures that it entailed. What is the eyewitness account, if not a practice of observation on a minute scale that later corresponds to the construction of a whole? From the assimilation of small measurements in order to gain an indisputable record of identity, to the observation of a minor detail that could prove central to the confirmation of an event; crime; suspect; cause of death, and so on, this mode of portraiture has significant elements in common with some of the procedures carried out upon the dead body. With specific regard to the techniques of 'anthropological signalment', the resemblance of the *cartes* to physical studies of the deceased is unmistakable.

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[24] Fascinatingly, the Musée de la Préfecture de Police, which holds the Bertillon archive in Paris, also contains a museum display that re-stages aspects of the studio by means of showcasing the different apparatus as it still stands - complete with plastic models in the position of subject and photographer. Far from a clinical or rational organisation, this re-staging strengthens the overall impression of the somewhat disordered site of accumulation that the system came to be. Evoking the haunting atmosphere of the waxwork museum, the model sits on a wooden dining chair, facing a camera at a slightly jaunty angle. All around him are various tools, versions of the equipment, and historical framed case studies on the walls and in the various nooks of the walls.

Bertillon card, 1902

Cartes that were produced later would also have a full face and profile photograph of the subject attached, which would be reduced according to a scale of 1/7.[25] The incorporation of the photograph into *Bertillonage* brings more complexities than a study of archival anthropology could account for. The incongruity of the autopsy and the identity photograph could appear elementary due to its basic prerequisite of a deceased subject as opposed to a living criminal suspect, but this deserves to be articulated in more complex terms. The main implication of Didi-Huberman's statement is that it does not comply with either of the two conditions, nor, as such, to their corresponding sets of historical conventions. I would like to elaborate upon this in terms of its 'not quite-ness': to explain why the criminal identification record is 'not quite' like a portrait, and 'not quite' like an autopsy either, could help to define an alternative condition for these modes of representation, much as Parry's *Crime Album Stories* create portraits that exist between fact and fiction. One way of articulating this could be by examining a photographic portrait of a criminal suspect that has an even more problematic connection with the deceased. Roland Barthes recalled Alexander Gardener's photograph of Lewis Payne 'in his cell, where he was waiting to be hanged', describing the image in terms of the encounter where, upon viewing a photograph of a subject who he knew to either be about to die or already deceased, he perceived that 'the *punctum* is, *he is going to*

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[25] Later still, Bertillon insisted that prints of the suspect's thumb and fingers also be made directly onto the *carte*; a technique that was initially developed by Galton, who can, in a broad sense, be regarded as a colleague of Bertillon's in view of his own contributions to this particular branch of forensics. Bertillon acknowledged Galton's 'ingenious investigations' adapted from a similar technique used in China, though he concluded that 'these designs taken by themselves do not present elements of variability sufficiently well-defined to serve as a basis of classification in a file of several thousand cases'. See Bertillon, *The Bertillon System of Classification*, p.14

die': reading simultaneously the '*this will be*' and the '*this has been*' of the image. Upon seeing the photograph he shudders, he tells us, over the catastrophe that has already occurred .[26] Margaret Iversen has elaborated upon this, explaining that *Camera Lucida* 'circles around the thought that the essence or specific character of photography is a 'that-has-been' — a certificate of the presence of something that is past', and that, in fact, 'the nature of the medium as an indexical imprint of the object means that any photographed object or person has a ghostly presence, an uncanniness that might be likened to the return of the dead'.[27]
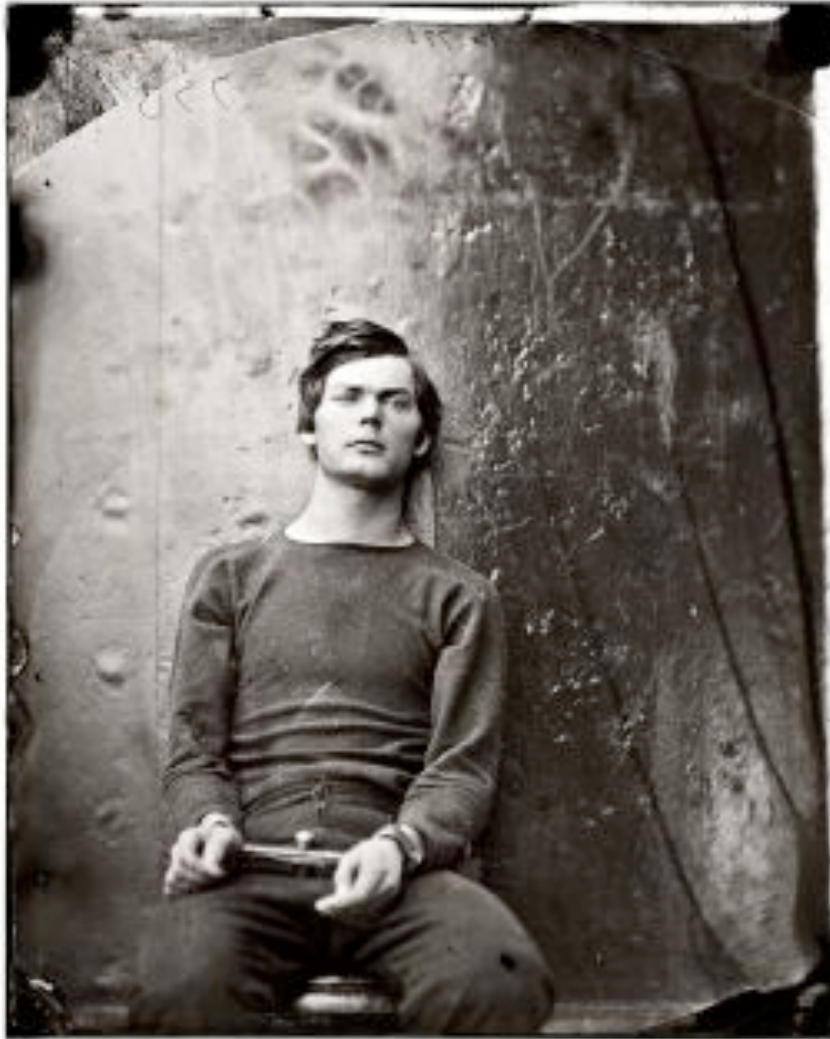
Alexander Gardener, *Lewis Payne, Lincoln Conspirator*, 1865
Collection of the Library of Congress, as reproduced in Sandra S Phillips et al.,
Police Pictures: The Photograph as Evidence

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[26] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, London: Vintage, 2000, p.96. The subject was also known as Lewis Powell.

[27] Margaret Iversen, 'What is a Photograph?', *Art History*, Vol. 17, No. 3, September 1994, p.450

Barthes and Iversen both emphasise that this encounter is bound up within the photographic medium. In the context of a subject awaiting punishment - a subject depicted photographically whilst 'in' or 'under' arrest, photographs like these are especially emblematic of both the 'this will be' and 'this has been'. This is not to undermine the sense that it applies to every photograph, as Barthes went on to argue, and as Iversen describes in her indication of there being a 'ghostly presence' to any photographed object, but I think it illustrates the notion of *catastrophe* in a particularly interesting way. A catalogue for a *Police Pictures* exhibition in San Francisco includes a second image of Payne, which shows the subject looking to the right, away from the camera. In terms of the mug shot procedure that Bertillon developed and standardised, with Gardener's photography there seems to be an incidental mimicry of the full face and profile format. But the notion of 'catastrophe' in these images - that of Payne's imminent execution - is countered by Gardener's photography. Compared with the subject depicted in the Bertillon card, the varying conditions are demonstrable in the appearance of the two sitters: the wide-eyed expression of Bertillon's subject upholds an 'arrested' quality, and, though the difference may be subtle, the Payne portraits fulfil a much more symbolic rendition of Barthes' statement (we must be informed of Payne's imminent execution) as opposed to this potentially quite literal one for the mug shot, which by its recognisable format insinuates a degree of automatic assumption that a crime has been committed and a punishment about to be delivered.
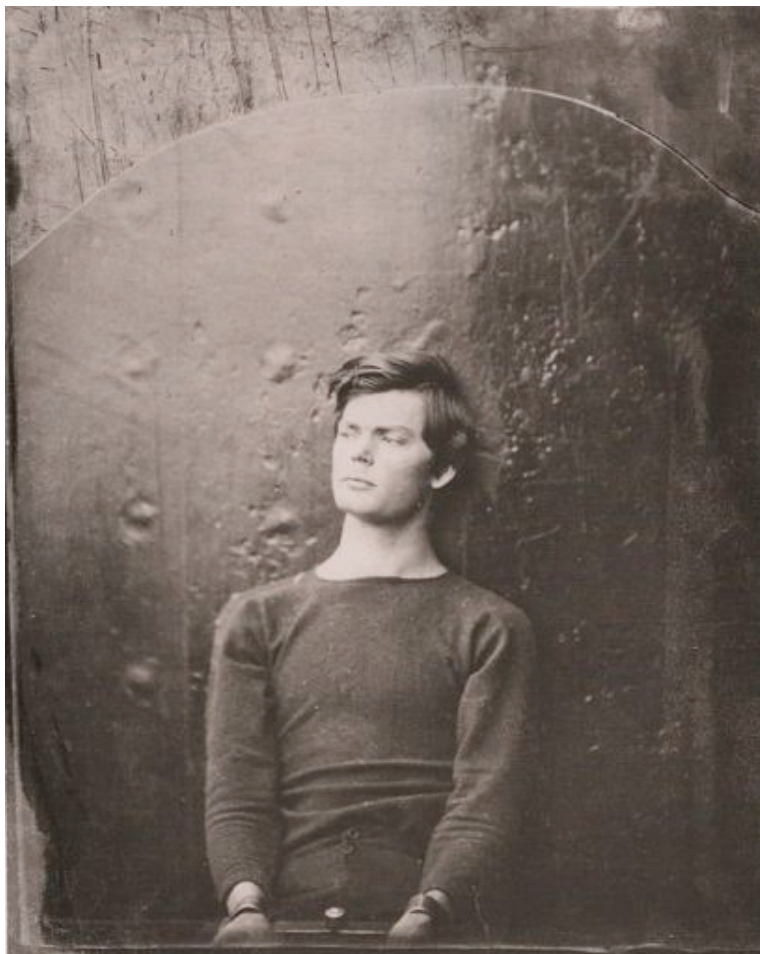
Alexander Gardener,
Conspirator Payne, 1865
Collection San Francisco
Museum of Modern Art, as
reproduced in Phillips et al,
Police Pictures

Portrait

To an extent, at least, Bertillon was aware of the complexity of photography with regard to its potential role as proof of identity. It might be worthwhile to consider one of Bertillon's accounts of the destruction of resemblance over time. He claimed that this was most problematic in full face portraits, and he described one such transformation: 'the resemblance ... is largely destroyed here by a concurrent change in the hairy system and in the fleshiness of the subject ... or by a nervous contraction of the eyebrows ... or a lateral deviation of the eyes'.[28] In this sense, the mug shot conceals identity as a mask or disguise as much as it confirms it. An account from 1891 recalls that Bertillon 'pointed out how a vast experience in human physiognomy is required to recognise in many of the photographs which he exhibited, that they are the likeness of the same man taken at different times. ... those photographs were all taken in the same studio, by the same photographers, with the same apparatus, and as nearly as possible at the same hour in the morning. How much more marked would the difference be, if all these conditions were materially altered?'[29]

Bertillon, *Forme génerale de la tête vue de profil*, as compiled for *Identification Anthrométrique*, 1893

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[28] Bertillon, *The Bertillon System of Identification*, pp.256-7

[29] F. J. Mouat, 'Notes on M. Bertillon's Discourse on the Anthropometric Measurement of Criminals', *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 20, 1891, p.187

Bertillon's photographic conditions emphasise the fleeting nature of the resemblances that were produced there. As one of the earliest mug shots, this highlights their status as *arresting* images. Although still vague, apparently for Bertillon the role of portrait photography was to confirm the identity of a subject rather than to contribute to the deciphering process. The profile image, he claimed, changed less over time in terms of 'hairy systems' and such like, but in spite of this, Bertillon was by no means invested in the potential of photography to do his work for him: 'if there is a commonplace in police circles it is the comparative uselessness of *photography* for the discovery of a fugitive criminal', and 'as *excellent* as it is, they say, for *confirming* a suspected identity, it is no less *insufficient as a means of search*, and it is a matter of daily experience for the most conscientious detectives to pass by a man whose picture they have in their pocket without recognising him'.[30] This brings to my mind Dorian Gray's painful response to his portrait: 'How sad it is! I shall grow old, and horrible, and dreadful. But this picture will remain always young. It will never be older than this particular day of June...'[31] The attentiveness to a particular day resonates with the photographic moment, the moment of this photographic arrest, through which the likeness to the subject is wholly irreproducible.

The idea that photography was secondary to the identification process undermines any preconception that photographic portraits of criminal suspects proved without doubt a subject's identity. Rather than accept the limitations of the photographic medium to depict a 'true likeness', however, Bertillon claimed that the problem with the photographic portrait was that it needed to be properly *described* in order to be used effectively in police procedures. 'If detectives were more familiar with the manner of using it; of *analysing* it, *describing* it, *learning it by heart*, and, in a word, of drawing from it all that it is possible to draw from it', he argued, then the photographic portrait would be much more worthwhile.[32] It is the supplementary role of the photograph in this system that I want to draw attention to here, because I think this has huge ramifications for the mug shot as it is used today. Where the image was seen as secondary to an initial process of translation, it complies with the logic of the supplement: although it is prioritised separately to description, its necessity illustrates the limitations of the system. It is both essential and useless, at the same time, and this affords it an idiosyncrasy that evokes the idea of 'looking through the rational to its irrational core'. To follow Derrida's commentary, in which the very practice of writing, and indeed all modes of representation are 'dangerous': 'there is a fatal necessity, inscribed in the very functioning of the sign, that the substitute make one forget the vicariousness of its own function and make

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[30] Bertillon, Preface to *The Bertillon System of Identification*, p.4

[31] Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, London: Penguin, 1994, p.34

[32] Bertillon, Preface to *The Bertillon System of Identification*, p.4 (Bertillon's emphasis)

itself pass for the plenitude of a speech whose deficiency and infirmity it nevertheless only *supplements'*.[33] In this case, it is Bertillon's peculiar position on the use of photography that guarantees its status as supplement: 'for the concept of the supplement—which here determines that of the representative image—harbours within itself two significations whose cohabitation is as strange as it is necessary. The supplement adds itself, it is a surplus, a plenitude enriching another plenitude, the *fullest measure* of presence. It cumulates and accumulates presence. It is thus that art, *technè,* image, representation, convention, etc., come as supplements to nature and are rich with this entire cumulating function'.[34] For Derrida, as much as it can have an enriching quality, the supplement is dangerous precisely because 'the supplement supplements'; 'it adds only to replace', and 'intervenes or insinuates itself *in-the-place-of*; if it fills, it is as if one fills a void', and so too: 'if it represents and makes an image, it is by the anterior default of a presence'.[35] This is especially pertinent to the portrait photograph, where the anterior default of a presence might directly translate to the temporary likeness that it produces.

Unaware of these complexities in his practice, Bertillon went on to try to standardise his methods. This took the form of the *portrait parlé* or verbal portrait, the validity of which can be disproved by his own words: 'at once rigorously scientific and as simple as the subject permits'.[36] The paradoxical nature of what was, in essence, an attempt to make concrete the processes of translation that are subject to individual interpretation, is enhanced by Bertillon's instructions for police officers. The process was intended as a 'minute description of an individual, made especially with a view to seeking and identifying him on the public street'.[37] Even with respect to describing a suspect's height, which might at first be considered a simple task, there is evidence as to the over-complication and therefore instability of his technique. 'Let us now seek to replace in the above example, the three foregoing figures by words. The following appellations will immediately present themselves to the mind: *small* height, *medium* height, and *large* height. Their gradation is evident. However, we shall have rigorously fixed their value only when we have determined the lower and upper limits of the central term, in other words, when we know exactly where the small height ends, and where the large begins'.[38] Noting a subject's height as either small, medium, or large might be thought to facilitate the identification process, but as soon as the subjective conditions for its implementation are acknowledged: the impression of one individual as to what pertains to

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[33] Jacques Derrida, '…That Dangerous Supplement…', *Of Grammatology* (1967), translated by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1976, p.144

[34] Derrida, '…That Dangerous Supplement…', pp.144-5

[35] Derrida, '…That Dangerous Supplement…', p.145

[36] Bertillon, *The Bertillon System of Identification*, p.5

[37] Bertillon, *The Bertillon System of Identification*, Appendix B. 'The Verbal Portrait', p.249

[38] Bertillon, *The Bertillon System of Identification*, p.35

'medium' height, or the ability of an officer on the street to note the appropriate value when judging the visible parameters 'by eye'; the founding principles of the *portrait parlé* begin to disintegrate.

What is already an illogical and convoluted system further loses coherence when Bertillon accounts for its use in written form: 'that of *written portrait* would suit it quite as well, since, before being learned by heart, it ought to be drawn up with the mind in repose and committed to writing'.[39] Bertillon's *written portrait*, then, was a mode of description that required both patience and thoughtful 'repose' to commit to, a quality that has as much in common with the creative writer as it might the police officer. This was contrasted with a shorthand diligence that contradicts the process: the so-called written portraits were subject to even more abbreviation than the original *cartes* as a result of their design to be folded up over the photograph, for easy insertion into a pocket. Thus, the *portrait parlé* provides my conclusion for *Bertillonage*: not quite a portrait, not quite an autopsy, but a description of a subject that was supposed to be memorised: both literally and metaphorically carried around in one's pocket. Returning to the photograph of Bertillon's studio, which is convincing as a depiction of a great deal of activity but provides little conclusive information about his system, for me, what is most interesting about Bertillon's archival logic is not that one element - physical, written notation, spoken, or photographic - seems redundant, but that each supplements the other. Even if, like the studio image, they can be viewed complimentarily, they all function *in-the-place-of* a subject, thus producing a great deal of incoherence.

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[39] Bertillon, *The Bertillon System of Identification*, p.249

The Ravachol Case

Nowhere does Bertillon's practice seem to conflate the police picture with the bourgeois studio portrait more than it did in his account of photographing a renowned anarchist named Ravachol. As Henry Rhodes recalls the story in his biography:

'The prisoner looked far from dandified .... His face was bruised and bleeding, and his clothing in disorder. Ravachol had furiously resisted arrest, and declared that if he were to be photographed it would be by force.

"Why?" said Bertillon. "I have to do this. It is part of my duty."

Ravachol had fought with the police, and had been very roughly handled. He was taken aback at the quiet question and the calm statement.

"I won't be photographed now."

"And why not now?"

"My face is not a pretty sight, is it?" This was the root of the matter. He wanted to look his best even for a police photograph.

Bertillon smiled. "You are right. We will put it off. After all, what I want is a true likeness."

This might have been nothing more than a professional gesture, but it was not this which caused the Chief of the Department of Judicial Identity to send his client a mounted copy of the photograph after he had taken it some days later. It touched the man who had defied examining magistrates and judges and who went to the scaffold shouting "Long live the Revolution!"

"M. Bertillon," he said, "at least, is a gentleman."

It was entirely characteristic of him to treat the law-breaker with consideration, and to reserve his irony and sarcasm for his colleagues and peers'.[40]

According to his biographer, Bertillon apparently hated the mechanical aspects of the system, particularly where it involved doing detailed systematic work. His professional activity was 'restricted to the criminal field', but the so-called real focus of his interest was apparently 'mankind and the human individual'.[41] Behind the project then, as Rhodes claims, lay a 'human impulse'. In addition to this suggestion that the police chief displayed open-minded qualities, the Ravachol story reveals a more extensive notion of a portrait transaction than that which could be accounted for within Bertillon's strict anthropometric parameters. Entering into a discussion between photographer and subject (client) and returning it to him as a gift reveals its new status as a desirable object (artwork) and expands the portrait into something other than a brief, controlled few minutes in the anthropometric studio.

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[40] Rhodes, *Alphonse Bertillon: Father of Scientific Detection*, pp.83-4

[41] See Rhodes, *Alphonse Bertillon: Father of Scientific Detection*, p.83

Bertillon, *Ravachol*
Albumen print, 1871

As much as it recalls Parry's description of the treatment of what was thought Bertillon's 'best work', tied with silk ribbons and displayed in the police archive, this was not unique to Bertillon's photography. Mug shot and classification photographs can be as covetable as any other portrait. John Tagg has described a file in the West Midlands Police Museum that contained ambrotypes of prisoners. 'The poses are simple and plain', he notes, 'but the delicate glass plates are each mounted in an ornamental frame, as if they were destined for the mantelpiece'.[42] Shawn Michelle Smith alludes to the more sinister effects of such a crossover between the instrumental portrait and the 'mantelpiece', when she describes a series of daguerreotypes that depicted enslaved men and women in South Carolina. Smith claims that 'the very status of these images as daguerreotypes makes their dehumanising objectivity even more shocking', because of the very fact that 'daguerreotypes are generally regarded as keepsakes'.[43] For Smith, daguerreotypes represent 'treasured mementoes that memorialise loved ones', in the sense that they are 'jewel-like images on mirrored plates, framed by

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[42] Tagg, *The Burden of Representation*, p.23. An ambrotype is produced using the wet plate collodion process, which was published in 1851 by Frederick Scott Archer (12 years after the Daguerreotype was announced.)

[43] Shawn Michelle Smith, 'The Art of Scientific Propaganda', in Fae Brauer and Anthea Callen, *Art, Sex and Eugenics: Corpus Delecti*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008, p.68. The photographs were produced by a Harvard scientist, Louis Agassiz, in the 1850s.

scalloped gold edges, and encased in small, velvet-lined leather boxes with pressed patterns and delicate hinges'.[44] With the Ravachol case, here is a glimpse not only of Bertillon's humanistic approach to criminal subjects, but also of a process that was much less strict than police departments might admit. Procedural convention and the uniformity of image production (or reproduction, in this case) have been set aside in favour of the hope of attaining a 'true likeness', and this was believed to be a success: Bertillon saw the portrait as worthy of being reproduced, mounted, and sent to the subject as a keepsake, just as a photographer working on a private commission would seek a client's approval – a common aspect of nineteenth-century studio portraiture.

Francis Galton and the Composite Criminal

Despite my contention that *Bertillonage* is an intricate, unstable, and visually rich system, as exemplified by the incomplete and ever-developing *cartes*, the *portrait parlé* and *written portrait* and incidences such as the Ravachol case, the context of Bertillon's work - the police archive - is relatively unambiguous in comparison with that of Galton. Galton is often described as 'one of the great Victorian polymaths'.[45] In ethical terms, Bertillon's work was not carried out with an outward display of eugenic ideals to the same degree as that of Galton, whose renown as the figure who would later coin the very term eugenics is incomparable to that of an individual whose focus was in the field of police identification. Of course the implications of a body of research that deals only with surface particulars of criminal subjects are undeniable, but Galton's intention was much more explicit than Bertillon's: Galton wished to locate the 'criminal type' within his theories on heredity, which necessarily incorporated what he believed to be evidence of degeneracy as much as it would refer to any other area of research.[46] 'Criminals, semi-criminals, and loafers' formed the lowest grouping in Galton's urban hierarchy', and this was mistaken for a unified subjectivity.[47]

By 1879, Galton believed he had enough theoretical support for his claims: what he sought were the unquestionable artefacts that could support them *visually*. Galton had frequent contact with Bertillon, who is said to have been held in the highest regard for his system of criminal photography, but his own photographic and other visual techniques were of more abstract proportions.[48] True to his reputation as a polymath, when Galton presented his paper

[44] Smith, 'The Art of Scientific Propaganda', p.68

[45] See in particular Martin Brookes, *Extreme Measures: The Dark Visions and Bright Ideas of Francis Galton*, New York: Bloomsbury, 2004

[46] See Galton, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development*, London: Macmillan, 1883 and *Hereditary Genius: An Inquiry Into Its Laws and Consequences*, London: Macmillan, 1892.

[47] Allan Sekula refers to this generalisation of 'criminals, semi-criminals, and loafers' in 'The Body and the Archive', p.370

[48] For a detailed account of Bertillon and Galton's communication, see Rhodes, *Alphonse Bertillon: Father of Scientific Detection*, pp.191-2

on composite portraits to the Anthropological Institute in 1879, he acknowledged the connections of his process with a geographical study that he had carried out previously: 'it was while endeavouring to elicit the principle criminal types by methods of optical superimposition of the portraits, such as I had frequently employed with maps and meteorological traces, that the idea of the composite figures first occurred to me'.[49] Galton claimed to have discovered a way to extract the 'typical characteristics' of 'several persons alike in most respects, but differing in minor details'.[50] The process entailed collecting groups of photographs of subjects including criminals (whom he subdivided into categories to include convicts of 'larceny, murder, and rape'); 'the Jewish type'; and 'the family', with each category treated as if it might contain as many similar likenesses as blood-relatives. His method was to 'throw faint images of the several portraits, in succession, upon the same sensitised photographic plate', and the result, as he described it, was that he obtained 'with mechanical precision a generalised picture'.[51] What he actually created, however, were what have been described as 'slightly blurry meta-portraits'[52] that immediately undermine his idealistic declaration, by illustrating the paradox that Galton inevitably failed to acknowledge: that of *precise generalisation*.

Galton would hang the images 'like a deck of cards', and according to 'register marks', so that 'the eyes of all the portraits shall be as nearly as possible superimposed; in which case the remainder of the features will also be superimposed nearly enough'.[53] Once aligned via a brass or cardboard frame with an aperture cut into its centre, which was also quartered by a cross made from thread (supposedly for extra precision), Galton would expose each image in succession to the same fraction of the exposure time that was required to produce a single photograph. The resulting composites seem to show each subject wearing a mask that is composed of the other subjects. Looking closely, it is as if this mask takes the form of a thin veil that partially conceals every face. As such, the composite can be said to function as much as evidence of a subterfuge than it might as a recording of a subject's physiognomy. What Galton had unknowingly created was not a generalisation by any means: in fact each subject simultaneously emerges and recedes into the image under the continuous (dis)guise of another.

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[49] Galton, 'Composite Portraits', p.132. I will return to Galton's previous paper on maps and meteorological traces in Chapter Four.

[50] Galton, 'Composite Portraits', p.132

[51] Galton, 'Composite Portraits', p.133

[52] Ken Gonzalez-Day, 'Analytical Photography: Portraiture, from the Index to the Epidermis', *Leonardo*, 35:1, 2002, pp.33-30

[53] Galton, 'Composite Portraits', p.133

Galton, *Comparison of Criminal and Normal Populations*, as reproduced in Pearson, *The Life, Letters and Labours of Francis Galton*, Vol. II, Plate XXIX, c1879

This ambiguity as to the subject of the composite portrait is bound up within the photographic process. Considered in terms of its indexical value, for example, the photographic composite has complex ramifications. In her seminal text on the index, which first established the usefulness of the principles of indexicality to art history, Rosalind Krauss used the example of the photogram to 'make explicit what is the case of *all* photography': that 'every photograph is the result of a physical imprint transferred by light reflections onto a sensitive surface'.[54] For Krauss, it is the 'absoluteness of this physical genesis', which 'seems to short-circuit or disallow those processes of schematisation or symbolic intervention that operate within the graphic representations of most paintings'.[55] Krauss refers to André Bazin's text on 'The Ontology of the Photographic Image', in which he claimed that 'no matter how fuzzy, distorted, or discoloured, no matter how lacking in documentary value the image may be, it shares, by virtue of the very process of its becoming, the being of the model of which it is the reproduction; it *is* the model'.[56] The layering involved in the production of a photographic composite does not break with the logic of the index - the composite could be certainly be

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[54] Rosalind Krauss, 'Notes on the Index: Part I', *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths*, MIT Press, 1986, p.203

[55] Krauss, 'Notes on the Index: Part I', p.203

[56] André Bazin, 'The Ontology of the Photographic Image', in *What is Cinema?*, trans. Hugh Gray, California: University of California Press, 1967, p.14, in Krauss, 'Notes on the Index: Part I', p.203

aligned with the 'fuzzy' or 'distorted' and definitely lacks in documentary value - but it does have an effect of concealing this 'short-circuit' quality of the photograph, and this is as central to the claim that Galton was making about portraiture as it is to the composite process itself. Investing fully in the ability of the composite photography to depict a uniform subjectivity, or what he declared to be the 'criminal type', Galton instead produced oscillation, uncertainty, and a flickering effect that seems to create as close an illusion of movement as could possibly be perceived in a single, still, image.

As with *Bertillonage*, the use of composite portraiture with the intention to depict a 'type' also served to reinforce social categorisation in an archival context. The failure of Galton's project occurs because of the adherence of each unique resemblance to a subject, and due to the fragmentary indexical persistence of each of its original, individual facets. If Bertillon's system was an attempt to suspend 'criminal society' in minute form, Galton's composite portraits function on an even smaller scale. As Sekula puts it, they are a 'collapsed version of the archive', a 'blurred configuration' in which 'the archive attempts to exist as a potent single image, and the single image attempts to achieve the authority of the archive, of the general, abstract propositions'.[57]

The composite photograph is the amalgam of Galton's own mental image of 'the criminal'. Galton's selection process is hardly discussed apart from his initial segregation of the images, as with the large group that he obtained from Millbank prison, which were then categorised according to the suspected type of crime. It might be interesting to speculate upon Galton's choice of each particular photograph to be incorporated into a composite. Presumably, his own theory dominated procedure, and he simply believed that his selection was objective and even irrelevant, when, on his terms, each of the subjects would have shared the incriminating features that were rife for each variant of criminal activity, and thus his reduction of the visual information for the sake of making a composite was largely insignificant. But this sacrifice was a fundamental oversight that collapses composite theory, revealing its incapabilities in simultaneously visual and theoretical terms.

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[57] Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', p.372
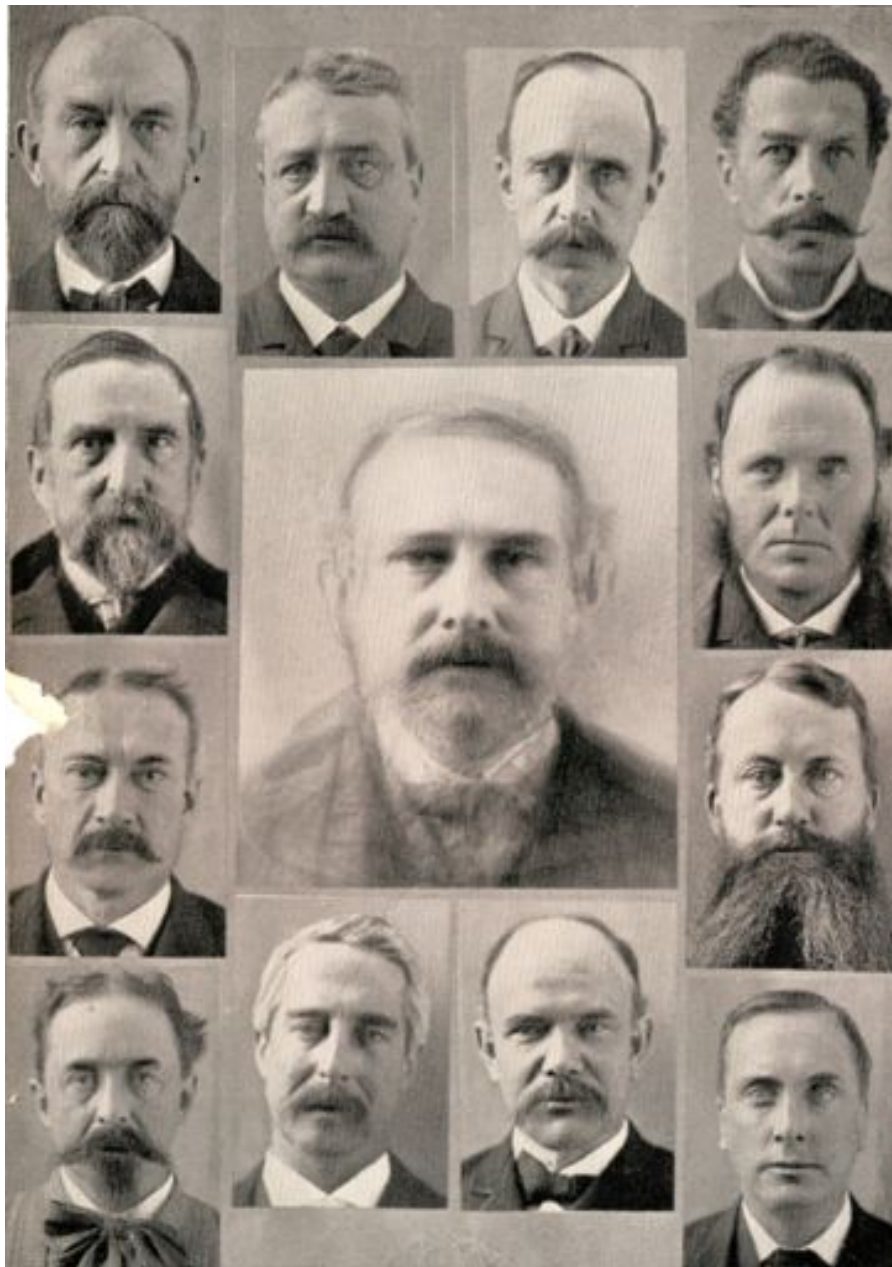
Galton, *Twelve Boston Physicians and their Composite Portrait - the Composite in the Centre*, 1887, as reproduced in *McClure's Magazine*, 1894

At the time, the inevitable parts of the image that reveal the superimposition, and thus signify the difference between each layer, were not entirely overlooked in critical commentary on the process. Galton himself acknowledged it: in a caption for a composite made up of three components, he explained that 'its three-fold origin is to be traced in the ears, and in the

buttons to the vest'.[58] To the best of his judgement, it was 'a very exact average of its components: not one feature in it appears identical with that of any one of them, but it contains a resemblance to all, and is not more like to one of them than to another'.[59] Galton did not discuss the overall blurring effect that was produced, nor the combination of overexposure *and* underexposure that was an inevitable product of the fragmentary layering process. In a response to Galton's paper written for *The Century Illustrated* magazine, it was remarked that 'one might not unnaturally suppose that a process of this kind would give nothing but an indistinct blur, with faint, if any, resemblance to the human face', but the evidence of the individual subjects having been depicted is then used against them, in favour of the type: 'the illustrations of this paper... show that this is far from being the case. They are somewhat shadowy, to be sure, but distinctly human and attractive'.[60] It seems as if the potential for composite portraiture to make a convincing statement in support of eugenic promotions of the 'criminal type' was exaggerated, to the point where the blurred configurations were read as a positive indicator of this common, low 'humanity'. Where impressions of the resultant figure as being attractive could be seen to undermine the stereotypically unattractive conception of the criminal at this time, this too was described in the reverse: 'the special villainous irregularities in the latter have disappeared, and the common humanity that underlies them has prevailed. They represent, not the criminal, but the man who is liable to fall into crime. All composites are better looking than their components, because the averaged portrait of many persons is free from the irregularities that variously blemish the looks of each of them'.[61]

In the composite photograph, the gaze of each subject seems 'locked' within the irreconcilable layers of the final image. More *subjects* than subject-in-alteration; these images illustrate the simulation of flickering that is often produced in multiple exposure photography. Conventional portrait sittings become ten second exposures - the temporality implied by the production of a typical photograph at this time is altered, and the 'sitters' are multiplied, with the effect of producing an image of an undisclosed figure not only on the theoretical level but also on the surface level in terms of the visible seams that appear as quickly as they recede into the grey ground of overexposure; particularly along the tops of the shoulders, the silhouettes, collars and ears. On the other end of the scale, facial features that would have been closest to the camera with which they were first depicted, foreheads, noses, and chins, for example, lose definition altogether and form the lightest areas of the composite. And just as no single face, head, or body is fully visible, neither can there be a single expression, pose, or gaze. If in a one-on-one portrait there is the premise for a transaction to take place, this implies

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[58] Galton, 'Composite Portraits', p.136

[59] Galton, 'Composite Portraits', p.136

[60] John T. Stoddard, 'Composite Photography', *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, XXXIII, No. 5, March 1887

[61] Galton, 'Composite Portraits', p.135

a certain degree of shared agency, between subject and sitter. The appropriation and juxtaposition of existing photographs undermines this logic entirely. Essentially, it eradicates the possibility of reasonable self-expression on the part of the subject through its re-use of an existing pose, and its partial concealment of each original likeness undermines the authority of each of the subjects depicted.

Harry Berger's comments on visual uncertainty seem to resonate particularly well with Galton's composites, and might justify the ambiguity of their presence in explicitly visual terms. He has described the 'interest in depicting variations in the luminosity (patterns of light and shade) of the visual field' as the marker of optical representation in general.[62] For Berger, 'whether the motives informing optical effects are best served by the tonal softening of the sfumato (which seeks to direct the eye to the significant elements and hence focus the narrative) or by chiaroscuro (which seeks to exploit the contrast between the highlights and shadows for theatrical effect), the result is to interpose visual uncertainty—or uncertain visibility—between the observer and the objective appearance'.[63] Berger's account is of a painted effect, but I think this resonates with the photographic composite. Visual uncertainty for the viewer of the composite image is heightened by Galton's overlaying of several components within one long exposure, which, I would argue, allows for similar effects to be viewed simultaneously: a particular configuration of light and shade that appears 'trapped' within the photographic layers.

Arguably, the mug shot and its modes of production are capable of assimilating an incriminating shadow of the suspect and their supposed activity, be it past, present or future, whereas the composite portrait, by its visual uncertainty, does not specifically incriminate any subject. Compiled of different likenesses, each produced at different points in time, it doesn't even commit to a point of arrest. Again, it recalls Barthes and Iversen, and the 'ghostly uncertainty' produced in any photograph, only in this case it has been multiplied and overlaid until a nucleus has formed, where the membranes seem to simultaneously protrude from and recede back beneath the other component parts. Recording culpability is a sincerely remote possibility here, since composite logic is as amenable to typecasting perfection as it is to any other trend in subjects' appearances. Writing in 1930 on the 'the deviations of nature', Georges Bataille suggested that the composite image could 'give a kind of reality to the necessarily beautiful Platonic idea'. For Bataille: 'the constitution of the perfect *type* with the aid of composite photography is not very mysterious. In fact, if one photographs a large number of similarly sized but differently shaped pebbles, it is impossible to obtain anything other than a sphere: in other words, a geometric figure. It is enough to note that a common

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[62] Harry Berger Jr. 'Technologies: The System of Early Modern Painting', *Fictions of the Pose: Rembrandt Against the Italian Renaissance*, California: Stanford University Press, 2000, p.48

[63] Berger, *Fictions of the Pose*, p.48, with reference to Marcia Hall, *Colour and Meaning: Practice and Theory in Renaissance Painting*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p.94

measure necessarily approaches the regularity of geometric figures'.[64] The overlaying of several different shapes, as with the faces that Galton grouped together, will inevitably create a new shape that is likely to be more symmetrical and, according to the Platonic ideal, more beautiful. Following Bataille's terms, the ability of the composite to 'give a kind of reality' to idealistic visions of the human face should be read in the context of Galton's assumption that he had successfully created an 'imaginary figure' in the broadest sense: whether considered in terms of beauty or monstrosity, this 'man who is liable to fall into crime' is fundamentally a man who exists in Galton's own imagination. This is emphasised by the suggestion in his statement that the new, imagined figure *has not yet committed a crime*. Unlike Bertillon's police catalogues that were more concerned with *existing* criminals (past and present), Galton's composite images are predictive, or more accurately, projections. Thus, returning to Derrida's proclamation that the archive 'should call into question the coming of the future', Galton seemed to believe that his innovative, fragmentary technique for combining archival photographs had enabled him to *create* a subject; a sort of photographic, futuristic emulation of Frankenstein's monster.

'Analytical Portraiture'

The supposed outcome of the composite process was that the common features of each of the original images would be adequately exposed, whereas any individual elements would not be exposed enough to be visible, and would disappear. Galton's idea for the converse of the composite photography process, which he referred to as 'analytical and differential portraiture', is illustrative of the abstract nature of so many of his experimental techniques. This was, essentially, a procedure by which Galton attempted to reverse the composite process in order to isolate and extract the common features; as opposed to revealing what was common to all, as he had claimed for his composites. His intention was to ascertain not only the type itself, via the composite process, but also to measure the level of difference between 'individual' and 'type'. Like the previous examples that I have discussed, the results were, at best, inconclusive with respect to his idealistic premise, but the complex procedure that Galton describes is quite striking, and has been presented to a level of detail that, predictably for one of Galton's inventions, is thoroughly over-determined.[65]

The principle of analytical photography, of course is based on Galton's belief that the

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[64] Georges Bataille, 'The Deviations of Nature', *DOCUMENTS*, second year, 2, 1930, pp.79-83. Reprinted in Alan Stoekl ed. *Georges Bataille: Visions of Excess, Selected Writings, 1927-1939*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985, p.55

[65] David Green has acknowledged the inconclusive 'analytical portraiture' experiments: 'In the late 1890s Galton attempted to reverse the process of composite photography whereby it would be possible to isolate and retain the particular characteristics of the individual from those features which were common to the type. The purpose of such a process would be to measure the degree of difference between the individual and the type. His experiments in this direction were not, however, conclusive'. See Green, 'Veins of Resemblance: Photography and Eugenics', p.14, Note 35.

composite image flawlessly illustrated his theories on the 'type', and was thus built upon the unsubstantial foundations of a false claim, which renders it both theoretically and practically tenuous. An instrument was set up with four corners and central prisms, with bright lights placed at three of them. Opposite each one was placed a photographic transparency. The fourth corner held the glass screen, which was used for the images to be 'thrown' onto.[66] The apparatus allowed for the transparencies to be 'seen all together or singly or in any other desired combination'.[67] Taking two pictures 'whose differences have to be isolated, A and B', Galton superimposed 'faint transparent' positives and negatives of the images:

'Place positive A in one corner of the apparatus, and negative A in another corner, and in the third corner ... positive B. These three images are seen in superimposition on the ground glass screen which occupies the fourth corner. There are means for adjusting the transparencies independently of one another, and this is done to them in turns until they are exactly fitted and form as a good composite may be. Then positive A and negative A will antagonise one another, all the features of A practically disappear, and those two images produce in combination a uniformly grey ground, upon which positive B is projected; so the result of compositing the three images is to produce a darkened representation of the faint positive B. Now shut off the light from positive A; what remains is a composite of negative A and positive B, which, … has this property, that when added to positive A it will transform positive A into a darkened positive B'.[68]

Galton's perplexing method is an attempt to deconstruct the superimposition process that produces a composite in order to focus on the point of transition between the subjects: he sought to find visible proof of a 'transformer': to 'transform the type into any individual component', which 'would thus be a measure of the difference between individual and type, or indeed between any two individuals'.[69] The only known photographic examples produced in this experiment are as far removed as they could possibly be from the 'criminal type'. Galton recalled this slightly more trivial choice in *Nature*: 'I photographed two faces, each in two expressions, the one glum and the other smiling broadly. I could turn the glum face into the smiling one, or vice versa, by means of the suitable transformer; but the transformers were ghastly to look at, and did not at all give the impression of a detached smile or of a detached glumness'.[70]

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[66] See Francis Galton, 'Composite Portraits'; and 'Analytical Photography', *The Photographic Journal*, December 31 1900, pp.135-138. The experiment was first published as a letter in *Nature*, Vol. LXII, 2 August 1900, p.320.

[67] Galton, 'Analytical Photography', p.135

[68] Galton, 'Analytical Photography', pp.135-6

[69] see Karl Pearson, 'Photographic Researches and Portraiture', *The Life, Letters and Labours of Francis Galton*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1924, Vol. II, p.311

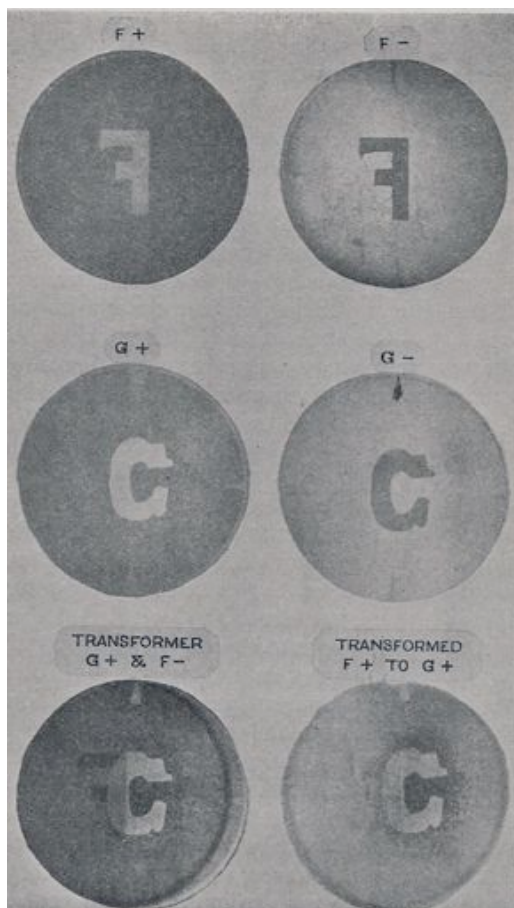[70] Galton, in *Nature*, Vol. LXII, 2 August 1900, p.320.

Photographic illustration of 'analytical photography' using a smile, as reproduced in Pearson, *The Life, Letters, and Labours of Francis Galton,* c1900

This is not meant as a criticism of studies of expression, though it does have a valid implication here in relation to the photographic experiments of Duchenne de Bologne and others in the same period as Galton, which can also be characterised as inconclusive visual artefacts that represent an over-zealous approach to photography as a medium that *exceeded* human visual ability.[71] For Galton, 'A' represented the 'normal' expression, and 'B' the smiling face; with 'C' 'the photograph of a smile', and 'D' the 'glumness'. As Karl Pearson has described, 'all that can be said of the latter is that it does not closely correspond with John Tenniel's conception of the grin which remained some time after the rest of the Cheshire cat had vanished'.[72] What was thought to be the isolation of this 'transformer', then, was not a

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[71] See, for example, *The Beautiful and the Damned: The Creation of Identity in Nineteenth Century Photography*, (exhibition catalogue for 'The Beautiful and the Damned: The Creation of Identity in Nineteenth Century Photography', National Portrait Gallery, London, 6 June - 7 October 2001), London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 2001

[72] Pearson, *The Life, Letters, and Labours of Francis Galton*, Vol. II, p.313

clear enough indicator of the physiognomic difference: either between 'glum' and smiling, or as it would have been intended, from one type to the next. As Pearson has explained, only later did Galton realise that 'the transformers were hieroglyphics, which required a key to their interpretation: the photograph of a 'smile' is really the photograph of facial modifications which failing the stable basis of the face we do not recognise as a smile at all'.[73] The significance of his failure to depict an isolated feature is key. It fails, it could be argued, like the composite, as a result of the visible presence of the entire surface of the image, in an even more ambiguous way than Pearson's characterisation of 'the stable basis of the face', for which Galton had not accounted in his pursuit of the isolated feature. What the process does make clear is that there is no such thing as a point of transformation that can be recorded, or held in suspension through photography: the practice of 'smiling', or, as the logical progression of Galton's theory, the interstitial space between the subjects of a composite, is not 'finite' and by no means identifiable with a still image. It brings to mind the commentary on the points where photography departs from limited human vision - far from communicating a 'blunt factuality', it recalls Benjamin's definition of the optical unconscious, as grounded by the notion that 'it is a different nature which speaks to the camera than speaks to the eye'.[74]
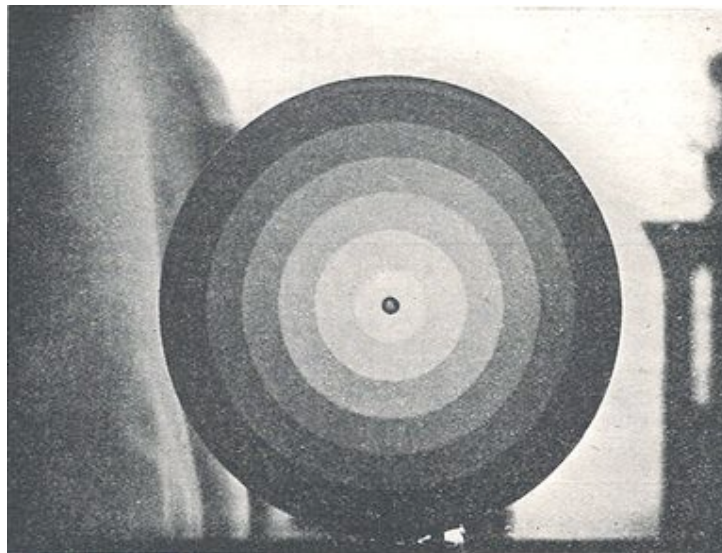

Photographic illustration of 'analytical photography' using Galton's initials, as reproduced in Pearson, *The Life, Letters, and Labours of Francis Galton*

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[73] Pearson, *The Life, Letters, and Labours of Francis Galton*, Vol. II, p.313

[74] Benjamin, 'A Short History of Photography', p.4

This elaborate and unsubstantiated experiment that shows an attempt to perforate the seams within it highlights, quite literally, the properties of the composite as an oscillation. Galton emphasised that his photographic results were 'far inferior to the optical ones that the instrument can produce'.[75] Where the photograph failed was, for Galton, because the results could only be seen but 'cannot be recorded onto a single surface'.[76] Emphasising his claims for the composite even further by implying that the composite photograph *did* do just that, Galton was not put off by the failure of photography to record what could be seen, and, dissatisfied by the unreliability of photography to visually prove this simultaneously elaborate and reductive formula, Galton then turned to painting to illustrate his point. He began by obtaining what he referred to as a 'real' scale of tints: nine 'teetotums', ranging from white to black at a scale of forty-five degrees, which, upon their being spun, produced 'a 'real' scale of tones from white to black'.[77] If the photographic examples had not proven his ability to identify the areas between two images, then his next example certainly fails: how, exactly, can tone be darkened by forty-five degree increments using paint? The entire suggestion seems paradoxical in nature, and the painted artefacts only enforce this with all of their inevitably visible signs of being hand-painted, blended, partly absorbed into paper, semi-translucent, and so on. Each indicator of the hand-made nature of the paintings and related 'workings out' for the process further detracts from the legitimacy of the photographs. That the media he used appears to have been regarded as interchangeable and dependent upon the required visual outcome (medium-as-intermediary) only reinforces the impossibility of Galton's theoretical claims.

Photograph of a painted 'spinning wheel of tints', as reproduced in Pearson,
The Life, Letters, and Labours of Francis Galton

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[75] Galton, 'Analytical Photography', p.135

[76] Galton, 'Analytical Photography', p.135

[77] Pearson, *The Life, Letters, and Labours of Francis Galton*, Vol. II, pp.313-4. As with the typically anonymous wood engraver, it is not known who 'assisted' Galton in the making of these paintings.

Artist unknown, painting produced in 'analytical photography' experiment, c1900
Oil on wooden panel, UCL Galton Archive
Below: as reproduced in Pearson, *The Life, Letters, and Labours of Francis Galton*, showing the 'scale of tones'
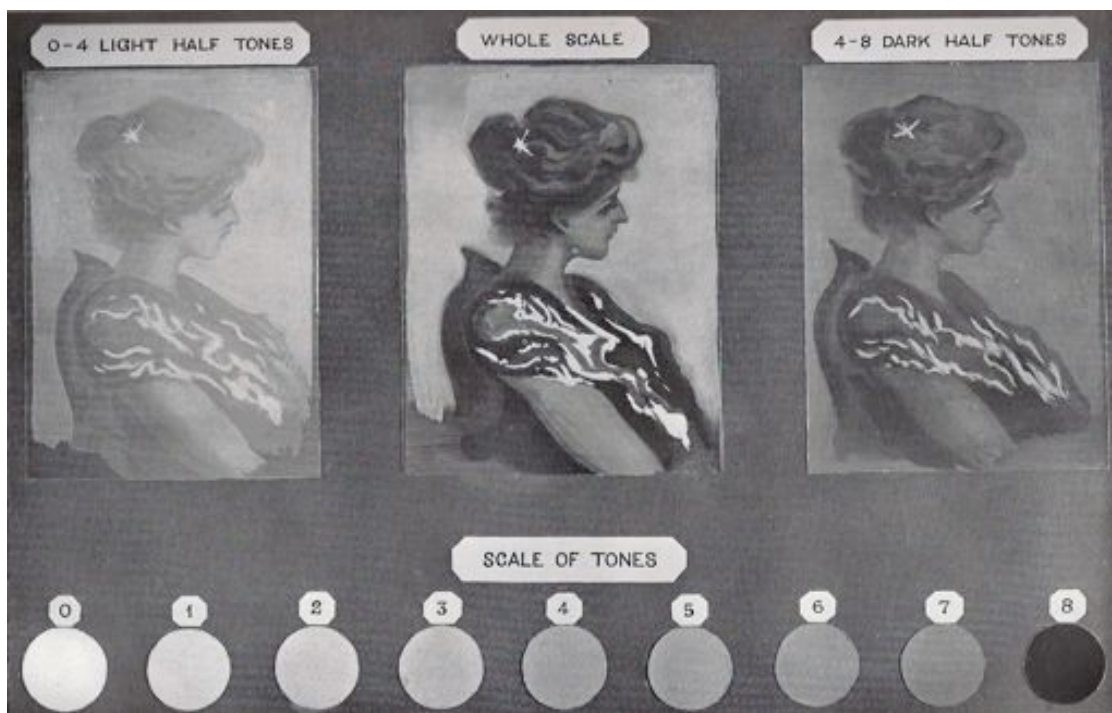
If I have not stressed the fictional properties of the 'composite criminal' enough, then the reduction of the composite process to painting - a painted profile of a seemingly anonymous woman - emphasises that these images constitute fictions *in themselves*. Pearson, Galton's most significant scholar, who was a professor at University College London, greeted 'analytical photography' with great optimism, despite the fact that Galton hurriedly wrote the article, was seventy-eight upon its publication, and that he 'never worked out the technique with the care and elaboration he devoted to composite portraiture': 'I personally should be sorry to dismiss analytical photography as idle. From the psychological standpoint it ought to be of first class value in the study of the expression of the emotions. It should indicate what physical or muscular changes accompany such expression. The subject needs to-day an enthusiastic cultivator, who has the patience to develop its technique'.[78] Where it is deduced at the end of the experiments that the method would be of great use to studies of facial expression 'from the psychological standpoint', the misconception that process could assist with the identification and 'proof' of criminal features is enhanced by the tonal aberrations that were its inevitable by-product. As Galton summarised it, the process is 'simple in reality, though perhaps difficult to fully understand without seeing it in operation'.[79]

Criminal Tracings, Criminal Traces

For Galton to believe that the composite could successfully forge a likeness of the 'criminal type', he had to overlook the disappearances that the process also entailed. As with his 'analytical photography', it is interesting to re-visit some of Galton's other methods with this in mind - namely, the removal of certain aspects of likeness as part of the construction of the portrait. The examples that are of most value here move a step away from physiognomic study, towards depictions of the very outer edges of the body. With his production of tracings and silhouettes, which bear a vague connection with phrenological study, to numerical excess that is perhaps only possible from a statistician, Galton saw it possible to record the average shape of the skull and profile respectively, for each 'type' of individual that he sought to define.[80] A set of photographic silhouettes complement the effects already noted in the composites, where the outer surface of the head initially appears to be all that remains in the silhouette as a result of the middle section being 'blacked out', but the photographic resemblance to the subject that can be observed around the edges is much stronger than what the theoretical definition of a 'silhouette' implies. This is particularly prominent where a subject's hair can be seen, as the opacity that was perhaps intended in the reductive technique has not fully been realised, and the hairs, or other minute details of the face, neck, or back of the head, make for a translucency that is something like a partial implication of the identity that a silhouette is supposed to make linear: to make *black and white*.

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[78] Pearson, *The Life, Letters, and Labours of Francis Galton*, Vol. II, p.314

[79] This was made in one of Galton's handwritten notes on 'analytical portraiture'. Courtesy UCL Galton Archive.

[80] See my Introduction for an outline of the practice of phrenology, p.3

Silhouettes, c1900
Left: Galton, right: subject unknown (possibly Karl Pearson)

The motivation was, again, to aid the distinction between two or more subjects, and the principle of using what Galton and Bertillon both claimed to be the most distinguishable parts of the head, the profile image, seems logical. If it is true that 'all human profiles of this kind, when they have been reduced to a uniform vertical scale, fall within a small space', then these soft peripheral areas of the image are detrimental to Galton's claims, as they allude to some of the least discernible or more microscopic properties of the photograph, which he did not desire to mention. One of many accounts that implies this generalised perspective was made in relation to the likenesses of relatives, where it could be 'verified in church, where whole families, each occupying a pew, can often be seen sideways, and each family can be taken in and its members compared at a single glance'. This was particularly notable, he claimed, for 'the mother and her daughters'.[81] While perhaps there is some truth to this assertion that cannot be denied for blood relatives, Galton's relation of the photographic silhouette with 'a glance' taken along a church pew deducts from the validity of a supposedly precise optical technique, and of course, it then completely disintegrates if it is transposed to this false grouping of 'common low humanity'. Far from the impossible composite 'nucleus' into which a viewer could (or could not) peer, with the silhouette, they are confronted with a failed attempt at the opposite - a void, which is 'given away' by perceptible minute details that point inwards, to the not quite blacked out subject's head.[82]

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[81] Galton, in Pearson, *The Life, Letters, and Labours of Francis Galton*, p.310

[82] Walter Benjamin described the art object as a 'most sensitive nucleus' in 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zorn, London: Pimlico, 1999, p.215

In addition to this technique, a set of skull tracings that Galton produced almost marks a return to Bertillon's *written portraits,* as the majority of them are accompanied by a brief account of the subject's crime, along with his main 'credentials'. Kept unbound, and as such, unfinished, on large rolls of parchment paper, the occasional newspaper clipping has been attached, as if to legitimise the abstract and linear motif of a subject to which it supposedly referred. Literal 'tracings' as well as metaphorical 'traces', this series of images marks the end of the theoretical possibility of the composite - a sort of minimal, logical, conclusion for an already reductive practice in its attempt to pare down the subject to a single line. Far from the intricate form that might be supposed, the line drawings clearly acknowledge the difficulty of tracing a subject's head: not only of translating a three dimensional curved shape into line, but also the practical impossibilities of the process of steadily moving a pencil around a living subject. There is a haste to the process that is reminiscent of Bertillon's *cartes*, with more crossings out, which would have been inevitable due to the urgency of the drawing, in terms of the volume of subjects required for such a project and the need to move quickly before a subject changed position.

Skull tracings made from 3 subjects, pencil on paper with handwritten annotations, c1880
UCL Galton Archive, London
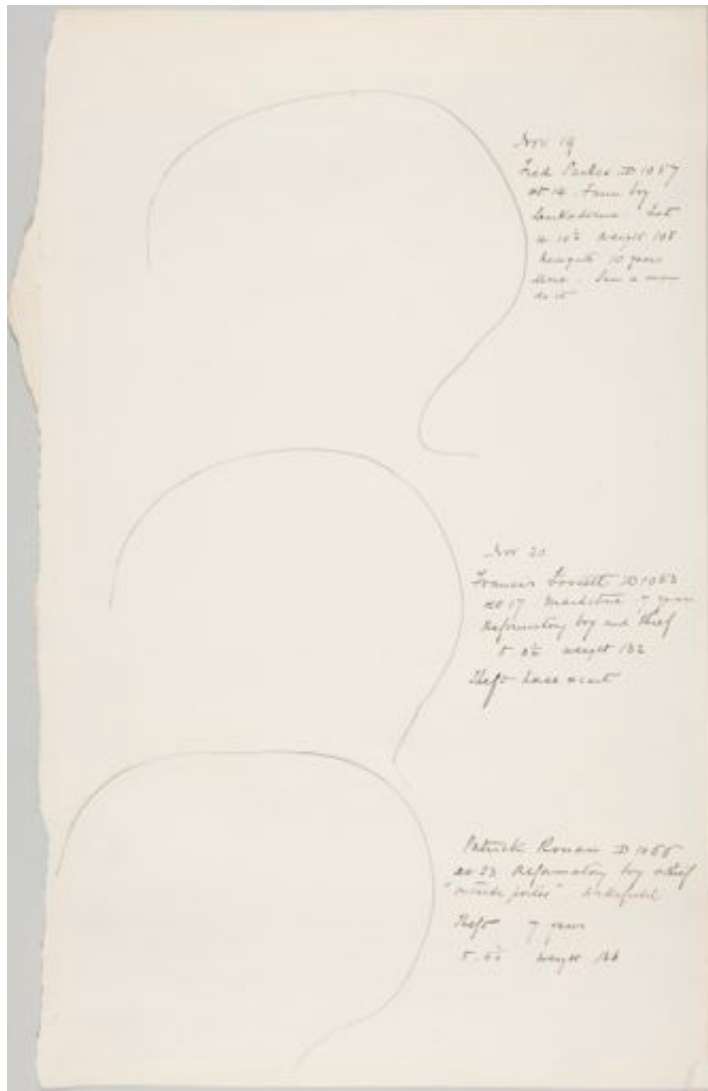
Skull tracings made from 3 subjects, pencil on paper with handwritten annotations, c1880
UCL Galton Archive, London

So far I have described how, in early depictions of criminal suspects, and with specific reference to Bertillon's cataloguing and Galton's superimpositions, subjects are depicted in a fragile and suspended state. There is a common aim to show more than is possible: the composite is an emblem of this. The composite process and its initial products seem to have encouraged Galton to produce more and more intricate, abstract, and fragmentary images. This substantiates my previous suggestion that Galton's work deals as much with absence as it is with the production of what began as, in his terms, 'complete' portraits. To an extent, Galton replicates the supplemental logic of Bertillon's system, in his failure to acknowledge that his work is also summarising, and in his underestimation of what was lost in terms of individual identity upon the very conception of a composite image.

I will consider later applications of composite portraiture in my final chapter, but I think the problematic nature of contemporary composite images is already apparent. Writing on Galton's photographs of 'the Jewish type' in 1885, Joseph Jacobs described the composites as 'more ghostly than a ghost, more spiritual than a spirit', or 'a shadow of a thing unseen';

Galton himself used the term 'imaginary figure' to describe his composite product.[83] As Daniel Novak clarifies, for Victorian 'art-photography': 'replication is pressed into the service of fictional creation; the abstract bodies and body-parts of art-photography remain forever new, forever able to be transformed into something else'.[84]

Towards the Imaginary

Galton's presumption that the composite process - with all of its extrapolations - assisted in the invention of an 'imaginary subject' resonates with crime fiction that was written at the time. Disrupting the boundaries between science and art that are already severed within this discipline – as exemplified by Bertillon's framing of the Ravachol photograph in his homage to a conventional portrait transaction, or by Galton's frequent allusions to the imaginary in his work – the commentary that Galton and his contemporaries made under scientific conditions (as they would have it) is complemented by the idea that Sherlock Holmes once revealed to Watson that he was familiar with literature on criminal anthropology: 'literature where the body, properly read, bears the distinguishing marks of personal identity', and that he had himself 'already published two monographs on the subject of the human ear 'in last year's *Anthropological Journal*'.[85] By means of a reversal - from identifying the fictional aspects of so-called scientific experiments to the references and critiques of such procedures *within* fiction – it is interesting to consider how works that were produced in this context might be seen as a valid response to early procedures of criminal identification, and to experiments carried out upon related images.

This reference to Conan Doyle's 'The Cardboard Box' is particularly interesting for the way in which it intersperses fiction and fact. Writing for *The Complete Adventures and Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes*, Ronald Thomas has explained that Doyle conceived of the paper on ears for this imaginary journal which, while remarkably similar to existing research in this field, was not in this case a genuine or published article.[86] Shortly after 'The Cardboard Box' was published in *The Strand Magazine* in 1892, which was composed of both fictional and factual works, the magazine printed an article entitled 'A Chapter on Ears', an unsigned essay that 'explains the character of figures like Mozart, Dickens ... and the Prince of Wales (to name a

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[83] Joseph Jacobs, 'The Jewish Type and Galton's Composite Photographs', *Photographic News,* 29, 1390, April 24, 1885, p.512, in Novak. 'A Model Jew: 'literary photographs' and the Jewish Body in Daniel Deronda', *Realism, Photography, and Nineteenth Century Fiction,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, p.90

[84] Novak, *Realism, Photography, and Nineteenth Century Fiction,* p.5

[85] See Ronald Thomas, 'The Fingerprint of the Foreigner', p.671, quoting from Arthur Conan Doyle's 'The Cardboard Box', *The Complete Adventures and Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes*, New York, Bramhall House, 1975, p. 195

[86] Doyle is probably alluding to *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain*, which has been published under numerous titles, including *Journal of Anthropology* from 1870-1871. A possible alternative might be *American Anthropologist*, which started in 1888; the year in which the story was set.

few) through analysing and reproducing photographs of their ears alone'.[87] With the publication of both primary and secondary fictional layers in a newly established, multifarious popular magazine, the potential of the visual artefact increases through a conflation of fiction with what was pertained to be fact.

Henry Rhodes notes a similar anecdote from Bertillon, where, 'quite early' in the initiation of Bertillon's mug shot service, 'a certain Xavier Rollin had been measured and photographed'.[88] Rollin, who 'had a weakness for strong drink', disappeared in February 1893 having asked leave from his work on the account of an ill relative. During this time, 'when cinemas did not exist', as Rhodes notes, 'some Parisians were accustomed to amuse themselves by visiting the morgues to view the dead bodies exposed there'.[89] Among three bodies, some of Rollin's friends had done just this, and identified Rollin 'with the unmistakable moustache and the mocking smile that remained on his features even in death'.[90] Bertillon's department photographed the corpse in full face and profile, and all except Bertillon believed the identification to be correct: ''The same man!', he snapped. 'Look at his right ear!' It was conclusive: neither in size, convolutions, nor in orientation did the ears match', and indeed, it later emerged that Rollin was in prison at the time.[91] Returning to Doyle's text, with regard to his reference to criminal anthropology in literature, the subversion of the context of publication is importantly achieved in a mass cultural sense. However, while this instance of a repetition that concerns the study of appearance in relation to crime is interesting, it is significantly biased towards the criminologist as a literal citation, thus it represents only an extension of their ideals in a popular context.

The Photographic 'Medium'

One way of articulating how the theoretical claims that were made for the composite photograph (the visual record of a 'type') might be transcended by the *effects* produced in the photographic process, is to consider alternative 'composites' that were conceived in the same socio-historical climate as Galton. If a mug shot connotes culpability, the 'collapsed archive' of the composite allows its subjects' culpability to blend into the background. In relation to this ambiguity with regard to the depiction of identity in a photographic composite, the visual similarities, for example, between composite portraiture and spirit photography are clear: the veiled effect that presides over each of the subjects' faces is comparable to the equally veil-like appearance of the 'spirits' depicted in this particular application of photography. From the early 1860s onwards, William H. Mumler claimed to have produced visual evidence to

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[87] Thomas, 'The Fingerprint of the Foreigner', p.671, with reference to *The Strand Magazine*, October 1893, p.388

[88] Rhodes, *Alphonse Bertillon: Father of Scientific Detection*, p.103

[89] Rhodes, *Alphonse Bertillon*, p.104

[90] Rhodes, *Alphonse Bertillon*, p.104

[91] Rhodes, *Alphonse Bertillon*, p.104

support the case of spiritualists for the physical (or at least meta-physical) existence of spirits: visible to the human eye only through the photographic medium. Crista Cloutier has argued that, whether Mumler was 'a genuine medium or a fraud', his place was 'at the crossroads of religious fervour, scientific progress, and social change at a time when these forces were at their most volatile'.[92]

Robert Boursnel,
Self-portrait with Spirits, 1902
Silver print cabinet card, 4 x 5.5 inches

Where the ambiguity of the meaning of the 'composite criminal' is bound up within the photographic process, the spirit photograph also problematises the relationship of the photographic medium with the photographer's intention, to the point where the ambiguities of the process become signifiers in themselves, thus forming the supposed evidence of the supernatural claims being made. Clément Chéroux has noted one of the photographers' recollections of an encounter that serves to enhance the peculiarities associated with process:

'Sir, having adopted as a pastime the mania for preparing my own glass plates with gelatine silver bromide, I often use the glass negatives of failed pictures, or those of insufficient interest to be preserved. Sometimes, even after employing the most energetic means and most powerful negative agents to clean the old plates, on some of them I have found either parts of landscapes or portraits. … Faced with the impossibility of removing these traces of old pictures, I decided to coat the glass plate with emulsion, convinced that the barely perceptible image could have no ill-effects on the future print. How wrong I was! Instead of remaining

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[92] Crista Cloutier, 'Mumler's Ghosts', in *The Perfect Medium: Photography and the Occult*, (exhibition catalogue for 'The Perfect Medium', The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 26 September – 31 December 2005), New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005, p.23

hidden and invisible beneath the new layer, the image that had resisted all cleaning appeared far more clearly, along with the new landscape, so that my picture looked like a cage of ghosts'.[93]

Perhaps the shift, from an account of what could perhaps be described as a photographic accident, to an outright belief in the ability of the photographic 'medium' to portray supernatural ephemera, does not seem far-fetched, particularly in this context of a crossroads, and with 'the public demand for images of dead relatives and loved ones' that had already been proven by the popularity of death photography.[94] This potentially straightforward shift is supported by popular aesthetics - in the broad sense of Romanticism - of the time. As Chéroux has put it: 'if the word 'ghost' came so naturally to him, it is doubtless because double exposure creates immaterial, translucent figures that strangely resemble the archetypal representations of phantoms then in favour with Romanticism'.[95] It is not surprising, then, to see similarities between the composite portrait and some of the recollections of processes of spirit photography. Another particularly interesting visual description has been made by Théophile Gaultier: 'the image was at first so transparent that the objects behind it could be seen through its outlines, as we see the bottom of a lake through its limpid waters. Without acquiring the slightest materiality, it then condensed sufficiently to have the appearance of a living figure, but with a life so slight, so impalpable, so aerial, that it looked more like a body's reflection in a mirror than a body itself'.[96]

What I am suggesting, then, is that the composite portrait can be located in the same kind of double context as spirit photography: it oscillates, in a sense, between the so-called scientific conditions under which it was produced and the alternative interpretations that all modes of photography are subject to. One way to expand upon this alternative function that the 'composite criminal' was by no means intended to perform is to consider the manner in which the images were treated after the photograph was made: the first composite published by Galton was presented in the form of an engraving. Although in accordance with the most common mode of reproduction of photographic images at the time, the use of this medium is an additional challenge to Galton's objective claims. 'Photographically transferred' to wood, Galton described how the engraver then 'used his best endeavour to translate the shades into line engraving'.[97] He compared the photographic image with the engraved portrait:

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[93] Léon Wolff, 'Chronique', *Le Progrès Photographique*, Vol. 4, April 1891, pp.62-3, in Clément Chéroux, 'Ghost Dialectics: Spirit Photography in Entertainment and Belief', *The Perfect Medium*, p.45

[94] Cloutier acknowledges public demand: see *The Perfect Medium*, p.21

[95] Chéroux, 'Ghost Dialectics', *The Perfect Medium*, p.45

[96] Théophile Gaultier, *Spirite*, [1865], (Toulouse: Éditions Ombres, 1992), p.146, in Chéroux, 'Ghost Dialectics', *The Perfect Medium*, p.45

[97] Galton, 'Composite Portraits', p.136

'To the best of my judgment the original photograph is a very exact average of its components: not one feature in it appears identical with that of any one of them, but it contains a resemblance to all, and is not more like to one of them than to another. However the judgment of the wood engraver is different. His rendering of the composite has made it exactly like one of its components, which it must be borne in mind he had never seen. It is just as though an artist drawing a child had produced a portrait closely resembling its deceased father, having overlooked an equally strong likeness to its deceased mother, which was apparent to its relatives. This is to me a most striking proof that the composite is a true combination'.[98]

Anonymous, wood engraving of Galton's composite photograph,
as reproduced in Galton, 'Composite Portraits', 1879

Reconciling the photograph with a portrait made by an artist or artesanal figure is detrimental to the objective claim of Galton's work, just as the photographs are. With engraving, and this is something that printing and photography significantly share, this owes to the unforeseeable outcome of the final image. With regard to its adoption as a surrealist medium, particularly in collaborative projects, David Lomas notes that there is a 'degree of unpredictability about the

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[98] Galton, 'Composite Portraits', p.136

final look of an etching owing to the technical manipulation in each step of the etching process'.[99] In spite of his best efforts to argue for the contrary, this unites Galton's composite with the unpredictable creative processes such as those outlined by Lomas more than it does an objective, scientific one; not only by introducing the additional transformation from composite photograph to engraving, subjecting Galton's photograph to the engraver's 'judgement' process, but also for the fact that he believed this extra collaboration actually provided him with proof that the work was a success: for Galton, the woodcut completed the process. In fact, any sense of completeness that the process may have, which I have argued is very little on the grounds that the composite resembles a continuous fluctuation, would logically be *after* Galton's summarising caption.

This brings to my mind another alternative approach to the notion of the photographic medium, again one that places as much emphasis on the points of transition between media as it does on the supposed original. Rosemary Hawker has called upon Derrida's work on the ever 'impossible and necessary task of translation', in order to describe 'what does not survive of the original in its translation', the untranslatable residue, the idiomatic, which 'prevents the mixing of media' since it 'cannot be carried over into another language'.[100] Hawker uses idiom, 'or rather, the idiomatic aspects of media that appear in inter-medial art practices', to understand the complexity of Gerhard Richter's paintings, which are so often reduced to the somewhat restrictive label of 'photographic'.[101] Rather than impose such a limit on the terminology used to describe Richter's work, Hawker calls attention to a statement that Richter made, that 'if I disregard the assumption that a photograph is a piece of paper exposed to light, then I am practicing photography by other means'.[102] An expanded definition of the photographic. Richter's approach to his work relies on much more complex processes of translation and transmutation, and the best way to describe such techniques and effects, as Hawker suggests, is to consider what is left behind in the translation. This might also help to define what was lost through the process of engraving after Galton's composite photograph, since it is such a strong reminder that not only is there 'nothing that we can know in some original, unmediated form', but also that 'the translation will always fail to communicate all that is entailed in the other language'.[103] In stark contrast to Galton's description of the woodcut, which so boldly asserts that the act of engraving and its final product completed his process of assimilation of the so-called criminal appearance, what can be extracted from this

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[99] David Lomas. 'Making Faces', *The Haunted Self: Surrealism, Psychoanalysis, Subjectivity*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000, p.206

[100] Rosemary Hawker, 'Idiom Post-Medium: Richter Painting Photography', *Oxford Art Journal*, 32, No. 2, p.275, referring to Jacques Derrida, 'Des Tours de Babel', in Joseph F Graham (ed.), *Difference in Translation*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1985, p.170

[101] Hawker, 'Idiom Post-Medium', p.170

[102] Hawker, 'Idiom Post-Medium', p.263

[103] Hawker, 'Idiom Post-Medium', p.274

account of Richter for the purpose of this discussion is the focus on what does not survive the translation. Perhaps in this case, due to the composite nature of the so-called original, the supposed translation of the layered images into a format that is based on a mode of representation that is fundamentally linear, is emblematic of what is now missing – not only with respect to the traces of resemblance to other subjects that may have been present in the composite but with respect to the impossibility of such a simple conversion between media as Galton believed to have taken place, without the inevitable idiomatic aspects that are also a product of this inter-medial phase. This intermediary focus also complies with Lynda Nead's definition of the term 'medium' as 'middle state' – something that is 'intermediate between two qualities or degrees' or 'a person that acts as … an agent, channel or conduit of communication or expression'.[104]

Harry Berger has also described 'the photographic', and indicated that Lacan's use of 'photo-graphic' as a divided word 'directs attention to the power of the linguistic signifier and thus to the double meaning of 'graph' as both visibility and legibility', thus invoking the essential differentiation between visibility and visuality'.[105] Berger concentrates on the word graphic, with the intention: 'to activate several of its senses: the etymologically derived scriptive or textual sense of silent, fixed, readable inscription; the technical or formal sense of skilful drawing and composition, as in the noun graphics; the referential sense of mimetic secondariness, that is, of appearing to be a copy, an image that serves and serves up a pre-existing original; the dramatic or exclamatory sense conveyed by such idiomatic phrases as … 'scenes of graphic violence' … phrases often used to denote something excessive in the attempt to be truthful or clear'.[106]

To me the 'complete' composite, from Galton's re-photographing of the original portraits through to the final engraving, illustrates this 'graphic' signifier in its entirety, especially since the woodcut acts as a tertiary object, where the image of three different subjects being held in suspension has been carved into wood. A fascinating demonstration, then, of the 'mimetic secondariness' that Lacan described, particularly in the context of a 'technical or formal sense of skilful drawing and composition', which is exactly what the wood engraving process entails. The already unpredictable process is further complicated by the act of engraving itself as an erasure: the parts of the wood panel that are surplus to the final image are removed by the engraver, and as such, the technique is a complex practice of distinction between positive and negative areas of the image. What I am suggesting, then, is that the inability of a composite to make these contrasts clear — as a result of the visual effect of 'oscillation' that is

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[104] See Nead, *The Haunted Gallery*, pp.2-3 and my Introduction, p.10

[105] Berger, *Fictions of the Pose*, p.163, with reference to Joan Copjec, *Read My Desire: Lacan Against the Historicists*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994

[106] Berger, *Fictions of the Pose*, p.48

produced by the layering — is exemplified by the resemblance of the wood cut to only one of the original photographic components. This is not to rule out the effect that the restrictions of the medium of engraving would also have upon the reproduction; the insufficiency of scalpel and wood for what is effectively an irreproducible image, which is at times ambiguous and at others a complete haze, is quite clear, but there does seem to be a correlation between the resemblance to only one of the original subjects, and the inability to distinguish, and thus to reproduce, the newly superimposed 'criminal subject'.

Additionally, the fact that some of Galton's published images were cropped into oval and circular shapes enhances their conformity with art historical convention, recalling previous comments on the ornamental value of the identification portrait. Within the images that were not framed in this way, edges of the original photographs can be seen in the form of diagonal lines, which implies that cropping was carried out in an attempt to disguise telltale composite signs. Like the framed image that Bertillon approved to be sent to Ravachol (who became a 'client' in a portrait transaction), these cropped photographs imply a much greater sense of fulfilment in their role as consecrative portraits, for the simple fact that they have been 'finished' in this way. Regardless of the intention behind this technique — perhaps mounting, filing, or just as a routine measure — this inevitably conforms with the definition of manipulation, since the so-called final composite has been purposefully transformed. It is interesting to consider this in terms of the use of the oval frame as a tool used in conventional, painted, portraits, or indeed, against the rise of the rectangular photograph with the proliferation of the medium and its establishment as a commodity that is available for consumption immediately after the photograph has been developed.

By means of an example of the historical conversion from rectangle to oval in art history, it has been suggested that Joshua Reynolds, taking little interest in the edges of his paintings, easily conceived of their being transferred to oval frames.[107] This is an interesting concept in itself: the idea that the corners of an image were considered unimportant and therefore completely disposable, in favour of focus on the subject matter in the centre. It recalls Galton's emphasis that natural groups have nuclei, but no outlines. It does seem logical that a photograph in the shape of the silhouette of a head is considered a valid means to depict images of faces: a flattering vignette. In turn, the symbolic attributes provided by this oval cropping affects the figures: it is as if re-dignifying the composite image by modifying it returns to the subjects a renewed sense of credibility, except now, as Galton would have it, they have been legitimised as a single 'type'. The cropping has the inadvertent effect of emphasising the haze around the faces. This recalls the subject depicted in *The Oval Portrait* by Edgar Allan Poe, for whose narrator 'the arms, the bosom, and even the ends of the radiant

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[107] See Nicholas Penny, 'Frame Studies I: Reynolds and Picture Frames', *The Burlington Magazine* Vol. 128, No. 1004, November 1986, p.813

hair melted imperceptibly into the vague yet deep shadow which formed the back-ground of the whole'.[108] Unlike the more self-evident rectangular originals, the oval composite becomes the 'most sensitive nucleus' that must be peered into, as if the simple act of removing the corners results in the transformation from a perishable snapshot to an image that could be simultaneously preserved by, and seen through a looking glass, again recalling the ambrotypes that John Tagg referred to as being suitable for the mantel as much as the police museum, or the jewel-like daguerreotypes that Shawn Michelle Smith described in 'The Art of Scientific Propaganda'. Oval cropping lessens the visual impact of the edges that appeared within the 'background' of the composite. Even though Galton was not averse to identifying such indicators of the multiplicity behind these images, it is implied that they were merely distractions from the claims being made for the constitutive 'criminal subject'.

Galton, 8 composite portraits as reproduced in Pearson, *The Life, Letters, and Labours of Francis Galton*, c1879

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[108] Edgar Allan Poe, 'The Oval Portrait', *The Works of E. A. Poe*, Vol. I, Memoir-Tales, London: A&C Black, 1901, p.282

What I hope to have described in this chapter are some of the less stable aspects of the ways in which Galton and Bertillon created the conditions for more standardised portrait techniques. They share a common aim to show more than is possible: an attempt to summarise without making omissions. But, as Derrida made clear, the supplement only supplements. In such practices that entail as many invisible aspects as they do palpable, I hope to have outlined a framework for some concepts and artefacts that are interesting for their very incongruity. Not-quite autopsies and not-quite portraits, each of these examples deserve a vocabulary of their own, which I have outlined here by expanding the logic of the portrait, with the assistance of Derrida's terminology for the supplement, Berger's comments on visual uncertainty, and Hawker's use of the 'idiom' in relation to inter medial art practices. The purpose of this thesis is to look at the ramifications of these ideas in twentieth-century and contemporary portraiture: putting a vocabulary into practice, revealing the fictions inherent in the processes of the construction of evidentiary material, and tracing a legacy of Bertillon and Galton through contemporary modes of portrait-making. Something that I think arises from this overview of some of their work is that existing accounts of this material are produced *within* the confines of the visible, material product, without discussing the temporal complexities and allusions to creative techniques that the process also entails' as characterised by the *portrait parlé*, and the entirely fictional figure that emerges (and recedes) in the composite photograph (where 'replication is pressed into the service of fictional creation'). Although each of the images or artefacts that I have discussed insist upon quite distinctive approaches, and the theoretical models that I have incorporated may require a leap of faith to be viewed together, they incorporate key terms such as visibility, fragility, temporality, imagination, immateriality, and my two initial categories, portrait and autopsy, which are imperative to the images that I will go on to discuss.

2 *'Giving a Colour to Fiction'*: Configurations of Criminal Identity in Colour Photography[1]

Colour is a fascinating component in both the material and theoretical constructs of identity within portraiture, and this applies to criminal identification portraits as much as to any other. My discussion of colour will bring to the fore the unstable foundations of this field through a unique elaboration of the anti-documentary and subjective mechanisms at play in what has so often been misread as a standardised portrait practice. With respect to the applications of colour in representation and its role in supplementing identities, the following examples will also help me continue to demonstrate the problem of translation as one that is especially pertinent.

Daguerréotypomanie and the 1839 Police Acts

Helmut and Alison Gernsheim have discussed the so-called 'lightning rapidity' with which the daguerreotype, they say, 'captured the imagination of the public', and even, 'conquered the world'. They illustrate this claim with Theodore Maurisset's much-discussed lithograph, *La Daguerréotypomanie* (1839). To summarise the Gernsheims' lengthy description of the image, it satirises this moment of exultation in the history of photographic technology, in which the camera was aligned less with the easel or scalpel than with the technologically revolutionary steam-engine, or the hot air balloon, as is implied by the replacement of both here with the emblem of the camera, and, among other things, the 'leading to the gallows' of the (now-presumed redundant) engravers. As Joan Schwartz has suggested, the camera was believed to be in the process of extending the powers of human observation across space, whilst also 'allying itself with the clock, to contain and control time'.[2] Believed to be inherent to Daguerre's prototype, this sets a scene for the intersections of photography and the supernatural that were to culminate in the work of spirit photographers and other experiments performed by those who reversed the term photographic medium to its so-called spirit-communicating alternate of 'medium photography'. The image has frequently been noted in accounts of the origins of photography for its humorous mocking of daguerreotype enthusiasts, or 'daguerreotypoplasts', with their hefty mode of portrait-making: illustrated by the need for an entourage to carry the photographer's equipment.

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[1] This chapter is based on "'*Giving a colour to fiction*": configurations of criminal identity in early colour portraits', a research seminar that I gave for the Nottingham Institute for Research in Visual Culture, 24 November 2010

[2] Joan M. Schwartz, 'Records of Simple Truth and Precision: Photography, Archives, and the Illusion of Control', in Francis X. Blouin Jr. And William G. Rosenberg (eds.), *Archives, Documentation, and Institutions of Social Memory*, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2007, p. 61

Théodore Maurisset, La Daguerréotypomanie, 1839.
Lithograph, 35.5 x 27.3 cm

Less discussed is, perhaps, the lithograph's aural equivalent, a song by Phaeton that was dedicated to 'J. L. M. Daguerre, Esquire of Photogenic Celebrity', which circulated in London at the same time, a verse of which Sekula refers to at the beginning of 'The Body and the Archive'. Written with a similar mood to the lithograph, the song exclaims the potential of the new technique. It went as follows:

'O Mister Daguerre! Sure you're not aware
Of half the impressions you're making
By the sun's potent rays you'll set Thames in a blaze,
While the National Gallery's breaking.

O Mister Daguerre (&c.)

The unmarried now who dwell in 'the Row'
Their suspicions and fears will be hinting,
That the type will be done by themselves and a sun
Who will claim half the profits of printing.

O Mister Daguerre (&c.)

The new Police Act will take down each fact
That occurs in its wide jurisdiction
And each beggar and thief in the boldest relief
Will be giving a colour to fiction.

O Mister Daguerre (&c.)

Men's heads will be done by a 'stroke of the sun'
And I fear by these facts you'll be stagger'd,
But it's truth on my word, that without steel or sword
By copper and silver you're Dagger'd.

O Mister Daguerre (&c.)'[3]

Phaeton, advertisement for *The Daguerreotype: A Comic Song*, 1839

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[3] Phaeton, in Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *L. J. M. Daguerre: A History of the Diorama and the Daguerreotype*, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1968, (original emphasis), pp.105-6

Albeit a tongue-in-cheek digest of what was both applauded and feared of photography—with the song's illustrated counterpart as a case in point, depicting the sun, winking, whilst encircled under one arm—it also reveals a great deal more. The third verse, which considers the future of criminal identification (and which Sekula used in his essay) is packed with loaded terms. Firstly, there are references to 'taking down facts' that allude to attempts at this time to regulate police procedure, which culminated in the 1839 Police Act to which the verse refers. This Act saw an augmentation of the district of the Metropolitan Police, which was established ten years prior. The Act also gave officers increased authority in numerous situations, including their being allowed to imprison drunks, or to oblige street musicians to leave a space when asked. With this, vast, expansion—in terms of what was defined as city space, *and* of who could now be labelled as a criminal with respect to these newly specified crimes—'taking down each fact' represents the progression towards a standardised criminal justice system that was believed to be happening at this time. It alludes to the utopian aspiration that drives such systems: the archival impulse that is revealed by acts of record-keeping, especially by disciplinary powers. The term 'wide jurisdiction' that follows it, sets the scene for the nineteenth century European capital as a cosmopolitan space, which had rapidly expanded, but still sought to follow models of surveillance, such as those enforced by the 1829 and '39 Acts.

The second half of the verse seems to move away from the social, towards the crux of the matter: the role that photography would play in this reinvigorated system. A belief in the objective, and consequently, instrumental properties of the photograph, is revealed in the third line: with the reference 'boldest relief' seemingly positioning photography at the top of a hierarchy of reproduction quality. This is made concrete in the following verse that references the 'stroke of the sun', and culminates in the pun on Daguerre's name, that violent chemical joke: 'by copper and silver you're Dagger'd'. It introduces the notion that was present from photography's inception: the photograph (unlike the engraving or printed illustration) was a transparent document that could, if implemented by the police, go so far as to eliminate any doubts as to a suspect's identity.

Sekula used this verse, specifically the final line of the third verse, to support his definition for the 'instrumental potential' of photography at the beginning of his essay: he argues that the phrase 'giving a colour' implies the 'elaboration and unmasking of an untruth', which plays on what he calls the 'monochromatic limitations' of photography at the time. He suggests that the phrase makes light of the homophony of colour and collar: where he is perhaps imagining a so-called beggar or thief to have his collar grabbed by a police officer—in that comical, cartoon-like assertion of authority that seems to have been appropriated from the domestic: the parent overruling the wayward child. For Sekula, the song is an emphasis on the instrumentality of the photograph, and triggers his discussion that compares the honorific and repressive powers of the photographic portrait throughout his essay—exemplified by the

photograph's popularisation of bourgeois portraiture, from the *carte-de-visite* onwards—and its supposed alternate in the police photograph, which he claims to have derived from 'the imperatives of medical and anatomical illustration'.[4]

Whilst I have already acknowledged the anatomical roots of the judicial image, it is reductive to say that this is the only foundation upon which criminal identification was developed. Given the suggestion that I made in the previous chapter that in fact these roots stretch beyond the simplistic notion of honorific versus repressive, into altogether much more abstract territories, my approach to this verse is also a little different. By close inspection of the material structure of such images, and the less-than-solid foundations from which they emerged, it is possible to reconcile these two polar features, just as the transcendental can be discussed at the same time as the documentary in these examples from the origins of photography. If Sekula suggests that 'giving a colour' is a knowing reference to the confinement of photography at the time to black and white, then his study explicitly ignores the use of the word *fiction* in the song. This is what I want to discuss now: an explicit connection of the unveiling that is implied by the proverb 'giving a colour', with this supposed exposure of the truth.

Considered in the context of colour theory, this simple play on words has complex ramifications. Whilst Sekula has alluded to the significance of this phrase with respect to black and white photography and with the notion of 'colouring' as giving meaning to something, this deserves to be expanded. The verse, with its prior reference to Daguerre, presumably does make this play on words in terms of colour and the monochrome, but instead of 'unmasking an untruth', there is something that does not correlate here: to 'give colour' in photography is not necessarily to reveal anything, since the image is still bound up within the confines of the photographic medium. As I will assert throughout this section, a colour photograph is no more of a portrayal of truth than a black and white one. Thus the act of 'giving a colour to fiction', if considered in terms of techniques of representation, does not suggest an unveiling at all, but a rather more complex transition.

I am particularly interested in the idea of 'giving a colour' in terms of the implication it has of a hand—quite literally—applying colour, or by some means allowing for colour to be perceived in the final image. Once again, this requires an open approach to media: in this case it will be in conjunction with the crossings over between photography and non-mechanised processes; early applications of colour to the photograph, or sophisticated prints that resemble photographs. Only through analysis of a variety of techniques in which colour is represented is it possible to 'see in': to look through the rational, perhaps, and to ask how the material structure of the image contributes to how the so-called criminal subjects being depicted might

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[4] Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', in Bolton ed., *The Contest of Meaning*, p.345

be perceived.

The pseudoscientific and medical disciplines from which judicial portraits can be traced were much more concerned with shape (the proportions of the face and skull in relation to physiognomic readings of criminality, for instance), than colour. There are a few mentions of colour in early studies, such as those by Lombroso, or Havelock Ellis, where they would attempt to, say, associate dark eyes with criminal tendencies, or identify innocence with the ability to, and frequency of, blushing.[5] If the 'criminal portrait' plays as much of a part in the assimilation of a criminal identity as it might in recording one, then colour is a significant factor. Like Galton and Bertillon's early moves to standardise criminal identification, and indeed, following the 'lamentable thoroughfares' from which criminology emerged as a discipline,[6] the use of colour in criminal portraits is of an equally dispersed nature. Significantly, this fragmentation appears in two ways: both in relation to the technical and temporal variations in the use of colour, predominantly with respect to the relatively precarious incorporation of colour photography into the production of the standardised mug shot, and, as I will demonstrate, upon the surface of the image itself. How was colour incorporated into visual representations of criminal suspects before the colour photograph was invented? When did colour photographs replace their black and white predecessors in this field and, more importantly, is this a myth?

In this chapter I will discuss three portraits, taking colour as my starting point. My grouping of these images under the subject of colour is not to produce a historical account of the criminal subject *in colour* (for example, in the style of the BBC's *Edwardians in Colour* series, which sought to use colour in this *revealing* sense—to expose the aspects of history not discussed before such colour images were found and collated). My aversion to this approach is not only due to my theoretical position that an element of the construct can be traced in any account that pertains to be documentary, but also because there are so few colour images of criminals

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[5] 'How can those be trusted, who know not how to blush, says the European'. Alexander von Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland, *Personal Narrative of Travels* (1818), in Horn, *The Criminal Body: Lombroso and the Anatomy of Deviance*, p.107. The crossover here (one of many that occur in this project) between this branch of criminology and Imperialism is particularly strong. Predictably for a theory that is based on a quite preposterous notion, there were also ideas to the contrary, where Cesare Lombroso claimed that 'five thieves who exhibited an "exagerrated blush"' could easily be summoned, and claims were also made about the specifics of blushing, with weak generalisations being made such as 'prisoners convicted of theft blush first on the ears and then on the face', or 'those who have killed their own spouses by poisoning, or have had them killed, do blush, and a great deal' (Lombroso, recalling the 'precious observations' made in a letter from Carmelo Andronico, also in Horn, *The Criminal Body*, p.109). That blushing was a concern of those who made studies of female criminals is unsurprising too, as women were thought to blush more easily than men, thus a 'failure to blush was both more pronounced and more telling'. (Horn, *The Criminal Body*, p.109). Female stereotypes are conflated with criminological study throughout the history of the discipline and were of course fuelled by the belief that women were inferior: 'eugenic imagery of degenerate women was congruent with and actually close to familiar beliefs about the nature of all women. The stereotype of the feebleminded woman came into focus before that of the feebleminded man because it was nearer to hand', and 'in a period where poor women were gaining some economic and sexual autonomy', campaigners sought to extend state control over such women 'on the ground that their bodies posed as a moral, medical, and social danger. The possibility that poor women might use their bodies unconventionally threatened the biological understanding of gender as fixed and immutable'. Rafter, *Creating Born Criminals*, pp.48-9

[6] see Rafter, *The Origins of Criminology*, p.xvi

which claim to be 'documentary' or 'scientific', that no such concise study could be written. But when colour *is* used, it enriches, and problematises, the existing material, something I am seeking to do throughout this thesis. Questions such as where an image of a criminal suspect might contain so-called 'honorific' traces, or how images that are intended to perform an instrumental role can be considered less in terms of replicating an indisputable identity or 'bold relief', and more as assimilations of identities, are all the more pertinent where colour is concerned. From this position, I will be looking at a selection of portraits that, for various reasons, occupy a boundary of the very idea of what might constitute a portrait. This is, in my opinion, the most valid way in which to explore how subjects are represented in images: to find 'grey areas' in which the conventional notion of a portrait as conveyor of a hermetic identity fails, and where the outcome is instead an array of patterns, antagonistic details, and, like the Daguerre song, an invitation for narrative projection. Between the conceptually defined areas of portrait and non-portrait, is where the honorific and repressive poles that Sekula posed for criminal identification images might collapse, and the documentary versus fiction debate is at its most vulnerable.

The following examples do not function as pillars for a visual history of the criminal image *in colour*, nor am I arguing for their autonomy in aesthetic terms. Instead, they are illustrations, case studies for a consideration of the role of colour and surface as part of an aesthetic legacy. In their recent study, Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison account for the historical development of the concept of objectivity, which can be traced back to the use of the term 'truth to nature' in the eighteenth century; was coined 'objectivity' in the mid nineteenth century, and, in the context of the production of images within explicitly scientific disciplines, manifested itself more often as 'trained judgement' from the early twentieth century onwards.[7] According to Daston and Galison, the nineteenth century saw a polarisation of the 'artistic self' (as subjective) with the 'scientific self' (as objective). During this time, it was believed by many that objectivity could be achieved with the 'supression of some aspect of the self, the countering of subjectivity'.[8] An individual producing objective images, then, required a 'great self-restraint', it was thought, in order 'not to smuggle in their own aesthetic and theoretical preferences'.[9] Nowhere, I will argue, does the principle of this mode of production reveal itself as more complex than in the images that I am about to discuss. Demonstrating a much more complex set of conditions than merely the artistic versus scientific and throwing this notion of 'self-restraint' into question, they all describe this as less of a polarisation than was thought at the time.

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[7] Lorraine Daston and Peter Gallison, *Objectivity*, New York and Massachusetts: MIT Press/Zone Books, 2007, p. 17

[8] Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, pp.36-7

[9] Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, p.43

Bertillon's *Tableau des Nuances de l'Iris Humain*

The first 'case' that I will look at was authorised by Bertillon during the 1880s, the time in which the vague notions carried by the Daguerre song were monumentally realised. In the previous chapter, I discussed Henry Rhodes' claim that despite Bertillon's great success in the implementation of his archive for criminal identification, he hated the mechanical aspects of the system, particularly where it involved doing detailed, systematic work. This is perhaps one of his least systematic projects, and, as I will argue, probably his most abstract. The only colour plate to be published in Bertillon's 'signaletic instruction manual', the supposedly universal guide that he wrote in order to promote the worldwide implementation of his identification system, was a *Tableau des Nuances de l'Iris Humain*, a plate that depicts a series of life size observational studies of the colour and patterning of the left iris of fifty-four criminal suspects, and which was published in both English and French. Accompanied by eighteen pages of notes in the 1896 manual, the plate illustrates one of the more complex and interesting colour studies of criminals.

Before looking at the image, it should be noted that early studies of the iris have of course informed current practice, based on the theory that the iris conveys a less disputable (and harder to manipulate) record of identity than the fingerprint. Mark Maguire has recently contextualised this early take on biometrics in relation to current developments.[10] The iris is highly regarded as an immutable conveyor of identity, and, along with DNA profiling, has surpassed the fingerprint in this field as a result of developments in biometric technology. Debates on reading personality in the colour and patterning of the eyes are still being held. In 2007 the BBC reported on new research to do just this, although, as George Fieldman put it in the article, 'you wouldn't want to arrest somebody on the basis of their iris'.[11] Whether or not he is playing on the desire of many forensics specialists to do just that, is hard to say.[12]

Next pages: Bertillon, *Chart of the Nuances of the Human Iris,* from Bertillon, *Instructions Signalétiques*, Melun: Imprimerie Administrative, 1893, and detail. Courtesy of The Wellcome Collection, London

Returning to Bertillon, the fold-out insert depicts a series of life size observational studies of the colour and patterning of the left iris of fifty-four anonymous subjects. Comprising a gradual scale that moves from left to right according to the amount of pigment that is visible in the iris, it is possible to see a rough transition from a very un-patterned, pale blue example on

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[10] See 'The Birth of Biometric Security' for a detailed overview of both historical and current developments in biometrics, in *Anthropology Today*, Vol. 25, No. 2, April 2009, pp.9-14

[11] George Fieldman in 'How Irises "Reveal Personalities"', BBC News Channel, 19 February 2007.

[12] Most recently, in May 2012, it was announced that 'the biometric iris recognition scans used at many security checkpoints may be less reliable than previously believed' due to rising arguments that 'patterns in irises change significantly as people age'. Adi Robertson, *The Verge*, 28 May 2012, available here: http://www.theverge.com/2012/5/28/3046726/iris-patterns-change-over-time-research. The difference between iris and retinal scanning should also be asserted here - one scans the iris, the other, more high spec, reads the blood vessels in the back of the eye.

the top left, to a very dark image in the bottom right hand corner. The chart demonstrates astonishing attention to visible differences between each pattern and colour spectrum that verges on the microscopic. Though it may appear hand-painted, this spectral organisation of observational studies is a chromotypographic plate - a complex and rare early manner of relief printing, which relied on etching baths and zinc plates. The process represents an experimental stage that is significantly neither fully manual or process, combining hand-made textures and photographic transfers. Suffice to say that each image is a product of an initial observational drawing, painting, or similar mode of depiction, which would have been compiled and reproduced by means of a layered series of applications of colour. The intricate outcome, a unique series of rings, half-circles, segments, and blotches, of one colour layered over another, was intended to show the result of a complex system of analysis of the appearance of the eye.

CLASSE 2 : Pigmentation jaune   CLASSE 3 : Pigmentation orangée
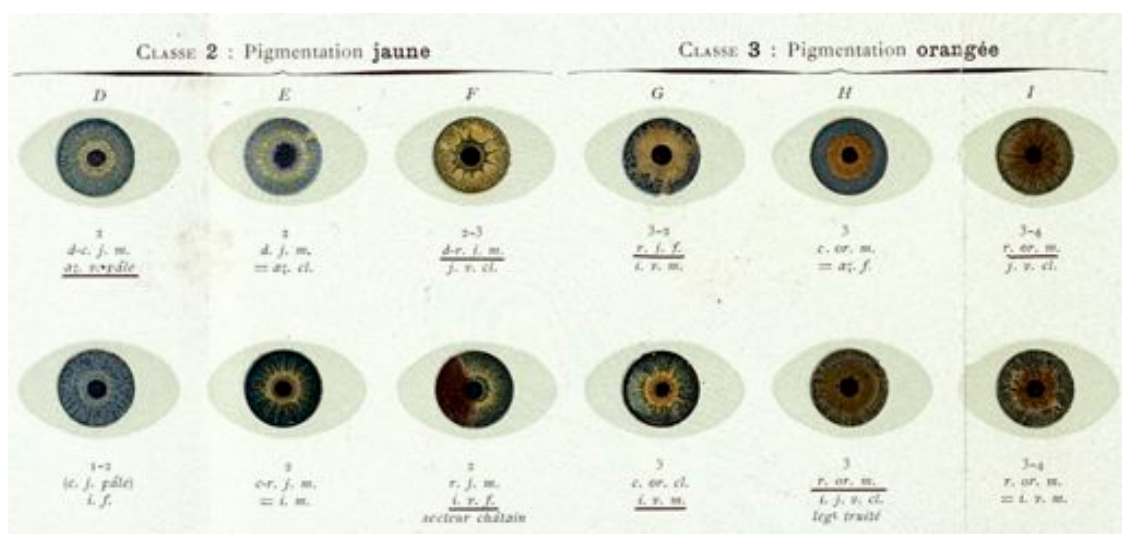
Bertillon may not have realised that his technique was based on conflicting principles. At the beginning of his section on irises, he asserts their value to studies of identity, stating that: 'no character presents at the same time more immutability in the individual and more variability from one person to another. The rigorous classification of which its description is susceptible gives it a signaletic value equal to that of the best measurements, while the impossibility of the subject's altering it in the least, and the facility with which the experienced observer can distinguish the shade, without the aid of an instrument, impromptu, on the public street, make it the best of descriptive indications. If the importance of the colour of the eye from the signaletic point of view has not hitherto been more generally appreciated, this should be attributed to the absence of a rational notation and to the confusion which thence resulted'.[13]

A peculiar by-way, this attempt to create a plausible visual schema merely resulted in the production of a fragmentary portrait of these anonymous subjects. Again equating the success of the technique with the 'rational notation' of an 'experienced observer', Bertillon reasserts the ideal that he clarified with his description of the summarised *cartes* and the *portrait parlé*:

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[13] Bertillon, 'Chromatic Characters', *The Bertillon System of Identification*, p.130

TABLEAU des NUANCES de l'IRIS HUMAIN

Classés suivant l'intensité croissante de la Pigmentation jaune-orange d'après la Méthode

de M. Alphonse BERTILLON

that even the most immutable of all the features could be translated, provided the appropriate rigorous classification process was adhered to. Like the ear, the nose, or the forearm, for Bertillon the iris was a particularly interesting feature that could also be formulated with the correct use of language.

In relation to Daston and Galison's discussion of objectivity, this is a good example of an attempt to suppress some aspect of the self in order to work objectively: to avoid smuggling in subjective preferences. As one of the many categories that made up one of Bertillon's cards, the purpose of a description of the iris was to help speed up criminal processing and contribute to accurate criminal identification, while simultaneously, despite Bertillon's humanistic approach, producing material that could be used by more ill-informed criminologists to continue to make generalisations that promote the existence of a 'criminal type'. By means of example, Havelock Ellis insisted that bichromatism, or irregular colouring, of the iris was found 'with unusual frequency' in sexual offenders. Even if this were a theoretical possibility, it would unravel in the chart, which Bertillon encouraged to be used as a representation of 'the most frequent eyes', claiming that while 'the plate does not pretend ... to offer a specimen of all the combinations of shades, infinite in number, that it is possible to observe in the human iris', it contains both 'facsimiles to the number of two or three for each class', and others that 'correspond to cases presenting some difficulties of classification'.[14] Here he acknowledges, then, that both the anomalous and frequent examples have been translated onto a grid. Where an objective spectral progression was intended - perhaps Bertillon's painted scale can be grouped with, for example, the identification charts used by zoologists to identify a species, or by doctors to ascertain the degree of severity of an illness - this attempt to fulfil the paradoxical goal of categorising the uncategorisable has resulted only in the representation of individuality itself: a serial depiction of both variety and anonymity.

Like the instructions given for the successful production of a *portrait parlé*, again the directions given for this mode of observation are contradictory. Attempting, perhaps, to wipe the slate clean, Bertillon provides yet another disclaimer: after clarifying the range of colour descriptions as yellow, orange, chestnut, and maroon, with a shade range of light, medium, deep, or very deep; he explains in bold text that 'all the other adjectives in use for the designation of the colour of the eye ... should be forgotten by the reader at the outset of this study'.[15] Once again, Bertillon aims to defy the subjective mechanisms of description by attempting to erase and rebuild the memory; to train the police officer to verbalise appearances within what pertains to be a rigorous descriptive framework. Like the pocketable portrait, this chart was intended to supplement the procedure by providing reference points for the so-called 'most frequent eyes'. The illustration also fits well into Daston and Galison's comments on

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[14] Bertillon, 'Chromatic Characters', *The Bertillon System of Identification*, p.133

[15] Bertillon, *The Bertillon System of Identification*, p.132

colour in their study of objectivity, where they claim that 'by the late nineteenth century, colour had become a paradigmatic example of private, incommunable subjectivity'.[16] 'We humans', they explain, 'infer that objects in the world are yellow or red or green because we see them as such, but in reality the colours are phantasms created by the interaction of our perceptual apparatuses with certain kinds of particles of different shapes and speeds'.[17] This, entitled 'the colour of subjectivity', would explain why Bertillon's desire to wipe clean the memory of each of his fellow readers and practitioners seems so absurd today.

Bertillon's descriptive formulae, as indicated in the caption on the top right hand corner of the plate, combined notations for the forms of the areola; quality of the pigment (the aforementioned yellow/orange/chestnut/maroon), tone range (light to very deep); and the 'fundamental shade of the periphery' which introduced a second set of colour terms - azure, 'intermediate (violet)', 'slaty', 'greenish', or identical to the areola. Even if the appearance of the 'immutable' eye was thought to be sufficiently summarised within these four categories, once again the claims for objectivity are undermined by the validation of terms, particularly, in this case, with Bertillon's use of 'intermediate', and 'greenish', which is as subjective as it is vague. Such indeterminacy in language is not discussed in the instructions, though Bertillon does attempt to clarify what he thought to be some of the most popular misconceptions about descriptions of eye colour. 'The grey eye of the public', for example, was for Bertillon 'generally only a blue one with a more or less yellowish tinge, which appears grey solely on account of the shadow cast by the eyebrows, etc'.[18] He continues to denounce grey as a valid eye colour:

'There is nothing more inexact, more vague, than the designation *grey* applied in daily practice to more than three-fourths of the eyes. Strictly speaking, the grey tint is a mixture of white and black, the complete scale of which extends from black to white. As an example of grey we may take the spot left on white paper by a touch with a black crayon spread by means of a stump, or a wash of india ink on a white ground. Never does a human eye, observed under good conditions, present tones of this kind. The centre of the eye, or *pupil*, is a small circle necessarily black; in regard to the circular band which encloses it, called the *iris*, it always has a *coloured* ground and could not, therefore, be qualified as *grey*. ... These so-called grey eyes are generally of a light tone. However, the public sometimes applies the same word to a certain dark blue eye, also called steel-grey, and which we designate by the term *slate-blue* for the deep tones, and *violet intermediate-blue* for the light tones'.[19]

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[16] Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, p.275

[17] Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, p.275

[18] Bertillon, *The Bertillon System of Identification*, p.131

[19] Bertillon, *The Bertillon System of Identification*, p.131

This seemingly strict omission of the colour grey is then adjusted to allow 'certain special cases', which Bertillon promises to explain further, to no real avail. That he breaks his own rules by using the word blue (instead of azure or unpigmented) only enforces this: all the concern for using only specific terms - encouraging trainees to forget all of the others for this project - is undermined by Bertillon's own slippages in language. To Bertillon, only the trained specialist could use such a system, leaving 'the public' to make its common generalisations and repetitions. Other studies had different criteria, of course. Cesare Lombroso, in a description of five female murderers, described a subject aged fifty: 'a peasant, killed her brother while he was eating supper in order to get an inheritance. She denied her guilt persistently, but was sentenced, with her hired accomplices, to twenty years of hard labour. She had black hair, grey eyes, diasthema of the teeth, a cleft palate, early and deep wrinkles, thin lips, and a crooked face'.[20] Grey eyes in this case play the role of a supportive claim for a general criminal appearance - it is their absence of colour that contributes to the assumed criminal identity. An account of the alignment of the negatives in the production of a composite portrait also mentions eye colour:

'If the components are adjusted in such a way that the distance from the line of the eyes to the mouth is the same in each instance, there is merely a distribution of the eyes over a short horizontal distance. This results in no disfiguring blur, but, on the contrary, gives, as it seems to me, a more truthful portrait of the type than if the eyes are accurately superposed; for, in the latter case, a deep-eyed earnestness of expression is obtained, which is in no way the average, but rather a summation, and, therefore, an exaggeration of this trait'.[21]

Neither testament to culpability, nor to innocence, in the case of Galton's composite photographs a 'deep-eyed earnestness of expression' replaces what might otherwise be referred to as dark grey, even black. Both in the context of studies that included visual representations of criminal subjects, then, and in a broader sense, the problem of classification in relation to the appearance of the eye is clear. Even when Bertillon's formula was followed appropriately, the four stages of classification produce just one more complex set of abbreviations that must be decoded: another miniature summary contributing to the construction of a criminal identity.

What I find most fascinating about the eye chart is that it represents one of the most significant features of the body in terms of everyday constructions of identity. Of the many situations in which this process of summarising the individual features with a means to describe oneself is of interest, I think it plays a significant role in learning a language: what course of study

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[20] Lombroso, Cesare, Guglielmo Ferrero, and Nicole Hahn Rafter. *Criminal Woman, the Prostitute, and the Normal Woman*. Duke University Press, 2004, p.135

[21] Stoddard, 'Composite Photography', in *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, XXXIII, No. 5, March 1887, p.754

would be complete without the 'essentials' of appearance - eye colour, hair colour and length, height, and so on? This particular context for the description of eye colour is of significant interest because of the already complex nature of naming colours, from Bertillon's slippages out of his ambitious guidelines to the more general issue of assigning a word to a colour. The very definition of objectivity as counter-subjective has significant implications for theories relating to applications of colour in visual representation since, as David Batchelor has pointed out, colour exists before the self is formed, before the world is differentiated from the subject.[22] Batchelor draws upon Julia Kristeva's work *Desire in Language*, in which Kristeva explains that 'while semiological approaches consider painting a language, they do not allow for an equivalent for colour within the elements of language identified by linguistics'.[23] In a sense, Kristeva points out what Bertillon failed to acknowledge: that naming even 'real' colours such as those noticeable when looking at a person's eyes is as problematic, if not more so, than the process of describing colour in representational forms (the semiological approaches that she describes). Considering colour as inherent and pre-existing gives it even more impact than when it is only a representational concern, and this allowed Kristeva to go on to locate colour in terms of 'the unconscious, the extra-linguistic, the infantile, the non-self', and so too, within the state before the self is formed in language; in 'subject/object indeterminacy'.[24] My concern here with defining colour, in relation to Bertillon's attempt to standardise this process, is made much more complex if considered in relation to Kristeva's alternative. 'In each instance', she explains, colour must be deciphered according to the following:

'1. The scale of 'natural' colours
2. The psychology of colour perception and, especially the psychology of each perception's instinctual cathexis, depending on the phases the concrete subject goes through with reference to its own history and within the more general process of imposing repression; and
3. The pictorial system either operative or in the process of formation'.[25]

Thus the link between colour and subject/object indeterminacy serves to complicate any notion of a polarised artistic and scientific self with regard to visual representation in the nineteenth century. As I hope to have already shown with this example, the 'scientific self' encountered just as many complications with regard to colour - its use and description - as the 'artistic self', with the inevitable effect of reducing the disparity between what were viewed as polarisations in the late nineteenth century, and so too, encouraging an intermediary approach

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[22] David Batchelor, *Chromophobia*, London: Reaktion, 2000, p.82

[23] Julia Kristeva, 'Giotto's Joy', *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, trans. T. Gora, A. Jardine and L. S. Roudiez, Oxford: Blackwell, 1982, p.216, cited in Batchelor, *Chromophobia*, p.82

[24] Kristeva, *Desire in Language*, p.216, and in Batchelor, *Chromophobia*, p.82

[25] Kristeva, *Desire in Language*, p.219

to images that avoids these definitions, following previous commentaries on the newly invented camera (as the song goes, 'while the National Gallery's breaking'). The problem of the communication of colour is often left up to physical gesture: it is either 'pulled from the unconscious into the symbolic order' through the act of painting, or, in the most literal reference to indexicality, is communicated simply by pointing.[26] In citing factors such as these, Kristeva discredits Bertillon's belief that describing colour can be the result of a purely objective approach or 'scientific self'. For Bertillon, the conditions would be as reductive as to include the 'natural scale' and his own set of parameters for labelling, outlined above in relation to his use of specific terms to assign a name to each of the shades occurring most prominently in eye colouring. In other words, Bertillon practiced unaware that his system was born out of his own psychology, his own experience and, perhaps most significantly, aspects of his own process of imposing repression. This is a fascinating illustration of an attempt at 'blind sight' – the desire at the time to see objectively, without 'inference, interpretation, or intelligence' that Daston and Galison explained was central to a great deal of late nineteenth century endeavours.[27] Returning to the chart with this problem of deciphering in mind, I think it begins to make a more and more abstract impression, taking on a strangeness that is unique to this part of the human body.

Once again this is intrinsic to the material structure of the image, and, as I will argue, this effect is bound up within the process by which it was produced. When Kristeva discusses the role of colour in representation, or what she refers to as the subject-elaborated apparatus, she could almost be describing Bertillon's intricate chromotypograph: 'a preeminently composite element, colour condenses 'objectivity', 'subjectivity', and the intrasystematic organisation of pictorial practice. It thus emerges as a grid (of *differences* in light, energetic change, and systematic value) whose every element is linked with several interlocking registers'.[28] In other words, this notion of several interlocking registers making up a composite grid also equates to the many-layered printing process that the iris colour chart is a product of. With terms such as 'systematic value', Kristeva's use of language is compliant with Bertillon's own use of language. 'In a painting', she explains, when 'colour is pulled from the unconscious into a symbolic order', the 'the unity of the 'self' clings to this symbolic order, as this is the only way it can hold itself together'.[29] But the triple register - the 'natural' scale, the psychology of perception, and the pictorial system, is 'constantly present', and 'colour's diacritical value within each painting's system is, by the same token, withdrawn toward the unconscious'.[30] Thus Kristeva argues that colour 'escapes censorship', and 'the unconscious irrupts into a

[26] Kristeva, *Desire in Language*, pp.220-21, and in Batchelor, *Chromophobia*, p.82

[27] Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, p.17

[28] Kristeva, 'Giotto's Joy', p.219

[29] Kristeva, 'Giotto's Joy', p.220

[30] Kristeva, 'Giotto's Joy', p.220

culturally coded pictorial distribution'.[31]

By no means do I wish to undermine the value of the practice of painting to Kristeva's argument. With the application of paint upon a surface in a symbolic context, there are of course specific, material, effects. However, there are elements of Kristeva's terms that apply to all subject-elaborated apparatus, and can thus be expanded to incorporate printing and photography. If the location of colour within a semiotic framework is problematic, to an extent it must be regarded as an exclusion from the very framework of objectivity, which relies upon this suppressed self, or counter to subjectivity. As such, even the scientific or suppressed self is unable to translate colour into language: however objective the intentions of the producer of the image, colour has its roots in the imaginary and thus undermines any objective potential because of its status as secondary to the original subject. Colour, too, has an interesting status as a supplement, since, as Batchelor pointed out, it exists before the subject, and yet can be mixed and applied in a supplementary role within the context of representation. This dual status of colour, as inherent to the thing itself, and as surplus addition, is what I want to now discuss in relation to the phrase of the Daguerre song, *giving a colour to fiction*. To me, Bertillon's iris chart illustrates both of these roles, as it tries to objectify one of the most immutable features of the body, indeed, the face; yet is the product of a material layering process that may not be as literal a subject-elaborated apparatus as painting, but was still at this time a very physical application of colour upon a flat, representational surface.

For Daston and Galison, objectivity 'preserves the artefact or variation that would have been erased in the name of truth; it scruples to filter out the noise that undermines certainty'.[32] I would like to suggest that the act of 'giving a colour' in any form of reproduction, for its suggestion of colour as a secondary element and not the initial colour being pointed to, is a prime example of just such 'noise'. 'To be objective is to aspire to knowledge that bears no trace of the knower—knowledge unmarked by prejudice or skill, fantasy or judgement, wishing or striving'.[33] Thus Daston and Galison's claim that objectivity is 'blind sight'. If it was this objective view that embraced 'accidents and asymmetries', then the 'noise' to which Daston and Galison refer must be any surplus detail that does not bear an indexical relation to the original—an addition, subtraction, or modification of what would have been established as a first impression of the subject in question. This is interesting in relation to the mode of the construction of Bertillon's chart, which complicates the notion of artefact, for its necessary combination of both hand-made and process techniques.

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[31] Kristeva, 'Giotto's Joy', p.220

[32] Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, p.17

[33] Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, p.17

Galton and 'Exercises in Visualisation'

Bertillon's eye chart has a bearing with Galton's studies of colour perception. Though it moves away from the pursuit of colouring the *criminal* image, diagrams such as this one from *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development* can help as part of a recontextualisation of Bertillon's spectral table. If Bertillon's approach to colour was a rigorous process of observation of the external features, then this was Galton's equivalent; a more subjective approach that emerged in part due to his fondness for the genetic sciences. The hand-drawn chart depicts the results of some of the various 'exercises in visualisation' that Galton orchestrated, which range from associations of colour with particular letters and numbers, to a bizarre exercise in 'translating wallpaper patterns'. In each case a small thumbnail-type section of pattern is depicted below a particular word, to which the pattern was assigned. Dario Gamboni has suggested that scientific interest in mental images could have provided a ''public encouragement' mentioned by Galton', and 'supported the production of material images' that 'took account of and benefited from the mobile, analogical and subjective character of imagination recognised by science'.[34] This especially applies to the issue of the assignment of words to colours. There is a crossover, then, between the framework for the history of objectivity, which is based on this notion of 'blind sight', and the attempt to record (objectively) the evidence of vision in itself - both externally, with the studies of the appearance of the eye, and internally, in terms of Galton's interest in visual memory, synaesthesia and colour association. Following this notion of an internal projection of imagery, shortly after he locates the judicial and 'medico-legal' photograph somewhere between the portrait and the autopsy, Georges Didi-Huberman relates the practices of criminologists such as Lombroso to 'the fantasy of 'seeing everything' (seeing to the bottom of things, seeing origins and foreseeing ends)':

'frequently - despite the positivist postulates upon which it was founded - 'scientific' photography went so far as to produce truly aberrant collections of pictures and experiments. One example is provided by the 'optograms' that a few legally-minded doctors produced in 1868. The idea was to photograph the internal retina of the murdered victims, in the hope of obtaining an image of the scene of the crime - or even a portrait of the murderer - as if (at the moment of death) the eye became a veritable camera which for a few hours retained an exact image of the last moment of life'.[35]

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[34] Dario Gamboni, *Potential Images: Ambiguity and Indeterminacy in Modern Art*, London: Reaktion Books, 2004, p.184

[35] Didi-Huberman 'Photography - Scientific and Pseudo-Scientific' in Lemagny & Rouillé eds. *A History of Photography: Social and Cultural Perspectives*, p.74

Galton, *Visualisation Chart*, from *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development*, London: Macmillan, 1883

From the so-called 'blind sight' of objectivity, to the obscure notion that images, even portraits of criminals, might be available to obtain *directly* from an eyewitness, the problem of the description of colour is highly significant to the notion of scientific legitimacy. Turning full circle from Bertillon's attempt to classify the external appearance of the eye, to the peculiar idea that a photograph made of the eye at close range could reveal the mental imagery that Galton had so imaginatively compiled on paper, a more pointed theoretical shift can be observed here: not only do these various approaches to the inside and the outside of the eye

complicate the notion of an objective portrait, but the artefacts that were produced under such conditions suggest that the constitutive factor in the construction of identity in visual representation is as much an issue for the portrait as it is for the viewer. In other words, it is important to emphasise here, Kristeva's location of much of colour perception in the unconscious, along with the corresponding difficulties encountered when assigning and translating words to be used for colours. The disjunctiveness and lack of equivalence between colour, language, and representation that both Bertillon's and Galton's studies seem to enforce not only undermines the objective claims made for such images, but also the notion of a single interpretative mode of viewing.

Travel Photography and the *Archives of the Planet*

In *Chromophobia*, Batchelor opens his chapter on cosmetic colour, 'Apocalypstick', by saying that in one group of the stories that he has been discussing, 'colour lies beneath the surface'; and in the other, 'it is laid over the surface', either 'hidden within' or 'applied from without'.[36] My second illustration that pertains to 'give a colour to fiction' should, to an extent, reconcile the two. In 1913, Stéphane Passet made this photograph of a Mongol prisoner. Passet was an *opérateur* who contributed to Albert Kahn's boldly titled project *Archives de la Planète*: a 'monumentally ambitious attempt to produce a record of human life on Earth'.[37] This image relies upon a contextual shift from criminology and the judicial portrait, to philanthropy and travel photography. Although I am primarily concerned with its material structure, the complexities of this type of photography are clear: the two-fold nature of the agency that informed the image's construction, multiplied even further by Kahn's use of a variety of photographers as part of his project, throw into question the aesthetic, practical, and symbolic implications of the photograph. Recalling other polymaths such as Galton, and once again, the multifarious roots of criminology as a discipline, Kahn's endeavours cannot be simplified under a single rubric: he was a banker, philanthropist, internationalist, pacifist, and incidentally, a student of Henri Bergson, whose 'profound intellectual influence', it has been argued, may have contributed to his developing a 'metaphysician's temperament'.[38] Following in his cousin's footsteps, Galton incorporated travel into a great deal of his research, and was a great advocate of the value of travel to an individual's own development and self-awareness as well as any research that they may be conducting, even publishing a book on the subject, which he directed specifically at travellers and explorers.[39] Galton is by no means the only

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[36] Batchelor, *Chromophobia*, p.51

[37] David Okuefuna, *The Dawn of the Colour Photograph: Albert Kahn's Archives of the Planet*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008, p.13

[38] See Okuefuna, *The Dawn of the Colour Photograph*, pp.10-12, with reference to Jay Winter, *Dreams of Peace and Freedom in the Twentieth Century*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006.

[39] Francis Galton. *The Art of Travel*, London: John Murray, 1855. Galton delivered several lectures and wrote widely on the topic of travel. See, for example, *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*, (1853); *The Art of Travel* (1855); and *The Knapsack Guide for Travellers in Switzerland* (1864), which were published in London by John Murray. For a concise overview of Galton's travel expeditions, see Brookes, *Extreme Measures: The Dark Visions and Bright Ideas of Francis Galton*.

individual to have shared Kahn's principles with respect to the benefits of travel to academic and other development in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but this connection does make for an interesting crossover between these particular philanthropic expeditions and an individual who went on to make significant developments in criminal identification techniques. It also provides a link between the promotion of their projects alongside Imperialist perspectives on other cultures. What should perhaps be remembered from a comparison of these two individuals' endeavours, though, is that Galton's in general would culminate in the overtly xenophobic, individualistic pursuit of eugenics, whereas Kahn's project, although it was in essence a by-product of the same colonialist views as Galton, and his philanthropic drive was a very European one (he predominantly funded French academics and photographers); was still less overtly positivist, even to its (financially determined) end.

Kahn was a millionaire by his mid-thirties, who met financial gain from his work for a bank in Paris that invested in industries such as gold and diamond mining in South Africa. After buying the ten-acre estate in south-west Paris in which he had grown up, he set up a scholarship program to fund young academics to travel. Like many wealthy individuals in Europe in the nineteenth century, Kahn sought to promote the experience of 'diverse cultures of the world'.[40] As was common for this type of project, Kahn believed that sending academics abroad would improve their standard of teaching on return, and thus 'promote individual understanding and thereby make the world a better and more peaceful place'.[41] With Kahn's discovery of the Lumière brothers' colour photography process, the autochrome, which they announced in 1904 and officially introduced in 1907, came the shift from his promoting of travel as a teaching aid in its own right, to his funding of some of the first known photographic expeditions known to use portable, single-screen colour techniques. Over the course of twenty-two years, Kahn invested in 72,000 glass autochrome plates, which, although fragile, valuable, and heavy, could be packed and transported. As of 1909, Kahn's employees or *opérateurs* were now professional photographers who embarked on their 'missions' to construct a concise and full-colour archive of the international variety of cultures: to reproduce and, as was thought, *preserve* artefacts of diversity before the homogenising influence of colonial forces would destroy it altogether, as was Kahn's fear.[42]

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[40] See Okuefuna, *The Dawn of the Colour Photograph*, p.12

[41] See Okuefuna, *The Dawn of the Colour Photograph*, p.12. Okuefuna also points out that Kahn had much in common (in terms of how he achieved his wealth and how he put it to use) with the renowned 'empire-builder' Cecil Rhodes, the British (and Imperialist) founder of the DeBeers diamond company, who endowed a similar 'scholarship program' shortly after Kahn.

[42] 'Kahn was fully aware of the destructive potential of what we ... now call globalisation: at least part of his intention was to record the vital, distinctive aspects of the world's vulnerable cultures before they would vanish forever'. Okuefuna, *The Dawn of the Colour Photograph*, p.14.

Stéphane Passet, photograph of a Mongol prisoner produced for Albert Kahn's
Archives de la Planète. Autochrome, 1913

If Kahn's incentives for the project can be traced in each of the images that were produced, then it is implied that the *opérateurs* were not working to any more specific criteria than to 'archive the planet'. Thus the diversity of this archive exists both in relation to a perceived cultural diversity, and also, significantly, in the style and subject of each photograph that was produced. As well as portraits that were made in the attempt to reveal the customs of other cultures, and which might seem quite standardised within conventional photographic histories, the archive also includes architecture, aerial views of villages, towns and cities, armed forces, factories, harbours, and even crime scenes.[43] This aspect of so-called expedition photography also brings to light issues of artistic autonomy and agency that are often omitted in studies of

[43] Though he does not explicitly use the term 'crime scene', Okuefuna points out one image made by the *opérateur* Frédéric Gadmer in 1923, which depicts a room of the town hall in Krefeld, in the Rhineland, after the shooting of a police officer. Though a pool of blood remains on the floor, the image depicts what was presumably the officer's hat, some neatly arranged books on a table, and a weapon, all looking perhaps a little too conveniently positioned for this to be a legitimate 'documentary' photograph. Given the darkness of the room, the exposure time is likely to have been at least thirty seconds, which undermines any sense of immediacy that the crime scene photograph is so often imbued with (Brian Coe has noted that the exposure time for an autochrome 'in a well lit studio' shot at f/5 would be ten to thirty seconds. See Coe, *Colour Photography: The First Hundred Years 1840-1940*, London: Ash and Grant, 1978). Thus the image's validity in relation to standardised crime scene photography warrants further study. See Okuefuna, *The Dawn of the Colour Photograph*, p.27

criminal identification, with the inevitable tendency to focus on the scientific or pseudoscientific contexts in which they were produced. Though not exclusively scientific, the documentary intentions behind this project as a whole brings an element of conformity with Daston and Galison's points about the prerequisite of a degree of self-suppression that, it was thought, qualified the production of an objective image. If the conditions of the 'mug shot' strive for uniformity — the photograph as routine police procedure and the resulting standardisation of all that falls under the category of 'settings', then the context of this image's production is entirely different. In this case, at stake is a potentially philanthropic and/or artistic motive, which, I think significantly, has two branches of agency: Kahn as commissioner and Passet as worker, the *opérateur*, who made this decision. The complexities of this type of photography are clear: the two-fold nature of the agency behind this image's existence, multiplied even further by Kahn's use of many more than this single *opérateur*, throw into question the aesthetic, practical, and symbolic implications of the photograph.

That this photographer was one of many brings to light another historical account of 'travel photography'. It is reminiscent of the 'expedition photographs' produced during the Heliographic Mission in 1851, which saw Gustave LeGray, Henri LeSecq, George de Mestral, Éduard Baldus, and Hippolyte Bayard undertake 'survey work' for the *Commission des Monuments Historiques*. Rosalind Krauss referred to this expedition to support her critique of the term *oeuvre*: 'that other great aesthetic unity'.[44] The photographers returned with 'some 300 negatives recording medieval architecture about to be restored' that not only went unpublished and unexhibited 'but were never even printed'.[45] For Krauss, the Heliographic Mission tested the applicability of the *oeuvre* as a concept, since this 'unity' seems to insist upon a 'body of work' that is not only exhibited, or at least exhibitable, but is also of a standard size.[46] Kahn's project also falls into this area of ambiguity due to its collaborative nature, with many photographers working in different locations and in different styles, and whose efforts were to be combined under the ambitious rubric of 'archives of the planet'. Though the use of 'archives' in the plural is a redeeming factor of this — at least acknowledging the inevitable plurality of the project — it should be emphasised that despite the context of this image's production as one artefact from a vast, decades-long project, it exceeds its potential to be considered as part of an aesthetically unified *oeuvre*.

Okuefuna suggests that Passet's 'most memorable' images are 'those that offer an unsettling glimpse into Mongolia's approach to criminal justice - methods of punishment that humiliated

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[44] Rosalind Krauss, 'Photography's Discursive Spaces', in *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and other Modernist Myths*, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1985, p.143

[45] Krauss, 'Photography's Discursive Spaces', p.143

[46] 'There are other practices, other exhibits, in the archive that also test the applicability of the concept *oeuvre*. One of these is the body of work that is too meager for this notion; the other is the body that is too large. Can we imagine an *oeuvre* consisting of one work?' - Krauss, 'Photography's Discursive Spaces', p.143-4

wrongdoers, yet still allowed this nomadic society to move its prisoners when it was necessary to do so'.[47] In this case he is referring to the use of a *cangue*. A portable version of the pillory, the *cangue* was first implemented in the thirteenth century during the Yüan dynasty, and continued to be used until shortly after this photograph was made.[48] It is an ancient fragment of penal code. George Lane has explained that the Yüan jailing system differed from other dynasties' systems because 'the emphasis of punishment was on forced labour rather than deprivation of freedom', and thus prison cells were only used 'while the accused was going through the system'.[49] Lane claims that according to the Yüan system, the *cangue* was used for 'more serious offenders', and its weight would vary according to the crime committed.[50] An account from 1878, however, indicates that the device was also used to punish less serious offenders:

'The *cangue*, or wooden collar, is another mode by which petty offenders in China are punished. ... *Cangues* vary in weight, some being considerably larger and heavier than others. The period for which an offender is sentenced to wear the *cangue* varies from a fortnight to three months. During the whole of this time the *cangue* is not removed from the neck of the prisoner either by day or by night. Its form prevents the prisoner stretching himself on the ground at full length, and, to judge from the attenuated appearance of prisoners who have undergone it, the punishment must be severe to a degree. The name of the prisoner and the nature of his offence are written on the *cangue* in large letters, *pour encourager les autres*.[51]

Such codes and conventions may well contribute to speculations about how the apparatus was used in this photograph, but it would of course be wrong to assume that guidelines written in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century for an entire Chinese dynasty were adhered to by the nomadic society to which this particular subject belonged, or, from which he was exiled. Alongside severe discomfort, the general purpose of the device was, like the pillory, most likely to humiliate the subjects by inhibiting some of their everyday liberties, such as feeding oneself and moving around freely, whilst, as Gray also makes clear, deterring others from committing crime (*pour encourager les autres*).

The apparatus functions as a material illustration of the variations of penal codes in a historical and international context, and as such, it invokes both temporal and social complexities: a

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[47] Okuefuna, *The Dawn of the Colour Photograph*, p.192

[48] See George Lane, *Daily Life in the Mongol Empire*, London and Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2006, p.212. I am yet to find evidence to suggest that the existence of this photograph and the disuse of the *cangue* are intrinsically connected, though such a coincidence clearly warrants further research.

[49] Lane, *Daily Life in the Mongol Empire*, p.218

[50] Lane, *Daily Life in the Mongol Empire*, p.218

[51] John Henry Gray, *China: a History of the Laws, Manners, and Customs of the People*, Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 2002 (first edition London: Macmillan, 1878), p.56

European photographer in the twentieth century, depicting a convention with an ancient historical value that, at the time of the photograph's construction, was described to be current. What is most interesting about this apparatus, whose purpose it is to restrict, humiliate and deter, is that the subject's name and crime were written around the edges of the panel. Significantly, with respect to the potential location of this particular photograph within the context of criminal identification images, not only was this subject's crime not translated and attached to the image as a caption, but it is also illegible in the image itself. Unlike Gray's description of the subject's name and crime being written in large letters, the supposed text in the autochrome is barely visible, and can just about be identified as the dark markings within the pale stripes that extend out on the board to either side of the subject's head.

To me, this illegibility also provides a way of deciphering the image. Firstly, the photograph fails to reveal this particularly interesting aspect of the use of such a device: literally, to be forced to wear both one's name and one's criminal record around one's neck, for all to see. Secondly, in failing to do so, it reveals a contrast between the work of the photographer and the work of the initiator of the punishment. Opening up this void between the intended function of the device worn by the subject, and the photographer, with the already complex situation in which he was working - to contribute to Kahn's 'archives of the planet' - the colour photograph in this case reveals little about the subject or his crime. This significant aspect of the image undermines the optimism of Kahn and any others at the time for colour photography as a practice that might effortlessly reveal more about humanity than other media. It also begs the question: which aspect of the image provides the most information as to the subject's criminal identity, his depicted appearance in colour, or the illegible presence of the details of his crime around his neck? Does the alteration of the details of appearance that colour reproduction provides, create a *more* criminal identity, or are photographs of criminals so bound up with black and white photography that the addition of colour might have the opposite effect, isolating the *cangue* as the key constituent in the depiction of the criminal identity that this photograph was intended to reveal? Tamar Garb's commentary on the ubiquity of black and white in portraits made by South African photographers prior to the 1990s is pertinent here, as she has described 'the fiction that, as a mode of picturing, it was more linked to truth than was colour, which was tainted with the smear of make-believe and the vulgarity of commerce and consumerism'.[52] It is precisely this 'smear of make-believe' that counters the notion of 'giving a colour' as somehow intrinsically linked to revealing truth, and Garb's visceral terms are a significant reminder of the relation of colour with the notion of the cosmetic.

The Autochrome: Pointillism to Pixel

This image, it might be argued, is a demonstration of what Ian Jeffrey has called 'ethically

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[52] Tamar Garb, *Figures and Fictions: Contemporary South African Photography*, exh. cat., Victoria & Albert Museum, London, 12 April - 17 July 2011. London: V&A Publishing, 2011, p.60

inopportune' tourist photography.[53]   Jeffrey contextualises the autochrome in terms of representing the 'luxuriant world, rich in and heavy with atmosphere'.[54] He states that autochromes were 'at their best with flowers, fruit, surfaces and textures'.[55] 'Colour's subject was hedonism', he claims, 'in support of an idea of humanity as warm-blooded rather than sharp-minded'.[56] This is a prime example—a saturated image that seems to make the subject (or suspect) appear warm and rich. The vocabulary that seems tethered to colour photography - richness, heaviness, atmosphere, 'the smear of make-believe' - invites a closer inspection of the surfaces that such techniques incorporated. If figures such as Kahn believed so strongly in the power of colour photography to reveal aspects of human life that the black and white image could not, investing so fully in the autochrome, what role does the method by which colour was fixed upon the photographic plate play with respect to these ventures? Expanding from the disruptive area of illegibility in this depiction of a prisoner, to consider the entire surface of the autochrome, I would like to assess what I will refer to as both physical and ideological *weight*, in order to suggest a theoretical counterpart both to Kahn's supposedly pacifist investments in this particular photographic technique and to this particular encounter with a subject who wears his criminal record around his neck.

As much as colour has been severely criticised in documentary photography, particularly where its commercial and cosmetic roles are acknowledged in accounts such as Jeffrey's, from the outset, photography also received criticism for its monochromy, which was believed by many to be both an aesthetic limitation and a hindrance of an image's authenticity or 'truth to nature'. Reminiscent of the ideas in Chapter One that situated the mug shot in relation to the portrait and autopsy, in 1842 it was announced in a popular magazine that: 'the likenesses produced ... are so absolutely fearful, that we have but little hope of ever seeing anything tolerable from any machine. It must want colour ... and its best likeness can be only that of a rigid bust, or a corpse'.[57] In the same year that this comment appeared, the London licensee of Daguerre's English patent, Richard Beard, patented one of the earliest methods of colouring daguerreotypes. As Brian Coe has explained, Beard 'suggested that stencils be prepared, cutting out from tracing paper the shapes to be tinted in each colour: 'The dry colours are ground to an impalpable powder in a solution of gum arabic or other adhesive material; they are allowed to settle from a suitable box on to the screened picture, the screen is withdrawn ... the colour removed from the shadows by blowing with bellows, and the remainder is fixed on

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[53] Ian Jeffrey, *Revisions: An Alternative History of Photography*, exhibition catalogue for 'Revisions: An Alternative History of Photography', National Museum of Photography, Film & Television, Bradford, 16 April - 27 June 1999, Bradford: National Museum of Photography, Film & Television, 1999, p.81

[54] Jeffrey, *Revisions: An Alternative History of Photography*, p.81

[55] Jeffrey, *Revisions: An Alternative History of Photography*, p.81

[56] Jeffrey, *Revisions: An Alternative History of Photography*, p.81

[57] Quoted from *Blackwood's Magazine*, Edinburgh, 1842, in Brian Coe, *Colour Photography: The First Hundred Years 1840-1940*, London: Ash & Grant Ltd., 1978, p.10

the plate by breathing.''[58]

Bearing in mind the small and intricate nature of the daguerreotype and other works produced by direct photographic processes, initial applications of colour entailed minute applications *by hand*. As additions to the photographic surface, they counter the argument for the photograph as product of an entirely automated process, illustrating a hand-made component of the photograph, a stark contrast to arguments for its indexical status, as 'imprint of reality', which was asserted from the outset, and poeticised with the references to the sun in popular culture such as Phaeton's tribute to Daguerre.[59] 'Giving a colour' in this context, then, in addition to modifying the aesthetic, was also seen as giving life - quite literally, *breathing* life into the image. This act of 'giving' or addition is highly significant in relation to the way in which colour was first applied, by hand, in pigment and paint. Where debates concerning the legitimacy of photography as a valid technique in the context of artistic production insisted on distinct boundaries between the two—particularly with the various announcements by the historical avant-garde of the 'death of painting', this is complicated by the incorporation of such techniques as hand painting into the history of photographic technology.

The less-than-finite relationship between photography and painting, which can often be identified within the minute surface details of the medium itself, has often been subjected to oversimplification. To my mind, one of the most significant debates to juxtapose photography with painting was that provoked by so-called 'endgame' painting in the early twentieth century. If Benjamin Buchloh described Aleksandr Rodchenko's 'logical conclusion' for painting, or as Rodchenko called it, *Pure Colours: Red, Yellow, Blue* (1921), as the first work to both abolish 'relational composition' and 'the abandonment of conventional attributions of the 'meaning' of colour in favour of the pure *materiality of colour'*, then analogue colour photographic techniques - from hand-tinting to autochromes to dye transfer processing - could be its hitherto unacknowledged postscript.[60] Also interesting in this context is where, in her foreword to John Wood's study of the autochrome, Mary A. Foresta describes a process used by Man Ray in which he sandwiched a positive colour transparency between two pieces of glass and wrapped it in a dark case, as the 'poor man's autochrome'.[61] The autochrome

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[58] This preceded the very similar method that was taken up by the majority that insisted on the use of a camel hair brush to apply the pigment, which had the same finishing process of 'fixing by breathing'. See Coe, *Colour Photography*, p.10

[59] Phrase used by Tom Gunning, 'What's the Point of an Index? or, Faking Photographs', *NORDICOM*, September 2004, p.40

[60] Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, 'The Primary Colours for the Second Time: A Paradigm Repetition of the Neo-Avant-Garde', *October* 37, Summer 1986, p.44, with reference to Aleksandr Rodchenko, 'Working with Majakowsky', in *From Painting to Design: Russian Constructivist Art of the Twenties*, Cologne: Galerie Gmurzynska, 1981, p.191: 'This is the end of painting', Rodchenko retrospectively explained. 'These are the primary colours. Every plane is a discrete plane and there will be no more representation'.

[61] Mary A. Foresta, Foreword to John Wood, *The Art of the Autochrome: The Birth of Colour Photography*, Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 1993, p.ix

process is based on the principle that, if ground finely enough, grains of pigment could act as colour filters. Though patented at a time where many similar approaches were being taken, the Lumières must still be acknowledged for making a particularly suitable type of grain from potato starch, as much as for their influence on the development of the process in a commercial context. As early as 1895, the Lumières were publishing the results of the experiments that would culminate with autochromes.[62]

The patented process entailed the grinding of these grains to a diameter of fifteen to twenty thousandths of a millimetre. Once divided into three parts and dyed red-orange, green, and violet, they were combined into a dry mix, until the overall colour appears grey: 'in such proportions that the mixture shows no dominant tint'.[63] The powder was then brushed over a sheet of glass covered in an even layer of adhesive paste. 'With suitable precision' this could produce a single coating of the grains 'all touching and without superposition'.[64] A layer of fine charcoal or similar black powder would then be dusted over the pigment to prevent white light from leaking through any gaps between the grains. Like hand-tinting, the autochrome still relied upon the literal application of pigment to surface *by hand.* The final plates cannot be viewed unless they are projected or back-lit by some means. To return to the Daguerre song, here the process of 'giving a colour' is highly complex, since it is both applied by hand *and,* as the Lumières described, compiled of 'small elementary screens' that are microscopic and produce an image that is barely visible to the naked eye. Among the various detailed descriptions of how this results in a positive colour image, that made by Jean-Claude Lemagny and Andre Rouillé for their encyclopaedia of photographic techniques is perhaps the most concise:

'When the picture is taken, light passes through this mosaic of grains which act as filters. After development the negative is printed in reverse, producing a positive image. When the plate is subsequently examined with the light behind it, the white light passes through the coloured grains, again in proportion to the imprint received, and the tones of the subject photographed are placed in the correct positions'.[65]

The process is one of several that were based on this 'mosaic' principle, though it was perhaps the least time consuming. Other experimental techniques included the hand drawing of very fine lines of pigment, which had the same effect of working as filters for the primary colours.

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[62] Auguste and Louis Lumière, 'La photographie des Couleurs, ses méthodes et ses résultants', *Revue Générale des Sciences* 6, 1895, pp.1034-8; 'Sur la photographie en couleurs, par la méthode indirecte', *Académie des Sciences*, Comptes Rendus 120, 1895, pp.875-6

[63] Account of the autochrome process made by Auguste and Louis Lumière in 1904, in Coe, *Colour Photography: The First Hundred Years 1840-1940*, p.49

[64] Auguste and Louis Lumière, in Coe, *Colour Photography: The First Hundred Years 1840-1940*, p.49

[65] Lemagny & Rouillé, eds. *A History of Photography: Social and Cultural Perspectives*, p.272

Reminiscent of Galton's 'visualisation' tables, Coe has compiled a chart depicting some of the more intricate designs that were developed for reproducing colour.
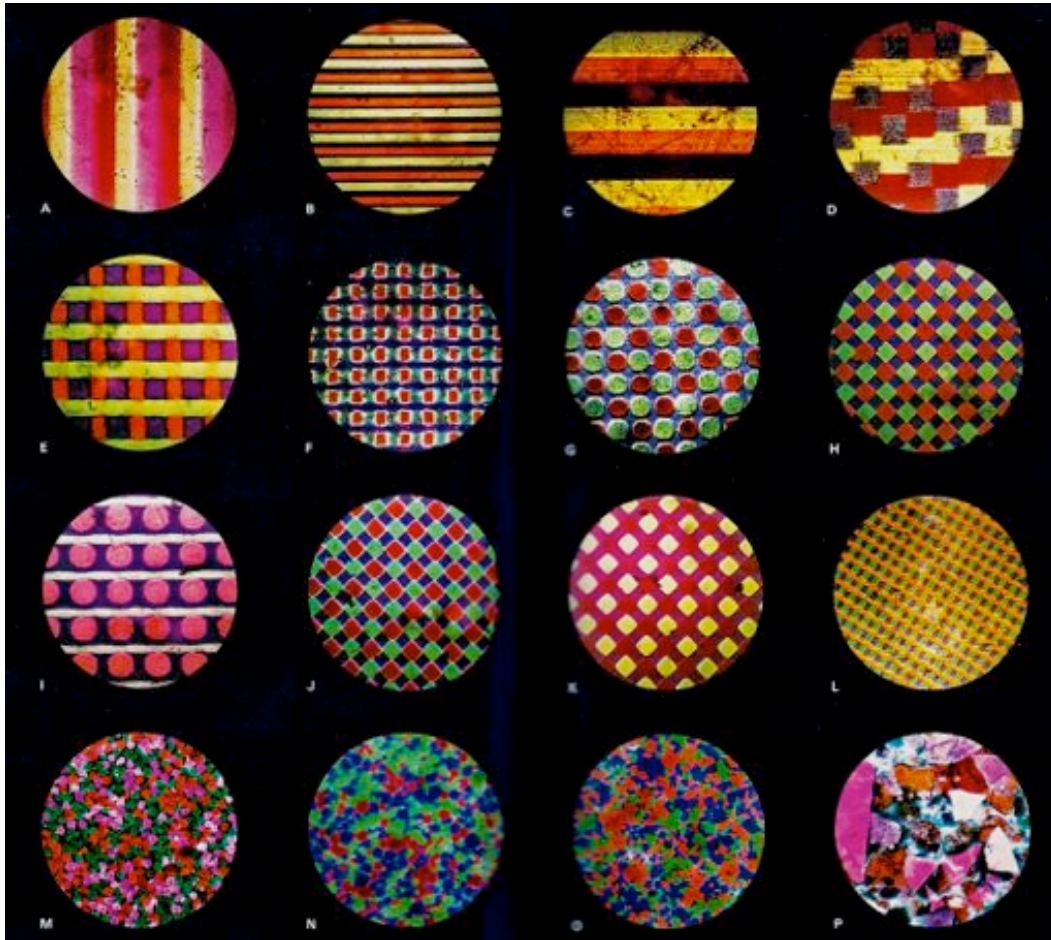
Photomicrographs of a selection of colour screen plates, from Brian Coe, *Colour Photography: The First Hundred Years, 1840 - 1940*, 1978

That autochromes are composed of distinct and evenly spread grains of pigment rather than solid blocks of the same colours has led to its alignment with pointillist painting as much as with these alternative photographic technologies, which saw less commercial success. For example, Thierry de Duve and Rosalind Krauss have integrated the autochrome into their recontextualisation of the history of painting in relation to technology and machinery. Where the artist expresses 'the fear, inspired in them by photography, of seeing the painter replaced by a machine', they claim that modern painters: 'the great ones, who deserve to be called avant-garde - have responded with a manifestation of their desire to be one'.[66] Amongst others whose work bore traits of photographic process, or of other 'photographic' appearance, Seurat, they explain, 'in a development contemporary with the invention of the autochrome ...

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[66] Thierry de Duve and Rosalind Krauss, 'Andy Warhol, or the Machine Perfected', *October*, Vol. 48, Spring 1989, p.10

digitised the palette and mechanised the hand'.[67] Such convergences as this between painting and photography undermine the claims for transparency in images that were thought to 'give a colour' to likeness. If Krauss and de Duve promote the similarity of the autochrome plate to the pointillist reduction of form to many separate points, an even closer inspection (looking through the rational to its irrational core) might further contest these issues of 'blind sight' and 'colouring'. Perhaps in the same vein as the progression from Bertillon's external approach to Galton's representations of interior images, the 'truth value' of images such as this relies upon the construction of the image that takes place in the eye of the observer. To think of the surface detail of the autochrome, which contains an average of four million grains per inch, a total of one hundred and forty million grains in the standard autochrome plate of seven by five inches, in relation to a Seurat painting, the painting could be interpreted as an enlarged alternative. In 1879, the American physicist Ogden Rood claimed that 'the effects of optical synthesis were seventy-one times more luminous than those created by the actual mixing of two colours on a palette'.[68] Of course the mathematical reduction in the (perhaps slightly too broad) context of 'art and industry' to a very specific value of luminosity should be read with extreme caution, but what might be extracted from such claims is that the same viewing technique is warranted for the autochrome, albeit, as Wood explains, 'somewhat by accident'.[69] Accidental, then, in terms of both the visual and theoretical similarity with pointillist painting techniques that were developed concurrently; and for the least intricate method of application of pigment to plate, compared with the more complex line and grid patterns, having produced the highest perceivable level of detail and pre-empting the modern pixel.

Though it is tempting to take Krauss and de Duve's claim for the digitisation of the hand of Seurat and other pointillist painters as an indisputable conclusion for the similarities between autochrome 'dots' and painted ones, the vast difference in scale between these two very different modes of depiction of colour must not be ignored.[70] Where the painted dot is, on close inspection, a constituent of a specific area of the image that can be deduced by eye with no mechanical assistance, the visibility of the colour filters that make up the autochrome

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[67] Thierry de Duve and Rosalind Krauss, 'Andy Warhol, or the Machine Perfected', p.10

[68] Ogden Rood, *Modern Chromatics: with Applications to Art and Industry*, New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1879, in Wood, *The Art of the Autochrome: The Birth of Colour Photography*, p.5

[69] Wood, *The Art of the Autochrome: The Birth of Colour Photography*, p.5

[70] This reduction seems to be made frequently, for example, in a summary of early techniques of colour photography in *Colour as Form: A History of Colour Photography*, the autochrome is described as 'atmospherically pointillistic'. See *Colour as Form: A History of Colour Photography*, (exhibition catalogue for Colour as Form: A History of Colour Photography, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington DC, 10 April - 6 June 1982, curated by John Upton), Rochester, New York: International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, 1982, p.2.

image is limited to the naked eye.[71] Inevitably, areas of the photograph reveal the components of the surface of the plate more clearly, as Wood explains that although millions of the dots would be invisible; 'an even distribution of the dyed grains was not possible, and there was always a one in three chance that grains of the same colour would be adjacent. In a square inch ... there is a probability that there would be thirty three dots of twelve or more grains, and these dots *were* visible'.[72] In Passet's photograph, this is most obvious in the bottom left corner of the image, where a distinct green circle can be made out within the depiction of the otherwise sandy ground. In contrast to the pointillist painting, of course, this was regarded as an error in the photographic process rather than a self-conscious effect produced by a painter.

This microscopic approach to photography has an interesting impact upon the classic distinction between figure and ground in conventional portraiture. The structure of the autochrome, with its hand-applied microscopic grains of pigment, produces a new type of surface that, like Galton's composite, problematises the conventional imaginary distancing that a viewer perceives between the subject and their surroundings. With Galton's photographs, this was because of the multiplication of negatives; with the autochrome it is an effect of the presence of a microscopic all-over texture that the grains constitute. Though less visible than in the composites, there are areas that reveal this overtly fictional quality, which is a result of the structure of the plate: in the clusters of grains that can be seen on close inspection and in the areas of the image that seem not to convey as much detail as would be possible by another method, as with the illegible criminal record of the subject in Passet's image. That this interstitial layer 'gives a colour' makes it seem all the more significant.

The Elusive 'Neutral'

Geoffrey Batchen has explained that the 'stigmatum' that Roland Barthes associates with photography in *Camera Lucida* is just 'as if the photograph has been physically bruised by a subject whose image now offers a kind of braille for the eyes'.[73] This use of visceral and corporeal language with respect to the photograph is especially pertinent. Barthes was unimpressed by colour photography. Writing on the connection of colour with surface, or, the materiality of colour, in *Camera Lucida,* he states that:

'Perhaps it is because I am delighted (or depressed) to know that the thing of the past, by its immediate radiations (its luminances), has really touched the surface which in its turn my gaze will touch, that I am not very fond of colour. An anonymous daguerreotype of 1843 shows a man and a woman in a medallion subsequently tinted by the miniaturists on the staff of the

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[71] The Albert Kahn archive and museum in Paris provides a comprehensive display that introduces the process with the help of microscopes and microscopic video footage of the surfaces of the image, including a detailed instructional video that shows the plates being prepared.

[72] Wood, *The Art of the Autochrome: The Birth of Colour Photography*, p.5

[73] Geoffrey Batchen, 'Carnal Knowledge', in *Art Journal*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (Spring 2001), pp. 20-39; p.21

photographic studio: I always feel (unimportant what actually occurs) that in the same way, colour is a coating applied later on to the original truth of the black and white photograph. For me, colour is an artifice, a cosmetic (like the kind used to paint corpses)'.[74]

Barthes is using colour as a metaphor for the actual material substance of colour, which is not actually colour at all, but paint or pigment in the most cosmetic sense, and in doing so refers to the act of 'giving a colour' (the miniaturist applying tints) more than colour as an after-effect (as perceived by the viewer). Tamar Garb has argued that Barthes' 'binary tone of colour, truth and artifice' echoes the 'competing claims of sculpture and painting', as 'circulated in European academic theory since at least the seventeenth century'.[75] Traditionally, she notes, black and white photography 'took on the mantle of sobriety and reason associated with sculpture', while the colour photograph was 'marked with the trivial mendaciousness of make-up: feminine, meretricious and deceptive'.[76] Interestingly, where Barthes' notes on the cosmetic value of colour are strongest are where he (echoing Bertillon) problematises the colour grey, recalling in one of his lectures at the Collège de France on 'The Neutral' a 'personal incident' in which he was buying a variety of coloured inks and, on his return, knocked one over that he discovered to have been labelled as the colour 'Neutral'. As he said:

'Well, I was both punished and disappointed: punished because Neutral spatters and stains (it's a type of dull grey-black); disappointed because Neutral is a colour like the others, and for sale (therefore, Neutral is not unmarketable): the unclassifiable is classified'.[77]

Though he then promises to return to discourse, expressing his relief that this 'at least' cannot say what the Neutral is, Barthes is making an important statement about the potential, material, substance of even the most 'neutral' of colours. A problem emerges here with the appearance of two types of grey: a material, and a metaphorical or in-substantiated grey, which Bertillon tried to argue for and Lombroso tried to see as an extension of criminal characteristics. If, for Barthes, colour is always an additive, 'superadded light', as he calls it, and his later, albeit metaphorical, use of 'neutral' is as just another material to be distilled, what does this say about black and white photographs? Could Barthes' two (very distinctive) studies be reconciled in order to suggest that colour is just as present in a black and white image as in one that has been produced *in colour*, or had colour applied to it? Where would the interstitial layer of pigment filters fit in all of this, as neither surface applications nor

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[74] *Barthes, Camera Lucida*, p.81

[75] Garb, *Figures and Fictions*, p.60

[76] Garb, *Figures and Fictions*, p.60

[77] Barthes, Session of March 11, 1988, from *The Neutral*, trans. Rosalind E Krauss and Dennis Hollier, New York; Columbia University Press, 2005, p.48

opaque inner structure? Ideas such as this about neutrality, alongside the semiotic problems of colour that I hope to have acknowledged in relation to Bertillon's eye chart, complicate the debate on colour. To accept both of these theoretical suppositions and work from the principle that firstly, nothing is colourless, and secondly, that colour eschews a semiotic framework, then there is very little to work with in terms of asking how colour *colours* a portrait; and so, how it contributes to the configuration of a criminal identity.

It is interesting to note that Barthes also devoted a small section of his lecture on the richness and/or poverty of colour to discussing China, in relation to its notorious historical connections with 'social uniformity'.[78] More generally, he also remarked that the neutral was 'mythically associated if not with poverty, at least with no-money, with the non-pertinence of the riches/ poverty opposition'.[79] Black and white still seems to hold its reputation as the more transparent format in photography produced with documentary in mind. But recent contemporary criticism makes claims for uses of colour that promote agency and expression in fascinating ways.

For example, South African painter and photographer Zwelethu Mthethwa has argued that black and white 'has bequeathed a bleak and impoverished picture of black life, based on the circulation of set pieces and stereotypes that, though they may critique, also mirror the binaries that apartheid put in place'.[80] He is described as using colour to 'give some dignity back to the sitters', whose lives, as Garb explains, had been 'doubly depleted: by the system in which they had lived and by the figural meditations through which they were seen'.[81] Colour in this case is said to confer 'a three-dimensional complexity on lived experience, allowing the agency of the sitter to be expressed - in vivid decorative interiors and costume, and arresting the presence and contemporaneity of the scene'.[82] Following Barthes' commentary, it also 'reveals the commodified world to which these impoverished sitters are subject', but if for Barthes this was a negative thing, here it 'sets up an interesting dialogue between their social situation and that pictured in the recycled advertising imagery with which they surround themselves'.[83]

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[78] Barthes, *The Neutral*, p.50

[79] Barthes, *The Neutral*, p.50

[80] Zwelethu Mthethwa in Garb, *Figures and Fictions*, p.60

[81] Garb, *Figures and Fictions*, p.60

[82] Garb, *Figures and Fictions*, p.60

[83] Garb, *Figures and Fictions*, p.60

Zwelethu Mthethwa, *Untitled*, 1995-2005, from the *Interiors* series

What could be more removed from the 'riches/poverty opposition' than nomadic societies such as that depicted in Passet's autochrome of a prisoner in Mongolia? In all of its richness of photographic colour, made apparent by the microscopic starch filters, the status of the subject being depicted, as both a criminal and as an example of 'otherness' that follows Kahn's guidelines for his project as a desire to document so-called disappearing cultures and non-Western identities, seems to in fact comply with Barthes' statements on the absence of the neutral in the economy. Could it be, then, that this colour portrait can just as plausibly be its perceived opposite: a neutral or colourless image? It definitely disrupts the polarities of honorific and repressive, even documentary and imaginary, whether 'giving a colour to fiction', or giving a fiction to colour. In view of the extraneous context of this image's production, there are many alternative interpretations that can exist outside of its documentary conditions. The potential ideological *weight* of this photograph, as part of a project that sought to 'give a colour' to so-called disappearing cultures, is also undermined by its physical weight and its interstitiality: the physical, hand-applied, pigmented, surface through which the colours can be seen.

Dye Transfer: Auratic vs. Cosmetic

My final colour case study includes the Dallas police department photographs of Lee Harvey Oswald, which were taken on the 23rd November 1963 (the day after the assassination of John

F. Kennedy and the day before Oswald's assassination in the basement of the Dallas police headquarters). These portraits provide a fascinating postscript to Barthes' ideas about neutrality. Reminiscent of the Lewis Payne photographs, a similar feeling can be sensed in these portraits, given that here again, for many viewers, the punctum is 'he is going to die'.[84] The department produced two separate images, one in black and white, the other a full colour transparency. The portraits are almost identical in all other respects, with the same lighting and composition, but on close inspection it is clear that they are not the exact same image - the black and white portraits, which also include a profile view, are not merely reproductions of the colour images. This is apparent in small details such as the slightly different position of the identification board above Oswald's shoulder, which is about a centimetre closer to his neck in the colour image than the black and white image, and an ever so slightly different appearance of Oswald's mouth in the black and white portraits, in which Oswald appears to be very subtly on the verge of a smile, forming a slight crease in his left cheek, compared with the colour image. The original photographs are of course strictly held by Dallas Police Department, but they are also some of the most heavily reproduced police photographs of the late twentieth century.

The colour image was most likely produced using small or medium format Kodachrome film, which was quite commercially popular at this time.[85] To cite Lemagny and Rouillé's description of the process:

'Composed of three layers of emulsion in each of which a chromogenous development [chromogenous refers to the transfer of coloured dyes onto an initial silver image] made the colours appear one by one. As well as its saturation, it offered the advantage of greater transparency and an almost total absence of grain. This process outclassed all the rest as soon as it came on the market'.[86]

These and other similar transfer processes that saw commercial success from the mid-twentieth century onwards reveal a remarkable progression from the earlier colour reproduction techniques that relied upon grains of pigment in order to produce an image. If the autochrome complicates the notion of the neutral image by its use of physical pigment to create transparent screens, dye transfer processes such as these are based on a similar premise: they too verge upon the auratic and away from the cosmetic. In the Oswald image, the

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[84] See Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, p.96, and my previous chapter (p.25).

[85] Incidentally, was also used by Abraham Zapruder for his 'home-movie' footage that depicted the then President's assassination on the previous day. At this time, Kodachrome (manufactured and, until 1954, processed only by Kodak laboratories) and its increased-sensititvity successor, Kodachrome II, which was made available in 1961 and was quite probably used to make this photograph, was one of the most common photographic processes for colour photography. See Lemagny & Rouillé, eds., *A History of Photography: Social and Cultural Perspectives*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp.273-4

[86] Lemagny and Rouillé, *A History of Photography*, p.273

backdrop seems to glow, provoking descriptions akin to that made by Shawn Michelle Smith in relation to the daguerreotype, with its 'jewel-like' appearance.[87]
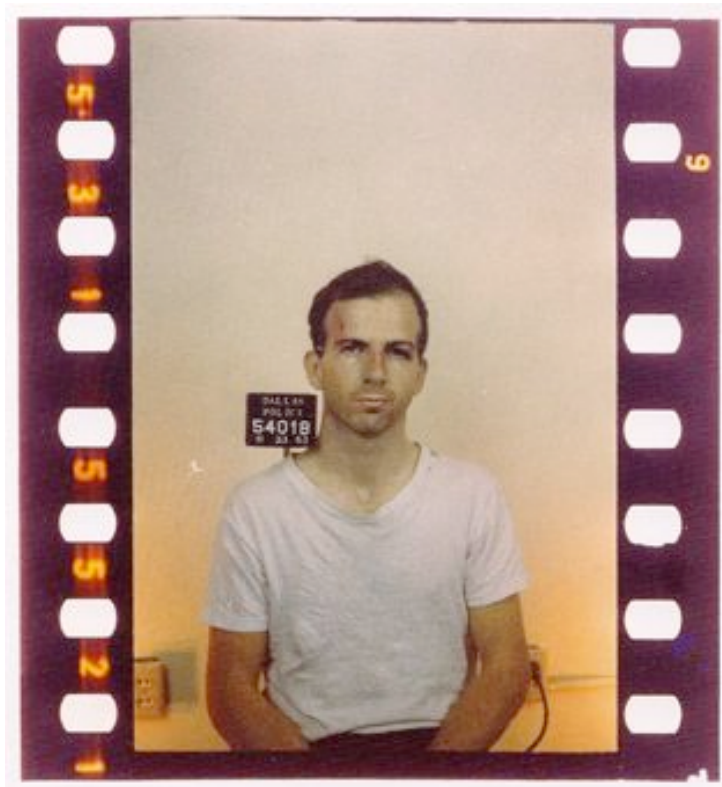
Dallas Police Department photograph, Lee Harvey Oswald
(b. 18 October 1939), 23 November 1963
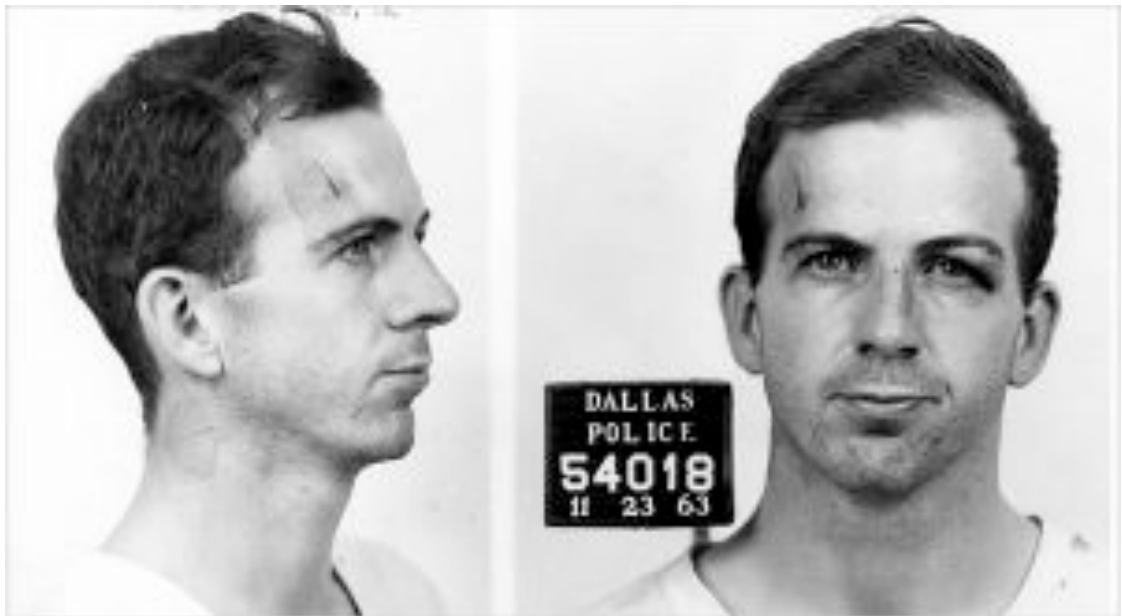
Dallas Police Department photograph, Lee Harvey Oswald, 23 November 1963

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[87] Smith, 'The Art of Scientific Propaganda', in Brauer and Callen, *Art, Sex and Eugenics*, p.68

One way to reconcile Barthes' descriptions of colour could be to focus instead on his prioritisation of the original, auratic surface of the photograph - that which exists prior to the application of colour, as with the hand-tinted daguerreotype that he so disliked in *Camera Lucida*. If he later goes on to consider the cosmetic potential of neutral, Barthes does not deny that there exists an alternate type of neutral that exists behind the cosmetic. This has profound implications for the portrait photograph and, in particular, for identification-type images that are produced under the guise of neutrality and uniformity. Neutrality takes on a different meaning when it is strived for in an institutional context, because this distinction of auratic versus cosmetic is not considered: the images are believed to be neutral because they reveal an attempt to avoid both properties with the use of uniform lighting, plain backdrops and, for example, standard-issue clothing. However, if these are desirable conditions for the production of identification images, then they are the exception and not the rule - even if there is some unity between the photographs produced within each police department, this is of course never permanent and is subject to shifts over time and developments in photographic and other technologies, and this is in addition to the immense diversity between different institutions, states and countries, which are the inevitable result of the multifarious roots of criminal identification as a practice. For this type of portrait, neutrality is used as a more throwaway term that stands for the attempt to standardise something that fundamentally cannot be standardised. There will always be a 'new' standard for this kind of image production, which might incorporate a new technology, or, as is the case in this century, supposedly more accurate or efficient means of identifying a subject. If there can be no such thing as a neutral image, then the images that are produced are always by definition non-neutral and thus play a role in constructing identity. Of course this applies to both black and white and colour portraits, but colour plays a fascinating role because it can simultaneously provide additional information about a subject ('giving a colour' as revelation) and mask an original truth ('giving a colour' as a contribution to the assimilated identity in a portrait).

3 Assembling the Mug Shot: Laboratories, Grids and Gadgetry

'The photograph itself exists at one remove from reality, and the painted backdrop provides an additional step away from daily life'.[1]

An 1888 diagram that was used as the frontispiece for an exhibition of images from the archive of Joliet Prison, Illinois, depicts a subject in US prison uniform, surrounded by various smaller diagrams that chart the process of acquiring anthropometric data.[2] The image was likely to have been produced in Joliet prison itself in around 1888, for a 'well attended' school of instruction that was held there due to the promotion of Bertillon's system (then-thriving in Paris) by Robert McClaughry, who also contributed to the translation of Bertillon's signaletic instruction manual from the French. This also fits in terms of the depiction of a striped uniform, as these would have been in frequent use at the time, but were phased out in the mid-twentieth century in favour of predominantly grey uniforms, as part of the attempt to progress from 'badge of shame' styles of punishment to promote more reformatory, less humiliating approaches.[3]
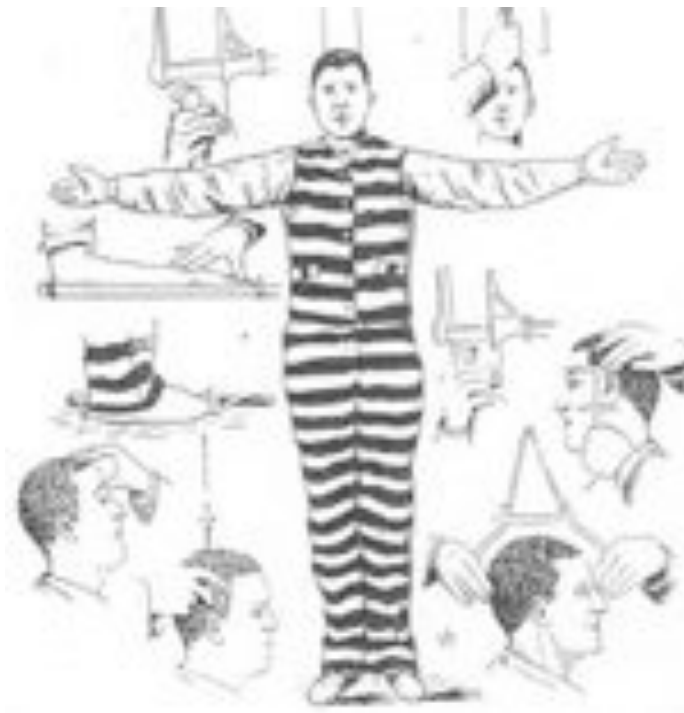
Bertillon measurement system as used at Joliet Prison, drawing, c.1888

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[1] Lucy Lippard, 'Frames of Mind', *Afterimage: The Journal of Media Arts and Cultural Criticism*, Vol. 24, No. 5, March/April 1997: 'From the Background to the Foreground: The Photo Backdrop and Cultural Expression', published on the occasion of the exhibition of the same name, Visual Studies Workshop, Rochester, New York, 1 October 1996 - 8 March 1997; Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy Andover, Massachusetts, 18 April - 31 July 1997; California Museum of Photography, Riverside, 13 June - 16 August 1998, pp.8-11

[2] The exhibition, organised by James R Hugunin, was called *Discipline and Photograph: The Prison Experience*, and was held at The Peace Museum, Chicago, 13 September - 16 November 1996.

[3] For more on McClaughry's work, see Frank Morn, Forgotten Reformer: Robert McClaughry and Criminal Justice Reform in Nineteenth-Century America, Maryland: University Press of America, 2011

The diagram illustrates the physical aspects of processing undertaken by officials at 'the world's toughest prison', in which subjects could spend a month being 'held for study and classification with the objective of determining the program of treatment and training that was best suited to their needs'.[4] During this time, they would be subjected to an extensive internment process: confiscation of belongings, provision of uniforms, washing and body hair removal, photographing and fingerprinting, and also a series of health assessments that were to determine the type of work that a subject would be allocated to do during their incarceration. These tests were concerned with both the subject's mental and physical health. Traces of Bertillon's methodical approach to the body resonate throughout historical accounts of life at 'the world's toughest prison', and while this system obviously evolved between its adoption by McClaughry in the late 1880s and this rewritten account in 1962, the fact that the space in which these preliminary assessments took place was referred to then as the 'Diagnostic Depot', is a key indication of Bertillon's profound legacy. That the image is a black and white line drawing emphasises the striped uniform or 'badge of shame'[5] while it also brings both the subject and each of the gadgets that surround him to the same, shared foreground. In depicting these techniques—the measurement of the head; the placing of the hands upon the skull to assess its contours; and the testing of vision[6] all at once upon the same page, the image reveals an attempt to describe as much as possible within a small space or limited context. Directly citing Bertillon's anthropometric parameters, then, here is a figure reduced to a list, in a summary of the very process of summarising that takes place in judicial contexts. Rather than an individual, this is an icon of a criminal. The most that can be obtained from a criminal suspect, or so it is implied here, is a delineation of the outermost surfaces of the body. This subject only has his identity as a prisoner, and is somehow contained by the image: ironically, he mimics the detainee in their cell. That being said, in depicting each of these angles of the head, fragments of the arms, and so forth; the abstract wallpaper - from which the subject, with arms and legs outstretched for span and reach measurements, literally stands out - forms a backdrop to his portrait that creates a multi-dimensional icon. Added to the sparse line drawing of an anonymous figure in uniform (with all of the connotations of homogeneity that the word uniform implies), this surplus information - the fragments that act as both instructions for the use of apparatus *and* as additional details of the subject's body - the contradictions in this image are clear. This image encapsulates its subject, from multiple angles and with its various clasps upon his body.

This image brings me to the question that I will ask throughout this chapter: does the presence

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[4] Joseph E Ragen and Charles Finston, *Inside the World's Toughest Prison*, Springfield, Illinois: Charles C Thomas, 1962, p.313. Ragen was then Director of Public Safety for the state of Illinois, Finston was Political Editor of *Chicago American*.

[5] See John Pratt, *Punishment and Civilization*, London: Sage, 2002, p.76

[6] This is indicated by the finger held in front of the subject's face in the top left corner of the diagram

of apparatus in an image *make* the mug shot, or does it complicate the standard interpretative glance that might be taken, moving away from the stereotype that was enforced by nineteenth-century studies of supposedly criminal appearances? In other words, how do additional 'props' contribute to the assimilation of a new, criminal identity? Do they only imply restriction and incarceration, as might be said for this diagram, or do they have alternate functions that might be described with the use of a different vocabulary to that which determined their roles? To borrow Lucy Lippard's terms, given that the photograph 'is already one remove from reality', I am interested in the alternate realities that can be implied by these supplemental objects: as items that contribute to what is often read as a criminal identity, in what way do they perform a more abstract function than that of merely demonstrating this identity? Since uniform, measurement devices and other apparatus are key constituents in judicial photography, and have been since Bertillon and his contemporaries made them so, the process of describing their alternate roles is imperative to this discussion.

The 'Criminal Laboratory'[7]

As I explained in my introduction, the idiosyncratic aspect of procedures that were used under the guise of genuine medical research is both visual and socio-historical: both the field for the study of criminals and its visual artefacts share what Nicole Hahn Rafter described as 'collective amnesia' about their roots, which she accounted for in terms of the 'makeshift' nature of criminological study that was often 'peripheral to the researcher's central endeavour'.[8] From applications of, and experiments with, photography; to electroshock treatments that were applied to so-called hysterical women by the medical teacher Jean-Michel Charcot; photographs produced by ethnographers that depict subjects standing in front of a measuring grid; to electric phrenology kits; technological development was intrinsic to nineteenth-century pseudoscience. Belief in the ability of both technical and technological instruments to assist in the production of archival records of a suspect's identity - in terms of both the identification systems, and those that saw the body as worthy of closer study - was particularly strong at this time. That this has a sinister undertone is unsurprising, given the already problematic position of many figures working in criminology whom, in its earliest years, were overtly concerned with the improvement of society by the identification, study, and desired eradication of the so-called degenerate. With the appropriation of devices from other disciplines, ranging from medical sciences and psychiatry through to ethnography, which saw a surge in popularity at the same time as criminology, and the subjection of equipment to continual modification, it is quite feasible to imagine the criminologist working in a space of experimentation that shares as much of the trope of the 'mad scientist' in his

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[7] This section is based on 'From eye charts to odiferous substances: images of apparatus in the criminal laboratory', a paper that I gave at *Crime Across Cultures: An Interdisciplinary Conference*, organised by the department of English Studies, University of Leeds, 9-10 September 2010

[8] See Rafter, *The Origins of Criminology*, p.xiii, and my Introduction, p.6

laboratory as it might with the clinical, bureaucratic environment that would now be associated with the allocated sites for judicial record-making.

That being said, the use of gadgetry in this context tends to have a lot more subtlety to it than that of the nineteenth-century psychiatrist or neurologist. Where these fields were, and to a lesser extent, still are, replete with apparatuses that require physical contact with the body, and were even intended to induce pain or movement, those used in criminal identification methods tend to have a subtle and complex relationship to the body. A phrenology kit that was made in around the 1880s, for example, has a far more disconcerting mode and effect of contact with the body than, say, an early fingerprinting kit. Once again, this is in line with the processes of translation that were pioneered by Bertillon. As one group of images that emerged at around the same time that the foundations of criminology were being laid, it is interesting to consider the work of, for example, G. B. Duchenne de Bolougne (with assistance from Adrien Tournachon, brother of the famous studio portrait photographer Gaspard-Félix Tournachon, also known as Félix Nadar), entitled *Mécanisme de la Physionomie Humaine* (1862), which has been cited as the 'first scientific work to use photographic portraiture as an integral element of a proposed theory'.[9]
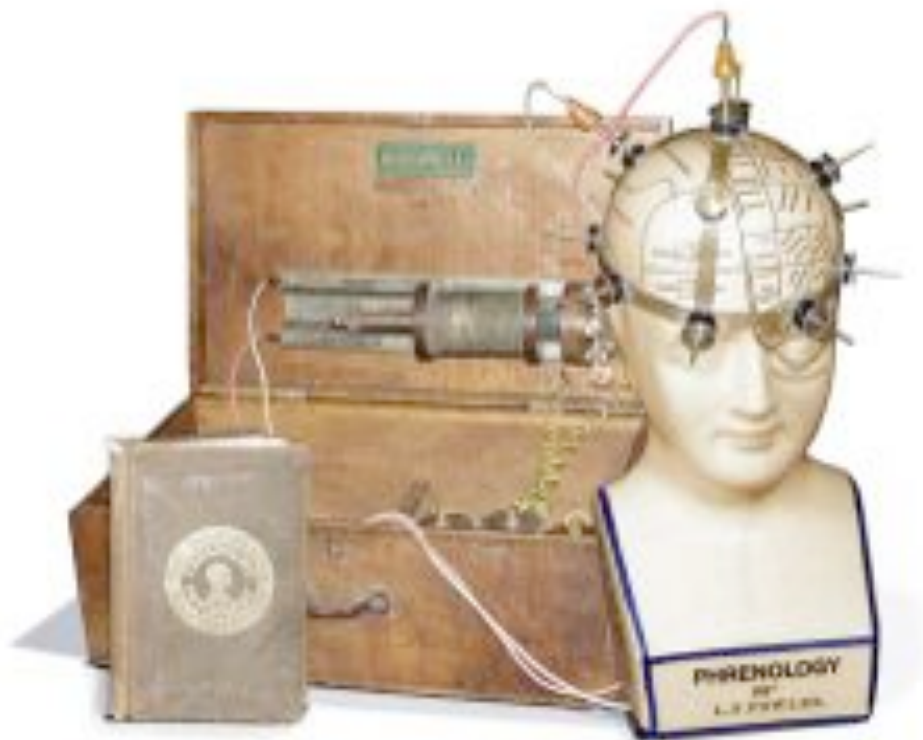
Photograph of a Phrenology kit as designed by Lorenzo Niles Fowler, c.1835-45

[9] Hamilton and Hargreaves, *The Beautiful and the Damned: The Creation of Identity in Nineteenth Century Portrait Photography*, 2001, p.56

Whilst the visual outcome of such an experiment, which is ambiguous at best, is comparable to the work of former actor and painter Oscar Gustav Rejlander, such as his *Self Portrait* (1872) that was reproduced in Charles Darwin's *The Expression of Emotions in Man and Animals* of the same year, and displayed adjacent to Duchenne's photograph in *The Beautiful and the Damned* exhibition; the presence of apparatus marks a shift from a vague attempt to record expression, to a potentially very sinister attack on a sitter in order to complete a scientific experiment. Duchenne used 'electric stimulation of paralysed patients to demonstrate the physiological basis of expression'. Describing one example, he claimed that it showed: 'that the combination of the muscles of *joy* and *pain*, at certain degrees of contraction, will only produce a grimace. Strong electrical contraction of *m. zygomaticus major* and of *m. corrugator supercilii*: *grimace*'.[10] Duchenne's investment in the photograph as a tool that revealed more than could be observed with the eye is testament to the mindset about photography at the time.
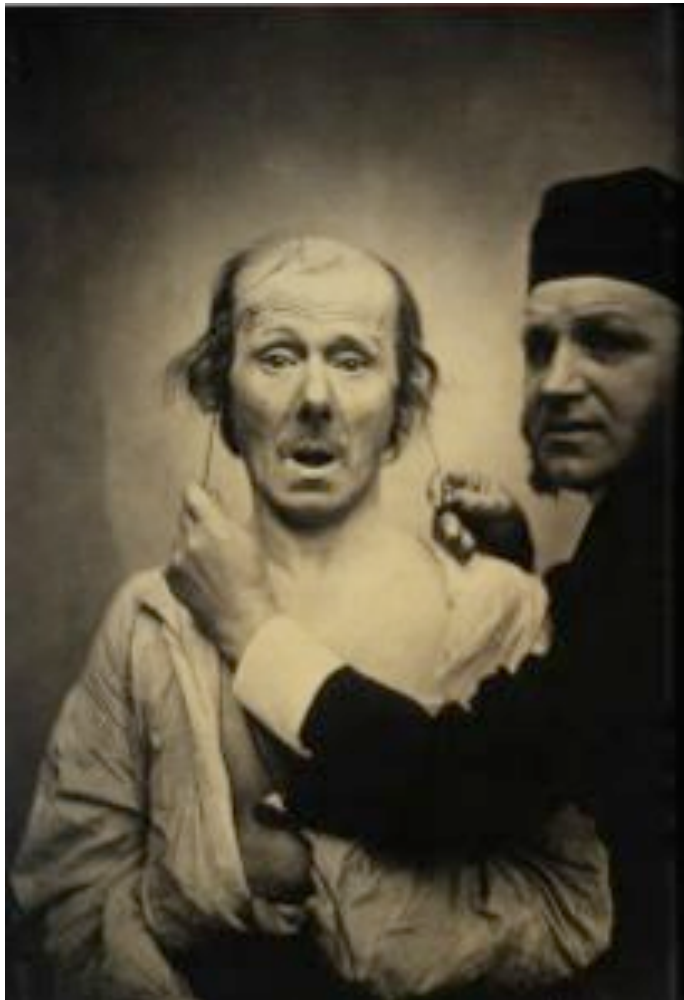
Duchenne de Bologne, demonstration of the mechanics of facial expression, from *Le Méchanisme de la Physiognomie Humaine,* Paris: Archives Générales de Médecine, 1862

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[10] See my Bibliography for full exhibition details.

It may also be a reason why such projects were so replete with apparatus, as these could take on the roles of ciphers, supplements to the photographic evidence that when present, substantiate both the experimental procedure and the photograph. Though it is impossible to be certain just how staged a photograph such as this may be, it is interesting to note that many of these places of scrutiny were re-constructed for public display: as with Bertillon's studio having been re-staged for the Chicago Exposition in 1893, and Galton's various laboratory presentations at the Royal Anthropological Institute in Kensington, where he was a key member.[11] Galton's anthropometric laboratory seems to have followed a similar line of inquiry to that of Lombroso, with its eclectic combination of metal and wooden mathematical instruments and other inscriptive devices, along with the seemingly more simple eye charts and measuring tools.

Photographer unknown, *Armoires de Classification*, view of Bertillon's exhibit at the
World's Columbian Exhibition, Chicago, 1893

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[11] I mentioned earlier the reconstruction of Bertillon's studio for the police museum in Paris, which is still available to view today. Although a blatant re-staging, this display has an interesting resonance with the ideas that I am discussing throughout this project.

Photographer unknown, re-staged portrait (with Bertillon posing as subject) and crime scene, as constructed for Bertillon's exhibit at the World's Columbian Exhibition, Chicago, 1893

The boundaries between public display and the private sentiment that this solitary polymath would have inevitably had with regard to his laboratory have been obscured. It could compare with an artist's studio - as a significant place in which processes occur that are at once practical and personal - and consequently, a gallery display in which an artist's working table is set out for the spectator to browse. In any photograph of a studio-type space, any photograph, even, there is an element of questioning how far it may have been subject to arrangement or staging, but Bertillon's Chicago stages, and this display under the banner of 'Anthropometric Laboratory', were especially contrived, with the latter physically approachable in the form of a single long table against a wall of framed examples, and conceptually straightforward due to the use of label and caption. The display of Galton's laboratory as it was re-staged for the museum also clearly bears the usual traits of a contrived public display.

Photographer unknown, re-staging of Galton's Anthropometric Laboratory displays in South Kensington, c.1890

But how much these sterile-looking representations resemble the original environment in which the depicted apparatus was used is impossible to say without having seen them as 'working' spaces. However contrived these images may seem, I think some of the apparatus used in such environments speaks for itself. Michael Aird says of 'the accurate measuring of peoples' physical features with elaborate tools' that it is a 'step far beyond documentary photography', and refers to an image of a subject being measured with head callipers to illustrate his argument about Aboriginal history, particularly in the 1930s, when Aboriginal peoples were 'being treated as scientific objects and forced to endure this humiliation while living on government settlements'.[12] But interestingly, Galton's head callipers are distinctively marked as his own property, where the leather-bound, ink-inscribed, newspaper-lined kit is, I think, reminiscent of the cliché that the professional always becomes attached to their tools (I am imagining here the writer's favourite pen, the architect's drawing board, the surgeon's scalpel, painter's brush, and such like). If the sole purpose of Galton's work was humiliation and documentation, how does that account for this ornate instrument, which has been conserved as the painter might their brush or the photographer their camera? David Horn's comments about apparatus, as made in *The Criminal Body*, emphasise how intricate this type of practice could appear, setting the scene for a much more abstract approach than purely 'accurate measuring':

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[12] Michael Aird, 'Growing up with Aborigines', in Christopher Pinney and Nicolas Peterson (eds.), *Photography's Other Histories*, Durham, MC: Duke University Press, 2003, p.30

'Anthropometry and physiological experiments were, in obvious ways, dependent on the availability not only of docile subjects (and dead bodies), but also on an appropriate selection of reliable instruments. The coherence and authority of criminology would come to depend on scientists' ability to contain a potentially limitless proliferation of measurements and to deploy those instruments that promised to demonstrate systematic and significant difference between pathological and normal bodies. [Cesare] Lombroso, in his handbook for forensic experts, suggested that a well-appointed laboratory would include the Anfossi tachianthropometer, Broca's auricular goniometer, Sieweking's esthesiometer, a Eulenberg baristesiometer, a Nothnagel thermesthesiometer, a Zwaardesmaker olfactometer, a Regnier-Mathieu dynamometer, a Mosso ergograph, and a modified campimeter, as well as a more mundane selection of compasses, measuring tapes, eye charts, magnets, and odoriferous substances'.[13]

What this quite baffling array of instruments implies, is that the improvised element of the discipline is also true of developments made on the small, even microscopic, scale. That most are accredited to an individual working in the same or a related field accentuates my point about the attachment of practitioner with object. Though modifications were common, most of the tools promoted by Lombroso were appropriated from other disciplines. What was the purpose of such a collection of curiosities as these? How might a statement like this, and any related images, be used in order to visualise an environment in which supposedly scientific studies were carried out upon the bodies of criminal suspects: studies that were intended to measure dangerousness, or to statistically compile criminality? Without tediously reiterating the plight and purpose of each piece of apparatus, I will attempt just such a visualisation; working from a selection of diagrams and photographs.

With his overview studies, Lombroso produced and gathered a wealth of statistical measurements that have been credited as providing the foundation for criminology as an autonomous discipline. For Lombroso, this was not without its pitfalls. The theoretical grounds upon which the work was carried out were neither legitimate nor concrete enough to hold, as David Horn has said that 'by Lombroso's own calculations, some 60 percent of criminals bore no resemblance at all to the anatomical portraits he had constructed'.[14] Indeed, the criminologist had, in something of an ironic twist, to testify to what Horn calls the facticity of their so-called criminal body before juries: in what he describes as their 'struggle to contain the variability of real bodies' surfaces, to overcome criminals' multiple forms of resistance to scrutiny, and to disqualify competing knowledge claims'.[15] These trials and tribulations were accompanied by disputes over the blueprint for the 'criminal laboratory', which was, like the suppositions that is was intended to prove, in a state of perpetual modification.

[13] Horn, *The Criminal Body: Lombroso and the Anatomy of Deviance*, London: Routledge, 2003, pp.81-2

[14] Horn, *The Criminal Body*, p.59

[15] Horn, *The Criminal Body*, p.61

That was if he could get hold of a subject in the first place: before there were any commonplace procedures for criminals entering the penal system, Lombroso was greeted with contempt and had, as Horn explains, 'considerable difficulty gaining access to the bodies of criminals'.[16] Thus Lombroso's laboratory was set up at his own expense, and even when he offered money, he, unsurprisingly, struggled to get criminals to visit him. The logistics of criminal study, it seems, with the difficulties encountered here in even finding a criminal suspect to cooperate, are hardly ideal for obtaining these 'accurate measurements'. Lombroso was forced to get his assistant to approach 'criminal types' in public spaces, and negotiate with them to get them involved. That this entailed an utterly subjective and completely unreliable selection process—essentially creating a criminal on the basis of first impression and chance encounter—was not considered an issue. Indeed, it is likely that this was favoured above the next best thing: to practice the techniques on themselves. Prior to the establishment of the first procedures of criminal documentation, then, it is quite possible to imagine the anthropometric laboratory as a quiet, intricately arranged, space in which a solitary pseudoscientist contemplates his array of devices, with his assistant in tow, preparing for their next theatrical performance out on the street trying to negotiate with subjects.

There is an aesthetic appeal to these performative and contemplative elements, one that can be illustrated with a closer consideration of some of this apparatus. Many of these instruments had a critical reception and others, particularly those that were appropriated from medical disciplines and subjected to modification, were unwieldy and difficult to operate. One piece, Horn recalls, the Anfossi tachianthropometer, was rejected by the Italian government. Allowing many different measurements to be taken using just one device, this instrument was known as the 'anthropometric guillotine'. Lombroso's inclusion of the esthesiometer in his inventory is also interesting, since this device was said to measure the tactile sensitivity of the body, and can be pinched onto the skin, mouth, and even horizontally to the eyes. Similar in function to the algometer, which gauges the level of pressure that might be applied before pain is sensed, the esthesiometer, for its simplicity as, essentially, an extendable set of pincers, is a little more sinister in its appearance. The shorter the distance that could be obtained between the two pincers, the lower was thought the sensitivity to pain. The theory that criminals were less likely to feel pain could be in part a logical deduction in terms of their perceived ability to inflict more pain on a victim than they may receive in return, though they could also perhaps be thought to be weaker (weaker of mind thence weaker of body), and thus more sensitive, in line with the theory of degeneracy that was often unified with criminological study.


[16] Horn, *The Criminal Body*, p.78
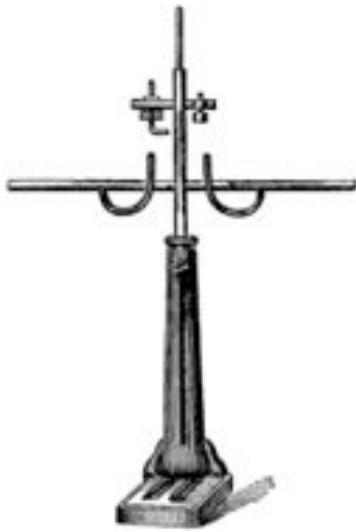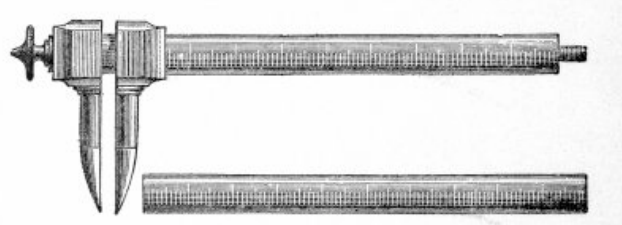
Anfossi tachianthropometer   Esthesiometer

An instrument used to obtain such a measurement of the external features of the body would supposedly have given the criminologist a neat set of figures upon which to test such theories - to turn miniature suppositions into charts and graphs - without the need for any physical contact with the subjects (held at arm's length). But it also informs a visual image of what this situation would have been like, for subject, theorist and (potential) viewer. In other words, this instrument plays an interesting mediatory role: an analogue clamp that severs contact between patient and physician, suspect and official, or paid volunteer and researcher. That it would be used to instigate pain, however mild or severe, makes it all the more prominent as a device that was not seen as supplementary, but *intrinsic* to the theories it was intended to produce the evidence to support: as part of a complex negotiation between its user and the subject, where there is certainly room for the misinterpretation of a crucially subjective feature of the body. How can something as internal as pain be truly measured, recorded, converted into data? If Bertillon's supplemental eye chart revealed the limitations of verbal translation, the idea that a *feeling* could be simplified in this way is highly illustrative of one of the many idiosyncratic precursors that inform criminal identification. In a similar vein, rather than the more sinister possibility of their being used as mood enhancers and/or anaesthetisers for uncooperative subjects, the seemingly frivolous addition of 'odiferous substances' to Lombroso's inventory would probably have been used as part of a study of the subjects' sense of smell, which is perhaps derivative of the stereotype of the so-called 'criminal type' labelled 'loafer' or 'vagabond', as carrying themselves something of an odour. That this was a time of great developments in chemistry might also help to explain such an inclusion: with the first soaps being marketed and, of course, following Louis Pasteur and Robert Koch's contemporary medical research.[17]

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[17] As I noted in my Introduction, Rhodes went so far as to speculate that Pasteur would have had regarded Bertillon as a 'natural ally', on the grounds of their shared 'lack of formal education' and 'struggle for recognition'.
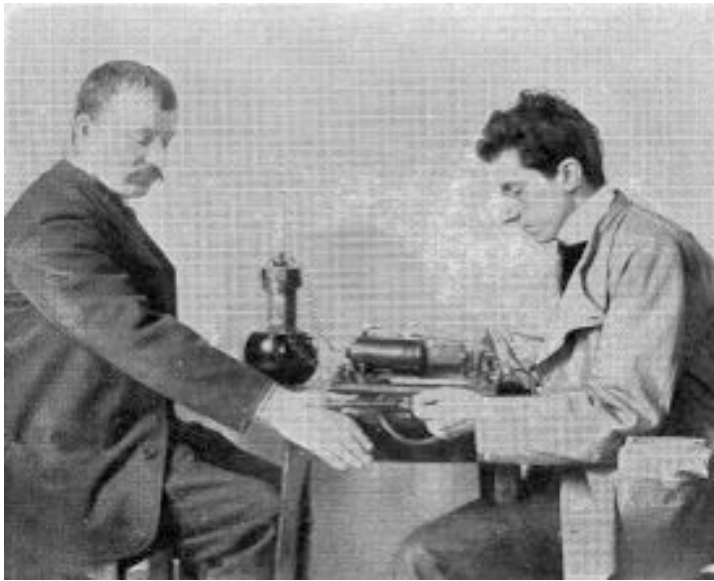
Photographer unknown, an
algometer in use, c.1880-90

For Horn, Lombroso's particular, and peculiar, selection, he says, 'tells us something about
which measurements could and could not count as significant, at particular moments in the
history of criminology, and about how the body was imagined and mapped through tools'.[18]
'In a sense', he argues, 'each instrument produced the body anew, giving it rise to an index, a
threshold, or a capacity that could not have mattered previously'.[19] Therefore, Horn states that
'the rhetoric of anatomical and physiological measurement tended to deny the constructed
nature of what was measured, relying on (and reproducing) the illusion that indices were
features of bodies, simply to be found on its surfaces and structures'.[20] In other words, the
anthropological instrument serves to obscure identity in its attempt to reduce a subject to a set
of statistical data, keeping up the misapprehension that it was only the body, not the physician
or apparatus, that was able to provide this information.

The studios, laboratories, offices, and other rooms in which these individuals carried out their
meticulous research, to prove their often completely farcical theories, also, inevitably, take
this problematic position: a kind of common ground for unorthodox techniques. This is a case
of expanded terminology as well: the concept of a 'criminal laboratory' necessarily crosses a
boundary between an allocated room in a supposedly scientific environment into the broader
social context of the prison, asylum, hospital, university office, private study, and so on. What
I hope to have alluded to here is the self-contradictory nature of the very idea of a well-

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[18] Horn, *The Criminal Body*, p.82

[19] Horn, *The Criminal Body*, p.82

[20] Horn, *The Criminal Body*, p.82

appointed 'criminal laboratory', which is instead a space of disconnectedness, in accordance with these particularly distinctive individuals whom, in their own multifarious pursuits, are each partially responsible for the relatively commonplace processing of criminal suspects today. This is illustrated by a lack of specificity, both with regard to the use of instruments and emphasis on modifications, and in terms of this ambiguity of how so-called criminal or 'low types' can be re-labelled as client, subject, suspect, volunteer, or detainee.

Of course, the majority of these instruments, like their analogous companions that can be found at the antiques market, have been phased out in favour of speed, simplicity, and economy. Most of the devices that were relied upon in the late nineteenth century are now redundant, or, in the case of the photograph, fingerprint, iris scans, and most recently, DNA profiling, have either been pared down and/or radically transformed by developments in biometric theories and technologies. However, this account of early uses of gadgetry emphasises all of the aspects of judicial portraiture that do not conform with a notion of speed, simplicity, and economy. These nineteenth-century spaces of 'assessment' may have been phased out, but their legacy with respect to the very notion of judicial identity is permanent. The arbitrariness of many commonplace procedures today is partly due to their initial establishment within this pseudoscientific, often whimsical, branch of the early criminological discipline, full of anecdotes (Lombroso's struggle to find subjects) and frequently drawing parallels with art historical conventions (the perceived attachment of the pseudoscientist to his favourite tools and the search of the assistant for 'sitters').

Identity Apparatus

It seems important to reinforce at this stage that I am not questioning how the mug shot came to be, but rather, where it benefits from a vocabulary of the portrait, in order to expand upon the constructed elements of criminal identity, and thus illustrate the crossovers and parallels between nineteenth-century experimentation and the later practices that are commonly mistaken as normal. Jonathan Finn's statement that the 'defining feature of the criminal subject' is 'the ability to be represented, visually and graphically', where 'photographs function both as representation and inscription' is particularly relevant here, in what will now be a shift from object to photograph.[21] How do objects, which are supplementary to a portrait, contribute to Lucy Lippard's claim that photography already exists 'at one remove from reality'? For Finn, photography simultaneously 'reduces live bodies to a standardised, two-dimensional document, a material representation to be combined, analysed, and exchanged in a network of similar representations', whilst, in the context of these late nineteenth-century experimental procedures, it also 'gave rise to new forms of knowledge regarding crime and

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[21] Finn, *Capturing the Criminal Image*, p.28

criminality', where Galton, Lombroso, and Bertillon 'all found criminality on the body'.[22] Finn is in agreement about the role that this plays in relation to the subject's identity: 'the use of the photograph as inscription in their work, which was meant to document what were believed to be the signs of criminality, in fact helped produce the very subject of study'.[23] This is true of both nineteenth-century photography and more recent practice.

From these images of the devices used to study criminal suspects, then, which once again have illustrated the unstable foundations from which judicial portraits emerged, I will now progress from the inscriptive to the representational from two different angles: firstly, devices that are intended to *produce* a subject's identity, depicting name, often an identification number, and so on, and secondly, those that are used in order to *detract* from a subject's identity, i.e., to provide a sort of uniform, or to neutralise their surroundings, which, with the addition of a numerical label to the subject's name; a photographic 'record'; and a series of measurements according to respective bureaucratic procedures, contributes to the assimilation of their new identity as a criminal. Though it could be argued that, given their shared context of uniformity and standardised image-production, *all* such devices are representative of a need to subtract, rather than to embellish, in the sense that a portrait commission or artistic project might, it is valuable to look more closely at the procedures in order to see them as either constructing or neutralising: even if the identity that they are affecting is the new, criminal, one that is depicted in the photograph. In other words, I am looking, within the realm of the repressed, at the devices used to label them as criminal whether by addition or by subtraction.

With respect to the mechanisms that are intended to assist in the confirmation of identity, it is perhaps most interesting to consider numbering and naming apparatus, and this is especially amenable to the logic of the supplement. As something adorned or supported by the body, this is perhaps the most significant symbolic component of the mug shot. These tools most often display the subject's name, the date upon which the photograph was taken and the number that will refer to their criminal identification record or other paperwork concerning their case history. Once again recalling Derrida's statements on the supplement, the addition of number to subject obviously has very complex ramifications. Once again, these are issues of image and text: in asking how an addition or supplement, in terms of the adornment of the body with this information in material form, can perform the function of a subtraction—from the subject's unique, individual, and (as is particularly interesting for the criminal suspect) often multifarious identity into this new, purportedly singular 'criminal identity'. What interests me most here is that this singularity is so problematic in the context of the portrait photograph. This was true of the Lewis Payne portraits, which seem to mimic the judicial image, testing the photograph's relationship with catastrophe; also with the multiplicity that is inherent to

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[22] Finn, *Capturing the Criminal Image*, p.28

[23] Finn, *Capturing the Criminal Image*, p.28

Galton's composites, and so too with Passet's autochrome of the prisoner in Mongolia. In this case, wearing the heavy and highly restrictive *cangue*, the subject's anchor weighed him down with not only its physical presence, but textually as well, where his name and the details of his crime were inscribed onto the wood. The subject is intended to assume, in other words, his *new* criminal identity at all times, and this reaches far beyond the potential of the photographic portrait, irrespective of how the image might be circulated. While this is an interesting example of a physical assertion of a criminal identity that breaches the restrictive parameters of the judicial photograph, it seems that the equivalent within this specific context reveals more about the processes of constructing identities since, by their means of production, they convey the repetition of this process upon each subject that enters a judicial system. This is not only an issue of property, where the Mongol prisoner clearly has long term possession of his identity-conveying device (leaving Passet's portrait aside for the moment), but equally, is related to the indicators of multiplicity upon which judicial portrait systems are based.

An image of a subject who was listed as a prostitute named Catherine Read, for example, depicts a subject holding a blackboard upon which previous names and dates of conviction have clearly been written and erased. To me, the use of the chalk-board to present the subject's identification details acts as a kind of bridge between the two conflicting aspects of the photograph: one only need consider the build-up that inevitably occurs on a blackboard if it has not been cleaned after each use, and the residues that this implies for other traces—legible or otherwise—of events and subjects past, to make a case for the pronounced differences between each image in relation to the other. The board sets in motion a dialogue between seriality and repetition, where, in a sense, it acts as a screen that almost seems to bisect the photograph. It is a supplemental image which, to the extent that board and subject are considered interchangeable, performs the same role as the portrait. In holding the board, the subject says: 'here is my criminal identity, for your records', whilst also highlighting the transient nature of this identity, in holding a device that will, probably very shortly after the photograph was made, no longer show this information and be performing the same task for the next subject in line. The very nature of the (analogue) photograph—its reliance upon chance, in the production of a visible image; the temporal factors that it relies upon in order to be made and developed, such as exposure times and developing methods, and most importantly as a still image depicting a precise moment in time, all contribute to this essence of temporality that is invoked by the transitional nature of blackboard-as-name-holder.

Catherine Read, BBC Family History Resources, Manchester, 1906

Perhaps the ultimate use of a chalk-board to assimilate a new identity was in the photograph taken by *Life* magazine photographer Howard J. Sochurek in 1952, which was published in the magazine two years later. The image depicts a sixteen-year-old Chinese communist, who, according to the curators of the aforementioned *Police Pictures* exhibition, was 'a political 'bandit' who had been twice arrested in the British colony of Malaya before being shot dead by the police. He was photographed lying in the police station courtyard prior to his autopsy and burial in an unmarked grave'.[24] The subject's face is hidden by a large blackboard: in a sense, he is one potential conclusion for the criminal portrait, a faceless individual whose identity is solely conveyed by this minimal, textual, information. The attempt to preserve a dead man's dignity by concealing his (potentially wounded) face also has also had the adverse effect of preserving him and, given the cult popularity of this image (notably, a print was sold in 1993 at auction for $660), re-presenting and reproducing him, *as* a criminal subject. In other words, this subject attained notoriety as a political bandit without there being any trace of his previous identity in the image that was responsible. Simultaneously famous and anonymous, he is denied the agency of expression for the camera that a living, exposed subject would have. He progresses from the nineteenth-century portraits of 'types' that I have been discussing not because of the generalisation that can be observed in the image, although this remains integral, but due to the very fact that he need not even be facially recognised in order to assume this role, a status that he attained posthumously.[25]

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[24] *Police Pictures: The Photograph as Evidence*, San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and New York: The Grey Art Gallery and Study Centre, p.125

[25] In an interesting digression from the faceless subject to facial fakery, a portrait image of Sochurek has since been used as the basis for an image of Martin Luther King Jr. in one of Shepard Fairey's political portraits entitled *Radicals* (2003). See Shepard Fairey, *Obey: Supply and Demand: The Art of Shepard Fairey*, Gingko Press, 2006.

Howard J Sochurek, *Dead Bandit*, 1952

An interesting group of photographs that question the conventions of the 'straight' judicial portrait were included in an exhibition of photographs that were made in the same prison as the instructional diagram that I described at the beginning of this chapter.[26] Containing full face and profile portraits, these double photographs recall Shawn Michelle Smith's essay on the ethnographic albums of W. E. B. Du Bois, in which the use of the 'doubled pose' invites the viewer 'to scrutinise the head and face, to learn to identify'.[27] Where Smith describes Bertillon's statements about the strength of the photographic profile image as a more reliable tool for monitoring criminal identity than the full face image (in that he claimed the profile was less susceptible to change over time, and could hold a stronger resemblance even with changes in the 'hairy systems', and such like, as I outlined in the first chapter of this thesis), Smith explains that 'hard profiles accentuate the shape of the nose, the strength of the jaw, the angle of the forehead and the curve of the head'.[28] By the way that the images are superimposed, the subject in profile appears to be looking towards his own full face portrait. This 'looking in on oneself' has its own set of connotations that extends far beyond the context of criminal identification. It follows a simple montage technique that reveals all at once the fictions inherent to the photograph. Reminiscent of Galton's composites, the attempt to combine visual information once again produces an abstract version of a portrait.

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[26] 'The Joliet Prison Photographs, 1890 to 1930' was organised by Richard Lawson in 1981, and was held at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

[27] Shawn Michelle Smith. 'The Art of Scientific Propaganda', in Brauer and Callen (eds.), *Art, Sex and Eugenics: Corpus Delecti*, p.67. Smith refers to the 363 photographs compiled for the publications *Types of American Negroes, Georgia, U.S.A. (Volumes 1-3)* and *Negro Life in Georgia, U.S.A.*

[28] Smith, 'The Art of Scientific Propaganda', p.67

Identity photographs produced in Joliet Prison, Illinois between 1890 and 1930

The subject, impossibly, stands next to himself. As two separate images that have been combined, they cannot speak for the single, still, photographic 'moment' in the same way as a chalk-board image might have. Instead, they reveal the photographer's awareness (if not the camera operator, at least the official who authorises the procedure) of the complexities of capturing a single, immutable identity, and one unique attempt to solve it. A more extensive application of this has resulted in even more 'doubling', where some of the spliced images depict the same subject in front of a mirror, with one or two small changes having been made to his appearance for the second photograph, but little variation in his full face pose. One

subject, for example, has been photographed with and without a large moustache; others, just with and without their hats.[29] Standing against a mirror for each photograph, the quadrupling of the subjects' images only serves to emphasise the fact that these are photographs - 'already one remove from reality' - they are less providing a reliable rendition of a subject, with and without his hat, more affecting an eerily uncertain doppelgänger for each.

With the inevitable, if slight, difference in facial expressions of the subjects, between their two portraits, and the minor modifications in their appearance (hats, moustache), what unifies these portraits is the omnipresent number-badge: pinned on in more or less the same position upon the subjects' collars, the numbers are supposed to deny the doubling—to all but dissolve the physical and temporal barrier that causes disparity in the first place, and add to the pretence that the components 'fit' together to make a single, criminal, identity, much akin to Galton's idea behind the composite portrait.

The frontispiece for the 1901 volume of Havelock Ellis's equivalent overview of criminology, *The Criminal*, is perhaps the ultimate illustration of this notion of the photograph having closed in on itself, whilst, simultaneously, seeming to insist upon the reading of multiple identities through multiple images. Depicting an inmate of Elmira prison in New York, it follows a method that was intended to fulfil Galton's proposal that anthropological photographs of the head 'always needed to be taken full face and in exact profile and, if possible, also from above'.[30] According to David Green, Galton suggested this arrangement of three mirrors, which were to surround the subject 'so as to reflect the three different views of the head'.[31] 'Since the reflected images would lie at the same optical distance from the camera', he claimed, 'they would all be to the same scale and thus suited for comparison'.[32] Once again, in an attempt to depict as much visual information as possible within a single photograph, Galton produced an overloaded portrait, which has just as problematic a relationship with the notion of photographic identity as his composites.

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[29] The moustache has played a fascinating part in the history of criminological study. Typically, a lack of facial hair in men was thought to be a criminal trait, whereas for women, an excess of facial hair was considered to indicate an equal risk of criminal behaviour. In *The Criminal*, Havelock Ellis recalls an old French proverb: 'salute from afar the beardless man and the bearded woman' (p.27), which seems to have been taken as gospel by many criminologists, including Ellis and Lombroso. See *The Criminal*, and especially Lombroso, Ferrero, and Rafter, *Criminal Woman, the Prostitute, and the Normal Woman*, Duke University Press, 2004, pp.52-3

[30] David Green, 'Veins of Resemblance: Photography and Eugenics', *Oxford Art Journal*, 7, No. 2, 1985, p.16 (Note 24). Whilst Green does account for the peculiar system that underlies this image, this is unfortunately only in a footnote of an otherwise very concise overview. This is typical of studies made around this time that form part of a larger attempt to historicise this previously unexplored area of visual culture.

[31] Green, 'Veins of Resemblance', p.16

[32] Green, 'Veins of Resemblance', p.16

Dr Hamilton Wey, photograph of an inmate of Elmira produced
using Galton's proposed arrangement of mirrors, 1901

The failure of this image to perform the function that Galton had intended, of course, is again due to an inaccurate attempt to generalise appearances, which is this time an issue of dimensionality, as opposed to the more surface tension that I described in relation to the composite, which was produced by the overlaying of negatives. Firstly, that it was believed to be true that the head only had 'three different views' is of course highly problematic, since this ignores the process of reduction of a three-dimensional curved object into three two-dimensional images. The 'full face' portrait is in fact askew, and is an instant reminder of the absence of this angle from more standardised methods, which usually depict the subject looking at the camera. Secondly, the use of mirrors complicates the space, since they simultaneously reveal the staging of the portrait *and* create a claustrophobic space of confinement for both subject and viewer. Rather than one subject to be viewed at four angles, this image looks into a room. The photograph becomes a cell, which is not only implied, but can even be defined: by the number and size of the mirrors surrounding the subject's head, the brace that holds him in place, and the incisive canvas that simultaneously hides and exposes him - concealing below his waist, yet fully revealing his naked torso. This space is more corporeal than a prison cell—more confrontational than a clinical empty box, because of the abundance of images provided by reflection, and by the cloth and 'plinth', which both serve as prompts for the viewer to engage with the presence of a body. To consider the photograph in

terms of four sections (and so too, in the manner that Galton intended), it could be argued that there are at least two layers to this image: the 'real' image of the subject's face and the three reflected images. In what way are the reflections secondary to the 'real' image? Perhaps this would be more comprehensive if the subject was facing the camera: whereas in the composite photograph the gaze of each subject seems locked within the irreconcilable layers of the final image, here it is also diffused by the concave mirrors and the awkward angle of the subject's head.

Not only is the subject anchored by the head, and burdened with the false spine of the head brace, he is also physically held at the waist by the cloth, with its visible seams that run in line with his torso. Textile materials have been used in the background too, presumably to seal, define, and 'neutralise' the space surrounding the subject. The unnatural positioning of the hands and arms in exact symmetry to one another emphasises an already quite odd situation for a body to be in: complete exposure of the upper body, with the lower body concealed from view. The image bears a resemblance to a sideshow with its hall-of-mirror style confusion; repetition; distortion; the cumbersome metal apparatus, even a tarpaulin. Not only does this resemble the parading of a 'freak show' perpetrator—with all measures taken in order to try to display the entire surface of this man's head—it also implies an outlandish spectacle, similar to that of the fairground or carnival, within the same sinister context of an observation of Otherness that adopts a diverse set of ephemera and techniques in order to allow the maximum possible observation of a single subject within a two-dimensional representation. Christopher Pinney has noted the strangeness of this portrait format, arguing that 'double and triple portraits place a person beyond the space and identity that certain forms of Western portraiture enforce', and that these 'testify to the lack of any desire to 'capture' sitters with bounded spatial and temporal frames'.[33] For Pinney: 'the replication of bodies and faces brought about by doubling and tripling fractures not only the spatial and temporal correlates that are implied by the perspectival window created by photography but also suggests a different conceptualisation of the subjects who are made to appear within this window'.[34] This, he argues, suggests a 'homology between the spatial and temporal infractions of the representational window and the fracture of these local subjects'.[35] Galton's incorporation of mirrors into studies of criminal likeness, then, incites a unique fragmentation of the represented subject, which, following Pinney's line of argument, runs parallel to the fracturing of a subject's corresponding 'criminal identity', as this is itself the product of a series of summarising techniques that are intended to produce a whole.

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[33] Christopher Pinney, 'Notes from the Surface of the Image: Photography, Postcolonialism, and Vernacular Modernism', in Pinney and Nicolas Peterson (eds.), *Photography's Other Histories*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003, p.210

[34] Pinney, 'Notes from the Surface of the Image', p.210

[35] Pinney, 'Notes from the Surface of the Image', p.210

The Photographic Backdrop

A significant reason why judicial portraits are so often compliant with colonial photographic practices is that, as Appardurai states, 'at least where human subjects were involved', they 'allowed the documentary realism of the token (the particular person or group being photographed) to be absorbed into the fiction of the general 'type', most often an ethnological type'.[36] In relation to the casting of a 'type' there is a huge crossover between colonial photographic practices and those concerned with criminal subjects. Of the many similarities between attempts at colonial and criminal *documentation*, Appardurai places an emphasis on the use of the caption, which has a unique application in both fields: 'the original captions for many nineteenth-century photographs capture this ambivalence in the choice of a definite article before the noun when referring to the subject of the photograph (*the* Indian water-carrier, *the* Oriental hareem, *a* Civil War Soldier). In this sense, original captions are part of the photographic backdrop (which can itself be understood as a component of the overall context of the photograph)'.[37]

Though captions were used in a similar way in criminology, especially when specific 'types' were being cast (one image would be labelled 'a prostitute', another 'the petty criminal', and so forth), what fascinates me is Appardurai's grouping of caption with backdrop, because he implies a unique connection in this type of photography between visual and textual dialogues.[38] In colonial photography, the backdrop can promote 'the fantastic, the arbitrary, the partial, the ludic and the utopian as accessories for the subjectivity of the persons in photographs and the persons who view and circulate photographs'.[39] Recalling Tamar Garb's commentary on Zwelethu Mthethwa's use of colour, the backdrop can provide a huge contribution to 'a three-dimensional complexity on lived experience, allowing the agency of the sitter to be expressed - in vivid decorative interiors and costume, and arresting the presence and contemporaneity of the scene'.[40] Thus they are 'a place where the meanings of modernity can be contested and where experiments with the means of modernity can be conducted, even by those not well-placed in relation to class and state power'.[41] For Appardurai, the backdrop too follows Derrida's logic of the supplement. Once again the supplement 'adds itself, it is a surplus, a plenitude [the painted or patterned backdrop] enriching another plenitude [the portrait photograph itself; and the unique identity/ies of the

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[36] Arjun Appardurai, 'The Colonial Backdrop', *Afterimage: The Journal of Media Arts and Cultural Criticism*, p.7

[37] Appardurai, 'The Colonial Backdrop', p.7

[38] For 'labels', see especially Ellis' *The Criminal*, and Lombroso's work, particularly the aforementioned *Criminal Man* and *Criminal Woman*.

[39] Appardurai, 'The Colonial Backdrop', p.7

[40] Garb, *Figures and Fictions*, p.60

[41] Appardurai, 'The Colonial Backdrop', p.7

subject being depicted], the *fullest measure* of presence', where 'it is thus that art, *technè,* image, representation, convention, etc., come as supplements to nature and are rich with this entire cumulating function'.[42] 'But the supplement supplements', of course. Here too it is inferior to the original: 'it adds only to replace. It intervenes or insinuates itself *in-the-place-of*; if it fills, it is as if one fills a void. If it represents and makes an image, it is by the anterior default of a presence. Compensatory [*suppléant*] and vicarious, the supplement is an adjunct, a subaltern instance which *takes-(the)-place* [*tient-lieu*]. As substitute, it is not simply added to the positivity of a presence, it produces no relief, its place is assigned in the structure by the mark of an emptiness. Somewhere, something can be filled up of *itself,* can accomplish itself, only by allowing itself to be filled through sign and proxy. The sign is always the supplement of the thing itself', and thus; 'whether it adds or substitutes itself, the supplement is *exterior,* outside of the positivity to which it is super-added, alien to that which, in order to be replaced by it, must be other than it. Unlike the *complement*, dictionaries tell us, the supplement is an '*exterior* addition' (Robert's *French Dictionary*)'.[43]

Though its presence is literally illustrated by pattern or painted image, the use of a curtain as a photographic backdrop is, emblematically, a supplement to the subject's original surroundings. It is, by its all-over filling of the photograph *and* its thinness and temporariness, both compensatory and vicarious. Returning to the frontispiece in *The Criminal*, and this also applies to many of the images that I have looked at so far, before there existed any designated areas for this type of photography, and in more experimental images of this kind, a fabric sheet or curtain would often have been employed as a backdrop in the attempt to neutralise the portraits: to exert control over the way in which they are lit, and, most importantly, to emphasise focus on the subject and prevent background 'noise'. I already noted one such impact, in the case of the Mongol prisoner in the previous chapter, in which I looked at colour as an example of 'noise' in relation to objectivity, in terms of Daston and Galison's definition by which objectivity 'preserves the artefact or variation that would have been erased in the name of truth; it scruples to filter out the noise that undermines certainty'.[44] There, I called the materiality of the autochrome into question, and 'noise' became the emblem of colour photography techniques that juxtaposed material substance (pigment) with transparency, in the production of colour filters and, to a lesser extent, with the dye transfer process, resulting in an ambiguous *weight* that was both heavy enough to be comparable with hand-painting techniques, yet maintained the transparency necessary for a photographic image. Where the absence of any attempt to neutralise the subject's surroundings emphasised the documentary purpose of the expedition photograph and confirmed the subject's status in relation to nomadic

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[42] Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, pp.144-5

[43] Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, p.144

[44] Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, p.17

customs such as those enforced upon Mongol criminals (the criminal being forced to wear a *cangue* whilst still, in some cases, remaining free to navigate in space rather than being rooted to a prison cell), in portraits that are contrived for identification purposes the role of the background can be quite the opposite. Shawn Michelle Smith described the aforementioned Du Bois portraits as 'mug shots', in which 'the camera has come in close, to focus on the head and face'.[45] 'Subjects are posed', she explained, 'against a plain grey cloth that erases them from a social context: they float, unsituated in these photographic frames. Or rather, this plain backdrop locates individuals within the institutional contexts that privilege identification and documentation'.[46]

W E B Du Bois, *Untitled*, compiled for Paris Exposition in 1990

As I explained in relation to the frontispiece for *The Criminal*, this assertion of power with respect to the photographic backdrop is significantly made on the part of the viewer as much as the photographer. For Smith, 'such institutional portraits suggest the viewer's symbolic control or domination over subjects photographed, because they are, by definition, made for a viewer who will study and catalogue'.[47] If we perceive the grey cloth (and this is only 'grey' in terms of the black and white photograph and thus in the perception of the viewer, not necessarily in the original

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[45] Smith. 'The Art of Scientific Propaganda', p.67

[46] Smith, 'The Art of Scientific Propaganda', p.67

[47] Smith, 'The Art of Scientific Propaganda', p.67

setting), as 'neutral', we miss what is to me a much more interesting aspect of the production of these images: with the use of any drape, cloth, or curtain, references to the *theatrical*, even the baroque, and thus to the staged nature of the photograph, are unavoidable.
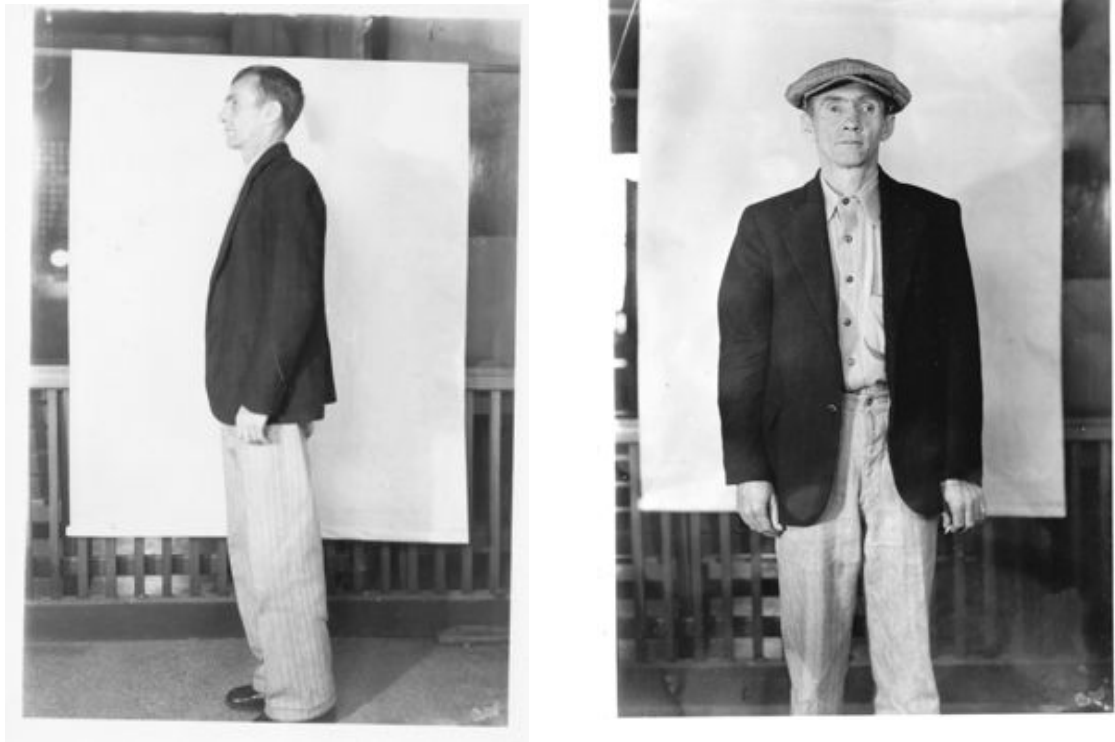
Subject unknown, South Carolina, 1926, from Mark Michaelson's *Least Wanted*

Félix Nadar, caricaturist turned portrait photographer, who notoriously specialised in producing consecrative images of cultural figures in Paris in the late nineteenth century, was well aware of the potential of the backdrop to play a role in the identity being construed in the image. Nadar, who was one of the first photographers to use artificial lighting in his portraits, frequently employed a neutral cloth backdrop, which, much like the Du Bois portraits, but for an entirely different purpose, promoted a focus on the subject as opposed to their immediate surroundings. In *The Arcades Project*, Walter Benjamin exclaims: 'could not the photographer who was a master of all the effects of lighting … who was provided with backdrops of all kinds, with settings, properties, costumes – could he not, given intelligent and skilfully dressed models, compose *tableaux de genre*, historical scenes?'[48] This attention to the potential distraction provided by the background in a portrait is a recurring principle in portraiture in general, both in artistic and quotidian contexts and those that involve some aspect of both (for example, school and university portrait services, or passport photography, both of which will

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[48] Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, Y4, p.4, cited in Sharon Larson, 'Rethinking Historical Authenticity: Photography, Nadar and Haussman's Paris', *Equinoxes*, Issue 5, Spring/Summer 2005, online journal from Brown University: http://www.brown.edu/Research/Equinoxes/journal

often employ 'neutral' fabrics to create a backdrop), and I think the points in between are the most interesting. That being said, one of the ways in which Appardurai, Garb, and others have approached the backdrop is to look at the antithesis of the so-called erasing grey cloth; backdrops that seek to create a new, even fantastical context for the subject to be portrayed in.

Complimenting the work of Zwelethu Mthethwa that I described earlier, the portraits made in, for example, Nagda studios in India, and prior to that, the work of photographers such as Seydou Keïta, a self-taught portrait photographer from Bamako in Africa; would often give a patterned, printed textile or painted backdrop as much consideration as the subject, who has usually dressed, or been dressed, for the occasion. In Keïta's work, 'any location outside of the imaginary space of the studio is continually exceeded by the texture of … various bedspreads entering into harmonious and dissonant conversation with the clothes and accessories worn by his sitters', which produces 'a photographic surfacism that engages with texture, where everything springs out of the photograph toward the viewer, rather than a field of spatio-temporal certainty receding within the image'.[49] This might imply two extremes again (Sekula's 'honorific' and 'repressive'), but the theoretical supposition of a 'photographic surfacism' applies across the board for all photographs that fuse clothing and cloth: to consider the blending of a grey prison uniform with a grey backdrop, perhaps the same textural effect is inevitable. Or, the opposite might be possible: where the patterned cloth 'springs out towards the viewer', could a grey or 'neutral' cloth recede, promoting the idea of an all-over background?

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[49] Pinney, 'Notes from the Surface of the Image', p.216

Seydou Keita, *Untitled*, 1952-55   Keita, *Untitled*, 1959-60

The fictional backdrop, as both representational sign and proxy but also as material, physical element of the photographic portrait, is an even more complex manifestation of the supplement. For Appardurai: 'as sites for the production of various cultural imaginaries, colonial photographic backdrops testify to the struggle between photographic modernity and the various cultural environments into which it enters'. They are 'a sort of 'supplement'', he explains; 'in which we can read the tensions and contradictions that accompany the dissemination of photographic practice in space and time', and thus; 'as a quintessentially modern technique of representation, photography invites its own subversion, exemplified in the playfulness, pastiche, irony and stylised distortions of backdrops and other props. Backdrops can be interpreted as sites of epistemological uncertainty about exactly what photographs seek to represent'.[50] What can be extrapolated here with respect to the neutral backdrop, and this follows on from Barthes' statements on colour as material, cosmetic, artifice, as well as his problematic encounter with 'neutral', grey paint, is perhaps less the contrast between patterned and unpatterned, which at times falls into the familiar disjunction of honorific and repressive, especially when studio portraits appear to celebrate a subject's identity rather than providing him with a new one (*a* Civil War soldier), and more the omnipresence of an incisive screen of fabric or panel in both cases, which, however consecrative or instrumental their intent, creates a new, fictional environment for the specific purpose of the portrait.

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[50] Appardurai, 'The Colonial Backdrop', p.7

Whether a sign worn around a subject's neck with a rope or chain; a board, worn or held up manually by the subject; a blackboard; or a number written on fabric and pinned to the subject's chest, I hope to have suggested that each of these tropes carries its own set of connotations that go far beyond techniques of branding and codifying. Whereas, following Pinney's line of reasoning, the measuring and other devices mentioned previously served to 'map the body through tools'; these devices represent the desire not to 'map the body', but to directly transcribe the subject's identity (and this is very distinct from their true identity) within the photograph. Of most interest here, then, should perhaps be the role of photography in this process of transcription. More than the metaphorical 'mapping' that would take place in the so-called criminal laboratory, which would result in the production of Bertillon-style identity cards and sets of statistical data, this aspect of criminal identification is finalised in the photograph. This is especially apparent in portraits that use mirrors and montage in order to duplicate the subject, since the images then follow a logic of repetition that simply does not manifest itself in the single, full face or profile portrait.

Rulers and the quantifiable portrait photograph

One element of the photographic portrait that I have yet to mention is the 'quantifier', which, applied across the board of criminal and colonial photography, is still used in judicial portraiture and related practices. The use of a ruler or measuring device to indicate a subject's

height may seem, initially, a straightforward and logical inclusion in the image, which somewhat justifies its continued use in the present day. However, it again sets in motion a theoretical questioning of the portrait photograph, as yet another supplement (in Derrida's sense of the word) to the body that, in all of its practical reasoning (one can assume that there is little ambiguity in the measurement indicated by a ruler or other numerical height marker) can still reveal an arbitrary feature. Some of the mug shots made in the United States in the first half of the twentieth century depict a self-standing, full length ruler that seems to compliment the subjects, depicted in their own clothing, and often standing alongside partners or accomplices. In these portraits, the ruler is often the sole purveyor of the context in which the photographs were made: with the subjects still in their usual clothing, stood against a blank wall in a room that one is led to believe is empty. Without the indicators adorning the ruler, and the presence of this quantifying device, the images might evade the intentional use for which they were made. A 1913 portrait depicts two subjects in their coats and hats, leaning in slightly towards one another, which has the effect of both encouraging a comparative glance at their faces and clothing, and emphasising the quantifying ruler that stands between them. 'Gather around', it seems to say, in this attempt to depict the subjects as they might have appeared on the street, to prove their height if identified again in future.

Hope Dare,
Richard (Dixie) Davis,
George Weinberg, 1938

More often than not, where images such as these have been published, the story behind the subjects' arrest is prioritised over any information as to the actual situation in which the photograph was taken, even when these images are clearly rife with information that is as

interesting, if not more so, than anecdotal commentaries.[51] The repetition of this pose: several subjects depicted in full profile, in their own dress, alongside a large free-standing ruler, and the range of dates in which they were taken (as much as thirty years, if not more) indicates that this was standard practice for many departments and was believed to be a useful tool in the manufacturing of criminal identities.

Subjects unknown, 1913

Once again, though, it is the crossover between judicial and colonial portrait-making that reveals the most about the use of this device: in this case, such a crossover was made by Professor J.P. Kleiweg de Zwaan, in Tenganan, Bali (1939), for its inclusion of other subjects in the foreground and the 'physician' suspending the ruler above the head of the subject in focus. This brings to light the differences between height as a value of study (the probable fascination of the photographer here with the height difference between subject and measurer); and as a counterpart in the purveying of identity/ies. The accuracy of both rulers can be questioned if it is considered in relation to the uncertainties that the photograph suggests: does the hand-held ruler even touch the floor? Did the professor holding the ruler hold it at such a dubious angle for all of the records that he made? Would the officers take a ruler to the image, in order to make a reading for the subject at the far end of the photograph that is aligned with the other subjects, or does it come down to speculative guesswork (like the *portrait parlé*?) Asking these questions, it becomes clearer that the ruler was either an informal gesture to measure height: a subtext for the main event, which was either the production of the

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[51] See, for example, the aforementioned *Mug Shots: An Archive of the Famous, Infamous, and Most Wanted*, by Raymond Pellicer, which picks up on the popularity of the mug shot as a Western artifact that engages with celebrity spectatorship by revealing the famous or 'infamous' at their worst.

photograph for future identifications (for the judicial portrait) or the observation and scrutiny of Otherness (in the case of the colonial portrait-maker).

Prof J P Kleiweg de Zwaan, *Untitled*, Tenganan, 1939

'Mapping a lie': Lamprey and the grid

A standalone ruler like this might seem ornate and unreliable in comparison with what is now more often a sterile numerical scale transferred directly to a white wall behind the single subject; but these standalone rulers were actually more accurate indicators of height than earlier experiments with grids, which were devised to provide a sense of scale for a subject, and promote their comparison with any others whom would be depicted alongside them. The ruler, as indicator of size rather than scale, is clearly a step away from the grid, which, with its lack of numerical reference, can only ever hint at scale, contributing very little to the sense of authenticity in relation to documenting a subject's actual height (or at least, as I have just described, an attempt to document height, which is a very different thing). The first use of a grid as a photographic backdrop has been accredited to John H. Lamprey who, in the late nineteenth century, produced a variety of ethnographic portraits that are well-circulated in contemporary histories of photography.[52] His own description of this device has itself a

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[52] This image can be found in, for example, Mary Warner Marien's *Photography: A Cultural History* (London: Lawrence King, 2002), among other publications.

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supplementary status—published in a section entitled 'ethnological notes and queries' in *The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London* in 1869—but was clearly devised to encourage the fundamental principle of ethnology at that time, which was to compare and contrast subjects in order to assess the differences between races: to assign each to their position within the believed hierarchy of human evolution. To quote Lamprey, his outline for the method was as follows:

'collectors of photographs illustrative of the races of man, have experienced the greatest difficulty in questions of comparison of measurement of individuals by some common standard. Latterly a plan, simple and answering the purpose, has been put in practice by myself, which I submit to the Society for the approval of fellow-workers, with the hope of obtaining valuable suggestions of improvement in details not yet complete. A stout frame of wood, seven feet by three, is neatly ruled along its inner side into divisions of two inches; small nails are driven into these ruled lines, and fine silk thread is strained over them, dividing the included surface by longitudinal and latitudinal lines into squares of two inches every way. Against this screen the figure is placed, the heel fairly on a line with one of the strings; the iron prop to support the object is pressed firmly in its place at some distance from the background; for, by this means better defined outlines are secured than if the man stood directly against a solid screen on which lines might have been scored. By means of such photographs the anatomical structure of a good academy figure or model of six feet can be compared with a Malay of four feet eight in height; and the study of all those peculiarities of contour which are so distinctly observable in each group, are greatly helped by this system of perpendicular lines, and they serve as good guides to their definition, which no verbal description can convey, and but few artists could delineate. The photographs are produced on a large scale, and my portfolio already contains a collection of specimens of various races'.[53]

That a viewer had to have prior knowledge of Lamprey's work in order to confirm the scale of the grid (two inches squared) already promotes their status as specialist ethnographic tools rather than, say, the comparative colonial photography instigated by pacifists such as Albert Kahn in his *Archives of the Planet*. A brief consideration of Eadweard Muybridge's application of the grid, however, invokes a more theoretical take on the grid. Though much of Muybridge's *Animal Locomotion* project relied upon regular indicators of distance, scale, and size, these indicators are little discussed in comparison with the broader elements of his practice: primarily his contribution to scientific discourses on movement. The catalogue for the recent retrospective of Muybridge's work at Tate Britain briefly acknowledges Lamprey's influence, citing his 1869 article as a reference, but the theoretical implications of depicting

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[53] John H. Lamprey, 'On a Method of Measuring the Human Form, for the use of Students in Ethnology', *The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London (1869-1870)*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1869, pp.84-5

subject in front of either quantifying devices or indicators of scale are little accounted for.[54]
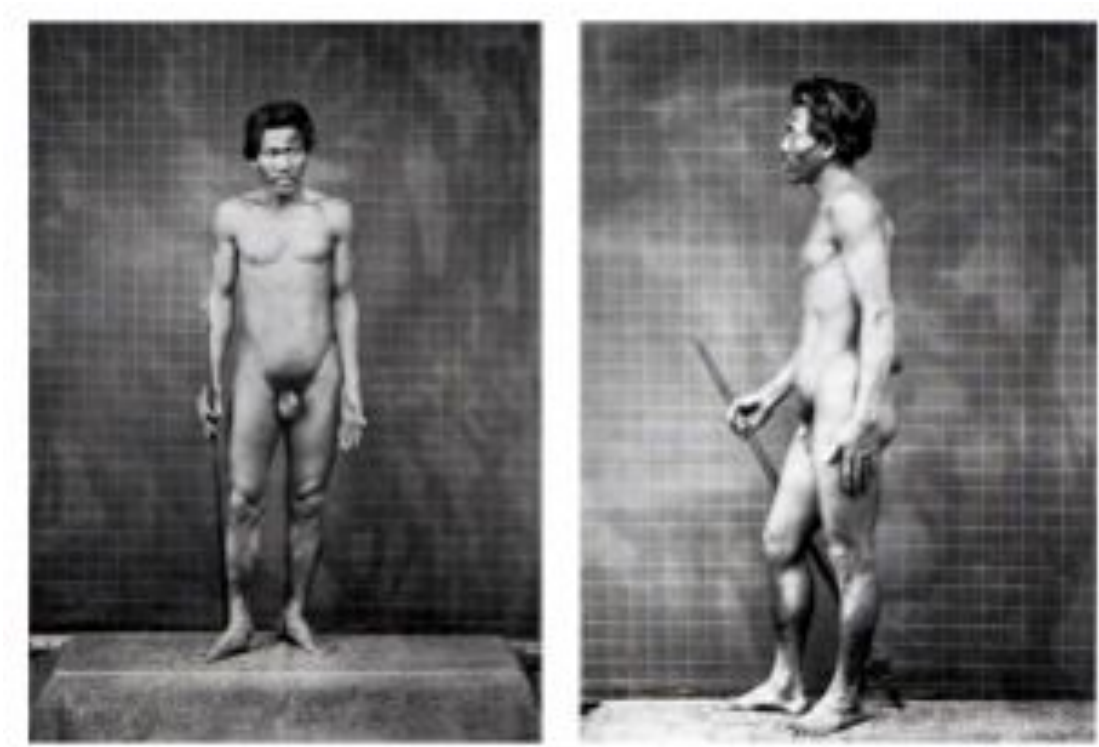
John Lamprey, *Front and Profile Views of a Malayan Male*, 1868-9

Without digressing too far from my concern here with the origin of such tools in relation to their contemporary legacies—from free-standing ruler to painted stripes and measurements on white walls—I think it is paramount to consider the grid in more detail as one of the *origins* of these later techniques.

For example, Rosalind Krauss' work on the grid has an interesting resonance here - although her work is exclusively concerned with art history (in this instance, particularly with painting and drawing), some of her more general statements can be applied to any two-dimensional representation that depicts some form of grid. This is especially true of her connection of grid with surface, which resonates with Pinney's comments on the 'photographic surfacism' enacted by the printed backdrop. 'In the flatness that results from its coordinates', she says, 'the grid is the means of crowding out the dimensions of the real and replacing them with the lateral spread of a single surface'.[55] Though both colonial and criminal photographers were quick to see the benefit of the ruler for providing a quantitative measurement within the photograph, as opposed to a set-up like Lamprey's, which was based on two-inch units and thus insisted on the viewer's awareness of this as a prerequisite, the grid remains a highly

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[54] See Phillip Bruckman ed., *Eadweard Muybridge*, catalogue for the exhibition of the same name, Tate Britain, London, 8 September 2010 − 16 January 2011. London: Tate Publishing, 2010

[55] Rosalind Krauss, 'Grids', *The Origin of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths*, p.9

influential factor in the production of criminal identity portraits because it allows a theoretical leap to be made, from the neutral as implied by the plain 'grey' textile backdrop, to perhaps its most abstract extreme, in this 'crowding out' of the 'dimensions of the real'. Perhaps with the same extreme in mind, Krauss has it that 'in the cultist space of modern art, the grid serves not only as emblem but also as myth'.[56] 'Like all myths', she explains, the grid deals with paradox or contradiction not by dissolving the paradox or resolving the contradiction, but by covering them over so that they seem (but only seem) to go away'—just as a cloth backdrop only supplements the original portrait setting.[57] 'The grid's mythic power is that it makes us able to think we are dealing with materialism (or sometimes science, or logic) while at the same time it provides us with a release into belief (or illusion, or fiction)'.[58] Thus Krauss' suggestion has a significant application in these contexts, where the grid promotes a shift in meaning from scientific 'document' to illusory identity. The grid is, at once, compensatory and vicarious.

For Krauss, and understandably for the field in which she is working—that of the autonomous art object predominantly in the context of conceptual art—the grid is elevated to a mythical status that is distinctly modern in both its appearance and connotations. Hannah Higgins has recently published a broad theoretical study of the grid, in which she urges that existing perceptions of the grid as 'modernising element', in reference to Krauss' coveted claim that the grid 'turns its back on nature', be reversed.[59] For Higgins, where 'the grid plan takes over in apparent opposition to nature, including human nature, whose form is irregular and inefficient', its ancient origin actually predates this concept: not only did Freud conceive of the human mind as a grid, 'by which account the grid would be intrinsic to the human drives and not a mere expression of social control', but equally; 'whatever the origin of each grid in establishing a social standard, the recurrent transformations of grids, the ways in which they break down, shatter, bend, and adapt to unanticipated purposes, suggest that the homogenising dimension of the grid-myth begs for reversal. One could even argue that the life of each grid is defined by such reversals'.[60]

This challenge to the logic of the grid as an inorganic tool that emerged through solely unnatural or modernist means by acknowledging its origins, which include, as Higgins reminds us, 'every hymnal with musical notation … the ledger books in every shop … every printed sign … every newspaper… the surface of every brick wall and every building facade dotted with regularly spaced windows and their panes', also illuminates my citation of the grid

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[56] Krauss, 'Grids', p.12

[57] Krauss, 'Grids', p.9

[58] Krauss, 'Grids', p.9

[59] Hannah Higgins, *The Grid Book*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2009, p.6

[60] Higgins, *The Grid Book*, pp.9-10, with reference to James Strachey ed. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol. 12, London: Hogarth, 1953-1974, pp.215-226, and Henri Focillon, *The Life Forms in Art* (1934), New York and Massachusetts: Zone Books/MIT Press, 1992.

here, as the first device that was used to incorporate a sense of scale into portrait photographs - arguably the most 'human' of all representation. A study such as this now takes on a much greater significance, opening up a concept such as the grid, seemingly 'breathing life' into subject matter that has previously been read as an artifact that emerged from a repressive context, or in the case of conceptual art, a mythical one. That Higgins acknowledges Freud's likening of the mind to a grid has fascinating implications for the material that I am discussing. Shawn Michelle Smith looked at Lamprey's work, alongside that of his contemporary, Thomas Henry Huxley, reaching the conclusion that: 'while the anthropologist himself is not situated within the photographic frame', the photographs are 'clearly representations of his imagination and scientific schema, representations of him, more than of his subjects'.[61] Where Galton's composite criminals represented his own imagined idea of what criminality could look like in the face, Lamprey and Huxley's work with grids are again translations of an abstract schema onto the surface of the photograph: this is the 'release into belief (or illusion, or fiction)' that Krauss was equally concerned with in cases where the grid 'makes us able to think we are dealing with materialism (or... science, or logic)'.[62]

Christopher Pinney has also made an interesting dissection of Lamprey's method of comparative observation via Michel de Certeau's *Heterologies* (1986). 'Photography's power', Pinney explains, 'does not reside only in the longed-for invisibility of its producer, but also in the apparent self-presence of its surface. While on the one hand the surface is invisible, a transparent window on to a slice of reality, the surface of the print maps a lie within the image'.[63] The 'legible' body, he claims, 'demanded formalised systems of reading', where he cites Lamprey's grid as one of the most influential.[64] This provided what he refers to as a 'normalising' grid, within which 'the anatomical structure of a good academy figure or model of six feet in height' was compared with 'a Malay of four feet eight in height'.[65] For De Certeau, processes of normalisation, such as those outlined here, rely upon a 'cellular grid' that 'transforms space itself into an instrument that can be used to discipline'.[66] Lamprey's grid, Pinney claims, was 'a disciplinary grid stripped of all metaphoricity', which 'made explicit the transcription of space on the very surface area of the photographic image'.[67] Thus, the grid not only relies upon the photograph in order to perform its function as a comparative

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[61] Smith, 'The Art of Scientific Propaganda', pp.68-9

[62] Krauss, 'Grids', p.12

[63] Pinney, 'The Parallel Histories of Anthropology and Photography', in Elizabeth Edwards ed., *Anthropology and Photography*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992, p.76

[64] Pinney, 'The Parallel Histories of Anthropology and Photography', p.76

[65] Pinney, 'The Parallel Histories of Anthropology and Photography', p.76

[66] Pinney, 'The Parallel Histories of Anthropology and Photography', p.76, with reference to Michel de Certeau, *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986, p.186.

[67] Pinney, 'The Parallel Histories of Anthropology and Photography', p.76

device, but it simultaneously exposes the photograph *as* recording tool in its conversion of three-dimensional human subject and environment into flattened representation: 'mapping the lie within the image'.

In doing so, to incorporate Higgins' work on the ancient origins, and Freud's on the psychological resonance of the grid, perhaps the role of this material is best understood in Smith's terms: as representations of its user rather than of any subject depicted. And, in that this encourages looking beyond the frame of the photograph—judicial, colonial, or other—I can return to Appardurai's work on the colonial backdrop: 'the best examples of the tyranny of the setting, and its official indexicality', he claims, 'are official forms and documents in which the written text functions as the 'backdrop' against which cropped head-shots take up a small space'.[68] The 'props' that I have been discussing, then, are equivalent to the contextual framework that exists *outside* the space of the photograph.

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[68] Appardurai, 'The Colonial Backdrop', p.7

4 Maps, Contours and Tattoos: Towards a Surface Logic of the Criminal Subject

'What is the relationship between the surface of the body and that of the image? How do the differences in which these works are recorded, transferred and viewed factor into this relationship?'[1]

Contour Knowledge

One element that I believe each of the images I have just described have in common is their scrupulous pictorial detail. For this reason, it would be illogical not to consider the role of the subject in this assimilation of what is such a rich and many-layered attitude towards the human body. Where I have been concerned with modes of expression - in relation to alternatives to straight photography, the impact of colour representation and the influence of physical objects as supplements - I think this also begs for a reconsideration of the role of the sitter. For its deeply-rooted aesthetic connections with criminology, via the surface scrutiny of the physiognomist, phrenologist and anthropometrist, and with its extensive historical ties (gang culture, codifying crimes, and 'branding', for instance) it is especially appropriate and interesting to approach this by looking at tattooing, as well as other distinguishing marks. For Tamar Garb, the backdrop contributed to 'a three-dimensional complexity on lived experience, allowing the agency of the sitter to be expressed,' in Mthethwa's case, via 'vivid decorative interiors and costume.'[2] What could be more visually assertive of three-dimensional lived experience than the cursors on the outer surface of the body, the costume worn permanently, both pre-existing and those applied cosmetically? Such constituents of each individual's unique likeness and identity, I think contribute to a kind of deterritorialisation of the body.

By no means am I about to undertake a similar process to the criminologist, and use surface scrutiny to assess the level of criminality that might be ascertained from an image of a subject, or from a direct confrontation with a subject. It is much more interesting to describe elements that exist between the two - between body surface and image surface. This, to me, is where the deterritorialisation occurs: these cursors undo the sets of relations between image and body that I have been discussing with respect to nineteenth-century approaches to the criminal 'type' and later methods that strive for 'neutrality'. By looking at practices that have peripheral connections with image, technique, subject, and viewer, it might be possible to move from a process of 'unsettling' towards a more concrete theoretical supposition and as

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[1] A. Lee Laskin, 'Breach Birth: The Hygiene of Screen Skins', *Octopus*, Vol. 4, Autumn 2008, p.162

[2] Garb, *Figures and Fictions*, p.60

such, towards a *surface logic* of the criminal subject.

The piece of work that marked the foundation of Galton's composite theory has a fascinating relationship with ideas of topology and topography. This is highly pertinent because the first English translation of the word *topologie*, which marked the origin of the concept as a field of study in its own right in this country, has been accredited to an 1883 obituary in *Nature* magazine: just four years after Galton presented his paper on composite portraits, and in a publication with which he had close ties.[3] Galton's research blurs the boundaries between topology, as a *geometrical* study of the relations between objects, and topography, as the explicitly *geographical* term for the study of the contours of the land. Put simply, he applies a concept developed for geographical means to his studies in portraiture. Christopher Pinney's use of the word *surfacism* is especially applicable to this conflation of land and body. If Pinney claims that the all-over surface of the photograph, as is made prominent with the use of a patterned backdrop, results in a 'photographic surfacism', how might the juxtaposition of land and body expand this notion? Pinney uses the term only once in his essay, but I think it is pertinent for many of the images that inform this thesis. For example, how does composite theory relate to Pinney's discussion of depth and surface? Or the layered semi-transparent surface that comprises the autochrome? According to Michael Taussig, there is to be found a 'particular saliency in postcolonial contexts' for what Benjamin termed the urge 'to get hold' of objects, namely photographs, at close distance.[4] How does this impact on Galton's conflation of topology and topography?

'A naturalist must construct his picture of nature on the same principle that an engraver in mezzotint proceeds on his plate', so he claimed in *English Men of Science*; 'beginning with the principal lights as so many different points of departure, and working outwards from each of them until the intervening spaces are covered'.[5] Previously, I put Galton's acknowledgement of the geographical foundations from which the composite portrait emerged down to his reputation as a polymath. That the 'idea of the composite figures' first occurred to Galton while imagining a process of superimposition such as he had 'frequently employed with maps and meteorological traces' was the consequence of an illuminating crossover

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[3] Galton published no less than 80 articles in the magazine between 1875 and 1910 (see galton.org for a complete listing.) The obituary was for Johann Benedict Listing, the German mathematician who had begun using *topologie* as early as 1847. See, for example, I M James ed., *History of Topology*, Amsterdam and Oxford: Elsevier, 1999, pp. 909-924

[4] Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses*, New York: Routledge, 1993, p.203. Taussig is also referred to frequently by A. Lee Laskin in his essay 'Breach Birth: A Hygiene of Screen Skins', *Octopus*, Vol. 4, Autumn 2008.

[5] Galton, *English Men of Science*, p.14

between two of Galton's many fields of interest.[6] But clearly there is much more that can be unpacked from this statement. With the conflation of portraiture and geography, this reference implies that there is a fascinating interchangeability between the surface scrutiny of criminal bodies and the study of the surfaces of the environment. Given that experimental procedures such as these played a formative role in criminal identification as it is perceived today, as with the use of composite portraiture as a means to attempt to confirm a suspect's identity with photofit technology, this crossover has a huge theoretical and ideological legacy because it implies that the sort of 'surface scrutiny' from which this type of portrait emerged is precisely that: pure *surfacism*, which was in this case considered transferable from topographical appearance (the lay of the land) to the individual human face. Unlike phrenologists who purported to use the surface to read the interior, for Galton the underlying matter - of the ground, the body, and fundamentally, of the individual - seems to have been thought irrelevant to the experiment.

Ann Thomas has drawn from Devon Leigh Hodges' *Renaissance Fictions of Anatomy* to describe the birth of modern science in the late fifteenth century as 'characterised by a quantitative mode featuring lists, diagrams, and tables that literally *contour knowledge*'.[7] Has Galton's application of a technique that was developed in a geographical context to the topic of criminal portraiture, contributing to the establishment of criminal identification as a relatively standardised procedure, resulted in the production of a science of surfaces that bears no association with individual identity, or was this established prior to Galton's visual experiments, in disciplines such as physiognomy and phrenology? This is not to undermine the legitimacy of stereoscopy and other superimposition techniques in different contexts, but rather to pick up on some of the vast differences that should be established between geographical surfaces, meteorological 'traces' and the peripheries of the human body as I have encountered it them.

In a conference paper given in 1876 at the South Kensington Museum Conference, 'On Means of Combining Various Data in Maps and Diagrams', Galton claimed that 'the whole object of geography is to show the physical features of the ground in combination with the facts of which those features are the stages, but this cannot as yet be effected without a great confusion

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[6] Francis Galton, 'Composite Portraits, Made by Combining Those of Many Different Persons Into a Single Resultant Figure', *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 8, 1879, p.132. Like so many of his peers, Galton's research spanned travel, evolution and heredity, statistics, geography, meteorology. Martin Brookes' aforementioned biography, *Extreme Measures*, presents a concise overview of these investigations.

[7] Devon Leigh Hodges, *Renaissance Fictions of Anatomy*, 1985, p.3 in Ann Thomas, *Beauty of Another Order: Photography in Science*, exh. cat. 'Photography in Science: Beauty of Another Order', NG Canada, Ottawa, 17 October 1997 - 4 January 1998, New Haven and London, Yale 1997, p.14

of lines and tints', and he puts this down to the limitations of 'shading and colouring'.[8] 'Geographers want above all things an improvement in their methods of combining various data upon the same maps', he explains, and 'in using the stereoscope, the notion of relief depends upon the varying convergence of the optical axes of the eyes to the different parts of the picture. We want, first of all, good models', and he notes the increasing use of models for geographical research.[9] He refers in particular to the number of topographical models on display at a recent French Geographical Exposition, explaining that, 'from any of those, photographs might be taken. … Models require a table to stand upon, they are of great weight and are very costly; but a stereographic picture taken from a model gives nearly all that the model can show, and costs only a few pence'. He then comes to the decision that to expand the possibilities of superimposition will also require other methods, and begins to describe a much more complex composite system that used lenses, fixed upon a moving 'tramway'. This composite logic, which informs both the stereoscopic view and this convoluted tramway system, is what Galton would later transfer over to his studies of heredity, criminality and the body in general. His account supports the argument that the theoretical basis for the 'composite criminal' is a very literal *surfacist* strategy because it reveals exactly how reductive Galton's idea of identity was. Essentially, for Galton, the criminal face could be reduced to a series of lines and contours just as the ground could: a literal mapping of the body that could be reproduced in the photographic composite. Applied to the living subject, it is as if he believed that their facial contours - new empiricist 'contour knowledge' - would align in the same way as two similar patches of land, with a shared result: the averaged image.
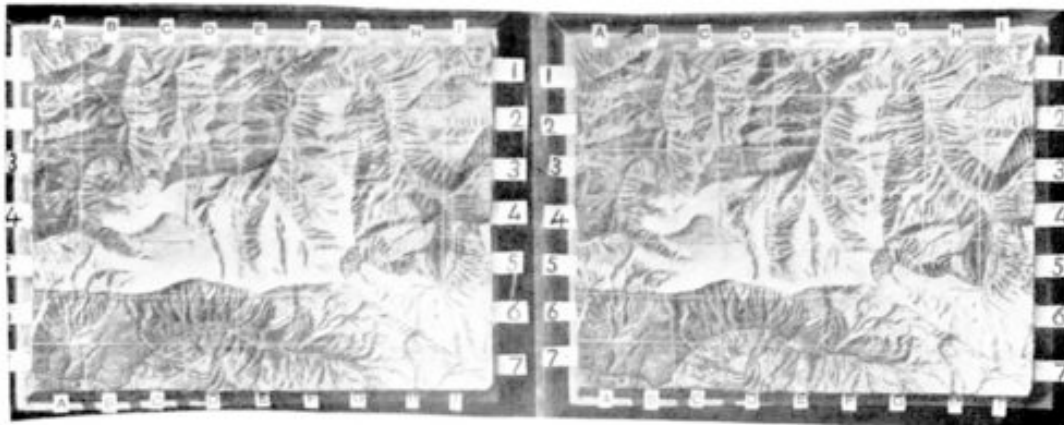
Galton, *Ortler Spitze and Stelvio Pass*, stereoscopic view of geographical model, c.1876

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[8] The paper was given at a South Kensington Museum Conference, in connection with the Special Loan Collection of Scientific Apparatus, in 1876, and can be accessed here: http://galton.org/essays/1870-1879

[9] Galton, 'On Means of Combining Various Data in Maps and Diagrams', as it reappeared in *Conferences, held in connection with the Special Loan Collection of Scientific Apparatus*, London: South Kensington Museum and Chapman & Hall, 1876, p.313

Galton's nod towards the economical advantages of the stereoscope in relation to model-making is also very interesting: not least because few of his elaborate experiments reveal a consideration of cost, efficiency, and reproducibility. Perhaps the most economically effective product of Galton's work is also his most well-known, and arguably, his most successful, where the simplicity and economy of his finger-printing kit is probably what has resulted in its ongoing use.[10] By 1876, stereoscopy had seen great success in the popular market, and, following the same line of thought as my discussion in chapter two of Albert Kahn's *Archives of the Planet*, once again, the surge in popularity of a specific photographic process can be attributed in part to its value in global exploration, travel, and inevitably, colonisation.

Galton, *Island of St Paul*, stereoscopic view of geographical model, c.1876

Landscape photography plays a particularly significant role here, and has a striking resemblance to Galton's own geographical stereographs. For example, the stereographs made by photographers who participated in American survey-type photography such as Timothy O'Sullivan and Eadward Muybridge are said to have been 'intended for cheap distribution among people who could never have afforded their mammoth views'.[11] Thus it is unsurprising when the writers of *Landscape as Photograph* explain that 'the various agencies involved in the nineteenth-century western expeditions could only hope that the facts would be persuasive to individuals who were considering the possible colonisation or exploitation of the West'.[12] As with Kahn's project, a great deal of the success of these expeditions aligns itself with parallel extensions of railways, which 'encouraged landscape photography for two purposes', namely the 'presentation of picturesque scenes … as an inducement to colonisers to leave the

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[10] See Mark Maguire on 'The Birth of Biometric Security', (*Anthropology Today*, Vol. 25, No. 2, April 2009) for more on the legacy of this practice.

[11] Estelle Jussim and Elizabeth Lindquist-Cock, *Landscape as Photograph*, New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1985, p.55

[12] Jussim and Lindquist-Cock, *Landscape as Photograph*, 55.

bustling cities', and the 'collection of geologically accurate records [that] served military and industrial expansion'.[13]

The stereoscopic studies or 'survey-type photographs' made of the Yosemite area in California by Muybridge and Carleton Watkins illustrate that this notion of 'contouring knowledge' applies to both land and body. Produced in the 1860s, they are also, despite the alternative context, precursors to Galton's promotion of the stereoscope in both geographical and economical terms. However, stereographs such as these suggest a great deal more dramatic an effect of three-dimensional depth on one of the grandest possible (mountainous) scales, making their application in artistic, touristic, and geological contexts much more apparent than Galton's 'model photography'. Of course, with *Ortler Spitze and Stelvio Pass*, and *Island of St Paul*, aerial contouring is the priority, without the distractions of the original, lived environment that survey-photographers were inevitably subjected to. Perhaps the main distinction is that Galton's stereographs are fundamentally after-the-fact: they are representations *of* representations that were designed to make the final stage of a geological study easier, particularly for exhibiting purposes.
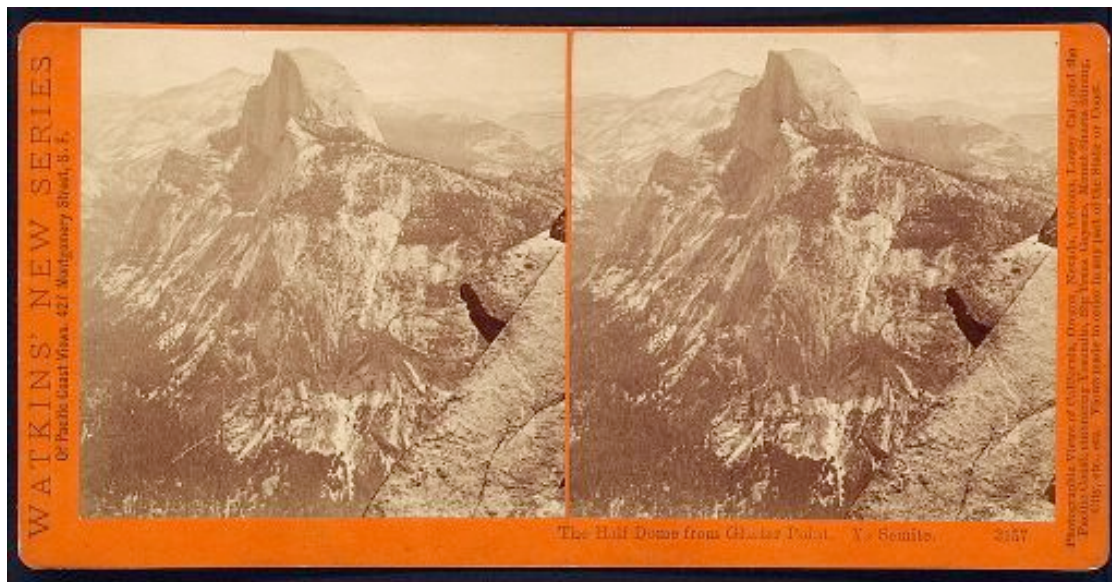
Watkins, *Half Dome from Glacier Point*, Yosemite, stereograph, c.1860

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[13] Jussim and Lindquist-Cock, *Landscape as Photograph*, 55

Muybridge, *Yosemite Study no. 1204*, stereograph, c.1860

There are vast differences between stereoscopic and composite mechanisms, the most significant being that with stereoscopy, the so-called 'final' image is perceived by the viewer, whereas in the case of the photographic composite there pertains to be a more conclusive or permanent superimposition. Thus these processes suggest an internal/external conflict, whereby one can only be imagined and the other is a 'final' materialisation of a layering process. With the stereoscope, the viewer is presented with two similar images side by side; with the composite there is an almost contradictory palimpsest of layered images that have been reproduced in a single photograph. Despite this, they share the theoretical principle of layering, and this informs each of Galton's experimental techniques, thus they each contribute to this empiricist idea of 'contour knowledge'. That being said, a clarification of the practical differences between these methods might still be useful. As Jonathan Crary has explained, this distinction should predominantly be made in the context of visual perception on the viewer's behalf. Crary locates the stereoscope within 'some of the most pervasive means of producing 'realistic' effects' in nineteenth-century mass visual culture.[14] Such producers of visual effects as the stereoscope, he explains, 'were in fact based on a radical abstraction and reconstruction of optical experience, thus demanding a reconsideration of what 'realism' means in the nineteenth century'.[15] Indeed, for Crary, the stereoscope is 'inseparable from early nineteenth-century debates about the perception of space', which 'were to continue unresolved

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[14] Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, Massachusetts: MIT Press/October Books, 1990, p.9

[15] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, p.9

indefinitely'.[16]   Thus, superimposition techniques contributed to existing debates on perspective where it concerns visual representation, and, in that they exacerbate the process of layering through which they can be viewed, they play a significant role in this 'radical abstraction and reconstruction of optical experience' because they are themselves composed of multiple facets that rely upon a reconstructive process. In this sense, unlike the pre-compiled composite, the most unique aspect of the stereoscope is its alliance with binocular vision. As Crary explains:

'Binocular disparity, the self-evident fact that each eye sees a slightly different image, had been a familiar phenomenon since antiquity. Only in the 1830s does it become crucial for scientists to define seeing the body as essentially binocular, to quantify precisely the angular differential of the optical axis of each eye, and to specify the physiological basis for disparity. The question that preoccupied researchers was this: given that an observer perceives with each eye a different image, *how* are they experienced as single or unitary?'[17]

This interest in the reconciliation that takes place with binocular vision, as opposed to the centuries' old theories that Crary accounts for; one that 'proposed that we never saw anything except with one eye at a time', the other 'a projection theory articulated by Kepler, and proposed as late as the 1750s, which asserted that each eye projects an object to its actual location', provided the theoretical basis for the stereoscope.[18] Crary cites Sir David Brewster and Charles Wheatstone as key contributors toward an understanding of the true physiology of vision, Wheatstone for his acknowledgement that human organisms could 'synthesise retinal disparity into a single unitary image', and Brewster, who, writing in a history of the stereoscope in 1856, went on to explain that 'the relief is not obtained from the mere combination or superposition of the two dissimilar pictures. The superposition is effected by turning each eye upon the object, but the relief is given by the play of the optic axes in uniting, in rapid *succession*, similar points of the two pictures'.[19]

Acknowledging the 'play of the optic axes' in this way confirms, as Crary puts it, that 'there never really is a stereoscopic image', and thus, that it is in fact 'a conjuration, an effect of the observer's experience of the differential between two other images'.[20] It is at this point where Galton's surfacism takes on an expanded meaning, due to the confirmation that the stereoscopic image is mere *simulation* that necessarily takes place on the part of the observing

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[16] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, p.118

[17] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, p.119.

[18] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, p.119, with reference to R L Gregory, *Eye and Brain: The Psychology of Seeing*, third edition, New York, 1979.

[19] Charles Wheatstone, 'Contributions to the physiology of vision—part the first. On some remarkable, and hitherto unobserved, phenomena of binocular vision', from *Brewster and Wheatstone on Vision*, ed. Nicholas J Wade, London 1983, 65; and Sir David Brewster, *The Stereoscope: Its History, Theory, and Construction*, London 1856, p.53, both in Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, p.120.

[20] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, p.122

subject. This is a fascinating feature of the stereoscope, particularly when considered in the context of Galton's experiments in visual memory, such as his 'exercises in visualisation', which included studies in colour association and an exercise in 'translating wallpaper patterns'. Previously, I located these abstract visual experiments that concerned the interior image in relation to the notion of 'blind sight' (as a framework for the history of what was perceived as objectivity, where it would often instead be based on misconception or trickery), and as an attempt to record evidence of vision itself. I also situated this type of experiment in relation to Didi-Huberman's assertion that the practices of criminologists such as Lombroso were aligned with 'the fantasy of 'seeing everything' (seeing to the bottom of things, seeing origins and foreseeing ends)', which culminated in the illusory 'optogram' - the attempt to obtain an image of a crime scene or criminal by photographing the retina of the victim, again emulating Simon Baker's comments on Dalí as 'looking through the rational to its irrational core'.[21] Returning to Crary's account, then, the status of this type of image as pure simulation takes on much more significance: 'in devising the stereoscope, Wheatstone aimed to simulate the actual presence of a physical object or scene, not to discover another way to exhibit a print or drawing. Painting had been an adequate form of representation, he asserts, but only for images of objects at a great distance. When a landscape is presented to a viewer, 'if those circumstances which would disturb the illusion are excluded', we could mistake the representation for reality. He declares that up to this point in history it is impossible for an artist to give a faithful representation of any *near* solid object'.[22]

Crary unites the stereoscope with abstraction, and thus, to a degree, with the composite as I have described it. There is, he says, a 'derangement of the conventional functioning of optical cues', and although this is specific to the stereoscopic image, the tone of Crary's description accentuates Galton's relationship with abstraction: 'stereoscopic relief or depth has no unifying logic or order. If perspective implied a homogeneous and potentially metric space, the stereoscope discloses a fundamentally disunified and aggregate field of disjunct elements. …a patchwork of different intensities of relief within a single image. Our eyes follow a choppy and erratic path into its depth: it is an assemblage of local zones of three-dimensionality, zones imbued with a hallucinatory clarity, but which when taken together never coalesce into a homogeneous field'.[23] Compared with the diorama, for example, which was 'too bound up in the techniques of painting' that 'depended for their illusory effects on the depiction of distant subjects', the stereoscope 'provided a form in which 'vividness' of effect increased with the apparent proximity of the object to the viewer', with the 'impression

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[21] Didi-Huberman 'Photography - Scientific and Pseudo-Scientific' in Lemagny & Rouillé eds. *A History of Photography: Social and Cultural Perspectives*, p.74

[22] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, p.122

[23] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, pp.125-6

of three-dimensional solidity' improving 'as the optic axes of each diverged'.[24] Here, it is as if Crary follows the same logic as Galton did when he referred to the 'great confusion of lines and tints' brought about by the limitations of 'shading and colouring'.[25] Both accounts are in some way promoting the stereoscope as a practical and visually superior alternative to hand-drawn and painted representation. This is especially pertinent to my previous assertion that photographic techniques are not always as distinct from painting as has so often been taken for granted.

It also illustrates the notion of surfacism in a particularly interesting way - this patchwork approach to visuality instantly resonates with Pinney's work, especially his discussion of printed textile backdrops in studio portraits. Pinney's use of the word 'surfacism' was made with respect to the potential of the photographic backdrop to incite an all-over engagement with texture, as opposed to a more conventional, receding mode of viewing a photograph. My own investment in this word is in the sense that with composite photography this is surfacism not just as a visible effect but in the very principle upon which the practice was based: as an attitude, then, as much as an after-effect that has been described in addition to the photograph. If the images I have been looking at resonate with this notion of surfacism, then they are the products of a *surfacist* strategy - with Galton as a key advocate of surfacist approaches to the body.

Laura Marks, in a recent study on *Touch*, recites Deleuze's claim in *The Logic of Sense* whereby he states that ''surface' does not imply mere appearances, a Platonic notion that would oppose false surfaces to true, abstract depths or heights. Surface is all there is'.[26] This consideration of surface as *all there is* has much in common with Galton's own equation of land and body. For Marks, this is a highly subjective approach to visual material. 'Touching, not mastering'.[27] She draws upon Deleuze and Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus* to express the term 'haptic', as part of their description of 'smooth space', in other words 'a space that must be moved through by constant reference to the immediate environment, as when navigating an expanse of snow or sand'.[28] Marks' incorporation of this reference to snow and sand is particularly striking in this context of land-body tension. In Deleuze's account of Francis

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[24] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, p.123

[25] Galton, 'On Means of Combining Various Data in Maps and Diagrams', 1876

[26] Deleuze, 'Second Series of Paradoxes of Surface Effects', in Constantin V. Boundas ed., *The Logic of Sense*, trans. Mark Lester, New York: Columbia University Press, 1990, pp. 4-11, and in Laura U. Marks, *Touch: Sensuous Theory and Multisensory Media*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002, Introduction, Note 8, p.218

[27] Marks, *Touch: Sensuous Theory and Multisensory Media*, p.xii.

[28] Deleuze and Guattari, 'The Smooth and the Striated', *A Thousand Plateaus*, trans. Brian Massumi Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 1987, pp.474-500.

Bacon, for example, Deleuze introduces the haptic within the 'spatial zone of closeness', whereby the 'sense of sight behaves just like the sense of touch experiencing the presence of the form and the ground *at the same place [regard parole space]*'.[29]

Both Crary and Galton demonstrate a concern for proximity when it comes to stereoscopic and composite imaging, and where they are so intent on reading surface, I think it resonates with this particular description of sight. While I am not making direct claims for the stereograph or composite - this is by no means a suggestion that such images invite haptic navigation (as fundamentally 'flat' photographs how could they?) - but is rather a suggestion that the reasoning that informs these images is driven by a very similar logic to that proposed here by Marks, and by Deleuze and Guattari. In this model, the photographs are (again) supplementary to the concepts that they were intended to support - not in the sense that they succeed or fail in recording the internal images that were sought but in the visual sense: recalling Derrida's terms, they produce no relief, with their places 'assigned in the structure by the mark of an emptiness'.[30]

It should come as no surprise that Deleuze chose to illustrate his description of haptic looking in *The Logic of Sensation* with Egyptian bas-relief. 'Egyptian art has not yet made up its mind with regard to the gaze', he claimed, reciting Alois Riegl's definition in *Late Roman Art Industry*, including the following suggestions that I think are particularly applicable here:

1 'Bas-relief brings about the most rigid link between the eye and the hand because its element is *the flat surface*, which allows the eye to function like the sense of touch; furthermore, it confers, and indeed imposes, upon the eye a tactile, or rather *haptic* function; it thereby ensures, in the Egyptian 'will to art', the joining together of the two senses of art and sight, like the soil and the horizon.

2 It is a frontal and close view that assumes this haptic function, since the form and the ground lie on the *same plane* of the surface, equally close to each other and to ourselves.

3 What separates and unites both the form and the ground is the contour, or regular curve, that isolates the form as an *essence*, a closed unity that is shielded from all accident, change, deformation, and corruption; essence acquires a formal and linear presence that dominates the flux of existence and representation'.[31]

Though stereoscopic images have to be suspended *in sight* after their production, and despite

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[29] Deleuze, *Francis Bacon: The Logic of Sensation*, trans. Daniel W. Smith, London and NY: Continuum, 2003 (editions de la difference, 1981), p.189, Note 2.

[30] Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, p.144

[31] Reigl, Late Roman Art Industry, in Deleuze, Francis Bacon, pp.122-3. This supposition has been followed in the work of, for example, Svetlana Alpers on the Dutch still life in *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983 and Norman Bryson in *Vision in Painting*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.

the differences in depth of field that can be perceived between these and composites, they depict the same all-over surfacism that resonates throughout Deleuze's discussion of contours and the haptic function of the image. Where the images are in their most fragile state, a state of suspension, the 'derangement of the conventional functioning of optical cues' is at its utmost. If Galton applied the principle of his land mappings to portraiture, then Crary justifies this in his prioritisation of tangibility in stereoscopic views: he demonstrates the sense of proximity that the stereograph conjures not just with its three-dimensional illusory image but equally with the apparatus required - the 'peering in' that is necessary in order for this type of image to be simulated: the 'desired effect of the stereoscope', he says: 'was not simply likeness, but immediate, apparent *tangibility*'.[32] One set of images that might justify my grouping of these two disparate 'before' and 'after' modes of representation are those that depict small scale portraits—thus working on an even more microscopic level than Galton's portraits that show concern for the so-called criminal face. My reasoning behind this is because they were intended to reveal only the very fine contours of the groups of objects that they included, taking these emphases on 'contour knowledge' and tangibility to an altogether more visible, even visceral, level. Not insignificantly either, they contest the portrait-subject opposition due to their condition as photographs of portraits and, as composites, they fulfil at least three stages of representation—the original portrait relief that is depicted in each coin, as laid out in the constellation that surrounds the 'final' image; the photograph of each coin, and the composite photograph. How is it that these relief images, at so many removes from the subjects who were originally depicted, are able to communicate such immediate proximity? Are they not representatives, albeit suspended by the limitations of composite photography, of the 'spatial zone of closeness'?
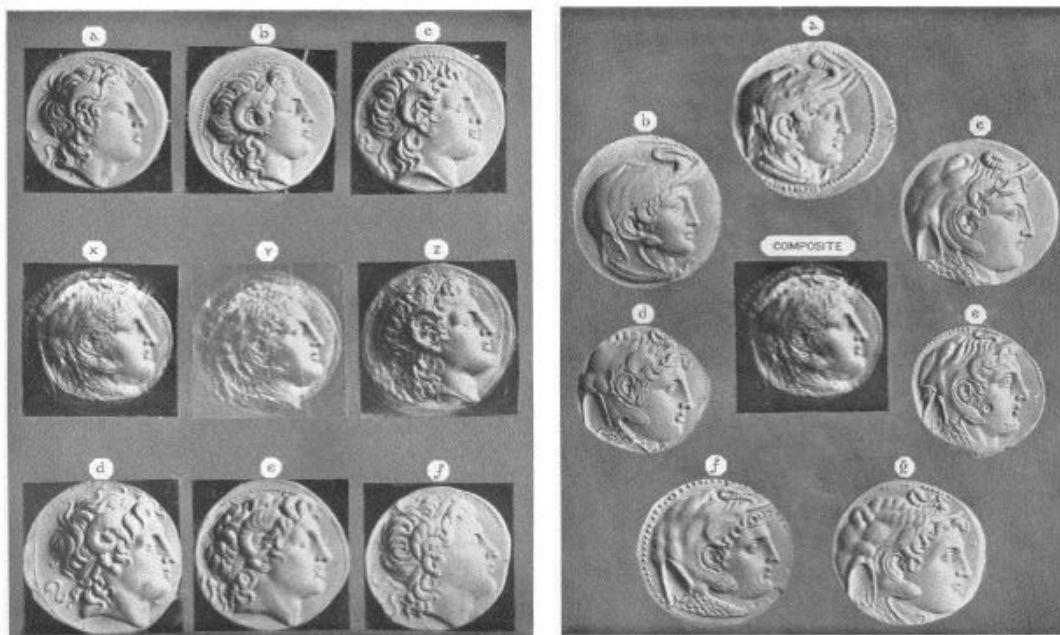
Galton, composites of Alexander the Greek and Alexander the Indian produced using coins, 1879

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[32] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, pp.123-124

'The Old Woman of the Vinegar'[33]

So how can this model of contouring knowledge be used to describe the way in which marks on the outer surface of the body perform a unique visual communication? It is my contention that these markings provide a particularly interesting cipher for reading the more abstract properties in portraits, and this originated with these early attempts to 'contour knowledge'. Firstly, some of the stereotypes that were produced in line with Bertillon and others' attention to 'distinguishing marks' and 'anomalous characteristics' are problematised by the need to better differentiate between topology and topography. A photograph of a statue of a criminal subject that Lombroso included in *Criminal Woman* has a unique application here. Another representation of a representation, the profile view of an elderly lady known as the 'old woman of the vinegar' (she was renowned for poisoning people) looks remarkably similar to Galton's composites of coins, and thus strikes a chord with Deleuze and Reigl's statements on the haptic and the bas-relief, so too with stereoscopic model photographs. It is not stated why this image reveals biological criminality, but Lombroso's other remarks on wrinkles, jaw-lines, and, in the case of female criminals, the suggestion of any 'masculine' features all contribute to his assertion that this particular subject was born with the propensity to commit crime. That his decision was based on a secondary representation is unlikely to have been a significant concern. As I mentioned previously, many of Lombroso's so-called biologically pre-determined criminals were labelled as such due to physiognomic features, and these follow Galton's surface logic, though there are now also peripheral details such as wrinkles that extend beyond basic contour theories (the shape of the head and face as intrinsic evidence of criminality) into the realm of the 'distinguishing mark'.

The Old Woman of the Vinegar,
photograph of statue,
from Lombroso, *La Donna Delinquente*, 1893

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[33] Some of this material is adapted from 'After the *femme fatale*: nineteenth-century criminality and the spaces of photography', a paper that I gave for *Women, Femininity, and Nineteenth-Century Public Space*, organised by Temma Balducci and Heather Jensen for the College Art Association Annual Conference, Chicago, 10-13 February 2010

Likewise, in an account of three murderers, Lombroso adopted the following terms: 'the first … has swollen lips and a virile physiognomy. The second, who killed her father, has arched eyebrows, deep furrows in her forehead, a strange pattern of wrinkles, a receding forehead, overdeveloped cheek- and jawbones, and thin lips. The third, a husband killer, has swollen lips'.[34] Of course, this is not the first time that a statement about criminal appearance has been reduced to ambiguous remarks such as 'strange patterns' or 'overdeveloped' features. What is striking about Lombroso's studies is that while he does observe smaller details such as warts or scars in his accompanying texts, there is always more visual representation of features such as those described above, which emphasises his reliance on physiognomic principles, compared with indexical ones that were only just being established at this time. Because of the nature of this approach to the face and body, this aligns Lombroso with Galton in terms of his surfacist methods, and thus with a more overtly fictional mode of representation, where it is clear that photographs were made and combined (if in this case only upon the same page) in the attempt to depict a 'type'. That he harks back to the statue of 'the old woman of the vinegar', a figure of near-mythological status, seems to confirm this.[35]

Describing the criminologist's subjects, Sekula claimed that 'no characterological secrets were hidden beneath the surface of this body' and, rather, that 'the surface and the skeleton were indices of a more strictly material sort'.[36] 'The anthropometrical signalment', he explains, 'was the register of the morphological constancy of the adult skeleton, thus the key to biographical identity', and 'likewise, scars and other deformations of the flesh were clues, not to any innate propensity for crime, but to the body's physical history: its trades, occupations, calamities'.[37] Perhaps Sekula's account of this scrutiny of the body is as reductive as the practice itself, though he does at least emphasise the focus on the outer periphery. A subject's 'distinguishing marks' were not conceived as criminal characteristics in their own right, Bertillon in particular was much more concerned about 'refining the description of individuality' than actually stigmatising criminal suspects. Sekula puts this down to the 'French school' of criminology, which was much more in-keeping with current systems that are as considerate of environmental factors in the cause of crime as they are of any 'biologically given criminal type'.[38] The 'Italian school', however (which included Lombroso), tended to believe the criminal to be 'an atavistic being who reproduces in his

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[34] Lombroso, *Criminal Woman*, p.53

[35] I am thinking again here of Ellis's reference to Thersites in *Iliad Book II*. [See my introduction, p.2, note 10]: 'When Homer described Thersites as ugly and deformed, with harsh or scanty hair, and a pointed head, like a pot that had collapsed to a peak in the baking, he furnished evidence as to the existence of a criminal type of man'; referring to Thersites, a physically misshapen Greek warrior, in *Iliad* [Book II].

[36] Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', p.360

[37] Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', p.360

[38] Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', p.362

person the ferocious instincts of primitive humanity and the inferior animals'.[39] French or Italian school, descriptive or stigmatising, the intense scrutiny given to 'scars and other deformations of the flesh' warrants further discussion in this context of the *surfacism* that is inherent to criminal identification. The idea that no 'characterological secrets were hidden beneath the surface' equates to an overt admission that these practices are exclusively superficial: a wholly objectifying ambition. In spite of Bertillon's more pacifist intentions, he too follows Galton in this logic of surface scrutiny, which, irrespective of his reasoning, reveals the assumed denial of the presence of a subject beneath the layers available to be looked at.

Homicidal Women, from Lombroso, *La Donna Delinquente*, 1893

While Galton's was a study of contours—layering a series of faces in order to produce an average head and face shape, with roughly averaged features—Bertillon's focus was on the 'registration' of a subject's identity-carrying features; and Lombroso's on 'biological criminal characteristics'. But this is a subtle differentiation. Whether produced for the purposes of identification, or under the more ideological pretext that they could shape criminal identity as a whole, each study is based on surface scrutiny, or a 'surfacist' attitude. Perhaps the common element is again the demonstration of a concern for proximity when it comes to representation. What I wish to do now, then, is to 'zoom in' somewhat further and consider some of these features in more detail.

Lavater's inclusion of an image of 'birthmarks' in his 1792 *Essays on Physiognomy* provides a historical framework for this approach to the body. Images like this appear far from having any indexical or scientific use-value; more often they arose as evidence of the spectacularisation of features of the body that fell either side of the binomial curve for 'normal' human appearance. Bataille made a similar point in 'The Deviations of Nature' when he reprinted drawings by Regnault of subjects with abnormalities, stating that 'the pleasure of

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[39] Cesare Lombroso, Gina Lombroso-Ferrero, *Criminal Man*, New York: Putnam, 1911, p.xxv, in Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', pp.362-3

going to see the 'freaks' is today seen as a carnival pleasure, and characterises the one who comes forward as a gawker. In the sixteenth century a kind of religious curiosity, due in part to the habit of living at the mercy of the most terrible scourges, was still mixed with curious silliness'.[40] By contrast, Bertillon's serialised photographic representations of single features of the body, which he compiled to assist those adopting his *portrait parlé* technique, omit the most obviously individualising aspects of the body, such as moles, warts, scars, and such like, which were resigned to the notes section of each identity card. To consider this quite literally, as was the case with the *portrait parlé*, for Bertillon, the fictional inferences that can be made with respect to identity are rife, as they yet again rely upon the verbal or written notes of a single police officer. Despite the ethical stand that Bertillon takes in avoiding making representations of 'aberrations' of the criminal body in microscopic detail, this is not to say that such scrutiny did not take place.

Birthmarks, from Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, 1792

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[40] Bataille, 'The Deviations of Nature', in Stoekl ed., *Visions of Excess: Selected Writings, 1927-1939*, p.53

N F Regnault, *Enfant Monstreux*, 1775

Where images of the smaller 'abnormality' are omitted, they were deemed unnecessary in the sense that there is not such a great need for describing the size, shape, colour, etc., of a marking such as a mole or a birthmark, except for in extreme cases (where they would inspire drawings such as those published in the previous century by Lavater). As such, rather than a visual record, they form part of a codified *mapping* of the criminal body, where a sizeable mole on the left forearm, for example, plays the role of a co-ordinate or cursor that could prove a subject's identity. This has a problematic relationship to the index: unlike the much more evidential indexical status of the fingerprint, which aims to produce a visible record of identity, the absence of a record of these supposedly cursory features restricts them to the vague category of anomalies in which they were most often included. It is this cursory value that I am interested in, because it strikes a chord between cultural and biological influences upon identity, where this undermines the dualist, surfacist, logic of many criminologists, and also of physiognomists such as Lavater. It does this by conflating the two factors via the combination of naturally occurring physical characteristics (moles, warts, and such like) and those that occur otherwise (scars and tattoos). This is not to say that each feature is specific to one of these categories—far from ignoring the fact that a scar may be the result of an operation to cure a disease that was inherited genetically, and so forth, I am more concerned

about the sweeping generalisation of all such features into the class of the 'anomaly', which ignores the vast, historical pretext for each marking upon the body, and thus every factor that contributes to a subject's perceived identity. That Bertillon uses the terms 'distinguishing mark' and 'anomaly' interchangeably is a recurring oversight that is unsurprising, given his problematic uses of language that I have already discussed. It is important to maintain here that I am not making my own generalisation for the criminologist - nineteenth century or otherwise - which I hope to have already made clear by emphasising the vastly aberrant origins of criminal identification as it is now known. It does seem to be common practice, however, to describe bodies in this way, by grouping all so-called abnormal features into the same over-arching class of the 'distinguishing mark'.

Bertillon, *Tableau synoptique des traits physiognomiques, pour servir a l'étude du "Portrait Parlé"*, 1909

Tattoos, Palimpsests of the Flesh[41]

Given the definitive status of tattooing as body art, what could be ascertained from a study of the practice of inscription upon the skin in relation to the judicial portrait? How is it possible to distinguish between tattooing and branding, and why is this a significant factor in criminal identity? Broadly speaking, I am seeking to understand how the presence of, or addition of, an image upon the outer surface of the body can problematise the arguments that were made for the photographic or other representation of the subject as constitutive of their criminal identity. To me, this is an issue that resonates with the complex debates on colour as inherent to both the surface of the image and the subject beneath that surface, as this has a particularly interesting relationship with the skin, especially in the context of identity construction and two-dimensional representation. The skin is much more complex, and has much more appeal to aesthetic enquiry than the simplistic approaches to moles and warts imply. But if a great deal of research has been carried out with respect to this membrane, with Deleuze's rumination on living surfaces at the forefront, it begs to be considered with respect to portraiture. Recent studies of the tattoo have perhaps come the closest to connecting the skin with the depiction of the skin in ways that benefit theories of portraiture.

That more studies are rooted in sociological and medical histories than in art history should come as little surprise. In her study of skin as 'cultural border between self and the world', Claudia Benthien claims that 'the integument of the body has become an increasingly rigid boundary in spite of the fact that medicine has penetrated the skin and exposed the interior of the body'.[42] Even with this attention to the skin as a cultural border, Benthien actually offers very little attention to the tattoo as a practice of inscription upon the body that radically alters this cultural conception of skin as 'rigid boundary'.[43] That I am writing over a decade since Benthien's study does not mean that I am describing a culture that is all of a sudden familiar with skin grafts, laser treatments and other extremes in body modification that might suddenly render this notion of a 'rigid boundary' somewhat fragile, malleable or fleeting. Rather, I think the reason for Benthien's omission is that it is a historical subculture: if Benthien describes the norm, to which the great majority of society aspire, with the skin as a hermetically sealed, smooth surface (without tattoos, warts, scars or birthmarks) then she ignores this area of culture that has an extensive relationship to criminology and criminal identity. Matt Lodder has asserted this peripheral status in his study on *Body Art: Body Modification as Artistic Practice*: 'even operations which are relatively quick to carry out and require few tools outside

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[41] Thomas Pynchon wrote in *Gravity's Rainbow* that 'in the thirties balance-of-power thinking was still quite strong… code messages in a dozen Slavic tongues were being tattooed on bare upper lips over which the operatives then grew moustaches, to be shaved off only by authorised crypto officers and skin then grafted over the messages by the Firm's plastic surgeons… their lips were *palimpsests of secret flesh*, scarred and unnaturally white, by which they all knew each other'. Picador edition, (my emphasis) p.16

[42] Claudia Benthien, *Skin: On the Cultural Border Between Self and the World*, New York: Columbia, 1999, p.1

[43] Benthien makes just two references to the tattoo in this text, one of which I will return to later.

of a scalpel and a steady hand', he explains, 'can result in a radically different phenomenological ontology', and thus 'a body which is a transgressive anathema to many people', since 'only small changes are required to upset the delicate totality of the organism'.[44] Such procedures as tattooing and piercing the skin, Lodder claims, 'resist the holistic integrity of the organism', where 'the modified body that results from them is an affront to common notions of corporeal wholeness'.[45] 'Moreover', he explains, they are 'dealt with harshly by most hegemonic power structures'.[46]

With this in mind, I would like to conclude this chapter by locating the tattoo in relation to these ideas about surface that I have just proposed with respect to Galton's 'mapping' and the notion of 'contour knowledge', and following on from Bertillon's descriptions of the 'distinguishing mark'. What are the transformations that may occur in a portrait if some of the so-called distinguishing features are intentional, and are cultural rather than biological? How does this contribute to the role of the photograph in the construction of criminal identity? I would like to suggest that the tattoo has a doubling effect, adding an extra representational layer to the image, and, at times, contesting this notion of the skin as a 'rigid boundary', complimenting the definition of surfacism that I just set out in relation to composite portraiture and stereographs.

A stereoscopic anatomy photograph published in *The Edinburgh Stereoscopic Atlas of Anatomy* in 1905 shows a male thorax with markings drawn on, and also depicting numerical coordinates in various places. The difference between the left and right views is virtually, if not entirely, impossible to distinguish, despite an account of the appeal of this practice: 'where one tissue differed from another was not necessarily clear in ordinary black-and-white photographs, but in three-dimensional imagery the difference was immediately apparent. Several such atlases were produced in the period'.[47] Without even having penetrated the skin as a tattoo would, how does this image complicate the received notion of the skin as being anything like a 'rigid boundary'? The subject's skin is extremely pale and pallid, to the extent that the creases over the contours of his arm sockets resemble those claimed by Lombroso to be evidence of criminality, implying a fragile surface (palimpsest) as opposed to any form of

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[44] Matt Lodder, *Body Art: Body Modification as Artistic Practice*, PhD thesis, Department of History of Art, University of Reading, 2010, p.96

[45] Lodder, *Body Art: Body Modification as Artistic Practice*, p.96

[46] For example: 'Western countries frown upon practising medicine without a licence; British law as established in R. vs. Brown forbids the defence of consent against charges of assault; 2003 saw several US states explicitly ban tongue splitting; corporate and educational structures are able to exert great control over the bodies of those within their organisations'. Lodder, *Body Art: Body Modification as Artistic Practice*, pp.96-7

[47] 'The most important of which were *Anatomy for the Anesthesiologist*, published in Springfield, Illinois, in 1903, and *The Anatomy of the Eye*, published in Oxford, England in 1912'. Taken from *The Century of the Body: 100 Photoworks, 1900-2000*, London: Thames & Hudson, 2000, p.36

impenetrable seal. This surface, his skin, is interrupted by the addition of the drawn diagram of the rib cage and diaphragm, which, albeit for educational rather than incriminating purposes, recalls the scrutinising vision of the criminologist, especially with the addition of a surplus layer of numbers, as an alternative to the criminal subject's identifying code.
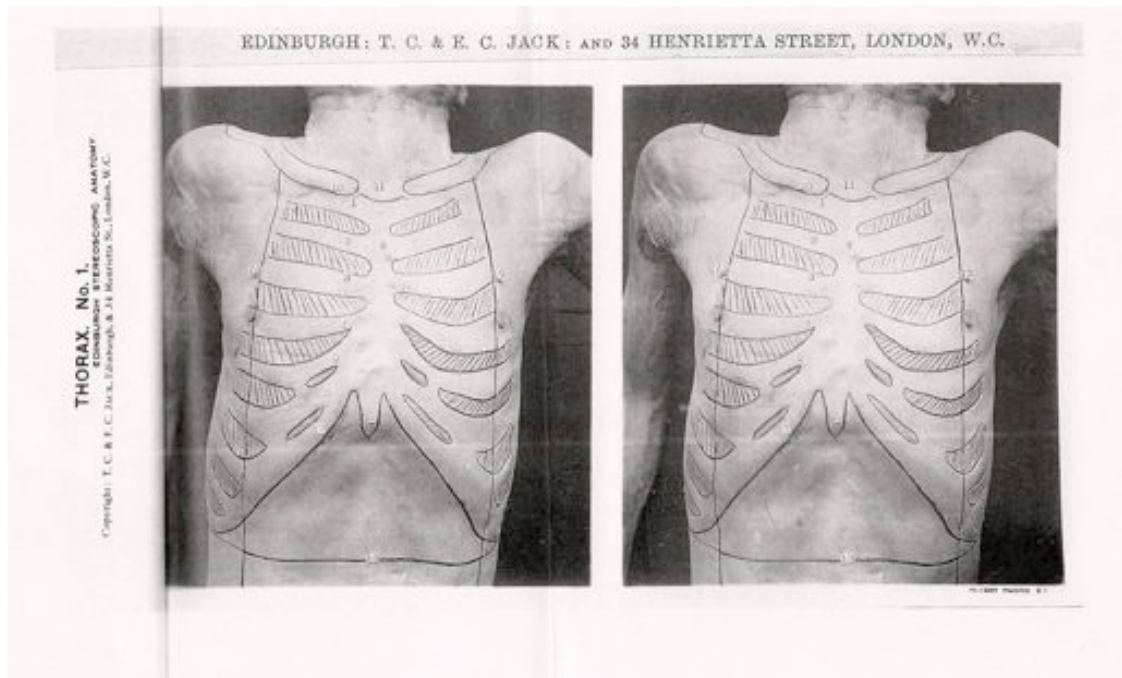
Thorax No. 1 (Anterior view of the thoracic wall), stereoscopic anatomy photographs, as published in David Watson (ed.), *The Edinburgh Stereoscopic Atlas of Anatomy*, 1905

The very presence of a diagram upon the skin interferes with the image of the body beneath these lines, albeit an external drawing rather than a tattoo, with the effect of revealing an image that is based on duplication: not only as a stereoscopic image, but as a simultaneous likeness of the headless figure *and* the internal thorax that the diagram is intended to describe. The image recalls Galton's principles of contour mapping, in its combination of each of these elements, much like his own studies of land, with the co-ordinates of *Ortler Spitze and Stelvio Pass*, for example acting as a parallel attempt to reveal more than was visually possible. That this image (or these images) are stereoscopic is perhaps the final complication for the more simplistic notion of the skin as hermetic seal. Whilst it marks an important shift in focus of this discussion from distinguishing marks to inscriptive devices, the palimpsest that might be seen in this stereoscopic photograph is one that exists *outside* of the surface of the body: however the representation of an interior upon the exterior might have the observer think otherwise. It works within the logic of suspension for the stereoscope, and to an extent also the composite, in the sense that the blurred outlines of the overlaid negatives were considered irrelevant to the viewing process which required visualising the 'nucleus' of the image.

If for Benthien the skin can be studied as an organ in its own right, for body modification specialists this could not be more complex. Lodder likens the modificatory procedure to the autopsy, to the extent that, where an autopsy is 'invasive and messy'; 'dismembers and reconfigures the human form'; and where the pathologist is 'simultaneously clinical in his approach and violent in his action', the subject undergoing body modification 'will select corporeally destructive technologies and deploy them for specific ends (though they are transformative and not diagnostic)'.[48] Thus Lodder locates tattooing among other modificatory procedures, as an invasive, puncturing act that opposes cultural conceptions of the skin as a rigid boundary; an interesting compliment to the surface logic that I have been working with in relation to stereoscopes and composite mechanisms. In doing so, he promotes the idea of the modificatory procedure as a potential illustration for Antonin Artaud's poem, famously appropriated by Deleuze and Guattari, in which Artaud imagined a 'body without organs'. Deleuze and Guattari explore this concept in order to construct an alternative to the functioning organism—which applies on all scales, from microscopic surface to the macrocosm that is capital: working against specificity and organisation, they postulate the body without organs as a case of individuation on the most intrinsic level. Thus it is pure surface or limit, which is amenable, I think, to the surfacism I identified in criminologists and others studying only the outermost appearance of the body. Indeed, their description of 'its smooth, slippery, opaque, taut surface as a barrier' and its 'counterflow of amorphous, undifferentiated fluid' not only contests the 'linked, connected, and interrupted flows' of the organised body, but provides an alternative to the type of identity construed by criminologists by their own organising devices.[49] Hence my inclusion of Lodder's illustration of the 'body without organs' as a modified body, especially with respect to the potential of such a body to 'upset the delicate totality of the organism' in both the immediate corporeal sense, and in its problematic position outside of hegemonic power structures.[50]

In the previous chapters, I looked at images depicting supplemental devices and judicial apparatuses that are intended as conveyors of (criminal) identity. But what happens when these are actually attached to, or inscribed upon the body? Moving on from Bertillon's notational devices, it is interesting to return to George Lane's account of the history of punishment in the thirteenth century during the Yüan dynasty for an account of an early practice of 'branding' criminal subjects: 'Any thief shall be tattooed for the first offence by placing characters on the left arm. This refers to the person who has already obtained goods by

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[48] Lodder, *Body Art: Body Modification as Artistic Practice*, pp.85-6.

[49] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1972 Les Editions de Minuit), Trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem and Helen R. Lane, Preface Michel Foucault, London: The Athlone Press, 1983, p.9, with reference to Antonin Artaud, in *84*, nos. 5-6, 1948: 'Le corps est le corps/il est seul/et n'a pas besoin d'organe/le corps n'est jamais un organisme/les organismes sont ennemis du corps'; 'the body is the body/it is all by itself/and has no need of organs/the body is never an organism/organisms are the enemy of the body'.

[50] Lodder, *Body Art: Body Modification as Artistic Practice*, pp.96-7

stealing. For the second offence, he shall be tattooed on the right arm; and for the third offence, the neck. A robber shall be tattooed for the first offence on the neck'.[51] This is a fascinating contrast to the perceived opinion of tattoos that the nineteenth-century criminologists seemed to have had, which finds the tattoo in the category of the preexisting 'distinguishing mark'. It can be aligned with many other systems that were, and in some instances, still are, in use today. In this case, following on from Lane's description that the Yüan system was essentially one that promoted mobility over punishments within jails, the tattoo, as a (then) permanent, visible tagging device was a by-product of this. Inevitably, historical cases of tattooing-as-branding carried out by the penal institution have fuelled the association of the tattoo with criminality. Only in the past two decades has this really been contested in studies that, much like the work of anthropologists on colonial photography, have accepted the tattoo as a valid mode of artistic expression that has a history of its own, which reaches far beyond penal codes. As Adolf Loos puts it in 'Ornament and Crime', one such perceived view was bound up with an Orientalist opposition between East and West: 'the Papuan tattoos his skin, his boat, his paddles, in short everything he can lay his hands on. He is not a criminal. The modern man who tattoos himself is either a criminal or a degenerate. There are prisons in which eighty per cent of the inmates show tattoos. The tattooed who are not in prison are latent criminals or degenerate aristocrats. If someone who is tattooed dies at liberty, it means he has died a few years before committing a murder'.[52]

Loos claims that the 'urge to ornament one's face and everything within reach' is in fact 'the start of plastic art', and is, he says, 'the baby talk of painting'.[53] If, as Lodder supposes, the practice of tattooing can fulfil an illustration of a body without organs via the instantaneous production of a 'radically different phenomenological ontology', how can this be expanded by the distinction between the tattoo as a device for artistic and/or individualistic expression and the branding techniques used within official power structures? This is complicated by the problematic status of the tattoo as potentially both 'ornament' and 'sign': is it simultaneously possible to describe tattooing, as Loos does, as representative of the 'urge to ornament' oneself, *and* as a legible sign? This seems to be a conflict in terms, since the ornament is by definition an embellishment, i.e.. it performs a supplementary role; whereas the sign is an autonomous and direct indicator of meaning. Do such distinctions depend upon the content of the tattoo, or are they more informed by the context in which they are produced – Loos' subject who ornaments his face and everything within reach, as opposed to, say, tattooing amongst gangs, as a reminder of how fragile this distinction really is, where a gang member

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[51] George Lane, *Daily Life in the Mongol Empire*, London and Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2006, p. 212, with reference to Paul Heng-chao Ch'en, *Chinese Legal Tradition under the Mongols: The Code of 1291 as Reconstructed*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979, p.67

[52] Adolf Loos, 'Ornament and Crime', 1908, in Ulrich Conrads ed. and Michael Bullcok (trans.), *Programs and Manifestos on Twentieth-Century Architecture*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1971, p.19

[53] Loos, 'Ornament and Crime', p.19

might be 'branded' either voluntarily or against their will? Rather than attempt to construct a concise description of all the reasoning behind tattoos in prison contexts, I am more concerned with the tattoo in representation: how this relates to my ongoing examination of the relationship between subject and image, an issue in which the tattoo, as simultaneously 'palimpsest of the flesh' *and* iconographic surface inscription, takes such a unique place. In choosing this focus, I am avoiding the approach that Lodder observed in many studies: 'most who write about body modification technologies employ methodological approaches which limit investigations to the circumstances which prefigure any modification procedure, and concern themselves exclusively with issues which deal with that which comes prior to the modifications being carried out. As such, questions of impetus and impulse dominate the literature… all pertinent discussions, of course, but they all end, abruptly, once the scalpel blade or needle touches the skin'.[54]

Baldaev, Vasiliev, and the Russian Criminal Tattoo Encyclopaedia

If tattoos are a popular topic of debate for cultural and art historians, then photographs of tattoos are still little discussed in a theoretical framework. In my opinion, representations *of* tattoos hold just as much, if not more fascination, than the tattoo or the practice of tattooing. A. Lee Laskin made a statement in his essay on 'screen skins' that could also apply to what I have been discussing here. Laskin recites Félix Nadar's description of Honoré de Balzac's theory on the daguerreotype, in order to reconcile the shared principles of photographic and cinematic film, which I think is also amenable to this discussion of the interrelation of image, body, and skin: 'all physical bodies are made up entirely of layers of ghost-like images, an infinite number of leaflike skins laid one on top of the other. Since Balzac believed man was incapable of making something material from an apparition, from something impalpable — that is creating something from nothing — he concluded that every time someone had his photograph taken, one of the spectral layers was removed from the body, and transferred to the photograph'.[55] This marks a progression even further from the notion of 'blind sight' that is bound up with nineteenth-century approaches to the body, towards an entirely more complex mode of sight that is concerned with where the body might be located in terms of depth and shallow contours. Where I have been considering how and at which points the body might fit amongst these layers, I have consciously ignored the continuation of these debates in the context of the moving image. Historically, of course, this was the next most significant transition for visual technology in both popular and scientific contexts, and Crary's position on the history of visual techniques is not always the most common. In his account of 'Cinema and the New Spirit in Art within a Culture of Movement', Tom Gunning takes a very different

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[54] Lodder, *Body Art: Body Modification as Artistic Practice*, p.5

[55] Félix Nadar, 'Balzac and the Daguerreotype', *Literature and Photography: Interactions, 1840-1990*, ed. Jane M. Rabb, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995, p.8. Quoted from A. Lee Laskin, 'Breach Birth: The Hygiene of Screen Skins', *Octopus*, Vol. 4, Autumn 2008, p.163

approach to Crary's description of the stereograph as 'a patchwork of different intensities of relief within a single image', arguing that 'not only was the stereoscope restricted to still images but this ornament of the middle-class parlour supplied an image of rather stolid three-dimensionality, locking the viewer into a single perspective with its exaggerated and illusory vanishing point. The cinema not only could capture the movement of men, animals, and machines, but could even capture the constantly renewing viewpoint of someone in motion'.[56] Without favouring either Crary's or Gunning's approaches, the images that I have been discussing have a very unique relationship to this notion of 'patchwork' versus 'stolid three-dimensionality'. Composites, stereographs, relief images, and images of birthmarks and tattoos share an ability to problematise the format in which they are viewed, once again conforming with Nead's definition of the medium as 'middle state', and with Derrida's description of idiom, revealing an all-over surfacism that is also akin to film, in which Balzac's suggestion that a layer of the skin is removed in order for a photograph to be produced seems that bit more plausible. In which case, the interstitial drawn motif or tattoo produces a similar effect to the composite, whereby it seems to simultaneously recede into and protrude from the other facets of the image, both standing out as an icon, and receding as an element that is a part of the skin.

As an example, Danzig Baldaev, a prison guard from St. Petersberg made a series of over 3000 drawings of prisoners' tattoos between 1948 and 1986. A selection of these have since been published in the form of a three-volume *Russian Criminal Tattoo Encyclopaedia*.[57] Baldaev's working method, so it is described by the people behind the publication, has quite a lot in common with one of Bertillon's strategies: working under an observational guise, he would make so-called comprehensive notes of subjects' tattoos, which he would then meticulously reproduce from his small St. Petersberg apartment, in the form of detailed ink drawings. In fact, Baldaev's written portrait has a strong resonance with Bertillon's guidelines for the *portrait parlé*: 'before being learned by heart, it ought to be drawn up with the mind in repose and committed to writing'.[58] Often depicting sexually explicit and violent imagery, Baldaev's drawings are careful, at times almost pathological reconstructions of pornographic and other subversive symbolic forms, each annotated with notes and stamped with the marker of authenticity that equates to Baldaev's signature.

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[56] Tom Gunning 'Cinema and the New Spirit in Art within a Culture of Movement', in *Picasso, Braque and Early Film in Cubism*, exh. cat. 'Picasso, Braque and Early Film in Cubism', Pace Wildenstein, New York, 20 April - 23 June 2007. New York: Pace Wildenstein, 2007, p.19

[57] London: FUEL, Volume I first published 2005; Volume II 2006; Volume III 2008. A selection of the portraits was displayed in *Russian Criminal Tattoo Exhibition*, 4 Wilkes Street, London, 30 October - 28 November 2010. Since this exhibition, 13 of Vasiliev's prints have been purchased by the Saatchi Gallery and will form a part of the upcoming display *Gaiety is the Most Outstanding Feature of the Soviet Union* (Saatchi Gallery, London, 30 May - 12 June 2012). Vasiliev's work has also been exhibited at Michael Hoppen Gallery (London, 18 February to 7 March 2009). A selection of Vasiliev's portraits and Baldaev's drawings and their accompanying descriptions can be viewed online: http://fuel-design.com/russian-criminal-tattoo-archive/.

[58] Bertillon, *The Bertillon System of Identification*, Appendix B. 'The Verbal Portrait', p.249

Danzig Baldaev, drawing produced during time spent as a prison guard, St. Petersberg, 1981. Text reads: 'Oh, fickle fortune, smile on me once more. 1972'. The text on the manacle reads 'ITK-7' (Corrective Labour Camp No. 7). The tattoo is known as 'Winged Fickle Fortune', whereby the wearer dreams of committing a bold, large-scale theft allowing him to give up his life of crime. This and the following captions courtesy of *Russian Criminal Tattoo Encyclopaedia* (3 Vols.), London: FUEL, 2005-2008.

The realisation of this series of drawings is far-removed from any conventional notion of authenticity, however. Once again there seems to be a will to 'neutrality' about this collection of images, and as such they conform, despite their subversive content, with the logic behind a great deal of judicial portraits, especially given this assumption of objectivity in the individual who produced them. Some of the most fascinating portraits[59] in this series are those that directly refer to a subject's incarceration. What are the ramifications for criminal identity if a subject wears an icon of incarceration? For example, depictions of shackles, one of the most prominent symbols of captivity, frequently appear in Baldaev's work. As part of a series of photographs that have been displayed and reproduced alongside Baldaev's drawings, the subject in Sergei Vasiliev's portrait wears bells on his feet, which are attached to shackles. So many of these tattoos are biographical, for example, the bells indicate that he served his time in full ('to the bell'), the shackles, that his sentence was more than five years, and the dagger through the neck, that the subject committed murder during his incarceration, and is 'available to hire' for further murders. Such iconography is therefore simultaneously a part of the subject's own identity *and* his criminal identity, since it has the potential to convey, with the process of translation that has been applied here, both the data that contributes to their

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[59] Despite their separation from the subjects who wore the tattoos in question, the images do retain an abstract connection to them, thus should still be regarded as portraits.

criminal record in the same vein as the judicial powers, and also to their personal history, with anecdotal references to their past. Prompted out of pride or out of remorse, these are cases of tattoos as immaterial, even internal data worn externally.
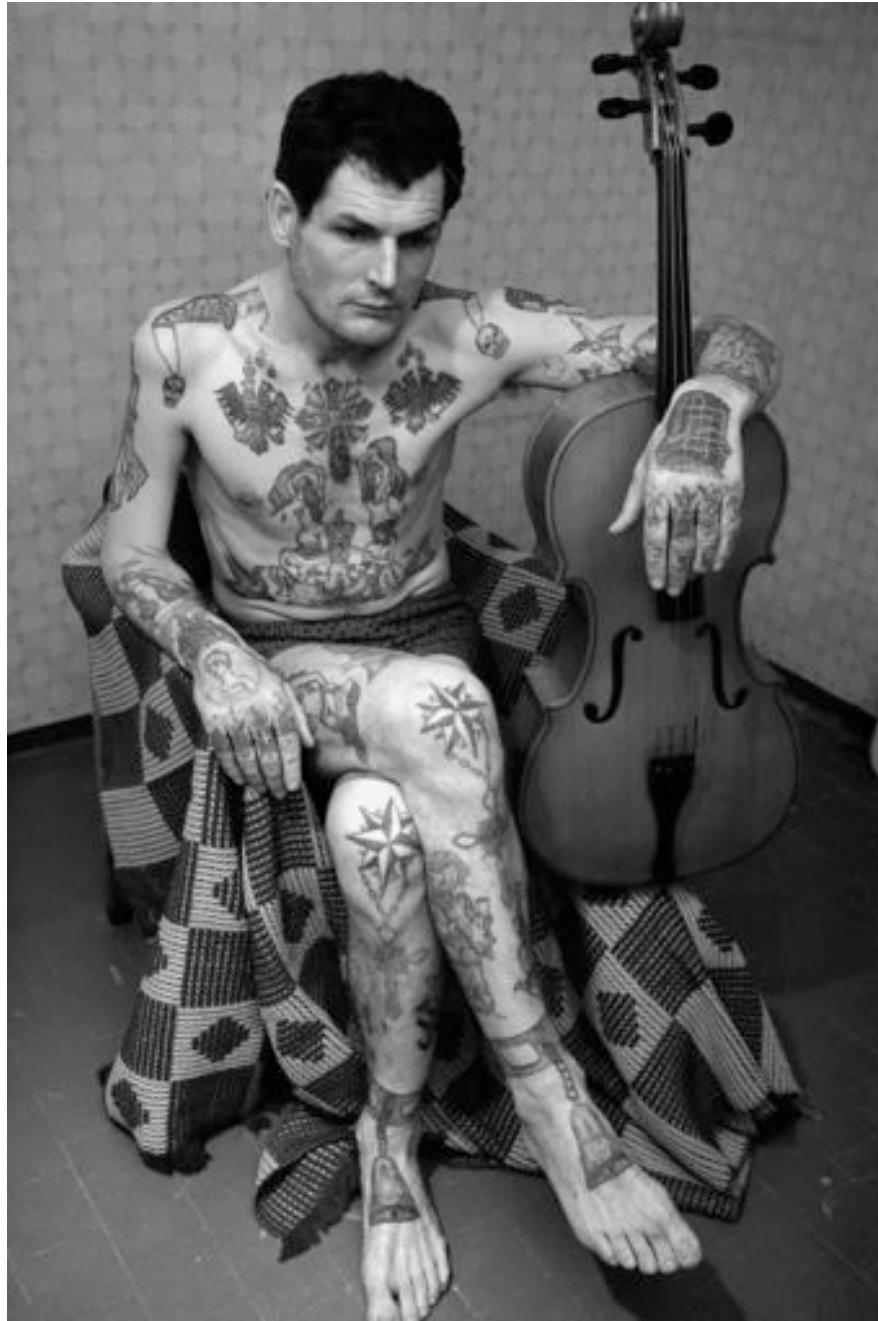
Sergei Vasiliev, portrait produced at Strict Regime Corrective Labour Colony No. 40, Perm Region, 1991. 'The dagger through the neck shows that the prisoner committed murder while in prison, and that he is unavailable to 'hire' for further murders. The bells on the feet indicate that he served his time in full ('to the bell'), the manacles on the ankles mean that the sentences were over five years. 'Ring' tattoos show the status of the criminal when the rest of his body is covered. The 'thieves' stars' on the knees carry the symbolic meaning 'I will not kneel before the police'.

Depiction of Lenin shouting 'Shoot! [them]'. Text on coffin reads 'Communist Party'; text beneath reads 'Forward, towards Communism!'. The drawing was made from Corrective Labour Camp No.5, Metallostroy Settlement, Leningrad, 1980s. Tattoo location: right side of stomach.

Some of Baldaev and Vasiliev's other work depicts dystopic scenes of the Soviet Union, and is thus a unique asset to cultural history that highlights the significance of tattoos with this type of subject matter in relation to the broader ideas about identity, specifically criminal identity, at which I have been looking. One image depicts Lenin shouting 'Shoot! [them]', as he rockets around in a coffin (the Communist Party), as he shoots out in a puff of smoke from his five-pointed headquarters. Another is based on the same alignment of Communism with death, repositioning bright Soviet captions upon a reaper, whose sickle drips blood behind him as it appears that the fate of Communism has already been set. Given the level of censorship that was enforced by the Soviet Union, it seems logical that the exposure of archives such as Baldaev's and Vasiliev's has an importance that extends far beyond the field of prison subcultures and their visual languages, into much broader territory whereby the tattoo was at that time one of the few available means of individual expression and creativity, especially where political persuasion was concerned.[60]

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[60] For an account of censorship in the Soviet Union, see Olga Sinitsyna, 'Censorship in the Soviet Union and its Cultural and Professional Results for Arts and Art Libraries', paper given at the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA) Annual Conference, 1998, online transcription: http://archive.ifla.org/IV/ifla64/067-101e.htm

Drawing made from Morgue, Leningrad, 1960, of a male convict's tattoo belonging to a recidivist known as 'The Professor'. Text reads: 'CPSU - Forward to communism! The GULAG plan at any price!' The text on the scythe reads 'The bright future'.

To me, what resonates most strongly in relation to the themes that I have been discussing, is the display and publication of these image collections as a group. Juxtaposing Vasiliev's photographs with Baldaev's drawings not only encourages the viewer to imagine Baldaev's work in situ - to try to envisage the subject from which they were first observed; it also reveals the limitations of both of these media as portraits. Seeing the photographs and drawings side by side on paper, or on wall-to-wall displays, emphasises the way in which they compliment each other, whilst simultaneously acting as a reminder that each image is itself inconclusive as a marker of a subject's identity outside of this context of the tattoo. Whether the tattoo denotes factual information that contributes to a subject's criminal record, describes a political belief, was intended as another means of self-expression, or all three, should not interfere with, but rather compliments the status of these images as fragments. How do these different media, especially when displayed in combination, contribute to Lodder's description of the tattoo itself as something that can 'upset the delicate totality of the organism'? I would like to suggest that, long after 'the needle blade touches the skin', images like these, and their display and circulation, have an even more interesting ability to 'upset the delicate totality'.

Next page: Hugo Glendinning, *Russian Criminal Tattoo Exhibition*, installation view, Wilkes Street, London, 2010; Andy Keate, *Russian Criminal Tattoos*, view of The Small Collections Room, Nottingham Contemporary, 2011.
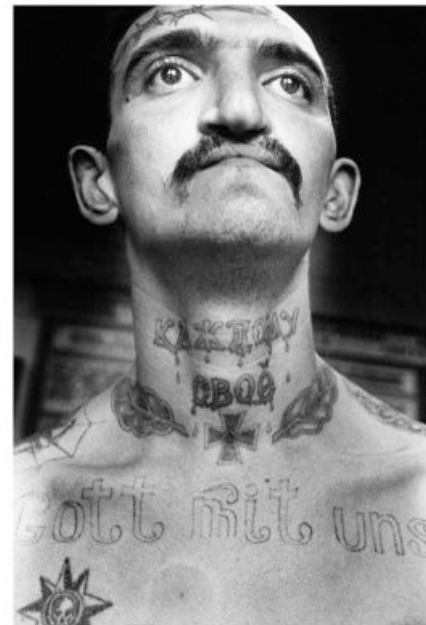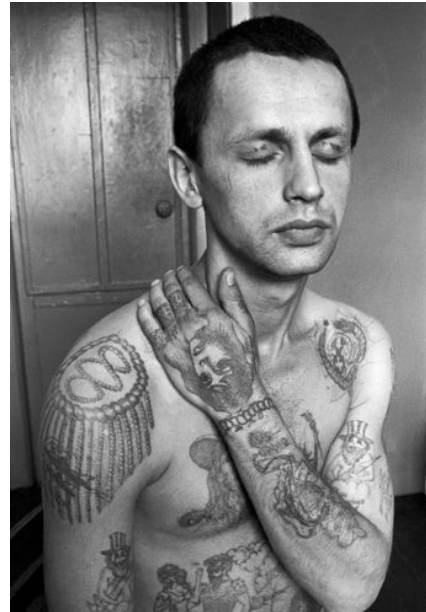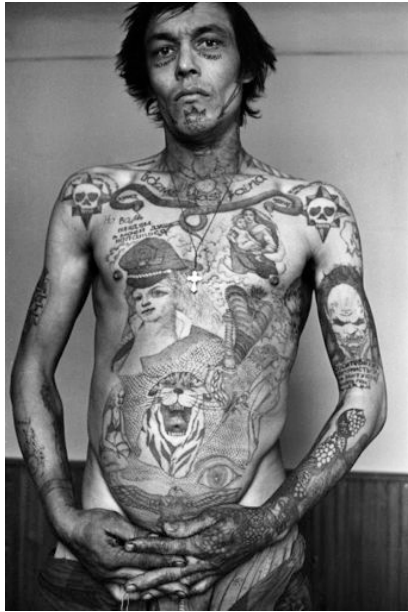
Vasiliev, Clockwise from top left:

i. Strict Regime Forest Camp, Penza region, 1993. Text on the eyes reads 'Full / of Love'; on the chin 'Danger of Death'; around the neck 'To each his own'; above each head of the double-headed snake 'Wife' and 'Mother-in-law'; on the chest 'It is not for you whores, to dig in my soul'; on his arm 'Communists, such my dick for my ruined youth'.

ii. General Regime Corrective Labour Colony, No. 5, 1990. The tattoos across the eyelids read 'Do not / Wake me'. The genie on the forearm is a common symbol of drug addiction. Epaulette tattoos (on the shoulders) display the criminal's rank in a system that mirrors that of the army (major, colonel, general, etc.)

iii. Strict Regime Corrective Labour Colony No.12, Sverdlovsk Region, 1992. The tattoo on the chest is a 'grin' at the authorities, the text above and below reads 'If I can't crush them with my strength / I will crush them with my rage'. The number of barbs on the wire equal the number of years in the sentence. The manacles on this prisoners wrist signify a sentence of five years or longer.

iv. Corrective Labour Colony No.5, Sverdlovsk Region, 1991. '*Gott mit uns*': 'God with us' was a rallying cry of both the Russian empire and the Third Reich. The Nazi Iron Cross expresses 'I don't care about anybody'. This symbol of aggression and insubordination is often tattooed on the chest tattooed as if hung on a chain. The barbed wire on the forehead denotes that the bearer 'will never be corrected'.

As fragmentary portraits, Baldaev's drawings resonate with much more direct appropriations of tattoos that have been made in the past, where entire patches of skin have been preserved and displayed for the purpose of archiving specific tattoos. If Baldaev's images were drawn up 'with the mind in repose' and thus have little or no indexical relationship to the original subjects, then Vasiliev's portraits, as photographs, have slightly more; but it is these actual fragments that have the most interesting indexical status, since they sit between the two, as both physical pieces of subjects' skin, and as isolated fragments that have been removed from, physically and symbolically, their original subjects. As the ultimate counter to the skin as 'rigid boundary', to me these photographs of skin fragments emphasise the perforative nature of the tattoo, revealing the unique texture of the skin that is effected by its composition of many transparent layers. In the second of the two images, texture is even more prominent, as tiny hairs can still be seen in tact.[61]

Photographs depicting fragments of the skin as displayed in *Archives de l'Infamie. Michel Foucault, une Collection Imaginaire*, Bibliothèque de la Part de Lyon, 14 May - 28 August, 2009, without biographical details. 'Pas de Chance' infers 'bad luck', or 'no luck/hope'; the second image depicts a dagger which pertains to 'pierce' the subject's nipple.

[61] I mention the hair for two reasons, one, to help place this emphasis on surface and texture, two, to reiterate that hair has a particularly unique relationship with identity, especially given the historical links between hair on the face and criminality that I described in the previous chapter (p.65). This is only strengthened by the more recent attention that has been given to the hair by forensic scientists, especially in relation to the discovery that a DNA profile, and thus, a genetic portrait of sorts, can be obtained from a single hair.

5 Bertillon and Galton's Ghosts[62]

'L'origine du musée moderne serait donc liéée au développement de la guillotine'.[63]

This focus on the tattoo marks a break with images where documentary and indexical concerns were the driving force for their production. As I have already noted, ideas about surface and scrutiny are prominent in current debates about biotechnology, going so far as to incorporate retinal scanning, DNA profiling, and other digital models for recording and summarising biological data.[64] However, there is lacking an equivalent study that considers the impact of these modes of surveillance upon the construction of new identities: the subjects who are *assimilated* by each of these methods and the implications of such a process, and this is largely down to the absence of critical engagement with these so-called objective records of subjects.

Cultural Confinement

To me the most logical way to promote such an engagement, as I hinted above in relation to exhibiting images of criminal tattoos, is curatorial. Writing in 1972 on 'cultural confinement', Robert Smithson likened the museum, with its 'wards and cells' that make up its 'neutral rooms called 'galleries'', to the asylum and the prison.[65] Smithson's essay formed part of the general critique of the institutions of art, a central factor in his and other conceptual artists' desires to expand the borders for artistic practice beyond the so-often sterile interior of the gallery. For Smithson, this was a factor in the relationship between artist and curator, where, if a curator 'imposes his own limits on an art exhibition, rather than asking an artist to set his limits', they are 'expected to fit into fraudulent categories', and where they might 'imagine they've got a hold on this apparatus', it has in fact 'got a hold of them'.[66] Thus they come to support 'a cultural prison that is out of their control', which is maintained by the 'warden-

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[62] Some of this material was adapted from 'From the prison to the museum: contemporary art and criminal identity', a paper that I gave for *Cultures of Surveillance*, organised by the Autopsies Research Group for University College London, 29-31 September 2011. It is especially owing to the session chair, Mandy Merck, and to Simon Cole for their positive feedback.

[63] 'The origin of the modern museum is thus linked to the development of the guillotine'. Bataille, 'Museum', in R. Lebel & I. Waldberg (eds.), *Encyclopaedia Acephalica*, Atlas Press: London, 1995, 64-5, reproduced in Annette Michelson (trans.), 'Georges Bataille: Writings on Laughter, Sacrifice, Nietzsche, Un-Knowing', *October*, 36, Spring 1986, pp.24-5. Also cited by Jean Clair in 'Naissance de l'Acéphale', *Crime et Châtiment*, (catalogue for the exhibition *Crime et Châtiment*, Musée d'Orsay, Paris, 16 March - 27 June 2010), Paris: Musée D'Orsay/Gallimard, 2010, p.29. First published in *DOCUMENTS* – see Dawn Ades and Simon Baker, *Undercover Surrealism: Georges Bataille and DOCUMENTS*, London and Massachusetts: Hayward Gallery and MIT Press, 2006.

[64] See Finn's *Capturing the Criminal Image* for a summary of these debates.

[65] Robert Smithson, 'Cultural Confinement', 1972, in Jack Flam (ed.), *Robert Smithson: Collected Writings*, p.154

[66] Smithson, 'Cultural Confinement', p.154

curator', whose role it is to 'separate art from the rest of society' by means of assuring that it be 'neutralised, ineffective, abstracted, safe, and politically lobotomised' before it can then be consumed by the observer.[67] Although Smithson only uses the prison and its wardens as a metaphor in his critique, it nonetheless has fascinating implications for the display of judicial material within the context of the museum or gallery, even more so with respect to the potential exhibition of artworks that bear a theoretical and/or aesthetic resemblance to the projects that I have been discussing. It seems especially pertinent to ask how artists working with judicial techniques or material are able to avoid 'cultural confinement' when they come to display the work, and I see this as paramount to how this thesis might be concluded. Towards the end of 'The Body and the Archive', Sekula makes the following statement:

'this essay could end with this sketch of modernist responses to the prior institutionalisation of the instrumental realist archive. Social history would lead to art history, and we would arrive at a safe archival closure. Unfortunately, Bertillon and Galton are still with us. 'Bertillon' survives in the operations of the national security state, in the condition of intensive and extensive surveillance that characterises both everyday life and the geopolitical sphere. 'Galton' lives in the renewed authority of biological determinism, founded in the increased hegemony of the political Right in the Western democracies'.[68]

As I made clear in my Introduction, and as I have reiterated throughout this thesis, rather than sketch some 'modernist responses' in the attempt to create a 'safe archival closure', I have instead emphasised the distinct absence of studies that concern images of criminals not only as evidence of the systems in place, the 'instrumental realist archive', but as constitutive elements *in themselves*. If Sekula saw a closure, many artists saw an opening. In this field of research, which is rapidly developing due to current debates on biometrics and hyper-modern strategies of surveillance, I have described some occasions where the instrumental status of the image appears to be in a state of flux, not quite fulfilling its purpose as document, but not an entirely quasi-record either. This was imperative to posing the questions that are being asked, and more recently, answered, in contemporary portraiture. Where does the neutral identity record end, and the newly invented subject begin? What peripheries are there for the very notion of such a subject, if any? In pursuing the impossibility of the mutable criminal image as the very structure of my research, i.e. in accepting that my focus is often on aspects that are supplemental to the original (social) conditions, what I am able to produce now is a viable application of the framework that I have been developing for an alternative means of engaging with images of criminal suspects, past and present. Whilst Sekula, Tagg, and others acknowledged that the contestation of disciplinary power was a key concern for artists, it is important to note that this was not only by making work that contributed to social commentary

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[67] Smithson, 'Cultural Confinement', p.154-5

[68] Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', Bolton ed., *The Contest of Meaning*, p.376

on surveillance and the carceral, but also through more literal appropriations of police practices, in ways that avoid 'safe' formal connections, incorporating more complex issues such as technological development and experimentation, a recurring theme of this thesis, and many of the theoretical aspects - temporality, surface, colour, staging and re-staging - that I have been concerned with. Many of them also steer away from the notion of the 'museum-prison' allegiance that Smithson proposed, and indeed Bataille before him when he aligned the development of the guillotine and the founding of the first public art collection in the same historical moment.

In relation to recent exhibitions that have displayed judicial material, I suggested in my Introduction that there seems to be a curatorial trap that sees the replication of the supposedly documentary indicators of 'true crime' by means of obtaining the same documents, posters and photographs as the police departments and re-presenting them in galleries as objects of interest. While this may be concurrent with a display of artworks that bear a connection with them, there is often little space provided for a contextual framework that queries their role in a gallery space. Painted, printed, photographed, and sculpted material is described in relation to its contribution to a crime narrative, thus the 'document' makes no progress from being a document - its dispersal into a gallery context provides it with a physical place of contemplation and study, but its confinement to a thematic museum display, in one of the 'graveyards above the ground', as Smithson put it, with its own 'wards and cells', limits its potential to be understood in terms such as those that I have been using.[69] Where at points the portraits produced for institutional purposes were treated as art objects, their straightforward integration into museums does little to contest Smithson's argument - either way, police department and gallery walls are being treated as one and the same. Having accounted for Bertillon and Galton's aesthetic impact, how might this contribute to a re-conceptualisation of judicial material, in order to promote a more thorough understanding of the aesthetic and theoretical principles that underlie all purportedly standardised portrait techniques?

In referring to studio portraiture and other consecrative means of obtaining a likeness throughout this thesis, I have continually been describing crossovers between judicial and artistic contexts. To draw upon works produced by the historical avant-garde certainly complicates my proposal for the reciprocity between fiction and fact that is inherent to the logic of the criminal portrait, because this contradiction was one of their claims too, especially with the ready-made. As Peter Bürger put it, 'like the public realm *(Öffentlichkeit)*, the autonomy of art is a category of bourgeois society that both reveals and obscures an actual historical development. All discussion of this category must be judged by the extent to which it succeeds in showing and explaining logically and a-historically the contradictoriness

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[69] Smithson, 'Cultural Confinement', p.155

inherent in the thing itself'.[70] The use of carceral images by the Surrealists proves that it is possible to include images that have been appropriated from a judicial context whilst avoiding the 'safe' archival closure that Sekula warned of. At risk of a slight digression from the real focus of my thesis on the concepts of production, standardisation and neutrality of images, it might be useful to begin by discussing one or two appropriations of carceral imagery in twentieth century art, in order to acknowledge a historical shift in the use or abuse of the portrait that informs some of the later, and perhaps more pertinent, practices that I will be looking at in this chapter. In the late nineteenth century, the temporal confusion that the photographic identity image inevitably spurred was often discussed in relation to the kind of mistaken identity narratives that proliferated at the same time as the police sought to develop new means for controlling their swelling populations and increasing incidents of crime. Where Bertillon recalled a subject whose 'hairy systems' had changed and thus rendered their (clean shaven) portrait redundant; where the Dreyfus affair received much attention in the press; parallel cases were being critiqued or invented in art and literature.[71] If Bertillon's dilemma appears to have reached its theoretical limit with examples of mistaken identity, false accusation, and illustrations of the technical restrictions and objective limitations of still photography, artists in the twentieth century often appropriated similar formulae to a much more inquisitive effect. The following examples therefore compliment the theoretical suppositions that I made in the first chapter by indicating the presence of Bertillon and Galton in later experimental projects and even promoting a reading of the fantastic in judicial portraits - which have too often been received as factual records and nothing else.

Before and After: The Papin Sisters

As an example, it might be valuable to consider how the Surrealists aligned themselves with the many others who found the case of the Papin sisters to be representative of much more than a criminal case. Christine and Léa Papin were sisters who worked as servants in Le Mans in the early twentieth century. They obtained notoriety in 1933 when they confessed to the murder of the wife and daughter of their employer, René Lancelin. The sisters had been raised in a convent and placed by their mother in domestic service. The victims were discovered beaten to death, having had their eyes pulled out. Briony Fer has hinted at their discontent - the catalyst for their violent act: 'for six years they endured with perfect submission unreasonable demands and insults; eventually fear, exhaustion and humiliation bred hatred of

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[70] Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. Michael Shaw, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984, p.36

[71] See Chapter One for Bertillon's anecdote, p.17. One of the most notorious historical cases of wrong conviction, the trial and imprisonment of Alfred Dreyfus, involved Bertillon, whose role had been to assess the incriminating memorandum that revealed French military secrets to the German Embassy in Paris, with respect to analysing the handwriting. Bertillon, however, did not pertain to be an expert in this field, though he continued to support Dreyfus's prosecutors. For a brief summary of Dreyfus's exoneration, which includes a reference to Bertillon's role on the side of the prosecution, see 'Dreyfus: Complete Exoneration at Last', *Guardian Century*, 13 July 1906, available online: http://gu.com/p/j7d7.

their employers'.[72] The appeal of a case like this, with its relative lack of ambiguity as to its perpetrators, combined with the extremity of the violent act itself, was especially strong for psychoanalysts, psychologists, artists and writers. Fond of evading the boundaries between fictional narratives and documentary records, the Surrealists used the Papin case in an illustration of the complex relationship between criminality, surface and subjectivity.

Most significantly in the context of Bertillon and Galton's legacies, the case provoked a new take on 'before' and 'after'. What are often subtleties of temporality in portrait photography (the aforementioned 'changes in hairy systems' and such like) were transformed into a political and psychological game of 'spot-the-difference' when Paul Eluard and Benjamin Péret published portraits of the Papin sisters that depicted them before and after their criminal act in *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution* in 1933. Rather than slight changes in appearance, akin to that which could occur naturally or be cosmetically altered over time, the supposed inference here is of a complete metamorphosis, literally, the transformation from good to evil. From the previously neat and tidy servants' uniforms to dark robes, presumably prison tunics; tightly set to loose, unkempt hair; soft skin to stark, gaunt-looking pallor with untamed eyebrows, and slightly glazed expressions in the latter image, the contrast is severe. To enhance the 'transformation', the photograph that Eluard and Péret used for the 'after' portrait originally depicted the sisters the other way around: the image that they printed was actually a montage that completed the switch and thus also, interestingly, relied upon a neutral background in order to be a believable conclusion to the article. As Jeannette Baxter has explained in her account of this piece, this was less a skin-deep concern for Eluard and Péret than it was a case of the visible manifestation of an intrinsic evil force, a volition, of which the sisters' disarrayed appearances afterwards were not the cause but a side-effect. To cite Baxter's account:

'Two photographs of the sisters, 'before' and 'after', were published in *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution* with the short text: 'They emerged fully armed from a song by Maldoror' (1933). Gesturing to the gratuitous evil of Comte de Lautréamont's *Les Chants de Maldoror* (1868), Paul Eluard and Benjamin Péret's caption works contingently with the image in order to open analyses of the Papin affair up to irrational forces'.[73] For Baxter, although these images suggest, 'at first glance', 'a straightforward reading of radical transformation: docile submission... corrupted somehow into diabolical subversion', the caption initiates 'a process of verbal and visual juxtaposition ... which invites further questioning: are the manifest signs of violence (in the second image) not also present, though latent, in the first? Calling for a re-examination of the transparency of the surface image, the

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[72] Briony Fer, 'The role of psychic disorder in the surrealist aesthetic', in Fer, David Batchelor, and Paul Wood, *Realism, Rationalism, Surrealism: Art Between the Wars*, New Haven and London: Yale/The Open University, 1993, p218

[73] Jeannette Baxter, 'The Surrealist Fait Divers: Uncovering Violent Histories in J. G. Ballard's *Running Wild*', *Papers of Surrealism*, Issue 5 Spring 2007, pp.8-9

Surrealist fait divers accentuated the enigmatic, psychological depths of the Papin affair which the majority of media and medical commentators flattened into statements of motive and causality'.[74]

The Papin sisters,
Avant et Après,
Le surréalisme au service de la révolution,
5, 1933

With the appropriation of these photographs from their original context - perhaps not produced under judicial conditions, the way in which they proliferated in the media certainly affords them the status of identification images - the story of the Papin sisters' crime was borrowed from its disciplinary source for the artistic and political purposes of the historical avant-garde. The truth of the story, compared with parallel developments in crime fiction, might not have been a priority of the Surrealists, where in this instance Eluard and Péret were reacting against the purportedly factual accounts that were circulating at the time with their own emphasis on the irrational, but it was by no means a disadvantage with respect to its political impact - a true case of lower class female subjects succumbing to 'irrational forces' could be argued as a more successful counter to society's norms than one which is entirely fictional. 'The sisters' action', as Fer puts it, 'the massacring of their oppressors, also stood, for the Surrealists, as the ultimate protest against a social structure in which they were imprisoned and enslaved'.[75]

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[74] Baxter, 'The Surrealist Fait Divers', p.9

[75] Fer, 'The role of psychic disorder in the surrealist aesthetic', p.219

And so too could 'such instances of madness' be regarded 'as a protest against the family, against Catholicism and against sexual and social oppression'.[76] If the Surrealists had sought what Baxter refers to as 'anti-heroines' in previous projects, including tributes to renowned criminals such as the French anarchist Germaine Berton, then the Papin sisters, as two servants who famously murdered and mutilated their mistresses, were their magnum opus.[77] As Baxter explains: 'the suggestion (which would later come from psychoanalytical case studies) that the sisters' heinous crime was of an oedipal nature was born out of one particularly gruesome detail: the servants had torn out their victims' eyes whilst they were still alive and with their bare hands'.[78]

Existing anxieties about the role of the portrait photograph - the simultaneity of its consecrative and repressive status that stems from its application in both artistic and political contexts - are confounded by Eluard and Péret's play with psychoanalytic and satirical clues. The so-called before and after portraits are held up for a subversive scrutiny that made a mockery of both the nineteenth-century observer of the criminal body *and* the detective fiction author, revealing the lunacy of the idea that photography could reveal criminal traits without going beyond the surface of the body, i.e. with a medium that is, among other things, visual and tangible, and also of the notion that such rules should enforce literary stereotypes. In this case, the Surrealists served up a kind of inverted portrait, whereby they took the very principle of the photograph-as-record for the purpose of their fantastical - and in the case of the latter, modified image, physical - game.

By no means was this is the only 'inverted' portrait that was produced, or published, by the Surrealists - though it is a fascinating and subversive approach to criminal likeness. Perhaps an in-depth account of portraiture in relation to the historical avant-garde is unnecessary for my purpose here, apart from where it crosses the judicial frame, but it is certainly worth describing a few more of the crossovers between methods used at this time and those developed in the late nineteenth century by Bertillon and Galton.[79] For example, some of Marcel Duchamp's approaches to portraiture resonate with the techniques that I have been discussing, and as a recent exhibition of both his self portraits and those made by others has pointed out, some of Duchamp's portraits are especially close to Bertillon and Galton in relation to their approaches to translating appearance into identity. *Portrait No. 29 (Double Exposure: Full Face and Profile)* (1953), which was produced by Victor Obsatz, was

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[76] Fer, 'The role of psychic disorder in the surrealist aesthetic', p.219

[77] for 'anti-heroines', see Baxter, 'The Surrealist Fait Divers', p.8

[78] Baxter, 'The Surrealist Fait Divers', p.9

[79] For such an in-depth account, and in particular, for examples of how the abstract schema of Freud and Lacan 'might translate into an art historical approach to the portrait image', see David Lomas's *The Haunted Self: Surrealism, Psychoanalysis, Subjectivity*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000, especially the fifth chapter, 'Making Faces', p.188.

apparently the result of an accident: the overlaying of profile and full face that were intended as two images combine, as a result of a jammed piece of film, to produce what David Joselit describes as a 'hinge' - a 'point of dimensional transfer and a site of subjective encounter', which was representative of 'Duchamp's belief in a continual sense of becoming', as opposed to 'what he disregarded as the status of being'.[80] Though the accidental nature of the portrait would seem to place it in stark contrast to Galton's concept of the 'full' portrait (the logic behind the frontispiece of Ellis' *The Criminal* that I discussed in Chapter Three), there is in fact a strong resonance in what Duchamp claims after the photograph(s) were made: the notion of depicting more than is perhaps possible within the realm of two-dimensional representation.[81]

Victor Obsatz, *Portrait No. 29 (Double Exposure: Full Face and Profile)*,
Gelatin silver print, 25.4 x 20.3 cm, Marcel Duchamp Archive,
Philadelphia Museum of Art, Pennsylvania

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[80] Anne Collins Goodyear and James W. McManus (eds.), *Inventing Marcel Duchamp: The Dynamics of Portraiture*, catalogue for an exhibition of the same name (Washington: National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 27 March - 2 August 2009), Washington and Massachusetts: Smithsonian/MIT, 2009, p. 216, citing David Joselit, *Infinite Regress: Marcel Duchamp, 1910-1941*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1998, p.174

[81] It is also interesting to note that, in this context of the Papin portraits as 'inverted portraits', in 1957, Duchamp also created silhouettes of his own profile image.

Bertillon and Dalí: The Phenomenon of Ecstasy

In the same year as the publication of the Papin portraits, Salvador Dalí published a photocollage in the journal *Minotaure* entitled *Phénomène de l'Extase (The Phenomenon of Ecstasy)*, 1933. Cropped photographs of faces, ears, a chair, and details of sculptures from Gaudí's buildings form a spiral on black background. The work is located by art historians primarily in the context of hysteria, as a topic of fascination for the Surrealists. Working against the pathological reputation of hysteria, they sought to illustrate, in their art, photography and writing, the hysterical moment as a 'supreme form of expression'.[82] The 'various enraptured faces, many of which were taken from Charcot's photographs', were intended to reveal that 'the transformation of the perception of art, architecture and most other forms of modern life was thus dependent upon the continuous excitation of ecstasy', as illustrated by 'the sexual abandon of the female hysterics'.[83]

Dalì, *Phénomène de l'ecstase*, 1933, *Minotaure*, 3, 1933. Photocollage

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[82] As set out in *La Révolution Surréaliste*, 11, 1928, p.20. See also Fer, 'The role of psychic disorder in the surrealist aesthetic', *Realism, Rationalism, Surrealism: Art Between the Wars*, p.212.

[83] Robert J. Belton, *The Beribboned Bomb: The Image of Woman in Male surrealist Art*, Alberta: University of Calgary Press, 1995, pp.249-251. I mentioned pseudo-medical photographer Charcot in Chapter Three (p.58).

From appropriations of Charcot's photography of the so-called hysteric moment to the use of a spiral, which David Lomas has discussed in other works by Dalí, including a portrait drawing that he produced for his 1942 autobiography, *The Secret Life of Salvador Dalí* (New York, 1942), in which 'Freud's brain is analysed in terms of a logarithmic spiral with superimposed rectangles', psychoanalysis encompasses this image as it did the Papin portraits.[84] Dalí's glaring reference to the scrutiny of Bertillon's *portrait parlé* system also warrants some attention. Drawn from Bertillon's archive, the cropped earlobe photographs along the left of the work still show their archival reference numbers. Robert Belton has accredited Dalí's recontextualisation of this material to his intention to 'exploit the nineteenth-century links drawn between certain physical features and personality traits', in this case alluding to the search 'for the so-called Darwin's ear, whose simple convolutions and absence of lobe was supposed to be indicative of the atavism - a word greatly favoured by Dalí - of the prostitute'.[85] In this sense, the image is not so far removed from its original context, where it was subjected to the same type of scrutiny for criminal traits. Lomas, however, adds another symbolic dimension to Dalí's inclusion of these fragmentary portraits when he states that 'it is not implausible that Dalí was aware of a medieval tradition according to which the Virgin was impregnated aurally by the medium of the angel's speech, as indicated by the Latin term annuntiatio'.[86] This suggested split between the rational and irrational approaches to this part of the body helps to confine any comparable aspects of Bertillon and Dalí's practices to encounters of portraits depicting prostitutes.

Fantômas and Shape-Shifting

If *The Phenomenon of Ecstasy* appropriated Bertillon's ear photographs for the purpose of anonymous representation, erasing the original subjects' identities and repositioning them in a logarithmic alternative, then the use of composite portraiture takes the element of erasure and its corresponding implications for identity a stage further. Ronald Thomas has asserted the 'common assumption' shared by the criminal anthropologist Havelock Ellis and Arthur Conan Doyle: that the criminal 'is indeed scientifically describable and recognisable, and ... the degree of skill necessary to successfully make him visible is not to be oversimplified or

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[84] David Lomas, '*Painting is Dead - Long Live Painting*: Notes on Dalí and Leonardo', *Papers of Surrealism*, 4, Spring 2006, pp.5-6; and 14: 'At the top of the sheet, Freud's brain is analyzed in terms of a logarithmic spiral with superimposed rectangles. This appears to be based on an illustration in D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson's On Growth and Form (fig. 356) showing the principles of gnomonic growth. DalÌ excerpted this particular section as an appendix to *50 Secrets of Magic Craftsmanship*. Dalí's 1930 portrait of the architect Emilio Terry at his desk includes a model of the latter's snail house, another possible stimulus for Dalí's interest in the spiral form'.

[85] Belton, *The Beribboned Bomb: The Image of Woman in Male surrealist Art*, p.251, and note 57: 'The principle source of the correlation was Pauline Tarnowsky, *Etude anthropométrique sur les prostituées et les voleuses*, Paris: Lecrosnier et Babé, 1889'.

[86] David Lomas, '*Painting is Dead - Long Live Painting*: Notes on Dalí and Leonardo', p.23. The prostitute, of course, falls into the category of the 'low type' that emerged in line with Lombroso's scrutiny rather than Bertillon's, but I think it will suffice to say that the chief of the department of judicial identity would have created many records for prostitutes as well.

minimised'.[87] Daniel Novak has acknowledged a similar affiliation between Victorian 'art-photography' and realism: 'while a variety of critics have powerfully addressed how photography's association with realism helped to define criminality, gender identity, and even national identity, the fact that Victorians thought of photography as a medium with the potential to *efface* particularity and individuality severely complicates our understanding of realism's political mobilisation'.[88] In 1911, the first of the thirty-two of Marcel Allain and Pierre Souvestre's *Fantômas* novels was published. Nanette Fornabai has argued that the 'hero' of the series; unlike earlier conventions in crime fiction that tended to keep starring roles reserved for the detective; is a 'shape-shifting' criminal who is represented as the 'general equivalence of criminality'.[89] Here the potential identity of a single criminal loses coherence, due to the obsessively numerical and incomplete systems for identification and the deceptive multiplicities associated with this fictional subject. As a serialised failure to capture the phantom-like figure, the main detective in the novels, Juve, continually adopts the techniques that Bertillon developed, whilst conforming to the more generic image of the rigorous and numerically focused figure of 'authority'. As such, Fornabai claims that the series 'dramatically points to the interdependence of Bertillon's modern criminal identification and fictional narration', to the point where it 'comes to represent what this criminological system necessarily produces and what Juve's superiors declare him to be—nothing more than a fiction'.[90]

Stills from Louis Feuillade's *Fântomas*, 1913, depicting René Navarre as Fântomas

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[87] Thomas, 'The Fingerprint of the Foreigner', p.662

[88] Novak, *Realism, Photography, and Nineteenth Century Fiction*, p.5

[89] Nanette L. Fornabai, 'Criminal Factors: Fantômas, Anthropometrics, and the Numerical Fictions of Modern Criminal Identity', *Yale French Studies*, No. 108: 'Crime Fictions', 2005, p.68

[90] Fornabai, 'Criminal Factors', p.63; p.71

With *Fantômas*, the precision that supposedly informed the pseudoscientific techniques for criminal identification is undermined by a criminal subject who in fact pertains to be many subjects at once: 'through the consistent repetition of numerically precise yet inconsistent identification, Fantômas presents a super-criminal whose *modus-operandi*, both in terms of criminal identity and discursivity, becomes that of a criminal multiplicity'.[91] Fantômas, then, as a 'super-criminal' of many faces and, therefore, of multiple identities, exposes the weakness of criminal identification methods in the same way that the idealistic claims for composite photography inwardly collapse as a result of the intersubjectivity that is represented by the multi-faceted image. This is epitomised in the title sequence of the film series, where a close-up, full face image of Fantômas is literally depicted in a state of continual superimposition: like the composite 'criminal type', the criminal subject has simultaneously many faces and effectively, not one at all. In spite of the difference between this literary context and the fictions that I have been inferring within the *visual* artefact, there seems to be potential for reconciliation—criminal 'portraits' of the time function as illustrations of both the pseudoscientific context in which they were made and some of the fictional narrative constructions that would either promote or subvert nineteenth-century criminal anthropology.

What is most striking about these early examples is that they appropriated material in order to allow it to transcend its original function; thus they help to reveal the assimilatory role played by judicial portraits. Both Eluard and Péret, and Dalí *détourned* these images, manipulating them - with 'before' and 'after' metaphor and dizzying photocollage - to suit their protest against the rational and organised forces that determined their society, and Allain and Souvestre literally transferred the composite criminal into a narrative context. Perhaps the most obvious cases of appropriation where judicial portraits are concerned are the least helpful when considered with respect to the focus of this thesis, however, since I am as concerned with the techniques and strategies employed in these contexts as I am with their products or circulation in police archives and their direct transference into popular culture. Rather than end with a concern for the legacy or destiny of these images (and the 'safe archival closure' that Sekula mentions), I am more concerned with the continuation of techniques and processes that are associated with them, and this is especially interesting when it can be seen in artistic practice: not only does it reinforce the ability of such techniques to assimilate identity in creative contexts, emphasising the argument that I have been making throughout this thesis; it also functions as a counter to the perceived standardisation of judicial portraiture and identification in general, and thus as a challenge to the notion of a 'neutral' portrait image that persists in quotidian contexts.

Albeit in very different situations, Eluard and Péret, Dalí and Allain and Souvestre's work was

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[91] Fornabai, 'Criminal Factors', p.71

all based on appropriation, and while I think it has an expansive effect upon the meanings that can be inferred of the material that I have been discussing in this thesis, what I hope to have highlighted here is that this relationship is reciprocal: they promote an understanding of nineteenth-century systems and experiments as much as they refer to them. However, I think this reciprocity is confounded in works where the common element that is shared with nineteenth-century techniques is conceptual rather than literal.

Mug Shots Without Suspects: Thomas Ruff

The following example moves forward in time and reflects another artistic motive entirely, but its proximity to Bertillon and Galton is absolutely certain. In the contemporary photographer Thomas Ruff's portrait series, the mug shot is alluded to continuously, yet the persistence of narrative and symbolism that was inherent in the Surrealists' *détournements* is wholly absent, and indeed, so too is the criminal subject. In a sense, Ruff's work is the antithesis to the Surrealist fait divers: rather than load a ready-made image with additional meaning with the use of captions, literary quotations, or referential images in photocollage and juxtapositions, in this series, Ruff attempted precisely the opposite: mug shots without suspects.

Ruff's *Porträt* (*Portrait*) series comprises his (perhaps more notorious) medium and large format portrait colour photographs, and also his *andere Porträts* (*other Portraits*), a set of screen prints that he made in 1994-1995 using 1970s composite imaging in the form of a Minolta Montage Unit to combine two portraits. The serial structure of most of his projects is frequently accredited to his time spent at the Düsseldorf School of Photography in the 1970s, under the tuition of pioneering serial photographers, Bernd and Hiller Becher. Unlike some of his contemporaries, including Andreas Gursky and Thomas Struth, who seem to conceive of the photograph as by some means having the potential to transcend its role as a support, seeking instead huge, digitised, tableaux that warrant as much comparison with history painting as photography, Ruff's work has been linked to what Ute Eskildsen describes as his 'enduring fascination (since he was sixteen) for the equipment and procedure of photography, and the pictorial forms that have developed from them'.[92] This fascination with the photographic process, the concern with techniques and equipment as much as, if not more than, a single, monumental image, has been linked to Ruff's relative approach to both architectural and human forms. Interestingly, it was while working on a set of *Interieurs* (1979-83), 'views of his own, and friends and relatives' houses in Düsseldorf and around the Black Forest, during/after his time at the Kunstakademie', that Ruff developed 'an interest in portrait photography, a genre that had practically entirely disappeared from the art world at the

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[92] Ute Eskildsen, 'Technology picture function: Research and reflection on the photographic models of representation in the work of Thomas Ruff', *Thomas Ruff: Photography 1979 to the Present*, exh. cat.: Staatliche Kunsthalle, Baden Baden, 17 November 2001 − 13 January 2002 along with 7 other venues, Köln: Walther König, 2001, p.165

time'.[93] 'After intense study of the genre and how it might be updated', Ruff 'asked friends and acquaintances of his own age to come and sit for portraits in his studio'.[94] While the context is explicitly 'studio portrait', the conditions for Ruff's portraits form part of the same scale as the police identity portrait:

'Each sitting took place under the same conditions: the sitter was allowed to choose a coloured background (after 1986 Ruff only ever used a pale, neutral background), then had to sit on a stool, and be photographed in their everyday clothes with a calm, serious expression on their face. Any form of emotional input, like smiling, grinning or flirting with the camera, was forbidden. 'The people should have as normal an expression as possible on their faces, so that they look normal and so that the result is a normal photo'.'[95]

The terms used by art historians to describe these conditions, for example: 'the neutral facial expression that he prescribed for sitters brought out the sameness of the formal parameters used in each photograph', have the same tendencies to aspire to the neutral, generalised, image that were sought by Galton, Bertillon and others.[96] Following this mention of neutrality, Julian Stallabrass has suggested that 'this strand of images is visually akin to ethnographic photography of colonised peoples in controlled situations' especially 'of that photography closest to the most objectifying type - that made with a measuring stick or a grid'.[97] Again the complex notion of neutrality finds its place in the staging of a photographic portrait. However, compared with those portraits made for social purposes, Ruff's work drastically expanded - literally, in terms of his use of small format (24 x 18 cm) for the portraits that he made between 1981 and 1985, and later switch to large format (210 x 165 cm); and by reputation, as his serial project grew in scale and scope. Such a project might predictably entertain more variety in terms of the conditions under which it was produced as time went on, but on the contrary, Ruff sought less and less to depict any allusion to his sitters' subjectivity: as Lieberman has noted, rejecting 'his earlier notion of letting his sitters choose a coloured background', and reducing the background to 'a pale, neutral backdrop'.[98] For Ruff, this was a result of his switch to large format, for 'at this size there is so much colour in the face and the

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[93] Valeria Liebermannn, 'Photography as Proving Ground', *Thomas Ruff*, exh. cat., London: Essor Gallery, 6 September - 28 November 2001, unpaginated

[94] Liebermann, *Thomas Ruff*

[95] Liebermann, *Thomas Ruff*, with reference to Thomas Ruff in 'Düsseldorfer Künstler (1), Aufnahmeleitung. Ein Interview von Isabelle Graw mit Thomas Ruff', in *Artis*, 1989, pp.55-58, p.56

[96] Liebermann, *Thomas Ruff*

[97] Julian Stallabrass, 'What's in a Face? Blankness and Significance in Contemporary Art Photography', *October*, 122, Autumn 2007, p.71, with reference to James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualisation of the British Empire*, London: Reaktion, 1997, pp.149, 151.

[98] Liebermann, *Thomas Ruff*

clothes, that I have chosen to do without the coloured background'.[99] This may well be true - given the tenfold change in scale, the portraits would be well beyond life-size, and this would entail swathes of fabric and thus colour (the subjects were always photographed in their own choice of clothing and so-called natural style) taking up the lower half of the portrait, but in spite of this practical reasoning it still stands as indicative of a similarity between Ruff's portrait conditions and those used frequently in identification photography.

Despite the context of the production of Ruff's work being entirely different - however many formal constraints Ruff would provide his sitters, this was still fundamentally studio portraiture in which the relationship between artist and subject is collaborative and based upon a voluntary, and thus wholly irreppressive, premise - these portraits, especially in the larger format, reenact a similar surface tension to that which I have been describing in relation to early contributions to standardising police portraits. Crossovers between Bertillon and Ruff prevent any notion that Ruff's work is wholly complimentary, flattering, or consecrative of his sitters, which would ignore the aspects that resonate with police photography that I am about to describe. As Lieberman has suggested, while the smaller portraits 'played with the stereotype of the 'family snapshot',' the large format images 'acquired an extreme immediacy and distance at one and the same time'.[100] As of this shift in scale, 'the individual sitters were brought face to face with the viewer, with an almost merciless directness', whereby 'every detail of their faces right down to the quality of their skin could be read almost as though under a microscope'.[101] Thus the paradox of the portrait photograph presents itself again, as it did in the autochrome depicting its pointillistic prisoner in Mongolia: 'yet the viewer could never get beyond the surface of the image, because so little was revealed of the figures themselves as to their character, individuality or personality. The sitters disappeared behind their likenesses and left only a precise record of their external appearance, which in turn served as a reflective surface for the viewer'.[102]

But this surface can be manipulated, as Lieberman reminds us, and as Bertillon also indicated when he produced his chromotypograph of 'anomalies of the iris'. In the series *Blaue Augen*, ('Blue Eyes'), 1991, Ruff 'took twelve of his portraits and replaced the dark eyes of the sitter with piercing blue eyes from another model'.[103] In doing so, this work demonstrates conceptual similarities with the ideas about eye colour that I discussed in relation to Bertillon,

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[99] Interview with Thomas Ruff, in *BiNationale: Deutsche Kunst der späten 80er Jahre*, Cologne, 1988, pp.260-263, p.260, in Liebermann, *Thomas Ruff*

[100] Liebermann, *Thomas Ruff*

[101] Liebermann, *Thomas Ruff*

[102] Liebermann, *Thomas Ruff*

[103] Liebermann, *Thomas Ruff*

in addition to following a similar logic to that of Galton when he overlaid a series of negatives to produce a series of alien composite subjects. In other words, the artificiality of both the photographic image *and* of the portrayal of identity by any portrait are undermined here by colour manipulation.

Thomas Ruff, *Blue Eyes MV/BE; Blue Eyes MB/BE; Blue Eyes LC/BE; Blue Eyes CF/BE*, C-type prints, 1991

If there is any ambiguity as to the resonance of Ruff's colour portraits with nineteenth-century techniques, then Ruff's *andere Porträts* are even more literal in their citation of a mechanism that was used at that time. I described the *Porträts* as an eloquent conflation of bourgeois studio portraiture (what with Ruff's studio setting, the subject's choice of background, the cool, calm expression that he asks them to assume), and what Norman Bryson and Trevor Fairbrother would refer to as 'non-art manifestations', for their serial monotony, the absence

of a smile, their formal composition, and so on.[104] As a commercial artist, Ruff's work is inherently confined in terms of its physical circulation within art institutions and its reproduction in predominantly art-based publications, but his commentary on the use of composite technology by the police to create overtly fictional criminal suspects has an expansive effect, where Ruff's own composites replicate their structure externally: they sit on the boundary between one face and another, between one subject and another, and thus they question the very logic of a portrait. Ruff's use of a Minolta Montage Unit, a 1970s superimposition device that he borrowed from Berlin police archives, functions at once as a literal reenactment of Galton's composite experiments *and* as a problematisation of the neutralised reading of this technology as it stands in current police practice - all the while remaining confined to depictions of his friends and colleagues rather than any actual criminal suspects.

Ruff, *anderes Porträt Nr. 122/138*, 1994-5
Silkscreen on paper

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[104] Norman Bryson and Trevor Fairbrother, 'Thomas Ruff: Spectacle and Surveillance', *Parkett*, 28, 1991, p.92

The new, quasi-portraits, 'show uncanny-looking hybrid beings', created as a result of the unit's 'special mirror optics', whereby 'it is possible to go on adjusting and varying the superimposition until an image emerges that seems to fit, and seems right', before being re-photographed and reproduced as screen prints.[105] With this notion of what 'seems to fit' and 'seems right' comes the reversion back to Galton's claim, to have obtained 'with mechanical precision a generalised picture'.[106] When Ruff composed these double-subject super-portraits, he too followed Galton's method of reproducing them - this time as screen prints rather than engraving - and so too declaring them complete or 'whole'. Knowing that there are only two components adds to the back-and-forthness of the composite effect, again recalling Foucault's description of the 'illumination of multiplicity' as 'a flickering of light that travels even faster than the eyes and successively lights up the moving labels and the captive snapshots that refer to each other to eternity, without ever saying anything'.[107]

Ruff, *anderes Porträt Nr 109/104*; *anderes Porträt Nr. 127/71*, 1994-5 Silkscreen on paper

And yet 'beneath' these images is lurking the artist/scientist/experimenter subject: as Hal Foster would argue of Warhol's anti-persona, it is all 'a performance, of course: there is a subject 'behind' this figure of nonsubjectivity who presents it *as* a figure'.[108] Indeed, this has resulted in historians' positioning of Ruff within an art historical lineage of anti-portrait producers: as both 'realistic observer of our contemporary situation' and 'at the nearest end of a line of artists including Marcel Duchamp, Andy Warhol and Gerhard Richter, in whose

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[105] Liebermann, *Thomas Ruff*

[106] Galton, 'Composite Portraits', p.133

[107] Michel Foucault, 'Theatrum Philosophicum', in Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon, Blackwell, Oxford, 1977. Part II: 'Counter-Memory: The Philosophy of Difference', p.189

[108] Hal Foster, 'Death in America', *October*, Vol. 75, Winter 1996, p.41 (Foster's emphasis)

oeuvres indifference means not the numbing paralysis but the productive impartiality of the cold gaze'.[109] Citing Duchamp's ambiguous 'there is nothing I believe in, but there are things I don't believe in', and Warhol's 'if you want to know all about Andy Warhol, just look at the surface: of my paintings and films and me, there I am. There's nothing hidden behind it'; Winzen aligns Ruff with some of the most reflective (in the literal, impenetrable sense) modes of self-expression that were observed in the twentieth century.[110]

Are these works exemplary of Foucault's numbing multiplicity, or are the subjects – artist, practitioner and 'sitter' alike – lurking 'behind' them? To me, composite portraits, in their multiplicity within the archive, their presentation in series, and their shared time exposure, align themselves with Nicholas Baume's assertion that the 'opposition between the public and private self upon which the humanist portrait relies', in fact reside 'in the play of surfaces'.[111] This contributes to the lineage that Winzen is citing for Ruff's work and for the logic of the composite portrait in general, since it multiplies the number of surfaces at play in the work, in a way not so dissimilar to the layers of Warhol's screen prints, but with the added complexity of overlaying the faces as opposed to laying them out in relentless series and colour variants. What emerges from descriptions such as this is what I would argue to be the most powerful aspect of such developments within the problematic juxtaposition of portraiture and subjectivity: for me, this is the manner of inscription upon a surface (albeit a photographic plate rather than a silkscreen, Galton's composites follow the same surface logic, as with any process that combines multiple layers with a 'seamless' finish).

That facial imaging systems are now digital adds to my fascination with Ruff's choice of the screen print as the support for his *andere Porträts*. Choosing to reproduce the composite in this format serves as a direct citation of Warhol's *Thirteen Most Wanted Men* (1964), where he famously adorned the New York State Pavilion in Queens for the New York World's Fair with the snapshots and mug shots that formed the identity-kit for judicial powers at the time: the global equivalent of Alphonse Bertillon's miniature identity cards that police were

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[109] Matthias Winzen, 'A Credible Invention of Reality: Thomas Ruff's precise reproductions of our fantasies of reality', in Winzen ed., *Thomas Ruff: Photographs 1979 to the Present*, Cologne, 2002, p.134

[110] Winzen, 'A Credible Invention of Reality', citing Duchamp (1966) in Serge Stauffer, *Marcel Duchamp: Interviews and Statements*, Stuttgard, 1992, p.210 and Warhol (1967) in Kynaston McShine, *Andy Warhol: A Retrospective*, New York, 1989, p.457

[111] Baume, 'About Face', p.91

intended to carry around in their pockets.[112] With this gesture, Warhol made a public assault on what Iain Sinclair would call the 'Grand Project' - public spectacle that has been contrived in order to assist with the promotion of a unified global existence through assorted cultural activities - by insisting that not only are its organisers glossing over alternative and darker realities of this existence, but that these images too - the heavily circulated identification portrait, or snapshot, if none could be obtained - were very much a part of it.[113] The work was banned by authorities on the grounds that it breached the suspects' rights - ignoring developments in their cases - and at first Warhol reacted with the suggestion of displaying pictures of police chiefs instead. When this was instantly dismissed, Warhol, as Benjamin Buchloh has put it: 'with a laconic detachment settled for the most 'obvious' solution, covering the paintings with a coat of silver aluminium paint and letting them speak of having been silenced to abstract monochromy'.[114]

Just as it emerged with Galton's composites, in Ruff's *andere Porträts* the value of the portrait as a cursor of identity diminishes upon the realisation that two or more likenesses can be fused, in order to produce something entirely new. Replicating the techniques used on criminal suspects in this way, the 'other portraits' stand as evidence against both the transparency of the identification record and the accuracy of the photofit image. The results are haunting - of the series' display at the Venice Biennale in 1995, Lieberman had this to say: 'the 1994-5 series seems to make a statement concerning the personality and the psyche of the sitter. It was not by chance that many people came up with dubious characterisations for them like 'child molester', 'murderer', 'psychopath', and so on - and this despite the fact that the faces were almost exclusively constructs put together by the artist manipulating technology'.[115]

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[112] Matthias Winzen makes the Warhol connection in 'A Credible Invention of Reality: Thomas Ruff's precise reproductions of our fantasies of reality', in Winzen ed., *Thomas Ruff: Photographs 1979 to the Present*, Cologne, 2002, pp.141-2. Douglas Gordon would later revisit Warhol's installation when he produced *Self-portrait of you + me (Most wanted men)* in 2007. Insisting that the support be labelled as 'smoke and mirror', the portrait comprised a mirrored ground and partially burnt-away reproduction of one of the portraits that Warhol had included, that of subject John Victor G, whose original portrait happens to bear the most traces of violence (the subject has obviously been punched in the right eye). The work seems to cite some of the more established critiques of the self-portrait rather than the social/police portrait, however, and recalls Marcel Duchamp's *Wanted: $2000 Reward* (1923), which appropriated the form of a 'Wanted' poster as part of Duchamp's subversion of the bourgeois structure of artistic identity, promoting instead a practice that would incorporate alter-egos, appropriations, visual and verbal trickery and outright puns, such as the line citing one of the pseudonyms as 'Hooke, Lyon and Cinquer'. For more on Duchamp's portraiture, see Goodyear and McManus eds., *Inventing Marcel Duchamp: The Dynamics of Portraiture*, catalogue for an exhibition of the same name (Washington: National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 27 March - 2 August 2009), Washington and Massachusetts: Smithsonian/MIT, 2009.

[113] See Iain Sinclair, *Ghost Milk: Calling Time on the Grand Project*, London: Verso, 2011

[114] See Benjamin H D Buchloh, 'Andy Warhol's One-Dimensional Art: 1956-1966' in McShine ed., *Andy Warhol: A Retrospective*, p.54

[115] Liebermann, *Thomas Ruff*

View of Warhol, *Thirteen Most Wanted Men,* New York State Pavilion, 1964

Such comments made by the public provoke the type of assessment that Sekula made in the previous decade: however inadvertent they may have been, they reveal a desire to label, to define and to confirm the appearances of 'low types', which is highly illustrative of the 'renewed authority of biological determinism, founded in the increased hegemony of the political Right in the Western democracies'.[116] What Sekula does not assert, however, (perhaps this proliferated after he wrote 'The Body and the Archive', or simply went beyond the scope of his text) is that in the context of facial appearance, this 'renewed biological determinism' is still predominant in relation to the two-dimensional image, even if a certain level of political correctness might prevent it from infiltrating real-time social interaction as much as it did in the late nineteenth century. Put simply, it seems to be much more acceptable to apply such labels to a photograph than it does to an individual, and the additional factor of

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[116] Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', Bolton ed., *The Contest of Meaning*, p.376

the doubled portrait (thus the partial masking of each subject's original likeness) served to encourage that these labels be asserted with the renewed confidence that making them (in this case, presumably aloud during the exhibition) was not a risk to any individual subject's integrity.

Matthias Winzen has written one of the most extensive accounts of Ruff's composites. Asserting that police and detectives 'are accustomed to having, indeed constructing, fixed images of certain people', and that 'they have to draw up profiles and identikit images of murderers, robbers and child abusers, and the less detectives know about the perpetrators of the crimes, the clearer these images have to be', Winzen claims that this 'criminalist' gaze is thus 'forced to produce something it does not see'.[117] Winzen goes on to justify the fascination of police composites for artists: 'The objective, unintentional poetry of images generated for purposes of criminal investigation, the equally involuntary paradoxical twist that images constructed on the basis of eye-witness reports supposedly establish the identity of an unknown person - an altogether belletristic procedure - are only surpassed in their incredibility by the fact that the resulting identikit images can actually lead to the arrest of criminals - all of which is, in turn, paradoxical enough to attract an artist's attention'.[118] Is it 'unintentional poetry' that I have been describing in relation to judicial images throughout this thesis? Though Winzen acknowledges what I too have discussed in relation to Galton - the rendition in a composite of a *new* subject, when he states that Ruff's composites 'diffusely and finally abolish similarity as a reliable associative path from the sight of a person standing in front of me to his photographic image', and thus they undermine 'the very existence of recognisability, which is the only guarantee in everyday life that the face I know today will still be recognisable in three weeks time, and ultimately the only guarantee that I am myself', does he not ignore the traces of the individual subjects that remain in the composite image?[119] Like the public reacting with labels like serial killer and child molester, if I am to align myself here with those finding 'unintentional poetry' in the assimilated subject, I think it is only fair to do so if I maintain that, in terms of recognisability, the portraits still, literally, share a half-resemblance to each of the original subjects, and must be described with the sensitivity that this requires, rather than as purely invented individuals.

While Bertillon and Galton's 'ghosts' are particularly interesting in relation to the first and second chapters of this thesis, which are largely concerned with technologies, some of the other projects that have particularly struck me are more focused on the way in which the portrait is staged, in line with later parts of my discussion. If Eluard and Péret's choice to

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[117] Matthias Winzen, 'A Credible Invention of Reality: Thomas Ruff's precise reproductions of our fantasies of reality', in Winzen ed., *Thomas Ruff: Photographs 1979 to the Present*, Cologne, 2002, p.141

[118] Winzen, 'A Credible Invention of Reality', *Thomas Ruff: Photographs 1979 to the Present*, p.141

[119] Winzen, 'A Credible Invention of Reality', p.143

reproduce and manipulate 'before and after' images of the Papin sisters sought to enhance the subjects' so-called latent criminal traits as part of the Surrealists' praise for anti-heroines, then the following works function as a precise reversal of this logic. In other words, I intend now to provide a methodological alternative to publications that have been dedicated to mug shots and their 'stories' - especially of celebrities - by describing works with an alternative theoretical depth.[120]

Prison Landscapes: Alyse Emdur and Taryn Simon

A series of portraits made by Poppy de Villeneuve in 2007, of subjects held at Louisiana State Penitentiary, otherwise known as Angola (one of America's largest maximum-security prisons) present an interesting counter to the criminal portrait, since the photographs take some predictable conditions of the mug shot - a pale, uniform backdrop for cropped head-and-shoulder views - but her motives are more akin to that of the studio portrait artist, who seeks to convey something else. As de Villeneuve puts it: 'if in this controlled, hardened environment one can honestly see something good in a man, then perhaps a man is greater than his experience alone'. Without passing judgement as to the subjects' guilt or innocence, then, de Villeneuve's project contributes to this contestation of the mug shot, which is all too often earmarked as a solely guilt-inscribing document, and attempts to re-describe them. If the mug shot is intended to record a guilty subject, then surely producing a portrait on a similar basis for alternative purposes brings new possibilities, just like those that I have been describing throughout this thesis.

Poppy de Villeneuve,
*Ronnie Russell: 5 Months served,
No. 384561*, 2007

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[120] See my Introduction for examples of publications that are concerned with the celebrity mug shot.

The obvious prison citations are there, black and white striped uniform, even lighting, pale anti-backdrop, but, as with subject Ronnie Russell, a different tone is struck by the subject's gaze and expression. It is almost as if de Villeneuve has asked Russell to stare forty-five degrees to the left of her camera, as if the subject is composing himself for a portrait that is not, or has not taken place, where the artist instead has positioned herself to one side of the subject's head-on view. In doing so, the portrait is not only dysfunctional as a mug shot, which is of course intended to be full face and profile[121], but it also, I think, affords the subject a little authority in that he is depicted avoiding the camera, looking slightly above it, to some extent, avoiding the portrait setting entirely.

While this type of practice clearly displays a critical awareness of the mug shot and its limitations concerning identity, some of the other portraits that I find particularly interesting in relation to how they approach criminal subjectivity place as much importance in the portrait setting and backdrop as they do the subject being depicted. If de Villeneuve re-stages original mug shot images, then Alyse Emdur in her *Prison Landscapes* project (2008−2011) works within and outside of the barriers of incarceration. Motivated by a Polaroid image of her and her older sister standing with her brother, while visiting him at Bayside State Prison in New Jersey in front of a painted backdrop depicting a tropical beach at sunset, Emdur began to investigate the practice of providing painted scenes for inmates to use as portrait backdrops when sending photographs outside. Emdur began the project by communicating with inmates through 'pen pal' schemes, through which prisoners are able to safely communicate outside of their carceral surroundings with volunteers, and one of her first correspondents was a muralist at the Columbia River Correctional Institution in Oregon.

Emdur posing with her older brother and sister, Bayside State Prison, New Jersey

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[121] I am thinking here of Galton's take on 'full face', in the frontispiece for Havelock Ellis's *The Criminal*, which was of course closer to 'full head', yet inevitably resulted in an abstract, fragmented, mirrored image.

When the prison warden rejected her request to visit the mural and photograph it, Emdur instead asked that inmates send portraits to her, and has since established a large collection of 'prison landscapes'.[122]

Photographs collated for Emdur's *Prison Landscapes,* 2008-11 (clockwise from top left): Jeff Goodwin, State Correctional Institution, Dallas; Genesis Asiatic, Powhatan Correctional Centre, Virginia; James Bowlin, United States Penitentiary, Marion, Illinois; Fly, United States Penitentiary, Coleman, Florida.

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[122] See Alyse Emdur, '*Prison Landscapes*: the archive confronts a cultural taboo', interview with Niels van Tomme, *Artpapers*, 2011, pp.18-23

Recalling the statements made by Appardurai in 'The Colonial Backdrop', the painted scenes create portrait parlours in what are otherwise very cold, repressive environments, and are thus the site 'for the production of various cultural imaginaries', testifying to 'the struggle between photographic modernity and the various cultural environments into which it enters'.[123] The 'new' space of representation that is the painted mural within the institution is a clear example of photography inviting 'its own subversion' that is 'exemplified in the playfulness, pastiche, irony and stylised distortions of backgrounds and other props', and so too is it demonstrative of the 'epistemological uncertainty about exactly what photographs seek to represent'.[124] This is highlighted by the extreme contrast between the warmly painted, fantastical backdrop and the cold, sterile conditions that are inherent in the very definition of a prison.[125] If we follow Appardurai's path of thought we can see in these portraits an augmented reality that is used as a tool to provide comfort for both inmates and their families. From mountainscapes with lakes (complete with fake fish props), to orange cityscapes with the referential noses of status cars, to beaches, to jungles, the backdrops are predictably stylised, to the extent that they either contribute positively to a subject who seeks this supplemental information as a sort of caption for their own portrayal (a knowing, yet hopeful nod towards an actual hobby, interest, or character trait), or, as some of the more solemn expressions seem to imply, for others they are simply further 'instruments of power for prisons', since 'they are the only place where images can be produced' and are thus 'a means to exercise control over the imagery that circulates inside and outside of the institution'.[126] Some of the rules of the American institutions are particularly emphatic of what is effectively an uneven distribution of the power of representation. This is not one of several possible areas of the prison in which one can produce a photograph - it is the only *allocated* space for photography secondary to the identity portrait itself, and inmates who do not have visitors are prohibited from photographing themselves altogether.[127]

Thus in *prison landscapes*, the backdrop is again incisive: as a cosmetic disguise, it follows the same paradox as the colonial backdrop in that it simultaneously wills the subject to desire

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[123] Appardurai', The Colonial Backdrop', p.7

[124] Appardurai, 'The Colonial Backdrop', p.7

[125] Foucault: 'it is a segmented, immobile, frozen space', *Discipline and Punish*, p.195

[126] Neils van Tomme, '*Prison Landscapes*: the archive confronts a cultural taboo', p.19

[127] Emdur, '*Prison Landscapes*: the archive confronts a cultural taboo', p.19: 'One of my pen pals, David Wells, documented his life in prison, from the late 1960s until 2001, when cameras were banned in Michigan prisons. He explained that it was not uncommon then for an inmate to own his own camera, if he could afford one. The US prison population has risen from less than 500,000 in 1980 to over 2.3 million today. As restrictions on camera use have increased, our prison system has become more opaque. Walls not only lock criminals in, they also keep society out. These visiting room portraits, which intentionally hide what is outside the frame and gloss over the struggles of being locked up, are one of the few accessible visual entrances into this system, no matter how ambiguous these images are. The carceral authorities that I interviewed stated that the backdrops and portrait studios both create a more pleasant experience for visitors and work as security measures. If a wall, fence, door or any other structural prison detail appears in an image's background, the photograph becomes a security risk insofar as it could aid in a physical escape'.

to re-present themselves as an alternate (non-criminal) identity whilst just as emphatically reinstating their position within the carceral institution, and thus their identity as a convict.

For me, the evidence of subjectivities in conflict is particularly prominent where subjects have inscribed their photograph before forwarding it, or a copy, as a contribution to Emdur's project. 'Whatever it takes'; 'I'm there!'; '1-Love!', read the captions of Genesis Asiatic as he stands in front of a particularly flat reproduction of a lake. Where, exactly, is 'there'? He almost fuels the fiction himself in (however inadvertently) pointing out that he is precisely not *there*, nor is he truly by a lake as his painted fantasy backdrop suggests. Appardurai claimed that the caption was a part of the photographic backdrop - particularly in cases where the caption identified the subject according to their role as opposed to their individual identity - *the* Oriental hareem, *a* civil war soldier, and so on.[128] What role do additions like these play as captions? Ultimately, I think they have the adverse effect to this type of labelling: as sentiments of self-expression they reveal an attempt by the convict to maximise their potential to communicate to their loved ones *as themselves* rather than as prisoners. In other words, if, as I set out in the third chapter of this thesis, the institutional portrait is characterised by the addition of labels, numbers and other 'captions' that aid the constructive powers of judicial authority to create and to enhance criminal identity, then the constituents of Emdur's project - and so too all of the 'prison landscape' photographs that circulate beyond the prison - function in the reverse, as small tokens of self-expression that are allowed to permeate the boundaries of institutional power. That they rely on a construct that is as controlled as any other (for the backdrops' alternate role as masks that preside over the potential security risk entailed in photographing corners of prisons, and for the inevitable control that is exerted in the context of the murals' design and execution) is perhaps a small price to pay for their potential to traverse these boundaries.

Where staging and setting are concerned, one of the most fascinating recent projects to engage with the issues that I have been discussing in relation to identity and identification is Taryn Simon's photographic series entitled *The Innocents* (2003) which toured libraries, museums, and commercial spaces and sought to expose the faults with judicial identification systems, sort of a call-to-arms for the amount of mistakes that occur in identifying, arresting, and imprisoning suspects. The police line up, mug shot, and photofit portrait are each challenged, where Simon works with a charity who promote the use of forensic evidence in cases that relied previously upon an image-based ruling or witness statement: 'a victim or eyewitness identifies a suspected perpetrator through law enforcement's use of photographs and lineups', identifications which 'rely on the assumption of precise visual memory', but 'through exposure to composite sketches, mugshots, Polaroids and lineups, eyewitness memory can

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[128] See Appardurai, 'The Colonial Backdrop', p.7

change'.[129] Simon created a series of photographic case studies for subjects who had served time in prison for crimes that forensic evidence later implied that they did not commit, photographing each individual with a backdrop that was somehow significant to the case - the crime scene, identification scene, alibi scene, and other meaningful locations. Photographing the subjects in this way, Simon's project is not just a study of mistaken identities: it is also a contestation of the very logic of identification procedures, which, in its calm re-staging of several elements – portraits, crime scenes, and witness accounts – with the fundamental absence of an actual, criminal act, demonstrates how arbitrary this application of portraiture can be.

Taryn Simon, *Troy Webb, Scene of the Crime*, The Pines, Virginia Beach, Virginia
Served 7 years of a 47-year sentence for Kidnapping, Rape and Robbery.
From *The Innocents*, chromogenic print, 121.9 x 152.4 cm, edition of 5, 2002

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[129] Taryn Simon, 'Photographer's Foreword', in Taryn Simon, Peter Neufield and Barry Scheck, *The Innocents*, New York: Umbrage Books, 2003, unpaginated

Simon, *Frederick Daye, Alibi Location*, American Legion Post 310, San Diego, California, where 13 witnesses placed Daye at the time of the crime. Served 10 years of a life sentence for kidnapping, rape and vehicle theft.
From *The Innocents*, chromogenic print, 121.9 x 152.4 cm, edition of 5, 2002

One of the most striking cases that Simon selected to be a part of the series is that of Ronald Cotton. It is useful to recall the case history here:

'In July 1984, two women in the Burlington, North Carolina area were raped after a man broke into their apartments, cut their phone lines, and robbed them. The first victim identified Cotton's photograph and then picked him out of a lineup. In 1985, he was prosecuted for the first rape and convicted. The case was later reversed because the trial court had not allowed evidence that the second victim had picked another person in a lineup. This evidence would have enhanced the defence argument that someone other than Cotton had committed both rapes. In 1987, the case was brought to retrial. This time, the prosecutor charged Cotton with both rapes. Shortly before the second trial, another inmate serving time in the same prison where Cotton was housed boasted that he was responsible for both rapes. Although the second inmate was presented in court, the victims failed to identify him as the perpetrator. Despite the earlier misidentification in the lineup, the second victim identified Cotton before the jury. In addition to the in-court identifications, the prosecutor also presented a flashlight, said to resemble the assailant's, and shoe rubber from Cotton's sneakers that was consistent with marks found at the crime scene. Cotton was convicted of both rapes. Eight years after his

second trial, DNA testing of rape kits excluded Cotton. When the profile from the evidence was compared to a state convicted offender database, a match was produced with the inmate who had boasted of the crime, been presented, but not identified at the second trial. In May 1995, the charges against Cotton were dismissed. He was released in June 1995 and officially pardoned that July. Ronald Cotton and the victim, Jennifer Thompson, have forged a friendship since the exoneration. Thompson has become a public voice about the dangers of eyewitness identification'.[130]

Thompson's account of the conviction is particularly interesting. 'They asked me if I could identify my attacker', she stated, 'I said yes'. Asked if she could do a composite sketch, she 'sat down with a police artist and went through the book', and 'picked out the nose, the eyes, and the ears that most closely resembled the person', which was reproduced in the newspaper the following day. A phone call suggested that the sketch resembled someone they knew: Ronald Cotton, which meant that Cotton's name was pulled 'and he became a key suspect', and then Thompson identified Cotton from a photo array 'because in my mind it most closely resembled the man who attacked me'. But she later explains: 'really what happened was that, because I had made a composite sketch, he actually most closely resembled my sketch as opposed to the actual attacker', and 'by the time we went to do a physical lineup, I picked out Ronald because in my mind he resembled the photo, which resembled the composite, which resembled the attacker. All the images became enmeshed to one image that became Ron, and Ron became my attacker'.[131] Thompson's language is illustrative of the approaches to composite portraits that I have been describing throughout this thesis: the heavy temporal implication of this process of *becoming* and the extremely visual term 'enmeshed' are reminiscent of the very principles of composite portraits that I set out in the first chapter of this thesis and many of the ambiguities in relation to criminal identity that have arisen since. Simon's portrait of Cotton and Thompson only emphasises this connection: depicting the accused and the victim together at the alibi location imply not only an awareness of the strength of the backdrop in constructing identity in portraiture, but also represents a more general effort: for Simon, 'photographing the wrongfully convicted in these environments brings to the surface the attenuated relationship between truth and fiction, and efficiency and injustice'.[132] 'Photographs in the criminal justice system, and elsewhere, can turn fiction into fact'.[133]

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[130] Taryn Simon, 'Ronald Cotton', *The Innocents*, unpaginated catalogue. This case was relatively well-circulated as an example of a successfully proven wrongful conviction. See Mike Celizic, 'She sent him to jail for rape; now they're friends', *Today*, 10 March 2009, http://today.msnbc.msn.com/id/29613178/ns/today-today_people/t/she-sent-him-jail-rape-now-theyre-friends/#.TwMSqUpAIy4; and Shari Finkelstein, 'Eyewitness: how accurate is visual memory?', *CBS News*, 8 March 2009, http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2009/03/06/60minutes/main4848039.shtml.

[131] Jennifer Thompson, in Taryn Simon, *The Innocents*, [my emphasis].

[132] Simon, 'Photographer's Foreword', *The Innocents*

[133] Simon, 'Photographer's Foreword', *The Innocents*

Lineup from which Ronald Cotton (holding card No.2) was selected.
Burlington Police Department, North Carolina, 1 August 1984

Simon, *Ronald Cotton, with victim Jennifer Thompson*, Winston-Salem, North Carolina
Served 10.5 years of a life sentence.
From *The Innocents*, chromogenic print, 121.9 x 152.4 cm, edition of 5, 2002

The emphasis on the importance of the backdrop by these two artists shows that they both comply with Derrida's terms for the supplement and are both compensatory and vicarious.[134] With *Prison Landscapes*, Emdur makes a knowing nod towards the portrait parlour and the bourgeois studio portrait in general. While she clearly accepts that the murals are still fundamentally part of the carceral structure and thus as institutional as any other angle of the prison in which they are used, the project still enhances the status of the photograph as always a bridge between reality and its potential augmentation by its very format. In Taryn Simon's work, the institutional status of the photograph is contested even further by a complete restaging, in Simon's words they demonstrate 'the attenuated relationship between truth and fiction'. Fascinatingly, these portraits substitute the original criminal act, swerving the gritty details of the crime because of the very fact of the suspect's innocence - the subject is able to exist in their portrait as a free individual rather than a criminal suspect.

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[134] See Chapter Three, and Derrida, 'That Dangerous Supplement', *Of Grammatology*, p.144

Postscript

In some way, each of the works that I have just mentioned pose the same questions that I have been asking throughout this thesis, namely, where the neutral identity record ends and the assimilated criminal subject begins. Even minor adjustments to the structures and narratives that inform the received notions of identification images can assist in revealing their limitations – from the previously unquestioned stereotype of the 'straight' mug shot, to the failure of composite mechanisms to conceive of a subject based on little more than witness intuition. The ramifications for the 'criminal subject' here are at their most profound: where these slight modifications to a system that itself evolved through continual reworkings reveal the inconsistencies of that system, they also bring to light the more discursive principles of the portrait in general, as they demonstrate, for example, the agency of the sitter or at the very least the complexities implied in their depiction, through a self-critical understanding of the means of its construction.

What has come to interest me most in describing some of these practices is that what initially seemed to be the most obvious work to fall into this category of Bertillon and Galton's 'ghosts', soon shifted into the less-relevant categories of appropriation and at times quite literal citation. Eluard and Péret's *détournement* of the Papin sisters portraits provoked a playful encounter with 'before and after' and 'spot-the-difference' concepts; Dalí cited Bertillon in his logarithmic interpretation of the hysterical moment, Duchamp's photographer recalled Galton's techniques 'accidentally', and Allain and Souvestre appropriated the composite criminal for their shape-shifting fictional subject *Fantômas*: but none of these references to nineteenth-century criminological techniques and images are especially indicative of the legacy of Bertillon and Galton beyond their status as citations. For me, the later work that I have just discussed, of Ruff, Emdur, and Simon, is much more emblematic of the subtle 'micro-physics of power' that has informed my subsequent selections.[135] This is due to the techniques that they adopt, recreate, or modify in order to make their work - if they do not openly refer to nineteenth-century methods, then they are all the more indicative of their legacies. After all, the motive of this discussion has less been Bertillon and Galton, or Lombroso and Ellis, as individuals, but as practitioners each making unique contributions to this field, with its abstract origins, so it makes sense that the practices of these artists, amongst others, resonate most strongly because they do not include Galton or the others as a direct citation.

As I have demonstrated, Bertillon's archive eventually proliferated beyond a level of logical detail and volume but still provided the conceptual basis for a great deal of the identification

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[135] Jonathan Finn has addressed Foucault's term to explain its necessity here: 'I understand power not as exclusively the domain of an all-seeing state apparatus but as a micro-physics, as something that is diffuse, subtle, and contested and that functions in the construction of identity'. Finn, *Capturing the Criminal Image* (with reference to Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*) p.6

systems that remain in use, and Galton's archival composite predicted a key feature in future police technology - what would eventually be the digital photofit system.[136] That Sekula was writing in 1986 is perhaps only significant for the fact that Bertillon and Galton's 'ghosts' resonate today even more than they did in the 1980s: debates on the targeting of 'suspicious criminal-types' by disciplinary powers fluctuate on all levels, and are currently escalating, especially at street level; and Sekula's 'Bertillon' ghost has evolved into the totalitarian electronic system of Biometrics, which has seen surface scrutiny pushed to the very limit with DNA profiling, retinal scans: paradoxical identities that are at once intrinsic and entirely disparate from the subject in question.[137]

Warhol and Eluard and Péret brought these ghosts to the foreground when they utilised judicial portraits in an expanded art context; Emdur, Simon, and others continue to do so when they feed carceral images back into the gallery in order to make their own aesthetic claims about criminal identity. Rather than fill display cases and cabinets that replicate those of the police archive and, by their very positioning in a 'space of confinement', align themselves with what they seek to expose in presenting such work to a viewer, projects such as these have helped to open up the judicial portrait, to allow criminal identity not to be reinforced, but further questioned, and most significantly, to reveal the limitations of the mug shot for proving identity.

If the more obvious appropriations of identification portraits were restrictive for their very status as appropriations, then the most interesting examples are illustrative of Galton and Bertillon's legacies with specific regard for the way in which such material is produced. Where they do not openly refer to nineteenth-century images, to Bertillon, Galton, or others, even where they omit the suspect entirely: these practices are all the more indicative of the continuation of the principles and conditions that I have been describing throughout this thesis, which contribute to the assimilation of criminal identities. It is not without intention either that in some of these most illustrative, and most interesting indicators of Bertillon and Galton's legacies, the presence of a proven criminal subject is not a prerequisite, or, in the case of Taryn Simon's project, the opposite is required, because this highlights the mechanisms of the original system. Ruff's *andere Porträts* are especially emblematic of this -

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[136] Later composite practices take several different names (Efit, Identikit, and such like) due to their association with particular versions of software or equipment. For more detailed information on this, see G. M. Davies et al, 'Facial composite production: a comparison of mechanical and computer driven systems', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 85, 2000, pp.119-124.

[137] For more in-depth approaches to Biometrics, albeit again in a primarily sociological context, see Finn, *Capturing the Criminal Image*. One recent example that illustrates the currency of debates in biometrics and their potential in identification and security measures has been written up for *The Verge* magazine as part of a discussion of the long term accuracy of iris scans, which outlines new research from the University of Notre Dame on the natural changes of the eye over time that might 'thwart iris scanners': see http://www.theverge.com/ 2012/5/28/3046726/iris-patterns-change-over-time-research. For more on Finn's contribution to the existing literature in this field, see my Introduction. For current writing that illustrates the persistence of the rogue's gallery approach to criminal 'types' in relation to Bertillon's system, see, for example, Jonathan Jones, 'A Rogue Gallery for the Rioters', *The Guardian*, 12 August 2011, and available online at http://gu.com/p/3x779.

they even provide a direct citation of the 'Other' in their title - and have led viewers to suggest dubious characterisations for them like 'child molester', 'murderer', 'psychopath', and so on, which simultaneously recalls Galton's composite typecasting and Appardurai's commentary where they imply the use of a definite article in such captions ('*a* murderer' or '*the* psychopath'). Norman Bryson and Trevor Fairbrother have neatly summarised this in relation to Ruff's glossier colour portraits in particular, and to identity photography in general. Where 'Foucault said that in the nineteenth century prisons came to resemble factories, factories came to resemble schoolrooms, schoolrooms came to resemble prisons'; they propose that 'in the same way, in our time the face needed by the state has come to resemble the face required by a job application form, a reception desk, a library card, a driver's licence'.[138] For Bryson and Fairbrother, 'Ruff repeats what all these have in common: frontality, clear illumination, the *gravitas* that comes from eliminating from the face whatever is transient and incidental (expression, context, interaction) in favour of what is more useful to authority, the face's permanent and central form'.[139] And so too, the sitters 'are captured in the moment of interpellation, when they become subjects of authority in the widest sense', yet, they argue, their faces are 'not ground down by this gaze of power' and are, on the contrary, 'in tact and undamaged'.[140] Thus there are grounds for a reading of conflict in these portraits between 'what authority has shaped - the society of surveillance', and 'what the economy has shaped - the society of consumption and spectacle', therefore, they 'locate precisely the forces that move through the faces and subjectivities of people living in a society in love equally with spectacle and surveillance'.[141]

Tamar Garb makes a similar point when she argues: it is 'in dialogue with its formal conventions as well as its prescriptive views' that 'many contemporary photographers define their own concerns', and 'although its political imperatives may be distinguished from the voyeuristic explorations of some ethnographic/anthropological representations, the construction and framing of experience that both genres endorsed each produced their own kind of spectacle to which practitioners now remain heir'.[142] Portraiture, Garb explains, 'could make this its overt subject, often frankly acknowledging the artifice and affectation that posing for the camera entailed'.[143] But instead she too is interested in more discursive practices: 'this legacy itself can be seen as a productive source of a new pictorial and political

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[138] Bryson and Fairbrother, 'Thomas Ruff: Spectacle and Surveillance', p.93

[139] Bryson and Fairbrother, 'Thomas Ruff: Spectacle and Surveillance', p.93

[140] Bryson and Fairbrother, 'Thomas Ruff: Spectacle and Surveillance', p.93

[141] Bryson and Fairbrother, 'Thomas Ruff: Spectacle and Surveillance', p.93

[142] Garb, *Figures and Fictions*, pp.72-3

[143] Garb, *Figures and Fictions*, p.73

consciousness'.[144] Garb's interest (as well as my own) is therefore in works that 'create new taxonomies of difference to counter the specular orthodoxies and clichés of previous image regimes', where it is again 'the careful renegotiation of spectacle' that 'both has been, and will have been, the challenge'.[145]

Though he implies the opposite with his title, Jonathan Finn concludes his study, *Capturing the Criminal Image: From Mug Shot to Surveillance Society,* by stating that he does not want to 'propose an inevitable trajectory in law enforcement and identification practices from rogues' galleries to an Orwellian future defined by the all-seeing gaze of the state'.[146] For Finn, 'the construction of a single, centralised meta-identification archive or a unified, all-seeing surveillant apparatus is far from a practical possibility', however, 'modern and contemporary law enforcement and criminal identification practices show a clear trend toward the accumulation of identification data'.[147] Current developments in identification practices are thus still based on the same principles as those set out by Bertillon and Galton, in their striving to produce an effective archive for the excluded individual, be it in filing cabinet format or in Galton's 'collapsed version'.[148] Fundamentally, Finn argues, 'critical work from academic, professional, and lay audiences alike that addresses the use of visual representation in law enforcement and criminal identification practices is not only needed but is fundamental, given the significant and diverse ramifications associated with making the criminal visible'.[149] This thesis certainly seems to fit with Finn's criteria and should therefore stand as a valid contribution to this overwhelming gap in critical literature on criminal identification. But, as Bryson and Fairbrother, Garb, and others have implied, there are many more crossovers and connections still to be acknowledged between techniques developed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and in current methods; between practices that pertain to be scientific and those that are ascribed as artistic; between the notion of a neutral record of identity and an assimilated criminal image, and fundamentally, between spectacle and surveillance - that extend far beyond the scope of this thesis. In that I have already observed a great deal of similarity in the material within this thesis and portraits that were produced in other contexts - anthropology and expedition photography, for example - it should not come as a surprise that much of what I have been discussing is amenable to other portrait practices. In other words, it has been my intention throughout this study to provide a foundation from which other approaches to portraiture can be developed - from portrait-booth photography to, say, retinal

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144 Garb, *Figures and Fictions*, p.73

145 Garb, *Figures and Fictions*, p.73

146 Finn, *Capturing the Criminal Image*, p.128

147 Finn, *Capturing the Criminal Image,* p.128

148 Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', p.372

149 Finn, *Capturing the Criminal Image*, p.129

scanning - there is much more work to be done in this emerging field.[150] The trope of the mug shot has become an emblem for the identification portrait in general, and its role in assimilating criminal identities has serious ramifications for the entire field of identification images. To conclude with a recent comment made in relation to the riots that took place across London in the summer of 2011, 'mug shots since the dawn of photography have often had great poignancy, a brief window that lets us glimpse lives gone bad, promise that never flickered into anything … sad little vignettes of lives bumping along the bottom … odd little footnotes in our urban history'.[151] Rather than make yet another contribution to this preconception that mug shots are mere 'glimpses of lives gone bad', which fuels so many of the discussions, publications, and online resources that exist in this context, I hope to have established quite the opposite. Not only do the images that I have discussed resist the reading that the subjects depicted in them are guilty by design, but also, in that the likenesses conveyed are as much a product of the conditions of the portrait as the individual represented, they deserve a much more prominent position than as 'footnotes' (supplements) in theories of portraiture in general.

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[150] I use the term 'emerging' here in order to acknowledge some of the other studies that are either based in different contexts, or have different theoretical approaches to my own. In terms of the application of an aesthetic vocabulary to portraiture, for example, this is currently being developed in the work of Susan Sidlauskas, who has worked on a study entitled 'The Medical Portrait: Holloway's Shadow Archive, 1885-1916' (presented in 'Medical Media: The Aesthetic Language of Medical Evidence', AAH Annual Conference, 31 March - 2 April 2011, organised by Tania Woloshyn). Following the same logic as Shawn Michelle Smith and Christopher Pinney, Sidlauskas is also interested in the constitutive role of the portrait, and, for example, has noted an interest in the 'neutralised' backdrop.

[151] Manyani, comment made in response to Jonathan Jones, 'A Rogue Gallery for the Rioters', *The Guardian*, 12 August 2011, http://www.guardian.co.uk/discussion/comment-permalink/11969222

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