

I SHALL ALWAYS LOOK INTO THE DARKNESS

A BRIEF SURVEY OF SOCIO ANTHROPOLOGICAL PHOTOGRAPHY

NIC COSTA

I grew up feeling immune and exempt from circumstance.
One of the things I suffered from was that I never felt adversity.
I was confirmed in a sense of unreality.
Dianne Arbus

In New York 1912 a family of immigrant tailors decided to change their surname from Radnitzky to Ray in order to distract hostile attention from their Semitic roots. One of the children also decided to abbreviate his first name, and then became known as Man Ray.

In 1971 the 48 year old successful daughter of a wealthy family based in New York ingested a large quantity of barbiturates and then slashed her wrists, she died shortly afterwards. Her name was Dianne Arbus.

During the Second World War in Czechoslovakia a young Jewish boy was held prisoner in a concentration camp near the Polish border. Many of his family members were to die at the Theresienstadt concentration camp. His name is Jan Saudek.

In the 1830s a new optical device was invented - the camera. With its use we have discovered a new form of ritual which has allowed some to pretend to be looking at the world as if they were dispassionate observers.

Initially the technical process associated with photography was quite a complicated one and attracted only the most hardened aficionados, but since that time, particularly in the last 20 years or so, the technology has developed to such an extent that even a totally blind person can now document the things they can never see, all they need is the ability to point at random and press the button enough times. With enough pointing and pressing they will always be certain of having captured some 'deep and meaningful truth'. The camera's use as a 'scientific tool' came quite early on and by the early

Στη Νέα Υόρκη το 1912 μια οικογένεια μεταναστών ραφτών αποφάσισε να αλλάξει το επίθετο της από Ραδνιτζκυ σε Ρέυ έτσι ώστε να αποσιπάσει την εχθρική προσοχή από τις Σημιτικές ρίζες της. Ένα από τα παιδιά αποφάσισε, επίσης, να συντομεύσει το μικρό του όνομα και έγινε μετέπειτα γνωστός ως Μαν Ρέυ.

Το 1971 η 48χρονη επιτυχημένη θυγατέρα μιας εύπορης οικογένειας με βάση τη Νέα Υόρκη κατάπιε μια μεγάλη ποσότητα βαρβιτουρικών και μετά έκοψε τις φλέβες της και πέθανε λίγο αργότερα. Το όνομα της ήταν Νταϊάν Άρμπους.

Κατά τη διάρκεια του 2ου Παγκοσμίου Πολέμου, στη Τσεχοσλοβακία ένας νεαρός Εβραίος ήταν αιχμάλωτος σε ένα στρατόπεδο συγκεντρώσεως κοντά στα Πολωνικά σύνορα. Πολλά από τα μέλη της οικογένειας του θα πέθαιναν στο στρατόπεδο συγκεντρώσεως του Τερέζινστατ. Το όνομα του ήταν Γιαν Σάουντεκ.

Στη δεκαετία του 1830 εφευρέθηκε μια νέα οπτική συσκευή - η κάμερα. Με τη χρήση της ανακαλύφθηκε μια νέα μορφή τελετουργίας που έδωσε την ευκαιρία σε κάποιους να προσποιούνται ότι βλέπουν τον κόσμο λες και ήταν απαθείς παρατηρητές.

Αρχικά η τεχνική διαδικασία που σχετιζόταν με τη φωτογραφία ήταν αρκετά πολύπλοκη και προσέλκυσε μόνο τους πιο φανατικούς θιασώτες, αλλά από εκείνο τον καιρό, ειδικότερα στα τελευταία 20 περίπου χρόνια, η τεχνολογία έχει εξελιχθεί σε τέτοιο σημείο που ακόμα και ένας τυφλός μπορεί να εκθέσει τα πράγματα που ποτέ δεν θα μπορούσε να δει, το μόνο που χρειάζεται είναι η ικανότητα να

1912 yılında New York'ta göçmen bir terzi ailesi Sami kökenleri nedeniyle düşmanca tepkiler çekmemek için Radnitzky olan soyadlarını Ray olarak değiştirmeye karar verdiler. Çocuklardan biri ismini de kısaltmaya karar verdi, artık Man Ray olarak tanınıyordu.

1971 yılında New York'ta yerleşik varlıklı bir ailenin 48 yaşındaki kızı bol miktarda uyku hâri içti ve ardından bileklerini kesti, kısa bir süre sonra can verdi. Adı Dianne Arbus'tu.

İkinci Dünya Savaşı sırasında Çekoslovakya'da genç bir Yahudi çocuk Polonya sınırı yakınındaki bir toplama kampında esir olarak tutuluyordu. Ailesinin birçok ferdi Theresienstadt toplama kampında hayatını kaybedecekti. Bu gencin adı Jan Saudek'tir.

1830'larda yeni bir optik alet icat edildi, fotoğraf makinası. Sayesinde insanoğlu yeni bir ritüel şekli keşfetmiş oldu, kimileri dünyaya tarafsız gözlerle bakan gözlemciler olduklarını iddia etme fırsatını buldular.

Önceleri fotoğrafçılığın gerektirdiği teknik süreç oldukça karmaşık ve sadece kolay pes etmeyen meraklıların ilgisini çekiyordu, fakat o zamandan beri, özellikle son 20 yılda, teknoloji öyle hızlı gelişti ki tamamen kör olan birisi bile hiç görmediği şeyleri kağıda dökabiliyor, tek yapması gereken rastgele bir noktaya işaret edip tekrar tekrar düğmeye basmak. Düğmeye yeteri kadar basarsa sonunda mutlaka 'derin ve anlamlı bir gerçeği' yakalayacaktır. Fotoğrafın bir 'bilim aracı' olarak kullanılmaya başlaması çok zaman

20th century it was being used extensively by anthropologists. Witness for example the monumental work of Edward S. Curtis who documented the native tribes of North America from 1907-1930, or the documentation created during the 1940s by Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead who carried out a photographic analysis of the Balinese cultural system entitled the Balinese Character.

Photography has invaded every area of our lives. Its use makes us do strange things, things that perhaps we would not normally do. We freeze, we smile, we preen ourselves, and young women take off their clothes more readily in front of it. We look serious, we cavort; and we playact before it. Perhaps each of us is trying to project a parallel existence in a bid to convince ourselves or others that this is what we are really like. Likewise the person behind the camera is seen as having an air of importance, for are they not recording, documenting, commenting upon the existence of their fellow humans?

Images, images, images, we are assailed by images, each one trying to be slicker and cleverer than the last.

And there's the rub, what takes the artist hours or days takes the photographer a few seconds. However, what counts at the end of the day is not the eye behind the lens but rather the mind that uses it.

In my opening paragraphs I briefly introduced three of the great names in photography; each one has used the camera as a tool for documenting ritual and environment from a personal perspective.



Man Ray (1890-1976) concerned himself with the illogical and the banal. For him "There is no progress in art, any more than there is progress in making love. There are simply different ways of doing it." He painted "what cannot be photographed, that which comes from the imagination or from dreams, or from

εστιάσει οπουδήποτε και να πατήσει το κουμπι πολλές φορές. Με αυτό τον τρόπο θα είναι πάντα σίγουρος ότι έχει συλλάβει μερικές 'βαθιές και βαρυσήμαντες αλήθειες'.

Η χρησιμοποίηση της κάμερας ως ένα 'επιστημονικό εργαλείο' ήρθε αρκετά νωρίς και από τις αρχές του 20ου αιώνα χρησιμοποιούταν εκτεταμένα από ανθρωπολόγους. Δείτε, για παράδειγμα, το μνημειώδες έργο του Έντουαρντ Σ. Κέρτις που παρουσίασε τις ιθαγενείς φυλές της Βόρειας Αμερικής μεταξύ 1907-1930, ή το έργο που δημιούργησαν στη δεκαετία του 1940 οι Γκρέγκορ Μπέιτσον και Μάργκαρετ Μιντ που διεξήγαγαν μια φωτογραφική ανάλυση του Μπαλινέζικου πολιτιστικού συστήματος με τίτλο 'Ο Μπαλινέζικος Χαρακτήρας'.

Η φωτογραφία εισέβαλε σε όλους τους τομείς της ζωής μας. Η χρήση της μάς θύει να κάνουμε παράξενα πράγματα, πράγματα που πιθανόν κανονικά να μην κάναμε. Παγώνουμε, χαμογελάμε, στολιζόμαστε, και νεαρές γυναίκες βγάζουν πιο πρόθυμα τα ρούχα τους μπροστά της. Δείχνουμε σοβαροί, χοροπηδάμε' και υποκρινόμαστε ενώπιον της. Ίσως ο καθένας μας να προσπαθεί να προβάλει μια παράλληλη ύπαρξη σε μια προσπάθεια να πείσουμε τον εαυτό μας ή τους άλλους ότι στην πραγματικότητα έτσι είμαστε.

Παρομοίως, το άτομο πίσω από την κάμερα παρουσιάζεται ως να έχει ένα αέρα σημαντικότητας, ίσως επειδή καταγράφει, παρουσιάζει και σχολιάζει την ύπαρξη των συνανθρώπων του;

Εικόνες, εικόνες, εικόνες, σφυροκοπούμαστε από εικόνες, με την κάθε μια να προσπαθεί να είναι πιο αεράτη και εξυπνότερη από την προηγούμενη. Και υπάρχει και η υπενθύμιση, ότι παίρνει ώρες ή μέρες να δημιουργηθεί από τον καλλιτέχνη παίρνει λίγα δευτερόλεπτα στον φωτογράφο. Όμως, αυτό που μετρά στο τέλος της ημέρας δεν είναι το μάτι πίσω από τον φακό αλλά μάλλον το μυαλό που το χρησιμοποιεί.

Στις εισαγωγικές παραγράφους παρουσίασα με συντομία τρία από τα σπουδαία ονόματα στη φωτογραφία' ο κάθε ένας χρησιμοποίησε την κάμερα ως ένα εργαλείο για παρουσίαση τελετουργικών και περιβάλλοντος από μια προσωπική διάσταση.

Ο Μαν Ρέυ (1890-1976) νοιαζόταν για το παράλογο και το μπανάλ. Για αυτόν "δεν υπάρχει πρόοδος στην τέχνη, περισσότερη από την πρόοδο που υπάρχει στο να κάνεις έρωτα. Απλά υπάρχουν διαφορετικοί

αλμαδι και 20. yüzyılın başlarında antropolojistler tarafından yaygın bir şekilde kullanılır hale geldi. Buna örnek olarak Edward S Curtis'in 1907-1930 yılları arasında Kuzey Amerika'daki yerli kabilelerin hayatını belgeleyen muazzam eserini, ya da 1940'larda Gregory Bateson ve Margaret Mead tarafından oluşturulmuş Bali'nin kültür sistemini fotoğraflarla analiz eden Bali Karakteri başlıklı çalışmayı verebiliriz.

Fotoğraf hayatımızın her alanını işgal etmiş durumda. Bize garip şeyler yaptırıyor, belki de normalde yapmayacağımız şeyler. Donuyoruz, gülümsüyoruz, üstümüze çeki düzen veriyoruz, ve genç kadınlar onun karşısında daha rahat oluyorlar. Ciddi görünüyoruz, hoplayıp zıplıyoruz, ve karşısında rol yapıyoruz. Belki de her birimiz paralel bir varlık yansıtmaya çalışıyoruz, kendimizi ya da başkalarını aslında böyle olduğumuza inandırılmaya çalışıyoruz. Aynı şekilde makinenin arkasındaki insan da kendini daha bir önemli hissediyor, ne de olsa o da hemcinslerinin varlığını belgeleyip yorumlamıyor mu?

Görüntüler, görüntüler, görüntüler, görüntülerin hücumuna uğruyoruz, hepsinin derdi kendinden önce gelenden daha kurnaz ve akıllı olmak.

Bir de kolaylığı var, bir ressamın saatler hatta günler harcayarak yaptığını bir fotoğrafçı birkaç saniyede yapabiliyor. Fakat günün sonunda önemli olan merceğin arkasındaki göz değil onu yöneten zihindir.

Giriş paragraflarımda fotoğraf dalında 3 önemli ismi kısaca tanıttım; her biri fotoğraf makinesini ritüel ve çevreyi kişisel bir perspektifle belgelemek için bir araç olarak kullanan kişilerdir.

Man Ray (1890-1976) mantık dışı ve bayağı olanla ilgileniyordu. Ona göre "Sanatta hiçbir ilerleme yoktur, sevişmekte olmadığı gibi. Sadece farklı yollar vardır." "Fotoğrafi çekilemeyecek şeylerin" resmini yaptı, "hayal gücünden veya rüyalarından gelen, ya da bilinçdışı bir dürtüden kaynaklanan şeylerin. Resmini yapmayı istemediğim şeylerin fotoğrafını çekerim, zaten bir varlığı olan şeylerin."

20. yüzyılın en etkili sanatçılarından biri kabul edilir. Çığır açan fotoğraflarının yanı sıra "film, resim, heykel, kolaj, montaj alanında yaptığı araştırmalar ve sonunda performans sanatı ve kavramsal sanat olarak adlandırılan prototipler"iyle de adını duyurmuştur (ARTnews 1999.)



an unconscious drive. I photograph the things that I do not wish to paint, the things which already have an existence." He has been hailed as one of the most influential artists of the 20th century, for his ground-breaking photography as well as "his explorations of film, painting, sculpture, collage, assemblage, and prototypes of what would eventually be called performance art and conceptual art." (ARTnews magazine 1999)

Dianne Arbus (1923-1971) approached differently. She grew up in a life of privilege. Her parents were wealthy but distant, but for all that loving. Yet according to Judith Thurman, "Her heritage was, in fact, that of most artistic children of privilege, who feel that their true selves are invisible, while resenting the dutiful, false selves for which they are loved: a dilemma that inspires the quest, in whatever medium, for a reflection." The photographs she took of people, though at first sight banal records are deeply disturbing, and in many of them she manages to capture the hidden side of the human condition. She wrote of herself: "Freaks was a thing I photographed a lot, it was one of the first things I photographed and it had a terrific kind of excitement for me. I just used to adore them... I don't quite mean they're my best friends but they made me feel a mixture of shame and awe. There's a quality of legend about freaks. Like a person in a fairy tale who stops you and demands that you answer a riddle. Most people go through life dreading they'll have a traumatic experience. Freaks were born with their trauma. They've already passed their test in life. They're aristocrats."

τρόπο να το κάνεις". Ζωγράφισε "ό,τι δεν μπορεί να φωτογραφηθεί, αυτό που προέρχεται από τη φαντασία ή από τα όνειρα, ή από μια ασυνείδητη παρόρμηση. Φωτογραφίζω τα πράγματα που δεν επιθυμώ να ζωγραφίσω, τα πράγματα που έχουν ήδη ύπαρξη." Χαιρετίστηκε ως ένας από τους πιο σημαντικούς καλλιτέχνες του 20ου αιώνα, για την καινοτομική του φωτογραφία αλλά και για "τις εξερευνησεις του στον κινηματογράφο, τη ζωγραφική, τη γλυπτική, το κολλάζ, και πρότυπα αυτών που τελικά θα αποκαλούνταν παραστατική και εννοιολογική τέχνη." (Περιοδικό ARTnews 1999)

Η Νταϊάν Άρμπους (1923-1971) προσέγγισε τα πράγματα διαφορετικά. Μεγάλωσε μέσα σε ένα προνομιακό περιβάλλον. Οι γονείς της ήταν εύποροι θά απόμακροι, αλλά παρόλα αυτά στοργικοί. Ωστόσο, σύμφωνα με την Τζούντιθ Θέρμαν, "η κληρονομιά της ήταν, στην πραγματικότητα, η ίδια με αυτήν όλων των φιλότεχνων παιδιών με προνόμια, που νοιώθουν ότι ο αληθινός εαυτός τους είναι άορατος, ενώ δυσφορούν με τους υπάκουους, ψεύτικους εαυτούς για τους οποίους αγαπιούνται: ένα δίλημμα που εμπνέει την αναζήτηση, με οποιοδήποτε μέσο, για μια αντανάκλαση". Οι φωτογραφίες ανθρώπων που τράβηξε, αν και με την πρώτη ματιά μπανάλ, είναι έντονα ενοχλητικές και σε πολλές από αυτές κατορθώνει να συλλάβει την κρυφή πλευρά της ανθρώπινης κατάστασης. Έγραψε, για τον εαυτό της: "Τα αλλόκοτα άτομα ήταν κάτι που φωτογράφισα πολύ, ήταν ένα από τα πρώτα πράγματα που φωτογράφισα και με διεγείραν τρομερά. Απλά, τα λάτρευα... Δεν εννοώ ακριβώς ότι είναι οι καλύτεροι μου φίλοι αλλά με έκαναν να νοιώθω σαν ένα μίγμα ντροπής και δέους. Υπάρχει κάτι θρυλικό σχετικά με τα φρικιά."

Dianne Arbus (1923-1971) herşeye farklı yaklaşıyordu. Ayrıcalıklı bir ortamda büyüdü. Ailesi varlıklı fakat mesafeliydi, ama sevgi doluydu. Yine de Judith Thurman'a göre, "Mirası aslında diğer ayrıcalıklı ve sanatsal yönü olan çocukların birçoğu ile aynıydı, gerçek kişiliklerinin görünmez olduğunu düşünen fakat aynı zamanda sevimlilerinin nedeni olan itaatkar sahte kişiliklerini içeren çocuklar: onları, bir şekilde, bir yansıma arayışına sürükleyen bir ikilem." Çektiği fotoğraflardaki insanlar, ilk bakışta bayağı gibi gözükse de oldukça rahatsız edicidir, ve birçoğunda insanın durumunun gizli tarafını yakalamayı başarmıştır. Kendisiyle ilgili şöyle yazmıştı: "Kaçıkların resmini çekerdim sık sık, ilk çektiğim fotoğraflardandır ve bende dehşet veren bir heyecan uyandırmıştı. Onlara hayrandım... En iyi arkadaşlarımdılar demiyorum ama bende huşu içinde bir utanç duygusu uyandırıyorlardı. Kaçıklar bir efsane niteliği taşıyorlar. Bir peri masalında birden önünüze çıkan ve bir bilmeceyi cevaplamanızı isteyen biri gibi. Birçok insan hayatını bir travma yaşayacağı korkusuyla geçiyor. Kaçıklar travmalarıyla doğarlar. Hayatlarının sınavını zaten vermişler. Onlar aristokratlardır."

Jan Saudek'in (1935-) huzur bozan tiyatral eseri 19. yüzyıl canlı tablolarından esinlendiği kendi erotik dram anlayışını yansıtıyor ve Balthus ve Faucon gibi sanatçıların eserlerini çağırıştırıyor, cinsel bir kabusu çağdaş bir Mavisakal Kalesi'nde yeniden canlandırıyorlar. İlk çalışmaları çocukluk dönemi üzerinde duruyor, erkek ve dişi arasında sürekli bir belirsizlik geliştiriyor. 1990'lı yıllarda eserleri birçok sansüre maruz kalmıştı. 2001'de kendisiyle ilgili şunları

above from left © Estate of Diane Arbus
CHRISTMAS TREE IN LIVING ROOM, LEVITTOWN L.I.1963
A JEWISH GIANT AT HOME WITH HIS PARENTS IN THE BRONX, N.Y.
A FAMILY ONE EVENING IN A NUDIST CAMP, PA

The theatrically disturbing work of Jan Saudek (b1935) is based around his own sense of erotic drama deriving ultimately from nineteenth century tableaux vivants and echoing the work of artists such as Balthus and Faucon, re-enacting a sexual nightmare in some latter-day Bluebeards Castle. His early work dwelt on the ritual of childhood, developing ultimately into an ambiguity between male and female. His work has been the subject of a number of attempts at censorship during the 1990s.

In 2001 he wrote of himself: "And beyond the horizon, which cuts the image in half nothing but more night than a new day - and somewhere out there women, gold pieces and fame aw~ I won't get there. But at least I can look in that direction. And that's enough. So I look into the breathtaking distance, hoping to see the sparkle of a star, a faraway beckoning light. Across the chasm of the years, through recognition and obscurity, I've always kept looking. I shall always look into the darkness, always be on the lookout for the light to see that reflection - I'll let you know..."

Each of these photographers has used the camera in a unique way to explore the ritual of being alive, and derived their imagery from their own personal experiences; their ultimate aim was not to produce pleasing images or flatter the viewer's ego, but to record and analyse the ritual of their personal lives ranging from the banal and humorous to the darkest recess of the mind. Each seems to have asked themselves the ultimate question of a participant rather than observer: "What gives me the right to take this picture?"

Όπως ένα άτομο σε ένα παραμύθι που σε σταματά και απαιτεί να του απαντήσεις ένα αίνιγμα. Οι περισσότεροι άνθρωποι ζουν με το φόβο ότι θα έχουν μια τραυματική εμπειρία. Τα φρικτά γεννιούνται με το τραύμα τους. Έχουν ήδη περάσει τη δοκιμασία τους. Είναι αριστοκράτες."

Το θεατρικά ενοχλητικό έργο του Γιαν Σάουντεκ (γεν. 1935) βασίζεται γύρω από τη δική του αίσθηση ερωτικού δράματος που προέρχεται τελικώς από ταμπλό βιβάν του 19ου αιώνα και αντηχεί τα έργα καλλιτεχνών όπως του Μπαλτους και του Φοκόν, αναπαριστώντας ένα σεξουαλικό εφιάλτη σε ένα σύγχρονο Bluebeards Castle. Τα πρώτα του έργα πραγματοποιήκαν την τελετουργία των παιδικών χρόνων, και τελικά εξελίχθηκαν σε μια αμφισημία μεταξύ αρσενικού και θηλυκού. Τα έργα του υπέστησαν πολλές προσπάθειες λογοκρισίας κατά τη δεκαετία του 1990.

Το 2001 έγραψε για τον εαυτό του: "Και πέρα από τον ορίζοντα που κόβει την εικόνα στα δύο, τίποτα παρά μόνο περισσότερη νύχτα αντί μια νέα μέρα - και κάπου εκεί έξω, γυναίκες, χρυσά κομμάτια και φημη, ω, δεν θα βρεθώ εκεί. Αλλά τουλάχιστον μπορώ να δω προς εκείνη την κατεύθυνση. Και αυτό είναι αρκετό. Έτσι κοιτάζω στην μαγευτική απόσταση, ελπίζοντας να δω τη λάμψη ενός αστεριού, ένα μακρινό δελεαστικό φως. Δια μέσου του χάσματος των χρόνων, μέσω αναγνώρισης και ασημότητας πάντα συνεχίζα να ψάχνω. Πάντα θα βλέπω μέσα στο σκοτός, πάντα θα είμαι στην αναζήτηση του φωτός για να δω εκείνη την αντανάκλαση - Θα σας κρατώ ενημέρους..."

Κάθε ένας από αυτούς τους φωτογράφους χρησιμοποίησε την κάμερα με ένα μοναδικό τρόπο για να εξερευνήσει την τελετουργία του να είσαι ζωντανός και αποκόμισαν τις εικόνες τους από τις δικές τους προσωπικές εμπειρίες' ο απώτερος στόχος τους δεν ήταν να δημιουργήσουν ευχάριστες εικόνες ή να κολακεύσουν το εγώ του θεατή, αλλά να καταγράψουν και να αναλύσουν το τελετουργικό των προσωπικών τους ζωών που κυμαινόταν από το μπανάλ και το χιουμοριστικό μέχρι τα σκοτεινότερα μύχια του μυαλού. Ο κάθε ένας μοιάζει να ρώτησε τον εαυτό του την έσχατη ερώτηση ενός συμμετέχοντα παρά ενός παρατηρητή: "Τι μου δίνει το δικαίωμα να βγάλω αυτή τη φωτογραφία;"

yazmıştı: "Ve ufkun ötesinde, ki görüntüyü ikiye bölerken yeni bir gündün çok geceye benzer - ve oralarda biryerlerde kadınlar, altın parçalar ve şöhrət onları bek- ben oraya gitmeyeceğim. Ama en azından o yöne bakabiliyorum. Ve bu da bana yeter. Nefes kesen uzaklığa bakıyorum, bir yıldızın parladığını görme umuduyla, çok uzaklardan çağırın bir ışık. Yılların, takdirin ve belirsizliğin darboğazından geçerken, bakmaya hep devam ettim. Daima karanlığa bakacağım, o yansımayı görmek için her zaman ışığı gözlüyor olacağım - Size de söylerim..."

Bu fotoğrafçıların her biri fotoğraf makinesini kendilerine has bir biçimde kullandılar, yaşiyor olmanın ritüelini irdelediler. Betimlemelerini kendi kişisel deneyimlerinden esinlenerek oluşturdular; amaçları hoş görüntüler üretmek veya izleyicinin egosunu tatmin etmek değildi, kişisel yaşamlarının bayağıdan tutun da komik ve zihnin en karanlık taraflarına kadar olan ritüellerini kaydedip analiz etmekte. Her biri kendi kendine bir gözlemcinin değil de bir katılımcının soracağı esas soruyu sordular: "Bana bu fotoğrafı çekme hakkını veren nedir?"



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