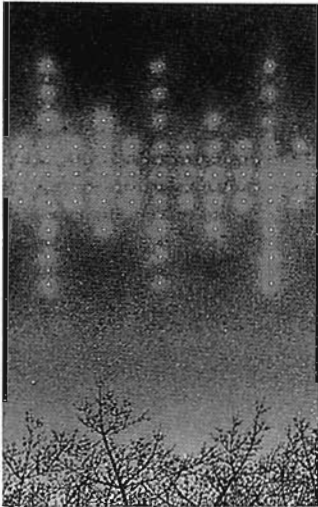
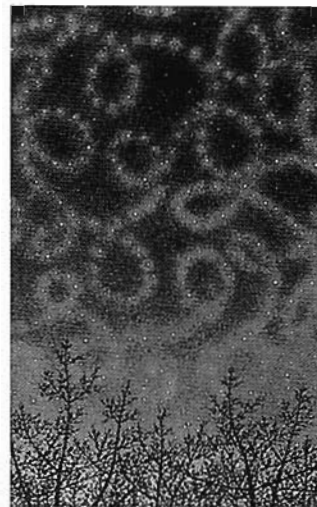
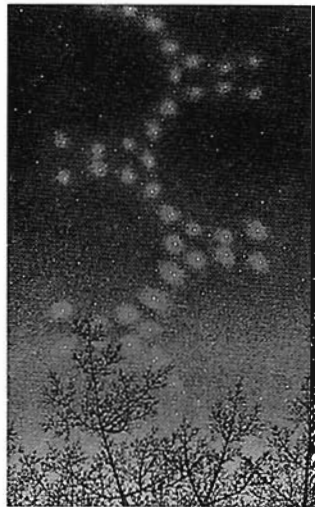

FILING PROCEDURES

JOSÉ RAMÓN LÓPEZ



FRANCISCO INFANTE



Proyectos de reconstrucción del cielo estrellado. 1965-67.
Gouache y t mpera sobre papel

The opening of the Louvre galleries in 1763 marked the beginning of an institution, the museum, which would evolve extensively throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Museums, in a broader sense of the word, had already endured a long progression of slow evolution in the preceding centuries. However, in the nineteenth century and as a result of the Age of Enlightenment and of revolutionary ideas, the great national, royal collections are opened to the public (Prado, Ermitage...), and provincial museums begin to appear as well, these being often forgotten by the historians, the ones that gather certain forms of local and provincial history and where all kinds of archeological, artistic and ethnographic relics end up. Therefore, we can say that the nineteenth century –among many other things– is the century of museums. This means not only that in this century museums are established as we know them today, but also and more particularly that museums took part in the changes of thought that were then unfolding. As part of its conventional role within society, the museum soon accepted its mission as a “classifying” institution as one of its main contributions to knowledge.

This was most logical. The need to protect national art treasures that began to exhibit alarming conditions, gave rise to the foundation of smaller museums in order to place all the works of art whose salvation and conservation were deemed important, thus forming enormous and varied collections.¹

Museums aimed at the organization, classification

and cataloguing of such works of art, not for aesthetic reasons or because of a sense of decency –to tidy up the house so to speak– but for scientific reasons, hoping to obtain from that classification a way to understand the world, a path toward knowledge.

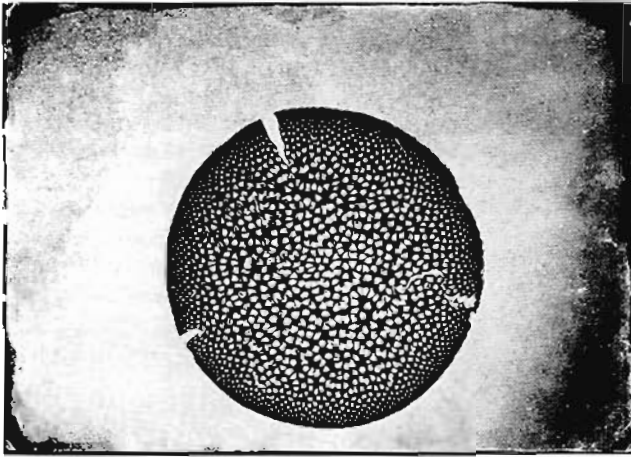
Storage and the storing of material acquires capital importance. (Let the reader think of a progressively larger number of items endlessly arriving, in an uninterrupted course).

And then, the museum needs not be too ambitious to start envisaging its highest aspiration: the collection of large numbers of items to enclose the entire world, with everything it contains, inside its walls.

Nevertheless, this enclosed world of the museum –just as the world outside its walls– is something chaotic, formless and disorderly, something whose classification and order becomes urgent. Thus, a museum’s storage room is not only a place where to preserve items from the passing of time, but also a dissecting laboratory where an attempt is made –through classification– to analyze, understand and, indeed, “create” an exterior world which, otherwise would have no existence.

Cataloguing acquires a mythical quality, standing as the reproduction of a primordial act with reference to an original ontology, repeating the first action of a creative god who by “dividing”, just as Genesis tells us, gave form to the world that surrounds us.²

In addition, cataloguing and inventorying are found within another context, the scientific context, the new



W H FOX TALBOT *Photomicrograph of Plant stem section. c. 1841*



EUGÈNE ATGET *Coin de la rue Valette et Panthéon, Mars 1925*

religion that, with irrefutable vigor, arises in the nineteenth century. They become aspects of science, which, turned into a technique, reaffirms the faith of even the least learned.

When referring to the scientific mentality of the nineteenth century, one has to think of Darwin because his work, apart from its real importance, has remained in the collective subconscious and, therefore, is like a standard of the profound changes in mentality suffered by the European conscience. Moreover, Darwin is also the most outstanding representative of a whole century of biological research, the century that separates *The Evolution of the Species* from the classification of animals and plants proposed by Linneo.

In this respect, Linneo's work was most important because his *classification* provided a tool that set the basis for the understanding of the vegetal world, which thus remained within a theoretical scheme, arranged into interrelated groups. This meant making legible something that until then had only been accumulative. Henceforth, Biology and Biogeography experienced a continuous evolution. Many were the collective or individual expeditions which were organized for the gathering of data. Those data were later included in a dialectical project, thus modifying and perfecting the general classifying scheme.

Museums participated in the scientific contribution. Like Biology, the study of the prehistoric period also found classification to be a method which provided it with great advantages. Early in the century, a royal committee was formed in Denmark for the creation of a national museum of antiques. In 1816 Christian Jurgensen Thomsen was elected first curator of the national museum. Thomsen's first task was to somehow arrange the increasing number of collections. Thomsen then did something we consider very significant: he arranged the museum's items by materials: stone, bronze, and finally, iron. In fact, the idea of three technological ages in man's past, originated in the classification of the items in a museum. With the obvious updating, this idea and its related terminology are still in use today.

Another step forward was taken by an Englishman by the name of Lane-Fox, name he would later change to Pitt-Rivers.³ He was a general in the army and in his time as a soldier he had shown interest in the use and development of the rifle. He started to collect instruments and weapons until finally the collection was too big for

his house and it was sent to Oxford, an annex being built at the university museum to store it.

The interesting thing is that, contrary to the general practice in preceding centuries, when taste and adornment were most valued, Pitt-Rivers' collections did not focus on important or artistic objects but contained ordinary and typical samples which were arranged according to their levels of development.

Personally influenced by the evolutionary ideas of Darwin, and constantly examining the characteristics and differences of the weapons, he even formulated the idea that man's material remains could be arranged following some sequences: typology had been invented.⁴

Within this upsurge of ideas or, even as a consequence of it, the nineteenth century found, relatively early, an unequalled instrument: photography. Photography was –and is– a means of representing reality which provides, through a minimum effort, a maximum of information on an "exact" mirroring duplicate of the photographed object. It is not surprising, therefore, that the creation of an inventory of the world became the first, basic task of photography.

It is in this light that one can understand Lerebours' foresight to organize (just one year after the official presentation of photography) a worldwide network of correspondence from which to obtain a series of photographs for future publication in his *Excursions daguerriennes...*⁵ Sponsored by the *Commission des Monuments Historiques*, an official documentary project of 1851 which asked five photographers to take pictures of historic architectural works in five regions of the north of France, was equally clairvoyant.⁶ With the invention of photography, Europe was invaded by a real passion for documentation: during the second half of the century everything was photographed from all possible angles.⁷

Photography, however, does not only offer a document rich in details. Photography has also revealed itself as an adequate classifying instrument. All classification and inventory imply fragmentation, something necessary for reordering. This other facet was contributed by photography as well: through photography reality becomes more "fragmentable" and separable and, therefore, small units can lend themselves to even more meticulous classification.

Naturally, science, the humanities, and all other fields of knowledge found an instrument in photography that

enhanced their possibilities.⁸ A marked example of this use of photography is that of police photography, in other words, the application of photography to criminology, because it gathers together all the scientific matters that were characteristic of an era preoccupied with rigor and method.⁹

Although the practice of photographing criminals was not commonplace until the sixties, the concern came from before and it responded to two basic interrelated theories that had been gaining prestige from the beginning of the century: physiognomy and phrenology. Both shared a belief (human features manifested the condition of the person) and a method (the classifying of these features to come to conclusions).

Considering how details reflect the wealth of an individual's history, the next step would be to find features, common characteristics which would allow for the designing of a typology and the setting of a biotype.

The midterm goal was to make a "social map", the analytical study of the "diseased zones" of the social body, which contrasted with the portraits of heroes, leaders and other moral paragons that were then so profusely divulged.

Curiously enough, the development of these two branches of knowledge was tied to the development of photography and a common enthusiasm for photographic illustrations accompanies every study and publication of this kind. The photographic camera offers an appropriate language to present true "scientific" evidence with which to corroborate the assertions.

In the case of delinquency, the practical application seemed easy as, due to the documental possibilities of photography, identification of suspects or habitual offenders was immediate. However, things did not turn out so. To accomplish their objectives the system should aim to include the greatest number of individuals (all is the ideal). Therefore the real issue was a problem of filing.

And a big problem as well. For example, in ten years the Paris police had collected more than 100,000 photographs. Searching among them to identify each of the one hundred arrested daily was something absolutely impracticable.¹⁰ It was necessary to open a path in this chaos of images, and as it had to do with a filing system using the photographic image as its main reference, the solution came by way of statistical and photographic conjunction and in two different proposals, that of Alfonso Bertillon and of Francis Galton.

Bertillon (1853-1914) was a "systematizer", mainly involved in the triumph of social order over social disorder. He was also the "inventor" of the police record. In the first place he combined the photograph (front and profile) with a concise annotation of a series of features and measurements, all on one record card. In the second place, he organized all these record cards into a filing system based on a series of successive subdivisions. On his file the photograph is one more element beside the text.

Francis Galton (1822-1911) was an interesting man and one of great intellectual curiosity, which led him to travel all over the world. Interested in everything, he devoted himself to things as diverse as the drafting of laws for the *Hotentots* of Southern Africa or the study of meteorology (his is the term *anticyclone*). A cousin of Darwin, he was the first to realize that evolution really was a matter of statistics and set down the first methods for the study of heredity. Being closer to biological determinism in general, one of his aims was to demon-

strate the supremacy of nature over education, with relation to the quality of human intelligence. Being in disagreement with current research methods,¹¹ he found the adequate way to graphically translate the statistical mean through the "composite photograph", which consisted in a succession of takes on a single plate of a series of individuals by means of a camera of his own invention. This was done in such a way that, details being lost, the final result only showed the common features, thus obtaining a very particular typology of the criminal, the hero, the Jew, etc.

Bertillon was a systematizer, Galton a quantifier. In retrospect, and leaving aside their theoretical starting points, both men's attitudes have had an enormous influence on filing methods and photography: Bertillon established photography within the filing system; Galton reduced the file to a single photograph.

II

Science, positivism, methodologies... This is the context in which we can understand certain eminently photographic projects that began to emerge toward the end of the nineteenth century and extensively penetrated into the twentieth century. These projects were already outside institutional structures, and used the documentary capacity of photography principally for the file, a very particular file. These works have prevailed precisely because they were photographs, their "scientific" aim having, in many cases, already been forgotten or obsolete.



EDWARD S. CURTIS

Nez Percé

In our opinion, these projects mean a turning point in the process, the conscience of the autonomy of the instrument. Photography has revealed itself as a suitable filing instrument. As a matter of fact, only thanks to it have files evolved or been created. Now photography takes the initiative. Generally, they are very personal works, which take much of the author's life and aspire to embrace the documentation of the subject they refer to as extensively as possible.

Such is the case of Edward Sheriff Curtis (1868-1952)¹² a North American photographer and anthropologist who devoted more than thirty years (1896-1930) to take more than 40,000 pictures of North American Indians from 80 indigenous tribes between the Mississippi and New Mexico. His work remains a very ambitious documentary project. It is not difficult to understand Curtis because his feelings are not very different from those many people may have experienced some time in life. For Curtis, the Indians were a race which was about to disappear, realization which led him to feel the need to register (and at times to recreate) their customs and traditions in a conscious accumulation before they vanished. The author did it in an ethnological spirit but, above all, in answer to the need to document, to gather the largest number of witnesses of a fleeting reality that is continually disappearing. In this sense his attitude is comparable to that of the museum.

Another great collection of documents was that gathered by Jean-Eugène-Auguste Atget (1856-1927) during the first twenty years of this century.¹³ Atget maintained a special relationship with photography. He turned it into a way of life but, unlike others, his motives were far from being merely pecuniary. Since, in 1898 (after having held other jobs), he decided to devote himself to photography, his ideas and aspirations were very clear: he had the ambition to "create a collection with all the artistic and picturesque objects that were to be found in Paris."¹⁴

Atget was really a collector and this is what sets him apart from other authors. He methodically took pictures of Paris in all its corners, classifying them all in "series", each comprising hundreds of photographs. His is not a photographic work, but an archive, his own personal archive as well as an institutional one, since his main customers were museums that bought his photographs to complete, in turn, their archives with them.

Furthermore, there is another characteristic in Atget:

he was not interested in modern Paris (no photographs of the Opera or of the Eiffel Tower), but in that "old Paris", which was disappearing and whose memory had to be conserved. Once again, the need to detain the fleeting reality. It could be said that, with his camera, he made an attempt to save from death the things that were about to disappear.

Simultaneously to Atget's work, another interesting archive was being created in Germany by Karl Blossfeldt. Blossfeldt (1865-1932) was not a photographer in the strict sense of the word, but came to this field from sculpturing. Born in the small community of Schielo, and having some training in the artistic area of the iron and steel industry of his region, he moved to Berlin in 1884 to begin his studies in the *School of Applied Arts of the Royal Museum*. Soon he became interested in photography and, perhaps already in Berlin, during his studies, he started to use photography as he would later do as a professor: as a working instrument.

About 1890, M. Meures, his teacher at the time, was asked to gather samples of different natural formations into a collection in order to use them for didactic purposes. Meures chose Blossfeldt among those who were to carry out the work in the Mediterranean countries because, apart from being a sketcher, he had the advantage of being a photographer. Between 1891 and 1897, he gathered samples of typical Mediterranean plants, which was the beginning of Blossfeldt's later photographic works: leaves, flowers and seeds, in enlargements much bigger than the natural size, all of it as part of a thorough typology of the substantial form of plants.

Blossfeldt did not consider his photographic work as something artistic nor did he consider himself as a photographer. Since drawings of Nature could be regarded as a source of basic inspiration at the time of finding ornaments, Blossfeldt had been creating a collection which, as means of helping his students, he had systematized on a file from 1899 on.

This, however, was a personal file, not a scientific one. The representations were ordered by shape, not botanically, the purpose of the file being the collecting of the widest range of variants, to include even the transformations produced by growth or during the fading process.

In 1922 his collection of plant photographs had acquired immense dimensions and was the starting point for the preparation of the work which made him known to the world, *Urformen der Kunst*, which came to light in 1928.¹⁵

A year later *Antlitz der Zeit* was published, the first (and only) edition of another photographic file that had started to take form after the First World War, a work by the German August Sander.

Born in 1876 in a town near Cologne, and in a family with deep rural roots, he furtively started to take pictures while working as an employee in the local mines. Established in Cologne since 1910, August Sander was a professional who earned his living by making portraits. But he also started to make portraits of people who, not having asked to be photographed, were nevertheless attractive to him as characteristic types whom he saw as "endangered species" about to become extinct. Later on, Sander directed his attention to other types who did not go to his studio: workers, beggars, employees, gypsies, students and many others. Gradually, the idea of an encyclopedia of the human types and



BERND & HILLA BECHER "Typologies". Rooftop Watertowers, 1988

Perhaps *Variable Pièce #70, (In Process) Global* was also a reaction to the triviality that the principles of Conceptual Art had been showing in the course of time,²² but it cannot be denied that this is a work of high symbolic power, in enunciation as well as in content, and that its subsequent development was one more consequence of the premises which structured Huebler's entire production.

The most paradigmatic case of an artist who has consciously undertaken the subject since the beginning of his work may be that of Christian Boltanski.

Boltanski builds his stories with material from the past, from memory. Childhood and remembrances are his working elements. To reconstruct his autobiography (a kind of fiction-biography that refers to everyone's biography), he makes continual use of "museographic" means, not just in the way the exhibition is presented, but rather because the museographic method itself is exhibited.

He himself admits the capital importance that visiting the *Museum of Man* in Paris had for himself and for the artists of his generation: "... there I saw large metallic showcases in which small, fragile, meaningless objects could be seen..."²³ Concerned about the idea of death and of surviving ourselves, he takes the concept of the museum as the model for the Temple of Memory, the place invented by society to preserve its collective memory.

The titles of the series which he has been creating throughout the years seem significant enough: *Inventories, Reservations, Reference, Archives*, etc. In 1973 he wrote (in an intentionally clumsy style) to sixty two curators of art, history and ethnology museums proposing to organize an exhibition of all the objects belonging to one of the inhabitants of their city. Only some of them accepted. Between April 1973 and December 1974, six *Inventories* were organized.²⁴

The inventories consisted of the gathering, without any selective intervention from the artist, of all the objects that had belonged to a person, chosen at random in the country or the city where the exhibition was to take place. Later they were displayed in cabinets, in inventory form, just as a series of unconnected items from vanished civilizations are shown in archeological or ethnological museums. These personal objects are like the only testimony that remains of the person's existence, his only trace, and yet, being universal objects within our culture, they reveal less data about such an anonymous person than about ourselves: "they form our own format."²⁵

Artists such as Judy Fiskin, Fred Wilson or Claude Gaçon, among many others, could be mentioned for having turned archive, museum and series of documents into the starting point for the construction of their work. Claude Gaçon²⁶ has been working on this for some time, applying it to a collection of more than 2,500 spheres and balls of many different materials and origins, (just an excuse to be ironic about his own concept of order),²⁷ which he himself makes (or finds already made), puts together, arranges, classifies and catalogues by shape or tactile and visual similarities, labelling each one with its own "museum" label as if they were precious treasures. Presently, he is applying computer science to his classification. History continues.

Photography, which started as an instrument at the service of the principal cataloguing institution, has recently, and totally autonomously, turned its eyes to its origin and, from the outside, has taken the very museum

as an object of dissection and analysis. It has wandered about its offices, contemplating its rooms, its storage areas and the dust accumulating on its exhibiting cabinets. It has been a curious turn of the observer/observed roulettes, a twist which looks like the completion of the circle: the interpreting machine is being interpreted.

Richard Ross's laconically entitled project *Museology*,²⁸ a work of art now lasting more than ten years, belongs to this type of photographic endeavor.

The artificiality of the museum atmosphere is what fascinates Ross, who has travelled around the world taking pictures of museums, specially of Natural History museums, corroborating that museums can maintain life only by denaturalizing it.

His working ways are significant: empty museums in which he moves as an attentive witness to the silence emerging from the empty spaces, which are not assaulted "by surprise", but in deliberately static and long poses on to which part of the aftertaste of being "outside time" which is breathed there remains attached.

His approach is critical rather than aesthetic. His love for museums leads him to criticize them, to expose their negative aspects, the extent to which they fossilize reality—places like mausoleums where everything becomes wizened, like the stuffed lion at the science museum or the many other objects or animals on which dust accumulates, dust which is an accusation rather than a sign of inherited character.

For Ross, the attempt of the museum to preserve life by exhibiting it stuffed is a falsification. The real dimension of Ross's work is his lucid glance which questions the role of the museum as a representing agent, as a "re-producer" of reality in an atmosphere where values and objects are outside time.

IV

The filing method is intimately linked to photography from its very moment of birth. As much for the amount of information that it transmits as for its apparent "naïveté", photography always behaved as a highly adequate instrument for such an aim.

Other internal characteristics only stress the idea. The fragmentation which takes place through photography necessarily turns reality, or its duplicate, in something classifiable. The enormous promiscuity of photography is to be superimposed to this: not only there is no end to its reproductivity,²⁹ but its subjects do not end either; anything can be, must be, is or will be taken in a photograph.³⁰

Photography, like museums, freezes things in time: it preserves, stores them. Objects, like people, can reach eternity through it. Somehow, it reinforces, as it expands it, the idea of conservation, of museum. Little by little, photography has become the modern temple of memory.

Intrinsically linked to the fragmentation mentioned above, and almost as a consequence of it, is the subsequent reorganization of those fragments, which irrevocably leads toward the archive, an archive in which reality is reinterpreted and through which we get a glimpse of the world in which we live. Thus, we can affirm with Allan Sekula that photography is as essential to the filing method as filing is to the photographic discourse.³¹

(See footnotes on pages 13 and 14.)

con su propia ficha "museística" como si del más preciado tesoro se tratase. Actualmente está aplicando la informática a su clasificación. La Historia continúa.

La fotografía, que comenzó siendo un instrumento al servicio de la institución catalogadora por excelencia, en los últimos tiempos, ya completamente autónoma, ha vuelto los ojos hacia el punto de partida y, desde fuera, ha tomado al propio museo como objeto de disección, de análisis. Ha contemplado sus salas, sus almacenes, el polvo que se acumula en sus vitrinas, se ha paseado por los despachos. Ha sido un curioso giro de ruleta observador/observado, lo que es como cerrar un círculo: La máquina de interpretar interpretada.

El proyecto artístico de Richard Ross titulado lacónicamente *Museología*,²⁸ una obra que dura ya más de diez años, pertenece a este tipo.

La artificialidad del museo es lo que ha fascinado a Ross, que ha viajado alrededor del mundo fotografiando museos, especialmente de Historia Natural. En ellos constata que el museo puede mantener la vida únicamente desnaturalizándola.

Su modo de trabajar es significativo: museos vacíos de público en los que él penetra como un testigo atento de ese silencio que traspasan los espacios, los cuales no son asaltados "por sorpresa", sino en poses deliberadamente estáticas y largas en las que se va pegando un poco de ese regusto a "estar fuera del tiempo" que allí se respira.

Su planteamiento no es estético sino crítico. Su amor por los museos le lleva a no ocultar su parte negativa, su parte fosilizadora de la realidad, lugares como mausoleos en los que todo lo que entra comienza a acartonarse, como el león disecado del museo de ciencias, o tantos otros objetos o animales sobre los que se acumula el polvo, un polvo que más que solea es acusación.

Para Ross cada intento de preservar la vida que hace el museo, presentándonosla disecada, es como una especie de falsificación. La real dimensión de la obra de Ross es su mirada lúcida que cuestiona el papel del museo como agente de representación, de reproductor de la realidad en un ambiente en el que valores y objetos están fuera del tiempo.

IV

El procedimiento de archivo está íntimamente ligado a la fotografía desde el mismo momento de la aparición de ésta. Tanto por la cantidad de información que transmite como por su aparente "ingenuidad", la fotografía se comportó siempre como un instrumento sumamente idóneo para tal fin.

Otras características internas no hacen sino redundar en la idea. La fragmentación que se efectúa a través de ella convierte necesariamente la realidad, o su duplicado, en algo clasificable. A ello hay que superponer la enorme promiscuidad de la fotografía: no sólo no tiene fin su reproductibilidad,²⁹ sino que tampoco tienen fin sus sujetos, cualquier cosa puede, debe, es o será fotografiada.³⁰

La fotografía, como el museo, fija en el tiempo, conserva, almacena. Los objetos, como las personas, pueden alcanzar la eternidad a través de ella. En cierto modo refuerza a la vez que amplía la idea de conservación, la idea de museo. La fotografía, poco a poco,

se ha ido convirtiendo en el moderno templo de la memoria.

Intrinsecamente ligada a la fragmentación antes mencionada, y casi como consecuencia de ella, aparece la reordenación consiguiente de esos fragmentos, lo que conduce irrevocablemente hacia el archivo. Un archivo en el que se reinterpreta la realidad y a través del cual nos hacemos una idea del mundo en que vivimos. Por ello podemos afirmar con Allan Sekula que tan esencial es la fotografía en el procedimiento archivístico como el modelo del archivo en el discurso fotográfico.³¹

1. Necesidad que comienza a sentirse tan sólo en el siglo XIX (en España a partir de la constatación de la destrucción y disgregación que supuso la desamortización).

2. Los primeros versículos del Génesis son una bonita alegoría de esto: "En el principio creó Dios los cielos y la tierra. La tierra era algo *caótico* y vacío... Dijo Dios: *Haya luz*, y hubo luz. Vio Dios que la luz estaba bien, y *separó* Dios la luz de las tinieblas". (GÉNESIS, I, 1-4.).

3. Glyn Daniel, *El concepto de Prehistoria*, Barcelona, 1968, pp. 66 ss.

4. Paralela es la aparición de "tipos" en la fotografía: Tipos humanos según su oficio, por ejemplo los ilustrados en J. Szarkowski, *Photography Until Now*, New York, 1989, pp. 84-85, donde se reproducen fotografías de trabajadores, (1862-67), de autor desconocido.

5. B. Newhall, *Historia de la Fotografía. Desde sus orígenes hasta nuestros días*. Barcelona, 1983, p. 27.

6. Szarkowski, op. cit., p. 57.

7. En 1899 el *British Journal of Photography* pedía a la formación de un gran archivo de fotografía "que contenga un registro lo más completo posible... del presente estado del mundo". (B. Newhall, *The History of Photography*, MOMA, New York, 1964, p. 137).

8. Los museos también fueron pioneros en su aplicación: Quizás por su singularidad la historia ha guardado el dato de que el famoso Roger Fenton fue el fotógrafo oficial del *British Museum* entre 1854 y 1859: J. Hannavy, *Roger Fenton and the British Museum*, en la revista *History of Photography*, vol. 12,3, 1988, pp. 193-204.

9. Allan Sekula, *The Body and the Archive*, en R. Bolton, (ed.) *The Contest of Meaning. Critical Histories of Photography*, MIT, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 343-389; Ch. Phéline, *L'Image Accusatrice, Les Cahiers de la Photographie*, 17, París, 1985.

10. Alphonse Bertillon, *The Bertillon System of Identification*, *Forum* 11, 3 (mayo 1891), p. 331. (citado por Sekula, op. cit., p. 358).

11. "The physiognomical difference between different men being so numerous and small, it is impossible to measure and compare them each to each, and to discover by ordinary statistical methods the true physiognomy of a race.": Francis Galton, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development*, Londres, 1883, pp. 5-6 (citado por Sekula, op. cit., p. 367).

12. J. Szarkowski, op. cit., p. 141.

13. F. Reynaud, *Atget y el París de su época*, en *Eugène Atget. El París de 1900*, catálogo de exposición, 1991, pp. 17-26.

14. Según relato de André Calmetes, citado por B. Newhall, *Historia de la Fotografía. Desde sus orígenes hasta nuestros días*, Barcelona, 1983, p. 195.

15. Hemos utilizado una edición reciente: Blossfeldt, K., *Urformen der Kunst*, Dortmund, 1988, con un epílogo-estudio de Ann y Jürgen Wilde.

16. A. Sander, *Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts*, publicado por Gunther Sander con texto de Ulrich Keller, Munich, 1980.

17. La llamada escuela de Düsseldorf, de la que ellos son un eslabón de trascendencia para sus discípulos. Ch. Bouqueret, *Surgençe: La création photographique contemporaine en Allemagne*, Poitiers, 1991.

18. Sabine B. Vogel, *Douglas Huebler. Eine Strategie für einfache Phänomene*, Artis, noviembre 1991, p. 12.

19. *L'Art Conceptuel, une Perspective*, Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, 1989, p. 176.

20. Ibid. p. 175.

21. Vogel, op. cit., p. 13.

22. C. Gardner, *The World According to Douglas Huebler*, Artforum, noviembre 1988, p. 101.

23. "Dans un coin de la vitrine prenait souvent place une photographie jaunie représentant un "sauvage" en train de manier ces petits objets. Chaque vitrine présentait un monde disparu: le sauvage de la

photographie était sans doute mort, les objets étaient devenues inutiles et, de toute façon, plus personne ne savait s'en servir. Le Musée de l'Homme m'apparaissait comme une grande morgue." D. Renard, *Entretien avec Christian Boltanski*, en *Boltanski, Centro Georges Pompidou*, 1984, p. 71.

24. Sylvie Couderc, *Christian Boltanski. Commentaire des œuvres*, en *Collection, Capc Musée d'Art Contemporaine*, Burdeos, 1990, pp. 37 ss.

25. Ibid., p. 38.

26. *Gaçon schafft Ordnung*, Catálogo de *Shedhalle*, Zürich, 1989.

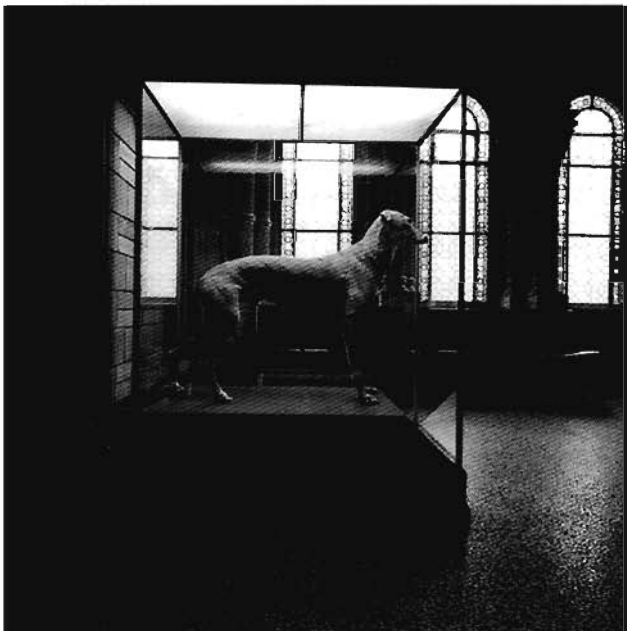
27. "Glaube ich denn wirklich an die Möglichkeit von Ordnung, um Übersicht zu erhalten? Ich weiss ja nicht einmal genau was Ordnung bedeutet. Eine Sauordnung ist ja auch eine Ordnung." C. Gaçon, *Gaçon schafft Ordnung*, en *Jahresbericht Verein Shedhalle*, 1989-90, p. 23.

28. R. Ross, *Museology*, *Aperture*, 1989.

29. Parafraseando a Walter Benjamin.

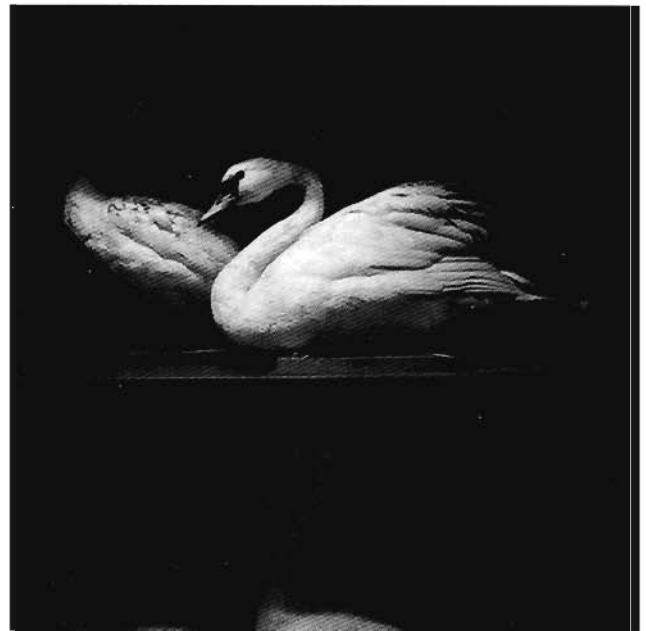
30. Daniel Soutif, *Pictures and an exhibition*, *Artforum*, marzo 1991, p. 83.

31. Allan Sekula, *Reading an Archive*, en Brian Wallis (ed.), *Blasted Allegories*, *The New Museum*, New York, 1987, p. 115.



RICHARD ROSS

*British Museum of Natural History,
London, England, 1985*



RICHARD ROSS

*Booth's Bird Museum, Brighton,
England, 1985*