

Susan Sidlauskas

When Two or More Are Gathered Together

Portraying the Many

Thirty children, from about nine to eleven years old, are posing for a group photograph (ca. 1930, fig. XX). Arranged in three rows of ten, the subjects are tucked into a wedge of space framed by a stone staircase and a flanking wall. Each child looks directly at the camera with a sharpness that suggests they have been ordered to do so. There are more boys than girls (nineteen to eleven), but the gender asymmetry is not what first catches the eye. What does is the enforced regularity of the subjects' configuration—not simply the even distribution of figures, which was presumably orchestrated through the will of an unseen but presiding authority; but the fact that the requisite sense of order has been internalized in the subjects' individual bodies: the children's backs are stiff, their torsos visibly straining to remain erect; their hands have been placed carefully, if awkwardly, by their sides or in their laps; and their heads face front as if there is a brace holding them there. Even their haircuts are redolent of geometry aggressively applied, with bangs sheared efficiently but unkindly, and parts drawn across hair with militaristic precision.

Such a predictable order—enacted with an almost ruthless force—is precisely what inspires most viewers to turn away from images like this one; a group photograph can wear its institutional pedigree too heavily. But if we ease our assumption that every group portrait inevitably suppresses individual agency, we might see that certain features begin to surface as we look—subtle but potentially revelatory disruptions in the social order.

fig. 00 Unknown Photographer
Silhouettes of members of the Ireland family,
ca. 1860s
Albumen prints on cartes de visite

There are some striking variations in costume, for example. Two boys are dressed in dark sailor suits trimmed with white. In the

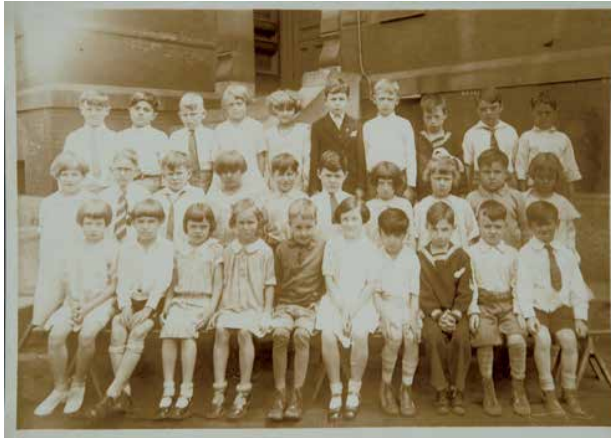


fig. 00 Unidentified Artist
Group Portrait, South Boston, ca. 1930
Sepia-toned gelatin silver print

case of one of these young gentlemen seated in the front row, his quasi-naval ensemble seems to demand an accompanying bodily tautness: his arms are pressed to his torso, his hands are clasped so tightly that we see only his fingers; his ankles are jammed together, and a severe part divides his hair into two separate wedges. His head tilts down, and he gazes up warily, as if fearful about meeting the eye of the camera, even though he will unquestionably follow orders.

Seven boys wear neckties with their white shirts, at various points on the spectrum between neatness and dishevelment. One boy seated in front on the far right, his face screwed into an irritated scowl, waits for the ordeal of posing to be over so he can spring from the bench. His shirt has come loose from his waistband, his tie is askew, and his rather too-short shorts are rumpled. Yet another boy at the center of the top row provides a sharp counterpoint: he wears not only a shirt and tie, but a dark suit jacket, with a folded handkerchief tucked into its breast pocket. Most of the girls wear pale, short-sleeved dresses patterned with small flowers, fastened with a row of buttons and embellished with lace-trimmed

collars. Their stockings are rolled down to their ankles; their feet shod in gleaming patent leather. (Most boys wear dusty lace-up boots.) Floppy hair bows adorn the shining straight hair of two of the girls.

Next to the young man in the suit jacket and tie stands a girl whose hair, dress, and posture appear different from her companions'. She has crimped her hair, and the artificiality of the curls is unmistakable, given the straight bangs that nearly obscure her eyes. Her shoulders are pitched at a slight but noticeable tilt, as if she is emulating a pose that she considers suitable for display. Her lace-edged collar spreads out to her shoulders, and the beads of the necklace she wears are large enough to register from a distance. She appears to study the photographer as if she were the only object of his gaze. It seems worth wondering whether the photographer deliberately placed her next to the young man in near-formal dress. Coupled by their respective sophistication and pried away from their peers, they could be a diminutive bride and groom atop a wedding cake.

The girl is my mother, Jean Pechulis Sidlauskas, posing with her class at a public school in South Boston in the early 1930s. Certainly her figure would stand out for her daughter. But the point I want to make here is that she clearly worked hard to stand out among her peers—just enough to signal her imagined, or intended, difference from the others, but not so conspicuously that her appearance would elicit the kind of notice that turns into ridicule. (How my mother prepared herself for this photograph remains a mystery to me. My grandmother, who had left the family farm in Lithuania as an adolescent, deeply disapproved of any kind of preening.)

I am using my mother's subtle but distinct resistance to the social order to launch a brief exploration of the acts of resistance that can be found in every representation produced "when two or more are gathered together," to quote the title of Neal Slavin's photographic book of 1976.¹ Every collective can be quite easily fractured by signs of its undoing. In fact, its vision of uniformity—no matter how persuasive—is always an illusion. As Louis Kaplan has argued, "Community is always in the end a liminal or even impossible project."² Within portraiture—a genre of representation that many believe to be the most conservative of all—the group portrait is regarded as the most static and least revealing. But an aggregate



fig. 00 Louis Leopold Boilly
Réunion de 35 têtes diverses (*Group of Thirty-Five Heads*), ca. 1825
Lithograph

of human beings is never entirely stable, in life or art, no matter what strictures have been employed to ensure the effect of stasis. In part, our own projections onto the figures we see animate the representations we study. But beyond that, there are always fractures in the whole: subtle but potent rhythms where we anticipate stillness, abrupt stops where we expect continuity. If we look slowly enough, we can discern unexpected alliances and oppositions, traces of anxiety, isolation, pride, and competition—all subtly enacted through a not-always-conscious orchestration of poses, gazes, costumes, expressions, and gestures.

Between 1912 and the mid-twentieth century, the German photographer August Sander worked on his great opus, *Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts* (*People of the Twentieth Century*).³ Sander intended it to be an inventory of his society, with his subjects identified by representative titles such as “The Farmer,” “The Skilled Tradesman,” “The Woman,” “Classes and Professions,” “The Artists,” “The City,” “The Last People.” Andy Jones has argued that Sander’s monumental work was neither nostalgic conservatism nor a paean to social engineering, but an attempt to show that varieties of knowledge were embedded as physical traces in the bodies of his subjects.⁴ One of his principle aims was to produce authentic representations that made that knowledge manifest.

Consider his *Farming Family* of 1912 (fig. xxx). Seven subjects spanning two, or possibly even three, generations pose in their requisite “natural” setting, dressed in their provincial best. The sartorial exception is the more casually attired gentleman on the right, who strums a guitar, with a hunting dog collapsed at his feet. It is as if he, his guitar, his porkpie hat and his dog, have all wandered into the wrong picture. The woman behind him with the upswept hair, corseted in a dress of black embossed fabric, could be his wife or sister; the seated woman, whose more generously-tailored dress has been sewn from the very same cloth, smiles faintly, as if pleased to be posing, unlike the grizzled man seated beside her—likely her husband. Their young daughter, in a cloud of a white dress, has sandwiched herself safely between them, while her older sister wears a short dress that anticipates the long black garment she will don in a few years. Her father sits with his inert-looking hands placed carefully on his thighs; he is



fig. 00 August Sander
Circus Artists, 1926–32 (printed 1991)
Gelatin silver print

unaccustomed to their being quite so unoccupied. The man behind him displays his gleaming watch fob, pulling back his jacket to do so. The accessory is rendered all the more striking by its contrast to the man’s large, almost misshapen hand. No suit or gold watch could erase the physical evidence of manual labor. Within this relatively formal presentation, each figure arrogates his or her space. While overlappings and linkages are present, they are understated: hands on chair backs and shoulders nudging arms. Contact is largely indirect, and it does not seem far-fetched to imagine threads of personal discomfort, class anxiety, and sisterly rivalry running through the composition. There is no unambiguous authority—or authorities—around whom everyone gathers. Children seem both marginal and central; the seated couple is linked by the child who divides them, and the guitar-player may be present to undermine the bourgeois aspirations of his family.

Sander’s *Circus Artists* (fig. xxx) are seasoned veterans of the transient life. Sitting amidst a structure rigged from stepladders and folding wooden chairs, the performers take a collective break; some share food and drink, others may be listening to the Victrola perched on a step near a young black woman, who



fig. 00 August Sander
Farming Family, 1912
Gelatin silver print



fig. 00 Ram Rahman
Folk Singer, Delhi, 1987
Digital print on Harman FB A1 Archival Paper



fig. 00 Ram Rahman
Capital Studios, Connaught Place, Delhi, 1986
Digital print on Harman FB A1 Archival Paper

consisted of tens of thousands of living, breathing human beings. In 1917, just as America was entering the war, Mole and his partner, John Thomas, assembled twenty-one thousand people—most of them soldiers— at Camp Sherman in Ohio to form what Mole called a “living photograph” of a bust-length profile portrait of President Woodrow Wilson (fig. XX). The final product, an “autographed” picture, circulated widely and was sold to support the war effort.⁶ Mole designed the motif and Thomas laid out the plan by following the photographer’s orders, which were shouted through a megaphone from a high tower (between seventy and eighty feet high) built with two-by-fours and lashed to the ground with cables.⁷ Mole was inspired by aerial photography, but because he was not elevated enough to ensure that President Wilson was parallel to the picture plane, he compensated for the visual distortions. Jeffrey Schnapp explains that “a mere hundred soldiers were required for the president’s shoulder region, in contrast with the several thousand who made up the top of his head.”⁸

This version of what Siegfried Kracauer would have called “mass ornament”⁹ took a week to plan and a full day to execute, while those thousands of participants stood erect and immobile for hours. The resulting profile produces an altogether contradictory effect. While we might be delighted and amazed at the ingenuity and perseverance of those who designed and actually brought Wilson’s “living photograph” into being, it is also disturbing to consider the implications of so many thousands of people standing so obediently for such a long time.¹⁰ Louis Kaplan has pointed out that “seeing the head of state” demands that we suppress our ability to perceive the living forms of which it was made.¹¹ I would argue that we are actually never entirely free of the vision of either the overall image or its constituent parts. While it may seem odd to speak of the “details” of this image—given its enormous scale and constitution—aspects of the profile have clearly been designed to conjure the nuances of Wilson’s likeness: the frown lines, the glasses, the particular slant of the nose, the formality of the collar. This panorama looks like Wilson. But as we study his profile with only modest magnification, we cannot help seeing that the figures who compose it are looking back at us. This is a phenomenon that can be found in many representations and in many natural



fig. 00 Edward Steichen
Navy Fledglings, 1943
Gelatin silver print

forms—many of them not even faces, as James Elkins has pointed out. But when those objects *are* faces, the encounter is significantly more challenging.¹²

Initially, Edward Steichen’s photograph of *Navy Fledglings* of 1943 (fig. XX) seems to offer the antithesis of the rigidly erect men who formed Wilson’s profile: a completely *uncomposed* sea of humanity—mobile figures packed densely enough to prompt associations to Gustave Le Bon’s classic study of 1895, *The Crowd*. Describing the man in the crowd, the author wrote that “[he] descends several rungs in the ladder of civilization. Isolated, he may be a cultivated individual; in a crowd, he is a barbarian—that is, a creature acting by instinct.”¹³

As we look more carefully, we see that the men—all in the unadorned uniform of the newly enlisted—are smiling broadly, milling around excitedly. This “mass portrait” was one of about fourteen thousand pictures taken by the

distinguished photographer Edward Steichen and the young men he hired for the Navy's Aviation Photography Unit.¹⁴ A decorated veteran of World War I, Steichen volunteered to return to active duty for World War II, but at the age of sixty-two, he was turned away. Hearing about Steichen's disappointment, and well aware of his professional renown, a general realized that the photographer possessed precisely the visual skills needed by the armed forces to recruit young soldiers for the war effort.¹⁵ Steichen counseled his team of about a dozen young photographers to "be sure to bring back some photographs that will satisfy the Navy brass."¹⁶ Many of his own images were taken aboard the USS Yorktown, an aircraft carrier that would become famous as the star of an award-winning documentary film called *The Fighting Lady*, for which Steichen directed the photography.¹⁷ The young men gathered in the photograph may be assembled for a briefing aboard the aircraft carrier. When Captain Steichen retired from the Navy at age sixty-seven in 1945, *Collier's* magazine paid him a tribute on its cover by superimposing a half-length photograph of the captain directly on top of this very image—the *paterfamilias* surrounded by his young supporters.¹⁸ Ten years later, Steichen, as the director of the Department of Photography at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, would organize the renowned exhibition *The Family of Man*. Steichen chose 503 photographs from the nearly two million that were submitted by both professionals and amateurs, which, in his view, demonstrated the continuities of the human experience across cultures. The exhibition, which also produced a book, toured the world for eight years.¹⁹

We see a different sort of tribute to the working man in a monumental photographic piece made in the waning days of the Soviet Union by the conceptual artist Vladimir Kupriyanov (1990, fig. XX). By the 1980s, heroicized images of the workers were routinely used as propaganda for the greatness of the Soviet Union. Kupriyanov himself contributed to this body of images, producing high-contrast photographs of solitary, muscular men in command of enormous, intimidating machines. *Cast Me Not Away from Your Presence* is very different. It is composed of seven panels, onto which nine larger-than-life, half-length images of nine "ordinary" factory workers have been imprinted. The subjects face the



fig. 00 Vladimir Kupriyanov
Cast Me Not Away from Your Presence, 1990
 14 gelatin silver prints

viewer directly, as if they could walk out of the space they occupy at any moment. But the division of the panels, which are placed about an inch apart, and the title—a phrase from Psalm 51:11—concentrate attention on the surface of the images and their rough-hewn quality. Kupriyanov has structured the panels so that the piece as a whole appears to have opened in stages, like an altarpiece.²⁰ The panorama of distinct segments composes a fractured whole. Part of each figure is repeated in the panels alongside it. This creates a sense of double, even, in some panels, triple vision. The subjects' frontality arrests the viewer's attention with great force; the fragmentation and repetition of their forms cause them to multiply. Kupriyanov thereby renders his subjects *both* singular and indivisible.

Igor Makarevich, another artist working in the twilight of the Soviet Union, also employs a tension between multiples and singularity in his piece *25 Memories of a Friend* (1978, fig. XX). The "friend" is actually Makarevich himself. He has cast his own face twenty-five times and inserted each copy into an evenly divided, gridded box of white.²¹ The faces are painted different colors, an action that short-circuits the effect of the repetition. We wonder whether each face might in fact be subtly different from every other. While these forms inevitably evoke death masks, the artist has preserved in them something of his own (identical) irritated expression, unsettling the repose we associate with a likeness of the deceased. The effect of this work is unexpected: there is at once a multitude and an absence.

There may be many likenesses, but they all represent the same person. The grid positions each of the faces adjacent to one another, in what would seem to be a "group," but each face remains isolated in its own box. Both Makarevich and Kupriyanov work aggressively to engage the viewer. But it remains unclear how exactly we might participate. There is no obvious way to engage the Makarevich; his twenty-five pairs of eyes are closed to what's around him. Kupriyanov triggers an empathy for his workers, but the segmentation and the text below impose a melancholy distance. And perhaps that is precisely the point.



fig. 00 Igor Makarevich
25 Memories of a Friend, 1978
 Plaster casts in wood frame



fig. 00 August Sander
Gymnastics Club, 1926–30 (printed 1990)
 Gelatin silver print

Rineke Dijkstra's large-format images also depend on intensifying the effect of engagement between the viewer and her subjects. A great admirer of August Sander's work, Dijkstra's photographic and video production have been dedicated largely to the young: children, adolescents, and young adults—those who are not yet "formed."²² Dijkstra established her reputation with a series of large-format photographs of adolescents posing on the beach. She traveled to Long Island and Hilton Head in the United States, to Castricum in her home country of the Netherlands, and further afield to Poland and Odessa. Whether she poses her subjects singly or in a group, Dijkstra manages to capture their self-consciousness in images that allow them to appear simultaneously awkward and graceful.

Two group portraits, one taken at Castricum, a beach on the North Sea, the other at Kolobrzeg in Poland, offer meditations on the gendering of adolescence. In the Kolobrzeg image, seven boys who appear to range from ten to fourteen are aligned along the shore with a perceptible, if narrow, space between each one. There is one exception to the fairly even distribution of figures along the sand: a boy in his white underwear who seems to have stepped out of the line, moving toward the camera, as if anxious to seize his moment. In the process, he



fig. 00 Boris Mikhailov
 Untitled from the Sots series, 1978
 Gelatin silver print hand-colored with aniline dyes



fig. 00 Rineke Dijkstra
 Castricum aan Zee, The Netherlands, June 1992, 1992/printed 2005
 Chromogenic print

has partially blocked the body of the boy next to him, who is trying to wedge his body into what is now a too-narrow space. The obscured boy's head tilts enough to the left to be uncomfortable. It is as if he is willing his body to move in order to be seen. With one exception (the boy in white, who smiles), the boys' facial expressions range from impassive to stern, although each possesses a gravitas imposed by this unusual attention. The boys' postures—particularly the placement of their arms and hands—suggest the men they may become. We see intimations of those who may someday be characterized as casual, careful, alert, graceful, or determined.

Nine girls stand, or more precisely, stand *together*, on a beach at Castricum on the North Sea (1992, fig. XX). Perhaps it is because there are nine figures here, rather than seven, but the girls have clustered into subgroups, as if to make their gathering feel more intimate, their exposure less stark. There is much more physical contact than the boys allowed; some girls lean an elbow or place a hand on the shoulder

of one of their companions. Another girl hugs herself to stave off the cold; two girls who may be sisters press their bodies together on the right. Without compromising much of the visibility of their full-length bodies, they have constructed their own social order, allowing for both intimacy and isolation. Dykstra is adept at constructing an environment safe enough for adolescents to be themselves, while allowing the viewer to sense, and to see, the inherent contradictions of their age.

Rather than represent a subculture she is intrigued by, Nikki S. Lee plunges right into its midst. In a series of successive "projects" Lee has assumed the identity of a drag queen (1997, fig. XX), a skateboarder (2000, fig. XX), an Hispanic teenager (1998, fig. XX), and a fan of hip-hop (2001, fig. XX) (Lee herself calls the assumption of alien identities "rites of passing)."²³ She fits in and stands out simultaneously, adopting the rituals, habits, dress, and mannerisms of the group she enters with such success that no one "outside" would guess that she is not one of them. However, she fully orchestrates the nuances of her own performance, as well as how it is documented. A small woman of Korean descent, Lee's figure, face, gestures, and mannerisms are remarkably malleable. Without any evident strain, she is transformed into a completely convincing Dominican teenager wearing lavish hair extensions, hoop earrings, and a conspicuous tattoo; a Korean schoolgirl enjoying her noodles with other earnest classmates; a young woman with tattered jeans, multicolored hair, and dirty sneakers who is a member of a skateboard club. These acts of "performing community," as Louis Kaplan describes them, are achieved without deception.²⁴ Members of the group are always aware of the "actor" in their midst, but Lee is so adept at mimicry that her difference is nearly forgotten. The photograph of Lee as a member of the skateboard contingent shows the underside of these communities. She is the only woman in the group, which underscores the fact that while skateboarders may congregate under the same highway extension or inside the same concrete park, they perform alone. Lee has written that she "performs community" in part because she is convinced that each person's identity depends on others—a notion of interdependence she associates with an Asian, rather than American, sensibility. Lee herself has articulated her notion of subjecthood in this way: "The subject of my work is my identity and



clockwise from upper left: fig. 00, 00, 00, 00 Nikki S. Lee
The Drag Queen Project #5, 1997; *The Skateboarders Project #31*, 2000;
The Hispanic Project #25, 1998; *The Hip Hop Project #1*, 2001
Fujiflex prints

the performances in which I create the characters that compose my identity. . . . My identity doesn't change but the characters of which it is composed change according to the situations."²⁵

In a form of what he calls "extreme authorship," the photographer Gary Schneider took a group of small, nineteenth-century glass negatives he discovered at a New York City flea market and developed and printed them himself them at a scale that delivers history to the present with an eerie intensity.²⁶ Schneider has always been drawn to scientific images, whether they are nineteenth-century photographs of plants, representations of a human chromosome, or the



magnification of his own bodily fluids. His piece *Cartes de Visite* (1870/1990, fig. XX) consists of nine monumental photographs made from those diminutive archaic glass negatives he discovered. In installation, the nine photographs are placed in a row at about eye level, a few inches apart. As such, they constitute not exactly a group, but rather an accretion. Their collective effect intensifies as we move closer to study them, whether we begin from the left edge or the right. That is not to say that there is a narrative embedded here. Schneider has arranged these images to defy any narrative "explanation." One surprising effect of the collective is that it is nearly impossible to concentrate upon one image at a time, unless we screen out its neighbors. The glass negative—and Schneider's exceptionally skillful printing—produces a clarity that seems not simply "real" but hallucinatory. Somehow, the figures pictured (eight women and one young girl) become both preternaturally accessible and completely removed. The doubled effect is

reminiscent of Hiroshi Sugimoto's photographs of wax mannequins of historical figures, which oscillate between a kind of hyper-resemblance and exaggerated inertness (see fig. XX). In fact, some of the women, in extreme close-up, possess skin that has taken on a strange, almost waxy sheen.

Even aligned one after another, each photograph, each figure, remains alone—although their dresses, affect, gaze, and grooming are very similar.²⁷ These subjects were likely photographed at the same professional studio, around the same time. Yet visually each one refuses to defer to the image on either side. Remember that negatives this small would originally have produced photographs

that could be held in the hand—the kind of image that circulated only among family members. These women, and the one child included with them, are now accessible, indeed exposed, in a way that no one could have envisioned when they were first photographed over a century ago. Schneider rescued these anonymous, intimate portraits from oblivion and transformed them into actors in a spectacle about how the present is shaped by the past. This spectacle of nine images that remain insistently singular, even as they are aligned in a "group" that seems without end, reminds us that the need to calibrate, and represent, the ever-shifting relationship between the "one" and the "many" promises to generate new forms of portraiture—only some of which we can imagine.

fig. 00 Gary Schneider
Cartes de Visite, 1870/1990
Nine toned gelatin silver prints

NOTES

The title is taken from Neil Slavin's photographic book *When Two or More Are Gathered Together* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1976). For a recent, thoughtful study on the group portrait, see Bridget Alsdorf, *Fellow Men: Fantin-Latour and the Problem of the Group in Nineteenth-Century French Painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013). Also see Leslie Tonkonow and Alan Trachtenberg, eds., *Multiple Exposure: The Group Portrait in Photography*, exh. cat. (New York: Independent Curators Incorporated, 1995).

1. Slavin's work is discussed in Louis Kaplan, *American Exposures: Photography and Community in the Twentieth Century* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), xvii–xx.
2. Kaplan, in *American Exposures*, is drawing upon Jean-Luc Nancy, *Being Singular Plural*, trans. Robert D. Richardson and Anne A. O'Byrne (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), especially 61–62.
3. On Sander see especially Andy Jones, "Reading August Sander's Archive," *Oxford Art Journal* 23, no. 1 (2000): 1–22. Jones offers an extensive bibliography on Sander. See also August Sander, *Face of Our Time* (Munich: Schirmer/Mosel Verlag, 1994); *August Sander: Seeing, Observing, Thinking: Photographs*, with text by August Sander and Gabrielle Conrath-Scholl (Munich: Verlag, 2009); August Sander; "In der Photographie gibt es keine ungeklärten Schatten!" *Eine Ausstellung des August Sander*, Archives/Stiftung City-Treff, Cologne. Text by Gerd Sander (Berlin: Ars Nicolai, 1994). My thanks to Rajka Knipper of the August Sander Archive in Cologne for clarification about the conceptual organization of the project.
4. Jones, "Reading August Sander's Archive," 6–8.
5. See Kaplan, *American Exposures*, 1–26, and Jeffrey T. Schnapp, "Mob Porn," in Jeffrey T. Schnapp and Matthew Tiewes, eds., *Crowds* (Stanford: Stanford University Press: 2006), 1–46.
6. Kaplan, *American Exposures*, 13–17.
7. Schnapp, "Mob Porn," 9–11.
8. *Ibid.*, 9.
9. Siegfried Kracauer, "The Mass Ornament," trans. Don Reneau, in *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, and Edward Dimendberg, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 406.
10. Schnapp has compared Mole's and Thomas's work to Fascist mass panoramas. "Mob Porn," 9–19.
11. Kaplan, *American Exposures*, 19.
12. James Elkins, *The Object Stares Back: On the Nature of Seeing* (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1996).
13. Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd*, intro. by Robert K. Merton (New York: Penguin Books, 1960), 32.
14. See Mark D. Faram, *Faces of War: The Untold Story of Edward Steichen's WWII Photographers* (New York: Berkeley Publishing Group, Penguin Books, 2009).
15. See *Steichen the Photographer*, with texts by Carl Sandburg and Grace M. Mayer (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961).
16. Quoted in Frederick R. Neely, "Wing Talk," *Collier's*, March 31, 1945.
17. *The Fighting Lady*, released in 1944, was directed by Steichen, with the help of William Wyler,

and won an Academy Award for Best Documentary Feature. See "The Fighting Lady," *Internet Archive Cinemocracy*, <http://archive.org/details/FightingLady>.

18. *Collier's*, front cover, March 31, 1945.
19. See Eric J. Sandeen, *Picturing an Exhibition: The Family of Man and 1950's America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).
20. My thanks to Corina Apostol Dodge Fellow at the Zimmerli and PhD candidate in the Department of Art History for sharing her research on Kupriyanov.
21. Makarevich's work is also known as *Stratographic Structures*. See Adrian Barr, "Archaeologies of the Avant-Garde: Moscow Conceptualism and the Legacies of Soviet Modernism," PhD dissertation, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 2011.
22. See Sandra S. Phillips and Jennifer Blessing, *Rineke Dykstra: A Retrospective*, exh. cat. (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum; San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 2012).
23. Kaplan, *American Exposures*, 173.
24. For Kaplan, Lee's projects follow "the Baudrillardian logic of the precession of simulacra." *Ibid.*, 174.
25. *Ibid.*, 180.
26. Deborah Martin Kao, *Gary Schneider Portraits*, exh. cat. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).
27. *Ibid.*, quoting Schneider, 109.