

‘Roots-searching’ and contemporary landscape photography in China

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Abstract: This article aims to discuss a discursive turn of Chinese visual arts, using landscape representations from old and contemporary photographs of China, as well as painting and film materials. The discussion starts from showing the differences of defining the term landscape between Western and Chinese painters, arguing that they point to two types of realism underpinned by two kinds of cultures of seeing. It then moves on to the anthropological analysis of the landscape and how this analytical framework is useful in terms of understanding the ‘emotive reality’ in traditional Chinese landscape paintings. Lastly, the essay attempts to point out that this legacy has been inherited by contemporary Chinese visual arts in form of a ‘roots-searching’ sentimentality, either in explicit or implicit ways, participating in the construction of the new reality and identity recognised by and shapes contemporary Chinese artists.

Keywords: visual arts; photography; landscape; representation; anthropology of art

Most visual anthropologists do not usually emphasise landscape photography. This is understandable, since most are trained to study humans rather than non-humans, culture rather than nature or the environment. There are some exceptions; for instance, both Christopher Pinney (1997, 121) and Karen Strassler (2010, 74–102) explained how painted backdrops, many of which were created with colourful landscapes placed in photo studios, served as an imaginative conduit that mirrors individual idealisation and even the change of political discourses in the 1980s Central India and modern Java, respectively. Although the images do not explicitly treat landscape, they divert attention away from the anthropocentric to its visual and material periphery, to understandings that Eric Hirsch (1995, 2) located in landscape, ‘the meaning imputed by local people to their cultural and physical surroundings’; to perceptions of land-shaping that Tim Ingold (2013, 82–83) revealed through comparisons between primitive mound-things and monumental architecture; and to efforts that Chris Tilley (1994, 22) made to integrate phenomenological spatial experience in the study of archaeological remnants and social categories.

These anthropological interpretations help inform this visual essay on the prominence of landscape representations in contemporary Chinese visual arts, particularly in the realm of photography and film. By reviewing the differences in the definition of landscape between Western and Chinese painters, I move toward a visual treatment of the landscape and, specifically, its relevance in understanding an ‘emotive reality’ in traditional Chinese landscape paintings and recent photography and films. The essay identifies that this legacy has been inherited by contemporary Chinese visual arts in the form of a ‘roots-searching’ sentimentality, either in explicit or implicit ways. ‘Roots-searching’ helps to illuminate the new reality and identity both shared and shaped and by key contemporary Chinese artists.

The term landscape has an origin in Dutch painting and ‘was introduced in the late

sixteenth century as a technical term used by painters' (Hirsch 1995, 2). This 'painterly origin' is important, because although the word is often associated with natural surroundings, it embraces a visual aesthetic strategy taken up by these painters, and their activities of recreating nature under 'economic and material considerations' (Mitchell 2002, 6). In other words, the landscape is always mediated, either as a reflection of nature perceived by the human body, or a bearer of cultural emblems projected by mankind. It takes the overlap of our subjective perception of nature and nature in its objective form. That is why, as W. J. T. Mitchell points out: 'Landscape is not a genre of art but a medium' (5). Landscape, first used as a terminology in painting, then a medium referencing human's physical and mental activities, is socially and culturally constructed. To some extent, it is a concept that echoes Clifford Geertz's (2000, 69) famous assertion that 'there is no such thing as human-nature independent of culture.' In the case of the landscape, there is no such thing as nature independent of culture.

In its Chinese translation *fengjing* (風景), the landscape also means scenes that arouse people's aesthetic experiences like its Western counterpart. The tradition of landscape painting in China can be traced much earlier to the Sui Dynasty (AD 581–618) when the painter Zhan Ziqian (c. AD 545–618) completed the painting called Stroll About in Spring (遊春圖, *youchun tu*), depicting small figures appreciating scenes of mountains, trees, river, and Buddhist temples¹. Interestingly, the first Chinese character *feng* (風) in the word *fengjing*, in addition to its most common meaning of the wind, also refers to one of the volumes of the Classic of Poetry (*shijing*, 詩經), the oldest collection of poetry and odes in Ancient China. This *feng* volume, which is also known as *guofeng* (國風, poetry and odes from kingdoms), includes 160 local odes from different kingdoms of the Zhou Dynasty² (c. 1046–1256 BC) and most of them are composed by indigenous civilians rather than the aristocrats. Such etymological concern in the Chinese language may not sufficient to set up a strong bond between the landscape and the 'anthropological' thoughts in ancient China. Yet it partly explains why Chinese intellectuals like Zhan considered the landscape or ruins a suitable medium for conveying happiness, melancholy, laments for the pass of time (Wu 2012, 30–51), and even political aspirations.

In addition to *fengjing*, another key term to understand landscape in Chinese visual arts and history is *shan-shui* (mountains-waters, 山水). Derived from *shan-shui* painting, a specific genre of traditional Chinese ink painting, the term has been well studied (Cahill 1985; Clarke 2006, 57–59; Department of Asian Art 2004; Ho, Lee, and Sickman 1980; Liao 2016; Paetzold 2009, 55–65; Sullivan 1979; Wang 1995). The academic tradition focuses on landscape painting on scrolls, particularly the religious and symbolic meanings of mountains and waters. The idea of *shan-shui*, as the French philosopher François Jullien rightly concludes, is a perceptive system of reciprocal relations between mountains and waters (Jullien 2009, 122–123):

The term "mountains-waters" expresses immersion...in what constitutes the interactive animation of the components of the world...The water is the mountain's "arteries" and the mountain is beholden to water for its 'animation'; the mountain is the water's "face", what makes it perceptible,

and water is beholden to the mountain for its power of “seduction”. The mountain embraces and structures, and water circulates and flows.

Jullien thus underscores *shan-shui* as the basis of landscape, and even the worldview, of the ancient Chinese. By extension, it ascribes the spiritual implications of mountains and waters ideology to the psychological condition of the painters. He also reveals that the mountains-waters ideology has been cultivated over time, creating a stabilised style of painting techniques, terminologies, and related aesthetic discourses.

The term *shan-shui* thus strongly associates landscape painting and ‘Chineseness’, almost to the point of stereotype. It is fair to say that the *shan-shui* concept no longer dominates the look and meaning of contemporary landscape representations, where urbanisation has taken a prominent position in the practices of local visual artists.

The *shan-shui* tradition, of course, originated out of Han intellectual and elitist ideology, but has gone through its own history. The ‘New Shan-shui’ (*xin shanshui*, 新山水) movement originated in the early twentieth century and was a significant force recognised by the global art world. Since the 1990s, a series of prominent new artists have employed *shan-shui* subject-matter and techniques in Chinese ink paintings (Giménez 2015, 17–49). If the mountains and waters system remains important for understanding particular Chinese visual engagements with the landscape, I will argue that *fengjing* also helps to describe a more generalised consideration of landscape representations in contemporary China.

A complement to my argument can be found in anthropological thinking. In considering non-Western approaches to landscape, Hirsch (1995, 4) identifies a series of dichotomies, including the first landscape/the second landscape, the foreground/background, as well as the place/space, the inside/outside, and the image/representation; the concepts on the left side of the slashes ‘roughly correspond to what we would understand as the context and form of everyday, unreflexive forms of experience (Bourdieu 1977), while the concepts on the right roughly equate to the context and form of experience beyond the everyday.’ In this model, the landscape stands as a bridge between people’s real and imagined worlds, allowing people to develop an idealised background, to which they can project their imagination and emotions. An anthropological understanding of landscape points to a ‘process of mutual implication’ (Hirsch 1995, 23) in which the actual foreground existing in everyday social practices and the idealised background appeared in expectations and imaginations together establish a comprehensive representation of landscape (the compound of both the place and space) and the ways of looking at it.

To help indicate my points, let us turn to some a selection of photographs. These images are landscape photographs from early and contemporary photography artists from China and the Western world. I am especially interested in examining their composition or content. These are: pictorial similarities in early photographs by Lai Fong and O’Sullivan (Figure 1); similar ways of perceiving the human-nature relationship of Zhang Kechun and Nadav Kander³; similar philosophical concerns of landscape shared by Cheng Xinhao and Stephen Shore (Figure 2); and the interest of Zhang Boyuan and Alec Soth in abandoned artefacts (Figure 3).

Can we still be talking about a Chinese or Western culture, an ‘emotive reality’ or a ‘subjective reality’ in a photographic image as we did in the realm of landscape painting? The answer, I suggest, is ambiguous. On the one hand, a photograph is essentially a duplicate of the reality, the ‘that-has-been’ (Barthes 1980, 77). Of course, photographers can develop their personal styles by using different cameras, lenses, films or alternative mediums on which the image is embodied, and even turn to post-processing techniques. Nevertheless, photographers often go some length to produce an image which does not look ‘real’ to human eyes. Even if the photographers perceive landscape on various registers, their works are generally enacted in a real photographic setting, being much more subtly different compared to the pictorial distinction between a Western landscape painting and a Chinese one. By the same token, photography may often dictate its own ambiguity as a medium.



Figure 1. Lai Fong (賴芳, 1839–1890), Bankers Glen Yuen Foo Monastery, c.1869, Metropolitan Museum of Art. (Bottom): Timothy H. O’Sullivan (1840–1882) Iceberg Canyon, Colorado River, Looking Above, 1871, National Gallery of Art.



Figure 2. Cheng Xinhao (程新皓), *On Painting* (2015), photo provided by the artist. (Bottom): Stephen Shore, South of Klamath Falls, U.S. 97, Oregon, July 21, 1973, in *Uncommon Place* series (1973–1979), photo provided by the artist.



Figure 3. Zhang Boyuan (張博原), *Jiangnan* (2017), photo provided by the artist. (Bottom): Alec Soth, Helena, Arkansas, 2002, in *Sleeping by the Mississippi* series, photo provided by the artist.

Invented in the mid-nineteenth century, photography was preceded by a number of ‘techniques of the observer’ that produced realistic images under the influence of social and economic change, as well as of scientific studies (Crary 1990, 16–19). The innovations reflected and guided the formation of a new way of seeing, which in the realms of art and science seemed quite different but was actually ‘the same knowledge that allowed the increasing rationalization and control of the human subject in terms of new institutional and economic requirements...’, requiring for ‘new experiments in visual representation’; the observer hence ‘was both a product of and at the same time constitutive of modernity in the nineteenth century.’ (Crary 1990, 9) After its invention, photography’s ability to duplicate and fix the reality on a piece of material even pushed it further—compared to other observing techniques—in terms of massive image producing and scientific investigations.

As early as the 1880s, an anthropologist was spotted using photography to record

portraits of their informants in a painting by an indigenous Nicobarese (Pinney 2012, 7) and the introducing of photography as a research and recording tool outside Europe can be traced to the 1840s, whereafter anatomists, journalists, missionaries and colonial officers kept on sending and presenting images of the non-Western world. From then, photography, together with other modern optical device, entailed interactions between the two sides under an unbalanced power relation between a powerful Western look and a non-Western reception, or look- back (Pang 2007, 12). This fact is of great importance because when photography was exported to non-Western regions, the cultural ‘others’ did not accept or perceive photographic technology in the same manner. How photography was integrated as an organic part of each society’s cultural system and social relations historically affected these people’s ideas and practices with the medium itself.

That is why a careful look at Lai Fong’s photograph (Figure 1, top) reveals a complex composition, even though its images, by obligation, offer a single perspective view. O’Sullivan’s picture (Figure 1, bottom), in contrast, reads of a Kantian sublime: the small person and the immortality of the canyon and river. Lai Fong includes three layers of landscape to let the beholder feel the different distances between the foreground, midground and background, creating a ‘sense of space’ common to conventional Chinese landscape painting. Such sense of space, according to Zong Baihua (1897–1986), explores the infinity of space through a limited landscape in front of the painter and it is the *jingjie* (境界, the poetic or painterly state) in his heart that determines his ability to depict the infinity of space (Zong 2000, 82–100). From its angle, Lai Fong showed little interest in the Western figures at the centre-right of the image. They seemed to be devoured by the rocks, mountain paths, and barely stand out from the withered trees behind them. One might suggest that the objective of the photographer was to delineate a landscape embodying Chinese aesthetics. The sense of space Lai Fong created, in the sense of Hirsch (see above), is the foreground pursued by the artist.

We can also glimpse some intriguing contrasts between Zhang Kechun and Nadav Kander’s contemporary photography series. They were both made after the millennium and both dealt with social changes along the Yellow River and the Yangtze River, two key rivers that culturally and historically mark Chinese civilisation. Both photographers emphasise the landscape’s splendour by distancing themselves from the photographic subjects, making the human figures appeared in their images look quite small. Construction sites, urbanisation, environmental issues also interest both artists.

The purpose of photographing the landscape, or the foreground sought by them, however, is very different. Zhang’s photographs, many of which play with overexposure, exude an ethereal atmosphere that obscures the ‘real’ detail of the landscape. In addition to imaging substantial problems like poverty and the bleak natural and manmade environment, Zhang’s pictures leave considerable blank space in the image like a conventional Chinese painting would do. For me, they treat the feeling of lamenting the passing of time, a theme in traditional Chinese landscape paintings by demonstrating surrealist yet strongly symbolic scenes.⁴ A Buddha head may be considered as a historical and cultural survival⁵ from the modernisation and

urbanisation process in contemporary China. Yet this lament is implicit and melancholy, rather than the more explicit commentary shown by Nadav Kander's photographs, which are marked by correct exposure, oil-painting-like tone, and direct confrontation with environmental issues.

There is a difference in photographers' stance, however, which can be linked, I think, to a cultural distinctiveness in contemporary Chinese landscape photography. How they deal with the human face reveals a very significant divergence in the photographic practice (Figure 4). In Zhang Kechun's Yellow River series, all the small figures captured in the frame are either shown sideways or with their backs against the viewer. It seems that the photographer has kept a distance that is far away enough to not attract the figures' attention. Meanwhile, some images of Kander's Yangtze River record the figures' whole body and their front faces, staring afar or directly into the lens, confronting the camera as if the images are staged beforehand. For me, the backs in Zhang's images allude to the beholders, who project themselves on the figures inside the picture. This endows the viewer with the power and a subjective vision of confronting themselves against the landscape as the figures do in the frame. A viewer thus becomes an insider like the photographer, who is experiencing his emotion for the land and river with his body experience by defining himself as an 'insider' of the photographed landscape, which might well correspond to what Roland Barthes writes: 'photographs of landscape (urban or country) must be habitable, not visitable' (1980, 38).



Figure 4. Zhang Kechun, *The Yellow River*, <http://www.zhangkechun.com/the-yellow-river/>, accessed 17 May 2018. Reproduced with permission of artist. (Bottom): Nadav Kander, *Mouth IV*, near Shanghai, 2007, in *Yangtze, The Long River*, <https://www.nadavkander.com/works-in-series/yangtze-the-long-river/>, accessed 17 May 2018. Image provided by the photographer.

Instead, the eye contact in Kander's works demonstrate an observational and visiting perspective from an 'outsider', generating a more calm and analytical orientation for the beholder. Such marginal divergence may not be powerful enough to speak for the cultural distinctiveness, or, the 'Chineseness' of Zhang. Put simply, there appears something fundamentally different, perhaps at a cultural and psychological level, between one Chinese landscape photographer and a Western counterpart. This concern for an 'insider' view of the landscape marks the 'Chineseness' in contemporary Chinese photography. More examples beyond art photography can be given to reveal this focus.

An inspiration behind the interest in the insider position can be found in term 'roots-searching' (*xungen*, 寻根), which derives from a cultural movement in the 1980s Chinese literature and film. For cultural historians of China, the term has a very clear connotation as an idea and art movement of 1980s and 1990s China. Yet I believe this term is applicable as well for a wave of new Chinese young artists, who have translated,

borrowed and integrated it in their own (recent) works. The idea of ‘roots-searching’ characterises their work as an abstract search for the self (‘self-searching’), particularly an exploration and longing for the hometown (‘hometown-seeking and revisiting’), and a thematic and discursive turn among the younger generation.

According to Feuerwerker, the roots-searching movement in China was initiated by Chinese writers, such as Han Shaogong (韓少功, 1952–), Mo Yan (莫言, 1956–), and Wang Anyi (王安憶, 1954–). During the mid-1980s, these authors used fiction as a means of ‘reaching back into the past’, in which ‘the encounter with the peasant will lead to questions about the self-construction of the intellectual and the nature of narrative representation itself’ (Feuerwerker 1998, 8).

Also, many films made by the ‘fifth generation’ directors, such as Chen Kaige (陳凱歌, 1952–) and Zhang Yimou (張藝謀, 1950–), were keen to contextualise their narratives in historical dramas of local societies, especially the peasant societies in pre-1949 China. It was to explore the spiritual heritage from those periods and to show a desire to revisit a traditional cultural Utopia (Huot 2000, 91–102). For example, Zhang Yimou’s *Red Sorghum* (*hong gaoliang* 紅高粱) adapted Mo Yan’s work in 1987. The vast field of sorghums refer to the strength, spirit and past (primitive) power of peasant identity. For Zhang, the roots he was searching for concerned the wild vitality embedded within the Chinese peasant landscape.

Even for later ‘sixth generation’ directors, the ‘roots-searching’ discourse continues but has transformed, I would argue, into a subtler search for self. Unlike their ‘fifth generation’ forerunners who were keen to exploit Chineseness through culturally symbolic landscapes, they often locate their narratives in a more specific site, that is, the hometowns under urbanisation, embodied by demolition and construction images wandering between the reality and their memories. One example is Jia Zhangke (賈樟柯, 1970–), whose works depict landscape to emphasise nostalgia and iconic landscape features over the passage of time (Figure 5). His films are based on his own experience of living in his hometown, a small town in Shanxi Province, the north part of China. In his latest film *Mountains May Depart* (*shanhe guren* 山河故人), Jia used two scenes of the same place in his hometown to express his lament for the past. The first half of the film depicts the city in late 1990s; a bridge under construction appears in the suburban riverside of the city. The second half shows the hometown 10 years later; the bridge has been completed and a new, tall building under construction is shown afar. What remains the same are the mountain and river, serving as witnesses of the changes of the city and of course, the life of human themselves. To give prominence to the temporal effect, the filmmaker deliberately creates another dimension of time outside the narrative itself. The film begins with a 4:3 image aspect ratio, and then switches to 16:9, the standard in film production since the late 2000s.



Figure 5. Screenshots of Jia Zhangke's *Mountains May Depart*, 2015, 00:10:52 (Top) and 01:20:14 (Bottom).

Although both Jia Zhangke and Zhang Yimou locate their narratives in Chinese historical time, they are very different explorations of *xungen* (roots-searching) in the landscape. For Jia, the 'searching' takes place when audiences visualise across time in a changing landscape. Zhang, meanwhile, locates 'roots' in the static historic past.

Another film *Kaili Blues* (*lubian yecan* 路邊野餐) by the director Bi Gan (畢贛, 1989-) explores landscape, as seen and felt as embodied experience. Many scenes of the film are recorded in a first person's perspective or tracking shots (Figure 6), allowing the viewer to appreciate the landscape, in a similar way that Zhang Kechun's photos do. Compared with Jia Zhangke's realistic depiction of time's passing, I believe the searching also leads the filmmaker to find and relocate himself in a hometown that only exists in memory and cinematic production. In other words, the film is solely about searching the 'self' in a subjective perception of his own home.



Figure 6. Screenshots of Kaili's winding roads landscape, in Bi Gan, *Kaili Blues*, 2016.

Many young photography-based artists, such as Zhu Lanqing (朱嵐清, 1991–), Su Jiehao (蘇傑浩, 1988–), and Zhang Boyuan (1992–), also stress the revisiting, reclaiming and reinventing of their hometowns by photographing landscapes. They create portraits and still-lives that are linked to their perceptions of ‘roots’.

Like the four photographers mentioned earlier, many artists today have experiences of extended travel or studying abroad. Zhang Boyuan told me that revisiting and photographing the landscape and ordinary people in his hometown Xinjiang is significant for him, as it helps him to rediscover a place that tied to his memories and his values towards life. On the one hand, going to Urumqi and the Taklamakan area from London awakens Xinjiang's history and memories for Zhang. On the other hand, being away internationally makes him feel displaced and an urgency to search for a sense of home at a place to which he is emotionally attached. Interestingly, when I asked him: ‘As a photographer, where do you think you belong to?’ He blurted out: ‘Britain. Because that is where I learned to make images. But if you ask me where my hometown is, maybe it is Xinjiang, maybe it is Sichuan (I spent four years doing my undergraduate studies there), or maybe it is somewhere, a place I will keep on searching’ (Zhang, personal communication, 2017).

To me, the searching for homes and ‘roots’ reveals uncertainty about their displaced position in an increasingly globalised world. Without a hometown, they cannot identify themselves completely with a geographical or cultural category. Their overseas experience compels an anxiety and a retrospective look at the places where they grew up. This may also explain why, in many of their landscape photographs, timeless natural spectacles elaborate a sense of temporal change. Residential areas relate to experiences of living, and remnants and ruins help to lament the inexorable change. They point to a sentimental, imagined hometown in their memories and dreams. As far I am concerned, this is the root being searched for by the young generation of Chinese visual artists. It is the contemporary ‘emotive reality’, the background, which reflects what they desire

from making images of the landscape.

Gordon Mathews argues in *Global Culture/Individual Identity* that, ‘in today’s world of massive global flows of people, capital, and ideas, a ‘culture’ can’t easily be thought of as something that people in a certain place on the globe have or are in common, as opposed to other peoples elsewhere’ (Mathews 2000, 3–4). The rise of what he calls the ‘cultural supermarket’ empowers people to identify themselves with broader culturally defined registers beyond ethnic, national, and geographic-based identities (Mathews 2000, 19–20). Mathews is right to observe that the emergence of various cultural forms and phenomena spanning across the globe is eroding one’s national cultural identity at an unprecedentedly level, thanks to the development of the ‘electronic superhighway.’⁶ Instead of treating ‘hometowns-searching’ as a protective idea to prevent the artists from the state of homeless or displaced, can we consider such ‘hometowns-searching’ as the state of what Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari would call ‘deterritorialization’ (1987, 10–12), which belongs to ‘hybrid identities’ that allow them to be ‘reterritorialized’ within a cosmopolitan community and a global art network (even if they only exist as ‘imagined communities’)?

In my opinion, this is the interesting ground where culture in an anthropological sense and in contemporary Chinese visual arts meets. Comprehending the origin, interpretation and the questions of landscape representations help us understand how the young generation represents the landscape (What do they want from the landscape?) and how the representation of the landscape reflects their knowledge and desires of self (What does the landscape want from their image-makers?).

It is this tendency of entangled traditions that makes Chen Xiaoyi’s (陳蕭伊, 1992–) landscape representations truly inspiring. In her *Koan* series, Chen employs photo-etching techniques to approach the landscape through abstract forms (Figure 7). They are black-and-white images of fragmented landscapes printed on Japanese paper, and they explore the unspeakable, preverbal spaces and they also manage to convey a distinctive Eastern aesthetics derived from the Tao and Zen philosophies. The Eastern elements enable the artist to take her cultural distinctiveness as a strategy to view and engage with the cosmopolitan world.



Figure 7. Chen Xiaoyi, *Koan* series, 2014, photo of photoetching on paper. Image provided by the artist.

To conclude, this essay ultimately agrees with research findings put forward regarding Chinese diaspora groups in 1950s to 1960s South Africa (Corrigall 2015). They photographed the foreign land with a picturesque style of traditional Chinese landscape painting, but who struggled to maintain ‘multiple ideas of belonging and configurations of identity that were simultaneously local and international’ (Corrigall 2015, 57). ‘Landscape photography’, Corrigall concluded, was ‘the means of obtaining visibility, of making their presence known through representing their local and outlying environments by referencing their own bodily navigation.’ The cases I described highlighted ‘roots-searching’ in this ‘means of obtaining visibility’; this is, to be sure, not the only theme in contemporary Chinese representation of the landscape. Nevertheless, it serves as one of the most powerful inspirations of an ‘emotive reality’ that enables young Chinese artists to locate their work and cultural identity.

Notes

¹ The painting’s digital edition is at <http://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/234623.html> (accessed 17 May 2018).

² The Zhou Dynasty was known for its *fengjian* (封建) system (Shaughnessy 1999).

³ See Zhang Kechun’s *The Yellow River* (2010–2012) project at <http://www.zhangkechun.com/the-yellow-river/> (accessed 17 May 2018); Nadav Kander’s *Yangtze, The Long River* (2006–2010) on <https://www.nadavkander.com/works-in-series/yangtze-the-long-river/single> (accessed 17 May 2018).

⁴ See images of *The Yellow River project* at <http://www.zhangkechun.com/the-yellow-river/>, especially the fourth and seventeenth in the sequence. (Website accessed 17 May 2018).

⁵ For perspectives on Tylorian ‘survival’, see Didi-Huberman (2002).

⁶ See (Whitechapel Gallery 2016).